

Calligraphic and Figurative Representations of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī and Their Hagiographical and Devotional Use

Thierry ZARCONÉ*

Abstract

This article explores the representations (paintings, drawings, and calligraphies) of the Sufi ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, eponym of the Qādiriyya order, throughout the Muslim world, in which he is regarded as one of the major saints. These representations are figurative (portraits, etc.), calligraphic, and geometric, and their functions are diverse. The three main types of representations are: 1) Portraits that are actually visual hagiographies describing the life and miracles of the saint, as well as calligraphies that summarize certain aspects of his Sufi doctrine; 2) images with protective virtues in the form of talismans; 3) images intended for mystical devotions or to serve as meditation and contemplation aids (dhikr, etc.)

Keywords: ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, Qādiriyya, painting, calligraphy, poster, banner, talisman, miracle, falcon, lion, mystical devotion

Introduction

For historians, especially those working on the history of mentalities, the images of Muslim saints and Sufis are relevant sources. They must be considered “figurative documents” (*documents figurés*), to quote the French historian Michel Vovelle [1985: 51–53], reflecting both written and oral traditions expressed through images. This is the reason I have found of interest to question the case of the Sufi saint of Baghdad ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 1166), who was widely represented in image in Northern Africa, Egypt, the Ottoman lands, and as far as India. This is unsurprising, since ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, as a great Sufi saint and the eponym of the oldest Sufi Order—along with the Rifā‘iyya—is known and respected throughout the Muslim world. His mausoleum in Baghdad is and has always been a pilgrimage destination for Sufis from the West and East [Philippon 2025]. Furthermore, although he never visited Northern Africa, ‘Abd al-Qādir is particularly venerated in this region [Gürer 1999; Zarcone 1996]. Several tombs and *maqām* (passing place) bear his name, and he is regarded as the patron saint of many villages. He is qualified by Doutté as the “national marabout of the whole of Maghreb” (*marabout national de tout le Maghrib*) [Dermenghem 1954: 123, 175, 217;

* CNRS – GSRL

Doutté 1900: 19, 65]. Meanwhile, in India, ‘Abd al-Qādir is regarded as the first among the Sufi saints. A festival, attended by thousands of devotees, is held every year at Baghdad to commemorate the anniversary of his death. Similarly, in India, another celebration, *ghīārḥvīn sharīf* (Respected Eleventh), is held on the 11th of every month to celebrate his birthday [Sharif 1921: 192–194].

1 Several Images for Several Purposes

The images dedicated to ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī are of different kinds; figurative representations are naturally available everywhere in Muslim lands, calligraphic and geometric representations in the form of the turban, i.e., the Sufi hat, and the rose, which have Ottoman roots. Portraits, in the form of postcards and posters, are also produced in Northern Africa, the Middle East, and Pakistan.

These images were made for three different purposes:

- First, some visual hagiographies—portraits—teach some aspects of the life of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, especially his miracles. In the same category, we find calligraphies that indicate a doctrinal aspect of ‘Abd al-Qādir’s Sufism.
- Second, the same portraits are also used as protective talismans or as prayer aids for the intercession of the saint.
- Third, the images are employed as a medium for mystical devotion and contemplation (*dhikr*, etc.).¹

2 Visual Hagiographies

2.1 ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī as the King of the Sufis

As mentioned above, ‘Abd al-Qādir is regarded as the first among the Sufi saints. This high status of the saint particularly drew the interest of the Indian artists who created two posters of ‘Abd al-Qādir presiding over an assembly of Sufi saints (32 saints in the first and 57 in the second). The first poster depicts ‘Abd al-Qādir sitting on a throne, like a king, holding his *tasbīh* (Figure 1). Another poster shows ‘Abd al-Qādir sitting with the six greatest Sufi masters of India, including Mu‘īn al-Dīn Chishtī, Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā, and Qutb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī (Figure 2). According to Frembgen, ‘Abd al-Qādir is sitting at the highest position on the

1 On the devotional use of images of Muslim saints, see [Frembgen 2007; Zarcone 2019].

right side. Furthermore, unlike the other five saints, he alone holds a ro



Figure 1. From Frembgen 2006



Figure 2. From Frembgen 2006

Clearly, all these images hint at a particular event mentioned in the major, not to mention the oldest, Arabic hagiography of the saint, “Bahjat al-asrār” (thirteenth-fourteenth c.). According to this text, ‘Abd al-Qādir gave a sermon at Baghdad (*va‘z*), which was attended by more than fifty Sufis, and he proclaimed, “my foot is on the neck of all the saints” (*qadamī hādhihi ‘alā raqabati kulli walī lillāh*) [Gürer 1999: 96–99; Riaz Qadiri 2015: 112; Scarabel 1981: 175]. This quote was interpreted as signifying that ‘Abd al-Qādir regarded himself as the “pole of the poles” (*qutb al-aqtāb*) [Çakır 2012: 139–143; Scarabel 1977: 92]. Many hagiographies of ‘Abd al-Qādir (called *Ghavthiyya*) in Turkey, Central Asia, and even Chinese Turkistan mention this quote.² It also appears in the *Nafahāt al-Uns* of ‘Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī (fifteenth c.) [Jāmī 1991: 511–512].

Actually, this proclamation has been declared by other Sufis before him, it is likely to have originated from a hadith. However, this proclamation was finally attributed to ‘Abd al-Qādir [Gürer 1999: 96–99]. He is also known in India as Pir Pirān Badshāh, “the king of all spiritual guides,” and Pīr-i Dastgīr, “the spiritual guide who takes you by the hand” [Frembgen 2006: 41].

2.2 ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī as the Falcon of God

Generally speaking, just as the falcon assists and provides the hunter with prey, the saints help God by leading believers to Him whom He can guide. This is what ‘Abd al-Qādir is doing; for this reason, he is compared to a falcon and his name is calligraphed in the form of this bird. In Qādirī texts, the bird is nicknamed “the falcon of God” (*bāzullāh*), the “grey falcon”

² In a Central Asian hagiography of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, *Tuhfat al-ghavthiyya*, 1285/1877. See also [Rushdiy 1992: 52–53].

(*bāz al-ashhab*), or “the falcon which does not let go of its prey” because all those who find themselves facing ‘Abd al-Qādir fall under his influence. In Algeria, the holy places (*maqām*) linked to ‘Abd al-Qādir are usually built at the top of hills; therefore, the saint is called the “bird of the heights” (in French, “*oiseau des hauteurs*”) [Dermenghem 1954: 38].

Playing on the meaning of the words, the Sufis also indicate that this bird aspires to return to the breast of its master (*bāz* means “return” in Persian); for the Sufis, this indicates the lost and confused soul gravitating to its Creator. This action is legitimized by the following verse of the Qur’an: “As for you, O reassured soul, return to your Lord, agreeable, accepted” (Qur. 89:27–28) [Gürer 1999: 86–87; Uludağ 2015: 107–109]. However, a miracle performed by ‘Abd al-Qādir gives a prominent role to the falcon. The saint assumes the form of a grey falcon and, before his birth, saves his mother—a young girl at the time—when she is threatened by a wicked man [Aîni 1938: 71–73].

The representation of the Qādirī falcon is present almost exclusively in Ottoman tekke art; we find it integrated into the frames that hung on the tekke walls (Kādirihâne at Istanbul, Figure 3) and illustrating banners used for Sufi celebrations (symbol of the Kasnazāniyya Qādiriyya in Iraqi Kurdistan, Figure 4).



Figure 3. Kādirihâne, Istanbul, Shaykh Misbah Efendi’s reception room, 1992 (photograph T. Zarcone)



Figure 4. Banner of the Kasnazāniyya Qādiriyya during a celebration, Sulaymaniyya, 2023, Mission Papas-Zarcone (photograph T. Zarcone)



Figure 5. Falcon painted by Mustafa Ahī el-Kādirī, from Uludağ 2005



Figure 6. In Sāmī Gözücüoğlu’s manuscript (collection T. Zarcone)

Aīni (Mehmed ‘Alī Aynī, 1868–1945) mentions one drawing created at the end of the nineteenth century by Shaykh Muhyiddīn Efendī (d. 1866), head of the Qādirī Perşembe Tekke at Istanbul (Karagümrük district), and notices that the wing of the bird has written on it the phrase *Yā Bāz al-ashhab*, “O Grey Falcon” [Aīni 1938: 73]. Quite interesting, however, is a drawing created in 1796/1211 by Shaykh Mustafa Ahī el-Kādirī (d. 1793), founder of the Resmī branch of the Qādiriyya (there is probably an error in the date of the drawing). The Resmī branch is based in the Mehmed Şemsī Efendī Tekke (also Akşemsuddīn Tekkesi) in the Fatih district of Istanbul [Tanman 1994]. The right corner of Mustafa Ahī el-Kādirī’s drawing reads *Yā Bāz al-ashhab Q.S.*, and under the claw of the falcon is the well-known proclamation, “my foot is on the neck of all the saints” (*qadamī hadhā ‘alā ruqba kulli walī Allāh*); this is another way the superiority of ‘Abd al-Qādir is expressed (Figure 5).³ Another representation of the falcon is present in a manuscript written by a member of the family of Mustafa Ahī el-Kādirī, director of the Mehmed Şemsī Efendī Tekke until 1925 (Figure 6). The image is surrounded by verses about ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī and the falcon.

*Yetiş imdādıma Ay Hazret-i Bāz ü-Eşhāb
Seni tezkār ederim can ü gönülden her şab.*

“Help me, Oh Respectable Grey Falcon
I call you wholeheartedly every night.” [Gözücüoğlu 1920–1942: 1]

2.3 The Miracle of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī Taming a Lion

A well-known portraiture of ‘Abd al-Qādir was widely distributed in Northern Africa (Algeria and Morocco), Western Africa, and the Middle East in the form of a postcard or poster. This postcard is part of a series on Sufi saints and sacred themes that is produced by the Algiers-based bookseller and editor, Émile Bonestève. I recently wrote an article about another postcard in the same series, which was dedicated to Ahmad al-Tijānī [Zarcone 2019]. The particularity of these postcards is their didactic spirit, in that each postcard incorporates a brief caption, in Arabic as well as French or sometimes in French only, which reports a miracle of the saint. Because these postcards were generally purchased by French residents in North Africa and intended for shipment to France, the captions were intended to enlighten people unfamiliar with the religious traditions of the Maghreb. However, the postcards were also appreciated by local Muslims, who considered them holy images because they reproduced the

³ Drawing published in [Uludağ 2005]; see also [Uludağ 2011: 79] and [Uludağ 2015]. A similar image is hung on one wall of the Kādirīhāne of Istanbul, specifically, in the old house where the brotherhood used to gather in 2018.

portraits of the saintly figures they knew well. This is demonstrated by the fact that some of these postcards are also printed in a bigger format, as posters (usually 33x42 cm) meant to be hung in Sufi lodges (*zawiya*) or mausoleums of saints and seen by all (Figures 7, 8, 9, and 10).



Figure 7. Printed in Algiers, Bonestève (collection T. Zarcone)



Figure 8. Printed in Algiers, Bonestève (Caudron 2015)



Figure 9. Printed in Algiers, Bonestève (collection T. Zarcone)



Figure 10. Printed in Egypt (Centlivres & Centlivres-Demont 1997)

The existence of glass plate negatives of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī and Ahmad al-Tijānī, quite similar to the postcards edited by Bonestève, proves that the drawings date to at least the end of the nineteenth century. The fact that the plates have handwritten captions and French reference numbers on the kraft paper protective strips suggests that the photographs were taken by French people probably living in North Africa or, further south, in French-speaking sub-Saharan Africa (Figure 11).⁴ As for the designers of this image, Muslim or not, whom Lucien Golvin called “folk painters” (*peintres folkloriques*) [Golvin 1970: 922], they probably relied on an ancient tradition of glass painting that has existed for several centuries in the Muslim

4 These three negative photographic plaques (12 x 9 cm) were sold at De Gros et Delettrez auction in Paris in 2012 <<https://www.gros-delettrez.com/lot/12853/2473285-histoire-du-soufisme-c-1900-cheikh-ahmed-al-tijani-cheikh?search=&>>.

world [Boisdur de Toffol 2001; Bouttiaux-Ndiaye 1994; Renaudeau and Strobel 1984].



Figure 11. Glass plate negative of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī
(De Gros et Delettretz auction in Paris in 2012)

Additionally, the postcards of ‘Abd al-Qādir and two other Sufi saints with some scenes from the Qur’an and the holy places of Islam are collected in the form of a large, 50x70 cm plate.⁵ In a previous article, I had suggested calling these plates “composite plates” to distinguish them from large format posters devoted to a single image. Were these composite plates made at the request of the Arab population who wished to collect the most revered images of their faith and hang them on a wall, or use them, as shown below, for magical and divinatory practices? The didactic function of these plates is obvious because the images of certain marabouts are supplemented by legends much longer than those of the postcards (Figures 12, 13, and 14) [Khenchelaoui 2000; Zarcone 2019].



Figure 12. “Composite plate” (collection of an antiquarian at Marrakesh, Morocco, 2015)

⁵ One of these plates has been studied by Z. Khenchelaoui [2000; 2005].



Figure 13. Details of the “composite plate” with ‘Abd al-Qādir (collection of an antiquarian at Marrakesh, Morocco)



Figure 14. Another “composite plate” with ‘Abd al-Qādir (Private collection, Morocco)

‘Abd al-Qādir is usually represented accompanied by a lion (*sha* in colloquial Arabic) that obeys him, just like some other North African marabouts, who probably imitated him. The lion symbolizes his power over the whole of creation, and the taming of such a wild animal is a marvel attributed to the saint. Local traditions tell of a lion coming from the wilderness devouring one of ‘Abd al-Qādir’s two cows; he therefore tamed the animal and tied it where his cow had previously been, turning the waterwheel [Mayeur-Jaouen 2005: 159].

Lions were also, like humans, in need of spiritual guidance. For instance, one narrative mentions a lion that came to the marabout Ahmad ben Yūsuf in search of a secret, namely, the “supreme name of God” [Bodin 1925: 147]. Furthermore, in his treatise on the science of dreams, ‘Abd al-Qādir suggests without surprise that the lion (*asad*) symbolizes “superiority” [Scarabel 1980: 73]. In addition, the fact that the lion was a wild animal before being tamed by ‘Abd al-Qādir is demonstrated in a contemporary glass painting from Tunisia (Figure 15) [Masmoudi 1972: 75].

According to Dermenghem, marabouts accompanied by lions could still be observed in the area of Oran, Algeria, around 1925 [Dermenghem 1954: 207]. Hagiographical sources indicate that the patron saint of Algiers, ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Tha‘alibī, was in competition with another Sufi, Muhammad ben ‘Awda. The rivalry ended with Muhammad ben ‘Awda being symbolically defeated after his lion was eaten by ‘Abd al-Rahmān’s cow [Dermenghem 1954: 12]. This narrative was probably inspired by a similar rivalry between ‘Abd al-Qādir and Ahmad-i Jām (d. 1141). In both examples, the power of ‘Abd al-Rahmān and ‘Abd al-Qādir miraculously made the cow stronger than the lion. The image of the lion is so powerful in Northern Africa that it has inspired a ritual dance practiced by the Sufis of the ‘Issāwiyya order [Abdellah 1995; see also Brunel 1926: 192 *sq.*].



Figure 15. ‘Abd al-Qādir taming a lion (Masmoudi 1972: 75)

Apart the lion, there are two material elements in the portraiture of ‘Abd al-Qādir that we must question: a book—probably the Qur’an—and a rosary; both are held by the saint. This portraiture has different versions with few differences; only the landscape in the

background of the image is not the same. The book and rosary are usually seen in portraits of other Sufis; for example, the portraiture of Ahmad al-Tijānī shows him holding both. In the abovementioned glass painting from Tunisia, ‘Abd al-Qādir raises his book in the direction of the lion charging at him; here, the book is a means of protection. Elsewhere, it is the guide of Muslims.

Additionally, portraits of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī in Maghreb and the Middle East differ from the Indian portraits. ‘Abd al-Qādir wears the local clothing of each area; he wears an Arabic coat in the Maghreb and a *shalwār qamīz* with a shawl in India. Regardless, he holds the rosary in both representations (Figure 16).

Additionally, an Ottoman image depicts ‘Abd al-Qādir sitting by a deer... probably because of the sacrality of this animal, especially in Ottoman Sufism, but there is no mention of such an animal in his hagiography (Figure 17) [Zarcone and Laurant 2017: 110 and picture 33].



Figure 16. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī with a rosary in his hand, Indian poster (from Frembgen 2006)



Figure 17. ‘Abd al-Qādir sitting by a deer (Şahin Paksoy Collection, İstanbul)

2.4 The Sufi Who Balances the Outer and Inner Sciences

Another spiritual skill of ‘Abd al-Qādir—albeit shared with another great and ancient saint of Irak, Ahmad al-Rifā‘ī, eponym of the Rifā‘ī order—is reflected in some calligraphies of the name of the saint, which is framed by two banners. The explanation comes from Ahmad al-Rifā‘ī’s hagiography. After he completed his spiritual training, al-Rifā‘ī was gifted a banner by his master ‘Alī Abū l-Faḍl al-Wāsiṭī (d. ?), who also nicknamed him *Abū l-‘alamayn*, the “Owner of the Two Banners,” since al-Rifā‘ī was mastering the outer (*zāhir*) and inner (*bātin*) sciences of Islam [Tahralı 2015: 285]. This is the reason pictures linked to the Rifā‘ī order bear the motif of a double banner and the inscription “O Respectable Owner of the Two Banners” (*Yā Hadrat Pīr Abū l-‘alamayn*), followed by verses of the Qur’an (48:1–2) (Figures 18 and 19) [Uludağ 2006: 107]. However, the same inscription is also used for ‘Abd al-Qādir, and there are similar calligraphies of his name with the two banners and the phrase *Abū l-‘alamayn*. It is unknown, however, whether the calligraphy with the two banners originated from al-Rifā‘ī and was then attributed to ‘Abd al-Qādir or vice versa. According to ‘Abd al-Qādir, these two sciences are neither opposed to nor separate from each other. On the contrary, they are complementary [Gürer 1999: 225].



Figure 18. Calligraphy of ‘Abd al-Qādir with the two banners (from Uludağ 2005)



Figure 19. Idem. (from Uludağ 2005)

3 Protection through Intercession: ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī as a Living Talisman

‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī is universally reputed in the Muslim world as the most powerful protector against any kind of threats; therefore, he is invoked and venerated under the name *Ghawth al-A‘zam* (the Great Helper) [Gürer 1999: 88–89]. Similarly, in the Indian

subcontinent, he is known by the name *Ghauth Pāk*, “the Saint of pure help,” and the saying: *Yā Ghauth al-A‘zam Dastgīr*, “Oh Greatest Helper who takes you by the hand” is very popular [Frembgen 2006: 37].⁶

Portraits of ‘Abd al-Qādir are tools of great help when seeking the saint’s intercession. For instance, a postcard from Algiers mentions in Arabic and French that “Sid-Abd-el-Kader-el-Djilani, Saint of Baghdad, is invoked by all Muslims who ask him to intercede with Allah” (*‘Sid-Abd-el-Kader-el-Djilani, Saint de Baghdad, il est invoqué par tous les musulmans qui le prient d’intercéder auprès d’Allah*) (Figure 9). An Indian poster displaying a miracle of the saint shows ‘Abd al-Qādir sitting on a carpet, flying above the Dal Lake in Kashmir; a woman nearby is praying to the saint for help and intercession. A poem included in the poster refers to ‘Abd al-Qādir as the “elevenner” (*yārhwīn*), the man who died on the eleventh (Figure 16) [Frembgen 2006: 47]. It reminds us of the well-known celebration called *ghīārhwīn sharīf* (Respected Eleventh), which is organized in India to commemorate him.

Besides, the intercession of the saint, as well as his presumed magical power, is invoked by popular therapists and magicians in current-day Morocco. They use “composite plates” with several popular images, and among them is the portrait of ‘Abd al-Qādir I have presented above (Figures 12, 14, and 20).



Figure 20. Ritual executed by a seer and therapist using a “composite plate” (Marrakesh 2012, photograph Zarcone)

4 Mystical Devotion

The portraits of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī are also used as tools by Sufis involved in spiritual

6 Regarding an intercession prayer dedicated to ‘Abd al-Qādir, see [Padwick 1996: 240–242].

exercises. It is well known that the portraiture of holy figures—in the form of paintings or photographs—play a pivotal role in Muslim gnosticism and in Sufism as a meditation aid. The practice of such an ascetic exercise exists both in Sunni and Shi‘i Islam, especially in Sufism, and almost everywhere in the Muslim world. In Egypt, the photographs of living shaykhs in the form of portable pictures are considered to bring some *baraka* from the saint to its owner, and the devotee has to contemplate this image when performing *dhikr* (litanies) or praying [Mayeur 2003: 74]. *Dhikr* is also performed using the portrait of Abū l-Hasan al-Shādhilī, eponym of the Shādhiliyya Sufi order, a Tunisian member of the lineage (1197–1258). It is interesting to note that both Ibn ‘Atā’ Allāh (d. 1309) and ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha‘rānī (d. 1565), two famous masters of this lineage, recommended that the adept engaging in *dhikr* focus on the image of his shaykh during his recitation [McGregor 1997: 268].

In India, the disciples of a Sufi master concentrate on the eyes of their spiritual guides with the help of a portrait so that “the *murīd* is able to see himself reflected in the eyes of his *pīr* – like in a mirror [Frembgen 2006: 134; Papas 2025]. The metaphor of the “mirror” is also used in Senegal, where the Murids use this term to refer to how they see themselves in the portrait of their shaykh Amadou Bamba (1853–1927) [Roberts and Roberts 2002: 62]. Consequently, Nasir al-Dīn Chirāgh-i Delhi (d. 1356) is said to have written that his master Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā (d. 1325) recommended and taught the exercise of visualizing ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, “which up to today they do in the Chishtiyya and Qādiriyya order” [Awrangabādī 1891: 12].

To conclude, because of his great popularity as the *qutb* of the saints and the most powerful helper, ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī has been and is still the most venerated among the Sufīs, regardless of the Sufi brotherhood to which they belong. Moreover, to say that ‘Abd al-Qādir transcends all divisions in Sufism is no exaggeration. He is also probably among the rare Sufīs whose portraiture is drawn⁷ and whose portraits are the most widely distributed from Morocco to India. However, according to Ahmad Sirhindī, great figure of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi order in seventeenth-century India, many of “the disciples of ‘Abd al-Qādir had excessive reactions to him and in their love for him they went beyond acceptable limits.” In fact, Sirhindī has a completely different interpretation of the veneration of ‘Abd al-Qādir. He undoubtedly would have liked to have channeled some of the charisma of the saint of Baghdad toward himself. I have observed in Turkey that the use of photographs of dead and living shaykhs by disciples during their spiritual exercises is widespread in the Naqshbandiyya order [See also Aydın 2000: 31]. One particular Naqshbandī exercise called *rābita* involves the adept endeavoring to establish a spiritual link with his spiritual master through the visualization of his face or, nowadays, through a photograph [Algar 1992].

Consequently, to oppose ‘Abd al-Qādir’s almost unrivalled veneration, especially in India, Sirhindī reinterpreted the famous proclamation mentioned above—“my foot is on the

7 Along with Ahmad al-Tijānī, some other North African and Indian Sufīs; see [Zarcone 2019: 93–112].

neck of all the saints”—and wrote: “The necks of the protégés of God of that time are under ‘Abd al-Qādir’s foot”; hence, he considered ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī the *qutb* of his time only, not of all time.⁸ Sirhindī’s disciples, who regarded him as the only essential figure of Islam and Sufism, gave him the title of “renovator of the second millennium [of Islam]” (*mujaddid-i alf-i thānī*). However, despite the famous reinterpretation by Sirhindī and his reputation as renovator of the second millennium [Giordani 2009]—and although he is still considered a Sufi luminary—the popularity of ‘Abd al-Qādir has remained unchanged since the thirteenth century and dominates a large part of the Muslim world, regardless of the person’s adherence to Sufism.

References

- Abdellah, Z. Z. 1995. “La Danse des lions et des lionnes.” *Música oral del Sur* 1: 119–127.
- Aīnī, Mehmmmed Ali. 1938. *Un Grand Saint de l’islam Abd-al-Kadir Guilānī, 1077-1166*. Paris: Paul Geuthner.
- Algar, Hamid. 1992. “Devotional practices of the Khālidi Naqshbandis of Ottoman Turkey.” In *The Dervish Lodge*, ed. Raymond Lifchez, 209–227. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Aydın, Ferit. 2000. *Tarikatta Râbita ve Nakşibendilik*. Istanbul: Süleymaniye Vakfı Yay.
- Bodin, M. 1925. “Notes et questions sur Sidi Ahmed-ben-Yousef.” *Revue africaine* 66 (323–324): 125–189.
- Boisdur de Toffol, M.-H. 2001. “Peintures sur verre et Islam au Sénégal.” *Horizons Maghrébins* 44: 11–91.
- Bouttiaux-Ndiaye, A.-M. 1994. *Senegal Behind Glass: Images of Religious and Daily Life*. Tervuren: Prestel.
- Brunel, René. 1926. *Essai sur la confrérie religieuse des Aissaouas au Maroc*. Reprinted 2001, Paris: Afrique et Orient.
- Buehler, Arthur. 2011. *Revealed Grace. The Juristic Sufism of Ahmad Sirhindi (1564–1624)*. Louisville: Fonsvitae.
- Çakır, Adalet. 2012. *Abdülkâdir-i Geylânî ve Kâdirîlik*. Istanbul: İsam Y.
- Caudron, E. 2015. *Linge, dentelles, poupées, cartes, gravures, documents anciens, du vendredi 13 novembre 2015*. Paris: Drouot Richelieu.
- Centlivres, P. and M. Centlivres-Demont. 1997. *Imageries populaires en Islam*. Genève: Georg Éditeurs.
- Dermenghem, E. 1954. *Le Culte des saints dans l’islam maghrébin*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Doutté, E. 1900. *Notes sur l’islam maghrébin. Marabouts*. Paris: Ernest Leroux.

⁸ *Maktūbāt* I:293, translated by Buehler [2011: 214–216].

- Frembgen, Jürgen. 2006. *The Friends of God. Sufi Saints in Islam: Popular Poster Art from Pakistan*. Oxford and Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- . 2007. "Sufi Poster Art." *Journal of the History of Sufism* 7: 329–335.
- Giordani, Demetrio. 2009. "Ahmad Serhindi, Shaikh." *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, online edition.
- Golvin, L. 1970. "Les Tendances actuelles de la peinture en Algérie." *Annuaire de l'Afrique du nord* 9: 921–932.
- Gözücüoğlu, Sāmī. 1920–1942. "Silsilanāme-yi Ahī ve Hulafāyī Kādirī." Manuscript, collection T. Zarcone.
- Gürer, D. 1999. *Abdülkâdir Geylânî, Hayatı, Eserleri, Görüşleri*. Istanbul: İnsan Y.
- Jāmī, 'Abd al-Rahmān. 1991. *Nafahāt al-Uns min Hadharāt al-Quds*. Edited by Mahmūd 'Ābadī. Tehran: Intishārāt-i Ittala'āt.
- Khenchelaoui, Z. 2000. "Quelques remarques sur la place et sur l'iconographie de 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī dans le folklore algérien." *Journal of the History of Sufism* 1-2: 431–441.
- . 2005. *L'Imagerie mystique dans le folklore algérien*. Alger: Centre national de recherches préhistoriques, anthropologiques et historiques.
- Masmoudi, Mohamed. 1972. *La Peinture sous verre en Tunisie*. Tunis: Cérès productions.
- Mayeur-Jaouen, Catherine. 2003. "La Fonction sacrale de l'image dans l'Égypte contemporaine : de l'imagerie traditionnelle à la révolution photographique." In *La Multiplication des images en pays d'islam: de l'estampe à la télévision (17^e - 21^e siècle)*, ed. Bernard Heyberger et Silvia Naef, ed., 57–79. Würzburg: Ergon Verlag.
- . 2005. "Les Animaux, les prophètes et les saints." In *L'Animal en islam*, ed. Mohammed Hocine Benkheira, Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen, and Jacqueline Sublet, 139–166. Paris: Les Indes savantes.
- McGregor, Richard J. A. 1997. "A Sufi legacy in Tunisia: prayer and the Shadhiliyya." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29(2) (May): 255–277.
- Nizām al-Dīn Awrangabādī. 1891. *Nizām al-qulub*. Delhi: Matba'-i Mujtabā'ī.
- Padwick, Constance E. 1996. *Muslim Devotions: A Study of Prayers-Manuals in Common Use*. Oxford: Oneworld.
- Papas, Alexandre. 2025. "Devotional portraits of Sufis." In *Hand-Book of Sufi Material Culture*, ed. Alexandre Papas and Thierry Zarcone. Leiden: Brill (forthcoming).
- Philipon, A. 2025. "Raviver les cœurs morts. Fêtes, constructions identitaires et (dé) territorialisations dans le soufisme irakien contemporain." Paris: Habilitation à diriger des recherches (HDR), EPHE.
- Renaudeau, M. and M. Strobel. 1984. *Peinture sous verre du Sénégal*. Paris: Nathan/NEA.
- Riaz Qadiri, Muhammad. 2015. *The Sultan of the Saints: Mystical Life and Teachings of Hazrat Shaikh Syed Abdul Qadir Jilani*. Srinagar: Gulshan Books.

- Roberts, Allen F. and Mary Nooter Roberts. 2002. "A saint in the city. Sufi arts of urban Senegal." *African Arts* 35(4) (Winter): 52–73.
- Rushdiy, Muhammad Siddiq. 1992. *Hazrati Ghavsul A'zam Muhiyiddin Sayyid Abdulqodir Giloniy (Avliyalar Sultoni)*. Edited by Iqromiddin Ostonaqul. Tashkent: A. Qodiriy Nomidaqi Khalq Merosi Nashriyati.
- Scarabel, Angelo. 1977. "Considerazioni su silsila e genealogia in 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī.'" *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 51(1-4): 77–98.
- . 1980. "Un Inedito di 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī sulla scienza dei sogni." *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 54 (1-2): 67–76.
- . 1981. "Una Preghiera attribuita a 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī; esempio di continuità della pietas qādirī nelle'islam contemporaneo." In *La Bisaccia dello Sheikh: Omaggio ad Alessandro Bausani Islamista nel sessantesimo compleanno*, ed. Biancamaria Scarcia-Amoretti, 171–178. Venezia: Quaderni del Seminario di Iranistica, Uralo-Altaistica e Caucasologia dell'Università degli studi di Venezia.
- Sharif, Ahmad. 1921. *Islam in India or the Qanun-i-Islam: The Customs of the Musalmāns of India: Comprising a Full and Exact Account of Their Various Rites and Ceremonies from the Moment of Birth to the Hour of Death*. London: Oxford University Press, reed. 1975.
- Tahrallı, Mustafa. 2015. "Rifā'iyye." In *Türkiye'de tarikatlar. Tarih ve kültür*, ed. Semih Ceyhan, 285–334. Istanbul: İSAM Yay.
- Tanman, Baha. 1994. "Mehmed Şemseddin Efendi Tekkesi." *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 5, 367. Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı.
- "Tuhfat al-ghavthiyya." 1285/1877. Persian Manuscript, collection T. Zarcone.
- Uludağ, Hümeýra. 2005. *Osmanlı Hat Sanatında Tekke Yazıları*. Istanbul: Yüksek Lisans Tezi.
- . 2006. "Tekke yazılarında sancak sembolizmi." *Keşkül, Sufi Gelenek ve Hayat* 9: 106–109.
- . 2011. "Kâdiriye tarikatında sembolik öğeler." *Keşkül* 18(Spring): 74–79.
- . 2015. "Les Oiseaux du soufisme: le destin du Rossignol et le pèlerinage de la cigogne." *Journal of the History of Sufism* 6: 101–112.
- Vovelle, Michel. 1985. *Idéologies et Mentalités*. Paris: La Découverte.
- Zarcone, Thierry. 1996. "Les Qadiris." In *Les Voies d'Allah. Les Ordres soufis dans le monde musulman*, ed. A. Popovic and G. Veinstein, 461–467. Paris: Fayard.
- . 2019. "Au sujet d'une iconographie d'Ahmad al-Tijānī: image de dévotion et hagiographie visuelle." *Journal of the History of Sufism* 7: 93–112.
- Zarcone, Thierry and Jean-Pierre Laurant. 2017. *Le Cerf: Une symbolique chrétienne et musulmane*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.