

Arslan's eunuch commander Sāwtigin passed through Arrān in 460/1068, the dissensions within the Shaddādid ruling family were apparent to the Saldjūk ruler, and when Sāwtigin appeared for a second time in 468/1075, the rule of Faḍl (III) b. Faḍl (II) was ended and the Shaddādids' territories were annexed to the Great Saldjūk empire.

However, the branch installed by the Saldjūks at Ānī continued for another century or so. Ānī, the capital of the Armenian Bagratids, had been taken over from them by the Byzantines, but in 456/1064 was conquered by Alp Arslan. Certainly by 464/1072, and probably before then, the Shaddādid Abū Shudjā' Manūčīhr b. Abi 'l-Aswār (I) (d. ca. 512/1118?) was governing the city. The history of the Shaddādids of Ānī is known only sketchily. We no longer have for them an Islamic source comparable to the information on the main line in Gandja found in Münedjdjim Bāshī and going up to 468/1075-6. We do know that Manūčīhr, with help from his Great Saldjūk suzerains, had to fight off attacks by the Artukid II Ghāzī of Mārdīn [see ARTUKIDS] and by the latter's vassals such as Kizil Arslan (sometimes called in the Arabic sources al-Sabū' al-Aḥmar "the Red Lion"), of the region to the south of Lake Van; but the Shaddādids seem to have held on to Dwin till 498/1104-5. In the reign of Manūčīhr's son and successor Abū 'l-Aswār Shāwūr (II), the Georgian king David the Restorer (1089-1125) recaptured Ānī for the Christians and replaced the Muslim crescent emblem on the Armenian cathedral there by the cross, but it was recovered for the Muslims by Abū 'l-Aswār (II)'s son Faḍl or Faḍlūn (III) (d. 524/1130), who also retook Dwin and Gandja. Nevertheless, the Shaddādid pricipality of Ānī remained under Georgian overlordship, and few facts are known about the Shaddādid *amīrs* of the middle decades of the century. After internal unrest within Ānī itself the Georgians occupied the city in 556/1161, carrying off Faḍlūn (IV) b. Maḥmūd b. Manūčīhr, and shortly afterwards sacked Dwin and Gandja also. It was Eldigūz or Ildeñiz [q.v.] who regained Ānī in 559/1164, and the historian of Mayyāfārīkūn al-Fārīkī records that its governorship was given by him to a Shaddādid, Shāhanshāh (b. Maḥmūd) b. Manūčīhr; he ruled there until the Georgians once again conquered Ānī in 570/1174-5. Thereafter, the Shaddādids fade from mention, except that a Persian inscription in Ānī of 595/1198-9 was apparently made by "Sulṭān b. Maḥmūd b. Shāwūr b. Manūčīhr al-Shaddādi", whom Minorsky identified with the brother of Faḍlūn (IV), Shāhanshāh (= Sulṭān in Arabic).

The family thus disappears from history; the Ānī branch, at least, had been notable for its beneficent rule over both Muslims and Christians of this ethnically and religiously very mixed region, echoing the similar, generally just treatment of the Muslims in their own lands by the Georgian kings.

Bibliography: The passages of the anonymous *Ta'rikh Bāb al-Abwāb* preserved in Münedjdjim Bāshī's *Ta'rikh al-Duwal* (for the main branch of the Shaddādids) and of Fārīkī's *Ta'rikh Mayyāfārīkūn* (for the Ānī branch) were translated, with a copious and penetrating commentary, by V. Minorsky in his *Studies in Caucasian history*, London 1953, 1-10 (survey of earlier literature at 2-3, genealogical table of the main line at 6 and of the Ānī branch at 106); see also his *A history of Sharvan and Darband*, Cambridge 1958. Of both the earlier and subsequent literature, see E.D. Ross, *On three Muhammadan dynasties*, in *Asia Major*, ii (1925), 215-19; Aḥmad Kasrawī, *Shahriyārān-i gum-nām*, Tehran

1928-30, iii, 264-313; Cl. Cahen, *L'Iran du Nord-Ouest face à l'expansion Seldjukide d'après une source inédite*, in *Mélanges d'orientalisme offerts à Henri Massé*, Tehran 1342/1963, 65-71 (information from Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī); Bosworth, *The New Islamic dynasties*, Edinburgh 1996, no. 73; W. Madelung, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 239-43; Bosworth, in *ibid.*, v, 34-5; and for inscriptions at Gandja and Ānī, Sheila S. Blair, *The monumental inscriptions from early Islamic Iran and Transoxania*, Leiden 1992, index s.v. Shaddad(i). (C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-SHĀDHILĪ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Djabbār (ca. 593-656/ca. 1196-1258), one of the great figures in the Sūfism of the brotherhoods. His teachings launched a *ṭarīqa* which gave birth to numerous, dynamic ramifications. These developed and have constituted a mystical tradition very widespread in North Africa and equally present in the rest of the Islamic world, as far as Indonesia.

Al-Shādhilī's life is known to us through the texts compiled by his disciples, often late and in a clearly hagiographical mould. It is thus hard to distinguish the historic personage from what pious legend or the archetype of the *walī* has brought forward. Yet one can sketch out the course of life of one of the most famous saints of Maghribī Islam. The most important sources here are the *Laṭā'if al-minan* of Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh (d. 709/1309; ed. 'A.Ḥ. Maḥmūd, Cairo 1974) and the *Durrat al-asrār* of Ibn al-Shabbāgh (d. 724/1323; Brockelmann, S II, 147, which places his work ca. 751/1350, to be corrected; ed. Tunis 1304/1886). There is also the synthesis of Ibn 'Iyād (sometimes written Ibn 'Ayyād and even Ibn 'Abbād), the *Mafākhīr al-'aliyya fi 'l-ma'āthīr al-shādhiliyya*, Cairo 1355/1937, much later than the previous two sources since it cites al-Suyūṭī, Zarrūk (9th/15th century) and al-Sha'rānī (10th/16th century).

Al-Shādhilī was born in northern Morocco, in the Ghumāra country between Ceuta and Tangiers in ca. 583/1187 or ten years later, according to the sources. He claimed descent from the Prophet via al-Ḥasan. He studied the various religious sciences in Fās, was tempted for some time to follow alchemy, but abandoned it for the mystical way in its proper sense. Seeking instruction from the great masters of his time, and seeking especially to meet the Pole [see KUTB], he left for the East, sc. 'Irāk, in 615/1218, where he continued his education, notably with the *shaykh* Abū 'l-Faṭh al-Wāsiṭī (d. 632/1234), disciple and *khalīfa* of Aḥmad al-Rifā'ī [see RIFĀ'ĪYYA]. One master (*ba'd al-awliyā'*, according to *Durra*, 4), nevertheless suggested that he should return to the Maghrib to seek out the Pole of the age. Back in his homeland, Morocco, al-Shādhilī recognised the Pole in the person of the hermit of the Rif, 'Abd al-Salām b. Maḥshīh (d. 625/1228 [q.v.]). He stayed with the latter for several years, until 'Abd al-Salām suggested that he should travel to Ifrīkiya; it is not impossible that al-Shādhilī's departure was motivated by local disturbances, in the course of which 'Abd al-Salām was murdered. We do not know exactly why he decided to settle precisely in the village of Shādhila, half-way between Tunis and Ḳayrawān, nor why he henceforth began to be called by the *nisba* of al-Shādhilī—which a flash of divine inspiration offered him the interpretation of *al-Shādhilī li* "the man set apart for My service and My love" (*Durra*, 10). But his teaching and personal influence speedily acquired a great fame in the land. Numerous miraculous happenings were attributed to him; he is said to have been in touch with al-Khaḍīr. His influence displeased the *'ulamā'* of Ḳayrawān, who launch-

ed against him a campaign of denigration, accusing him of proclaiming himself a "Fāṭimid"—an allegation which was possibly not entirely alien to al-Shādhilī's conviction (since, as we have seen, he was of Sharīfian origin) that he was the Pole of his age. He finally decided to leave Ifrīkiya when a Pilgrimage caravan was departing. He settled in Egypt, an attractive and welcoming land for Ṣūfīs, at Alexandria in 1244 or perhaps only as late as 1252. The success of his teaching and his prestige grew unceasingly, including in the eyes of the *ʿulamāʾ*, and numerous pupils came to Alexandria from distant parts of the Islamic world to gain a spiritual and ascetic training from him. As a fervent observer of the duties of Islam, Abu 'l-Hasan al-Shādhilī made the Pilgrimage as often as he could, and it was in the course of a journey to the Holy Places that in 656/1258 he died at al-Ḥumaythirā in the Upper Egyptian desert.

Al-Shādhilī left behind no writings on doctrinal matters (deliberately thus, according to *Laṭāʾif*, 37-8). The only writings which we have from him are some letters, litanies and prayers. The essential core of his teachings was transmitted by his pupils (see above, and in *Bibl.*) in the form of collections of "sayings", words of wisdom and edifying and miraculous anecdotes. In these he develops the themes of a moderate Ṣūfism, attentive to the material life of his disciples and respectful of social cohesion. Basically, it is a question of a strict and unequivocal Sunnī spirituality. The putting into practice of the *Shari'a* is here the indispensable framework of the faith, equally valid for Ṣūfīs and for ordinary believers; by the practice of the virtues, the Ṣūfī purifies the mirror of his soul and becomes fit to undertake the mystical pilgrimage. The *fakīr* who is a bad practitioner of these requirements is *ipso facto* severely blamed. In a more general way, the mystic should keep a deep humility in face of what has been provided by revelation. "If your mystical unveiling (*kashf*) diverges from the Kur'ān and Sunna, hold fast to these last two and take no notice of your unveiling; tell yourself that the truth of the Kur'ān and Sunna is guaranteed by God Most High, which is not the case with unveiling inspiration and mystical perceptions" (al-Sha'rānī, *al-Ṭabakāt al-kubrā*, Cairo 1954, ii, 4; see also *Durra*, 34).

Al-Shādhilī's counsels on spiritual orientation likewise recall traditional Ṣūfism. Recurrent themes of them are the abandonment of earthly concerns, the struggle against the carnal soul and acceptance of the fate which befalls one. These counsels are not directed at ascetics but at pious believers engaged in the social life; "the Way does not involve monastic life (*rahbāniyya*), nor living off barley or flour-siftings; the way involves patience in the accomplishing of the divine commands and the certainty of being well-guided" (al-Sha'rānī, *op. cit.*, ii, 6; *Durra*, 86). Numerous of the master's locutions stress the necessity of a detachment essentially internal and without ostentation (see e.g. *Durra*, 138), at times displaying *malāmātī* overtones. Begging (*Laṭāʾif*, 143) and even wearing special clothing are condemned by al-Shādhilī, who moreover himself chose to dress with a certain elegance. He showed himself circumspect in the use of *samāʿ* [q.v.] (*Durra*, 104) and did not take part in sessions which induced trances or spectacular phenomena (walking on fire, piercing the flesh), as with the Rifāʿiyya [q.v.]. The core of his Ṣūfī practice was the constant remembrance of God by means of ejaculatory prayers and litanies, plus spiritual firmness in the face of the material trials and hardships of the individual life.

The mystical experience towards which al-Shādhilī

endeavoured to guide his disciples was laid out in a practical way and not an abstractly doctrinal one. Although he himself had been trained in theology, he saw no spiritual value in the speculative and independent exercise of reason (see e.g. *Durra*, 34, 91), and the hagiographical sources show us al-Shādhilī combatting and converting Mu'tazilī disputants (*ibid.*, 23). God is the original source of the conscience, not an object of knowledge; how could He be approached through concrete things, when it is only through Him that these things are known? (*Laṭāʾif*, 92). Al-Shādhilī develops very little the doctrinal consequences of the experience of *fanāʾ*—unity of existence, identification of the devotee with his Lord—but goes back to the actual spiritual experience itself: "The Ṣūfī sees his own existence as being like dust (*habāʾ*) floating in the air—neither as existence nor as annihilation, just as it is in the knowledge of God" (al-Sha'rānī, *Ṭabakāt*, ii, 8; *Durra*, 90). He recommends to his disciples the greatest possible discretion concerning their spiritual conditions, so as not to become at the same time puffed up with pride in regard to others and uselessly to hurt the susceptibilities of ordinary believers: "If you wish to reach the irreproachable Way, speak like someone who is apart from God, at the same time keeping union with Him present in your secret heart" (al-Sha'rānī, *op. cit.*, ii, 7; see also *Durra*, 30).

Another aspect of the spiritual teaching of al-Shādhilī is the number and the important function of prayers (*adʿiyya*) and litanies (*aḥzāb*) which he left to his disciples. These prayers often relate to specific situations, e.g. spiritual or material distress (cf. *Durra*, ch. iii; al-Sha'rānī, *op. cit.*, ii, 6, 9). The *aḥzāb* most often recited are the very popular *hiẓb al-bahr* (inspired directly by the Prophet, cf. *Durra*, 51), the *h. al-kabīr* (or *hiḍḍab sharīf*), the *h. al-barr*, the *h. al-nūr*, the *h. al-faḥ* and the *h. al-Shaykh Abi 'l-Hasan*. Their texts are given by Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, Ibn 'Iyād and, more recently, 'A. H. Mahmūd, *al-Madrasa al-shādhiliyya al-hadītha wa-imāmuhā Abu 'l-Hasan al-Shādhilī*, Cairo 1969). The boundary between the liturgical recitation of a prayer taught by the Pole and the magical usage of these texts is not always easy to trace; certain of these litanies include formulae of a theurgical or talismanic nature, and numerous of the faithful attribute inherent virtues to these texts, independent of whatever understanding of it the one reciting it may have. But al-Shādhilī is in any case guiltless regarding all the forms of superstition surrounding the cult of saints, which he condemned as a form of idolatry (al-Sha'rānī, *op. cit.*, ii, 10). If saints' prayers are answered, it is because they are the theophanic locus of the divine mercy, and not because they themselves have any authority for intercession. In his own lifetime, al-Shādhilī already acquired a reputation as a miracle worker; marvellous happenings took place round his tomb and amongst his close disciples, for whom the Master remained, even after his death, the person for whom God answers prayers.

A more esoteric teaching of al-Shādhilī's concerns the concept of sainthood. It revolved round *walāya* as a prophetic inheritance (see e.g. al-Sha'rānī, *op. cit.*, ii, 10; or *Durra*, 132-3), here again taking up an earlier Ṣūfī doctrine. The fully-accomplished saint reaches the degree of knowledge of the prophets (*anbiyāʾ*) and the messengers (*rusul*), but he is inferior to them on two counts: on the one hand, his knowledge is, in the great majority of cases, less complete than theirs, and on the other, he is not sent to bring a more correct version of a *shari'a* (*Laṭāʾif*, 59-60). Al-Shādhilī's teaching was nevertheless perceived by his followers as an actual, living continuation of Muḥammad's mission (cf.

e.g. *Durra*, 154). The vision of a hierarchy of saints, which is implied here, is fundamental. As we have seen, al-Shādhilī was preoccupied since his youth by the meeting with the Pole of the universe. His disciples considered him fairly soon as being himself this *kuṭb* (*Laṭāʾif*, 139), and he personally openly strengthened them in this conviction (*ibid.*, 141, 146, 165; *Durra*, 13-14, 111). He designated his main disciple Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Mursī as his successor in this function, and Shādhilī tradition confirms that the *kuṭb* would be a member of their brotherhood, until the Judgement Day. This *kuṭbāniyya* is here to be understood in the absolute sense (or even, cosmic, cf. *ibid.*, 9, 105-6) and not relative to a specific community; al-Shādhilī himself enunciated the fifteen remarkable features or charismas which this office of the Pole involves (amongst these are the guarantee of inability to err, and knowledge of the past, present and future; cf. *Laṭāʾif*, 163, and *Durra*, 71). But otherwise, it is a delicate task to isolate the original doctrine of al-Shādhilī regarding the formulations of the Masters of the following generations. Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh relates (*Laṭāʾif*, 163-4) that Abu 'l-Ḥasan received a visit from Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Kūnawī [q.v.] at a time when his master Ibn ʿArabī was still alive. "[Ṣadr al-Dīn] expatiated on a multiplicity of sciences. The Shaykh kept his head bowed until Ṣadr al-Dīn had finished talking. Then he raised his head and said to him, Tell me who is at this moment the Pole of our age, who is a veracious successor (*siddīk*) and what is his knowledge? Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn was silent and gave no reply". P. Nwiyā (*Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh et la naissance de la confrérie shadhilite*, Beirut 1972, 26) sees in this tale an affirmation of the pre-eminence of the Shādhilī way—proceeding from the direct teaching of and inspired by the Pole—over that represented by Ibn ʿArabī. But this opinion is rejected by M. Chodkiewicz (*Le sceau des saints*, Paris 1986, 173), for whom the function of the Seal, claimed by Ibn ʿArabī, cannot coincide with that of the Pole—whence al-Kūnawī's silence.

Even if al-Shādhilī never envisaged the formation of a *ṭarīqa* in the strict sense of the term, his teaching nevertheless marks the evolution of Ṣūfism towards its manifestation in the brotherhoods and in maraboutism. There are several disciples of far-reaching influence—the Andalusian Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Mursī (d. 686/1287) and the Egyptian Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh (d. 709/1309) from amongst his immediate successors—who at the same time continued his teaching, codified the ritual of the *dhikr*, founded *khānakāhs* and in turn instructed disciples in the spirit of the school. This moderate form of Ṣūfism corresponded to a profound need in the Muslim society of the age; Shādhilī *khānakāhs* spread and flourished in Egypt, Ifrikiya, Morocco, as well as in Syria and the Hijāz. Numerous branches and sub-branches more or less attached to the Shādhiliyya saw the light in the course of succeeding centuries [see SHĀDHILIYYA]. As for the master's memory, it is perpetuated by the annual festivals on the very spot of his burial in the eastern desert of Upper Egypt, as well as in Ifrikiya, at Sidi Belhassen (in the outskirts of Tunis), Menzel Bouzelfa (Capé Bon) and on the mount Zaghwān.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): Suyūṭī, *Taʾyīd al-hakīka al-ʿaliyya wa-taḥyīd al-ṭarīka al-shādhiliyya*, Cairo 1934; idem, *Ḥusn al-muḥādara*, Cairo 1968; Munāwī, *al-Kawākib al-durriyya* (unpubl.); the biography of al-Shādhilī after the *Kawākib al-zāhira* of Ibn Muḥayyil is summarised by Haneberg, in *Ali Abdulhasan Schadeli*, in *ZDMG* (1853); Ibn al-Mulakkin, *Tabakāt al-awliyāʾ*,

Beirut 1986; Abu 'l-Ḥasan Kūhin, *Tabakāt al-shādhiliyya al-kubrā*, Cairo 1347/1928. The Eng. tr. of the *Durrat al-asrār* by E.H. Douglas, *The mystical teachings of al-Shadhili*, Albany 1993, who has also summarised this work in his *Al-Shadhili, a North African Sufi, according to Ibn al-Sabbagh*, in *MW*, xxxviii (1948), should be noted. Amongst recent works on al-Shādhilī are included ʿA.S. ʿAmmār, *Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhili*, Cairo 1951; R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, Paris 1947, ii, 322-3; A. Mackeen, *The rise of al-Shadhili*, in *JAOS*, xci (1971). (P. LORY)

SHĀDHILIYYA, one of the most important currents of Ṣūfism, associated with the teaching and spiritual authority of the great Moroccan mystic of the 7th/13th century, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī [q.v.].

This last, originating from northern Morocco, where he benefited from the spiritual teaching of ʿAbd al-Salām b. Mashīsh [see ʿABD AL-SALĀM], lived in Ifrikiya and, above all, in Egypt, where his preaching and spiritual precepts enjoyed an immense success [see AL-SHĀDHILĪ]. It does not seem that he himself had the idea of founding a structured Ṣūfī brotherhood. But the fervour of his disciples, who considered him as the Pole (*kuṭb*) of the universe for his age, and who therefore saw in his words a direct divine inspiration, was transferred to his successor, the Andalusī Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Mursī (d. 686/1287). The latter's authority and spiritual breadth knew how both to maintain the cohesion of the Shādhilī group and to instill into it a lasting dynamic of expansion. Al-Mursī's work was completed by the enthusiastic work of an Egyptian scholar, Tādj al-Dīn Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 709/1309 in Cairo; see IBN ʿAṭĀʾ ALLĀH). Whereas neither his own master nor Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī left behind any written work, Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh wrote, notably, numerous treatises of a doctrinal nature, as well as collections of prayers, which played a decisive role in the constituting of a genuine Shādhilī spirituality (see Brockelmann, II, 143-4, S II, 145-7; A.W. al-Ḡhunaymī al-Taftazānī, *Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Sikandarī wa-taḥawwufuḥu*, Cairo 1389/1969, i, 3). His *Laṭāʾif al-mīnān* forms one of the main sources regarding the teachings of the two first masters of the Shādhilī school; as for his collection of dicta, the *Hikam*, it had an immense diffusion all over the Islamic world and attracted several commentaries, notably by Ibn ʿAbbād of Ronda (8th/14th century), Aḥmad Zarrūk (9th/15th) and Ibn ʿAdjība (12th-13th/18th-19th). See the study and Fr. tr. by P. Nwiyā, *Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh et la naissance de la confrérie shadhilite*, Beirut 1972; Eng. tr. V. Danner, *Ibn Ataillah's Sufi aphorisms*, Leiden 1973.

We know only imperfectly the formative period of the brotherhood. During the 8th/14th century it spread through Egypt and the Maghrib, where from the 9th/15th century it enjoyed a considerable success. One should stress that it never assumed the form of a centralised order, but early spread out into a multitude of ramifications with very relaxed links, of sub-branches energised by spiritual masters whose strong personality often raised up a specific strain amidst the generality of the Shādhilī tradition. Certain of these ramifications had a limited implantation within a determined region, whilst others formed much wider groupings. But in all cases, the flexibility of a tradition presenting itself more as a school of spirituality than as a structured organisation allowed its adaptation to very diverse historical and local contexts. It could thus avoid the rigidity and degeneration which often awaited mystical groups which were over-institutionalised. The Shādhiliyya was born in an ur-