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### The Role of Sufi Networks in Islamic Political and Economic History

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https://doi.org/10.62032/ aijit.v3i1.92 Abstract: This paper investigates the multifaceted economic roles and institutional structures of Sufi networks in Islamic societies from medieval to modern times. It examines how Sufi doctrines of poverty and wealth, particularly through the divergent views of al-Ghazālī and Ibn Taymiyyah, shaped a distinctive Islamic economic ethos that intertwined spiritual discipline with ethical material engagement. The study explores the institutionalization of Sufi lodges (khāngāhs and zāwiyas) through waqf endowments, revealing how these centers supported religious transmission, community welfare, and local governance. Sufi lineages such as those in the Safavid and Sa'dī dynasties utilized spiritual charisma and householdbased waqf networks to consolidate political authority and social influence. In frontier regions like Bengal and agrarian contexts like Morocco, Sufi institutions catalyzed agricultural development and rural integration, while in urban economies, Sufi guidance permeated trade guilds and artisanal ethics. The study also examines shrine-based pilgrimage economies as enduring engines of spiritual devotion, economic redistribution, and local identity formation, even amid modern state interventions and commodification. By integrating interdisciplinary methodologies from economic anthropology, historical sociology, and religious studies, this research highlights the strategic role of Sufi institutions in negotiating material realities with spiritual commitments. It offers new insights into how Sufi networks cultivated socio-economic resilience, governance structures, and moral economies across diverse Islamic polities and periods.

**Keywords:** Sufism; waqf; poverty and wealth; shrine economy; Islamic governance.

#### **INTRODUCTION**

From its inception, Sufism has not only represented a spiritual path within Islam but also developed as a social force embedded in the material realities of Muslim societies. Historically viewed through a mystical or ascetic lens, recent scholarship has increasingly highlighted Sufism's profound entanglement with socio-economic structures. Sufis have operated within and across varying political regimes, engaging with institutions, economies, and communities to advance spiritual and worldly objectives. Their ability to adapt to diverse

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Badrus Sholeh Afi

settings—urban and rural, courtly and vernacular—underscores a remarkable flexibility that challenges static or dichotomous readings of the Sufi tradition.

Modern scholars have progressively recognized the economic dimensions of Sufism as a vital field of inquiry, emphasizing its interplay with local economies, political structures, and spiritual authority. In many premodern societies, Sufism functioned as a devotional path and a vehicle for cultural and economic mobilization. For instance, Alatas (2020) illustrates how mausoleums and pilgrimage traditions in Central Java were integral to both the religious and economic consolidation of Sufi communities. These examples reflect a broader consensus among scholars who position Sufi orders as dynamic institutions, capable of intertwining spiritual capital with economic influence (Karimov et al., 2024; Said et al., 2025).

This reappraisal reorients the academic lens towards understanding Sufism as a participant in, rather than retreat from, material systems. Indeed, the earliest layers of Sufi thought contained tensions surrounding poverty. The ideal of *faqr* (spiritual poverty) is central to the writings of al-Ghazālī, who argued that actual knowledge is attainable only through a gradual detachment from the material world (Sabra, 2000). For him, poverty was not merely circumstantial but a deliberate spiritual station—a means to polish the soul, as it were. In this model, wealth is depicted as a distraction from the divine, and poverty, when embraced voluntarily, becomes virtuous. Al-Ghazālī's philosophy, influenced by Neoplatonic psychology, identified worldly detachment as a precondition for divine gnosis (Sabra, 2000).

However, this spiritual valorization of poverty did not remain uncontested. Critics such as Ibn al-Jawzī and later Ḥanbalī scholars rejected the romanticization of poverty, framing it instead as a condition of hardship that warranted endurance but not celebration. They viewed wealth and poverty as tests from God, neither inherently virtuous nor blameworthy, depending instead on the individual's piety and intent (al-Jawzī, 2018). These contrasting views reflect an early divergence in Sufi thought regarding the ethical status of wealth, a theme that continues reverberating in historical and contemporary contexts.

In line with these theological debates, the institutional and economic manifestations of Sufism evolved across Islamic history. Perhaps the most significant structural development was the rise of *waqf* (Islamic endowments) as a mechanism to support religious and social functions. From the eleventh century onward, *waqf* became a cornerstone of Sufi institutional power, funding khānqāhs, zāwiyas, shrines, and associated educational and charitable endeavors. As Noordin et al. (2017) demonstrate, *waqf* facilitated the continuity of religious practices and enabled Sufi networks to sustain complex social systems. The transformation of *waqf* into modern instruments such as cash *waqf* further reflects their adaptability to changing economic imperatives (Muneeza et al., 2025).

Sufi networks frequently aligned themselves with ruling authorities to secure patronage and protection, establishing institutional residences and roles conferring spiritual and political legitimacy. Examples include the khānqāh founded by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in Cairo, which housed hundreds of Sufis and operated with royal patronage and an extensive support system (Fernandes, 1986). Such developments exemplify how Sufi spirituality was institutionalized within the political economy of Muslim states. This entrenchment was not merely top-down; the economic contributions of local elites and communities equally shaped it. The circulation of endowments, land, and labor between Sufi orders and the public illustrates a dense web of interactions, where spiritual authority became fused with economic stewardship.

The practical ethics of Sufi life also reveal substantial engagement with trade, labor, and craft. The Shādhilī order, for instance, encouraged its adherents to maintain their professions and refrain from begging or ostentatious asceticism. Its founder, al-Shādhilī, rejected the

symbolism of coarse garments and dependency on alms, arguing that spiritual development was compatible with dignified labor and societal participation (Hofer, 2015). This ethos appealed particularly to merchants, artisans, and scholars, creating a model of religious life deeply integrated with economic rationality.

At the other extreme were antinomian dervish groups such as the Qalandars and Ḥaydarīs, who explicitly flouted social and religious conventions, embracing mendicancy and performative acts of poverty as a radical spiritual critique of the normative order (Ahmet, 1994). These Sufis, while often marginalized, nonetheless became subjects of courtly patronage and played complex roles in the symbolic economy of Islamicate societies.

The expansion of Sufi networks and their embeddedness in urban environments reveal how notions of poverty were transformed through spatial and social adaptation. Scholars like Saniotis (2012) and Hancock & Srinivas (2008) argue that urban Sufi identities often balance ascetic ideals with strategic navigation of public religiosity and social visibility. As explored by Alatas (2019) and Behrens-Abouseif (2011), the physical spaces of shrines foster ritual devotion and economic interaction, including hospitality, pilgrimage economies, and markets. These sites materialize the "spiritual economy" idea, where sanctity generates religious merit and monetary exchange.

The institutionalization of Sufi practice—especially in cities—coincided with increased state involvement and regulation. Ohlander (2010)(2010) and Hatina (2007) note that states oscillated between co-opting and suppressing Sufi orders, depending on political expediency. During the Ottoman period, lineages such as al-Bakriyya in Cairo operated with state recognition, managing large *waaf* estates and influencing religious life. Their elevation to official roles like *shaykh al-sajjāda* and *naqīb al-ashrāf* reveals how Sufi families became quasi-aristocratic entities, blending spiritual authority with material control (Marsot, 1973; Sabra, 2010).

Recent historiographical shifts have moved away from viewing Sufism as a peripheral, mystical retreat and instead recognize it as central to the socio-economic fabric of Islamic societies. This transformation is not only retrospective. In the contemporary era, Sufi institutions continue to function as economic actors. Studies from Pakistan (Strothmann, 2016), Senegal (Kane, 2011), and Turkey (Yavuz, 2005) show how Sufi movements navigate modernity by leveraging state infrastructure, digital media, and global networks to sustain their presence. These movements often engage in charitable services, education, and commercial ventures, further challenging dichotomous views of poverty and wealth within Sufi discourse.

This study aims to analyze the economic functions of Sufism across five major dimensions: theological conceptions of poverty and wealth; institutional and *waqf*-based development; political affiliations and dynastic integration; adaptation to rural, urban, and frontier ecologies; and the ritual economy surrounding shrines and festivals. By integrating historical analysis with contemporary case studies, this article argues that the economic vitality of Sufism is not an accidental byproduct but a constitutive feature of its institutional and doctrinal evolution.

The novelty of this study lies in its reconfiguration of Sufi poverty, not as negation of the material but as strategic engagement with economic systems to serve spiritual, communal, and political ends. Drawing on textual sources and historiographical debates, the article contributes to a growing body of work that situates Sufism at the nexus of piety, patronage, and profit. It seeks to demonstrate that Sufi economies, past and present, are best understood as flexible, embedded, and negotiated arenas of religious agency.

#### **METHOD**

This study employs an integrated historical-anthropological and economic-sociological approach to examine how Sufi networks negotiate spiritual authority and material structures. Historical anthropology interprets rituals, symbols, and patronage systems within their sociocultural milieus, while economic sociology frames the embeddedness of economic practices within kinship, state, and market relations (Talmud, 2007). Economic anthropology further conceptualizes Sufi lodges, shrines, and waqf institutions as microcosms of moral and redistributive exchange (Nazori et al., 2024). Two primary sources are critically analyzed: hagiographies, interpreted hermeneutically to uncover rhetorical strategies and devotional biases (Cruz-e-Silva & Cavalieri, 2022), and waqf deeds (waqfiyyāt), which provide legal evidence of assets, income, and beneficiaries, contextualized through administrative archives court records (Ismoilov, 2023). Integrating these disparate sources presents methodological challenges, particularly in harmonizing the normative, idealized narratives of hagiographic literature with the formal, transactional character of legal documents. This tension is addressed through a triangulated methodology that incorporates archaeological data, ethnographic accounts, and oral histories to contextualize and cross-validate findings across different source types and regions. Cross-regional comparisons focus on institutional patterns across Safavid, Ottoman, Bengal, and Moroccan contexts (Perveen, 2023). A sociolegal framework is also applied to examine how modern state interventions in waqf governance reflect historical tensions between religious autonomy and political authority (Muneeza et al., 2025). While methodologically complex, this interdisciplinary strategy ensures a robust and contextually grounded analysis of Sufism's economic-spiritual infrastructures.

#### FINDING AND DISCUSSION

#### Doctrines of Poverty and Wealth in Sufi Thought

The conceptions of poverty (*faqr*) and wealth within Sufi thought have long formed a foundational axis for understanding Sufi spirituality's ethical and economic dimensions. These interpretations are not uniform; instead, they reflect an evolving discourse that spans centuries of Islamic intellectual history, particularly as articulated by key thinkers such as Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī and Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Taymiyyah. Though both are rooted in Islamic tradition, their views represent divergent philosophical orientations concerning life and spiritual fulfillment.

Al-Ghazālī, in his seminal work  $Ihy\bar{a}$  ' $Ul\bar{u}m$   $al-D\bar{\imath}n$ , offers one of the most influential Sufi articulations of spiritual poverty. For him, faqr is not a socio-economic status but an elevated spiritual station whereby the soul, stripped of attachment to material possession, mirrors divine reliance and receptivity (Al-Ghazalī, 2011). In his framework, poverty is a path toward self-annihilation ( $fan\bar{a}$ ') and the polishing of the soul's mirror, leading to divine gnosis. He asserts that wealth becomes a veil that obstructs the seeker's journey to God when sought or cherished. Accordingly, spiritual excellence is attained by diminishing material desires and adopting an attitude of detachment, a principle that remains central in many Sufi ethical paradigms (Younus & Moosa, 2023).

This orientation heavily influenced subsequent Sufi texts, particularly in the tenth and eleventh centuries, which emphasized secrecy in asceticism and cautioned against seeking patronage. Al-Ghazālī advised that those who embrace voluntary poverty should conceal their condition and abstain from soliciting charity, thus preserving the dignity and sincerity of their spiritual path (Sabra, 2000). His spiritualized notion of poverty as a divine gift was not

intended to valorize suffering, but to cultivate inward purification and social restraint—behaviors deeply tied to Sufi ethical and economic ethos.

In contrast, Ibn Taymiyyah offers a more pragmatic and socially embedded interpretation. Rather than advocating for renunciation, he promotes a balanced engagement with wealth, viewing it as a divine test or tool that can be employed toward righteous ends. He cautions that when romanticized, poverty may become a burden that leads individuals toward dependency or moral compromise. His contention that poverty and wealth can serve spiritual development, depending on the individual's piety and intention, repositions material prosperity as spiritually neutral, subject only to its ethical usage (Ingram, 2018; Taymiyyah, 2025). Ibn Taymiyyah's insistence on lawful earning (*kasb ḥalāl*) and ethical stewardship challenges the idea that spiritual superiority necessitates material deprivation. Instead, he upholds that sincere engagement with economic life is compatible with, and even beneficial to, spiritual growth.

The historical tension between these two positions—ascetic renunciation and ethical pragmatism—has had lasting effects on Sufi practice and institutional structures. The notion of *zuhd* (asceticism), often associated with early Sufism, encourages the cultivation of inner detachment, even as it does not always prescribe external poverty. Over time, this internalized renunciation evolved into an economic ethos wherein Sufi adherents were encouraged to responsibly engage with wealth and communal awareness. This ethic is evident in many orders' social initiatives, including the creation of *waqf* (charitable endowments), which enabled the redistribution of wealth for education, welfare, and spiritual retreats (Fahrurrozi & Munandar, 2024).

The Chishti order in South Asia exemplifies this practical outworking of Sufi economic ethics. Grounded in the service of marginalized communities, the Chishtis developed a tradition of open kitchens (*langar*), hospices, and other charitable services that transformed wealth into a communal resource. Their teachings emphasized that spiritual cultivation must be accompanied by acts of compassion and generosity, positioning material resources as means to divine proximity rather than obstacles (Khan, 2021). Such practices reflect a deeply held Sufi commitment to '*ibāda* (worship) through service (*khidmah*), thereby establishing a framework in which economic engagement supports spiritual obligations.

This synthesis of ascetic intention and social action creates a distinctive Islamic economic ethic. Al-Ghazālī's spiritual poverty, far from promoting isolationism, inspires behaviors prioritizing communal well-being over personal gain. Followers are trained to recognize the transient nature of worldly assets, encouraging gratitude and restraint while using resources to uplift others. Consequently, economic behaviors such as almsgiving, establishment of endowments, and avoidance of hoarding are not merely legalistic obligations but spiritual disciplines (Younus & Moosa, 2023). Sufi communities become nodes of ethical redistribution and economic moderation through these practices.

Furthermore, Ibn Taymiyyah's more permissive stance toward wealth acquisition promotes economic participation without compromising ethical integrity. His framework situates wealth within a moral calculus—legitimized by intention, means, and outcome—rather than as an inherent impediment to spirituality. This view supports a model of ethical capitalism within Sufi circles, where spiritual discipline coexists with active involvement in trade, labor, and administration. It also lays the groundwork for understanding how Sufi institutions like ribāṭs and khānqāhs operated not only as spiritual centers but also as economic hubs, integrated into broader social and political networks (Ingram, 2018; Sabra, 2000).

These dual legacies—of renunciation and engagement—continue to inform contemporary understandings of Sufi economics. Modern scholars argue that Sufi teachings on wealth and poverty have generated robust traditions of charity, socio-economic cooperation, and spiritual regulation of material life (Fahrurrozi & Munandar, 2024). As Sufi orders spread geographically, they adapted these principles to local conditions, shaping regional economies and constructing enduring institutions such as shrines, schools, and orphanages.

The discourse on poverty and wealth in Sufi thought offers more than theological reflection; it constitutes a lived economic ethics. Through figures like al-Ghazālī and Ibn Taymiyyah, Sufism provides a dual lens: a spiritual critique of materialism and a constructive model for ethical economic agency. This duality has allowed Sufi networks to engage with wealth while maintaining spiritual integrity, establishing a legacy of socially embedded piety that continues to shape Muslim societies across time and space.

#### Institutionalization and the Waqf Economy

The institutional development of Sufi lodges—particularly khānqāhs and zāwiyas—reflects a profound synthesis of spiritual commitment and economic pragmatism within Islamic societies. Initially emerging as spaces of ascetic retreat and devotional training, these institutions gradually transformed into structured religious-economic units embedded in local and imperial networks. By the eleventh century, khānqāhs and zāwiyas had become cornerstones of urban and rural religious life, serving multiple roles as centers for spiritual education, community gathering, social welfare, and resource management.

The khānqāh, originating from Persian contexts, and the zāwiya, more common in North Africa and Andalusia, developed under the patronage of rulers who recognized their utility in cultivating public support and maintaining religious cohesion. Their endowment through *waqf*—an Islamic charitable trust—enabled financial autonomy while safeguarding the continuity of Sufi teachings and practices. This institutional form of pious charity, as observed in the foundational khānqāh of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in Cairo, facilitated stable incomes through rental properties, agricultural revenues, and trade levies, all channeled to support resident Sufis, fund ritual practices, and maintain physical infrastructure (Fernandes, 1986).

The *waqf* system supported the physical operation of Sufi institutions and reinforced the spiritual and political legitimacy of Sufi lineages. As Ismoilov (2023) noted, the management of endowed properties allowed influential families and Sufi dynasties to sustain religious authority across generations, especially during periods of state transition or socio-political instability. This pattern is evident in the Egyptian al-Bakriyya household, which controlled dozens of waqfs by the late eighteenth century, overseeing religious instruction, shrine management, and charity distribution while maintaining close ties with Ottoman authorities (Marsot, 1973; Sabra, 2010).

The economic logic of the *waqf-endowed* Sufi lodge extended beyond self-sufficiency. It enabled Sufi leaders to expand their spiritual jurisdiction by providing education, food, and lodging to students and people experiencing poverty, thereby cultivating loyalty and extending influence. As Fuad (2024) notes, these *waqf*s acted as financial vehicles for social power, allowing Sufi shaykhs to consolidate communities of allegiance (*murīds*) and to shape socio-economic norms within their spheres of control—waqf-based authority created semi-autonomous religious domains, particularly in frontier regions where state presence was weak or fragmented.

Over time, the spatial expansion and architectural sophistication of khānqāhs and zāwiyas mirrored their growing socio-economic roles. Many evolved into sprawling complexes featuring prayer halls, hostels, kitchens, tombs, and schools. In Ottoman Anatolia, for example, these institutions often formed part of larger urban *waqf* complexes that included markets, baths, and soup kitchens, integrating Sufi life directly into the economic metabolism of the city (Wolper, 2003). These structures served Sufis and the wider public, offering welfare services that reinforced the spiritual capital of their founders and operators.

The adaptability of these institutions also reflected their political acumen. During the Seljuk and Ottoman periods, Sufi lodges became critical sites for reinforcing Sunni orthodoxy. Sufi orders like the Naqshbandiyya and Mevleviyya aligned themselves with imperial ideologies while embedding their institutions within state-endorsed religious policies. Ingram (2018) emphasizes that such integration did not result in the co-optation of Sufism but instead produced a symbiotic relationship in which Sufi actors could influence legal, educational, and political domains while receiving protection and financial backing.

Several classical and contemporary Muslim thinkers have warned that excessive preoccupation with material interests can obscure the spiritual goals of Sufi orders, risking a departure from the asceticism and inner transformation that form the foundational essence of Sufism (Gasimov, 2023). These critiques stemmed not from opposition to institutional stability but from fears that worldly entanglements could corrupt the sincerity of Sufi practice. However, historical evidence reveals that many Sufi households skillfully navigated these pressures, often employing economic mechanisms to deepen their spiritual and communal commitments rather than compromise them.

The ethical management of resources within Sufi lodges also demonstrates a conscious alignment with the principles of Sufi teachings. As Aždajić (2016) suggests, Sufi economic ethics centered around generosity (*karam*), trust (*amāna*), and communal care. By channeling wealth toward charitable acts—feeding the poor, sponsoring education, providing health care—these institutions enacted the Sufi ideal that God entrusts material resources for moral use. The spiritual authority of Sufi shaykhs was thus buttressed not merely by ascetic example but by their capacity to manage resources by divine and communal responsibility.

This dual identity—spiritual center and economic actor—defined the power and longevity of khānqāhs and zāwiyas. Their ability to adapt to changing political landscapes, manage vast estates, and offer spiritual services positioned them as indispensable institutions in Muslim society. Dovel (2017) argues that their resilience across empires and centuries underscores their integrative function: bridging sacred and secular, spiritual aspiration and material reality.

The institutionalization of Sufi lodges through the *waqf* system represents a formative stage in the evolution of Islamic religious economies. These institutions allowed Sufism to transcend the bounds of personal piety, embedding it within the legal, political, and economic fabric of Muslim civilization. Their strategic use of endowments ensured doctrinal transmission, ritual continuity, social cohesion, and economic sustainability—qualities that enabled Sufi networks to thrive across regions and remain influential into the modern period.

#### Political Networks and Dynastic Authority

Sufi lineages have historically played a pivotal role in shaping the political trajectories of Islamic states by functioning simultaneously as spiritual guides, political intermediaries, and economic stewards. Their ability to combine charismatic authority with kinship-based

organization enabled them to form robust household networks that exerted significant influence over local and imperial governance. These networks provided a flexible model of political engagement—sometimes acting as legitimizing partners of the state, other times as de facto rulers in regions with limited central control.

One of the most prominent examples is the Safavid dynasty, whose founder, Shāh Ismāʿīl, derived political legitimacy through the sanctity of his lineage to the Sufi master Safi al-Din. The Safavids' transformation of a Sufi tarīqa into a revolutionary Shīʿī polity illustrates how spiritual charisma could be recast as divine political authority. By positioning themselves as divinely guided imams, the Safavid rulers could unify diverse tribal elements under a sacred banner, integrating spirituality into the core of their state ideology (Muhaimin & Iskarim, 2024). Similarly, in North Africa, the Saʿdī dynasty drew upon their association with the Jazūlī branch of the Shādhilī order to construct a genealogical and spiritual claim to leadership, thereby enhancing their legitimacy among both elites and commoners (Green, 2020). In both contexts, Sufi charisma operated as a form of moral capital, reinforcing dynastic power.

These cases reveal how Sufi spiritual authority was symbolically significant and materially institutionalized through *waqf* systems. The construction of khānqāhs and zāwiyas by Sufi leaders and their dynastic patrons created enduring infrastructures through which economic and religious authority could be wielded. These buildings often served multiple functions—as centers of worship, education, social welfare, and political negotiation. Using *waqf* to fund these institutions allowed Sufi households to accumulate and administer land, markets, and agricultural production. In the case of the Safavid Empire, *waqf* endowments funded madrasas and shrines that anchored their regime in urban and rural areas, reinforcing their ideological hegemony through visible networks of piety and patronage (Muhaimin & Iskarim, 2024).

The Ottoman experience further exemplifies the importance of Sufi households in mediating political power. In Cairo, the Sādāt al-Wafā'iyya and the Sāda al-Bakriyya consolidated dozens of waqfs, effectively managing urban space and rural estates while also serving as spiritual leaders closely tied to the ruling elite (Sabra, 2010; Marsot, 1973). These households became hereditary custodians of waqf properties, ensuring the intergenerational transmission of wealth, spiritual authority, and political influence. Their shaykhs oversaw religious rituals and functioned as political brokers, mobilizing support for state ceremonies and negotiating with provincial administrators. The formal recognition of titles such as shaykh al-sajjāda reflected the institutionalization of this dual role.

This phenomenon was not unique to the central Islamic lands. In Bengal, Morocco, and Central Asia, Sufi lineages were critical in shaping local social orders, particularly in frontier zones where state institutions were weak. Sufi families fostered communal cohesion by establishing shrines, ribāṭs, and educational centers and acted as intermediaries between nomadic, tribal, or rural populations and the expanding Islamic states (Chowdury, 2024; Latif, 2024). These lineages often developed symbiotic relationships with local elites, securing donations of land and labor in exchange for spiritual intercession and political support.

The success of these networks was rooted in their ability to translate religious charisma into institutional stability. *Waqf* systems provided the legal and economic architecture for sustaining such influence. Formalizing property transfers and revenue streams allowed Sufi households to navigate changes in political regimes while maintaining continuity in leadership and services. The inheritance of *waqf* properties often reinforced hereditary

authority, transforming Sufi orders into quasi-aristocratic lineages with enduring socio-economic power (Fuad, 2024).

While their influence often aligned with state agendas, Sufi networks also functioned as autonomous political actors. They played a critical role in constructing and preserving orthodoxy during ideological contestation. During the Mamlūk and early Ottoman periods, for example, khānqāhs served as platforms for propagating Sunni doctrine against Ismāʻīlī or other heterodox currents, positioning Sufi leaders as defenders of religious and political order (Deweese, 2008). In some cases, such as the rise of the Aḥmadī network in rural Egypt, these Sufi actors consolidated control over specific territories, functioning as landlords and religious guides.

Sufi networks also displayed considerable adaptability in modern governance and reform. In the early twentieth century, elite Sufi families in Turkey reformulated their roles in line with republican secularism. They recast Sufi ethics in civic and nationalist terms, aligning themselves with emerging bureaucratic and educational institutions (Burak-Adlı, 2024). This pragmatic engagement demonstrates how Sufi actors were not merely residual or resistant elements within modern states, but often crucial players in articulating new modes of Islamic identity compatible with political transformation.

Throughout these contexts, Sufi households managed material wealth and political relationships. Their genealogical legitimacy, rooted in descent from the Prophet or esteemed saints, allowed them to mediate between tribes, rulers, and emerging bureaucracies. As Buehler (1998)(1998) and Sumbal (2016) note, the role of these households as mediators was particularly pronounced in times of crisis, when their spiritual authority enabled them to negotiate peace, distribute resources, and preserve social cohesion. The shrine complex, often the center of such households, became a public space where political, economic, and spiritual concerns converged.

Sufi political networks functioned as hybrid structures that combined religious charisma, economic capacity, and strategic flexibility. Through managing *waqf* assets and household-based governance, they contributed to the formation, legitimization, and sustainability of Islamic polities across time and space. Their success lay in their ability to align the sacred and the secular, cultivating spiritual authority while engaging with worldly power in ways that adapted to the needs of the state, the community, and the Sufi mission itself.

#### Ecological Adaptability: Urban, Rural, and Frontier Economies

One of Sufism's most enduring features is its geographic and ecological adaptability, which allows it to integrate into diverse environmental and socio-political landscapes across the Islamic world. From the frontier regions of Bengal to the arid plains of Morocco and the vibrant urban economies of Baghdad, Cairo, and Istanbul, Sufi institutions and teachings were crucial in fostering settlement, agricultural expansion, artisanal organization, and intercommunal cohesion. These engagements underscore the capacity of Sufism to mold itself into forms that were simultaneously spiritual and socio-economically functional.

In Bengal, Sufi saints were at the forefront of agricultural expansion and rural development, particularly during the early phases of Islamization. Their establishment of khānqāhs and shrines provided spiritual refuge and served as practical centers for land cultivation and social organization. Sufi leaders taught values of labor, cooperation, and mutual support, which encouraged clearing forested land and creating viable peasant economies (Chowdury, 2024). The settlements that grew around these lodges often included

both Muslim and non-Muslim populations, demonstrating the integrative role of Sufi ethics in promoting interreligious harmony and economic sustainability (Elius et al., 2020; Göktaş & Chowdury, 2023). These efforts facilitated the formation of agrarian markets and the stabilization of rural livelihoods, especially in areas previously considered marginal or inaccessible.

The spiritual and developmental leadership of Sufis was not symbolic alone—it translated into durable place-making. The naming of districts in Bengal after prominent Sufi saints attests to their foundational role in shaping local geographies and identities (Göktaş & Chowdury, 2023). Moreover, Sufi-endorsed agricultural techniques and communal norms promoted food security and resource-sharing models that addressed material and spiritual needs. In this way, the expansion of Sufi-led rural settlements contributed to the socioecological transformation of the region while consolidating Sufi influence in the daily lives of rural populations (Hossain, 2024).

A similar phenomenon occurred in North Africa, particularly in Morocco, where orders such as the Shādhiliyya and Darqāwiyya took active roles in land management and reclamation. These groups established agricultural cooperatives and introduced crop rotation, water management, and communal labor systems. Through these initiatives, Sufi institutions improved agricultural productivity and reinforced spiritual discipline by linking labor to religious merit (Eigenbrod et al., 2020). The economic upliftment of rural communities through Sufi frameworks contributed to the resilience of these orders and underscored the symbiotic relationship between environmental stewardship and spiritual vocation.

While Sufi engagement with agrarian life flourished in rural settings, their influence in urban contexts manifested most visibly through artisanal and trade guilds. In medieval Islamic cities such as Cairo, Baghdad, and Damascus, Sufi leaders were frequently involved with *futuwwa* and *akhī* organizations—chivalric brotherhoods and craft guilds that governed social conduct and economic ethics. These groups operated on principles of mutual aid, honesty, and spiritual discipline, with Sufi shaykhs often serving as spiritual patrons (KC et al., 2022; O'Brien, 1990). The relationship between these guilds and Sufi orders created a framework where commercial practices were infused with moral accountability.

One of the most notable figures in this regard was Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, who profoundly influenced the merchant and artisan communities of North Africa. His teachings emphasized ethical conduct in commerce, the rejection of greed, and the sanctity of labor—principles that harmonized economic success with spiritual growth (Coca et al., 2023). Through their involvement in these guilds, Sufis helped stabilize urban economies and promote cohesive community values, particularly in rapid urbanization and political change.

Urban Sufi lodges also functioned as physical and symbolic bridges between religious devotion and economic life. They were often built near markets or industrial districts, providing spiritual services to laborers and merchants alike. In Istanbul, for example, Sufi orders ran workshops, hosted vocational apprenticeships, and supported widows and orphans through endowment-funded services (Robles-Ortiz, 2020). These activities allowed Sufi institutions to become deeply embedded in urban social welfare systems, enhancing their legitimacy as spiritual and economic actors.

Moreover, the Tijaniyya order in West Africa illustrates the urban adaptability of Sufi ethics in contexts marked by social marginalization. Appealing to artisans, ex-slaves, and laborers, Tijaniyya lodges became centers of spiritual refuge and social mobility. Their promise of divine proximity and moral protection resonated with urban populations navigating the upheavals of colonialism and post-colonial governance (O'Brien, 1990). These dynamics reveal

Badrus Sholeh Afi

that Sufi institutions were not merely traditionalist holdovers but active participants in shaping modern urban identities and economic strategies.

A consistent pattern emerges from these rural and urban configurations: Sufism's adaptability to ecological and social conditions enabled it to influence multiple aspects of communal life. Whether cultivating crops in newly settled lands or regulating trade ethics in bustling cities, Sufi institutions offered an integrated model of religious devotion, economic cooperation, and moral order. Their teachings spiritualized labor and provided practical frameworks for community resilience and economic sustainability.

The ecological adaptability of Sufi practices—across both rural frontiers and urban centers—demonstrates a unique fusion of spirituality with economic functionality. Sufi orders utilized their religious authority to catalyze agricultural innovation, promote artisanal excellence, and foster social integration. Through their khānqāhs and guild affiliations, they constructed systems of ethical governance that were locally grounded and spiritually universal, enabling them to remain enduring fixtures in the moral and material life of Muslim societies.

#### Vernacular Piety, Shrines, and Ritual Economy

Sufi shrines have long occupied a central place in Muslim societies' religious, social, and economic landscapes. These sacred sites—constructed around the tombs of revered saints—are loci of spiritual devotion and engines of local development, cultural identity, and community cohesion. The socio-economic functionality of shrine economies arises from their unique position at the intersection of faith, commerce, and cultural exchange. As centers for pilgrimage, ritual celebration, and charitable activity, Sufi shrines operate as embedded institutions within local economies, shaping both vernacular piety and material livelihoods.

Historically, shrine-based economies flourished through the mechanisms of *waqf* and pilgrimage-related trade. In medieval Islamic cities and rural regions alike, shrines served as nodes of economic activity, supporting markets, inns, and communal kitchens. These functions extended the influence of Sufi orders beyond the spiritual domain and into the material structures of everyday life. As Sołjan & Liro (2021) and Mohiuddin (2024) argue, shrines facilitated social integration and economic redistribution by attracting pilgrims from diverse regions, encouraging spiritual communion and hospitality, commerce, and artisanal exchange.

Integrating dharamsalas and khānqāhs into shrine complexes exemplifies how pilgrimage economies structured local development in Bengal. These facilities provided travelers lodging, food, and spiritual counsel, while facilitating the exchange of goods and ideas. Sufi shrines became embedded in trade networks and regional economies, transforming remote or newly settled areas into vibrant nodes of religious and economic activity (Mohiuddin, 2024; Göktaş & Chowdury, 2023). Their embeddedness in agrarian landscapes fostered long-term settlement patterns and agricultural intensification, reinforcing the reciprocal bond between spiritual authority and land-based livelihoods.

A comparable pattern is evident in Morocco, where pilgrimage to saintly shrines became a means of cultivating rural solidarity and economic resilience. Orders such as the Shādhiliyya and Darqāwiyya established shrines that doubled as centers for artisanal production, agricultural cooperation, and communal charity (Moscatelli, 2024). While specific empirical data is limited, the tradition of shrine-based resource pooling—where communities

contributed labor and goods for shrine upkeep—speaks to the integrative function of these institutions in rural socio-economic systems.

Beyond rural contexts, Sufi shrines also played an integral role in the urban economies of major Islamic cities. Urban pilgrimage often intersected with the organization of trade guilds and futuwwa associations. As Coca et al. (2023) and O'Brien (1990) show, Sufi orders were instrumental in codifying ethical practices among artisans and merchants. The spiritual patronage offered by Sufi saints helped reinforce ideals of honesty, mutual support, and responsibility in commercial transactions. In cities like Cairo and Baghdad, trade guilds often sought Sufi endorsement to legitimize their operations, leading to a convergence of ritual, economic, and moral authority.

This moral economy extended into the architecture and administration of shrine complexes. Urban Sufi shrines included spaces for ritual recitation, food distribution, vocational training, and almsgiving—each linked to broader *waqf* systems, as Ortiz (2020) notes, Sufi-led workshops and apprenticeships created paths for social mobility while embedding economic production within spiritual practice. These spaces allowed for cultivating ethical craftsmanship and commercial integrity under divine oversight.

In the modern period, however, shrine economies' autonomy and communal focus have been increasingly subject to state intervention and commodification. In countries like Turkey and Egypt, nationalization efforts have transformed the traditional dynamics of shrine-based economies. The secularist reforms of the late Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic led to the closure or repurposing of many Sufi shrines, effectively severing their ties to community-based economic systems (Alam Choudhury, 2012). Similarly, Egypt's regulation of pilgrimage and religious tourism has been framed as a development strategy, integrating shrines into state-sponsored tourism circuits while altering the spiritual tone of the pilgrimage experience (Lamido & Haneef, 2021).

Pakistan presents a different yet related trajectory, wherein shrine economies have become politicized under the pressure of religious nationalism and bureaucratic oversight. Kabir (2011) observes that state involvement in shrine management has affirmed and constrained their communal functions. Debates continue over the allocation of revenues, the role of hereditary custodians, and the balance between spiritual integrity and economic viability. While shrine economies remain vital in providing local employment and social welfare, their commercialization raises critical concerns about the dilution of traditional Sufi values.

Despite these shifts, shrine economies continue to serve as engines of redistribution and spiritual renewal. Offerings and donations collected during pilgrimage are often reinvested into community services such as healthcare, education, and infrastructure—a reflection of the enduring utility of *waqf* frameworks. In regions where these revenues are effectively managed, they support sustainable development initiatives that align closely with Sufi ideals of communal care and ethical wealth distribution (Mokodenseho et al., 2024; Nompumelelo, 2024). These practices illustrate how vernacular piety is not confined to ritual alone but extends into the design and implementation of socio-economic strategies.

The ritual economy of shrines also holds significant symbolic and psychological value. As Kim et al. (2024) demonstrate, pilgrimage is linked to spiritual and emotional well-being, motivating pilgrims to contribute materially to preserving and enhancing shrine spaces. This feedback loop between spiritual fulfillment and material generosity sustains the vitality of these institutions, reinforcing their place in the collective imagination and economic landscape.

Badrus Sholeh Afi

Sufi shrines and their associated economies exemplify the intricate fusion of faith, livelihood, and locality. Whether situated in rural Bengal, mountainous Morocco, or cosmopolitan Istanbul, these institutions have historically provided platforms for social cohesion, economic inclusion, and spiritual cultivation. Even as they face pressures from commercialization and state intervention, their adaptive resilience and embedded communal roles continue to underscore the enduring relevance of vernacular Sufi piety in shaping both sacred experience and material well-being.

#### **CONCLUSION**

This article re-positions Sufi orders as pivotal architects of the Muslim world's "moral economy." By juxtaposing al-Ghazālī's ascetic *faqr* with Ibn Taymiyyah's pragmatic ethics, it uncovers an Islamic analogue to Weber's "Protestant ethic": disciplined piety that sacralises work, redistribution, and lawful profit rather than retreat from the market. Khānqāhs, zāwiyas, and waqf networks thus appear not as devotional sidelines but as rationalised infrastructures that converted charismatic authority into routinised welfare, education, and political brokerage.

Viewed through Weberian lenses of charisma-routinisation and ethical rationalisation, the Safavid and Saʻdī cases show how Sufi lineages translated spiritual prestige into dynastic sovereignty, while frontier and urban examples (Bengal agrarian projects, Maghribi guilds) illustrate how Sufi ethics scaled to new ecologies, embedding labour discipline, risk-sharing, and social insurance into daily economic life. Shrine economies, even under modern state commodification, persist as vernacular engines of redistribution and affective solidarity, signalling the resilience of this moral economy against bureaucratic appropriation.

By integrating historical, anthropological, and sociological evidence, the study demonstrates that Sufi institutions negotiated the tension between transcendence and materiality not through binary compromise but through an endogenous ethical synthesis. Future work should track how contemporary Sufi actors deploy this legacy within Islamic finance, social-justice activism, and identity politics, testing whether their ethos can still mobilise capital and charisma toward equitable development in a globalised market.

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Badrus Sholeh Afi

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