The Sufi Movement East and West

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Jan Slomp

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Dedication

Dedicated to Anton Wessels
professor of religious studies at
the Free Univrsity, Amsterdam
and for more than half a century
a friend and.fellow student

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Hazrat Inayat Khan

Preface

It is a deemed privilege to write a few lines to introduce the beautiful book by Jan Slomp, a good friend of Henry Martyn Institute. The tide of the book: "The Sufi Movement: East and West," though can be slightly misleading as the aim of the book is to introduce a great Indian Sufi, Inayat Khan, who perhaps, is not so much popularly known among the Indian public as he may be in the West. Hence, this book does a great service in introducing a great Sufi to the Indian scholars and thinkers; and HMI is happy to be part of this endeavour by publishing this book as one of its own publications. We are grateful to the author as well as the Nekbakht Foundation for facilitating it.

As most of us are aware all religions stand in need of the mystical dimension, without it religions can degenerate and become crass materialism almost placing Mammon on the altar of worship replacing the living and questioning God. Mysticism or Sufism has been a paradigmatic phenomenon inviting human beings for further and deeper reflection. In the past this core dimension of religion was quite often seen as a prerogative of a privileged few, while today mysticism in its various forms is seen as a sine qua non of any true religious experience. Also this is not to be seen as the privilege of some advanced or so called more developed religions but constituting the depth dimension of every religion. This is the reason for Prof. Raimon Panikkar (my friend and guru) to say that the mystical dimension is not the monopoly of any religion but it

is the common heritage of all religions.

Another important aspect is that the fundamentalists in various religions quarrel about the greatness or uniqueness of religions. True mystics hardly quarrel about religion or the practices of religions because they are able to go beyond the paraphernalia and ritualism of religion. They are able to reach to a `silence of religion,' which the great Buddha attained. The mystics reach a great level of transcendence so much so they are able to reach to a 'free zone' of no daims and accusations but a 'zone of embrace,' going beyond exclusivism. It is a level of love and concern, compassion and commitment to the well-being of all. In the present context of religious pluralism one can reach to certain generosity of heart and acceptance of others only with a minimal mystic vision namely that all of us have one God and that we are all brothers and sisters to one another. With this attitude one cannot wage war on another under any religious pretext, and it is a fact more wars have been waged due to religious squabbles rather than other factors. One of the reasons for agnosticism and atheism to grow has been this bickering and antagonism that exist among the so-called believers.

In mysticism what one is called to experience is Nothingness or emptiness or Nirvana. It is in this experience of nothingness one comes to realize God as well as the self. When one perceives one's own incapacity and failure to define or describe adequately what is beyond one's ken and experience, one reaches a state of humility where the inability to assen anything comes to fore. This is the basic experience of transcendence which we are not able to be put in words or communicate through one's experience. From here there will issue forth a generosity of heart where one is able to welcome all irrespective of **all** the differences that may exist on the basis of religion, caste, nationality, race or colour. These will disappear into thin air,

when one is able to see the oneness of reality and godhead.

Therefore there is the great need to see mysticism as the tour de force of religion, and we all need to become propagators of such a movement. We know that fundamentalism in various forms raises its ugly head all over the world, and unless one is quite guarded against such pitfalls we can be easily led astray. Some, indeed, come in sheep's dothing but are ravenous wolves within; and we need true discernment, which can come only with the enlightenment of the Spirit. Let us hope and pray that such wisdom may dawn upon, as we see in the name of religion human beings are done away with, or hatred is spread against communities whom one sees as opposed to one's self-proclaimed goals.

Hence we are happy that Jan Slomp has done this great service introducing a great Indian mystic to a wider reading public. I thank him for associating HMI with this project, and wish him all success in his mission. May the blessings of the Almighty be in abundance with him.

Dr. Varghese Manimala
Henry Marten Institute

Foreword

"I was transported by destiny from the world of lyric and poetry to the world of industry and commerce on the 13th of September 1910."

The projection backwards with which Hazrat Inayat Khan (1882 — 1927) commences his autobiographical dictations in response to a suggestion of his admired Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwad of Baroda, fully reflects the Romantic current still so prevalent even after the "Great War" (1914 -1918). The conditioning impelling that "destiny" had been long, colourful and intense, catapulting young Inayat Khan into a flying start.

The leisure cultivation of music and poetry, the art of civilised living, of his khanlical-zamindar forebears at critical junctures had obliged transition to akward outside performance; still not of course public and commercial, but at courts and music lovers' circles: on the paternal side, through sharia-enforced property division; on the maternal by a scion (Inayat's grandfather) being refused his share under joint-family security adat and so striking out on his own.

That was the famous Sholey Khan Maula Bakhsh Ghise Khan, subsequently become patriarch of a lineage mandatorily including his daughters with their husbands and children — clearly reflecting his Dravidian — matrilineal sympathies.

For search to combine the Carnatic and Hindustani styles into one all-Indian Muscial culture, presenting the highest and noblest of all Indian arts to all the world and notably to the

British raj, was one chief element in turning Maula Bakhsh into a celebrity, thereby providing the basis for Inayat Khan's own meteoric rise.

Even so, however, if he and his descendants in their capacity of zamindars and courtiers, beyond being musical scolars, composers and teachers, were to perform their music as well (even though "teachers" was always respectfully used rather then recitalists or performers!) some sort of dignified framework would have to go along with it in avoiding the risk of derogation.

The rulers generally appreciated the dilemma discreetly but substantially, and contexts were dear enough.

Maula Bakhsh and his senior heir still could aristocracize feudally (an option missed by a too young and hurried "professor Inayat Khan Rahemat Khan Pathan" upon "returning to the world" on his Murshid's advice, much to his disenchantment); the austere father Mashaik Rahemat Khan, along the lines of his Kapurthala master Sayn Ryas, practised Dhrupad ascetically; the younger maternal unde found orchestra-conducting-safety in fully anglicizing secularly; and so, Inayat Khan could lean on a bit of everything: feudal, ascetic, British, secular.

It was keen scholarship, then spiritualization of music that became his own ramparts fôr his briljant musical renderings by voice and vina. His title of "Tansen (uzzaman, zamanihal)" bestowed by the Nizam of Hyderabad, whose honours also were recognized by the British raj, he still used in USA (1911 — 1912) as temporal counterpart to his Sufi title of "Pir-o-Murshid" (and as such later replaced by the unposed, pompous but colourless "Representative-General" i.e. of the Sufi Movement).

Hazrat Inayat Khan's ancestry had adhered to Sufi mysticism and culture for at least the sixteen generations they had settled

in India as refugees from Timur Lenk's havoc in their native Central Asia. However, following the advice of his critical but admiring friend Abdul Majid, in Hyderabad he found his personal Sufi master in Syed Abu Hashim Madani, studying and practising from 1903/4 to 1907, receiving his ijazat as shaikh and akhi (doctor and knight, i.e. scolar and ethico-cultural practician of Sufism) in what he later described as the happiest time of his life.

In 1910 Inayat Khan found an opportunity he had been dreaming of from early childhood — as a mere boy, his mother had to dissuade him from joining some advanced students sent by the State to attend the international exhibition in Paris in 1889, of Eiffel Tower fame; France, the ancient ally of Tipu Sultan, his descent of whom in the maternal line he was later to impress upon his children as a personal link to the Moghul tradition, ultimately was to become the land of his' family home, where hitherto his daughter Noorunnisa (1914 — 1944) continues to be officially honoured annually as a World War II shahida.

In 1910 Inayat Khan began by first visting America, accompanied by his younger brother Pyaromir Maheboob Khan and his one-year-older second cousin (in twice-female line) Jagirdar Muhammed-Ali-Khan. Their intended two or three-year grand tour of the West in Inayat Khan's own case was to last for sixteen (until autumn 1926) despite constant intentions of return (1913, 1918, 1925).

His brothers, in 1912 joined by the much younger Musharaff Khan, struck root in Europe altogether, in avoidance of the climate of both the weather and the divisive communal politics so contrary to their social and spiritual values.

To all the four of them, their ideal India lifelong continued to be the Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwad State of Baroda.

Hazrat Inayat Khan pointed out that both the State's courtly culture and administrative arrangements provided a personal and institutional model in having to set up the Sufi Movement in the West.

His choice of first visiting the USA was not fortuitous, however. Their Baroda friend, the Brahmin Pandya, charmingly described by Musharaff Khan in the' Life of a Sufi', had been selected by the Maharaja for study at Columbia University; his New York home remained their postal address throughout their time in the States. And he was, of course, the only person they knew in the entire West.

In those sixteen years abroad, Hazrat Inayat Khan essentially came to seek the evolving of a mystical dimension for the modern secular world (thus rendering it acceptable to Indians as well) such as he knew only India could provide.

That is not what he set out for in 1910. He then simply intended to propound in the West what he had lectured on and musically demonstrated in India. I.e. that music being India's highest, most abstract form of artistic cultivation, hence led to the highest experience of beauty conceivable.

Aesthetic perception leading to contemplative absorption, the further flow into the mystical meditative state was an almost nritural progression, a process of maturing in stages.

Such/an ever-deepening course of mystical realisation to culminate into the highest, truly divine fulfilment of all existence beyond the life of physical and psychological limitation.

Music being divine and saintly in origin and character is, of course, a most ancient Indian concept and one finds Hazrat constantly referring to Hindu deities, saints such as Narada in addition to more recent celebrities.

To be sure, of whatever further subject he spoke: esotericism

(yoga, ryazat), religion, philosophy, ethics, etc., Hazrat forever spoke for all Indian spiritual philosophy and mysticism in its entirety

Today we hear it said that there are many religions, but one spirituality.

Hazrat never tired of insisting that all religions, beyond their enriching diversity, all share one essence or upper layer beyond their formal outlines. And that is mysticism, leading to realisation of ultimate reality. All methods leading throughout religion to philosophy and on to mysticism, have their own validity in their essential combination of self-discipline and self-transcending idealism.

For Hazrat and his eventual mureeds, Sufism was the obvious way; but each other approach in the same field held the same value and promise.

The fulfilment of mystical illumination is mostly sought through contemplative philosophy, jnanayoga, ma'rifat and/or through esoteric practise, yoga, ryazat, properly on a firm base of asceticizing spiritual ethics, yama-nyama, maqamat-o-halat (those moral and psychological disciplines often a stumbling-block for modern adherents, idealising spiritual freedom with little taste for self-discipline beyond politeness).

Now in addition to those two well-established approaches, Hazrat Inayat Khan evolved the one of aesthetic contemplation.

His Western audiences loved his addresses, but were unable to cope with an interiorisation of his Indian classical music.

Hazrat however in any case, expanded the practice or audition of music to a further concept of beauty as such. Both the living beauty of nature, the beauty of any art or idea, could become contemplative and so release one's attention from purely outward and mental selfhood.

Since every educated person would have some taste for one type of beauty or another, awakening an inner reality through its absorption could offer inspiration to those, able to pass beyond outward observation to inner perception.

Hazrat Inayat Khan reached the state of Samadhi in 1909 (at 27!) and he later said that whereas for experienced yogis this would normally take three to four hours of meditation, through music it might be reached in half an hour or even less.

What is meant here is the "instatic" meditative method practised individually, not the collective, extatic Dhikr practices of the Middle East and such popular Derwish-type extasies or equally public devotional singing at Dargahs etc.

Mysticism is no substitute- or pseudo-religion

To begin with as stated above, Hazrat Inayat Khan intended also in the West, to represent Indian music as the superior aesthetic and spiritual value. It then emerged that his listeners cared little for the music but greatly about his discourses.

That led to what at first was a quite unforeseen if flattering result: Western listeners wanted to learn from his wisdom, become his mureeds.

That turned the four Brothers on their tour of the West to a novel line of attention.

Themselves they had become familiar with European music from their Baroda court orchestra days.

That familiarity deepened further during their stay in Paris and London: they discovered a similar combination of musical beauty and live spiritual sentiment in works like the Messiah and the Christmas Oratorio, arias of which Hazrat Inayat Khan's brothers and cousin sang with delight and matchless lyrical finesse, in the same way they sang the classical vocal repertoire in honour of the Hindu deities and gurus. (Hazrat's

American "Ameena Begum's" additional name was "Sharada".)

If Indian music had to be relegated to their private lives, its concepts and terms continued to pervade all Hazrat's Sufi explanations at every point: tone and rhythm, harmony and tuning occur forever anew.

His three collections of original English aphorisms and poems are entitled Gayan, Vadan and Nirtan, within which the chapter headings carry technical musical names as Alankaras, Alapas, Bolas, Gayatri, Talas etc.

Unsettling to British readers, Gayan's opening Alapa reproduces a `muwashsha': three solemn lines followed by one popular punch line!

Wittiness and warmth abound in his lectures as well, the first all too often unnoticed, the latter for all to respond to readily

Indeed, his very speaking style reflects his musical base: theme with variations, adjustments with every new repetition and, of course, everything improvised all the time ("What is my subject for tonight?")

The way his leading followers channelled and tailored his insights to their own notions and needs is described in the chapters that follow.

By and large, in so doing, imaginatively facing and not invariably overcoming the risk of converting abstract sophisticated as also pragmatic (at tunes utilitarian) Eastern idealism into Western ideology: skylarks into ostriches and peacocks, and mum qabl'an tamautu could wait!

Hazrat Inayat Khan's hugely impressive modernizing Sufism in its Indian shape: in its contemplative philosophy, its esoteric theory and practice, its art of life and moral culture, came to be escorted (as also enabled) by leading followers'

Occidentalization process.

His Sufi work having taking shape today in several organizations such as the International Sufi Movement, the Sufi Order International, the Ruhaniat Sufi International, the Sufi Way of Action, Sufi Contact, etc.

By 1925, he felt he had more or less rounded off his work in the West and could let his varied following go their own ways after his having gone along sufficiently with their endearing or alienating enthusiasms. Leaving his brothers in charge, he returned to India in 1926.

Leading followers long preferred to publish his lectures and teachings selectively, conserving much as a "secret doctrine" in tune with Romantic notions of the time.

In the late fifties, his monumental "cousin-brother" Mohd-Ali-Khan, then Sufi chief leader, imposed a reversal.

Genuine Sufi authenticity as embodied in their original brotherly quartet, in future could best be safeguarded by the integral, unedited, publication and in-depth study of Hazrat's complete immense legacy of oral discourses and teachings.

That challenge was taken up by an independent body, the Nekbakht Foundation.

Hitherto consecutive series of single texts, edited for public perusal, had been published in the Nargis (1920 ies), Kluwer (1930 ies) and Pallandt (1960 fft) editions.

The Nekbakht Edition publishes carefully annotated, integral verbatim texts reproducing the spoken lectures as recorded at the time (Nekbakht,_ from 1988).

Ten massive tomes have appeared since, and completion still is at least another five or so away.

Meanwhile, Hazrat Inayat Khan's Indian Sufism continues to

flourish in a variety of institutional shapes, in the leadership of which after the brothers (Maheboob Khan until 1948, Mohd-Ali-Khan until 1958, Musharaff Khan until 1967), Hazrat's descendants were bound to carry out dharmdari responsibility. Well before, sometime alongside, then again long beyond after a grandson Murshid Fazal (until 1990), his notably outstanding elder son Pir Vilayat (until 2004) and alongside Hazrat's younger son Murshid Hidayat, now 96 have been in charge ever since.

And as for today and inshallah tomorrow Pir Vilayat's elder son the scholar, mystic and author Pir Zia Inayat-Khan now mashallah would appear once again to embody precisely the genuine authenticity so essential to all Sufi endeavour and achievement.

A practising membership and a elucidating scholarship will need to be the joint heirs of Hazrat Inayat Khan's rich cultural and spiritual initiatives, as jointly embodied in the vast treasury of his life's work and an altogether exceptional life story of efflorescence during a vital epoch in the encounter of the modern West with ageless India.

Shaikh-ul-Mashaik Mahmood Khan Youskine

I

Centuries of Interaction Between India and the West

The Sufi Movement of Hazrat Inayat Khan did not come out of nowhere but had its prehistory and origins in India. One cannot understand Western Sufism without some understanding of this Indian background. That is why this first chapter offers a short overview of the religious situation in India in relation to the West over the centuries. By 'the West' I mean everything to the west of India, in accordance with the perspective of Inayat Khan himself. When I discuss Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, I will not introduce the reader to these world religions because reliable information is readily available elsewhere. Only Sikhism forms a partial exception to the rule.

The Indian subcontinent, which now consists of the independent states of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Shri

Lanka and, to a certain degree, Afghanistan, has for centuries been a breeding ground and melting pot of religions and cultures. It was also a stage of conflict between invading armies and indigenous defenders, as well as between centres of power and regions in pursuit of independence. In addition to military and religious conflicts, rivalry often arose between languages and cultures allied to religions.

With the penetration of the armies of Alexander the Great into the Indus valley, we can also speak of Western-Hellenistic influence, especially in, sculpture. It is evident from Buddhist

images that are today preserved out of doors and in museums in Afghanistan and northern Pakistan. I do not know of any written evidence for this Hellenistic influence, but coins and excavated objects establish that there were trade contacts between Mesopotamia and early Indus civilization even before Alexander the Great. The pictographs of this early Hellenistic culture, discovered at excavations in Harappa and Mohenjodaro, have yet to be explained. They are probably religious images, but we can only surmise at their precise meaning.

Before and around the beginning of our era, Jewish merchants journeyed to India. In their wake the apostle Thomas came to North India. The apocryphal Acts of Thomas of the fifth century mention this mission and contacts between this apostle and King Gundaphorus. At excavations near Taxila, coins of this period were found which feature the name of this king and his title in Greek, 'basileus basileoon' (king of kings). The core of what has been assumed to be legend must therefore be based on historical fact. However, no traces of Thomas' missionary activity remain in North India. Remnants of churches in India do not predate the third century The surviving members of this ancient church, who call themselves Thomas Christians, are mainly encountered in the state of Kerala in South India (Firth, 1960, 1-17).

Muslim Domination, the Great Moghuls - Din-I Ilahi

In the early eighth century, the first Muslim armies entered the Indus valley from the West and conquered Multan. It was to take a while before the Muslim emperors of the Moghul dynasty were able to extend their hegemony over all of the subcontinent. Doubtless as well for the sake of the stability of his empire, but equally out of genuine interest and sympathy the Muslim Emperor Akbar (ruled 1556-1605) granted the Hindu majority a generous measure of religious freedom. He

also employed their services as courtiers and civil servants and army officers. Local and regional Hindu rajahs could maintain their positions. Absorbing Moghul civilization and often proved active allies.

In his temporary capital, Fatehpur Sikri, Emperor Akbar organized religious dialogues in which Muslims, Hindus, followers of the prophet Zoroaster (= Zarathustra; 600 B.C. or earlier), and Portuguese missionaries of the Jesuit Order took part. Though the discussions tended to be polemic, the Jesuit missionary practices were tolerated (Camps, 1957, 200). In India the followers of Zoroaster are called Parsis because they came from Persia. They worship the creator god Ahura Mazda and have a collections of holy books, the Avesta. Fire plays an important role in their rituals. They are therefore commonly known as 'fire worshippers.' After the Muslim armies had conquered Persia, many Parsis fled to India over the years, where they formed small and prosperous communities with until recently about 100,000 members in total. Now the Parsis are a community in decline, mainly through intermarriage, dispersal and secularization.

Islamic culture, including the Muslim mysticism of Sufism, flourished greatly back then. Because this Indian Sufi mysticism, especially as practised by the Chishti order, was to be the breeding ground for Inayat Khan, I discuss it in detail in Chapter 3 of this book. It is claimed that a small circle at the court of Emperor Akbar devised a syncretic orderlike court religion that was heretical from an orthodox Muslim point of view, the so-called Din-I Ilahi or godly religion (Aziz Ahmad, `Din-I Ilahi,' EINE, II, 296-297). The circle of initiates remained limited to eighteen Muslims and one Hindu. There are some who attach particular significance to the number nineteen as being the cosmic number around which the Koran revolves, making it a holy number of divine origin. However,

others reject this numerical speculation.

Muslim orthodoxy was highly suspicious of Akbar's initiative because it was seen as an attempt on the part of the emperor to give his kingship a near-divine aureole. Akbar himself rejected such accusations: Why would I seek to lead others before I am myself led.' These words indicate that Akbar's faith was first and foremost mystically oriented. This is hardly surprising, since Kings often sought advice from wise mystics. Akbar maintained dose contacts with the leader of the Chishti order. His son Salim, the later emperor Jehangir, was born in the house of a Chishti saint. A grandson of Akbar, Dara Shukoh (1615-1659) was a renowned Muslim Sufi who maintained contacts with Hindu yogis and sannyasins. He was a prolific writer on Sufism and related subjects, but also on Hinduism. He translated Sanskrit works into the court language Persian (EINE,II,134-135).

Was 'the godly religion' truly a syncretic one, as has been claimed? Looking at what was approved and disapproved, one arrives at another conclusion, despite the somewhat misleading name. The body of ideas of the group was largely derived from the Chishti order and was primarily ethical in nature. Some of the rituals involving solar symbols, as well as fire and light rites, are presumably be related to the above mentioned followers of Zoroaster. But light and fire symbolism occurs in almost all religions, so that there is no necessary connection. Judging from what the group censured, and from their ten rules of life, it becomes clear that they were primarily looking for norms and values that were not directly derived from Islam but that were also not in conflict with it. For his empire, with its various religions, Akbar needed a communal ethic to which people of various backgrounds could relate. The word din emphasizes the human emulation of norms that ultimately go back to a divine norm, hence the combination with the word ilahi, `divine.'

What did the nineteen members of Akbar's thinktank reject? To begin with, greed, hedonism, fraud, deceit, libel, repression, intimidation and pride. They did not entirely approve of the slaughter of animals and celibacy was not rejected. The ten rules recommended enduring poor treatment and countering anger with kindness. Generosity is high up on the list. Also mentioned are abstinence, avoiding violence in pursuit of material gain, loyalty, dedication, tact, courtliness and friendliness. These elements are crowned by `mystical' striving after purification of the soul through a longing for God.

It stands to reason that this code of behaviour was primarily intended to be followed by civil servants, who had to administer the commands of the emperor to his subjects. We encounter such catalogues of virtues among a range of Muslim philosophers who sought to define a communal ethic in terms with which non-Muslims might be able to identify (Fakhry, 1991,102). Emperor Akbar and the group of individuals of the Din_I Ilahi were looking for a common element that connects people of different religions, notably in things ethical, and for what was assumed to be a universal longing for God. This ethic was religious in spirit and formulated in universal human terms, and therefore not explicitly derived from Hinduism or Islam. Nor did it violate Hindu or Muslim premises.

Confrontation with Islam, coming from the West, brought India into renewed contact with aspects of Greek thinking, in so far as Islamic dogma, philosophy and mysticism employed Hellenistic models and classification. Medicine also underwent Greek influence. Greek medical works were translated into Arabic via the Syrian language. The Syrian translators were Christians. In Arabic adaptation, their work reached the entire Muslim world, including India. The influence was so far-reaching that in Urdu indigenous medicine is called Yunani

Tibb, `Greek medicine,' to this day. This indigenous medicine still exists side by side with modern Western medical practice. All in all, the contacts between Muslim and Hindu mystics during the Mogul period were more fecund than those between theologians. We reencounter such fruitful interaction in the thought of Inayat Khan (Ahrnad, 1964, 119-139).

Sikhism inside and Buddhism outside the Frontiers of India

During the Moghul period the confrontation between Islam and Hinduism led to a new religion,with initially orderlike features, namely Sikhism, preached by guru Nanak (1469-1538) and his followers. The reading and veneration of their holy book, Adi Granth -- which is largely written in the language and Gurmukhi script of the Punjab -- in their temples, called Gurdwaras, points to connections with Islam. Even in translation, the Adi Granth remains an inaccessible book for non Sikhs. But such translations did promote the intellectual interreligious contacts during the period of Inayat Khan's student years.

Though monotheistic like Muslims, the Sikhs are closer to Hindus in their pragmatic faith and spirituality. Even so, the Sikhs were not able to strike a bridge between Hindus and Muslims. In fact, the relationship between Sikhs and Muslims still leaves much to be desired, with militant Sikhs often facing militant Muslims. That is why, during the partition of British India in 1947, Sikhs headed en masse for independent India. Many of the Sikhs who remained in Pakistan converted to Christianity: The departed Sikhs left hundreds of Gurdwaras behind. The government of Pakistan allows them to visit these sanctuaries once a year.

Sikhism therefore did not repeat the fate of India's Buddhism, which was pushed to the periphery of the subcontinent.

Buddhism no longer constitutes a large religion in India. It survived in Ceylon (now Shri Lanka) and in Burma, and then came to renewed flowering. In the north it disappeared across the frontiers with Nepal and Tibet. In the northern regions of today's Pakistan and Afghanistan, only Buddhist monuments remained. In India the faith enjoyed a minor revival under the leadership of B.R. Ambedkar (1893-1956), opponent of Gandhi and leader of the `untouchables.' Two hundred thousand of these untouchables followed Ambedkar when he became a Buddhist. Like Inayat Khan, Ambedkar came from Baroda.

Reactions to Western Colonization and Christianity

During the colonial period, which began with trade contacts with Portuguese, British and Dutch merchants that ended up in conquest and occupation, a flood of Western influence spread across the Indian subcontinent. This wave left a deep and lasting impression on the colourful religious and cultural palette of India. In part by using the older bridgeheads established by the Syrian-Orthodox Thomas Christians, but more usually by fresh initiatives, churches with a Protestant or Catholic orientation came to be founded all over India. At the end of the nineteenth century people even spoke of `Indian mass movements' towards Christianity. But not all Muslims and Hindus were open to these influences. Some within Islam and Hinduism sealed themselves off; others founded organizations for the defence of their religious and cultural heritage (Farquhar, 1915, Chapter 4). Sometimes the latter development came paired with attempts at reform and adaptation to modern times, especially with respect to alleviation of poverty, education and medicine, to take the wind out of the sails of foreign missionaries and secular critics.

The Japanese defeat of Russia and then the First World War,

into which India was drawn, did great damage to the image and credibility of Christianity and the West. Ten years after World War I, a Muslim journalist named A.A. Mawdudi (1903-1979) wrote a 599-page book in Urdu about 'the jihad within Islam' in which he voiced strong criticism of the Western way of waging war and ignoring the law of war. This author, who later became known as one of the fathers of Islamic fundamentalism (Slomp, 2003, 237-255), argued that if people had stuck to the much more humane Islamic law of war, fewer men would have died and fewer atrocities committed.

Diametrically opposed to the convictions of Mawdudi were those of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad and the Ahmadiyya movement founded by him. Just like the modernist Cheragh Ali, he rejected the militant and aggressive nature of the jihad. Cheragh Ali argued that the jihad was to be used exclusively in self defence. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad went even further. The only legitimate jihad was one carried on by peaceful means. He took up the pen, not the sword, and saw it as his task to bring Islam's message of peace as he understood it to those countries whence the Christian missionaries had come. His stance was not appreciated by other Muslims because of his heterodox claims. He announced that 'my superiority is based on the fact that I am the messiah of : Muhammad, just as Jesus was the messiah of Moses' (Farquhar, 1915, 145). Some of his followers recognized him as a prophet. His movement may be compared to the Sufi Movement in so far as both have a message for the West.

Drawing up the balance for the colonial age, the Hindu author Panikkar (279-297) wrote that Christian outreach in Asia had become a failure. The struggle between European nations, combined with colonial rule, had discredited the Christian message of forgiveness, reconciliation, peace, harmony and eternal salvation, especially with Muslim and

Hindu intellectuals. That explains why, in addition to the already mentioned countermovements, still others arose among both Hindus and Muslims. Mahatma Gandhi sought an antidote to oppression and power in his own tradition, specifically in the principle of non-violence (ahimsa) and passive resistance (satyragraha) (Gandhi, 1927, 1987, 291). He greatly embarrassed Christians abroad by calling on Christ's Sermon on the Mount, which Christians did preach but which, according to Gandhi, was practised by only a very few, such as Tolstoy. According to Gandhi's autobiography, the Sermon of the Mount 'went straight to my heart.' He quoted Matthew 5.29: 'But I say unto , you that ye resist not evil: but whoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also' . (Gandhi, 77). Gandhi, who also searched for related words in the Bhagavad-Gita, wrote these words in Gujarati in 1925,¯two years before the death of Inayat Khan. He was in contact with Gandhi. Though he was not a pacifist, he also quoted the Sermon on the Mount on a few occasions. Gandhi's criticism of Western Christians and churches resonated with a great many Muslims and Hindus.

Even a Muslim thinker as well disposed to Christians as Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) reproached the British rulers after the uprising of 1857, the so-called Mutiny, that though they called themselves Christians, they had paid little heed to the teachings of the New Testament. He drew on another verse from the Sermon of the Mount, namely, Matthew 7,12: 'Do unto others as you would have them do unto. you' (Sayyid Ahmad Khan, 1872, 43). He was well-informed, being the only., Muslim ever to begin a Muslim commentary on the Bible.

Origins of Eastern Countermovements

Some opposition movements came about in close

collaboration with westerners, who had fallen under the spell of Eastern spirituality. Their influence did not remain limited to India. Theosophy, though it began in America, came to flower in India. Other movements remained limited to India but were no less influential for all that. Other movements that at first looked promising, disappeared withrthe death of their founder. What linked these several movements was the conviction that the proselytising western countries were ripe for the wisdom of rich but undiscovered sources of eastern spirituality.

The West had come to the East with pretensions of having a unique message that was foreign to religions, such as. Islam, Buddhism and Hinduism. According to adherents of the Eastern countermovements, these religions contained unsuspected sources of peace, wisdom and inner harmony which, they believed, Christianity could no longer offer. They proposed that East and West need one another and ought to complement one another, as in a good marriage. Such voices were heard at the first World Parliament of Religions, held in Chicago in 1893. The star of that congress was Swami Narendranath Datta Vivekananda (1863-1902), one of the most important renewers within modern Hinduism, who became a missionary of the Ramakrishna movement in Europe and America. In his closing address on 27 September, he expressed some well-received sentiments:

The Christian is not to become a Hindu or a Buddhist, nor a Hindu or a Buddhist to become a Christian. But each must assimilate the spirit of the others and yet preserve his individuality and grow according to his own law of growth.

If the Parliament of Religions has shown anything to the world, it is this: It has proved to the world that holiness, purity and charity are not the exclusive possessions of any church in the world, and that every system has produced men and women of the most exalted character. In the face

of this evidence, if anybody dreams of the exclusive survival of his own religion and the destruction of all others, I pity him from the bottom of my heart, and point out to him that upon the banner of every religion will soon be written in spite of resistance: "Help and not fight," "Assimilation and not Destruction," "Harmony and Peace and not Dissension."

The third of the formal purposes of the Sufi Movement, founded by the Indian Inayat loan, is related to the message of Vivekananda: 'To help ... bring the world's two opposite poles, East and West, closer together by the interchange of thought and ideals, that the universal Brotherhood may form of itself, and man may meet with man beyond the narrow national and racial boundaries' (The Sufi Movement, 1936, 3). Like Vivekananda, Inayat Khan saw no reason for people to give up their own religion in their search for universal values.

It is apparent from the preceding overview of the history of religion in India how varied and above all how creative that country has been with respect to religion over the centuries. Some religious leaders, such as Vivekananda and Inayat Khan, were convinced that it was time for the rest of the world, meaning the intellectual circles of Europe and America, to share in the spiritual accomplishments of mother India. How Inayat Khan arrived at that conviction, and how he gave shape to his calling, is the principal subject of this book. However, before we take a close look at his career, his writings and the Sufi Movement that he founded, two other subjects must be broached:

-- What did people think about religious plurality before Inayat Khan came along? Were there, in earlier centuries, Christians and Muslims, thinkers and mystics, who tried to establish contacts between Christendom and Islam? Were there people like him who looked for unity underlying the world religions? Against this background, his own vision can

be examined (Chapter 2).

-- To understand Inayat Khan's universal Sufism it is important first to understand something of the world of Islamic Sufism in India, particularly of the Chishti mysticism in which he found his initial inspiration (Chapter 3).

The preceding material has concentrated on the six religions with holy scriptures that are used in the Universal Worship of the Sufi Movement. They are Hinduism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Conspicuous by its absence in the West is the Adi Granth of the Sikhs (although Rotterdam has had a Sikh temple since 2004). In India, passages from the Adi Granth are read during the Universal Worship. The virtual absence of Sikhism may be explained by the fact that in the Gujarat of Inayat Khan's youth Sikhism was still seen by many as a branch of Hinduism. But in my view it cannot be easy for Sufis to find quotations from the holy scripture of the Sikhs that harmonize with their ideals. I append several suitable texts that I was able to find (Singh, 1938, 137). Meditation on the true name in the first line may form a link with the dhikr of the divine names, al-asma al-husna, in Islamic mystical practice.

The true Name is my support. It is my food and drink: by it my hunger of every kind is removed. By saturating my mind, it has satisfied all my longings and given me peace and happiness. Such are the excellences of my Lord the Guide, at whose feet I wish tq pour out my life for ever and ever. You too should love His Word, O my brothers in spirit! It is my support in life. The manifold strains of its music resound in the heart that is blest; Aye, blessed is the heart that, touched by Grace, vibrates with the Name. It subdues in us the five deadly passions and takes the sting out of Death. It is a gift from heaven and only the gifted ones are led to love it. They alone enjoy its peace, when its strains of ecstasy resound in their hearts.

II

Unity and Universality of Religions

The religions and religious movements born in the nineteenth century all emphasize the unity of religions and pursue universal forms of religiosity. This is true for the Bahâ'i religion, which branched off from Islam in Iran (Bakker, 2002, 32), for Theosophy, and for the Ramakrishna movement, which arose within Hindu culture, as well as for the Sufi Movement of Inayat Khan, which was born out of the Muslim mysticism of India. Their adherents all believe that they have discovered the core unity of all religions and want to rediscover and shape it anew, hoping to win people all over the world for their insights.

In a world that is ever smaller due to modern means of communication, with economical, political and social interconnections continually intensifying, it is important also to emphasize and promote religious unity and peace. This occurs both within individual religions and amongst adherents of diverse religions at local, national and international levels.

For instance, the movement towards one world ethos, which was primarily an initiative of Hans Küng, has been a centre of attention for decades. Within this project, theologians of different religions search for common guidelines for ethical behaviour with respect to world peace, poverty, discrimination, human rights and the like (Küng, 1990, 89-90).

Earlier Seekers after the Unity of Religions

All the mentioned movements had their precursors, whether

within the Muslim world or within Western Christendom. Often the time was not ripe for their ideas. Nor did they always enjoy the freedom of religion needed to publish their scriptures. That is why; in earlier centuries, they were marginalized and became at most a footnote in the history of religion. Thus, things did not end well for the Jewish philosopher and ophthalmologist Sa'ad B. Mansur Ibn Kammuna in Baghdad. His fellow citizens did not appreciate the conclusions of his book about Judaism, Christianity and Islam (1284). His house was stormed during an enormous uprising. When the judge and his aid attempted to examine the case, they, too, were attacked by the mob, accused of having taken sides with Ibn Kammuna. The prefect of the city then announced that Ibn Kammuna would be burned outside the city on the next day. However, he escaped in a large leather trunk to Hilla, where his son held important office. Deeply shocked, he died that same year.

Ibn Kammuna did not enjoy the protection needed to voice his thoughts about other religions. In his days the only tolerated view of the variety of religions was that of Islam, the dominant religion of his land. That is still the case in some Muslim countries. Neither in Europe nor in the Muslim world of the time was it possible to introduce new movements which crossed the boundaries of existing religion. It was only possible for a representative of the ruling religion to think or write innovatively if, formally, he remained within its boundaries.

The Spanish Muslim Ibn al-Arabi

This was the approach of one of the greatest mystics ever produced by the Muslim World, Mohyiuddin Ibn al-Arabi. He was born in 1165 in Murcia, in southern Spain, and he died in 1240 in Damascus. He wandered through many lands and lived for ten years in Mecca. Ibn al-Arabi was exceptionally productive, writing more than two hundred works. He

underwent influence from people of different religions, as is clear from the following poem:

Nÿ heart is capable of every form, a cloister of the monk
A temple for idols, a pasture forgagelles, the votary's Kaaba,
The tables of the Thora, the Koran
Love is the creed I hold,
Wherever turn His camels, love is still my creed and faith
(Schimmel, 1975, 271-272).

Those who· study Ibn al-Arabi become exposed to a Sufi spirituality akin to that of Inayat Khan, though the latter mystic lived centuries later. In other words, he who reads Ibn al-Arabi gets the feeling that he is dealing with a Medieval precursor of Inayat Khan. Both men attempted to universalize Muslim mysticism, not only formally but also with respect to its content. They also have mental habits in common, something to which I shall return. It is therefore fully justified that the present chapter tells a little more about a man who, in Muslim mysticism, is called Al-Shaikh al-Akbar, meaning the greatest sheik and mystical leader. Of his most important mystical writings, two were revealed to him. In anachronistic terms one can think of a kind of channelled thinking or of an `ascended master,' one who has ascended to heaven but has kept in touch with his followers via dreams. One text came to him while he was circling around the Kaaba in Mecca and another in a seiies of visions in which Muhammad spoke to him. In one of these visions, which hardly attests to modesty, Ibn al-Arabi stands behind Jesus while the Prophet (Muhammad) says to Him, 'this man resembles you, is your son and your friend.'

Al-Arabi says that Jesus was his first true, supernatural master. He converted 'in the hands of Jesus.' This expression means that Ibn al-Arabi took his oath of loyalty to Jesus and accepted him as his Sufi Master for life. Al-Arabi undertook his

jihad, the struggle against his Own wrong inclinations, under the leadership of Jesus and he was guided on his spiritual path by the ruhaniyya, the spirituality of Jesus(Schimme1,1996). Al-Arabi declared that 'My earthly master, Abu `I `Abbas, only became isawi (like `Isa = Jesus) at the end of his life, but I already did so at the beginning.' According to Al-Arabi, his master had only followed in the footsteps of Jesus (`ala qadam `Isa), whereas he himself could claim the highest realization of union with God. He also called himself musawi, initiated in the spirit of Moses, and Hudi, guided by the Koran of God and his Prophet. Al-Arabi ranked saints below prophets. Saints are the heirs of prophets, of which Muhammad is the seal. Jesus belonged to both groups. For AL-Arabi, to our surprise, the seal of universal holiness and friendship (Walaya) with God is not Muhammad but Jesus (Addas, 1989, 58, 63, 72, 100). He experiences Jesus as the perfect manifestation of 'Muhammad's holiness' (Addas, 102, 104).

Al-Arabi moved beyond the article of faith, `There is no God but God,' saying `There is nothing but God, nothing exists but He.' Everything else that exists is merely the manifestation of God. Only the unity of God is real. Multiplicity exists only from a human perspective. The mystic perceives that there is nothing but unity (Mulder, 2003, 503). Because of pronouncements of this kind, he was accused of pantheism. Muslim orthodoxy also took issue with other radical pronouncements of his. For him, mysticism was something universal. Even so, he did not cut his ties with Islam, though he sometimes came very close.

Ibn al-Arabi has been compared to Master Eckehart (1260-1327), who lived a century later (Royster, 1995, passim). Master Eckehart was born in Avignon and lectured in Germany and France. He is considered to be one of the most important Christian mystics of the Middle Ages. Both Al-Arabi and Eckehart followed Platonic and Neoplatonic patterns of

thought as self-evident, though probably not always consciously so. Specifically, we have to think in terms of the influence of the Greek thinker Plotinus (AD. 204270), who was both a philosopher and a mystic. His ideas were absorbed by many mystics. We also encounter traces of his thinking with Inayat Khan (see Chapter 6).

Eckehart was in part influenced by Jewish and Muslim mystics, but his principal sources of mystic inspiration were Christ, the Bible and the Christian theology of his time. He, too, arrived at daring pronouncements. Several of his assertions drew Papal censure. The Koran and the Prophet retained a central place in the thinking of Ibn-Al Arabi. Al-Arabi was a Muslim mystic and ·Eckehart a Christian mystic, with emphasis on the first halves of these pairings. They are not interchangeable. Muslim and Christian mysticism enriched one another but are different. This is not because the God of the Koran should differ from the God of the Bible, but because Muhammad and the Islam preached by him differ from Christ and Christendom on essential points. The Sufi mysticism of Inayat Khan does see Muslim and Christian mysticism as essentially equal (see Chapter 6).

Barhebraeus, Al-Ghazali, Cusanus and Lullus

Inversely, with the Christian mystic Barhebraeus (12261286) we encounter long quotations from the Muslim mystic Al-Ghazali (1058-1111). But Barhebraeus integrated Muslim elements, such as mental habits and meditation techniques, into his Christian mysticism. He did not aim for a conflation of the two religions or for anything that might surmount them. He was not even out to create reciprocal understanding between Muslims and Christians, though in the view of A J. Wensinck, he did in practice bring Christian and Muslim mysticism very dose together (Wensinck, 1919, xxiii). That, however, was

the intention of Raymond Lull (Raymundus Lullus in Latin: 1233-c.1315), the greatest Christian-Islam missionary of the Medieval church. He certainly did see mysticism as a bridge between the two religions. He did not hesitate to make use of Muslim mysticism.

Another Christian scholar, Nicholas of Cusa (1401-1464), usually called Cusanus in Latin, also looked for a common base for contacts between Christians and Muslims. He expected theology to answer questions that baffled politics. The fall of Constantinople in 1453 had just as great an impact on Europe as the collapse of the Twin Towers on 11 September 2001. did on our world. According to Cusanus, non-military means were needed to deal with a powerful opponent like the Ottoman Empire. In that same year he wrote his De pace fidei (On the Peace of Faith). He looked for a universal religion that lies at the foundation of all religions (Meinhold, 1978, 34). The road to peace had to be taken to conquer the `sect' of Muhammad. A few years later followed his Cribatio Alchorani, in which he emphasized unifying elements. His point of departure was: 'What is useful about the Koran?' (Hagemann, 1976, 137 ff.), the question being how Christians. can put its contents to use.

Anyone who thinks that these recollections of Medieval thinkers and mystics have no bearing on the present subject, is mistaken. Ancient mystical authors, especially the great ones, are still being reprinted and read, giving occasion for tierce debate. To this day, many Muslims have yet to embrace mysticism as a genuine part of Islam. During a June 1992 meeting of Jews, Christians and Muslims in the `Mozeshuis' in Amsterdam, a Belgian Muslim, Dr. Omar van den Broeck, quoted Ibn al-Arabi. He was at once interrupted by a fellow Muslim who declared that he did not believe Ibn al-Arabi to be a Muslim (Van den Broeck, 1995; 2nd ed., 2006. 143).

Jalal al-Din Rumi of Konya

Mevlana Jalal al-Din Rumi (1207-1273) certainly belongs to the precursors of those individuals who transcended the boundaries of Islam via mysticism. His poem Mathnawi-i-Ma nawi (translated by R.A.Nicholson) has been called a Persian rendering of the Koran. He is also renowned in Turkey, where he lies buried in Konya. Turkish mosques in The Netherlands are being named after him. The famous whirling dervishes belong to the mysticism of the Mevlevi order, which is named after him. He was a friend of Sadr al-Din Qunawi (died 1274), a pupil of Al-Arabi. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that his mysticism again transcends the boundaries of Islam. Jesus and his mother were important for him as well (Schimmel, 1995, 143-157). For Rumi, Jesus is not only the perfect ascetic but also a man of prayer: 'He went to the fourth heaven on the wings of his prayer.'

Gustav Mensching (1955, 83) writes that for someone such as Rumi, occurrence of union with God in a given religion (apart from one's own) is the only criterion for recognizing that faith and attributing value to it. From this yardstick arises a measure of relativization of religious forms in liturgy and architecture. God may be experienced in every kind of temple. He quotes a poem by Rumi as reproduced in handsome German by Meyerhof:

Erblickst du Gottes Bild im Götzentempelschrein,

Verehr ihn dort - and lass den Rundgang um .die Kaaba sein.

Denn: ist sie nicht vom Duft der Gottvereinigung erfühlt,

Und hafted dieser Duft am Judentempel - so tritt ein.

Do you sense God's presence in heathen sanctuary

Worship Him there and let the circling of Mecca's Kaaba be:

For is it not permeated with the fragrance of unification with God,

and does not this fragrance also cling to the Jewish temple? -- so enter!

The Protestant Jean Bodin

It worth noting that it is precisely times of conflict and war that bring forth writers who propose religious solutions to belligerence. One such figure was the French Protestant jurist Jean Bodin (1529-1596). When Bodin had completed his Heptaplomeres in 1593, it was too risky to have it printed. The first complete edition did not came out until 1857 (Vloemans, 1980, 143-149). But Bodin did see to it that copies went to trusted individuals. In this book, seven ('hepta'in Greek) spokesmen of various religions have their say. Not one of them can convince the others. The author's sympathies clearly lie with the spokesman for an archetypal religion, one that underlies and therefore connects existing faiths. He proposes that this `natural' religion, which has been tarnished by theological corruption, should be enough in itself to gain eternal salvation. For Jean Bodin this original faith is the only benchmark for all religions (Figl, 1993, 171).

Playwright Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-1781)

Lĕssing's play "Nathan der Weise" written in 1779 is still relevant for today's situation because of man's perennial quest for truth, tolerance away from fanaticism, exclusivism and discrimination an the basis of faith, color and national belonging. The theater in this play is set in Jerusalem between 1189 and 1192, during a period of truce in the war between

Muslims and crusaders. In 1187 the Kurd Sultan Saladin had reconquered the city. The main characters in the play are the rich Jewish merchant Nathan, the knight Templar Wolf von Filnek and Sultan Saladin. At face value these three represent three religions, separated by a history of conflicts, mistrust, narrow-mindedness and prejudice. But during the play it turns out that all three families are intertwined. Nathan's own family was murdered by crusaders. But he has adopted a Christian girl whose family perished and raised her as if she were Jewish. But she has a Christian nanny. The girl thinks she is Jewish. In the absence of Nathan the Templar rescued her from a fire. He assumes he saved a Jewish girl. Saladin has saved the Templar because he reminded him of his dead brother Asad. All three acted out of love for a human being beyond the borders of their own religion. Their love transcended the narrow confines of their own respective faith communities. In the final scene of the 5th Act they all make surprising discoveries. Recha, the Jewish/Christian daughter of Nathan turns out to be the daughter of Saladin's brother Asad and a German noble lady. The Templar Wolf is the son of Asad. According to Islamic family law , but this is not stressed in the play, brother and sister are legally Muslims! Saladin gains a lost Christian family. Nathan looses even his beloved adopted daughter. But in the end all embrace as one happy family. In the 5th,6th and 7th scenes of the third act' the audience learns why Nathan should be called "the wise one". Saladin addresses him in the following way: "Since you are so wise, tell us which faith, which law has convinced you". An embarrassing question! After a short period of reflection Nathan tells the famous story of the three rings. The story was found by Lessing in earlier literature (Kuschel,passim). But in his play it is told in a new surprising way, which is summarized below:

Nathan says: Sultan, years ago there lived a man who

possessed a beautiful very costly ring with a shining opaL This ring had the power to make its wearer acceptable to God and men. But only if he possessed it trustfully. This ring was passed on from father to son during several generations. Always to the most beloved son, regardless whether he was the oldest or the youngest. Once a father had three sons whom he loved equally. He told them all three separately about the secret power of the ring. But shortly before his death he realized his problem. So he called a jeweller and commissioned him to make two exact copies of the original ring. The jeweller succeeded so well that the father himself could not see the difference. After his death each of the three brothers claimed to have received the true ring and to be the master of the house. But it was not possible to demonstrate who had the real powerful ring. "Just as impossible as to demonstrate the true faith", Saladin interrupts. The brothers turn to a judge to decide the matter. The judge first thinks that the brothers try to make a fool of him. But then he decides that each one should trust that he has the original ring and act accordingly. By doing so the power of the stone of the ring will become visible in their lives and in the lives of their children and grandchildren. " I invite you to return to this court after thousand years. Then a judge wiser than I am, will sit here and decide. Leave." So said the modest judge.

When Nathan suggests that Saladin might be that judge. Saladin replies: "Nathan, dear Nathan, the thousand years of your judge are not yet over."

The wisdom of the judge corresponds with a qur'anic word (cf. Act 3,scene 7) in sura 5,48 "So vie one with another in good works" and also with a word of Jesus: "Pass no judgment and you will not be judged". (Matthew 7,1). In retrospect readers and viewers realize that the three main characters in the play practiced the spiritual emulation to which the legend

of the rings invited. In Lessing's play the ideal society consists of peaceful togetherness each in harmony with the best of his traditions. In the first part of the play a sufi Al-Hafi is the messenger between Nathan and Saladin. There is no longer need of him once they are face to face. Still today the play contains a powerful message to seek the common good which bring believers of different religions together.

Sir Muhammad Iqbal and the West

It is important to name a contemporary of Inayat Khan, the poet and philosopher, Sir Muhammad Igbal (1876-1938). Both Inayat Khan and Muhammad Iqbal grew up within the Muslim culture of North India, which all their lives remained part of the colonial empire of Great Britain. Iqbal was to play a modest but important role in the nationalistic movement that opposed this foreign domination. It was in part through his influence that Pakistan was born with the Partition of India. He remains to this day a celebrated thinker both in India and Pakistan. Many know his poems in Persian and Urdu by heart. His standard work, The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, became a philosophical bestseller.

As famous as Iqbal became in his native land, as obscure Inayat Khan was to remain there until he was more or less reintroduced after World War II by the fame of his heroic daughter, Noor-un-Nisa. But one thing connects them, the conviction that the East has a message for the West. Iqbal had thoroughly immersed himself in the West. He travelled throughout Europe and studied in England and Germany, where he earned his doctoral degree in philosophy in 1908. But though he was profoundly influenced by the Jewish thinker Bergson, the German atheist Nietzsche, and the Christian thinker Whitehead, he remained a critical observer of the West.

Iqbal did not think highly of mysticism, which he thought

too soft to meet the challenges faced by Muslims. Nevertheless, his poems unmistakably contain many mystical traits. How could it be otherwise? Urdu poetry is unthinkable without the mystical thinkers who prepared the language for poetic expression (Slomp, 1973, 388-414). What Iqbal had to say to the West is combined in his Persian bundle Pegham-e-Mashriq (Message of the East; 1923). It begins with the pregnant Persian sentence, 'dar jawab shaïr almaanwi' (`In reply to the German poet Goethe). Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (17491832) in turn wrote his Der West-östliche Divan (1819) entirely in eastern style in reply to Hafiz, who is characterized by Inayat Khan as 'the great and wonderful Sufi poet from Persia' (SM, II, 1960, 79).

Iqbal reproached the Western school of philosophy of his time that `Love's lofty regimen is not decreed,' so that `It raised much dust from the civilization of the West / To cast into that civilization's Holy Saviour's eye (igbal, 198^{6}/$_{1}$989, 100).' That is why the East has a great deal to offer the West in the way of wisdom, love, art and much more. Iqbal had studied at a missionary school in Sialkot, his place of birth. Judging from comments in his writings he was aware of the apparent ubiquitousness of Christian missionary activity throughout India (Slomp, 1998, 122-154).

Debate within Protestant Missionary Outreach

Towards the end of Iqbal's life, it so happens, this same Christian missionary outreach was engaged in extensive self-examination initiated by an American philosopher, William Ernest Hocking (1873-1966), in 1932 and provisorily completed by a Dutch scholar and missionary, Hendrik Kraemer (1888-1965), in 1938, during an international congress convened in Madras, in South India. Especially India saw searching intellectual exchanges that have continued up to the present.

William Hocking had discovered the value of, arid within, the non-Christian world religions. According to Hocking, `true' religion lies hidden within all religions. Beginning with this discovery, he drew far-reaching conclusions for future missionary activity. This activity should limit itself to affirming one's own uniqueness, to stimulation of improvement, and to reciprocal engagement and enrichment. Hocking's recommendations appeared in a commission report, Rethinking Missions, which had been commissioned by- seven American churches. He worked out his recommendation in The Coming World Civilization, in which he describes religions as so many rivers that flow into the sea via one delta, an image that occurs with many mystics. Until'the rivers reach the delta, they retain their own names and characteristic traits.

Hendrik Kraemer was charged with combatting Hocking's relativism and with redefining the Biblical commission to proselytize, with reference to world religions that differ radically from Christianity. The result was The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World. He saw the mystical streams within these religions, but also within Christianity, as so many subtle human attempts by natural man at self-justification before the living God. In so doing, he expounded a view of mysticism that is encountered with many Protestants. But he, too, concluded almost twenty years later that adherents of other religions are best approached through dialogue. This debate within Protestant circles, which had its parallels within the Roman Catholic Church, began in 1910 in Edinburgh, but it has yet to come to an end a century later.

Inayat Khan's Visit to Nathan Söderblom

The Biography of Pir-o-Murshid Hazrat Inayat Khan mentions that in 1923 Inayat Khan met the Lutheran archbishop of Uppsala, Nathan Söderblom (1866-1931), one of the most

important Christian leaders of his time. The World Council of Churches resulted in part from his ecumenical activities. In addition, Söderblom and his biographer and fellow bishop Tor Andrae (1885-1947) were scholars of Islam and other religions. Both knew Arabic. Söderblom's knowledge of and sympathy for the beliefs of others apparently made him receptive to what his guest from India had to say. Inayat Khan could hardly have wished for a better Protestant discussant. Was he himself aware of the changes in Christian thinking that were occurring at the time? After all, Söderblom was closely involved in the above-mentioned discourse in theological and missionary circles. The first biography of the archbishop, by Tor Andrae, himself a connoisseur of Islamic mysticism, mentions an Uppsala visit by Tagore (Andrae, 1935,226), but not the one by Inayat Khan. Söderblom's later Norwegian biographer, Bengt Sundkler (1910-1995), also overlooks Inayat Khan's visit. Inayat Khan wrote in his diary: `I had the great pleasure of seeing the archbishop Nathan Söderblom from Uppsala, and was pleased indeed to know that he was working to bring together all different Christian faiths. And I was glad to hear him say that this was the first step, that showed me that he believed in the second step also.' It was only a brief visit, wrote Inayat Khan, but he was impressed by the profound personality of Söderblom (Biography, 1979, 198), who was to win the Nobel Peace Price in 1930.

What did Inayat Khan mean by the `second step' that he expected Söderblom to take? Did he expect the archbishop to follow up his pursuit of a more practical unity of Christian churches with a joint search for the unity of all religions? It seems highly unlikely. The archbishop and the Sufi were able to talk to each other about mysticism. In 1895 the former wrote that `During the reading of Sabatier's book on St. Paul, I became attentive to the importance of the mystical fellowship

with God for religion' (Sundkler, 1968, 44). He also discovered this mystical dimension in Luther. Söderblom wrote to his daughter that he could not get through a single day without incessant prayer (Sundkler, 158). Shortly before his death he wrote about `mysticism of personal life' and `mysticism of the infinite' (Sundkler, 66). In addition, his thought was not in the least Eurocentric. 'In 1926 he wrote that Gandhi was his most remarkable contemporary, and he also praised the tolerance of India. Nevertheless, mysticism was not at the heart of his religion. For Söderblom mysticism was. before all about `inwardness,' internalization of his faith. I-Ie declared that `Religion is in practice nothing but the organic penetration of man by God, but by a totally interior God (Sundkler, 45). As he wrote, 'The centre of my theology is the atoning passion of Christ' (Sundkler, 158).

Sadhu Sundar Singh and His Message

Söderblom had greater affinity with another visitor from India, Sadhu Sundar Singh (1889-1929). A year before the visit of Inayat, Söderblom received his distinguished contemporary, who had also come to the West with a `message' from North India. The archbishop wrote a book about him, Sundar Singh's Budskap (Sundkler, 385). Sundar Singh was born in the Punjab into a Sikh-Hindu family, but he converted to Christianity at an early age. He became a Sâdhu, a Sanskrit name for an ascetic, sage, saint and person dedicated to God. His piety had unmistakable mystic traits, and his source of inspiration was the Bible, the contents of which he mastered during long meditations. What he passed on to the West was `grace in an Indian cup' (Boyd, 1969, 86-109). Sundar Singh also claimed to have had visions, which attracted criticism in the rational West. Inayat Khan also talked about visions that he experienced. Like Inavat Khan, Sundar Singh travelled through all of India, from

Tibet to Ceylon, as well as in America and Europe, but he even went to Australia. His lectures were collected in seven books and published in Urdu, English, Dutch, Swedish and other languages. The young Queen Wilhelmina of The Netherlands was greatly impressed by his writings. Next to and almost contemporary to the 'Sufi Message' of Inayat Khan and other voices from the East, the `Message of Christ' of Sundar Singh resounded throughout the West. Both men were convinced that in the wake of the Great War, Europe and America needed a new spirituality, inspiration and vision. Both men returned to India, where they died. Both died young. The location of the grave of Sadhu Sundar Singh is unknown, however. He disappeared in the Himalayas on his way to Tibet. The end of Inayat Khan's life is discussed in Chapter 5 below.

III

Muslim Mysticism in India

What is Mysticism?

The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines the noun and adjective `mystic' as a `person who seeks by contemplation and self-surrender to obtain unity or identity with or absorption into the Deity or the ultimate reality, or who believes in the spiritual apprehension of truths that are beyond understanding.' It should be clear by now that this book primarily uses the word `mysticism' in the former sense, as unification of the soul with God and everything involved in and related to it. Though mysticism is therefore not the same thing as religion, it is often a part of religion. However, there is such a thing as non-religious, philosophical mysticism, which is not concerned with a God or the Divine but with a vaguely defined higher reality, which may be called `transcendence' or else `nature.' Religion without mysticism exists as well. Even so, mysticism usually occurs in the context of a religion.

Is it possible to have religious mysticism without a specific religion such as Islam or Christianity? Of course, much depends on one's definitions of religion and mysticism. Because both are multifarious and rich phenomena, we have no hope of arriving at watertight definitions. In the present publication I use the definitions that are customary among Western theologians students of Islam. I align myself with the nomenclature of recognized authorities in the field, such as the Dutch Encyclopedie van de Mystiek. Important

overviews are found in the articles `Tarika, Sufi Brotherhood' and `Tasawwuf, the Phenomenon of Mysticism within Islam' in the Encyclopedia of Islam, New Edition, X, 243-257 and 313-340. More specifically with respect to Islam, I have consulted publications by such scholars as Claude Addas, Aziz Ahmad, Tor Andrae, Martin Lings, Louis Massingnon, D.C. Mulder, John A. Subhan, Seyyed Hossein Nasr and, especially, Annemarie Schimmel. These authors all use variants of the definition of mysticism that I give above.

When Does Mysticism Occur in a Religion?

Mysticism often flourishes in times of war, danger and crisis. As a phenomenon in the' history of religion, it is most often encountered when, in the wake of the initial enthusiasm and elan of the founders and their direct successors, rigidity begins to set in. When Islam threatened to ossify into the legalism of a religion of law, people began to commemorate the pious men and women of early days, for whom Islam had been first and foremost a religion of the heart and not a collection of commandments and prohibitions. People sought inspiration with men such as Hasan of Basra (A.D. 642728), for whom God had still been a living reality, men who were fully dependent on God, placing their full trust in Him (tawakkul), but who also quaked with respect for His name and the remembrance of the day of judgement. When the Roman Catholic Church of the Middle Ages gradually developed into an institution in which it was mainly the priests who laid down the law, while the faithful perceived a widening chasm between God and man, people sought contact with. individuals who, both inside and outside cloisters and convents, sought contact with God in prayer, meditation and praise as part of their daily lives. To their ranks belong Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179), Saint Francis of Assisi (1181/2-1226), Master Eckehart (again

1260-1327), Hadewijch and her pupil John of Ruysbroeck (1293/4-1381), Saint Teresa of Avila (1515-1582) and many others whose writings are still being read.

When, in Protestantism, the preachers became a professional group who monopolized the word of God and preached dogmatically and legislatively to their flocks, people in small circles pursued the `pietas' (Latin for piety and reverence) in prayer and heart-warming hymns full of fervour and surrender. They read the work of figures such as Johannes Teellinck (c. 1623-1674), Jan Luyken (1649-1712) and Gerhard Tersteegen (1697-1769). All these Christian authors are still being read today. One can point to comparable developments to explain the unfolding of Cabbalistic mysticism within Judaism. The Cabbala attempts to bridge mysticism and daily life in humility and joyT

It was necessary to include Christian and Jewish mysticism in this chapter because Inayat Khan did not wish to limit himself to the mystical currents with which he had come in contact during his early, formative years, namely, the Muslim and, to an almost similar degree, Hindu mysticism of India. Personally, however, he was and remained first and foremost an exponent of Muslim mysticism in India, particularly as manifested in the Chishti order. Characteristic of the Chishtiyya that it is more open than most other orders to influences from outside Islam (Ahmad, 1964, 119-139).

Origins and Organization of Muslim Mysticism

Original Muslim mysticism was truly open in nature. It was connected to earlier Christian mysticism in two ways. First, because the Koran connects to Biblical revelations. Secondly, because there were active contacts between the first Muslim mystics and their Christian contemporaries and congeners. For instance, such contacts have been identified with respect to the

Egyptian Dhu'L Nûn al-Misri (died 859; EINE, II, 242), who came from a Nubian Coptic family. Traces of this connection are already present in the Koran, as in the famous light verse Sura 24,35, which will be quoted integrally just below. In the `niche with a lamp in it' one sees a reference to a monastic church.

Though the earliest Muslim mystics lived ascetically, a true monastic ideal found little response within Islam. Muslim mystics were as a rule married. Despite their early contacts with monks, they found their primary source of inspiration in the Koran itself. Thus Muslim mysticism went its bwn authentic way. Later mystics even discouraged contacts with monks, even though they are praised in the Koran (Sura 5,82). In small circles around an experienced and initiated leader, or murshid, people meditated on matters such as the above mentioned light verse in the Koran, here in the translation by Marmaduke Pickthall (1875-1936), a distinguished British Muslim scholar whom Inayat Khan knew well in London (Zia Inayat-Khan, 1904, 104):

Allah is the Light of the heavens and the earth. The similitude of His light is as a niche wherein is a lamp. The lamp is in a glass. The glass is as it were a shining star. [This lamp is] kindled from a blessed tree, an olive neither of the East nor of the West, whose oil would almost certainly glow forth (of itself) though nô fire touched it. Light upon light Allah guideth unto His light whom He will. Allah speaketh to mankind in Allegories, for Allah is the Knower of all things. r

Al-Ghazali was to dedicate a famous mystical treatise, Mishkat al-Anwar (Niche of Light), to this verse. The dhikr, the repetitious evocation of the names of God, became a much ,performed, almost liturgical custom. Because the textual scholars, or `ulama, were sceptical about these closed conventicles and suspected them of neglecting legal

prescriptions, tension arose within the community. And, indeed, there were some people who found their highest experiences so important that they neglected their basic duties. In India they called such mystics `be-shar'i,' meaning opposed to the shar'ia, or antinomic. Other mystics overdid their pious diligence and made dangerous pronouncements. Halladj was crucified in Baghdad (922) because he was to have proclaimed: Ana al-Haq. I am the divine reality.' According to his students, God had inspired these words in him and uttered them through his mouth. Halladj travelled through India up to the frontiers of China to spread the message of God's mercy. Still others, such as the female mystic Rabi'a al Adawiyya (born c. 717), emphasized divine love for man, which precedes man's requited love. But orthodoxy had its reservations because faith and obedience are more central notions than love.

Some mystics had every reason critically to follow the activities of textual scholars and theologians. Theologians were expected to defend the faith against attacks from inside and outside Islam, but their rational, logical arguments struck many people as lacking ardour. For instance, the systematic, sometimes speculative theology called kalaam in Arabic, elicited the following criticism from the great mystic Djoenaid (died 910): 'The greatest damage caused by speculative theology is that it robs the heart of fear and respect of God. He who loses respect for God, loses God himself' (Andrae, 1935, 9).

The man who was able to merge the law (`shar'ia', theology (`kalâm) and mysticism (`tariga' - literally the way of the soul back to God) - into one harmonious whole was Al-Ghazali. Most important for him was mysticism, as he states in his autobiographical text, The Rescuer from Error:

In the course of those periods of solitude things impossible to enumerate or detail in depth were disclosed to me. This much I shall mention, that profit may be derived from it: I

knew with certainty that the Sufis are those who uniquely follow the way to God Most High, their mode of life is the best of all, their way the most direct of ways, and their ethic the purest (trans. McCarthy, 94).

Al-Ghazali was not able to win over all Muslims to his appreciation of mysticism. To this day there are those who would dismiss mysticism as un-Islamic. The thinker Ibn Taimiyya (1262-1328) was to mount a fierce attack on mysticism and do great damage to the mystical movement within Islam in his day (`Tasawwuf,' EINE, X, 315). His present-day followers, the Wahhabi, and currents related to them in Saudi Arabia and elsewhere, oppose mystics and forbid sama'as (sam'a= Arabic, listen), or religious concerts, and Sufi seances. Violence is employed on occasion. But thanks to Al-Ghazali's followers, mysticism became accepted in wide circles. Throughout the Muslim world were born mystical orders with a shaikh (sheikh) at their head and with branches in many countries. The representative of the shaikh in a remote department was called khalifa (khalif). These shaikhs, also called murshid (leader) in Arabic or pir (the elder/senior/oldest) in Urdu, guided their followers on their mystical way from level to level. These levels are called magamât (cf. the Hebrew word, related to the Arab one, mokem or place). The mystical states of mind that correspond to each of these magamät are called hâl (Arabic plural ahwâl; in Urdu hâlât). Mystics experienced these ahwâl as gifts of mercy from God. We can observe an unusual interrelationship between this divine gift and human effort in the student's process of spiritual growth. The adept who is open to divine directions as embodied in the instructions of the murshid, spiritually appropriates these gifts of mercy Sometimes these shaikhs chose their own best students as successors. Sometimes it was their sons, but not nearly always. In this way, over the generations, there developed a chain,

or silsila, of shaikhs. Most orders traced their silsila back to Muhammad, the prophet and emissary of God. We shall see that we also encounter this pattern of organization and functions within the Sufi Movement founded by Inayat Khan.

The Chishti Cradle of the Mysticism of Inayat Khan

The Chishti order or `Chishtiyya' is the oldest and greatest of the four important Sufi orders to come out of the Middle East and establish themselves in India. The other three are Qadiriyya, Suhrawardiyya and Naqshbandiyya. Back in the sixteenth century, there were seventeen orders in India alone. Worldwide, there are now hundreds of them (see `tariga", EINE, X). Some of these branched off from one of the big four, but there are also new arrivals. Some orders arose only to disappear with the death of their founder. Of the seventeen in India, eight were orthodox, meaning that legal scholars accepted them.

The Naqshbandi scholar shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (15641624) did what al-Ghazali had done for the entire Muslim world of his time; he reconciled the sjarie'a islam with the tarieka-islam, the Islam of religious law and the Islam of mysticism (Ter Haar, 1989, passim). He sought a synthesis of mysticism of Infinity (Ibn al-Arabi) and `mysticism of personality.' The Naqshbandi order was known to be the most severe but also the most influential politically. The boundaries between orders were relatively open. Some later murshids let themselves be formed by shaikhs other than those of their original order. It was common to travel from one teacher to another. Inayat Khan's own initiator trained him in all four of the above mentioned orders (Bloch, 1915 in: SM, XH,1967, 149).

The true founder of the Chishti order is believed to have been Khwaja Abu--Ishaq . Shami Chishti. He migrated in the tenth century from Asia Minor, near Chisht, in Khurasan, and

was therefore called Chishti. His spiritual genealogy is assumed to go back to Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet (Subhan, 1938 [1960], 175). This Chishti was the ninth in this silsila of spiritual succession. The genealogy is probably a retroactive construction, as there is no reliable historical information about this pre-Indian period.

The founder of the Chishti order in India was Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti, who became the paragon of Inayat Khan. It is believed that Muinuddin Chishti was born in 1141 in Sidjistân. When the Turks pillaged that area, he sold his possessions and travelled around the most important religious centres of his time. He acquainted himself with all the spiritual currents and sat at the feet of the best-known saints to be initiated into Muslim mysticism. The Prophet charged him in a vision to go to India as His representative and to convert the idolaters to the faith of Islam (Subhan, 196).

Arrived in Lahore, Muinuddin Chishti meditated at the grave of the great Afghan mystic Ali Hudjwiri (died c. 1072). His dargah, with its green dome next to a mosque with five domes, is still an important place of pilgrimage and well worth a visit. There Chishti studied Hudjwiri's Kashf al Mandjub' (Uncovering of the Veil). This book contains the earliest treatment of Sufism in the Persian language. Matters characteristic for the Chishtiyya are already encountered with Ali Hudjwiri. It was not for nothing that Chishti declared that those who have read Hudjwiri's Kashf need no murshid. The Kashf became a much-consulted work within the later Chisht order. Those who read the translation by Reynold Nicholson (1911, reprinted 1967) will discover that there is an intellectual connection between Ali Hudjwiri and Inayat Khan. I list the following characteristics: `Unification with God' is very important for Hudjwiri. The first veil concerns knowledge of God. The elimination of the second of a total of eleven veils

that must be removed from the heart, reveals the unity of God and the unification with Him. Muinuddin Chishti relates this to teachings derived from Ibn Al-Arabi concerning the wandad al-wudjud (the unity of essence; see Chapter 5). Inayat Khan speaks about the `realization of God' through mysticism.

Hudjwiri allows for celibacy as an alternative to or preceding marriage. Chishti only married at a later age. After all, a life of wandering from one saint to the next was difficult to combine with an established marital life. Personal contact with kindred spirits was essential to him. Breaking bread with others meant more to him than merely eating bread; he saw it as a way of creating community. According to him, personal contact stimulates diligence and the glow of devotion, while shared emotions augment love of God. One can also experience this kind of spiritual reenforcement with others at the grave of a saint.

Chishti's third successor, Baba Farid Shakarganj, who was ninety-three years old when he died in 1265, remained single for much of his life. Some mystics took pride in being married in a Platonic way. Chishti's followers attached great importance to fasting, not just for the prescribed thirty, but even for forty days. During onè of my regular visits between 1964 and 1968 to Pakpattan in Pakistan, where Baba Farid lies buried, I spoke to men who had retired to cells of the complex surrounding the grave during Ramadan for purposes of fasting, prayer, Koran study, imsâk (abstaining from pleasure) and dhikr. During the annual `urs (literally wedding, but for mystics the celebration of the death of a saint) thousands of pilgrims gather in the dargah (the court around the grave). Such an `urs for a pir or spiritual counsellor arises from the conviction that saints and friends (auliyya) of God do not truly die. Muinuddin Chishti lies buried in Ajmer. For him, too, an `urs is held every year.

Hudjwiri also emphasized the importance of poverty

(Nicholson, 1967, 19-29). Chishti, who had sold all his possessions before taking the path of mysticism, declared that private property implied a lack of faith in God. Inayat Khan also attached little importance to worldly possessions. Chishti's centre in Pakpattan has no estates and is entirely dependent on the gifts of simple believers. Unlike the Naqshbandivva, Chishti's followers avoided the princely courts except when they were explicitly invited or forced to reside there. Invitations came Inayat Khan's way a few times as musician and as a mystic by the Hindu Rajah of Sylhet (now in Bangladesh. He intentionally avoided permanent ties to any court (cf. Biography, 1979, 111). The murshids and their followers were expected to avoid contacts with the state. Visiting kings and begging for money were discouraged. Remuneration was believed to cause people to descend to the level of animals. For the followers of Chishti, the summum of the mystical way involved a life dedicated entirely to God and love of Islam and the Prophet. In addition, the Chishtivya preached non-violence. A healthy and livable social order was to be encouraged. Both Hudjwiri and Chishti aspired to mysticism with a strong ethical component.

An important characteristic of the Chishtis is that music is assigned an important place in mystical practice. Hudjuwiri had also wished to make use of music. His chapter on the removal of the eleventh and last veil concerns samä' (literally `hearing; by extension it often denotes that which is heard, such as music), which Nicholson translates as `audition.' Literally, the word means `hearing,' and by extension it often denotes that which is heard, such as music. Human recitation of the Koran along with music making and dancing until one achieves ecstasy, remains a trial process. Rarely is perfection achieved. We shall return to this music making because music and mysticism were inseparable for Inayat Khan.

When Chishti had completed his self-imposed trial period in

Lahore, he left for Ajmer and chose this city as his lasting place of residence and work. Virtually all the inhabitants of Ajmer were Hindus back then. Chishti had great difficulty settling down there. The local ruler frustrated him in every possible way, but the people of the city revered him and continued to do so after his death. His grave became a place of pilgrimage, one that Inayat Khan visited several times. The Chishti order was highly accessible to Hindus, who could be initiated before being converted to Islam, or even without needing to do so. Membership was also open to women. In fact, Bibi Jamâl, Chishti's daughter, became an important mystic.

Of all the large, world-wide orders, the Chishti order was the most Indian in form and content and, as a consequence, it had a much greater following than the others. It continues to exist to this day. Two important contemporary currents within the Islam of India and Pakistan found their source of inspiration in this movement. The first is the Dar al-'ulûm, or academy, founded in Deoband in 1867, which is highly influential as an intellectual centre. The scholars of Deoband recognize all the major orders. The second current is the tablighi jamâ'at. This, the largest contemporary revival movement within Islam, was founded by Muhammad Ilyas (died 1944). It traces its spiritual roots back over the centuries to the Sabirivva branch of the chishti tariqa (Masud, 2000, xxxi, n. 1). Muhammad Ilyas has millions of followers.

It is clear from these examples that the Chishti movement is alive and well. Via the revival movement of the tablighi jamâ'at, a part of the Chishti spiritual heritage has become known internationally, even in Western Europe, Canada and South Africa (Masud, 174-239). From the point of view of the Sufi Movement of Inavat Khan, which has given the mysticism of the Chishti order international dimensions, one could well ask why current discussions of Muslim mysticism in general, and

of the Chishti variety in particular, are silent as the grave about Inayat Khan. I will return to this question in my epilogue.

Mysticism and Music

Unlike Christian Sunday services, communal Muslim Friday prayers do not include music. But the Koran is recited at that mosque service. This Koranic recital is done in such a way that it resembles song, and it is valued above prayer by Muslims. In the recitation of the divine word, God addresses man, albeit with a human voice, whereas in prayer it is man who addresses God. That is why public recital has to meet higher criteria. The most famous réciters, with beautiful voices that are recorded on cassettes, cd's and dvd's, are professional singers, male and female, who trained for years before they were able to move their audiences to tears. That aim is sanctioned by the Koran (5,83). Some qurra' (plural of Bari,' reciter) were able to evoke such extreme emotional responses that members of their audience actually died. Muslims experience Koranic recital as Christians do the Passion music of Bach.

But no matter how beautiful, Muslim recital did not fall under their definition of music. That much is clear from the admonition that recital should not too closely resemble song or be too melodious (Kerman, 1999, 168), a restriction that was completely ignored by Inayat Khan's cousin, Mohammad Ali Khan, despite his thorough Islamic education. His family hoped that he would become a `Mullah,' and he was addressed that way by Inayat Khan and 'the Brothers' (as Maheboob, Musharaff and Ali Khans were known collectively).

People who sang Koranic texts to popular tunes got into trouble with the vice squad (Kerman, 180). First and foremost, the slings and arrows of the orthodox were aimed at two kinds of music, folk and Sufi. This is not the place to give an overview of the history of Arabian music in particular and of

the Muslim world in general. It was impressive and influenced European music via Spain. A quotation from music historian Olgivanna Lloyd Wright (1974, 496) must suffice:

> Another important development in the early years of Islam concerns the status of the musician, and the attitudes of society towards his art. The growing dominance of the male musician -- accounts of pre-Islamic musical practice mention chiefly female performers -- may be connected with the emergence of the mukhannathun, a class of effeminates [sometimes also transvestites, JS] who indulged in various immoral, as well as artistic, activities. The violent disapproval they provoked among the pious may have contributed significantly to the strong anti-musical bias of the four orthodox law-schools which, if it could not hinder the efflorescence of court music, at least prevented the acceptance of music as a respectable activity in society at large. In such a situation there could be no parallel to the use of music in the Christian church, and the importance it was later to acquire in Sufi ceremonies depended upon its being interpreted symbolically.

At the above-mentioned princely courts, it was often courtesans who taught music and taught it to princes and princesses. But these courts also welcomed classical musicians, who were specialized in concert music and wanted to have nothing to do with such feminine song and dance.

Folk music, as performed at weddings, circumcision celebrations and other festivities, or simply for amusement, turned out to be ineradicable and was justified with reference to the musical gifts that God had seen fit to bestow on mankind. God's book did not forbid listening to beautiful sounds. Naturally, if performance of this music led to indulgence, great emotion or outright excesses, action was taken. Admonitions to this effect are at least somewha understandable. But the puritanical orthodox legal scholars directed their criticism

mainly at the sama'a, the religious music of some Sufi orders. Sama'a could apply to the hearing of instrumental music, song, poetry or even the Koran, but also to dancing and, in later times, the sight of beautiful men or of beautiful things in general (Kermani, 1999, 373), meaning, in effect, anything that pleases the eye or ear in an aesthetic way.

During a television broadcast of dancing dervishes aired on 8 January 2006 by the Dutch Muslim Broadcasting Association, a Turkish interpreter called the performance sama'a. According to 'critics of the sama'a, as summarized by J.M.S. Baljon, 'he who participates in it looses all sense of proportion, becomes intellectually clouded, so that he may even come to bare his head, an action with which he puts his male honour at risk. The participant is also accused of hypocrisy, as the kind of person who generates ecstasy in an artificial way, hoping to impress his surrounding with his great piety' (Baljon, 1968, 11). As a consequence Sufi masters set up rules that were meant to be obeyed, so as not to give their critics further cause for censure.

Naturally those for and against music attacked each other with Koranic and traditional texts. The Koran gives neither side much support. Some Muslim authors called on the enchanting harp playing of King David. Due to his psalms, David is better known to Islam as a prophet than as a king. Resort to various traditions was no more convincing, since the tradition believed to be genuine by one person is dismissed as weak by another, and vice versa. The champidns of music also called on its beneficial influence on certain (specifically psychological) ailments. Within the Muslim world, music was especially seen as a way to fall into a trance and thus `facilitate' the fusing of the soul with God. We owe the following pronouncement to the Egyptian mystic Dhu'l Nun (died 861): `Listening to music is a heavenly stimulus for the heart to want to see God. Those who listen to it in the right way, penetrate to the highest reality'

(Baljon,1969, 16).

It is believed to have been the poet Amir Khusraw (12531323) who fused Arabian-Persian music with the musical tradition of-North India. It is assumed that Khusraw also stood at the cradle of Urdu poetry. He was a dedicated member of the Sufi Movement. His grave also became a Sufi dargah. 'For the Chishtis, a brotherhood which has largely acquired its following amongst common people, music is of vital importance, and they made grateful use of it when spreading their faith amongst Hindus, along the lines of today's Salvation Altdy (Baljon,1968,14).

In actual practice, the other mystical orders in India turned out not to be unresponsive to arguments for using musical instruments in their mystical seances. Golra Sharif, a place of pilgrimage not far from Rawalpindi, which goes back to Abdal Qadir al-Jilani (died 1166 in Baghdad) and which therefore belongs to the Qadiriyya Sufi order, makes daily use of music. Every day qawwalis are performed in majlis-khana, the great hail, for several hundred believers. These are songs, accompanied by drums and a small hand organ, in honour of God, the Prophet and the founder of the order, Adal Qadir al-Jilani_ The present writer has regularly attended these qawwalis. The Dutch visitor was always assigned a place of honour in the front, next to the pir of Golra Shari£ Even for some followers of the severe and orthodox Naqshbandi order, life is stronger than the law

By the time that Inayat Khan's murshid initiated the young musician into the Chishti order, the struggle over the place of music within mysticism had therefore long been decided. The opponents of music existed outside the Chishti order. However, the antagonism has yet to disappear because the ultraorthodox Wahhabi movement, which comes from Saudi Arabia and is active worldwide, continues to combat the combination

of Islam and music. As for India, by the fourteenth century samâ'a or music was accepted within mysticism and no longer the subject of legal debate about its permissibility. The mystic theologian shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, the renewer of the second millennium, mudjaddid-e-'alf than, did not admit music to his own Naqshbandi order, but he did not dispute its rightful place within other Indian orders, such as the Chishtiyya (EINE, VII, 681-688; Ter Haar, 1992, 79).

IV

The Shaping of Inayat Khan in India (1882-1910)

The following two chapters will give an overview of the rich life of Inayat Khan. Those who need more details can consult the fine biography by Elisabeth Emmy Keesing (1911-2003), on which much of this chapter is based. I have also made grateful use of the out-of-print Biography of Pir-o-Murshid Hazrat Inayat Khan. Both works are bibliographic oddities. In Keesing's case it is the various editions in Dutch (1973 and 2002) and English (1974 and 1981), which all have slightly different contents. The Biography is problematic because it is an editorial compilation by Murshida Lucy Goodenough (18761937) and Kinna (Sakina, later Nekbakht) Furnée (1906-1973) of the mid- to late 1920s, which was not published until six years after Keesing had seen her splendid work to press. However, Biography had long been circulating in a small mimeographed Almgren' edition, so that Keesing was able to pick up where Goodenough and Fumée had left off. Of course Keesing also used other sources, including the pioneering introduction by baron T'Serclaes de Kessel (1873-1935) to Inayat Khan's Sufi Message of Spiritual Liberty of 1914, the ornate Confessions of Inayat Khan of 1915 by Regina Miriam Bloch (18891938), and the obeisant Memories of Hazrat Inayat Khan by a Disciple of 1930 by Murshida ,phia Saintsbury-Green (died 1939), as well as the largely repetitive impressions of Inayat Khan that dozens of mureeds contributed from 1943 on to the so-called Smit-Kerbert Collection. Though Keesing was not

altogether uncritical of her sources, her book may be said to embody a single official version of the life of Inayat Khan, one that has held sway to the present. It was not until recently that the historiography of Western Sufism was at last submitted to critical enquiry. However, that development must be left until later.

Birth and First Years

Inayat Khan was born on 5 July 1882 into a pious and highly musical Muslim family in the ancient North-Indian city of Baroda. This family was reported for some sixteen generations to have had a practising mystic in each of them, the most recent at the time being Mashaikh Ia· far Khan, Inayat Khan's elder paternal uncle. Thanks to a rich German Sufi in Berlin, the house of his birth was in part restored in 2006. His birthday plays an important role within the Sufi Movement. For centuries Baroda was the capital city of a state with the same name. After the departure of the British, the princedom was disbanded and incorporated into Madhya Bharat Inayat Khan did not live to see how the world of 565 nawabs, nizams, walis and maharadjas that he knew so well was to disappear after 1950, and with it the maecenases of Indian music. Even within his lifetime the entire system was already more or less unravelling. Inayat Khan spoke about some maharajahs as more caring for Bitish sports than for Indian culture. The city of Baroda lies 380 kilometres to the north of Bombay, today's Mumbay, and has a railway connection with that city as well as with Delhi and Ahmedabad. Baroda's inner city is' famous for its architecture and culture dating back to the Moghul period. Many banyan trees grace its surroundings. During Inayat Khan's lifetime the city must have had about a hundred thousand inhabitants; today they no doubt number several times as many.

The ruler of the time was maharajah Sayajirao Gaekwad III (1863-1939), a Maratha monarch of the Gairkwar dynasty.
This ruler modernized the city but also managed to preserve much of its old glory. Though this maharajah (literally, `great ruler' in Sanskrit) governed under the aegis of the British Raj, as it was then called, he saw this British sovereignty as a challenge. According to him, the Indians had much to learn from the Europeans, but they in turn had much to give on account of their own millennia-old culture. He no doubt shared this thought with many members of the extended circle of Maratha (Hindu) and Sardari(Muslim) courtiers and landowners, to which Inayat Khan belonged.

The maharajah thought it his duty to promote the arts and letters. He feared that the influence of Western music might so alter the taste of his subjects that Indian music would sustain lasting damage. Talented young musicians might well turn away from traditional Indian music, having come to think of it as of lesser value and sophisticated than what had been imported by the European rulers. Because the indigenous music was part of a living tradition that was passed on from person to person within certain families, it was rarely noted down, making it doubly vulnerable. The maharajah therefore founded a Gayanshala or music academy and appointed Maula Bakhsh (1833-1896), who was renowned throughout all ,of India, as its director. He was a zamindâr or major landowner. Through this appointment he came to belong to the circle of sardaris, or courtiers. Rank, class and cast distinctions were closely observed at the court. It was part of his function as head of a great family to appoint musical relatives as assistants. In an Indian context, this was not thought of as nepotism. Via Maula Bakhsh, Inayat Khan and other musically gifted family members became connected with this music academy. Maula Bakhsh also decided which outside musicians would be

allowed to perform at court.

The appointment gave Maula Bakhsh, an outstanding musician and scholar, a chance to develop a new and better method of music notation to help preserve the Indian musical tradition for posterity. His notation was an improvement over any existing systems, for example in Bengal as promoted by the Tagores (Allyn Miner, 155). Presumably the same was true for Indian music as for the surviving sheets of Arabian-Persian music of the eight and ninth centuries, namely, that with rare exceptions, they can no longer be precisely reconstructed for want of a living oral tradition (Wright, 1974, 500),It had fallen into disuse in practice. Notation first developed in Bengal(Mahmood Khan, 19).

Maula Bakhsh became the grandfather of Inayat Khan and made an important contribution to his artistic and spiritual growth. Maula Bakhsh was a true pater familias. In his great house surrounded by ample fields at least fifty individuals, including servants, lived within one Indian extended family. His daughter Khatidja (1868-1902) married Mashaik Rahmat Khan (1843-1910). Khatidja had learnt Persian from a female teacher who instructed girls of better families at home. Often that same house teacher, who could be a woman on occasion, taught the boys and girls of such families as much Arabic as was needed to recite the obligatory prayers in that language. Inayat Khan will have learned Arabic in this way.

Mashaik Rahmat, the later father of Inayat Khan, came from the Punjab, the land of five streams (punch = five; aab = stream). In view of the designation of Khan, his ancestors clearly have come from Turkistan, in Central Asia, whence they migrated to the northern Punjab in the late 14th century to escape from the depradations of Timur Lank. `Khan' was actually a title conferred by the Moghuls, but in due time it became a caste name or indication of distinction. That the family

of Inayat Khan carried this title was primarily a consequence of their origins. Musical courtly families often had the name or title `Khan' as a kind of clan name (Nijenhuis, 1974, 89).But in such cases possibly deriving from Persian `khwan'recitalist. The name `Pathan' was adopted as an English style surname by several family members. Though this name points to origins in the North West Frontier Province, named Afghan Province on older maps, it was employed in India as a kind of Muslim pendant to the Hindu `Kshatriya,' meaning a member of a military caste.

Khatidja was Rahmat's second wife, the first having died giving birth to a daughter Jenabiy. When Khatidja was expecting Inayat, so the story goes, she had a dream in which Jesus healed her and Muhammad blessed her. As an Indian Muslim she attached great value to this dream. She felt herself surrounded by prophets and saints. Four children proceeded out of this union. Inayat himself was followed by Maheboob Khan (18871948), Karemat Khan (1892-1899) and Musharaff Moulamia Khan (1895-1967). Maheboob married Sabira-biy (died 1913) and, much later, Shadbiy Beyma van Goens van Beyma (19021992). Musharaff wed Savitri van Rossum du Chattel (18861946), with Joyce Hiddingh as second wife from 1943 to 1946, and then Shahzadi de Koningh (1908-1995) (Jironet, 2009, 147). In chapter 8, I will return to these marriages, which are an indication of a strong Dutch connection of the Sufi Movement at a later date.

Rahmat discerned a tendency of his son to withdraw into silence and solitude. Inayat received his first instruction in philosophy of life and mysticism from him. But young Inayat's surroundings also contributed greatly to his intellectual growth. After a union with a Mysore aristocrat of the Tipusultan dynasty, his 'Nana Bawa'maternal grandfather Maula Bakhsh twice married Hindu women. The second wife

was a Marathi Brahmin; the third, being `Thakoren' or major female landowner, belonged to the military caste of Kshatriya. In this way Inayat Khan already got to meet high-caste Hindus at home. In fact, gentleman-musicians had contacts in virtually all circles.

The young Inayat attended the local Mahrathi elementary school. He hated mathematics and the sciences but excelled at literature, essay writing and drawing. Thus he became exposed to the Hindu world of stories and reenacted some of the heroic tales at home. He was to remain interested in the stage all his life. The twelfth volume of his collected work includes the plays he wrote at a later date. Early on he also became familiar with the poet and mystic Kabir (died 1518). Kabir's Hindu songs about a religion of love struck a sensitive chord with young Inayat. Kabir's attempts to bridge the differences between Hindus and Muslims("Rim and Rahim are one') appealed to him. But it was first and foremost music that resounded everywhere in the house of Maula Bakhsh and that ,too, connected this Muslim family with Hindu culture and
religion. Multi-religiosity belonged to Inayat's quotidian world. His parents worried about his tendency to withdraw from company and go `meditate,' or something of the kind, or write poetry. As a young man he had a religious crisis. How could he believe in a God which men never get to see? When his doubts increased, he received a mystical answer from his father: 'God is in you and you are in God. As the bubble is in the ocean and the bubble is part of the ocean and yet not separate from the ocean' (Biography,1979, 53; cf. Inayat Khan, 1929, 112). His grandfather Maula Bakhsh reminded him of a passage in the Koran: We [God] shall show them our portents on the horizons and within themselves until it will be manifest unto them that it is the truth (Sura 41,53; trans. Marmaduke Pickthall). The portents, or signs, contained by nature and the

soul, referred to in this text serve to confirm the signs and verses of the Koran. In Arabian, the word âyât is used for both kinds of signs. This verse became an anchor and lodestar for the young seeker. Later in life, as the mystic Inayat Khan, he was to seek and find God's presence in the cosmos and the human soul, and to a less subtle degree in revealed scripture. To quote Elisabeth Keesing, 1973, 25, he was to seek God in the world around him, in his fellow men and in himself'

A comparable shift in emphasis is also encountered among rationalistic nineteenth-century Muslim thinkers of the school of Aligarh, founded by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan. According to this thinker, God may be known through the text of nature and the Texts of the prophets. Modern science brought about a new interest in the signs of nature — flora and fauna, mountains and seas -- as well as fresh attention to man in anthropological and psychological studies. For some Muslims of this period, Islam became more anthropocentric and less theocentric. This interest in man as a religious being had always existed in Muslim mysticism. Inayat Khan was also to relate both kinds of signs, making him seem modern to many of his searching contemporaries. He was to attempt to relate his fresh psychological insights to centuries-old mysticism. With this observation we get ahead of what was still to come. In my opinion, however, the nature of this first conversional experience of the young Inayat Khan already formed the foundation for his further religious development.

Musical Growth

Meanwhile tension was mounting in connection with which road the family would take with respect to music. Alaodin Khan Pathan (1867-1949), a younger brother of Inayat Khan's mother, did not wish to immerse himself more deeply in Indian music and decided to study European music instead.

He received a state scholarship and left for London in, or shortly after, 1892, only to return to Baroda in 1897. He earned a doctoral degree at the Royal Academy of Music and also obtained other British musical diplomas. While in London, he successfully courted the daughter of a music teacher. The biography by Elisabeth Keesing (1973, 15) has an illustration showing the young couple in a carriage. But the women of the extended family in Baroda opposed this alliance. Returned as bachelor, the young musician henceforth called himself Dr. A.M. Pathan. He received an appointment at the music academy as instructor in Western music. Maula Bakhsh had died in 1896, one year before Alaodin's return home. Not long before, the senior musician had been invited to showcase Indian music at the Chicago World Exhibition in 1893, but his health no longer permitted such a long journey. It is clear from such examples that the family in which Inayat Khan grew up was not only relatively interreligious but also exceptionally international in orientation for its time.

Shortly after the death of his grandfather, the family received an invitation to send several musicians from their midst to the royal court in Nepal. On their way there, they visited the Gwalior grave of Miyan Tansen (1493/1506-1586/1589), the greatest singer-composer of the Moghul period, and the world famous Hindu pilgrimage destination, Benares (Varanasi). Later, Inayat was to write a play about Tansen. The journey on foot and with mules and porters over the Himalayas was not without risk. Anyone who has travelled in those mountains can imagine that arduous journey to Nepal (and back) must have been an unforgettable experience of nature's grandeur for someone as receptive to beauty as the young musician Inayat Khan. For him the Himalayas were more than pure nature but also signs of God's greatness.

Returned to Baroda, Inayat received a post as lecturer

at the music academy and for a long time continued to be addressed as `professor' even by his younger brothers. From 1900 to 1903 he made his living by teaching music and with musical performances. He married, twice in point of fact, but both woman died young and childless. His mother also died during this time. Inayat then left Baroda and went to Madras, the location of an important centre for karnatic southern pure Hindu music. He wished to ascertain if music was truly able to flower there or whether it was threatening to fall into decay. He gave lectures to combat the ignorance of his audience about their own culture. According to the Indian musicologist and Inayat Khan's older contemporary, Bhavanrav A. Pingle (1894; 3rd ed., 1962, 18), the differences between India's northern and southern schools of music were smaller than between the northern, Arian, and the southern Dravidian families of language. Inayat Khan soon perfected his mastery of the southern way of making music, in which Maula Bakhsh had already instructed him (it being his own specialty). The northern music had primarily undergone Arabian-Persian influences. The southern music knew pure Sanskrit expressions, but also Dravidian forms.

Returned to Baroda, Inayat Khan discovered that he had outgrown this milieu, there being no authoritative place for him in proximity to his two domineering uncles. He left for Bombay, where he was disturbed by the neglect of his own culture and by the rivalry between musicians. In Bombay there were no more concerts in the closed circles of princely courts. Instead he had to fight for his place within the offerings of commercial concerts. Though this kind of competition appalled him in Bombay, he found no way to escape from it in America and Europe.

Budding Mystic in Hyderabad

From Bombay Inayat Khan left for Hyderabad, where he was able again fully to expand as a scholar-musician. He was received by the Nizam of this old Moghul city, who was one of richest rulers in the world. He owned the largest assortment of European art outside Europe at that time, not to mention the collections of objects from his own traditions. These treasures were preserved for an art-loving public even after the last Nizam was deposed by the Indian government in New Delhi in the late fifties. In my experience one can spend days there and always discover new things. Inayat discerned a kindred spirit in the Nizam. This recognition was reciprocaL The Nizam saw himself as one of the last Moghul-like rulers and called his musician ' Tansen.' No greater honour and recognition as musician could have come his way. In truth, it is fitting to call some of these princedoms, whether Muslim or Hindu, `Moghul-like' because the court ritual and style of the Great Moghuls was precisely imitated on a more modest scale.

Inayat Khan noticed the Nizam's predilection for mysticism. Once he encountered the Nizam meditating in a soberly furnished room of his immense palace When the Nizam enquired after his purpose in life, young Inayat answered: 'I am sent here by God. What I have brought to you is not only music merely to entertain, but the appeal of harmony which unites souls in God' (Biography; 1979, 71). Even so, Hyderabad was a city of many religions, of Sunnis and Shiites, of Sadhus and Sufis, of Parsis and Christians. Inayat came into contact with the leader of the Parsis, Sirdar Dastur Hoshang (dates unknown), and counted Parsis among his students.

Though he made music and wrote a book in Urdu about music, the Minqâr-e-Musigir, Inayat Khan occupied himself more and more with mysticism during this stay in Hyderabad,from 1903 and 1907.He must have lived very

intensely during this period.In addition he lived a contemplative life and read many Sufi works. He then withdrew into solitude and meditated. Once, during such a stretch of time dedicated to contemplation, he had the feeling that the room in which he was sitting was filled with light. A British-educated but nevertheless wise friend named Abdul Majid (a very common name; dates unknown) informed him that the light had not come from an exterior source but from within his souL With most people this light remains buried within the soul, but it can be generated and then becomes a sign of a second birth. Also, during these contemplative sessions and in his dreams, he repeatedly heard a voice call out Allahu Akbar' and saw a face.

Abdul Majid advised Inayat Khan to seek out a murshid. At the house of a scholar of Sufism, Professor Maulana Khair ul-Mubin (dates unknown), Inayat met Sayyid Abu Hashim Madani (died 1907). In him, he at once recognized the teacher of whom he had dreamed. Madani became the pir and murshid of Inayat Khan, who was to initiate him as Chishti mystic. With him he found the inner peace needed for further spiritual growth. He was not allowed to take notes during interviews. He was expected to absorb the words of the master. This involved a degree of memory training that was exceptional even within the Islamic tradition of learning the verses of the Koran and long poems by heart. During this time Inayat Khan composed a song in Urdu in honour of his murshid. It illustrates how far-reaching the veneration of a mureed or disciple for his Sufi master can be.

Thou hast my hand, my revered initiator

Now my pride is in thy hand

The heart, my only treasure, I gave thee

Now nothing is left me, I am glad

The bowl Thou gayest me, made me drunken

Now I ask not for nectar

As Joseph Thou did win my heart

As Christ Thou raisest me from the dead

As Moses Thou didst give me the message,

By Thy favour Inayat has all he desired

Hallowed by Thou, Saviour, my Lord

In the mystic poetry of Persian poets such as Hafiz Shirazi and Saadi, which he read during this period, it was the wine pourer or saqi, in this instance, the murshid, who made his pupils drunk with love of God.

Theological Intermezzo

The instruction given by Madani had theological and psychological dimensions. Often the two were interconnected. Thus Madani introduced Inayat Khan to the metaphysics of Chishti mysticism. He spoke about `tanzih and tashbih (entity and identity) and also about wujud and shuhud (manifestation and conscience)' (Biography, 1979, 76). Madani's use of these terms indicates that he subscribed to classical Islamic theology, in which these concepts have a closely circumscribed meaning. Other mystics, including Inayat Khan, took the liberty of assigning a different meaning to these terms. Tanzih is usually translated as `transcendence.' For instance, when we speak about God's power or love, we begin with our limited human understanding of these words but come to realize that, when applied to God, His power and love far surpass our notions. The nature of His being escapes human powers of comprehension and transcends our concepts, ideas and understanding. Some theologians go so far as to deny all analogy between the sacred and the profane, since God is so totally different.

Tashbih literally means `comparison,' that is, comparing the sacred with the profane and vice versa. Orthodox Muslim theologians often believed/believe that this is not really permissable. For those who did wish to make comparisons, tashbih led to anthropomorphism. One can think of the Biblical story of creation, which has man created in the image of God. According to this conception, man is theomorphic and God is anthropomorphic. The Koranic story of creation does not speak of man in the image of God, but Muslim mysticism does. In other words, the Sufi approach involves analogy. After all, human beings can only speak and think of God in a human way. That is what actually happens in both the Bible and the Koran. When, in his later writings, Inayat Khan talks about the ideal of God, he wished to say that our thinking about God_ continuously transcends our powers of imagination. He remains intangible and incomprehensible to our intellect. That is why tashbih is also translated as `assimilation' and `comparison:

This comparison can take a negative turn, called the way of negation/detachment (via negationis/remotionis in Latin), also called apophatic or negative theology. God is neither this nor that, not personal because not like a human being, etc. By this via negationis 'one emphasizes the infinite distinction between Creator and creature. All earthly categories of thought fall short. He who continues in this way will have nothing left, losing all certainty and, according to some mystics, ending up in a void. The believer is then at loose ends, in due time ending up in despair, with empty hands, and may even become an agnostic. Some thinkers take this road of denial to achieve humility in the face of the greatness and shelter of God. This via negationis can prove to be a dangerous road, full of temptations. At such a moment a believer who also happens to be a mystic needs the help of a spiritual guide, or master.

This guide will lead him in the way of cataphatic or positive theology, which proceeds by affirmation of, for example, the divine names (Lossky, 1967, 25). In The Cloud of Unknowing, a famous medieval text written by an unknown Christian, a master leads an adept through a `cloud' of doubt to the meeting with God.

In church or mosque people usually opt for the road of affirmation, of positive pronouncements and the repetition of words in Bible or Koran: God is love, God is light, God is spirit, God is powerful,-God is merciful, all ninety-nine names, in - search of His identity, as, according to His revelation, God wants to be for mankind, as He manifests 1[2]nmself to mankind, without being entirely absorbed in that manifestation.

The term wujud means `being,' literally being found as you are. God finds you as you are. In Muslim mysticism, the word wujud almost invariably occurs in combination with the word wandat (unity): wandat al-wujud, unity of being, being found in the unity of God, becoming absorbed by that unity The term was primarily coined under the influence of Ibn-al-Arabi to indicate the ecstatic unification of the human soul with the divine being Consequently, in Urdu wajd (without u) means ecstasy. This was the highest state attainable in Muslim mysticism.

Muslim orthodoxy rejected this mystical ideal, however, believing that the limits set for man would be crossed. The only höpe of coming close to God was by studying, learning by heart and reciting God's untreated Word as revealed in the Koran. During the reign of the strictly orthodox Moghul emperor Aurangzeb (1618-1707; ruled from 1658), the Chishti shaikh Muhibb-Allah published ·a commentary by Abdal Quddus concerning the Wandat al Wujud teachings derived from Ibn al-Arabi. Aurangzeb ordered Muhibb's book to be burned. He was taking his lead from the Muslim theologian

Ahmad Sirhindi, who was himself a great mystic, but who did not want to go beyond wandat al-shuhud, the unity and identity of God and creation as a subjective, and not an objective, mystical experience. Unlike Aurangzeb, however, Sirhindi did not outright condemn the doctrine of wandat al-wujud. He did, however, place the wording 'all is He' in the category of shocking pronouncements (Ter Haar, 1989, 110).

Shuhud means `contemplation' or `witnessing' (Ter Haar, 1992,112). The Muslim profession of faith or shahadah means that there is no divinity other than the God of the Koran and earlier scriptures, such as the Bible: the creator of heaven and earth as objective reality. Muslim orthodoxy thought that it was going too far to speak of unification with God, and that believers could not move beyond witnessing to God's unity. Within mysticism, however, people sought the wandat al shuhud via contemplation and internalization of the evidence.

Of course the prohibition of Aurangzeb had little effect. He had also forbidden religious music because, according to him and his counsellors, it led to transgressions. And indeed, Chishti adepts sometimes sing all night to reach ecstasy or a trance. Their samâ'a, concerts of religious music, were very popular. Similarly, Chishti mysticism, of which murshid Madani was a great representative, remained true to the teaching and practice of Ibn al-Arabi. For Madani and his gifted mureed Inayat Khan, the teaching of wandat al shuhud was, unless otherwise interpreted, too much a religion from the outside. Inayat Khan was in turn to give his own version of these mystical teachings when he spoke of realization of God. In this way he took two steps away from Muslim orthodoxy. But as Madam's pupil in Hyderabad, he had not yet come that far.

Mystical Exercises

As musician, Inayat Khan was thoroughly familiar with the

many hours of daily practice needed to reach and maintain his level of excellence and to win the approbation of knowledgeable circles, and esteem at princely courts. To become a murshid within the Chishti order he first needed to become a mureed himself. That, too, required practice, but of a different kind. Just like playing the vina, spiritual growth requires training and repetition, and the maintenance of specific skills and conventions. Murshid Madani subjected him to this discipline, albeit in a free and relaxed way. Because knowledge of God and knowledge of self are communicating vessels, Inayat Khan needed to work on himself under the direction of his murshid. The pertinent rule is 'man `arafa nafsahu `arafa rabbahu,' which is Arabian for 'he who knows himself knows his Lord.' It is a pronouncement that one encounters with variations among Christian theologians such as Calvin, but also among Muslims. With respect to laying connections between psychology and theology, Madani was in the pedagogical tradition of Muslim mysticism.

Using indications from Inayat Khan himself and from later practice of the Sufi Movement, Elisabeth Keesing attempted to reconstruct what transpired between the two men in Hyderabad. From what she concluded and what I read in the writings of Inayat Khan, I am strongly reminded of one of the most famous guides to self-examination of the Muslim tradition, the Risalat al-Mustarshidin (Small Treatise on Spiritual guidance; literally, for people seeking guidance). A new Arabian edition of this book, with French translation, came out as recently as 1999. The author is Al-Harith al-Muhasibi (781-857). Muhasibi literally means: someone who takes the measure. A muhasib is also a controller of weights or measures at a market, or an auditor. In a mystical context the word carries a moral meaning, self-examination, soul searching. He was called 'al-Muhasibi' because of his practice of self-examination (Smith,

1935 [1977], 14). The book is full of wise advice that attests to his insight into human behaviour. He warns against pride, ambition and vanity. He gives precise directions concerning conversion to prevent relapse into former sins. The training also has a physical component. One is able to sin with the body and with each of the senses.

As one path to a deepening of faith, Muhasibi advises dhikr, which is the repetition of the name of God. I name this first because orthodox Muslims and Sufi mystics are fully agreed on this one point. On Thursday evenings the faithful gather in the mosque for dhikr. The believer must search his conscience with every step he takes. His task becomes to `Treat everyone with respect out of fear of God with an eye to the call of the day when nothing about you shall remain hidden.' Under the guidance of Madani, Inayat Khan learned to distinguish between what is false and what is genuine, including for adherents of another faith.

As a future leader, it was necessary that Inayat Khan endlessly practise perseverance, willpower, courage, discernment, patience, trust and self-confidence. 'May God strengthen your faith,' Madani used to say as his student was leaving. Ascesis (austerity) was rejected as an end but served to help practise will power. Long periods of silence functioned to aid his concentration and to opening him up to super-terrestrial dimensions. Music served the same ends as well. In this way he experienced profound joy. During these years grew the inner power and imperturbableness, not to be confused with indifference, that were to become so typical for his later endeavours as Murshid Inayat Khan. The entire procedure is strongly reminiscent of the spiritual moulding of a novice before he or she takes a monastic vow.

Some encouraging words from Abu Hasham Madani at Inayat Khan's ijazat (diploma conferment) would in due time

be given entirely new meanings. Regrettably, murshid Madani's words were not recorded at the time. They bave only come down to us in a few retrospective and ever more tendentious renderings, of which I give the last and best known: `Fare forth into the world, my child, and harmonize the East and West with the harmony of thy music. Spread the wisdom of Sufism abroad, for to this end art though gifted by Allah, the most merciful and compassionate.' (Biography, 1979, 111). This Madan injunction,' or `commission' according to Donald Graham (2001,127-128), enjoys great prestige among Western Sufis. I will return to it in Chapter 6.

Murshid Madani died on 7 October 1907. Inayat Khan was often to recall his mentor. In his posthumous Unity of Religious Ideals of 1929, as heavily revised in 1963, he is quoted as saying

The whole idea of the Sufi is to cover his imperfect self even from his own eyes by the thought of God.; and that moment when God and not his own self is before him, is the moment of perfect bliss. My Murshid, Abu Hashim Madani, once said that there is only one virtue and one sin for the soul on this path: virtue when he is conscious of God and sin when he is not (SM, IX, 1963, 115; not in Inayat Khan, 1929).

A Wanderer's Life

Inayat Khan's years under the guidance of murshid Madani had given him a firm foundation in mysticism, but the learning process was to take another three years to complete. Students who are destined themselves to become murshid seek inspiration with several teachers, and often also initiation with more than one mystical order. After the death of Madani, Inayat Khan travelled on foot and by oxcart, but sometimes also by train or boat, across all of India, much like the bare-footed Islamic missionaries of earlier centuries. His student

years changed into `Wanderjahre.' He journeyed with little baggage, shunning no danger and taking his vina with him wherever he went. He was robbed, but the thief repented and returned what he had stolen. Sometimes he was recognized as a famous musician and given an honourable welcome. He gave concerts and lectured about his musical ideals. Sometimes he encountered extreme nationalists, but he did not join their numbers. His contribution to the freedom of a new India was that he made people aware of the rich musical tradition that they had in common.

Travel in India and surrounding lands gave him a foretaste of what he was to encounter in America and Europe. He usually took his meals with the very poor. He learned to detach himself, often eating the bread of charity, but he also thought it appropriate to be paid as musician. In Burma he had better contacts with Buddhists than in Ceylon, now Shri Lanka. But Ceylon's natural beauties made a deep impression on him. He also pursued meetings with,Hindu holy men and encountered accomplished mystics among his Brahman discussants. Others excluded him and denied him shelter. Thus he gained intimate experience with the discriminating effects of the caste system. During these peregrinations as musician and mystic, as troubadour, as strummer on his vina and player of human souls, his own spiritual growth broadened and deepened. He did not, however, expect anything of the kind from his contacts with other leading mystics. Hé did not encounter anyone who could take the place of his diseased murshid Madani. Nor did he look for someone like him. Madani simply remained once-in-a-lifetime and unique.

From the conversations of these years, which are reported on in Biography, we may conclude that Inayat Khan added a new dimension to his mystical experience and thought. He became ever more convinced that the study of the mysticism

of Buddhism and Hinduism would enable him to discover and reach the mystical core of other religions. He believed that music and mysticism could help him find his way to the deepest core of all religions, consisting of love, harmony and beauty. His conversations with diverse mystics confirmed him in this ever growing conviction. I give a few examples of this process. In a discussion with a Hindu guru he said: `Muslim or Hindu are only outward distinctions, the Truth is one, God is one, life is one; To me there is no such thing as two. Two is only one plus one' (Biography, 1979, 83). At the grave of Chishti in Ajmer the local murshid greeted visitors with the words: 'God is yearning love and the adored one.'"(Cf Schimmel, 1975,131) Later on this greeting was to reveal to Inayat Khan the meaning of the Biblical words, 'God is love' (1 John 4,8), and also of a verse of the Arabian poet Abu-allah al Maärri (979-1058), who declared:

A church, a temple or a Kaba stone

Quran or Bible or a martyr's bone,

All these and more my heart can tolerate,

Since my religion now is love alone (Biography, 1979, 87).

In Bangalore 'he met a real Sufi, a sage, to whom all religions were nothing but paths to God' (Biography, 1979, 93). During a visit to a Hindu temple he failed to take notice of the statues but had the feeling of being in the house of God (Biography, 1979, 97).

In 1909, in Calcutta, Inayat Khan had what we might now call a religious top experience when he reached a state of samadhi (Biography, 1979, 111). This happened during concerts. The audience noticed that the musician had entered higher spheres but did nôt understand what was happening.

Platts' dictionary

defines this Sanskrit term as 'deep and abstract meditation and contemplation as practised by a sannyasin.' Keesing (1973, 60) speaks of the highest state of being, which brings peace and balance. In Biography (1979, 580) the samadhi is defined as: `state of consciousness in which the mind becomes identified with the object of meditation.' Sufis call it hâhût, which Schimmel (1975, 270) translates as `divine ipseity,' this being God in his most intimate Self and therefore almost synonymous with the term huwiyya = (divine) identity, or `huwa' = he. During the dhikr, the mystic turns his head in all directions while calling out 'hu, hu, hu' (`he, he, he') in Arabic. In other words, according the mentioned Muhasibi, the mystic is `in dialogue with the being of God.' I believe that we must think in terms of a kind of experience of God that Inayat Khan was later to call `realisation of God' or `realisation of the ideal of God.' We will return to the actual theology of Inayat Khan in due time.

Inayat Khan travelled far and wide on the Indian subcontinent to promote his system of . music notation (Biography, 1979, 301). He even considered going to Japan (Biography, 316), but decided to head for America instead. No doubt he remembered that his beloved murshid Madani had encouraged him, three years before, to `go harmonize East and West with the harmony of thy music.' An American listener during a concert in Calcutta gave the last impetus in the direction of the great Western adventure of which he had been dreaming from even before his uncle Alaodin returned from England in 1897(Mahboob Khan,81).

V

The Grand Tour of America, Europe and India (1910-1927)

This chapter will give an overview of the travels of Inayat Khan in America, Europe and India. Those who need more details can again consult the biography by Elisabeth Keesing, on which much of this chapter is, based, as well as Biography of Pir-o-Murshid Hazrat Inayat Khan, which was the source of much of Keesing's information. It is merely my intention, while reading and mentally accompanying Inayat Khan on his journeys across these three continents, to gain an impression of his method of working and of the many unknown and sometimes well-known people whom he encountered on the way. Inayat Khan viewed these travels as a divine mission, with music as 'the only gateway to salvation' (Bloch, 1915, in: SM, XII, 1967, 154; Horn/Van Hoorn, 2010, 105); mysticism independent of music only became his goal years later, and even then only reluctantly. Of course music could never disappear altogether because for him as true follower of Chishti, it was an integral part of his mysticism. To quote Elisabeth Keesing (1973, 120): 'He always hoped that he might use music as a means to make people more aware of God. And awareness of God means rediscovering one's own, dormant inner possibilities.' We should remember, however, that though Inayat Khan's ideas and methods were primarily inspired by the Chishti tradition, he did not follow Chishti music. He and his family stood with both legs in the great Classical musical tradition of North- and South-India that we have already

mentioned: North-India with her anonymous masters and South-India with her Tiyagaraja, Muttuswami Dikshitar.

America

On 13 September 1910 Inayat Khan left Baroda to travel to Bombay and sail for New York on an Italian boast He was in the company of his brother Maheboob Khan (1887-1948) and his cousin-brother Mohammad Ali Khan. This date was later to be celebrated as a hidjra, analogous to the Prophet's hidjra from Mecca to Medina in 622, the turning point in his life and therefore adopted by his followers as the beginning of their era (FINE, III, 366).

Thanks to the teaching of their uncle Alaodin, alias Dr. Pathan, at the gayanshala, or music academy, in Baroda, brother and cousin had become familiar with Western music. They therefore knew what the American public expected and took that into account But they remained true to their Indian costumes and instruments, as is seen in photographs of the Royal Musicians of Hindustan. Their trio was to be fortified by a Hindu musician, Rama Swami, and by Musharaff Khan, Inayat's youngest brother (1895-1967), who arrived a year later. This Rama Swami had been living in the America for some time and showed them the ropes.

Thanks to a professor of music, Inayat Khan gave his first American lecture, at Columbia University Shortly thereafter they went on tour with the celebrated American dancer Ruth St. Denis (1879-1968), who had made a specialty of `Oriental' dance. This initially looked like an ideal combination, since sangit, Indian music, consists of three parts, vocal and instrumental often combined with dancing But things did not truly click because Ruth St Denis had mastered only the appearance of eastern dance and also improvised a lot The collaboration soon floundered. The differences between

European music and Indian music turned out to be greater than between North-Indian and South-Indian Karnatak music (joshi, 1963, 7-8). The troupe travelled and made music in San Francisco and Seattle and then returned to New York via the northern states without Ruth St. Denis. In total, these journeys included performances in twenty-one cities of the United States (Biography, 1979, 543). They received fairly good reviews but were not always taken seriously. Music may be a universal language, but the Western public was not yet used to music from India, as is the case today with Indian film music and concerts in reputed venues, such as the Concertgebouw in Amsterdam.

*

There was some sympathy for the foreign culture that they represented thanks to the first English translations and adaptations of the Persian poetry of Omar Khayyam by E. Fitzgerald. The 342 editions of this work made Omar Khayvvam immensely popular (`Umar-e-Khayyam,' EINE, X,827). Inayat Khan was pleased to quote the following lines from the Rubayat: Heaven is the vision of fulfilled desire / Hell is the shadow of a soul on fire (SM, IV, 1961, 95). He also repeatedly mentions Omar Khayyam in his dictated and posthumous autobiography. He reports, for instance: 'Mary [Williams] asked me, What did Omar Khayyam mean by `wine' and `beloved' in his Rubâyât? Did he really mean it or was it something else? But it was rather funny enough for me to see in the West some drinking dubs who were named "Omar Khayyam Club" and taverns named after him.' The blind Egyptian poet Taha Hussain (1889-1973; EINE, X, 95) was more outspoken than that. When faced with a similar question, he declared that the poet meant both.

In the early twentieth century, many Americans longed for change. These people were open to new sounds. But there was also incomprehension. The Indian musicians were sometimes

cheated and often discriminated against, being treated as American blacks. Fifty years before the civil rights movement, this treatment still left a great deal to be desired. But despite this culture shock, Inayat Khan's impressions of the first year and a half in America were positive. He later declared that it was during this period that he had learned ever better to understand the Western mentality and psyche.

According to Miriam Bloch's Confessions of 1915 (SM, XII, 1967, 153), Inayat Khan formulated five aims for his Sufi Order of America. The Sufi Movement was to embrace these, increase their number and adapt their content (see Chapter 8). The original five purposes read as follows:

(1) To establish a human brotherhood with no consideration of caste, creed, race, nation, or religion, for differences only create a lack of harmony and are the source of all miseries.

(2) To spread the wisdom of Sufism, which has been until now a hidden treasure, though it is indeed the property of mankind and has never belonged to any particular race and religion.

(3) To attain that perfection wherein the mysticism is no longer a mystery but redeems the unbeliever from falling a victim to hypocrisy.

(4) To harmonize the East and West in music, the universal language, by exchange of knowledge and a revival of unity

(5) To promote Sufi literature, which is most beautiful and instructive in all the aspects of knowledge.

At the second point (`a hidden treasure intended for mankind), a Christian might think of Matthew 13,44, which mentions a hidden treasure in a field, but l:nayat Khan was certainly thinking of the famous hadiths qudsi, a collection of extra-Koranic divine revelations, in which God says, `I was

a hidden treasure and wished to be known, which is why I created the world' (Schimmel, 1990, 87). Inayat Khan was to work hard at all five goals. He had a passion for unity and carried treasures of Eastern wisdom in his head and heart to the West.

After a year and a half the balance was drawn up. A promising American sponsor perished on the Titanic. But there was also a new beginning. Inayat Khan tells us about this in his diary. The lecture took place in a new Hindu temple in San Francisco. The most important sentences follow below in his own words.

I saw among the audience a soul who was drinking in all I said, as the Hamsa, the bird of Hindu mythology, who takes the extract from the milk leaving the water. So this soul listened to my lecture on music and grasped the philosophical points which appealed to her most. She thanked me, as everybody came to show their appreciation after the lecture. But I saw that there was some light kindled there in that particular souL

The next day he received notification that the mentioned lady would appreciate receiving more light on her path. Inayat Khan replied that he regretted not being able to respond to her request, as he was leaving for Seattle the following day. But in the night before his departure, the following happened:

I had a vision that night that the whole room became filled with light, no trace of darkness was to be found. I certainly thought that there was some important thing to be done the next day, which I found was the initiation of Mrs. Ada Martin, the first mureed on my arrival to the West and, knowing that this soul will spread light and illuminate all those who will come in contact with her, I initiated her and named her Rabia, after the name of a great woman Sufi saint of Basra, about whom so much is spoken in the East. Since her initiation she

has entirely dedicated her life to spiritual contemplation and the service of humanity. (Biography, 1979, 125)

Ada Martin became Murshida Martin, and it was due to her efforts that the first small circles of Sufi followers of Inayat Khan were formed. He later, in his correspondence, addressed her, with Indian respect, as the mother of the Sufi Movement in America. In 1923 she accompanied him on his second American journey.

Who was the earlier Rabia, after whom . Ada Martin was named? In her biography of Rabi'a, as Margaret Smith transcribes the name, we find the following familiar but rarely completely reproduced story:

One day Rabi'a was seen carrying fire in one hand and water in the other and she was running with speed. They asked her what was the meaning of her action and where she was going. She replied: "I am going to light a fire in Paradise and pour water on to Hell, so that both veils (i.e. hindrances to the true vision of God) may completely disappear from the pilgrims, and their purpose may be sure, and the servants of God may see Him, without any object of hope or motive of fear. What if the hope of Paradise and the fear of Hell did not exist? No one could worship his Lord or obey him" (Smith, 1928 (1984], 84).

That was the beginning of Inayat Khan's Sufi movement in the West. But his private life was also to take a new direction. Among the pupils whom he taught the vina was a young woman, Ora Ray Baker (1892-1949). A spark was struck between Ora and Inayat. The brother was at least as colour and race conscious as the music teacher from India was dass conscious, so that he did all he could to thwart the alliance. However, he was not able permanently to separate the couple. Initially, however, the musician-mystic left for London without her.

Stay in London

The first purpose of the visit to the British capital was to attend an international congress of music. The famous poet and writer Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), a family acquaintance, turned out to be in London for an operation. A year later, Tagore was to receive the Nobel price for literature. Tagore introduced Inayat Khan to the musicologist A.H. Fox Strangeways (1859-1948), who was in the process of writing a book about Indian music. Inayat Khan contributed valuable ideas but when the book came out, he turned out not to have been mentioned, leave alone thanked. He performed for the Indian club in London but did not meet with the hoped-for response from this westernized public. He was pleasantly surprised by the British 'at home,' however, as opposed to what he had encountered in British India. The theme of his presentation was spiritual freedom. This struck his hosts as somewhat suspect in view of presumed Indian hopes for independence from British colonial rule.

From London the company left for Paris, where they were shadowed from the outset because the British did not fully trust their Indian subjects on French soil. Inayat Khan discovered, claims Keesing, that 'the old religions had been hollowed out and the churches conventional.' No wonder, for the French churches had retrenched around the time, so shortly after the passing of the anti-clerical laws of 1905 which had resulted in La laïcité, a complete separation of church and state. He encountered great understanding of his music from Claude Debussy (1862-1918) and the Italian author Gabriele d'Annunzio (1863-1938). In a letter of 29 April 1913, Debussy invited Inayat Khan to come and play for him. Though the Royal Musicians of Hindustan received financial support from Baroda until 1914, they accepted all engagements that came their way, performing in Indian dress at all sorts of theatrical

events that were not immediately their own choice. As a low point, they contributed to two performances by Mata Hari, Margaretha Geertruida Zelle, a former Dutch Reformed girl from Friesland whose life ended before a French firing squad in 1917 at age forty-on6.:The French took her for a spy,. something that has never been convincingly proven. Winston Churchill's mother also crossed their path in Paris. It was often famous people who aided these Indian artists in the West.

Marriage and Marital Life of Inayat **Khan**

The stay in the French capital was interrupted by a short visit to England, where he married his American former pupil, Ora Ray Baker, in London's Registrar's Office on 20 March 1913. She had escaped from the supervision of her brother. She is understood to have been twenty-two years old when the married. She came from an American family of physicians and lawyers but has mistakenly been believed to have been a relative of Edy Baker, the founder of Christian Science. Henceforth she was to be called Amina Begum. 'Amina' means trustworthy. Arnim. was also the name of the mother of the Prophet.'Begum' is a posh word for Mrs. in Urdu. The British civil ceremony was supplemented by an Islamic ceremony in Paris, performed by mullâh Muhammad Ali Khan. The couple had four children, two sons and two daughters, Noor-un-Nisa (1913-1944), Vilayat (1916-1004), Hidayat (1917) and Khair-un-nisa (1919). Amina Begum, Mrs. Amina, was a most dedicated spouse, but it cannot always been easy for her to live next to a man who was so full of his mission and so often away from home. In addition, his appearance, vina playing and bronze voice, attracted the attention of men but especially of many women, young and old, who surrounded him as tnureeds and supported him in his efforts for the young Sufi Movement. Nor was it an easy task for a young American woman to live in

France with a foreigner from India, whose own land she was not to see until after his death. Things became still harder on her when, after a marriage of only fourteen years, she was left behind as a widow with four young children. Those married years were characterized by the kind of self-sacrifice that is often the fate of wives of men whose great calling in life leaves little room for anything else. The sons will show up again in my chapter on the organization of the Sufi Movement. The youngest daughter played no public role. She withdrew from the Sufi Movement.

,**Noor-un-Nisa: More than Spiritual** Resistance

The oldest daughter, Noor-tin-Nisa, was to grow into an independent and strong personality who did justice to her name, Noor-un-Nisa, meaning light amongst women. The story of her life does not truly belong in a book dedicated to the Sufi Movement founded by her father, but it is so unusual that it may not go missing in the context of his family life. An additional reason for including her story could be that the Sufi Movement was forbidden by the'Nazis in all its occupied countries. That prohibition, alone, was enough reason for Sufis to resist Naziism.

Noor-un-Nisa was born in Moscow on 20 December 1913. Inayat Khan and his group of musicians workedin the Russian capital at that time. During the First World War Noor moved to England with her parents. As eight-year-old in Suresnes she was enroled in French elementary school, meaning she becarrie bilingual and steeped in Catholic lore about the great sacrifice of Christ, and the saints who gave their Jives in imitation. We can imagine how impressed she must have been with the candle lighting of the Universal Worship and the homage that it pays to the 'holy scripture' of the New Testament and 'the light of divine sacrifice.' After the death

of her father, Amina Begun had a nervous breakdown, so that Noor, as oldest child, ended up raising her younger siblings and getting used to making sacrifices herself. Noor wrote children's books. Her first published work was an edition of Buddhistic Jakata Tales,' almost all of which involve self-sacrifice out of compassion with others. One could argue that Noor was fatally programmed, or rather was guided to sacrifice her own person for a worthy cause. In hindsight this was to become her destination

In 1940 Noor and Vilayat left for England with the Begum. As the Second World War got under way, the daughter of Ora Ray Baker volunteered as Nora Baker with the WAAF, the Women Auxiliary Air Force. She was then recruited by the British secret service. Her brother Vilayat served on a British minesweeper. Hidayat (Noor's younger brother and the current international leader) joined the French resistance, the maquisards in Montélimar, so he informed me during a personal interview on 29 January 2005 in the Sufi centre in The Hague.

Noor was dropped over France with a radio transmitter. Using the codename Madeleine, she established contact with London within forty-eight hours. Due to treachery there were soon only two transmitters available. One of these was operated by Nora. It, too, was betrayed and, to make things worse, the equipment fell into the hands of the Germans complete with code, allowing them to manipulate the contacts with London. Nora was interrogated, moved from prison to prison and finally executed in Dachau. She was posthumously decorated with the French Croix de Guerre and the English George Cross. Jean Overton Fuller wrote a well-documented, sympathetic and depressing biography about this young woman: Noor-un-Nisa Inayat Khan (Madeleine). It is one of the best war biographies known to me, as it shows that her opposition

to Nazi evil had a spiritual dimension. Her spiritual roots lay in part in Sufism. As her recent, Indian biographer, Shrabani Basu, surmises: 'all the time during her lonely incarceration in Pforzheim, Noor thought about her father and drew thoughts from his Sufi philosophy' (Basu, 2007, 169).Shrabani Basu now is involved in trying to raise funds require to erect a statue for Noorunnisa, a project already given parliamentary approval, in London's Gordon Square. This square is the very location that proved of such decisive significance for the life and work of her father. The statue was unveiled by Princess Anne on 9

November 2012.

To Russia

While in Paris, Inayat Khan was offered a contract by one 'Maxime' of Moscow. Somewhat naively, the group of musicians did not investigate the new patron before setting off for Tsarist Russia. Upon their arrival they discovered that a secret agent was carefully checking their movements as foreigners from British India because the Russians and the British were rivals in that part of Asia at the time. But the agent became a mureed and was soon to be of service to them. 'Maxime' turned out to be a nightclub. The company had the feeling that they had been duped, but they made the best of the situation. Their concerts were well reviewed. Here, too, Inayat Khan sought out contacts with well-known personalities in the better circles. In this way Sergei Tolstoy, the son of the famous writer, became a pupil. The title `Khan' inspired confidence in Russia and was familiar to the Tatar Muslims living in the

capital. •

Because of the threat of war, Inayat Khan and his family had to leave Moscow posthaste in May of 1914. Their return home to India, which had been planned for a year, was frustrated by belligerence in Turkistan. After a brief visit to Saint Petersburg

and a Pans stopover to attend a musical congress, they arrived in London. Contacts with Russian mureeds remained possible until 1921, but no later. A Russian edition of Inayat Khan's Sufi Message of Spiritual Liberty disappeared with the revolution of 1917 but miraculously resurfaced in 1990. A new edition of fifty thousand copies came out at once (Keesing, 1973, 115).

The First World War and the Gordon Square Crisis

Back in England, new tasks awaited Inayat Khan. He travelled as far as Scotland for concerts and lectures. He was often invited by Theosophic societies, which apparently believed him to be a kindred spirit. Many Theosophists. became mureeds, bringing their Messianic and avataristic thinking with them. Local societies were set up. The movement developed fixed forms. The foundations were laid with a periodical of its own, the Sufi Quarterly, and a Sufi Publishing Society. This society came about due to the great dedication of two women, Mary Williams and Lucy Goodenough, to the publication of their Murshid's lectures.

Inayat Khan understood the art of appointing competent people. But he was also active outside his own circle. It was wartime and artists were expected to make a contribution. He gave benefit concerts and received a contract to perform for wounded soldiers from India. During one of these concerts, Inayat Khan, who knew that Gandhi was present, sang a song in his mother tongue, Gujarati, that moved him to tears. The British thought this was embarrassing, but the musician saw it as the highest possible compliment. The nationalists of the British colony, including Gandhi himself, supported the British war effort. But when, in an improvised song before the Islamic Society, the musician from India emphasized that all soldiers from British-India, regardless of their religion, belonged to mother India, the contract was terminated. Despite himself, he

had been too freedom loving. _

Recognition from artistic circles is evident from a request to supply the intermezzo music for the performance of the opera Lakmé by the French composer Leo Delibes (18361891). The piece takes place in 1856, a year before the `Mutiny,' in a Hindu temple. The drama concerns a Brahmin's daughter who is not allowed to marry an officer of the British colonial army. Scientific recognition came with an invitation from the prestigious Royal Asiatic Society to lecture on the subject of Indian music.

In 1919 Inayat Khan was seriously ill with pneumonia. Antibiotics had yet to be discovered, so that his recovery was far from a matter of course. The fall of 1920 brought still another kind of crisis. Thanks to the financial help of a rich mureed named Margaret Skinner (dates unknown), who apparently believed she had profited from good business advice from Inayat Khan, his family and the movement had been able to move into a much larger house on London's Gordon Square. But this same lady had second thoughts, apparently objecting to a significant Islamic presence in the new headquarters, so that she evicted Inayat Khan and his family, leaving them homeless and burdened with a substantial debt (Horn/Van Hoorn, 2010, 115-117, 120, 122; nn. 475s-477s).

Last Years, Return to India

Inayat Khan thought the Gordon Square crisis reason enough to leave England for France. At the close of 1920, he assigned power of attorney for Sufi groups in England to leading mureeds, most notably Jessie Eliza (Nargis) Dowland, who became the National Representative of England from

- 1921 to 1933. He then settled his family in Tremblaye, France, where they had to make do with a summer cottage for a while. Acting on an impulse he left for Geneva, but without

money. Old acquaintances encountered him there and gave him a fresh start. The Swiss city became a springboard for many international contacts. The familiar pattern of lectures and concerts continued in Switzerland. In 1922 the General Headquarters of the movement were established on the Quai des Eaux Vives. Much later, it was to be moved to The Hague.

There were isolated mureeds as far as Brazil; China and South Africa. Between 1920 and 1924 Inayat. Khan was mainly on the road. In 1921 he commenced his work in The Netherlands from the Arnhem home of H.P. baron van Tuyll van Serooskerken (1883-1958), who moved to Katwijk in 1922 with his bride Henriette (Saida) Willebeek le Mair (1889-1966). An old Dutch widow, Petronella (Fazal Mai) Egeling-Grol (1861-1939), purchased a house in Suresnes for Inayat Khan and his family, including his brothers, Maheboob, Mohammad Ali and Musharaff, who later settled nearby in homes of their own. She supported the family. The perpetual money worries seemed a thing of the past. Financed by wealthy sympathizers and mureeds, he travelled throughout Europe. But he never remained anywhere for long. On one occasion he went to Norway and Sweden. His discussion in Uppsala with archbishop Nathan'Söderblom (Chapter 2) had a pendant in a meeting with a few cardinals in Rome (Biography, 1979, `1923'). Cardinal Pietro Gasparri (1852-1934) asked hini what he meant by wisdom. The cardinal tentatively concurred with the exposition of Inayat Khan. Though he received a papal blessing during a ceremony to which he had been invited, he was not granted a private audience. He did feel confirmed in his work by this visit. He was impressed by the splendours of the Vatican, which reminded him of the courts that he had known so well in India. He was deeply moved by the impression of the interior and liturgy of Saint Peter's, as vividly recalled by his companion, Sirkar van Stolk (1894-1963) (1967, 66-67).

4

According to Inayat Khan's perception, this liturgy shows great respect for man and his humanity, so that one comes 'to arrive at worshipping man (the son of God), God's representative' (Biography, 1979; `Autobiography,' 192). He applauds this.

According to Inayat Khan, the generally deplorable state of religion in the Western word reflects 'a lack of veneration for one's [spiritually] advanced brother.' Much as he esteemed aspects of the Roman Catholic Church, he had little respect for Protestantism, despite his visit to Nathan Söderblom. Protestantism, he believed, is more a surrogate belief than a religion. It is merely a protest; it has no prophetic power. It is like the rattle that one gives to a child to keep it occupied, states the mystic (Biography, 217). These words may have came from Protestant mureeds such as Theo van Hoorn (1887-1957), who had given up on the faith of their fathers, even though this was not required of them by Sufism (Van Hoorn, 1981, 26, 33; Horn/Van Hoorn, 2010, 67, 175, 181). Certain is that Inayat Khan did not fully appreciate the central redemptive message of Christianity (Van Mourik Broekman, c. 1950, 115; Horn/Van Hoorn, 493-494, n. 268s).

Through faulty preparation and poor guidance, Inayat Khan's first visit to Germany was no success. He would certainly have met with response from German readers, who knew Goethe's Der West-östliche Divan (Slomp, 73). Goethe had affinity with Muslim mysticism (Mommsen,320). Inayat Khan was to tour America on three occasions, the last in late 1925 and the first half of 1926. Mahmood Khan made a reconstruction of the complex route travelled by Inayat Khan (Mahmood Khan,87-95). Inayat Khan regularly undertook journeys that included stops in various countries. He also visited some cities and Sufi centres more than once. The following overview should convey an impression of the intensity of his travels. In India he visited forty cities before 1910 and shortly before his death, in the

United States it was twenty-one, Switzerland eleven, the United Kingdom fourteen, Denmark three, Sweden two, Norway two, Russia two, Germany six, Italy three, France seven, Belgium two, and The Netherlands twelve (Biography, 542-547). These travels using the then available means of conveyance (by train, boat, automobile, horseback or on foot) made great demands on his physical condition.

These journeys were not vacations but involved lectures, concerts, meetings and sometimes discussions. Customs officers and aliens police could be troublesome. His places of lodging varied from humble abodes to luxury hotels. His audience consisted of people from the upper middle classes, quite a few members of noble and patrician families (including a few diplomats), sundry intellectuals and artists. Highly developed women, still rare in his days, were not unusual among his mureeds. Because of language and cultural barriers, few representatives of the people came to listen. Of Socialism he declared that it 'is good if it brings people to God' (Keesing 1973, 179). Though many workers of his time would have thought him out of touch on account of that pronouncement, we know that it was a brilliant subterfuge intended to avoid alienating any, possibly socialist part of his following or publicly supporting a `godless' movement (Horn/Van Hoorn, 436-437).

Many of his supporters and followers were disillusioned with the traditional religions from whence they had come. Imitations reached him via English. clubs, Theosophic groups, liberal congregations and organizations of Hindu expatriates. Orthodox Muslims ignored him. Orthodox Christian circles, whether Catholic or Protestant, in so far as they had even heard of him, did not think of inviting him. Even so, there were individual conversions to Sufism from those circles. Theo van Hoorn, a Dutch mureed-accountant, described his

own conversion from his Mennonite faith to Sufism in his Recollections of Inayat Khan (Van Hoorn, 26-27; Horn/Van Hoorn, 111).

Inayat Khan was always interested in coming into contact with trend-setting authors and artists. They helped him better to understand the European mentality. For instance, he let a rich French `collector' of artists take him on an unannounced visit to André Gide (1869-1951). The Lebanese-Christian Khalil Gibran (1883-1931), author of The Prophet, and the Dutch poet A. Roland Holst (1888-1976) also belonged to the company. Gide, who was playing tennis, showed irritation and worked his unannounced guests out the door as quickly as possible, without offering them as much as a cup of tea. Less well known is that Piet Mondriaan (1872-1944) during his Parisian period regularly visited the Sufis in Suresnes, where he was received at home by Maheboob Khan, who was the leader at the time, as well as by Mohammad Ali Khan. In 1909 Mondriaan had joined the Theosophists, who maintained close contacts with Inayat Khan. A prominent Sufi couple, Louis (Salamat) Hoyack (1893-1967) and Ellen Cramerus, belonged to his circle of friends, In my opinion, the thinking of this rectilinear Theosophist contains unmistakable traces of Sufism (Mondriaan, 3). To give an example of the Theosophical and Sufi-like world of this influential artist: 'Only a conscious man can be a mirror of the universal. He can be consciously one with the universal and thereby consciously rise above the individual.' In the meantime Inayat Khan's health declined steadily. His digestion functioned poorly. He looked heavier than he was. His heart gave him trouble and he was repeatedly treated for pneumonia. But he allowed nothing and no one to get in the way of his duty. His American journey of 1925 to 1926 and the preceding and following Summer School were demonstrably gruelling. Seen in retrospect, his last great disappointment was

the laying of the first stone for the `Universel' in Suresnes on 13 September 1926. Inayat Khan followers had for years been lobbying his followers for a Sufi `temple', in Chishti tradition called a khanqah(Schimmel, 1975,145,)0 as a worthy home for sufi meditative and public activities. His personal hopes probably centred on a fitting khanqah, or headquarters, for his esoteric school (Horn/Van Hoorn, 108-111). Temple or khankah, it was never built. This made it possible for the Sufi grounds to be expropriated by the municipality of Suresnes in 1956. Much later, in 1970. a representative temple was at last erected in Katwijk.

Suresnes was where Inayat Khan had held five Summer Schools, which made an unforgettable impression on their participants. One of these was a Dutchman, Theo van Hoorn, who wrote in his Recollections about his initiation by Inayat Khan in 1924 and about the last Summer School of 1926 (see Chapter 8). He also recalls how a telegram from India in February 1927 brought tidings of the death of Inayat Khan and how Sirdar brought the news to Amsterdam and commemorated their Murshid (Van Hoorn, 171-175; Horn/ Van Hoorn, 284-287). Sirdar was the Sufi name of H.P. baron van Tuyll van Serooskerken, the leader of the Dutch Sufis at the time.

Accompanied by Dorothea (Kismet) Stam (1893-198?), one of his two principal secretaries, Inayat Khan had gone to India to fulfil a long-standing but repressed longing for his homeland and to seek a cure for a debilitating ailment. Before he was entirely felled by pneumonia, he still gave lectures in Delhi and Lucknow, and visited the grave of Chishti, his cynosure, one last time (Zahur ul Hassan, 1979, preface). He died on 5 February 1925, not yet forty-five years old. His death on that day is commemorated annually by visitors from India and abroad, including from The Netherlands.

Inayat Khan's grave in Delhi is now a dargah like that of other Sufi saints. His son Vilayat is interred elsewhere in Delhi (Friday Times, Pakistan, 2-8 July 2004). The new buildings around the actual grave, the mazir, were opened in 1988 (SM, II, 1960, Appendix II). The entire complex is run by the Inayat Khan Memorial Trust_ The motto of the supervisory foundation is `love, harmony and beauty.' They organize meetings for adherents of all religions and of all faiths and manage a library, an educational centre and a health centre. In addition to Nizamiqawwalis and performances of Indian classical concert music, a social programme for poor Indians who came to live near the dargah was set up. In this way the memory of this great son of India is kept alive. In India his works are being reissued and read by many. In a land that is from time to time torn by religious conflict, they can contribute to greater tolerance and harmony.

In dosing the departing prayer that Inayat Khan sent to his friends as a Christmas greeting in 1926. It speaks volumes about the man, who wrote and prayed, and requires no commentary (Keesing 228).

Before you judge my actions
Lord, I pray, you will forgive
Before my heart is broken
Will you help my soul to live?
Before my eyes are covered
Will you let me see your face?
Before my feet are tired,
May I reach your dwelling place"
Before 1 wake from slumber,
You will watch me, Lord, I hold.
Before 1 throw my mantle

Will you take me in your fold?
Before, my work is over,
You, my Lord, will right the wrong
Before you play your music,
Will you let me sing my song.

VI
Hazrat Inayat Khan, the Growth of a Legend

Biography or Hagiography

The several biographers of Inayat Khan all believed that his life was largely defined by a mission to bridge the chasm between East and West through mysticism, which surmounts religions and therefore interconnects . them. Put more simply, they thought that he was destined to bring "Sufi wisdom" to the West, as charged by his murshid, Abu Hashim Madani. Predictably, given such a highly tendentious model, descriptions of Inayat Khan's early period often draw on what their authors knew about the later phase of his life. Sometimes subtly, sometimes explicitly, the reader is continually reminded that later developments were already present in germinal form during the early period. Thus, the accounts of: young Inayat Khan's life mention aspects of his aptitudes and talents, often recorded from the mouths of relatives and friends, that would later come to full fruition. Overall, of course, this reflection takes on the character of prophecy fulfilled.

Because he is seen to be a great musician and mystic, the sources also mention how Inayat Khan soon came into contact with important contemporaries. Of course, the loving rendering of his interaction with the Nizam of Hyderabad as -- most improbably -- a near equal, is the best case in point. At the same time, it is expected of a pir and murshid that he remain accessible to very ordinary seekers of God, so hat the

young Inayat is repeatedly seen to be perfectly at ease with the poor. Even with respect to his Western life, the biographies repeatedly stress important people whom Inayat Khan met because he was invited to do so or because he himself sought out this contact. Above all, he had to be seen to be a major presence in his time. His 1923 visit to the ecumenical pioneer and Swedish Lutheran archbishop Nathan Söderblom (see Chapter 2) is a good example, even though he appears to have made no lasting impression on that ecumenical pioneer. His 1925 chat with Henry Ford (1863-1947) is more likely to impress today's reader.

This anticipatory and heightened way of writing history is characteristic of biographies of many great personalities and saints, both men and women. The biography of Inayat Khan is no exception to the rule. Some famous personalities have contributed to such inevitably subjective history writing by recording their recollections. Inayat Khan was one of them, as he collaborated in a third-person biography (which is in fact partly an autobiography) and also dictated a more straightforward autobiography covering the Western component of his life. We encounter such edited autobiographical recollections elsewhere in 'the Inayatian literature, most notably in the 1915 Confessions of Inayat Khan by Miriam Bloch (SM, XII, 1967, 129-163).

In short, the biographies of Inayat Khan correspond in many ways to hagiographies. There is nothing wrong with that. This happens with many religious movements in which the founder claimed an exemplary role within his lifetime, or in which such a role was assigned to him after his death. After all, followers, or disciples, want to identify as much as possible with their idol. Though it can hardly be doubted that there are those within the Sufi Movement who think of Inayat Khan not only as a great man but also as a saint, an author who tries

to understand such an initiator, founder and leader from the outside, will take a little more distance and express himself more cautiously than an uncritical adept.

Nevertheless, the reader should be aware of a hagiographic current of the Inayatian literature (Horn/Van Hoorn, 84-91). Some of Inayat Khan's Theosophic followers " engaged in a truly extravagant kind of sanctification and christologizing focused on Inayat Khan's presumed persona as `world teacher.' The most important representative of this trend was Murshida Sophia Saintsbury-Green, who thought of Inayat Khan as a Christlike man, saint, miracle worker, and prophet, or `messenger of God' (Saintsbury-Green, 83). In the chiliastic fantasies of such mureeds, Inayat Khan was seen to be 'the Christ' come again. It is important to recognize, however, that Inayat Khan distanced himself from such expectations, so that these scarcely made their way into the official biographical tradition leading up to Elisabeth Keesing. There is no reason, therefore, why this matter should concern us any further here.

The Myth of the Message

Recently, Mahmood Khan (born 1927), the only son of Maheboob Khan, took aim at the bipartite foundation myth of Western Sufism, which no doubt still passes for historical truth among the ranks of today's followers. Basically, it is that Inayat Khan left India for America with the intention of founding Western Sufism (the myth of the Message), having been instructed to do so by his murshid, Abu Hashim Madani (the myth of the injunction). Of course Mahmood Khan did not question that his uncle Inayat had brought Sufi wisdom to the West, but he argued that it is improbable on biographical and other grounds that this should already have been Inayat's defined goal when he left India in 1910, or that he was obeying an explicit command issued years before by his own murshid

(Mahmood Khan, 107-109,Donald Graham, 127-128). In fact the two clauses of the injunction form one line of thought: "unite by the harmony of thy music" implies"spread the wisdom of Sufism". What linguistically, however, and musically belonged together took some time to be realized psychologically and practically.

Still more recently H J. Horn demonstrated in great detail that the `Madan injunction' can be traced from its germinal emergence with Ada (Rabia) Martin in 1911, via T'Serclaes de Kessel in 1914, Regina Miriam Bloch in 1915 and Mary (Zorah) Williams in 1919, to its definitive flowering with Kinna (Nekbakht) Fumée in the edited Biography of the twenties, as quoted above. Textual analysis reveals an evolution from a blessing centring on music to a command focusing on mysticism. Also, in the same years that the notion of mystical induction takes ever greater hold, music loses its original primacy within the Sufi Order (Horn/Van Hoorn, 2010, 100, 102-106). The myth of `injunction' is almost certainly an example of the kind of retroactive prophesy mentioned above.

We might ask why Inayat Khan did not disown the myth of the message. It appears, however, that he became vulnerable to a tendency to legitimize his Western adventure because it was seen as frivolous by his family in India and, especially, his uncle Alaodin. This attitude among his rélatives in India continued for quite some time. In addition, Inayat Khan was neither willing nor able to disabuse his mureeds of their dubious notions. As a Muslim, he did not believe in reincarnation, but he never effectively challenged its expectation among leading followers such as Sirdar van Tuyll (1923, 5, 10) and Apjar (Sirkar) Van Stoll((1967, 130).

The Myth of the Universal **Mystic**

Another characteristic of Inayatian biography from 1914

to the 1970s is the assumption that Inayat Khan founded a universal kind .of Sufism in the West. That is essentially true in so far as he made Chishti Sufism more fully and explicitly accessible to people of all faiths. On the other hand, as I show throughout this book, Western Sufism tends to obscure Iriayat Khan's real identity as a man and as a mystic. His mystical thought and practice were generally Indian Islamic and specifically Chishti in nature. Moreover, as I will show below in greater detail, he shares some thought patterns which a number of Christian and Muslim mystics have derived from Neo-Platonism, notably as put forward by Plotinus (again, A.D. 204-270). I believe that the introduction of the ideas of this Greek thinker has weakened rather than strengthened the mystic quality of those Christian and Muslim thinkers who followed him. At this point, however, I do not want to get sidetracked from my main argument.

Still more recently, H.J. Horn (2010, 111-118) reviewed the process by which Islam became one of the best kept secrets of Western Sufism. Though Inayat Khan himself believed that Islam was the one faith that could have brought spiritual renewal to the West, had it not been maligned by nefarious missionaries {Biography, 1979, 221), and though he continued to the last to credit the last universal revelation to Muhammad, his followers had no use for his convictions. They preferred to assume that the Sufi names and terminology of the Order were suitably Romantic and generically Eastern, so that .a khanqah, or `monastery', could become the house of
the Khans (Keeling, 1973, 118-119). They edited `Allah' into 'God' wherever possible and transformed their Murshid into
a generic Indian guru so that they could subject him to their avataristic and chiliastic hopes for a prophet,, world teacher or Christ come again (Horn/Van Hoorn, 2010, 83-118; cf. Zia Inayat Khan, 2004, 151-162).

Though Inayat Khan's mureeds had largely side-tracked Islam by 1921, when he ceased to pay explicit homage to the Prophet, numerous indications of the Islamic background of Western Sufism survived in his later lectures, despite their multi-religious nature and supra-religious tone. Possibly, his followers simply failed to spot the Islamic substrata of Inayat Khan's lectures. On the other hand, his mureeds were highly accomplished at ignoring what they did not wish to hear. At the same time, Inayat Khan was not dogmatic and neither willing nor able to be blunt, so that he granted his followers great latitude in such matters.

As a closely related but even broader investigation, Mahmood Khan (2001, 120, 125-126) showed that his uncle Inayat lost control over his following and was repeatedly induced to sanction their Post-Christian and/or Theosophic ideas, so that aspects of his Movement were not what he had intended. Much the same evidence was reviewed in greater detail in an unpublished Duke University dissertation by Zia Inayat Khan (2004, 98-117), who spoke of a `hybrid Sufi order,' one that combines the Sufism of its founder with the Theosophy of his followers. However, Pir Zia simply took this composite order for granted as a modern religious movement that was `legitimated' and assimilated by his grandfather. Taking his lead from Mahmood Khan, Horn (2010, 135-145) instead interpreted the Gordon Square crisis as the pivotal event in an ever-widening gap between the core mysticism of the financially dependent founder and the peripheral `Activities' of his rich and selfconscious followers. Secularism in laicist France will also have influenced his sensitive personality.

Ultimately, these developments are not critical to an understanding of Western Sufism in its current guise, because discourse and self-examination are not strong points of the Movement. What matters is that these scholars all take a positive

view of Western Sufism as a living reality; any controversy centres on the historiography of the movement, which tends to assume that everything that has come to pass must have been in some way destined from the beginning. In addition, no religious movement has ever managed without its myths, so that any short introduction to Western Sufism had best steer clear of revisionist versions of events that are unlikely to be endorsed by the greater majority of its members.

Mureed, Murshid, Hazrat

The life of Inayat Khan had a clear break, one that underlies the organization of this book. The first phase of his life took place in British India, Nepal, Ceylon (now Shri Lanka) and Birma. During that period he was plain Inayat Khan, or just Inayat, and an avid student of music and mysticism.In the music academy in Baroda he was addressed as professor and for a short while as Tansen Zamanihal, Tansen of the present age. During the second period, which transpired in the West, he soon became a spiritual leader and was seen as such by those around him. He became Pir-o-Murshid Inayat Khan, or just `Murshid,' to his followers. His ame 'Inayat means in Arabic and Urdu `favour or gift', namely of God. So it is the truncated form of Inayatullah. The inverted comma representing the 'ain before the I is usually dropped in transcription of names. Descendants of Inayat Khan are using Inayat-Khan, with hyphen, as a western style surname.

With time Inayat Khan may be said to have fully earned the deferential honorary title `Hazrat' that his brothers gave to Inayat Khan in the West. The literal meaning of the word in Arabic, Persian and Urdu is `presence.' A related and almost synonymous word is `Huzur' or `majesty.' Inayat Khan addressed the Nizam of Hyderabad as 'Huzur' (Biography, 1979, 70). John T. Platts' standard work, A Dictionary of

Urdu, Classical Hindi and English (1884) defines `hazrat' as follows: `Presence; - dignity; - a tide applied to any great man, the object of resort, your or his Majesty, Highness, Excellency, Eminence, Worship or Holiness, etc.' As examples of a proper name the dictionary gives: `hazrat `Isa, Jesus Christ, and hazrat maryam, The Virgin Mary.' It appears, however, that Inayat Khan was not addressed as Hazrat during his lifetime except amongst his Brothers and Indian friends in London. Certainly, all the publications of his work during the 1920s came out under the name of Inayat Khan, and that remained the case with posthumous memoirists or commentators such as Theo van Hoorn and Louis Hoyack, who had known him personally. It is telling that the ûse of `Hazrat' among the sufi following begins with Sophia Saintsbury-Green's thoroughly sanctifying Recollections of Hazrat Inayat Khan of 1930. The title `Hazrat' may have started with the profound respect in which Inayat Khan was held by his brothers, but with Murshida Green it evolved into a public badge of honour that was part of his posthumous sanctification. It now seems almost unrespectful to talk about him without it.

The Photographs of Pir-o-Murshid Inayat Khan

Both Biography and Keesing's volume contain many photographs of both the young and mature Inayat Khan. In addition. the English edition of Theo van Hoorn's Recollections of Inayat Khan features a beautiful picture gallery (Horn/Van Hoorn, 2010, figs. 59-61. 63, 65, 68, 72, 74, 78, 84, 91, 93, 9598, 100-102, 119, 121, 123, 125). He was certainly photogenic in a special way. In many of the published portraits he looks at the spectator with penetrating brown eyes. This gaze becomes more marked as he ages. This inescapable, piercing glance must have deeply impressed people in real life. That is why it was widely assumed that he had paranormal gifts. Several

of his followers wrote about this, including Murshidas Martin and Saintsbury-Green. Most remarkably, Wil (Azeem) van Beek (1903-1992), on the basis of Murshida Martin's stories, assumed, that Inayat Khan could `change the pitch of the vibrations of the atoms of his body [...] and become invisible' (Van Beek, 1983 [written c. 1970], 135-136).

Many photographs convey a sense of an impressive and strong personality. For instance, the photo on the dust jacket of the 1973 and 202 Dutch editions of Elisabeth Keesing's biography, has strong presence. She elucidates most of the photos in her text. Inayat Khan is repeatedly shown holding a musical instrument, most often the vina. One photo shows him with all the medals he had garnered. He was later to interpret the loss of these medals as a test on his road to detachment from worldly fame and fortune. He viewed this fresh insight as a revelation (Biography, 1979, 108).

We often see Inayat Khan with the typical India pagri, or turban, the headdress of village elders and other dignitaries, but also of some professional groups, including musicians. This dress commanded respect. To dislodge someone's pagri, even in jest, meant dishonour or insult. The special headdresses of Inayat Khan emphasized a function, a specific dignity. A few photos show Inayat Khan wearing a black hat as a complement to a long black robe, which is not familiar to me from India but which is reminiscent of the headgear of an Armenian monk. He adopted this headdress during his stay in Russia, where the Armenian church has a strong presence. He also had contacts with Tatars in Moscow, where they still have a splendid mosque. According to family tradition, he owed his black tunic and 'fez' to them. Either way, they emphasize a spiritual function.

The cover of Biography shows Inayat Khan in long, orange-yellow regalia (the so-called Bhagwan robe), without hat and with a carefully groomed beard and stylized hair. He wears

a dark necklace of beads which closely is the tasbih (Arabic, subha) or Muslim rosary used to praise God while reciting his 99 beautiful names. From this necklace hangs the symbol of the Sufi Movement, two wings connected by a heart with crescent moon and star. He makes a greeting gesture, with his right arm raised towards the photographer, spectator or racier. This photo shows Inayat Khan in his full dignity as founder and first leader of the international Sufi Movement. It faces 'the title page of this book.

A substantial group of photographs from the twenties consists of bust portraits of Inayat Khan in profile to three-', quarter view, usually facing left, with his head inclined upward as if in saintly communion with higher things. We know from Theo van Hoorn's Recollections that these images of Inayat Khan were favourites of Dutch mureeds, who treasured them and exchanged them as precious gifts (Van Hoorn, 1981, 181-183; Horn/Van Hoorn, 2010, 291-293). Here is how Van Hoorn described his favourite image of his cynosure in a masterpiece of projection:

Murshid's expression reminds me of a father who is seeing the lives of his children pass before his eyes, with much reason for great, even inexpressible, gratitude and also with an occasional memory of cares sustained, but with an overall grateful feeling that everything has been for the better. The portrait breathes something of great rest and deep trust as well as complete resignation.

What we rarely see or hear about, however, are photos of Inayat Khan as a `private citizen.' Though he was photographed with his family, including as part of many annual photos of the extended Sufi family in London or Suresnes, these are formal and frontal portraits. Only one image known to me shows Inayat Khan casually conversing with his mureeds (Van Hoorn, 1981, fig. 7; Horn/Van Hoorn, 2010, fig 98). Only within his

immediate family have some blurred snapshots survived which show him playing with his children or walking with his wife in the Sufi garden of Suresnes (Horn/Van Hoorn, 2010, figs. 100-102).But we should realize the modesty and hence reluctance in some families in India even today and certainly during Inayat Khan's life time to publicize family pictures. Were it not for such precious few items, it could be said that the visual evidence for the Western life of Inayat Khan is completely dominated by a persona which was largely constructed by his followers and which is, in essence, a hagiographic phenomenon: Much the same observation applies, mutatis mutandis, to the written testimony as well.

Inayat Khan's Mastery of Languages

Biographies of famous men tend to exaggerate their various accomplishments. It is indisputable that Inayat Khan was a great musician, but was he also highly gifted at languages, as claimed by Elisabeth Keesing? He knew his Indian classics, she writes. She names Gujarati, Marathi, Hindustani, Hindi, Urdu, Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and, of course, English, as well as a little French, needed to be able to manage in Suresnes. It is a com0ex and heady mix that is sure to leave us in awe. He is reported of having picked up Russian and Dutch words during his visits to those countries.

The pronouncements of Keesing require some refinement, however, because she was apparently not particularly well informed about the interrelationships between sundry India¡n languages. That. of course, is a highly technical topic, one that may not merit a place in a general study of Western Sufism. However, it is offered here for the more determined reader who needs to have a sense of the specifically Indian character of the oeuvre of Inayat Khan.

At Inayat Khan's parental home, Urdu, was spoken, not the

Punjabi of his father.His father would of course be fluent in Urdu. Even so, a speaker of Urdu and a Punjabi can generally communicate without the intervention of an interpreter. Similarly a speaker of Urdu and Hindi have little difficulty understanding each other, much along the . lines of a Swede and a Norwegian. Hindustani is not a separate language. Urdu is West-Hindustani and Hindi is East-Hindustani. The grammatical structure is largely the same. Though the scripts are totally different, the vocabulary is partly the same as well. Urdu uses an adapted Persian-Arabian script and many Persian and Arabic terms in matters of religion. The Hindi script is derived from Sanskrit, as are many of its religious terms. He who masters Urdu learns to differentiate between words of Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit origin. There is no need to learn Sanskrit for this, but it is nevertheless the unifying language of India.

Inayat Khan must therefore have learned basic Sanskrit at his Hindu school, much like nineteenth-century students in Europe learnt Latin. He certainly knew the Hindi script, in which he wrote several musical primers, but he· and his brothers generally wrote and corresponded in the divergent Gujarati script. Every Muslim learns enough Arabic to be able to recite prayers in that language. It is not certain, however, that Inayat Khan could read a text in Arabic. Like his brothers, he attended a Marathi Hindu school. Although he was taught Sanskrit only as a second language, he remained keenly interested in it (Biography, 1979, 50): He must have enjoyed private instruction in Persian, for he was a poet and many of the Muslim poets of India versified in two languages, Urdu and Persian. He quotes from them at the beginning and end of his Munqâr-e-Musiqâr (freely translated, `beaked as a nightingale'), a book about music and dance. He included verse in Persian and Urdu in this book, among them many poems that he

himself had written. This book is currently being translated by professor Allyn Miner, with its Persian and Urdu verses rendered by Pir Zia Inayat-Khan.

Marathi and Gujarati are interrelated spoken languages in the region in which Inayat Khan grew up. He used Gujarati in addition to Hindustani, arid he also wrote about music in those languages. The cultivated lingua franca of North India is Hindi. Urdu is the lingua franca of Pakistan, but Urdu is also spoken and written in large parts of India, all the way to Lucknow and Hyderabad. Inayat Khan undoubtedly spoke Urdu at the court of the Nizam and with his murshid. As Gujarati was his third spoken language and first written one, he was able to learn songs in it very quickly.

Inayat Khan's English was far from perfect. He worked hard to improve it in connection with his lectures, but he left the editing to his secretaries, notably Sakina Fumée and Kismet Stam, who recorded his improvised lectures in shorthand and then worked them out. Being Dutch, they could do little to improve his, Indian English. The key native speaker in the secretarial group was Murshida Lucy Goodenough, who wrote in longhand and was addicted to heavy-handed editing. These women knew no Semitic or Indian languages, and they did not always control for accuracy the Eastern languages with which Inayat Khan peppered his lectures. This explains the many careless transcriptions in both his English writings and the Dutch translations of the same. One gains the impression that Inayat Khan himself was not always equally precise in his terminology. He is probably no exception among his traditionally educated contemporaries. Usually his books follow a transcription of Arabian terms that is based on Urdu. Thus the Arabic definite article al is often rendered as ul. The same is mutatis mutandis true for terms derived from Buddhism or Hinduism.

How much Inayat Khan thought in Urdu is clear from his definition of the word `sufi' (SM,1962, 16). He says, probably following earlier already existing wordplays, that the word `means pure, purified of ignorance, superstition, dogmatism, egotism, and fanaticism, as well as free from limitations of caste, creed, race and. nation.' That may be true, but this etymology is based on the Urdu word saaf, meaning clean. Saaf comes from the active participle of the Arabian verb safa, clear. But the word `sufi' comes from another Arabian word: soef, meaning wool. Scholars are agreed on this point. The first Sufi ascetics wore dark blue woollen garments. Also, a long `a' in the middle of an Arabian word cannot just turn into an `oe'! Inayat's derivation of the Greek sophia, wisdom is a folk etymology But such wordplays occurred (`Tasawwuf,' EINE, X,,313).

VII
The Sufi Message of Inayat Khan

Typology and Classification of the Oeuvre

Jinayat Khan was more a speaker than a writer. The spoken word saw print thanks to others. His surviving oeuvre, as embodied in the bound London volumes and the paperback Indian ones, adds up to fourteen volumes. Nor has everything seen publication. Several of the volumes of the exhaustive critical edition of Inayat Khan's Complete Works, sponsored by the Nekbakht Foundation in Suresnes, have come out and are sure to delight specialists. The oeuvre has as broad a variety as that of earlier thinkers of the Chishti tradition that produced Inayat Khan. Their work can be divided into five categories: 1) Discussions with the Sufi masters; 2) letters; 3) books about mystical theory and practice; 4) biographic work, be it autobiographical or about other Sufi saints; 5) poems and aphorisms ('C(h)istiyya,' EINE, II, 50-57).

With few exceptions, the letters of Inayat Khan have yet to be published. His poems have been published in English translation. The Urdu originals await an edition in preparation by Professor Allyn Miner. The remaining categories are well-represented. The third, with publications about music and mysticism, constitutes the lion's share. A few recordings of his vina playing have survived and are still available. Finally, family members, friends, pupils and contemporaries have published recollections of Inayat Khan.

An awareness of the work of Inayat Khan is both essential

and sufficient for a short introduction like the present book. No one, I believe, is slighted by the position that the pupils and followers have clarified certain parts of the Sufi thought of Inayat Khan but that they did not add anything essentially new. Elaborations should be credited to their individual authors and not to movement, which is why they will not be considered in this book.

Inayat Khan wrote only four English-language books himself, namely his slim Sufi Message of Spiritual Liberty and three bundles of aphorisms and poetry. We owe most of the printed corpus of his work to diligent secretaries who recorded every word spoken by their murshid. They also noted down his replies to questions. They edited his lectures, interpreted. his intentions according to their own insights, corrected his English as best they could, and tracked down his allusions whenever possible. The last of these processes is exceptionally difficult when a speaker mentions sources without references and adduces other writers spontaneously.

Even after editorial intervention, his publications still have the character of lively presentations. We should not, therefore, judge them by strict scientific standards. To give only one example, professional exegetists of the Bible or Koran, to mention only the holy scriptures, will be astonished at the scholarly license that Inayat Khan permitted himself. Scholars of religion will be amazed at the ease with which the author believes he can establish correspondences between geographically distant religious traditions as, for instance, when he proposes that the names Brahmin and Abraham are etymologically related because these words have the consonants b, r, h and m in common. But Hebrew and Sanskrit belong to totally different linguistic families, making apparent correspondences misleading. In Semitic languages, and to some degree also in Urdu, consonants determine the original

meaning. Scholars of contemporary comparative religion have become aware of irreducible differences. Inayat Khan, however, worked with sounds and their possible associations and evocations. Because sound was for him the highest good, `vocal' connections were particularly meaningful. He intentionally named that `Abstract Sound.'

The majority of his texts resulted from deep reflection. They are meditative and edifying expositions intended to deepen and expand the spiritual horizons of listeners and readers. In some works he presented himself as both wise counsellor and mystic at the same time. The principal direction, however, is mysticism, often supported by theological or religio-philosophical and psychological observations that are complemented by quotidian examples. No matter which discourse by Inayat Khan one picks up, one at once recognizes the personally coloured, universalistic, mystical impression that he imprints on every text. Each book is a meeting with Inayat Khan. Some principal themes return again and again. We limit ourselves to four typical works by Inayat Khan, namely 1) Music and Mysticism (SM, II, 1960), 2) The Inner Life (SM, I, 1960), 3) The Unity of Religious Ideals (SM, IV, 1961), and 4) The Soul, Whence and Whither (SM, I, 1960 or Guillaume-Schamhart, ed., 1984).

The first three books belong to what we have just identified as the third category. The book The Soul contains an account of conversations carried on in 1923, or the first category. Date, day and hour are mentioned for each conversation. Instead of a summary, I settle for a report on several central ideas that had the greatest impact on me as reader.

(1) Music and Mysticism

Even as a young man in Baroda, Inayat Khan had repeatedly argued for compulsory musical instruction in school, in theory

and especially in practice, for boys and girls. His proposal that girls should be admitted to music lessons, initially fell on deaf ears. He was to see to it that his daughters were able to develop their gifts in this field. Noor-un-Nisa, for instance, became an accomplished harpist. According to him, music helps to 'open the inner channels.' It brings people into touch with the inner self and with the divine. He told opponents that the Prophet had only been opposed to abuse of music. According to hint the central place assigned to music in other religions defuses the argument that the practice of this art poses a threat to religion.

Due to circumstances beyond his control, including indifference to Indian music on the part of his following, Inayat Khan had become ever more a mystic and ever less a musician. However, music continued to play an important role in his life. In addition, music became sublimated as mysticism, which in turn came to supply the philosophical underpinnings of his music, thus assigning sound an explicit place within his mystical vision of life. He saw love, harmony and beauty, the key words of his philosophy of life, as the essential characteristics of divine perfection, which is reflected in the universe and which especially need to be realized in the human world. In his opinion, beautiful music could lead to deep joy, exaltation and ecstasy, and in this ecstasy the mystic can undergo his highest experience.

For Inayat Khan reality is made up of three spheres. The highest sphere is that of the angels. The intermediate sphere is made up of the world of the jinn and the lowest sphere by the world. Sound connects these three spheres (Keesing, 1980, 74). In the Koran jinn are the inhabitants of the non-material world. For Inayat Khan music becomes a key to understanding of the created universe. In his chapter èntitled 'The Music of the Spheres' he writes:

Music is behind the working of the whole universe. Music is life itself. The law of music which is working throughout the whole universe and which in other words may be called the law of life, the sense of proportion, the law of harmony, the law which brings about balance, the law which is hidden behind aspects of life, which holds the universe intact, and works out its destiny throughout the whole universe, fulfilling its purpose.' When we look at the cosmos, as the movement of the stars and planets, at the laws underlying vibrations and rhythm, perfect and unchangeable, we see that the cosmos works by means of musical laws. And when this cosmic harmony is relatively lacking somewhere, then disasters will afflict the world proportionately and we can perceive their influence in the destructive forces that they manifest. The astrological laws and the magical and mystical knowledge underlying them are based on music (SM, II, 1960, 19-30).

People attuned to the harmony of the spheres can become forces for good. People with a harmonious character become your friends, others your enemies. 'The music of the spheres, according to the point of view of the mystic, is like the lighthouse in the port that a man sees from the sea, which tells him that he is nearing his destination' (Biography, 1979, 11).

In a Western context, the term `music of the spheres' has one think of the Greek philosopher, mathematician and musician Pythagoras (around 530 B.C.). It is possible that Inayat Khan belonged to this tradition. Translations of Greek books about music had reached the entire Muslim world by the early Middle Ages. But related ideas also occurred among Hindus in India. The medieval musician Sarngadeva connected melodic patterns;called ragas, with heavenly bodies such as the sun, moon and planets. He related the mood of other ragas to morning, noon and night (Nijenhuis, 1974, 37, 39). Leaving such speculation aside, Inayat Khan's practice of music stood

entirely in the service of his mission in life, to direct people who crossed his path to the direct path that leads to life's destination.

It is not his intention, he explains in this same passage, to convert people to any specific religion (Music, in SM, II, 1960, 2 5 7) ,

(2) The Inner Life

This small booklet, The Inner Life (SM, I, 1960, 60-??), forms a short introduction for beginners to the spirituality of Inayat Khan. In comparison one could think of the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556), but with the difference that Loyola is closely related to the gospels whereas holy scriptures play no role in this booklet by Inayat Khan. He clearly aims for a public estranged from traditional religions, who would only be put off by quotations from the Koran or Bible. His other writings are consistent with this approach.

The aspiring mystic sets out on a journey, starting with inner preparation, but he must also keep both feet on the ground and avoid neglecting his worldly responsibilities. Still, he needs to seek detachment and silence. He must find the right rhythm of life and maintain his balance, meaning not to overdo things in one direction or another but to search for fullness of life. He who takes God as his beloved lives in His presence (SM, I, 1960, 72). The Beloved resides both inside and outside the mystic. In this state all our senses experience the Beloved. The eyes see Him; the ears hear Him. On this mystical journey, the mystic cultivates certain desirable qualities; such. as .respect, gratitude, sincerity, loyalty, patience, perseverance and-. righteousness (SM, I, 1960, 90).

On this mystical journey, the aspiring mystic will meet five fellow travellers. The first we could call homo religiosus, or

what Inayat Khan calls the religious type. He attends religious observances faithfully, misses no prayer and is well-versed in the Koran or Bible. But religion is not just an external attribute. It is real. He is also an homo spiritualis, a spiritual man. The second type is the philosophical believer, homo philosophicus. His belief is largely an attitude to life, an art of living. He is an educated and modern man. If he has an inner life, it is hardly noticeable. The third type is the serving believer, homo diaconus. He is ever active for the benefit of others, for mankind. He badly needs the inner life to maintain this life of service. If he is' hurt in the line of duty, that gives him inner satisfaction. The fourth type is the hgmo mysticus and the fifth the homo extaticus.

The believer of the fifth type is totally immersed in his religion. He or she is ever in pursuit of silence and the inner life, though this may not always be evident to others. Elsewhere Inayat Khan calls such a person majdhûb,enraptured, absorbed by God. We know this type from the hermit, or from the nun or monk of a contemplative order. Inayat Khan appreciated this type, but he did not hold it up 'for emulation. It is clear that for him the fourth type, the mystic, is the ideal human being. He is a rarity, an inscrutable type. One could almost recognize a self portrait in this description of this fourth type. Here follows a selection of key phrases (SM, I, 1960, 104-105):

There is the fourth form of a spiritual person, which is the mystic form, and that form is difficult to understand, because the mystic is born. Mysticism is not a thing which is learned, it is a temperament. [...] The average man cannot understand the mystic; and therefore people are always at a loss when dealing with him. [..] In almost every phrase he says there' is some symbolic meaning. His every outward action has an inner significance. [...] Therefore those who understand the mystic never dispute with him. When he says `Go,' they go; when

he says "Come", they come [...]. His tears may perhaps be a cover for very great joy [...]. His open eyes, his closed eyes, the turning of his face, his glance, his silence, his conversation, none of these has the meaning one is accustomed to attribute to them. [...] The mystic is an example of God's mystery in the form of man.

(3) The Unity of Religious Ideals

The English edition of this principal work by Inayat Khan did not come out until two years after his death. Once again, I do not attempt to give a summary, looking instead for the leitmotif. First, however, I give a few quotations from Pearls from the Ocean Unseen, which his followers published in London in 1919 (SM, V, 191-223), this being one of many instances in which Inayat Khan declared that `Sufism is not a religion,' for it is beyond the limitations of faiths, and beliefs, which make the diversity of religions in the world. Sufism, in short, is a change of outlook on life. It is like viewing from an aeroplane a town, the streets of which one has known and walked through, and yet one has never before seen the whole town at a glance. [...]

The Sufi's God is the only Being that exists. His teacher is the spirit of inner guidance; his holy book is the manuscript of nature, his community is the whole of humanity. His religion is love. There is no God of any people who is not his God, no spiritual teacher of any creed who is not his teacher. There is no sacred scripture that he does not accept, since he is the worshipper of light and the follower of love, and yet he is free from all the world's distinctions and differences.

The diversity of names in the universe to him is a veil of illusion, which covers unity, the one life. Only one lives, and all manifestations are to him the phenomenon of that one life. [...]

The Sufi's God is his divine ideal to whom he attributes all that is good and beautiful in its perfection; and he himself stands before Him in humility realizing his imperfection, being a soul, free to roam the heavens, now captive on earth in the physical body (SM, V, 1962, 191-192).

This ideal of God frees the soul from its subservience to limitations, as Inayat Khan explained in his Love, Human and Divine, again of 1919 (SM, V, 143-187). This process of liberation occurs step by step, accompanied by a murshid whose passive and receptive soul absorbs the word of God, who becomes illuminated and stands in communion with God. The first step is the `annihilation' (followers preferred `immersion') in the shaikh or murshid. This is called Fana-fi-Shaikh. The second step is Fana-fi-Rasul) immersion in the Messenger. One creates an ideal picture of the rasul and tries to be like him. The highest level of perfection and self-realization is Fana-fi-Allah, immersion in God (SM, V, 1962, 186-187).

In his Unity of Religious Ideals, Inayat Khan follows a hierarchic division of five principal qualities and grades of the initiated: Wali (friend of God), Ghauth (help), Qutb (pillar of strength), Nabi (prophet) and Rasul (messenger) (Inayat Khan, 1929, 125-128, 131; SM, IX, 128-131). In classical Muslim mysticism, Nabi and Rasul are not levels, whereas Ghauth and Qutb are identical. Inayat Khan creates a new division and indicates it in capital letters. Only God can confer these higher levels of initiation. In Sufi literature we find these titles given only to the well-known and great mystics. Abdul Qadir al Jilani, for example, is called ghauth-i-az' am (greatest help).

Inayat Khan declares that each religion produces its single tone. But when combined, these tones make music. Sufism is the instrument for reproducing this music (Inayat Khan, 1929 9; not in SM, IX, 1963). Sufism goes- to the single source from which all religions draw. Sufism reminds us that all religions are

rivers that debouch in the same ocean. Sufism seeks to kindle the divine spark of love in every human heart. In addition, he thinks of religions as succeeding one another. They answer to human needs at a given period in time. This vision on the history of religion is a friendly version of the Muslim conviction that the latest religion is the best because the others have lost power and purity

Inayat Khan divides religions into two groups. For the first he used the Koranic term Beni Israel, meaning sons of Israel. Among these he includes not only Judaism, Christianity and Islam but also the Persian religion preached by Zarathustra, which is to have inspired the prophets. Nevertheless the four principal prophets are Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muhammad. They receive the titles, known from Islam, of Habib Allah (`the Friend of God'), Kalima Allah (`a word or Communicator with God), Ruh Allah (`the Spirit of God'), and Rasul Allah, (`the messenger of God) (Inayat Khan, 1929, 158; SM, IX, 1963, 147). Entirely according to Islamic vision, he states that the prophets of Beni Israel are not called incarnations (Inayat Khan, 1929, 158; SM, IX, 1963, 148). In this he remains true to his Islamic background.

Inayat Khan's treatment of the prophet Jesus and the symbolism of the cross (Inayat Khan, 1929, 197-210; SM, IX, 1963, 179-192) remains inside the boundaries of Islam, with one surprising exception. He can call Jesus divine because the soul of man is divine and because the soul of Jesus was fully developed. That is the truth, he states emphatically. Hinduism and Buddhism constitute the second group of religions. In this context he describes Sufism as 'a mother of the coming reform in the religious world' (Inayat Khan, 1929, 159; SM, IX, 1963, 148).

(4) The Soul

The book The Soul, Whence and Whither contains conversations with Inayat Khan. We have already discussed his vision on the originally divine soul. This book is a kind of catechism with questions and answers about the soul. The prologue begins on 19 September 1923 at 3:30 PM with the question:

Before manifestation what existed? Dhât, the essence of Being, the truly Existing, the Only Being. In what form? In no form. As what? As nothing. The only definition that words can give is: as the Absolute. In Sufi terms this existence is called Ahadiyyah [Arabic for unity, being one; JS] (Guillaume-Schamhart, ed., 1984, 9).

On 10 August we read, opposite a page with a radiant sun:

The divine Spirit is known by the mystics of all ages as the Sun; and therefore in all ancient mystical symbols the sun has been pictured as the sign of God. [...] This sun is that aspect of the Absolute God in which He begins to manifest [...]. In plain words this explains that when there was nothing -- no form, no person, no object -- there was Intelligence. It is the contraction of that Intelligence; which brought its essence into a form of Light, which is called the divine Spirit; and the expansion of that same light has been the cause of the whole manifestation.

The manifestation [i.e., creation] is the exhalation of God; and what is called by Hindus pralaya -- destruction or the end of the world -- is absorption, which is the inhalation of God. (Guillaume-Schamhart, ed., 1984, 15).

The general drift of this turgid passage is `clarified' in the Dutch translation by Murshida Ratan Witteveen (2010, 19-21): 'The manifestation is the exhalation of God. If God were not to exhale, the whole world would not exist. In the beginning,

therefore, there was Intelligence.'

Inayat Khan calls the soul the ray of the divine sun. Souls descend from the celestial realm via the sphere of the angels, the sphere of the jinn (collective noun; the Arabian singular, jinni, means demon, good or evil) and the terrestrial sphere. Along the way these souls encounter the returning souls of the departed and pick up impressions from them. On 21 August the world of the jinn is described as the universe of `minds.' One could call it a mental world, but the soul is connected to it. Soul and mind together are called spirit, which is why one can also call it a spiritual world. `For the secret of the soul is not far removed from the secret of electricity,' we read on 22 August (Guillaume-Schamhart, ed., 1984, 53-58). The soul is a stream. The souls are God's breaths. In the terrestrial sphere the soul is given a body as garment. In clarification of the word `mind,' the wise one says: 'Your mind is also a space which is wider than the world'. The mind is something between the soul and the body. In her introduction to her Dutch translation of The Soul, Murshida Ratan Witteveen (2000,12) explains that: 'the mind is a place in space in which a human being collects what he learns and experiences in life.' During their stay on earth, souls can arrive at awareness of God. On 15 September (Guillaume Schamhart, ed., 154-155) the mureed hears about the return of the soul, enriched with the experiences of life . This soul then travels through the worlds of the jinn and angels back to the divine sun.

Inayat Khan did not devise this psychological and metaphysical theory on his own, though he did think it through and fully integrate it with his own universal Sufism. The originator of this philosophical theory of the soul was Plotinus. He was the last important non-Christian Greek thinker, whose name is often mentioned in one breath with the earlier and much more famous Plato and Aristotle. His principal

work is entitled The Enneads (The Nine). The book consists of fifty-four treatises divided over nine chapters. Treatise 3 of Chapter 9 (383-529) concerns the nature of the soul. I will mention several correspondences between the deliberations of Plotinus and the thinking of Inayat Khan on this topic. In his foreword, the Dutch translator writes that Plotinus influenced both Christian thinkers, such as Saint Augustine, and.Arabian philosophy. `For Plotinus the highest destination of man lay in his striving for uni1cation with the highest God.' According to the testimony of his biographer, Porphyrius, Plotinus had witnessed this unification on four occasions (Plotinus, 14). 'The one,' according to Plotinus, 'is not one. Because then something would have been said of 'The One' that does not belong to his being. The one can only be approached by thinking, and tentatively described with images and comparisons.'

Plotinus uses the word `emanation' where Inayat Khan talks about `manifestation.' Both use the notion of intelligence as the origin of what exists. With both we encounter the same movement back and forth between abstract definitions and personal indications, where God and the divine are concerned. N. Söderblom (see Chapter 2) differentiated between personality mysticism and infinite mysticism. Plotinus, but also Inayat Khan, continually balances on the border between these two forms of mysticism. He could not relinquish the first, or prayer and observance would become impossible. With Plotinus the soul is unchanging because it is part of the world-soul in an eternal collectivity of souls. In combination, the souls take part in the soul of the universe (390). In this view the world is empsychos or animated. In the intelligent world of true being the souls are without body. The soul has an intermediary function between the higher and tie lower. According to him the descent of the immortal divine soul in a body is a degradation. The body becomes the tomb of the

soul so that death brings liberation. The soul then returns to its destination. The higher soul releases the lower soul when the celestial spheres are reached. As long as the soul resides in the body, it is present in every part of the body. This doctrine of emanation or manifestation leaves little place for historical creation or divine interventions in history.

Inayat Khan probably never read The Enneads. Hence we cannot assert that he used Plotinus or directly derived something from his thinking. But Muslim philosophers were familiar with this way of thinking. As early as 840, parts of The Enneads were translated into Arabic in a rendering by Porphyrius (Smith, 1935 [1977], 85). People initially thought they were dealing with a work by Aristotle, whose De Anima (About the Soul) was also known in the Muslim world. The mistake was eventually discovered and rectified (Badawi, 1966, passim). Via Ibn al-Arabi (see Chapter 3) and others, the thinking of Plotinus entered mysticism, establishing a silsila, a chain of tradition, to later thinkers, including Inayat Khan. We encounter the influence of Plotinus even in current Muslim mystical thinking.

The distinguished Dutch Protestant theologian, Dr. M.C. van Mourik Broekman (c. 1950, 111-119), did not have a high opinion of Inayat Khan as philosopher. Even so, The Soul, Whence • and Whither contains a considered philosophical psychology, with elements going back to Plotinus.

Summary

It is to be hoped that this chapter succeeds in sketching several fundamental patterns in the thinking of Inayat Khan. It has become clear that Islamic mysticism as it flowered in India, was his most important source of inspiration. Because his field of activity was primarily in the West, we also encounter ideas derived from Western philosophy, Christianity, and to a lesser

degree, Judaism. Despite a youth spent in the midst of Hindus, influences from Hinduism and Buddhism are less strongly represented, but the latter do show up in his Mysticism of Sound, as in his traditional Hindu classification of sounds (Horn/Van Hoorn, 2010, 150).

VIII
The Sufi Movement, Organization, Goals and Activities

(1) Organization

In 1923 the headquarters of the Sufi Movement were founded in Geneva on the Quai des Eaux ;Vives. In 1922 the Suresnes Summer School had commenced. It became necessary to connect groups and individuals spread out over three continents. Without some kind of organization, the movement would disintegrate. It cost Inayat Khan some trouble to convince all of his followers of this necessity (Biography, 1979, 238-240). The first organizational form dates from 1917, when the statutes were filed in London. In 1918 the Order was incorporated (Keesing, 1973, 143). At first, the initiated members formed an order within the movement. Several Theosophical friends assisted with the drafting of the statutes.
The Theosophists already had experience with the founding of an international organization.

The choice of the most cosmopolitan Swiss city as location was in part inspired by the fact that the League of Nations had settled there after its creation on 28 April 1919. An organization with international aims, such as the Sufi Movement, ought to be located where other international organizations are active. Indeed, active diplomats from various countries were to join the Sufi Movement in Geneva. An international executive committee was formed. Inayat Khan took on the leadership himself. The international head (Representative General),

who is currently Hidayat Inayat Khan, the younger son of the founder,now doubled in corresponding capacity by Dr. H.J. Witteveen has veto rights and four votes. The vice-president has three votes, the secretary and the treasurer have two votes each, and the other members one only. The first representative of the Netherlands, H.P. baron van Tuyll van Serooskerken (1883-1958), at first participated as the secretary,but was not among the seven founding members of 1923. Geneva still is the constitutional location.During thirty years Murshid Talewar Dussaq (1882-1954) was in charge in Geneva. The archive is now largely located in The Netherlands. The international general secretariat is now in The Hague. By 1922 there was an organized Sufi group in The Netherlands. Most of the countries visited by Inayat Khan (see Chapter 5) have a national executive and local centres. Of all countries, The Netherlands currently has the largest number of Sufis (about 500) who are also members of the original Sufi Movement (Iironet, 2002, 63). There are fifteen local centres, of which the addresses and times of celebration of the Universal Worship are included in the periodical De Soefi gedachte. Internationally, there are almost two thousand full members. It is not known how many sympathizers attend gatherings. Notably the American organisations draw vast numbers of incidental participants. This happens in Europe as welL

How do Sufis attract interested parties? First of all they are very active with the publication of books and brochures by and about Inayat Khan, which are available at book sellers under philosophy and esoteric items. In addition the Universal Worship is included in the timetable for church services found in local newspapers. Even shortly after the founding of the first Sufi groups in the Netherlands, they did not shun publicity. Thanks to articles in the Haagse Post and brief advertisements in local newspapers, more and more people began to show up

(Van Hoorn, 1981, 169). The movement experiences a certain tension between not wanting to proselytize and yet needing steady growth. Obviously, exposure is needed for the latter. It is the well-known tension between centrifugal and centripetal, going out to win others and staying home and being open to those who show up. Inayat Khan was highly centrifugal during his entire active life in the West. But he limited himself to those circles from which he expected that they would be open to his message. The movement is currently more centripetal. The Sufi Movement was not intended for everyone because it is not suited to everyone. Most importantly, not every believer in the Sufi message can become a practising Sufi. Inayat Khan himself wrote about this tension in a still unpublished text entitled Tasawwuf (becoming a Sufi), put at my disposal by Hamida Verlinden, who runs the archive in The Hague.

Never in the history of the world has Sufism been made a sect which wanted to make many of the same sect. It has never been nor will it ever be. It is an esoteric school of long traditions. It remains as such. Yes, it happens that the message born of this School is destined to reach far and wide. This gives us a different task of spreading the message, which stands apart from the Sufi Order, which is an Esoteric School. It has been our honour that the seekers came to us in all ages. We did not seek them. And this dignity we must always maintain [italics mine].

The Sufi Movement certainly does not wish to be a sect, a splinter group around a charismatic leader who sets himself off against others. Characteristic, instead, is its openness to other religions. Nor is the Movement a sect from an Islamic point of view. The term sect is never used within Islam in connection with mystical orders. A phenomenon that one does encounter within Islam, namely, that people are very hard on individuals wanting to leave, does not occur in the Sufi

Movement. A publication of a southern French Protestant cloister named Pomeyrol contains a story about a woman from Geneva who had for years participated in the Sufi Movement but who retired just before her initiation. She found what she sought in a Protestant cloister without later uttering negative words about the Sufis. For her, Sufism proved to be a step in her quest (Pomeyrol, 1984, 87-90).

2) Goals and Guiding Ideas

The three goals and ten guiding thoughts of Sufism were formulated early in the history of the movement. One encounters them in numerous Sufi publications. I have copied the following text from the first Sufi Movement publication dedicated to the Universal Worship, which was issued by International Headquarters in Geneva in 1936.

Purposes

(1) To realize and spread the knowledge of Unity, the religion of Love and Wisdom, so that the variety of faiths and belief may of themselves cease to exist, the human heart may overflow with love, and all hatred caused by distinctions and differences may be rooted out.

(2) To discover the light and power latent in Man, the secret of all Religion, the power of Mysticism, and the essence of Philosophy, without interfering with custom and beliefs.

3) To help to bring the World's two opposite poles, East and West, close together by an exchange of thoughts and ideas, that the Universal Brotherhood may form of itself and Man may meet with Man beyond the narrow national and racial. boundaries.

The Sufi Thoughts

1. There is one God, the Eternal, the Only Being, none exist save He.

2. There is One Master, the Guiding Spirit of all souls, who constantly leads his followers towards the Light.

3. There is one Holy Book, the Sacred Manuscript of Nature, the only Scripture which can enlighten the reader.

4. There is one Religion, the unswerving progress in the right direction towards the Ideal, which fulfils the life's purpose of every soul.

5. There is one Law, the Law of Reciprocity, which can be observed by a selfless 'conscience together with a sense of awakened justice.

6. There is one Brotherhood, the Human Brotherhood, which unites the children of the earth indiscriminately in the Fatherhood of God.

7. There is one Moral, the Love which springs forth from self denial and blooms in deeds of beneficence.

8. There is one Object of Praise, the Beauty which uplifts the heart of its worshipper through all aspects from the Seen to the Unseen:

9. There is one Troth, the true knowledge of our Being within and without, which is the essence of all wisdom.

10. There is; one Path, the-annihilation of the False Ego in the Real, which raises the mortal to immortality, in which resides all perfection.

(3) The Sufi Emblem

The symbol of the Sufi Movement is a heart with wings. In

the centre is a five-pointed star with a horizontal waxing moon below it. On the photograph of Inayat Khan on the frontispiece of the present book he wears this symbol on a chain around his neck. In An official folder explains its meaning as follows:

The heart is like a divine temple. The two wings illustrate the ascension of the heart to higher spheres, where human and divine love meet. The waxing moon represents the ability of the heart to give without reservation and receive in humility. The five-pointed star reflects divine light and with its bright light leads the longing heart to its godly destination.

A more detailed explanation reports that the heart has wings because it stands between the body and soul and is a medium between spirit and dust. In this communication the ambitions of the Sufi Movement are explained in the reputed words of Inayat Khan himself:

The Sufi message is the answer to the cry of humanity today; for it is in agreement with science, and it stands in defence of all religions. Our movement renders service to God and humanity, without any intention of forming an exclusive community, but of uniting in this service people of all the different religions. This movement, in its infancy, is only beginning its work, but its culmination will be a world movement (Inayat Khan, 1929, 323; SM, IX, 1963, 269).

(4) Explication

These open and to a certain degree vague statements leave much room for personal interpretation of both the three purposes and the ten Sufi -thoughts. Sufis commit themselves to dogmatic assertions as little as possible. Most members are rather individualistic in orientation and embrace the message out of spiritual freedom. But, writes Inayat Khan, many had great trouble accepting his leadership because of their individualism.

Initially, some also hesitated to found an organisation because it could turn a me vement into a static institution. Inayat Khan thought of an organisation as a ship needed to advance the message. He also had difficulty finding suitable leaders; those who were able were not willing and those who were willing did not always meet his criteria (Biography, 1979, 234-240). Other than in India and Pakistan, where Muslim Sufism is a populist movement, the Sufi Movement of the West consists of personally highly motivated individuals and, as a consequence, is somewhat elitist in character. The Sufi message of Inayat Khan requires more than a minimum of schooling. Naturally there is a consensus about the fundamental ideas and the different ways to experience these, which the organization offers in its activities. Despite profound appreciation for the intellectual legacy of Inayat Khan, which is studied intensively, we also encounter criticism. His works are certainly not read as a systematic body of teachings or infallible dogma. Some members openly confess that they think some of Inayat Khan's views (for instance, about sexuality, polygamy and monogamy) are too Islamic and dated. For instance, his Rassa,Shastra not only contains useful hints for those in love but also traditional Muslim notions about these topics that can be of little use to a Western Sufi. In addition his explanation of the functions of a prophet leans strongly on Islamic texts (see Rahman, 1958, passim). Finally, in emulation of Muslim mysticism, Inayat Khan turns the Prophet into a mystic par excellence (Inayat Khan, 1929, 137; SM, IX, 1963, 136).

(5) International Leadership and Ramifications

The young Sufi Movement was deeply shocked by the premature death of Inayat Khan. His testament had been burned, whether by accident or design. It was not possible to ascertain whether he had appointed a successor; certainly he

had never done so in public. Should, as is customary in many mystical orders, a family member of the original founder be appointed as successor or should democratic elections be held instead? The American Murshida Rabia Martin (see Chapter 6) was the first of four women whom Inayat Khan had initiated as murshid, but the only one to be appointed on the basis of essential initiatic achievement, as opposed to some kind of service to the Movement. He did not appoint men in that capacity, not even one of the Brothers, because it was agreed that there could be only one Murshid in his lifetime (Horn/ Van Hoorn, 2010, 553-554, n. 595). After the death of the founder, Murshida Martin travelled from America to Europe expecting to take over the leadership. When this did not happen, she returned disappointed and set up an independent organization (lironet, 2002, 205). Upon her death in 1947, her group split into two. One branch, led by Ivy Duce, called itself Sufism. Reoriented. The other, led by Samuel Lewis, is called the Sufi Islamia Ruhaniat Society (see below), Ruhaniat meaning spirituality.

In keeping with the monarchial thinking of the founder and the hierarchic visions of his leading followers, the Sufi Movement opted for the traditional model on the Indian dharma (customary observances of caste) or wajib (morally obligatory) principle, bringing about a succession of family members of the founder which, with an occasional interruption, has lasted to this day. These family members and their closest helpers felt that they owed it to their great predecessor not only .to continue the organization but also to record his written and musical legacy for posterity.

The line of succession has run as follows:

1. Shaikh-ul-Mashaik Maheboob Khan (1929-1948)

2. Pir-o-Murshid Mohammed Ali Khan (1948-1958)

3. Pir-o-Murshid Musharaff Khan (1958-1968)

4. Pir-o-Murshid Fazal Inayat-Khan (1968-1982)

5. Cooperative Leadership, moderated by Murshid Karimbakhsh Witteveen, combining the initiatic lines of first five, then three family members in the `]ami'at Khas'(1982-1993)

6. Pir-o-Murshid Hidayat Inayat-Khan (1986 to present) but in 2009 becoming one of the Movement Representatives-General, i.e. alongside Dr.Witteveen

Maheboob Khan and Musharaff Khan, we recall, were brothers of Inayat. Ali Khan was his cousin. These three men saw it as their primary task to consolidate the young movement and cautiously to expand it Oironet, 2009, passim). All three men in course of time came to live in The Hague, the prewar city and country being Maheboob Khan's favourite, as later it became to Hidayat as well. Two of them married Dutch woman. All three also continued to practise Indian music and to concertize, even in Amsterdam's Concertgebouw. Ali Khan remained single. He possessed the gift of healing, seeing himself entirely as an instrument of God (fironet, 2009, 96-99). It was also he who took the initiative of having the collected work of Inayat Khan, The Sufi Message, published.

When Vilayat, the elder son of Inayat Khan was to be trained as successor, a conflict broke out over the conditionality of this training with respect to the leadership succession. Psychological and cultural contrasts between the Moghul Indian and American-French bred and educated generations early played a decisive role in this. It was the death of Maheboob Khan in 1948 that brought the strains out into open controversy. The problems were soon compounded when the Communist government of the municipality of Suresnes set out to expropriate the Sufi Grounds. The Sufi Movement

became divided into two factions, with Ali Khan and Geneva General Headquarters pitted against Vilayat Inayat-Khan and the Société Anonyme Sufi of Suresnes. The bitter accusations actually fill two volumes entitled Witboek over Suresnes. Western Sufism has never recovered from the grievous loss of the Sufi camelot. It remains the only place where highly successful Sufi Summer Schools could actually run for months on end. Its open spaces offered plenty of opportunities for personal meditative withdrawal and even 'chilla's (40-day periods) of personal practice.

Vilayat was later to become part of the collective leadership but only from 1982 to 1984. During this period abortive attempts were made to get the Sufi Movement and Vilayat's new _Sufi Order International to merge or otherwise institute very close cooperation. In 1987, Pir Vilayat continued an independent Sufi Order International. Fazal Inayat-Khan {1943-1990), son of Hidayat Inayat Khan and, therefore, a grandson of Inayat, became the fourth in succession. Mahmood Khan, the son of Maheboob Khan, in 1967 tried as yet to set up a collective leadership of four relations, Fazal, Hidayat, Vilayat and himself, but he was forced to give up when Fazal wished to exclude his uncle Vilayat. It was difficult for the family to stay unified with one member, Vilayat, repeatedly choosing his own way.

During a two-year stay in India, Fazal established connections with the Nizamuddin Aulia Dargah, a famous place of pilgrimage. A start was also made with the restoration and embellishment of the dargah (literally, house or mausoleum with court) of the founder Inayat Khan. It was also under Fazal's leadership that the temple in the dunes of Katwijk aan Zee came into being. The building, designed by architect S.J. van Embden, was opened in 1970. The official name is Universel Murad Hasil, meaning 'wish fulfilled' in translation. It was Inayat Khan himself, back in 1922, who gave that name to the

place in the dunes on which the temple was built (Saintsbury-Green, 1931, 74-77; Horn/Van Hoorn, 2010, 90-91).

Fazal laid down his functions in 1982. He founded his own Sufi branch in England, calling it The Sufi Way. Fazal, who was a brilliant but controversial man, gave a personal, more Western and psychologically-oriented character to his leadership, which created resistance within the Movement. He died in 1990. After the departure of Fazal and Vilayat, the four remaining members of the Joint Leadership of the Sufi Movement remained together,the so-called Jami' at Khas of Mrs Musharaff Khan, Hidayat and Mahmood alongside Representative General Witteveen. This Combined Leadership was continued by Murshid Karimbakhsh Witteveen. In 1993 Hidayat Inayat Khan became sole head, or Pir-o-Murshid, though he relinquished this tide in 2009. He is currently the only surviving son of Inayat Khan. He already had a professional career as a musician behind him.

The organization of the Sufi Movement was recently decisively altered on the initiative of Murshid Hidayat-Khan There is now a `Pir-o-Murshid Council,' chaired by Hidayat together with Murshid Witteveen. Shaikh-ul-Mashaik Mahmood Khan is a permanent member. In addition, the following functionaries at present are part of the Council: the three heads of the Esoteric School, two leaders of the Universal Worship (Europe and America), two leaders of the activities of the Brother-and Sisterhood (Europe and USA), a leader of Healing and a leader of Symbolism. They are assisted by a secretary. Representatives of other Sufi organizations may be invited to attend meetings and discussions. In this way the door for mergers with other Sufi organizations remains open.

It is not clear to an outsider if this new structure will surmount the inherent tension between hereditary succession within the family and identification of the most suitable

outsider. Murshid Hidayat Khan represents the first line and Murshid Witteveen the second. The new structure resembles a compromise between what Pir Zia Inayat-Khan (2004, 178) has recently called `courtly' and `episcopal' models, these being the Indian 'dharma' and Western `secular' models. Ironically, such a compromise was put forward by Sirdar van Tuyll, Mumtaz Armstrong and others in the summer of 1925, much to the displeasure of Inayat Khan (Mahmood Khan, 2001, 125; Zia Inayat-Khan, 2004, 178-181; Horn/Van Hoorn, 2010, 123).

The list of male successors of Inayat Khan could create the impression that though women played an important part early in the early stages of the movement, during the lifetime of the founder, this did not remain the case after his death. But the most promising among them, Inayat's daughter Noor-un-Nisa, was murdered by the Nazis and her younger sister, Khair-un-Nisa withdrew into private life. Nevertheless, women continued to play an important role. For instance, Shahzadi de Koningh-Khan was a member of the collective leadership of 1982-1993. Women also continued to play a leading role in the Universal Worship and other activities and are often in charge of local centres.

(6) **Other Sufi Organizations**

It must be clear from the preceding information that the movement had difficulty remaining unified. There were a few leaders of the movement, including the above mentioned H.P. baron van Tuyll van Serooskerken, who were in principle opposed to . any ;central leader and Pir-o-Murshid after Inayat Khan himself, and therefore refused to recognize the new leaders, though without giving up on their Sufi work. As one consequence, separate Universal Worships were performed in two locations in The Hague. Both centres rejoined under the leadership of Musharaff Khan. This reunification succeeded in

part thanks to the reconciling activities of the wives of Baron van Tuyll van Serooskerken and Pir-o-Murshid Musharaff Khan (Jiroriet, 2002, 214). The ground had in any case been laid by earlier contacts with Pir-o-Murshid Ali Khan, who had been a good friend of Sirdar and Saida van Tuyll back in the halcyon days of the twenties (see Van Hoorn, 1981, 81; Horn/ Van Hoorn, 2010, 216).

Tension led to the birth of other Sufi organizations. We have already mentioned the Sufi Order International under the leadership of Inayat Khan's elder son Vilayat (1916-2004). From 1982 this order was part of the broader movement but in 1984 it became completely independent. In Holland, too, several sympathizers jôined his branch. Vilayat saw himself situated in the silsila of the Chishti orders and so formally was therefore closer to their Hyderabadi tradition than his father. He was succeeded by his son, Zia Inayat-Khan. From 1965 to his death Vilayat organized an annual congress of religions in Paris. The centre of gravity of his movement is in America but owing in part to his publications, he also has followers all over the world (Naqvi, 2004, 26-27).

As mentioned, Fazal Inayat Khan founded his Sufi Way. The American Elias Amidon is its current leader, according to an interview in Trouw on 18 February 2005. In Britain Fazal's elder son Omar Inayat-Khan is its main representative. The Sufi Way is specialized in Qawwali music, which is played and sung in honour of God, the prophets and the saints. The programmes are advertised via a website. The Sufi Islamia Ruhaniat Society in America, which has about three thousand members,in its popular aim and appealis furthest removed from the original thought of Inayat Khan. Weekend gatherings are especially dedicated to dance and rhythmic movement.

An independent group in Haarlem calls itself Sufi Contact, but through deep personal friendships and mutual appreciation,

the differences were scarcely felt and cooperation between centres remained a matter of course. The remaining internal differences were overcome only very gradually. As a result of the efforts of the current Pir-o-Murshid, Hidayat Inayat-Khan, 1998 saw the birth of a Federation of the Sufi Message, a consultative organization through which members of diverse Sufi movements meet, exchange experiences, and look for common ground to facilitate cooperation. The Sufi Way and Sufi Contact both announce their activities in the quarterly periodical De Soefi gedachte.

(7) Activities

In this section we limit ourselves to official activities in The Netherlands. Personal applications of the Sufi message to society, such as the one by Dr. W.H. Witteveen in the field of economics, fall outside the scope of this book. Any move to greater social engagement is left to the individual. The Dutch official folder identifies four principal activities: the universal worship, the inner school, the brother- and sisterhood, and the international summer school. Jironet (2002, 72) adds the `healing order' as a fifth activity. The information about three of the activities is translated from the above mentioned folder.

(a) The Inner School

Just like the mystical orders of India described in Chapter 3, the Sufi Movement has a mystical school in which an initiator guides mureeds step by step from one initiation to the next on the long path leading inward to the divine spark in the heart. This learning process, which is called 'The Sufi Order, Esoteric School of Inner Culture,' is where one learns the practice of the inner life (Chapter 7). The official folder describes it as follows: `It is not possible to construct a harmonious world by and with unharmonious people. To achieve inner harmony one

needs to acquire insight, especially insight into oneself. Sufism attaches such importance to this that èach and every Sufi in the Movement can obtain guidance and practice in this and other matters. This happens in the Inner School, There one learns to deyelop inner strengths through breathing and concentration exercises, meditation and silence.'

Historically, the Esoteric School is the earliest and most central component of Western Sufism, which can be traced back in time via Inayat Khan's 1911 Chishti instruction of Ada Martin to his own mystical training in India. Strictly speaking, therefore, the Inner School should not be listed as one of the Activities of Sufism; it lies at the heart of the Movement and everything that was most dear to its founder.

(b) The International Summer School

For five years running Inayat Khan presided over a Summer School in Suresnes, near Paris. He intended it to provide an extended opportunity for esoteric discipline and spiritual growth (Van Hoorn, 1981, 84-165; Horn/Van Hoorn, 2010, 149-152 / 221-279) but Suresnes also became a place for mureeds from several nations to socialize and pursue their interests (Van Hoorn, 59-64, 77-81, 91-92; Horn/Van Hoorn, 131-146, 152-157 / 200-204, 213-218, 225-226; figs. 98, 195, 206, 213, 222, 224, 251, 253). The official brochure of the Movement suggests business as usual: 'Just like in several countries in other parts of the world, an International Summer School is held in The Netherlands, in the Universel, the Sufi temple located in the dunes near Katwijk aan Zee. There, supporters of the Sûfi Movement gather from all over the world to study Sufi teachings in a larger context and to experience the special feeling of connection. Certain days are open to non-members.'

(c) The Sufi World Brotherhood

This Activity can be traced back to London during World War, though it is not explicitly identified as a Sufi Activity in the early literature. It was initially intended for people who sympathized with Inayat Khan and his Sufism but who were not ready for or suited to its esoteric discipline. The description in the official folder still reflects these early beginnings: Interested individuals can become familiar with the movement through participation in the Brotherhood and Sisterhood. People meet each other in small circles and attempt to turn the philosophy of Inayat Khan into a living reality. Contacts within the Brother- and Sisterhood are worldwide. To this end, Sufi days, open to all, are held in the temple in Katwijk.'

(d) The Universal Worship

After the Sufi Order "esoteric school" by far the most important among the five so-called exoteric activities of the Sufi Movement , the Universal Worship, or `Church of All,' is an elaborate religious ceremony `based on Masonic and Catholic models' (Zia Inayat Khan, 2004, 125-133). Devised by Sophia Saintsbury-Green and others after his departure for the continent, Inayat Khan sanctioned it on 17 May 1921 during a return visit to London. The demand for a formal church service was apparently so great that it soon began to dominate the face of the Sufi Movement. The Universal Worship was first performed in The Netherlands on 3 September 1922 in the Hague home of H.P. baron van Tuyll van Serooskerken. On this occasion Inayat Khan felt obliged to explain the distinction between his own established esoteric order and the ascendant religious service of his followers (Hazrat Inayat Khan, The Complete Works, 1922, II, 21-13; 'The Church for all,' he said, `provides a religion for those who have none [...].' For all others, who are not estranged from the faith in which

they were raised, he argued that it is a Brotherhood and school intended to teach invaluable lessons about tolerance and the validity of all religions. Shortly after his death, however, he is quoted to the effect that 'The Universal Worship [...] is the religion of the future, which brings to humanity the ideal of the Unification of Religion (Inayat Khan, 1929, 324).' Any distinction between order and service appears to have been forgotten by then. We see, therefore, that though Sufism proper is not supposed to be a religion, the Universal Worship eventually came to represent precisely that. As Zia Inayat Khan (2004, 127) has claimed, 'The advent of the Church of All [and the concomitant Brotherhood] marks the watershed in the transmutation of the Sufi Order from a traditional esoteric school into a new religious movement [...].' In this version of the history of Western Sufism, the service in effect swallowed up the order.

The Universal Worship takes place on Sunday. On other days, dhikr meetings take place and lectures are held. Upon entering, one discerns the scent of incense. The chairs are placed in rows so that everyone has a view of the altar, which is placed on a podium. Another quotation from the folder: `According to the Sufi, all religions are paths to God, and each individual chooses the way that is best suited to him or her. That is why, during the Universal Worship, a candle is lit as symbol of. the light that a given religion sheds on the world. So, also, a candle is lit for all who have held high the light of truth in the darkness of human ignorance. In addition there are readings from the holy books Of the six world religions.' These religions are, from left to right, Hinduism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam. The ministers are called cherags. There are always three- participating cherags in brown robes. One of the cherags lights the candles and reads the texts that have been chosen by the preacher of the day. He

or she has copied the text The holy books therefore remain in place. The text choice is made from the Sufi perspective. Finally, texts are read from the Gayan (from the Sanskrit `gaana,' to sing), Vadan (possibly Sanskrit, explication of holy texts) and Nirtan (Sanskrit, to dance) by Hazrat Inayat Khan. The sermon can be about all kinds of topics. Music is played and songs are sung. The communally pronounced prayer is sometimes accompanied by gestures by individuals. At the end, the middle of the three cherags pronounces a blessing. The word cherag means `lamp' or `light' in Persian and Urdu. The speakers are therefore bearers of light One can think in comparison of Revelation 1,12 and 19, in which, in the Urdu translation, there is also mention of symbolic cheraghdaan or candle holders, which refer to the communities.

There are also other religious functionaries and authority figures within the Sufi Movement who carry titles that have been derived from Arabic-Persian or Urdu religious culture and terminology. I have mentioned and explained most of these along the way, such as: murshid (leader), mureed (pupil; literally, someone who wants something); khalifa (someone with power of attorney), shaikh or shaikha (leader of a centre). Because Sufis believe that there is one mystical essence hidden under all religions, they advance interreligious dialogue and participate in such bodies as the World Conference of Religions for Peace.

(e) The `Healing Activity'

'The Healing' is slightly older than the Universal Worship, but it does not hold the same central place in the Movement It grew out of Anglo-Saxon healing traditions and was championed in Suresnes by Gladys Isabel (Kefayat) LLoyd (born 1866) both before and after the death of Inayat Khan (Van Hoorn, 1981, 39-40, 248; Horn/Van Hoorn, 2010, 140). One cannot, as a rule, sign up for this activity; one must be

asked. The more or less dosed nature of this activity explains its exdusion from the official Dutch folder. Participants believe in the healing power of prayer addressed to the divine Healer, this being a Biblical concept (Exodus 15,26). They follow a proprietary ritual involving a healing cirde and bundled spiritual energy directed at the (absent) patient (Hoyack, c 1950, 213). By healing, the participants think of body and soul. The healing gifts of Mohammad Ali Khan have already been mentioned above (ironet, 2002, 177; 2009, 96-99). Healing mirades have also been attributed to Hazrat Inayat Khan himself (Saintsbury-Green, 1931, 58-59; Van Stolk, 1967, 37; Keeling, 1973, 216; Van Hoorn, 1981, 171; Van Beek, 1983, 184; Horn/Van Hoorn, 2010, 8¢85, 138-139; nn. 521-532). However, he did not lay daim to being a miraculous healer and shunned all sensation.

(f) The Confraternity of the Message

The Sufi Movement again owes this activity, which is not mentioned in the official folder, to Murshida Green. Shortly before Inapt Khan's final departure for India in 1926, he was induced to install his elder son Vilayat as Head of a Confraternity of the Message. l write `induced' because an increasing lip service to the idea of global outreach demonstrably originated with his Theosophic followers. Because this Activity was so intimately associated with the person of Vilayat, it ceased to play an important role in Europe with his departure for America. Nevertheless, this repetitive ritual, which centres around the theme of allegiance to the Sufi Message, is occasionally celebrated in Holland as a kind of appendix to the Universal Worship.

(g) Symbology

There is a small, closed group in the Netherlands which

takes an interest in symbolism. I do not know if there are also such groups elsewhere. People gather three or four times a year. Just as the rituals and nomenclature of the Freemasonry centre on architecture, so this group in inspired by the symbols of agronomy, with comparable secrecy. Symbolism, or Zira'at, the Arabic word for agriculture, was again conceived by Murshida Green in Suresnes, though the core idea probably originated in London in the late teens (Horn/Van Hoorn, 2010,142; n. 548s). Symbolism was never an important activity. Significantly, it is not even mentioned by Theo van Hoom is his Sufi memoirs. Recently, however, it has seen a revival encouraged by Hidayat Inayat-Khan.

Epilogue

After the preceding review of the . origins and functioning of the Sufi Movement founded by Inayat Khan, a few questions still remain unanswered. First and foremost, we may ask why so few people joined this movement, despite the restless programme of lecturing by the founder and the extensive publicity launched by his mureeds? The central ideal -- the discovery through mysticism of the one mystical essence that lies hidden beneath many religions -- was modern and visionary, so that it fully deserved to succeed. At the beginning of Inayat Khan's Western venture, leaders of various world religions generally stood in isolation and opposition; there was no question of dialogue or cooperation. His call for unity was therefore fully justified. It is true that he did not work in any truly interreligious way in that he did not gather religious leaders around one table. That was not yet possible in his days. Nevertheless, the universal, and ecumenical message of Inayat Khan deserved every success.

Inayat Khan was also modern in relating the religious, ethical and aesthetic dimensions of life in one ideal of `love, harmony and beauty.' Harmony was in part to be pursued by respect for others and giving serious consideration to competing viewpoints. His modernity also found expression in his close attention to the spiritual maturation of each of his mureeds along his or her own individual path. Many of those followers were women, meaning that at a time the women's liberation movement was still in its infancy, female mureeds

already had ample room for personal development within the Movement. Though women played an important role in Inayat Khan's extended family in India, he still needed to adapt to the formidable matrons among his Western following, who were used to having their way in the world at large. In short, Inayat Khan was not so much implementing a preexisting feminist agenda as demonstrating his respect for people in general in combination with his gift for creative adaptation to new circumstances.

Be that as it may, history teaches that universality, modernity, respect for the individual, and openness to the viewpoint of others are not essential ingredients for the growth of a religious movement. In fact, they can be more of a hindrance than a help. Because Sufism is truly an adult type of faith, one that presumes a great deal of personal insight and initiative, it was unlikely to attract young and unreflective people, thereby ruling out populism from the beginning. Like their founder, Western Sufis try to avoid taking dogmatic positions, whereas much of humanity appears to need absolute truths and certainties.

Some historical factors are worth considering. During the First World War (1914-1918) there was a rise in nationalism, Islamophobia and suspicion of Indians, whether Muslim or Hindu, which created a hostile climate hostile for Inayat Khan and the Brothers. Still, these developments had their detrimental effect during the early stages of the Movement (when it was still only an Order) and cannot explain why membership growth remained modest during the interwar years, when another Indian, Jiddu Krishnamurti (1895-1986), was wildly popular. During the Second World War (1940-45), the Movement was forbidden by the Nazis for being incompatible with National Socialism and for welcoming Jews to its membership and with its candle and scripture,Torah,included in Universal Worship. But Sufis continued to meet in secret all through the war in

acts of defiance and comfort. It is not clear, therefore, whether either of the world wars had a lasting negative impact on the Movement.

It is easy for an outsider to point to the ever-recurring post-War struggle over the succession that led to schism and a corresponding tarnishing of the image of the Movement. However, this observation also needs to be qualified in view of the careful study by Karin Jironet (2009). Her examination of the forty years following the death of Inayat Khan shows that the conflicts surrounding Inayat's elder son Vilayat and his nephew Fazal had no lasting deleterious consequences for the Movement us such. Things never came to a complete rupture. Time and again, reunions and rapprochements took place. Like in every young movement, there was tension between those who saw the leadership as a family calling (a kind of dharma) and those who had risen through the ranks and were, in effect, careerists. But this contrast must not be overstated. Family ties and careerism may even be represented in one person. and the distinction need not affect rank and file members of a movement.

To get to the real crux of the issue of limited growth, we should return to that central ideal of Western Sufism and remember that it was in essence an esoteric school. That fact alone rendered substantial growth of the Movement unthinkable in the first decades of the twentieth century, when talk about mystic transport and cosmic vibrations would have met with disapproval or ridicule in most quarters in the West. Inayat Khan's mureeds were an exceptional group in being willing and able to investigate Eastern mysticism at leisure. `Leisure' is the key word here, because the working classes had none. The overwhelming preponderance of wealthy and upper class mureeds in England, The Netherlands, Switzerland or Suresnes further ensured that Western Sufism would long

remain an elitist movement without a prayer of ever becoming a populist one.

Of course Inayat Khans early followers were not used to the feudal Chishti discipline studied and taught by their beloved Pir-o-Murshid. To become an accomplished mystic requires a major investment of time and effort that was simply beyond the reach of most Westerners, even those members of the leisure classes who also happened to have the requisite aptitude. However, that problem had been resolved even before the highly successful Suresnes Summer Schools of 1922 to 1926. Most mureeds were fully content to leave the heavy-duty mysticism to Inayat Khan and the Brothers, while they themselves remained marginal adepts who revelled in the rich lecture series, peripheral Activities, and congenial social intercourse of the Movement. The small and close-knit nature of the Sufi community no doubt made it additionally attractive for its, inevitably, class conscious members. It was only under Fazal Inayat Khan that the Movement became less elitist, so that its membership grew substantially, but his tenure was followed by a growing emphasis on hierarchy by followers with a theosophical background, which probably discouraged democratically-minded people (Zia, 2001,125, notes 100 and 101). Hierarchy on the other hand appealed to those who felt that they were experiencing too much democracy in real life.

Truth be told, the notion of a large Sufi Movement was scarcely entertained by thinking leaders and mureeds. Certainly, Inayat Khan made it very clear that he did not expect his Sufism to reach many people. We have seen from his unpublished Tasawwuf passage that he drew a distinction between the esoteric school and the message. Though he paid lip service to the notion of world outreach to accommodate his Theosophic followers, who saw it as another (largely theoretical) Activity, he was opposed to all proselytizing in connection with the Order.

Inayat Khan's first successor, his brother Maheboob, thought it senseless to pursue expansion (horizontal) while the current representatives were still badly trained in mysticism proper (vertical). He recognized the danger of a continuing shift in emphasis from students-trainees to supporters-followers. Similarly, the great schism of Western Sufism centred on mystical mastery, as represented by Ali Khan, as opposed to charismatic outreach, as embodied by his nephew Vilayat, with the latter quitting the field and establishing his own movement in America. In short, Western Sufism remained small by its very nature.

The British Muslim scholar, Martin Lings (1909-2005), offers a totally different explanation for the limited growth
of the Movement (Lings, 1975, 17). He proposes that Muslim mysticism, no matter how universal, withers when it is no longer connected to the nurturing soil of Islam. If that is true, the Sufi Movement should have had more than a fighting chance to flourish. As mentioned above, Inayat Khan was a Muslim who always continued to believe that the final universal revelation belongs (and always will belong) to Muhammad. The message that there has been a primeval unity between and in the several religions ever since Adam, belongs to Islamic thinking. The thought that the creeds, the systems of faith, loose their magnetism and are in danger of ossification is also encountered with Muslim authors. In fact, Western Sufism is truly steeped in Islam. Until recently, moreover, much of its leadership remained Muslim. Moreover some European mureeds were inclined to give more credibility to those with an Indian and Islamic background

As we have seen, however, Inayat Khan's followers, with some important exceptions, did not embrace his Muslim identity and orientation. Using their Church of All, they reduced Islam to the status of one of several worthwhile

world religions. Even today, the Sufi Movement wants to stay connected with Islam, but only very loosely, so that people may experience ties with other religions in the Universal Worship. It is all so much water under the bridge, however. In the context of the present discussion, we need only consider that if Inayat Khan had insisted on the primacy of Islam among the several world religions, his Movement would scarcely have outlived the First World War.

The fact remains that the Sufi Movement has never sought out open rupture with Islam. A Muslim can be both Sufi and Muslim, just as a Christian can be both Sufi and Christian. Those who are born and bred into the Movement do not experience this as an anomaly. Western Sufis do profess the central dogma of the Koran that one should believe in one God only, and they universalize Muslim conceptions, especially mystical ones. To them Muhammad is an important prophet or, for some, even the most important one, but not the definitive teacher or murshid. They have also distanced themselves from the shar'ia, the Islamic religious law. This merely comparative relativization of the definitive message of Islam must explain why the Sufi Movement has escaped sharp condemnation, such as the fatwas that did strike the Ahmadiyya Movement and the Bahâ'i, but also why it is totally ignored in Muslim books about mysticism.

A few orientalists do refer to the Sufi Movement In a footnote to her chapter 'What is Sufism,' Annemarie Schimmel wrote: Inayat Khan, The Sufi Message, which has been reprinted many times, is a modern and subjective, yet impressive interpretation' (Schimmel, 1975, 9). C. Ernst, the author of the section on South Asia in the entry on Tasawwuf in EINE (X, 336-337) observes under the heading `Internationalisation of South Asia Sufism': Devotion to Indian Sufi saints spread to the Malay peninsula, South Africa and the Caribbean in the

19th century as the British exported indentured labourers to those regions from India. In the 20th century, Europeans were exposed to visiting Indian Sufi teachers such as Inayat Khan (died 1927), who was trained as a Chishti but presented Sufism as a universal religion detached from normative Islam. His teachings have been perpetuated by Americans (Rabi'a Martin, Samuel Lewis) as well as family members (Pir Vilayat Khan) in Europe and America.' Ernst mentions no sources and does not refer to The Hague or Suresnes. We sense from these two perfunctory appraisals of the Sufi Movement that, being small, it has never become much of a player in the context of Islam. To put it in fashionable parlance, Western Sufism has managed to fly under the Islamic radar. Inayat Khan's `aristocratic'teachi gs appealed to his leasured class contemporaries and less to Muslims and others for whom all believers are equal.

By way of contrast, take the case of the Bahâ'i religion. Despite the many correspondences between Bahâ'i and Sufis, there remains the difference that the Sufi Movement does not profess to be a new religion. The Bahâ'i do. The correspondences between Bahâ'i and Sufis are nevertheless important enough to mention here. Both movements originated within Muslim culture (Slomp, 2006, 118-120). Bahâ'i's also assume the essential unity of all religions. They, too read from holy books of other religions in their service, but they do so from the perspective of their own kitâb-e-aqdas or holiest of books (Bakker, 2002, 88). Sufis have not conferred canonical status on any book by their founder. The Bahâ'i's also wish to connect East and West, opposing Eastern spirituality to Western materialism. The content of the proclamation of Bahâullah and the message of Inayat Khan show many similarities. Bahâ'i also establish local centres and they, too, have been unable entirely to free themselves from

Islamic terms, though in their case Persian variants as opposed to Urdu ones. One could ask to what degree, in the framework of global, mondial and universalistic thinking, a North-South opposition has become just as important as that of East and West.

Examined more closely, however, the differences between Bahâ'i ¯and Western Sufism are enormous. Bahai was a new, highly moral and social religion, whereas f Inayat Khan introduced a kind of renovation through modern mysticism, or mysticism as a universal spiritual heritage. Whereas Bahai broke with Islam, Inayat Khan most certainly did not. During a meeting of the two men in Paris, Abdul Baha asked: 'you are also preaching the brotherhood of nations?' Inayat Khan replied, `I am not teaching brotherhood, but sowing the seed of Tawheed, the unity of God, that from the plant of Sufism may spring up the flowers and fruits of brotherhood (Biography, 1979, 230-231)_ In short, Inayat Khan remained a Muslim to his death, even though he recognized that very few of his followers shared his orientation. His brothers and children were to secure the genuiness of Sufism, the others were left free to follow in their way or not.

In closing, I add the critical voices of three scholars of religion, two of them Protestant and one Catholic. Shortly after World War II, M.C. van Mourik Broekman (c. 1949), 113114) argued that `universal religion is not only an unattainable goal, but also an undesirable one.' He closed with a hard look at the Universal Worship of Western Sufism.

It all seems worthwhile to me, symbolically, as a sign of appreciation for the Divine Truth embodied by the various religions of the world, and as a warning not to become too attached to one's own religiosity. But human beings, with their limited capabilities¯¯; can only experience deeply what is dearest to them and what they have truly absorbed. Could that be, for

Sufis, the realm of thought of the Scripture of Pir-o-Murshid Hazrat Inayat Khan, which is placed in the middle of the altar under the central and most elevated candle? If so, a new religion will have been formed after all, against the will of the founder (Van Mourik Broekman, 125).

Almost sixty years later, and completely independently, Zia Inayat Khan (2004, 133) echoed Van Mourik Broekman's core observation:

The use of the Gayan, Vadan, and Nirtan in connection with the spirit of [the central] Guidance candle reduces the ambivalence of the phrase, "all those who have held aloft the light," and when considered in the light of the service of the Liberal Catholic Church, seems to explicitly postulate that the author of the three volumes, Inayat Khan, is the Messenger of the age.

In his Sufi Message of Spiritual Liberty of 1914 (SM, V, 20) and sundry issues of The Sufi of 1915, 1918 and 1919 (Horn/ van Hoorn, 2010, 92-97), Inayat Khan repeatedly asserted that Muhammad 'gave the final message of divine Wisdom', so that no one, including himself, could lay legitimate claim to being a Messenger of God, or what Theosophists called a `world teacher'. At the same time, we recall, he insisted that Sufism is not a religion. We have also seen, however, that he characterized the Universal Worship as a religious service, at least for some of its participants. It follows, therefore that Western Sufism is not a religion only to the extent' that it weighs and heeds the words of its founder. In reality, for those born into the Sufi movement it is the only religion they know, and for those with Christian, or other roots, it has effectively replaced their religion of origin. That is even more -the case for Christians than any others, since for Christian believers the heart of the matter is not mystic experience but the acceptance of the saviourhood of Christ. By now it will be obvious after

reading the previous pages that for Muslims who join the sufi movement there is no such a dilemma.Even the most secular among them will experience their sufi practices as being in line with Islam.

In a loosely related vein, D.C. Mulder closed his long career as a scholar of religion and Protestant pioneer of dialogue, with the observation that there is no communal theological basis for interreligious dialogue tube found in the sacred books of the world religions. No matter how much we might want it, there is no theological element that binds all religions, and therefore no unity in diversity According to Mulder there is only an anthropological basis for dialogue. All we share is our humanity. It also remains essential that we talk to one another about common interests, such as keeping the world livable for all its inhabitants, regardless of race, creed or nationality. The word `religion,' he maintains, has.' ever-changing meaning for followers of all religions. Nor, according to him, is m' .ticism much of a unifying element (Mulder, 1985, 137-151).

Johann Figl, a Viennese Roman Catholic scholar of religion, made a special study of universalizing movements such as Theosophy, Bahâ'i, and Sufis, as well as of a number of Japanese groups. Figl goes into considerable detail with respect to the Sufi Movement (Figl, 1993, 89-135). He thinks it possible that just as Western Christians have taken over methods of meditation from Zen-Buddhism, they may also absorb the `universal dimension' of Sufism (Figl, . 194). However, he excludes the Pantheistic (the divine resides in everything) and monistic (manifestation of the one) tendencies of Sufism, which he thinks are irreconcilable with the Christian faith. But Figl is not clear about how this Christian absorption of Sufi universality is going to be realised. Sufis will therefore have more trouble dealing with the observations of Mourik Broekman and Mulder than with those of Figl.

Finally, I submit some more observations of my own. Inayat Khan compares the several world religions to dead blood cells in a body (Biography, 1979, 238-239). But are those blood cells truly dead? Inayat Khan himself already sensed signs of new life in his conversations with Nathan Söderblom. The Second Vatican Council has since renewed the Roman Catholic Church. If the Sufi Movement was at one time almost unique in offering methods for meditation and contemplation, Protestant and Catholic cloisters currently have waiting lists to be able to house visitors. In the West, people are beginning to rediscover their own-hidden treasures. For such seekers, the Sufi Movement has become redundant. In addition, mysticism has made a comeback. This trend should please members of the Sufi Movement, for was it not. their founder's intention that the mystical spark should jump from East to West? I make this observation, fully aware of the fact that some questioned the reliability of such stray remarks about "the dead blood cells" in the biography (Mahmood Khan,77) as being incompatable with Inayat Khan's teaching in his major works. Those responsible for editing the biography obviously did not see a problem. I have to admit that if Inayat Khan meant to make a categorical statement with its full implications, he would have started a movement for a fullfledged revification of all world religions. This being not the case, the above quoted remarks must not be overestimated.

As a closing question, when Inayat Khan says that what matters most is opening the heart to God, do Jews, Christians, Muslims, Buddhists, Hindus, Sikhs and followers of Zoroaster all attach the same meaning to those words?

Postscript by the Author

To the members of the board of the Nekbakht Foundation I owe special thanks for their decision to publish an updated English translation of my *De Soefi Beweging (* Kampen, Kok, 2007). In preparing this English edition I benefitted from comments by readers and reviewers of the Dutch edition. I am grateful to all those who assisted me while writing these pages. Not being a *mureed* myself, I thank my Sufi friends for their trust. All shortcomings of this book should of course be attributed to me.

It goes without saying that by 2011 a straightforward translation had become impossible because of several recent publications, each throwing new light on various aspects or representatives of the Sufi movement. While writing my Dutch book, I unfortunately missed *A Pearl in Wine. Essays on the Life, Music and Sufism of Hazrat Inayat Khan,* edited by his grandson, Pirzade Zia Inayat Khan (2001). This beautiful volume confirmed my findings in many ways, but it also necessitated some corrections and additions. Zia Inayat Khan' s unpublished dissertation (2004) about the hybrid nature of the Sufi Movement only came to my notice by the end of 2010. It alerted me to aspects I had overlooked, such as the Theosophical connections of Inayat Khan's western Sufism. *Spy Princess* (2006) , a new biography of Inayat Khan' s daughter Noor-un-Nisa by the Indian author Shrabani Basu, will appeal to those who, like myself, are keenly interested in the history of the Second World War. As for Noor's Sufi inspiration, Basu

hardly adds to what we know already through Jean Overton Fuller' s earlier book about Noor. But to those who want to read more about Noor, I recommend it warmly. Karin Jironet 's study on the three Brothers, who succeeded the founder, fleshes out the history of the movement where my account had to remain rather sketchy. This is because I chose to concentrate on the Indian, Islamic, musical and mystical origins of Inayat Khan's vision and written message, rather than on family obligations. The English translation by Hendrik J. Horn of Theo van Hoorn' s *Recollections of Inayat Khan and Western Sufism* (September 2010), became an important source for altered and additional texts not found in the Dutch original. Professor Horn also kindly looked over the English of this volume.

I have tried to be consistent in the transcription of Arabic and Urdu terminology. Occasionally I follow the Urdu spelling of Arabic words. The spelling within quotations has remained unchanged. May God have mercy upon the reader and forgive the author, as the Arabic saying goes.

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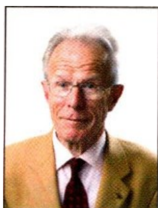

The Sufi Movement East and West

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