ground, a situation which, in both cases, had consequences for the development of the practice of mystical doctrines. It was only in the 1950s, with a relaxation of state anti-religious measures, that some Sufis were able to publish their writings. In general, Nakabandi remained faithful to their orthodox line. This was set forth by Mehmed Zehid Kotuk (1873-1930) and his son-in-law Mehmed Esat Çopan, who today directs the "Islamic Democratic Community" in Istanbul. It inherits the tekke of Gümüşkubâni Ahmed Dîlya by Abdülâlim Hüsûyen (1902-72) and his son Mehmed Resit Erol (1929-96), founder of the "community of Menzil Kûyû" at Adıyaman in Anatoia, and by several other ayâns stemming from the eastern parts of Anatolia (H. Algar, The Nakabandi order in Republican Turkey, in The pendulum swings back, London 1996). It is important to note that many of these maintained unofficial relations in which Sufism had a major part. "Abd al-Hakim Arwaâdî/Abdulâhim Arwaâdî (1864-1943), another Nakabandi, vigorously brought into prominence the teachings of Ahmed Sirhindî [e.g.], the founder in India of the Nakabandiyya Muhaddidiyya, and proponent of al-Qazwîni and his Sufism, at the same time combating the Shi'is and the radical Wahhabiyya [e.g.]. His pupils and successors, the main ones being the writer Necip Faruk Kürkçü (1905-83), with his O ve ke, 6th ed. Istanbul 1990, and Hüseyin Hilmi İşk (b. 1911), founder of the İskı̄ movement, remained faithful to his thought but broke with several minor Nakabandi practices and the system of tekka.

Already in existence at the end of the Ottoman period, the Nurdî movement of Sa'îd Nârî, a former Nakabandi, can be classed as a crypto-Sufi movement, despite its rejection of the tekka and the qâguid's authority, since it continues to find expression in the works of its followers and to follow the teachings of such grand masters of Sufism as "Abd al-Kâdir al-Djîlî and Ahmad Sirhindî and since it describes itself as a return to pure Sufism. This aspect had been reinforced by the Nurdî Fethullah Gülen, who hereby defends a revolutionary view of instruction, proposing a harmonisation of the old "oîdîe" system with that of the secular schools. [Lâfic Erdoçan, Fethullah Gülen Haseîîe "Küttîk âupertık", Istanbul 1995; Erûç Can, "Fethullah Gülen Haseîîe", 6th ed. Istanbul 1996 or 1997]. On the other hand, in the last decade, certain Nurdîs, called Azemendêr, have considered that it is time to re-establish the tekka system [Rüşaîî-î Nûîrî castî e ngomp, Azemendêr, Istanbul n.d. (1986 or 1997)].

Sufism has had other currents with contributions to the development of an Islamic mysticism during the time of the Republic, like the Khâfisîyya Muṣafîr al-îslam, the kîhân and Islamic dance movements. Like the Kâidiyya and Râîîyya, he kept up the link between mystical doctrine and dance, a link which became lost amongst the Mavluviyya. Other Sufis, already only very loosely attached to the tekka system, adapted immediately to the situation under the Republic, such as the Melâmîs, who kept up, at Istanbul, the tradition of Muhammad Nûr al-îslâmî Hâğîlî Mekkî, ed. 1990. Hûlîmet Lûtufi Tugat and Mahmud Sadettîn Bîgîmer (1905-83), Khûlîsan’s maîn. Alevî doctrines were favoured by the Kemalî regime, and the Alevî took over Bektâshi tekke and for many years caused a grave confusion by identifying the Sîîf doctrine and practices of the Bektâshiyya with their own system, despite the protest of a small group of Bektâshîs led by Bedri Novan (1912-97), one of whose chief members was Turgut Koca (1921-97), who incarnated this tradition. Amongst the Alevîs, Bektâshi doctrine enjoyed a popularisation and acquired a folkloric nature which has profoundly deprived it of its real nature. Having almost totally disappeared within Turkey itself, the tradition of commentaries on the Madhkûn and on Ibn al-îsnavî had a brilliant representative in Sarajevo in the person of Fâyûd Allah/Fejzûd Nâhîîîîîî (d. 1990), who gave life to the last dînaîât of the Ottoman world.


The term and category “Sîîfîm” was first coined for European languages by British Orientalists visiting India, particularly Sir William Jones (The sixth discourse, on the Persians, and On the mystical poetry of the Persians and Hindus, in Works, London 1807). While European travellers had previously remarked upon “derivatives” and “iikâ ’” only as exotic curiosities, Orientalists applied the term “Sîîfî” largely to the literary phase of Sîîfism, particularly as expressed in Persian poetry. These European scholars were persuaded that the elegant poems of Hâğîlî and Ejjâlî al-Dîn Rûmî (d. 1273) could have nothing to do with the Islamic (“Mohammedan”) religion, and therefore they unanimously believed it to be derived from Indian sources: this position was reinforced by the anti-Sîîfî attitudes of Shî’î mufîbihs in Persia (Sir J. Malcolm, History of Persia, London 1815, ii, 302-5; Lt. J.W. Graham, A narrative on Sîîfism, or Mohammedan mysticism,
in Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, i [1819], 89-119). British colonial officials, who were the main source of European studies of Sufism in the 19th century, thus maintained a double attitude toward Sufism: its literary classics (part of the Persian curriculum required by the British East India Company until the 1830s) were admired, but its contemporary social manifestations were considered corrupt and degenerate in relation to what was perceived as orthodox Islam (R.F. Burton, Sind, London 1851, 180-231). This "golden age" ambivalence toward Sufism was soon mirrored by the attitudes of Muslim reformists and fundamentalists (see below), creating a situation in which Sufism quickly became a contested term, the meaning of which remains hotly disputed today. In Urdu, tasawwuf still generally means a prescriptive ethical and spiritual ideal as it did in early Islamic texts, though sometimes it functions as a generic equivalent of mysticism. The English word "Sufism" describes a variety of practices and doctrines with a debatable relationship to Islam (C. Ernst, The Shambhala guide to Sufism, Boston 1997).

Colonial officials encountered contemporary Sufism primarily in the context of government regulation of the many shrines and saints' tombs found in India; under their administration, active Sufi circles were no longer attached to major shrines, though khawâbi continued to function, particularly in the Punjab and Sind. British officials settled disputes over the administration of shrines as such properties under Anglo-Mohammedan law (cf. G. Kozlowski, Muslim endowments and society in British India, Cambridge 1985). This was an issue particularly for large shrines, such as the tomb of Khâdiâg Mu'min al-Dîn Câğhtâ at Ağmâr, or that of Bâbâ Farid al-Dîn Gândhârî at Pâhpâînîn [p.m.]. (D. Gilmartin, Shrines, succession and sources of moral authority in the Punjab, in Pakistan, the social sciences' perspective, ed. A.S. Ahmed, Karachi 1990, 146-64). Some Sufis, e.g., the Câghtâî leader H âdîdî Imamâlî (d. 1899), fought against the British during the 1857-8 uprising, and groups such as the Khârî (followers of the Pir Paqûrî in Sind) continued resistance up to 1947 (H.T. Lambrick, The terrorist, London 1970). But colonial policy reinforced the position of many hereditary sufi-agâhs as rural landlords and notables, particularly in the Punjab. The process of legal regulation and dispute resolution of Sufi shrines has continued in post-colonial India and Pakistan (S.K. Rashid, Wolf administration in India, New Delhi 1978).

There is considerable proto-anthropological material on Sufi saints and shrines compiled by colonial officials in the Indian district gazetteers and surveys of the "castes and tribes" variety, often drawn from local oral traditions; most of these accounts regard Indian Sufi practice as a Hâmidî deviation from a supposedly pristine Islam (T.W. Arnold, arts. Saints and shrines, Mahomedan, in India, ERE, xi, 58-73). Some Hindu scholars went so far as to interpret Sufism in terms of Vedanta (L. Ramakrishna, Punjab Sufi poets, London 1938). Politically-oriented studies of Sufi saints and orders have focused upon their relationship with the colonial government (Sarah Azari, Sufi saints and state power. The Pir of Sind, 1843-1947, Cambridge 1992) and the Pakistani movement (D. Gilmartin, Empire and Islam, Punjab and the making of Pakistan, Berkeley 1989). There is an increasing body of anthropological literature on Sufi practice in Pakistan and India, both on the part of government officials (Census of India, Beliefs and practices associated with Muslim pirs in two cities of India [Delhi and Lucknow], New Delhi 1968) and Euro-American researchers (R.P. Ewing, Sufism and desire in Pakistan, Durham 1997).

Post-colonial governments in Pakistan, under the impulse of modern nationalism, have promoted publications that frame Sufi literature (especially poetry in local languages) as the manifestation of national identity. The Folk Heritage Institute in Islamabad (Lit Îlimî) publishes a "Sufi Poets Series" consisting of editions and Urdu translations of prominent Sufis who wrote poetry in the regional languages of Pakistan (Pashto, Punjabi, Balîcî, Balochi, Hindko, Sindhi). The Department of Charitable Trusts (Muhîlîn-î i-Ahkâm) which controls the revenue of major shrines, publishes officially sanctioned biographies of Sufi saints in Urdu that accord with the Islamic "Pakistan ideology," and high-ranking provincial and national officials regularly preside at the "anniversaries of Sufi saints" (Fîrsâs, The politics of Sufism: redefining the saints of Pakistan, in Journal of Asian Studies, lii [1983], 251-68). Hagiographies organized along provincial or all-Pakistani lines also receive official sponsorship. The Government of India, in contrast, sponsors literature and films that identify Sufis as "secular nationalists" having more in common with Hindu bhakts than with Islam (M. Jovani, Sufi of South, New Delhi 1986).

Although British historians largely ignored Sufi writings, the post-colonial era has seen the growth of new scholarship in South Asia, initially at Aligarh Muslim University, focused on the history and literature of Sufism of the "medieval" period. The studies of the Câghtî order by K.A. Nazmi have demonstrated how it is possible to follow the continuities in a shîrîn through the oral discourses (mafiṣûs) and letters (mabâkû) that continued to be written in Persian up to the 20th century (Nazmi, Tâhirî-i mabâkîr-i Câghtû, Delhi 1953; see also C. Ernst and B. Lawrence, Sufi letters. The Chishtî Sufi order, London 2000). Biographical and historical studies of particular Sufi saints and orders have been written in the history departments of South Asian universities, while Persian and occasionally Arabic text editions of Sufi writings have been produced in language and literature departments. Particularly prized Persian writings by famous šâhidîs of the Câghtû and Nâshîhîndî orders have been printed for devotional use in Pakistan as recently as the 1960s. "Classical" Sufi works in Arabic and Persian, from the 13th up to the 17th centuries, are widely available for popular use through modern Urdu translations in India and Pakistan, and occasionally in other languages as well. The vast majority of South Asian Sufi texts in Persian still remain in manuscript, however (for a comprehensive list, see Ahmad Mansurî, Fihrist-i maqâllat-i sülûkîyä-i khoji-yi Fârsû-i Pakistan, Islamabad 1954, esp. vols. iii [Fûlân] and vi [Qâdîg-nâmä-yi jinânî]. Only rarely have contemporary Sufi writings in Indian languages been translated (C. Shackleton (tr), The teachings of Rûfûdî Farîd, Multan 1978; idem (tr), Fifty lessons of Khusraw Farid, Multan 1983).

ii. Sufism and modern ideologies.

Sufi pîrs of the 20th century, despite their entrenched positions as landholders in the colonial system, were crucial to the support of the Pakistan nationalistic movement because of their historically institutional Sufis who have generally found nationalism to be a congenial doctrine. But the ideological proponents of modernism and Islamic fundamentalism have both seen Sufism as a major opponent. Modernists like Izbîlî (p.a.), in a critique of the Islamic institutional Sufism for familism, passivity, and a false notion of the absorption of humanity in unity with God, although Izbîlî's invocations invoke Sufi figures such as Ḥâfîzî and Rûmî (p.a.), his concepts of terms
such as ḥaddīth and ṣūfī [ṣūfī] owe as much to Bergson and Nietzsche. Secularized intellectuals and Muslim modernists alike saw ṣūfī practice as mediæval superstition and as a drug that stupefies the masses. ṣūfī apologists have responded to this criticism by appropriating the rhetoric of science and announcing that ṣūfism attains the goal of truth that science can only dream of (Waḥid Bākhsh Sīyāl, Majmu'ah-ī hāšā: islāmī rāhānī xezān [seizam], Karachi 1974).

Fundamentalists (echoing Orientalists and colonial officials) criticized ṣūfīsm as Hindu-influenced idolatry of human beings, amounting to abandonment of "pure" Islām. Reformers like Ḥaḍīth Shārī'at Allah (d. 1840), founder of the Fārsī ṣūfī movement in Bengal, and Sayyid Ahmad Bāṭrī (d. 1831 [p.2]) in the Panjābī, were militantly opposed to certain forms of ṣūfīsm, ʿulūmīsm, and local adaptations of Islām; for this reason, the British regarded them as "Walshabāsī," although some reformers were trained in ṣūfī orders. Abu l-'Alā Mawdūdī (d. 1979), founder of the fundamentalist Jamāʿī Islāmī ṣūfiyyah, rejected ṣūfī practice despite his upbringing in a ʿūlūmī family, though his authoritarian leadership style has been interpreted as an extension of the master-disciple relationship (S.V. Naas, Mawlānās and the making of Islamic revivalism, Oxford 1996).

Defenders of ṣūfīsm argue that ṣūfism is the spiritual essence of Islam, and at the same time they refute earlier Orientalist theories of the non-Islamic origins of ṣūfism (W.B. Sīlī Sīranī, Islamic ṣūfīsm, The science of flight in God, with God, by God, and union and communion with God, also showing the tremendous ṣūfī influence on Christian and Hindu mystics and mysticism, Lahore 1984). Nāqshbandī groups concerned about Islamisation have apparently de-emphasised meditation practices of the ṭaṣbīḥ but have redefined discipleship as a basic Islamic religious duty (A. Böhrer, Masters of the heart, Nāqshbandī ṣūfīsm in colonial India, Columbus, C.S. 1997).

The debate over ʿṣūfī doctrine and practice in South Asia has crystallised around two North Indian madrasas founded in the colonial period, the ḍarabī-oriented Deoband school [qta] and the devotional Barīwālī school. Although the founders of Deoband were largely drawn from the Ṣuhbī branch of the Qādirīyyah, they rejected practices such as ṣamāʿ [ṣamā] and ziyārat as well as excessive veneration of the Prophet or ṣūfī masters (Barbara Metcalf, Islamic revival in British India. Deoband, 1860-1960, Princeton 1982). The Barīwālīs, followers of Sayyid Ahmad ʿĪrā, Khān (d. 1921) of Ray Barīwāl, emphasise the necessity of intercession by the Prophet and, secondarily, the ṣūfī ʿshāqīqa as in other Muslim regions, the issue of saintly status has thus become highly controversial (U. Saryal, Devotional Islam and politics in British India. Tomulated Rāz Khan Barīwālī and his movement, 1870-1920, Oxford 1996). Pietistic missionary groups such as the Tablighī Ḥaḍīth [qta] founded by Māḥmūdī Bahū (d. 1944) have appropriated the ethical emphasis of ṣūfism while rejecting ritual, metaphysics, and saintworship (M.A. Haq, The faith movement of Nāsūsī Muhammad Īyyā, London 1972). Polemics and polemics from these different perspectives dominate modern discussions of ṣūfism in Udī and in Engālī. ii. ʿUṣūfī in practice

Probably the greatest social transformation in modern ʿUṣūfī derives from the introduction of print to South Asia early in the 19th century, principally in the form of calligraphed lithography (movable Arabic type was preferred by the British). As in other regions, ʿUṣūfī orders were among the first to make use of the new technology to distribute teachings of contemporary teachers and to preserve the classical texts of the past. The revolution entailed by printing ʿUṣūfī texts lay in the possibility of mass distribution of inexpensive books to the middle-class public, in place of the restricted access to manuscripts and oral teachings among a privileged few. Printing of ʿUṣūfī texts in India was carried out primarily in the northern cities of Dīlī, Kānpur, and Lakhānāw, often at presses (such as Nāwāl Khān in Lakhānāw) run by Hindu māṣīns.

The number of Persian texts printed in India in the 19th century was considerably higher than the total printed in Persia or Central Asia. Leaders of ʿUṣūfī orders such as the Qādirīyyah, Nāqshbandīyyah, Khādīyā and Shāhāwādīyyah orders [qta] commissioned publication of both early and contemporary ʿUṣūfī texts, initially in Persian but increasingly in Urdu translation (C. Ernst, The study of ʿUṣūfī in Pakistan, unpublished paper for American Institute for Pakistan Studies Workshop, 1996). Their publications included periodicals, and ʿshāqīqa like the Nāqshbandī leader Dīzām at-ʿĀlī ʿShaḥīd (d. 1913) sometimes required their disciples to subscribe (Buchler; Some ʿUṣūfīs (the ʿUṣūfī leaders Shāhīja ʿShaḥ, d. 1931), and Ḥasan Nāṣīrī, d. 1933) were trained in modern universities and made use of the press and European literary genres such as the novel to communicate their insights in Urdu and English to wider audiences. Beyond the Gange basin, the Panjābī, and the Urdu-speaking centres of the Deccan (U. Khālīfī and M. ʿĀlī, Dolan kā ʿiḥā-i ṣīmān, 1900 tā 1950, ik hunyād kītābān, Watertown, Mass. 1993, 36-65), very little scholarly work has been done on ʿUṣūfī activities in the modern period, such as the transmission of ʿUṣūfī orders from Kerala [see MAPPA] to Ceylon in the 19th century. While Urdu has been an important medium for disseminating the full range of ʿUṣūfī literature, Indian languages that employ non-Arabic scripts (Bengali, Tamil, Malayalam) have also been used for ʿUṣūfī publications. In the Tamil country, tombs like that of ʿĀlī ʿHāmīd (d. 1558) at Nager are still centres of pilgrimage for Muslims, Hindus, and Christians, and inaugurals in Tamil remain popular (V. Narayanan, The ʿUṣūfī in Nager: worshipping Shāhīja ʿShaḥīd in a Tamil landscape, unpublished paper). The MāḤmūdībāndī ʿUṣūfī order, founded in Chittagong by Sayyid Ahmad ʿĀlī (1876-1906) with links to the Khādīyā, has engaged in extensive proselytisation and publication of biographies, works in Bengali with support from the ruling circles of contemporary Bangladesh (M.A. Latif, letter of 1992). The tantric bands known as the Bālsī gained cultural respectability after the 1920s when Bahīrānārā Tagore popularised the Bengali songs of Lālān Fākār (d. 1890); despite their religious ambiguity, the presence of ʿUṣūfī symbolism in their writings is unmistakable (C. Solomon, Bālsī songs, in D. Lopez, ed., The religions of India in practice, Princeton 1996, 187-208).
after moving to the U.S.A. in 1971, and his tomb outside Philadelphia has now become a place of pilgrimage. South Asian Muslim immigrants and students in England, Canada, and the U.S.A. have established branches of the Cadiyana and the Naqqâbaddiya in their new homes along traditional lines. European and American converts to Islam have also joined South Asian Sufi orders, including the bābīn of Dhwarka Shah in Pakistan was Shafiil Ahmad Faridi (d. 1970), an Englishman formerly named Leonard, whose Urdu writings have been published in Karachi. The principal ideological change for Sufism in the modern period is the option of Sufism without Islam, something barely conceivable before the 20th century. This new possibility is partly the result of the efforts of Western scholars and fundamentalists, both of whom regard Sufism as separate from "pure" Islam, but it is partly the natural effect of ecumenism and the modern search for spirituality. Sufi groups in Europe and America also give a much more prominent and public role to women than was previously customary in South Asia. Cultural products of Sufism have attained great popularity in the West, from not only the Middle East (the Whirling Dervishes and Rumi's poetry) but also South Asia (Ramnath music by the Sach Brothers and Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan). At the end of the 20th century, South Asian Sufism has found large new audiences through electronic communications on an international scale.

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It is likely that the Muslims from the Middle East or Central Asia, drawn to China in the 13th-14th centuries by the Mongol emperors of the Yuan dynasty, brought with them Sufi practices. But this is only a supposition since, in our present state of knowledge, we know nothing about the religious life of the Muslims of China before their complete sinicisation. We have to wait till the middle of the 17th century and the upheavals which mark the end of the native Ming dynasty and its replacement by the Manchu dynasty of the Ch'ing (or Qing) in order to find a specifically Islamic Chinese literature, which from then onwards is rich, mature and self-assured.

I. Literary Sufism.

As a general rule, the great Muslim thinkers of the 17th-19th centuries adopted a uniform approach. They give an exposition for their coreligionists and compar-trs, in Chinese, of the complex foundations of the faith, beginning with a sacred history which places the mystical and ancient past of China within the con- tinuity of the unfolding of Biblical history. They continue with a dogmatic system of morality set out in Confucian terms, and with the believer's obligations set forth in a clear language which is quasi-sacramental. Finally, they set forth a mysticism which is underdulys Sufi.

If speculative theology shows itself as being consistent from the time of the first works composed, say, the time of those of Wang Tai-yü (Wang Taiyu, ca. 1301-1367), published between 1642 and 1657, this theology nevertheless evolves from one author to another over the course of the two succeeding centuries whilst remaining, so far as it seems, not rooted in any particular time and not following any secterian links. In order to acquire prestige, this theology often claims to stem from the translation of some Arabic or Persian work. Sometimes such originals are imaginary; but even when these actually exist and are as famed as the Masha'il of Nadim al-Din Kızılay, mentioned, for example, or the Land'ūd of Qazvīnī [a.k.], works which were highly valued in Chinese Islam, the alleged translation implies a total re-writing and remodelling in order to translate the philosophical notions and concepts of Sufism into an acceptable Chinese mode of thought. From this, an original literature has resulted, one unknown to Islamic specialists for want of being studied by Sinologists.

The great Chinese scholars were actually forced to use, if they could, the lexicographic and conceptual material at their disposal—Neo-Confucian, Taoist and Buddhist. The believer's journey towards "absorption" with the divine (hsien-hui, hsien-ti), which is a "return to origins" (sa-thun, sa-thun, hsien-yuan) is made, they explain, by "transformation" (hsien-hui) through attaining the "Perfect Way" (hsien-ti) or "Vehicle of the Truth" (hsien-ch'eng, i.e. buddhā)—the being the basic concept of Taoism and ch'eng that of Buddhism. The postulant seeking illumination has first of all followed, at a lower level, the "Usual Way" (hsiao-ti) or the "Vehicle of the Rites" (hsien-ti) or "Vehicle for Religion" (hsien-ch'eng, i.e. the Shang-t'i) in order to understand the letter of the "Five meritorious acts" (wa-shih, i.e. ao-yun al-qurban), then he follows the "Middle way" (hsien-ch'eng) or "Vehicle of the Way" (hsien-ch'eng or or t'arka) which allows him to discover the spirit of the five meritorious acts, all this under the direction of a "Head of the Way" (hsien-t'i or shih-ch'eng), a "Sage of compassion on the sea of illusions", according to the Buddhist formula normally applied to Kuan-yin, the Chinese avatar of Avalokitesvāra. The journey of the believer is comparable to the search for "personal perfection" (hsien-t humiliatingly recommended by Confucius and Mencius and set in the centre of the Neo-Confucian ethics of the 16th-17th centuries. For "the one who knows himself knows his God" (jen-chi jen-t'ieh). As a 19th-century author, Ma K'ai-k'o (Ma K'aike), from Yunnan, sets forth, by following the way of gradual attainment of perfection, the believer "acts as in Confucianism, but progresses to a supplementary degree" (Tsung-t'ien t'ung-ku). The general return to [God of the great transformations", 1865, ed. Peking 1922-3, i, 46]. This supplementary degree is attained thanks to the ascetic practice of the thirty "levels" (ten, the "stationary", mulk,ak, described in detail by the Ch'en-t'ung jen-shu. "The secret unveiled of truly meritorious acts" (whose author and date are problematical: the end of the 17th or the end of the 18th century?). In the thread of written discourse, the Arabic terms—or more exactly, Arabo-Persian ones, since the influence of the great religious centres of Central Asia was strongly felt in Chinese Islam—are not only translated but also transfigured phonetically, so far as the Chinese characters allow. Thus dhiyle is written phonetically as dhi-leh, and the shahada is written and recited as la ilaha illalla-l-hamdu lillahi, and, at the end of the formula, muhammer u-sal İlah (Allâh). Since Chinese Muslims pronounce Arabic in a manner much deformed by Chinese phonetics, it is not surprising that as pilgrims to Mecca, they have been locked down upon by Arabic-speakers and have had the reputation of following a bastardised form of religion. However, their literature proves that this is not the case: the use of a terminology and a juggling with images borrowed from Chinese culture has not resulted in a degenerate syncretism. The message, the Suft one in particular, has remained distinctively Muslim. According to a Chinese historian of world religions (Li Xinhua, 1953, 76), Naqabaddiya adherents are said to be recognisable by their preference for Non-