"A brilliant look into a major Sufi tradition…an outstanding book that should be at the top of the reading list not only for Sufism but for comparative mysticism and the history of religions as well."

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Professor of Comparative Religions at Haverford College

THE CHISHTI ORDER
IN SOUTH ASIA AND BEYOND

# Sufi Martyrs of Love

CARL W. ERNST AND BRUCE B. LAWRENCE

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## Praise for *Sufi Martyrs of Love:*

"A brilliant look into a major Sufi tradition that will be essential reading for anyone interested in Sufism, or mystical associations within religious cultures generally. Ernst and Lawrence challenge the 'myth of decline' as it has been adopted by historians and chroniclers both within and outside of the Chishti tradition, and allow us to see that the notion of a lost golden age is a trope within the tradition itself, always moving to a new generation that sees itself as the generation of decline. They also challenge successfully the tradition (or habit) of disjunction between Western and South Asian perspectives by placing their own work within both traditions of scholarship.

*Sufi Martyrs of Love* is particularly supple in its examination of intertwined topics like meditative practice, the complex role and nature of genealogies, the relation of tradition to tombs and shrines; the relation of the Chishti order to configurations of power—pre-colonial, colonial, and post colonial; and the pull between the tradition's homeland and its many and fascinating outposts or new centers. This is an outstanding book; it should be at the top of the reading list not only for Sufism but for comparative mysticism and the history of religions as well."

*—Michael Sells, Emily Judson Baugh and John Marshall Gest*
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## Chishti Sufism in South Asia and Beyond

*Carl W. Ernst*

*Bruce B. Lawrence*

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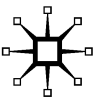

SUFI MARTYRS OF LOVE


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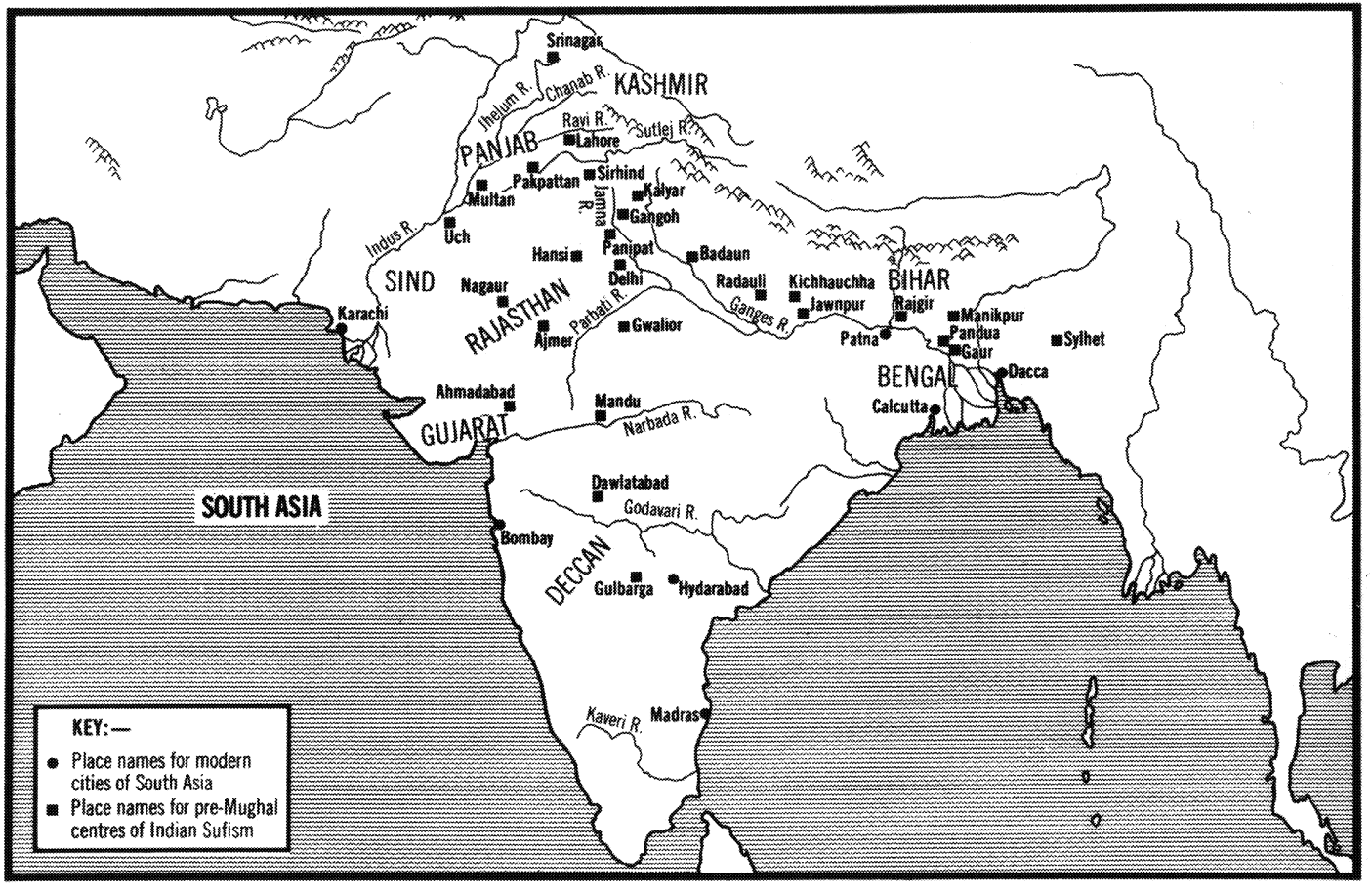
*AY ATISH-I FIRAQ-AT DIL-HA KABAB KARDA*
*SAYLAB-I ISHTIYAQ-AT JAN-HA KHARAB KARDA*

Ah, the fire of absence from you has burnt many a heart
And the flood of yearning for you has destroyed many a soul!

Dedicated to K. A. Nizami
With respect, gratitude, and affection

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There are many people who have helped us over the years in pursuing this project, and we would like to record here our sincere gratitude to them. It was Ian Netton who first suggested the idea of a book on the Chishti order to one of us (BL). Because of our long-standing friendship and shared professional interest in the Chishtiyya, not to mention our close proximity (Duke University is only 12 miles from UNC-Chapel Hill), he immediately invited the other (CE) to make it a joint collaboration. We then decided to offer a joint course in the fall of 1995, as we have regularly done over the years, this time focusing on the Chishti Sufi order. Our hope was that holding a specialized seminar on this topic would allow us to generate new approaches and examine sources in a fresh way. Our expectation was more than met—a combination of graduate students and advanced undergraduates joined in an intense 14-week experience that proved memorable to all of us. We would like to single out in particular the graduate students of the seminar (Zia Inayat Khan, Munis Faruqui, Omid Safi, Seemi Ghazi, Scott Kugle, Frederick Colby) for their outstanding research projects, some of which we have quoted in the pages that follow.

The process of writing this book was a true collaboration, mostly carried out in one or the other of our homes, with the host handling the computer while we both contributed to the writing, editing, and revision. While we have drawn upon our earlier publications, they have been significantly adapted and modified for this book, and at this point there is not a single page that does not bear the marks of both authors. In writing this book, we have received tremendous support and encouragement from our spouses (miriam cooke and Judith Ernst); nothing we say can adequately convey what this means. Another figure close to home who deserves mention is Lucy, the faithful dog of the Ernst household; during many a session, she lay at our feet like the dog of the Seven Sleepers, a deeply sympathetic silent collaborator.

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*Durham and Chapel Hill, N.C., March 2002*

# Introduction

The subject of this book is the Chishti Sufi order. The order is comparable to many other Sufi brotherhoods, the paths of devotion that have been motivated by Islamic ideals over the past millennium in countries ranging from Morocco to China. Although this movement takes its name from Chisht, a remote town in central Afghanistan, the Chishti lineage of masters and disciples is associated above all with South Asia (modern-day India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh). The Chishti order has been the most widespread and popular of all the Sufi traditions in this vast region, ever since Mu'in ad-Din Chishti settled in the town of Ajmer in northwestern India at the end of the twelfth century.

Many others have written about both Sufism and the Chishtiyya. This book differs from them in two major ways. First, we use many texts produced by the Chishtis and their supporters that have been previously ignored or slighted. Second, we deliberately abandon the numbingly circular arguments, so prevalent in the literature, about a privileged "golden age" of Sufism in general and the Chishti order in particular. Instead, we advance a new historical periodization of five "cycles" in the development of the Chishtis. Our thesis is that a Sufi order such as the Chishtiyya is more than a parasitical legitimation of power or a nostalgic reverence for bygone saints; it is instead a complex of spiritual practice, historical memory, and ethical models, which continues to evolve from its medieval Islamic origins in response to the political, ideological, and technological transformations of the contemporary world.

The problematic that frames this book is structured by the two disparate bibliographies that are appended to it. The European-language materials, which are listed as comprehensively as possible, illustrate the approach of an Orientalist scholarship that is focused largely on the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a period that—paradoxically—is almost entirely lacking in contemporary documentation and is known only from later texts. The Persian and Urdu bibliography does not pretend to completeness; we had finally to provide but a sample of the dozens, if not hundreds, of titles of Chishti manuscripts listed in catalogs of major libraries. The list presented here, in topical form and historical order, is nevertheless large enough to suggest a picture almost the reverse of the Western scholarly dossier (and this includes scholarship from South Asia, which is mostly written according to Western Orientalist methods). Instead of being concentrated in the early period, the original Persian works expand and multiply in number and geographical extent right up to the end of the nineteenth century (see, for example, the numerous biographies of Shaykh Sulayman Taunsawi), and Urdu continues to be an important medium for Chishti Sufism today. The only modern scholar to tackle the vast literary production of the later Chishtis was K. A. Nizami, in his Urdu history of the Chishti order. We

feel that this complete asymmetry between Western scholarship and the Chishti literary tradition is symptomatic of a historiographical disconnect, which this book will attempt to repair.

At the outset let us make clear our intent, stating both what this book is and what it is not. It *is* a methodological inquiry into Sufism that focuses on one particular regional Islamic mystical movement, the Chishti brotherhood. It is not a documentary history in the usual sense. It *is* a stocktaking that also includes a projection of agendas for research. It is not a treatment of Sufism as a subset of either Islamic orthodoxy or heresy. Above all, it *is* an appreciation of a centuries-old spiritual journey that is also a widespread movement that continues to influence many Muslims (and non-Muslims) today.

What is Chishti Sufism? It is both an experience and a memory. It is the experience of remembering God so intensely that the soul is destroyed and resurrected. It is also the memory of those who remembered God, those who were devoted to discipline and prayer, but above all, to remembrance, whether they recited the divine name (*zikr*) or evoked his presence through song (*sama'*). While the Chishti experience of remembering God is possible, it has rarely been attained. Only a few have been able to focus their whole beings on God, remembering his name and evoking his presence in pursuit of the path of love, the Sufi ideal. These were the great ones, in Sufi idiom, the saints, the shaykhs, the *pirs,* the masters and captains of spiritual destiny who drew countless others to God through their exemplary lives and pure passion.

This book is about the great ones and their sanctified passion or experience of God. It is also about the memory that has shaped how we remember their passion. In most other versions of this story, a few great ones are singled out from the earliest period, and it is through their lives that the whole of Chishti Sufism is appreciated. But the experience is not limited to one period or one group of heroes; it has historical resonance in many periods and in many places beyond South Asia.

Typically, historians of South Asian Islam ask whether Chishti Sufism began in Chisht or Mecca or Ajmer, Arabia or India. For a historian, the answer is obvious: Every movement begins somewhere, and this movement "clearly" began in India. For the phenomenologist, geographical origin is unimportant, since the basic category is Sufism, from which Chishti Sufism derives as a subset, and its location matters less than its profile. For the devotee, however, the origin of Chishti Sufism is less important than its experience. Its path to God is experienced in Mecca and Ajmer at the same time that it is experienced in Jerusalem and Baghdad (see figure 0.1). All are sacred places for ritual observance and spiritual nurture in the Chishti way.

But imbedded within this experience is a historical memory, available at all times and in all places to those who link themselves to the great ones. They are linked through tombs, or tomb cults, places where the great ones were "married" to God and where others can find access to God, through remembering those who remembered God with their whole being. There is a difference between the great ones and others, but it is not a temporal difference. It is a difference in the experience of burning the heart and destroying the soul through complete submission to the divine.

The Chishti experience is not limited to Sufis, or Muslims, or South Asians. Other audiences have also participated in Chishti experience of the divine. One group consists of South Asian Muslim devotees, pilgrims at the shrine of Farid ad-Din Ganj-i Shakar in Pakpattan (Pakistani Punjab). Shaykh Farid (d. 1265) is the Great One who


0.1. The holy cities of Chishti Sufism: Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Ajmer, and Baghdad.

recited to his future chief disciple and successor, Nizam ad-Din Awliya' (d. 1325), the verse quoted in our epigraph.[1] Today, at the multi-day annual festival celebrating his "marriage" with God, cowrie shells (once used as the smallest units of currency) are thrown over the crowd, to imitate the moment when Shaykh Farid ad-Din went into ecstasy, on realizing that Nizam ad-Din Awliya' had just attained a status rare even among the great ones, the nearly unprecedented state of becoming the beloved of God Himself. This is clearly an event that is significant for insiders to Islam and to Chishti Sufism.

Another group consists of non-Muslim South Asians who appreciate and also appropriate Chishti spiritual experience. The same Shaykh Farid ad-Din is so highly respected by Sikhs that they have incorporated his Punjabi verses for their holy scripture, the Guru Granth Sahib. Similarly, Hindus flock in great numbers to the shrine of Mu'in ad-Din at his annual festival. The Chishti order has had and continues to have a powerful impact beyond the esoteric teachings of Sufism, and even beyond Islam. There are also non-Muslims who are not from South Asia. A notable example is Hazrat Inayat Khan, from the lineage of Farid ad-Din and Nizam ad-Din, a twentieth-century exemplar of Chishti devotionalism. Among his many American and European followers, neither the Islamic creed nor South Asian

location is required. And beyond these circles, we find popular music derived from Chishti practice that has reached large audiences who are often unaware of the great ones or their Islamic, South Asian, and Chishti background. By this means, aspects of the Chishti experience go beyond South Asia to venues unforeseen by the North Indian founders in the thirteenth century.

Even Muslims with a reformist or even an anti-Sufi attitude have connections with the Chishtiyya. Islamic scholars at the scripturally oriented academy of Deoband trace their teachers through the Chishti lineage even as they denounce the basic Chishti religious practices—especially tomb pilgrimage and listening to music—as forms of idolatry. The pietistic missionaries of the Tablighi Jama'at and the fundamentalists of the Jama'at-Islami grudgingly acknowledge the ethical purity of the great ones while vehemently rejecting their saintly power, their rituals, and also their meditative practices.

Despite its inclusiveness, the Chishti order is set apart from other Sufis and other Muslims in two major dimensions. The first concerns the ethical relations of the great ones to institutional power, and the second is the distinctive modality of their spiritual practices, expanding remembrance (*zikr*) to include versified song (*sama'*).

The first distinctive dimension has occupied both Chishti adepts and scholars of Sufism. In premodern India, the symbol of power—social, economic, and political—was the king, or sultan. The sultan was not only a ruler but also a patron of art, artists, and religious specialists. For the Chishtis, unlike other Sufis, avoidance of the sultan meant avoiding the corruption of the soul by earthly power, which contrasted with the destruction of the soul by divine power, the goal of the Chishti way. One could avoid the sultan, but could one avoid obeying him? It is this ethical dilemma that has been summarized by a fourteenth-century Chishti adept, Yusuf Gada:

> Be a *darwish* and sit in solitude; do not ask for food from anyone.
> Know that contentment is a kingdom, a mansion full of pearls and jewels.
>
> Do not yourself go near the Sultan; know that the Sultan is such a one (that)
> When you long for the Sultan, there will be fear and danger for you.
>
> Never seek kindness and generosity from kings;
> When you take a village or land, you will fall down in front of a door.
>
> Do not follow the King's employment, know that there is continuous misfortune in it;
> You will see little ease, more discomfort and punishment.
>
> When someone else wears an official robe,
> You should not consider him trustworthy.
>
> When you go into the Sultan's assembly, you must guard your tongue;
> Do not say anything in front of him, and when you come out be as one who is deaf.
>
> Do not go to Kings uncalled; but if they summon you, go instantly;
> Obey their commands; know that this category is obligatory.
>
> If anyone is obedient in a just act which the King demands,
> Consider this better and more than sixty years of private worship.[2]

The practice of avoiding kings, but also obeying them, was acknowledged by the great ones as an ideal, but it was not always honored in practice. Descendants of a leading Chishti master in South India, for instance, accepted land grants that in effect made them rural gentry.[3] Perhaps no Chishti master was as renowned for his withdrawal from society at large and the company of kings in particular as Shaykh Farid ad-Din of Pakpattan. Stories of his rigid ascetic practice include the performance of the 40-day upside-down meditation. Yet even "Shaykh Farid Ganj-i Shakar was forced by his circumstances to permit his disciples to circulate a begging bowl and collect food, [even though] no Chishti saint before him had permitted such a practice."[4] Similarly, centuries later, in the third cycle of the Indian Chishtiyya, another master renowned for his abstemious behavior and rigorous self-reliance, Shah Kalim Allah of Delhi, became so sick that he, too, had to forgo dependence on donations and rent out property in order to recover his health.[5]

If we dwell on such examples of compromised ideals, we will miss the other distinctive dimension of Chishti identity, its religious practice. It is aggressive rather than defensive, dependent not on economic survival but on constant pushing of personal boundaries; it is a ceaseless search for the divine other. To engage that other, to destroy and resurrect the soul, was the deepest mission of the Chishti spiritual experience, and in its pursuit the Chishtis followed a single ritual activity more zealously than did any other brotherhood in the subcontinent. That practice was *sama'*, evoking the divine presence through song or listening to music. *Sama'* cannot be separated from meditation through recollection (*zikr*) of the Divine Names. As Shaykh Nizam ad-Din explained, it is linked to one of the names of God, *al-Wajid.* It is he alone, *al-Wajid,* who induces ecstasy (*wajd*), when the devotee listens to music performed under the correct conditions. Then music ceases to be mere notes or words. It becomes an unfolding of the cosmos from its highest sphere, "the angelic sphere" of the spirits, to the lowest sphere, the human heart and the bodily limbs, which experience nothing less than spiritual bliss in *sama'*. For Shaykh Nizam ad-Din, the only spiritual practice to which *sama'* can be compared is the practice of Qur'an:

> It is in the practice of Qur'an recitation and listening to music (*sama'*), he observes, that the devotee experiences a sense of spiritual bliss which may be manifest as celestial lights, mystical states, and physical effects. Each of these three derives from three worlds: the present world, the angelic sphere, and the potential realm, this last being intermediate between the first two. And these three manifestations of spiritual bliss may occur in one of three places: the spirit, the heart, or the bodily limbs. At first celestial lights descend from the angelic sphere on the spirit, then mystical states descend from the potential realm on the heart, and finally physical effects from the present world alight on one's limbs. What subsequently appear in the heart are called mystical states, because it is from the potential realm that they descend on the hearts. Next, crying, movement and agitation appear, and they are called physical effects because they alight from the present world on the bodily limbs. Praise be to God, the Lord of the universe![6]

If there is a particular genius to the Chishti order,[7] it is that it manages to accommodate the practice of *sama'* to the rigors of a male community that also observes the full range of Muslim obligations. The title of this book, *Sufi Martyrs of Love,* alludes to the most famous incident of musically inspired ecstasy in the history of Chishti

Sufism, when one day in a *sama'* session in Delhi in 1235, Qutb ad-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki heard this verse recited over a period of three days:

> Those slain by submission's dagger
> Each moment find new life from beyond.

Though in the death throes of his passion for God, Qutb ad-Din "revived" momentarily at five points during the final days of his life. Each time, after completing his obligatory prayers, he went back into the semicomatose state of ecstasy created by this Persian couplet sung in a session of mystical music (*sama'*) until at last, as the Sufis say, he surrendered his soul to God.[8]

Among those who found a way to effectively marry Sufi ecstasy and Islamic religious duty was Shaykh Nizam ad-Din, known to his followers as the Beloved of God. While both avoidance of kings and engagement in *sama'* were crucial to Nizam ad-Din, what distinguishes him as a spiritual master was his ability to find, attract, and then train worthy successors. Indeed, the success of the Chishtiyya from the thirteenth century on lay precisely in the ability of the first cycle of masters to train worthy successors. None of the initial five Chishti masters of North India was succeeded by a blood relative; rather, they chose as their principal successor one who had worked with them on the path of abstinence and prayer, meditation and listening, the path that came to mark their distinctive spiritual labor.

To its adherents, what was distinctive about the Chishti order was its religious practice. One early Chishti saint has tried to summarize the lifestyle of his precursors in prose, though he then shifts to verse:

> The style of life (of Chishti masters) is to build a house in a city or town and call the people away from vanity toward God. They always turn away from the world and those who seek it. Their distinctive sign is the practice of spiritual discipline and ascetic striving. They aim at poverty and denial, and they keep company with the poor and beggars, giving them food. They are masters of listening to music (*sama'*) and love the people of music. They celebrate the death anniversaries of their masters, and they greatly prefer the poor to the rich. They themselves wash the hands of the stranger, and themselves provide fire and food to the poor. They never give the rich man a place higher than the poor man, and their feasts are very bountiful. Through their internal concern from the heart, the disciple turns away from love of the world, and they soon make the disciple repent.
>
> One who is among the Chishti disciples
> Has a character from heaven.
> Without is law, within is divine presence—
> Besides these two, how could there be a third?
> They bring each and every one to morality,
> Even though the mosque be next door to a church.
> Like Noah in the storm of worldly sorrow,
> Their generous spirit provides a spacious ship.
> Ashraf, part of this noble family,
> Has become less base as he grows in purity.[9]

The author of this passage, Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani (d. 1425),[10] recognized that not everyone would be able to adhere to this high standard, and he made con-

cessions for those disciples who had to earn a living to support themselves and their families.[11] Yet what he stresses is the enduring attraction of this ethical and spiritual ideal as the core of Chishti experience.

To retain the accent on what is distinctive in the Chishti experience, we stress two correctives in our book. First, we avoid taking the rhetoric of decline as the criterion of Sufi viability. We distinguish between a shortfall in pursuit of ideals, which happens in every generation, and a decline in Sufism as a spiritual option from one generation to the next. Because Sufi masters were prone to be their own most severe critics, others reading their self-corrections have taken them to be historical diagnoses auguring decay and decline. We resist that reading at the same time that we acknowledge the texts upon which it is based. Let us consider two influential texts of this type. First, consider Shaykh 'Ali Hujwiri (d. 1074), who quoted the truism of Abu al-Hasan of Fushanja: that Sufism was in the beginning a reality without a name, but it had become over time a name without a reality. Hujwiri offers no commentary on this startling observation. Second, Shaykh Nizam ad-Din, ad-Din seems to echo Abu al-Hasan when he quotes the following *hadith* on generational decline:

> The Prophet—peace be upon him—once said: "After me, from my community (*umma*), there will be five generations. Each generation will live for forty years. The first generation will be marked by knowledge and witness, the second, by righteousness and piety, the third, by continuity and compassion, the fourth by discontinuity and disaffection, while the fifth will cause tumult and uproar."

After a lengthy commentary, Shaykh Nizam ad-Din concludes:

> After these 200 years, if someone gave birth to a puppy, that was better than giving birth to a human child. (Tears filled his eyes, as he continued.) The Prophet was speaking only about the first 200 years after his death. If this was the case after 200 years, what can we say about the time in which we live?[12]

Taken at its surface level, such historical reflection seems to move beyond piecemeal nostalgia to limitless pessimism. In fact, however, the evidence of his life and work suggests that Shaykh Nizam ad-Din, like other masters, is goading his listeners to reflect on how difficult it is to live up to the ideals of Islam, *in any generation.* If that was his larger intent, then it is incumbent on later readers/listeners/participants *not* to bend historical evidence to suggest that some periods are better than others, or that cultural decline and spiritual decay are the only outcomes of the passage of time. The "golden age" historiography of Sufism is more related to internal imperatives of modernity, including those of Orientalist scholarship, than to the self-interpretation of Sufi theorists.

Our second corrective aim is to abandon the reflex of "present-mindedness." On the other end of the temporal/spatial spectrum from Sufi self-criticism is the reflex to privilege one time, the present time—and also the current space of Euro-America—as unassailably superior to all other times and all other places. We define this present-mindedness as present-mindedness as the one-sided assumption that the European Enlightenment is the final judgment on civilization, whether couched as premodern, modern, or postmodern. The affliction of present-mindedness permeates much scholarship of Islam in general, and Sufism in particular.

It assumes the superiority of reason and the attainment of objectivity. It projects a historical spectrum of advance and progress for which the West is the only engine, and the twentieth century its apogee. It denies the validity of Sufism and also the possibility of a Sufi response to Western norms and values. But articulate voices among contemporary proponents of Sufism, such as Captain Wahid Bakhsh Sial Rabbani, claim a mystical superiority. From the viewpoint of this Chishti apologist, both the claims of the Enlightenment and the achievements of modern science need to be engaged by the rich offerings of Islamic Sufism: "Sufism and science are striving for the same destination. Science wants to know: How did the universe come into being and what is its nature? Is there any Creator? What is He like? Where is He? How is He related to the Universe? How is He related to man? Is it possible for man to approach Him? Sufism has found the answers and invites the scientists to come and have that knowledge."[13] This response to the Enlightenment and its political wing, colonialism, is common in the conversations and, increasingly, the writings of South Asian (and other) Muslims. Their counterargument exhibits a vivid refutation of the "influence" argument. Far from being dependent on or derivative of Neoplatonism, Christianity, Buddhism, or Hindu yoga, Sufism is an original, comprehensive, and hence authentic form of knowledge. Here we find an aggressive assertion of indigenous knowledge. The clearest articulation of this assertion comes from a recent Chishti master: Captain Wahid Bakhsh Sial.

Wahid Bakhsh, like his Chishti precursors, has been marked by the spatial and cultural domain of South Asia. The Chishtiyya is not a pan-Islamic order that happens to have an Indo-Muslim branch. The Chishti order stands out, and stands apart, as the major brotherhood to be identified solely with the subcontinent and its multiple regional communities. The Chishtiyya has also been marked by its identification with Islam, with full attention to the preeminence of the Qur'an as revelation, Muhammad as the final Prophet as well as Lawgiver, and Islam itself as the inclusive religion of humankind.

Yet, it needs to be stressed at the outset, the Chishtiyya is neither exclusively Indian nor Islamic. The Chishtiyya *is* at once transnational and transcreedal. And it is this tension, bordering on a contradiction, that we will explore in the pages that follow. We trace our arguments in seven interdependent chapters.

We begin in chapter 1 by interrogating the notion of a Sufi order or brotherhood. We examine the Path of Love as a spiritual method but also as a corporate structure plotted through history. In chapter 2, we consider the vital element of religious practice, focusing on the distinctive Chishti approach to remembrance through meditation and remembrance through listening to music. In chapter 3 we offer an extensive analysis of spiritual genealogy and highlight its importance in the construction of a Sufi order.

Throughout the first three chapters, we draw on several of the principal Sufi biographical memoirs (*tazkiras*) and manuals of spiritual practice employed by the Chishtis. In chapter 4 we offer a critical profile of the biographical process itself. We provide examples from several historical periods. Since the great ones live, their tombs and tomb cults amplify but also modify the reception of biographies, and we devote chapter 5 to certain Chishti tombs and the practices of pilgrimage. Then in chapter 6 we explore the bifurcation of the Chishtiyya itself into two prominent branches, the Nizamiyya and the Sabiriyya, a bifurcation intensified during the pe-

riod of British colonial rule. It is the colonial period that witnessed the full emergence of an internally fractured order, together with a new reformist critique of traditional Sufi practices, that persists into the modern period. But the modern period is more than a sequel to colonial developments or a death knell for the glories of the formative period. In chapter 7, the final chapter, we examine how technology, from print media to cyberspace, has reconfigured the possibilities of Chishti spirituality. There we consider, albeit briefly, the radical strategy for reformulating Sufism offered by Hazrat Inayat Khan and his successors. We conclude with speculations on the next phase of Chishti spirituality in the information age. Can one be both a cybermuslim and a cybersufi? If so, the Chishtis are charting the Path to the future as they did a millennium ago on the cusp of Muslim expansion into South Asia.

In the Appendix, we translate extensive excerpts from one *tazkira* in order to demonstrate how the great ones are remembered by those who define their own spiritual experience in relation to these Sufi saints. No order, including the Chishtiyya, succeeds without multiple masters, minor as well as major. And so in this Appendix we also illustrate the historical emergence of both minor and major masters.

Throughout this study our goal is to project the Chishtis as spiritual adepts with a flexible, creative mission. Insofar as possible, we allow the multiple voices of Chishti adepts to set the tone for others' appreciation of their mission. Initially the Chishti mission was directed to South Asian Muslims. It adjusted to the demands of Muslim empires, both pre-Mughal and Mughal. It then accommodated to external challenges, both colonial and postcolonial. Now, at the dawn of a new millennium, the Chishti tradition itself has become a diverse global phenomenon upon which many feel free to draw, whether within the framework of traditional South Asian Islam or beyond that framework. Chishti echoes will continue to resonate, whoever sings, whoever listens.

# Chapter One

# What is a Sufi Order?

## "Golden Age" and "Decline" in the Historiography of Sufism

The first and major point to make about Sufi orders is simple but perplexing: We don't understand them, or at least we haven't figured out how to understand them as historical developments. Despite the abundance of texts about Sufi orders, their place in the emergence of Islamic civilization remains unclear. Many sources remain unstudied or undervalued, none more so than the biographical compendia known as *tazkiras.* Despite this gap between sources and certainty, some scholars have not hesitated to describe a historical pattern that applies to all Sufi orders. The most ambitious historiographical project comes from J. Spencer Trimingham, a specialist in the history of Islam in Africa. In his book *The Sufi Orders in Islam,* Trimingham enunciates a threefold theory of the development of Sufism that has more than a passing resemblance to the tripartite schemes that litter the landscape of Western historiography (ancient-medieval-modern). The valuable information collected in his compendium is marred by a theory of classicism and decline. Trimingham calls the first period of Sufism, from the ninth century on, "a natural expression of personal religion . . . over against institutionalized religion based on authority." During the next period, beginning around the twelfth century, *tariqa* "ways" began to emerge. They brought together groups based on chains of masters and disciples. Then around the fifteenth century there began to appear *ta'ifas,* or organizations. They marked the full institutionalization of Sufism. It is this third, and final, period of Sufism that persists to the present day. It is marked, above all, by decline, for once orders became linked to saints' tombs and the latter became state-sponsored centers of devotion, pure mysticism surrendered to popular, mass religiosity. Originality was forfeited, and sterile repetition prevails. The hereditary succession of authority is both product and cause of a "deeper spiritual malaise," according to Trimingham, producing in Islam a discomforting parallel to the Christian church and its clergy.[1]

Trimingham's observations contain a modern and strongly Protestant attitude. He champions "personal religion" over "institutionalized religion." He sees decline as inevitable once mysticism ceases to be a personal and individual phenomenon. The notion of historical decline becomes a rhetorical strategy for projecting personal values

and the norms that derive from them. History serves as the mirror reflecting what one considers to be of real value and what constitutes a departure from that. Trimingham is certainly not the first writer to use history as a proxy for moral advocacy. Most theories of the rise and fall of civilizations (from Gibbon to Toynbee) are also very selective in their comparative time frames, and they too advocate a link between moral status and political success that is anything but verifiable. Yet the "classicism and decline" model has long exercised a fascination over students of Islamic culture.[2]

It is especially odd that the "decline" of Islamic civilization has prevailed among groups that seem to have little else in common but their certainty that Islam has gone down instead of up in the world. Until recently most Orientalists, secular modernists, and fundamentalists have all found their own reasons for asserting the decline of Islam. How else to explain that much of the Muslim world has been colonized? How else to account for the loss of political power that Muslims have experienced? It must be that either history or God—or God acting through history—has made a moral judgment upon Islam and, whatever the agency, the judgment is the same: Islamic civilization has declined because it was inadequate, and Sufism was a major factor in its decay. The remarks of Isma'il R. al Faruqi sum up this position:

> The horses of mysticism lapsed into their wild nature and became indomitable. The *umma* suffered an eclipse from which it has been trying painfully to recover in the last two centuries. Instead of continuing to discipline man to obey God and observe the *shari'a,* to deepen his commitment to Islam and purify and lift his soul on the path of righteous action, *tasawwuf* became a disease causing or exacerbating [multiple] symptoms . . . that ruined the health of Muslim society during half a millennium from the fall of Baghdad to the Tatars in 655/1257 to the rise of the Wahhabiyyah, the first anti-Sufi reform movement, in 1159/1757. Under the Sufi spell, the Muslim had become apolitical, asocial, amilitary, anethical, and hence nonproductive, unconcerned for the *umma* (the world brotherhood under the moral law), an individualist, and, in the last resort, an egotist whose prime objective was to be saved himself, to be absorbed into the consuming majesty of the divine being. He was shaken neither by the misery, poverty, disease, and subjection of his own society nor by the lot of mankind in history.[3]

During the colonial period the notion of the decline of Muslim nations was especially attractive to the self-image of Europeans: It provided a noble justification for conquest and empire; it supported the "civilizing mission" of the West (also known as "the white man's burden"). But we reject all these agendas, and we therefore also question the basis for assuming that Islam in general and Sufism in particular rose, then fell—both marked by a period of classicism and greatness, followed by another period of stagnation and decline.[4]

While Trimingham has linked the decline in the orders to the failure of Muslims to become modern, another historian, Marshall Hodgson, has questioned the whole notion of decline. Hodgson argues that the notion of the rise of the West is itself suspect. The rise of the West, in his view, was not an unassisted triumph of one group over another, or one way of life over another, but rather a convergence of disparate historical circumstances. Hodgson's notion of the "Great Western Transmutation" takes as axiomatic that other civilizations in other periods and parts of the globe could also experience "greatness." At the very least, the so-called decline of Islam is not due to internal moral failure or to a flawed systemic view of the universe but

rather to the relative standard of collective power and social formation augured by the Great Western Transmutation.

By the same token, when we look at a discrete Islamic institution, such as the Sufi order or brotherhood, we cannot see it only through its great ones, the creative masters in whose name each is etched as a distinct form of spiritual life. Instead, we need to enlarge the concept of Sufism to include wider social and institutional contexts. Unlike the individualistic notion of originality found in romantic modernism, Sufism is a vast cumulative tradition. It rests upon multiple contributions to a common resource both contested and deployed over generations. When we come to the Chishtiyya, we have to distinguish the stories of the great ones from the developments shaped around and beyond them by collectivities—of families, of networks, of institutions—no less real for being absent from the roll call of heroes. The "golden age" syndrome so favored by Orientalists accords a handful of the great ones, mostly from one early period, a kind of hagiographical reverence denied all others.

To be sure, this classical approach to Sufism itself mirrors a strong golden age historiography that is deeply etched into Muslim piety. It is based on the model of "pristine Medina" under the Prophet Muhammad. Seventh-century Arabia is seen as the perfect time and perfect place, which no other generation in any other part of the world can equal. Yet within Islamic tradition this backward-looking concept of history has always been balanced by a strong notion of renewal, and typically renewal is embodied in at least one outstanding religious leader in each century. Hence we see an ongoing paradox: While even the earliest handbooks of Sufism proclaim that true Sufism no longer exists in their day (a thousand years ago!), the ongoing reality of sainthood manifests a divine mercy that is still accessible and still producing extraordinary results.[5]

Chishtis themselves were aware of this paradox and the ironies it unfolds. Hence the Chishti master Hasan Muhammad in the late sixteenth century (which today would be considered the period of decline) related of the revered Shaykh Hasan Muhammad that a man of Lahore came and said, "In this time there is no one worthy of listening to music (*sama'*)." He replied, "If there were no one worthy of listening to music, the world would be destroyed." The man said, "In times past, there were men like Shaykh Nasir ad-Din [Chiragh-i Dihli], the Emperor of the Shaykhs [Nizam ad-Din Awliya'], and the revered [Farid ad-Din] Ganj-i Shakar. Now there is no one like them." He answered, "In their time, men said the very same thing."[6]

Writing in the early nineteenth century, the biographer who transmitted this conversation was keenly aware of the constant need for renewal of the tradition. Repeatedly he observes of masters of the later periods that they "gave life to the example of the Chishti masters."[7] We should be careful to distinguish this expression from the metaphor of bodily revival or human rebirth. Both these metaphors suggest a reanimation of something defunct, but to give life to tradition is to make tradition come alive, and that is a work that is needed in every generation. It is *not* subject to rise and decline; it persists and animates and directs all who stand within the same group oriented to a common past and seeking a common, but different, future.

The alternative to criticizing other efforts at periodization is to provide one's own. We prefer to begin our own inquiry into the Chishtiyya with a comprehensive restaging of those major periods within which the patterns of piety and practice distinctive to them emerged. They are not defined in terms of greatness and decline but in terms of their faithfulness to Chishti values and norms. We propose five divisions

in the history of the Chishti order, two early periods outside of India followed by three cycles taking place in India:

1. The formative period (seventh-tenth centuries): Though to some extent a reconstruction from later literature, this is the clearly identifiable lineage from the Prophet Muhammad through Abu Ishaq Shami, the first Sufi master to reside at Chisht.
2. The foundational period at Chisht (tenth-twelfth centuries): It extends from Abu Ishaq Shami to 'Usman Harwani. While it was almost entirely located at Chisht itself, it is known only from fragmentary testimonies in literature of the fourth and fifth periods, discussed below.
3. The first cycle of the Indian Chishtiyya (twelfth-fourteenth centuries): It begins when Mu'in ad-Din Chishti came to Rajasthan in the wake of the Ghurid conquest of northern India at the end of the twelfth century and culminates with the emergence of Nizam ad-Din Awliya' as the foremost Indian saint of his generation, in the Tughluq capital of Delhi. Despite its critical significance, the primary literary sources are limited to oral traditions, whether actually recorded or later imagined.
4. The second cycle of the Indian Chishtiyya (fourteenth-eighteenth centuries): It marks the dispersal of the Chishti order from Delhi to the far corners of the subcontinent, carried by the numerous disciples of Nizam ad-Din. Coinciding with the development of regional kingdoms, this period sees the profusion of sublineages that extends into the period of the Mughal empire. It also gives rise to an immense biographical literature that frames the narrative of the previous three periods.
5. The third cycle of the Indian Chishtiyya (eighteenth-twenty-first centuries): The decline of Mughal hegemony, along with British ascendancy in India and Wahhabi control of Arabia, led to tensions over the internal reform of Sufism. The Chishtis debated internal reform at the same time that they redeployed their spiritual traditions both in combination with other orders and through new forms of expression, especially in the postcolonial period. The biographical literature of this period privileges the masters of the first cycle at the same time that it engages the legacy of multiple orders.

## THE DIALECTIC OF LOVE AND KNOWLEDGE

Sufi experience presupposes a monotheistic worldview. The scheme of this worldview could be summarized as one universe, one creator, one created world, one prophetic lineage, one divine law, one believing community. The principal element or chief characteristic of this worldview can be framed as movement: movement from creature to creator, movement from immanent to transcendent. But the possibility we have of knowing God is already vouchsafed by his knowing and creating us in his own image.[8]

A famous prophetic dictum states: "The believer is the mirror of the Believer." Here a single term, *al-mu'min,* is repeated to indicate the resemblance of the human to the divine archetype, not equivalence. It is that reciprocity of subject and object, knower and known, that lies at the heart of the Muslim worldview and its Sufi ex-

pression. This reciprocal relationship of the human and the divine is expressed through prophecy going back to Adam, and finding its completion in Muhammad. Not all prophets are the same; even prophets have to be ranked. The highest prophets are those who brought not only a revelation but also a law. Just as the law of Moses set out the guidelines for the Jewish community, so the law of Muhammad set out the guidelines for his. In Arabic this relationship is expressed as prophecy confirming law (*shari'a*), which in turn perpetuates the legacy of prophecy. Missing from this pattern of divine-human interaction is the emotive bond between the finite creature and the infinite creator, which spurs longing in the former. Saints in Islam, acknowledging prophecy and the gift of law, embody the longing of the creature for the creator. At the same time, they are the channels for transmission of the divine initiative to humankind. Another prophetic dictum etches the divine motive for creation: "I was a hidden treasure, and I longed to be known, and I created humankind so that I might be known." The stress on knowledge in this saying links Sufis to the knowledge specialists in Islam, who are the '*ulama*', or religious scholars. *Hadith,* or sayings of the Prophet Muhammad, according to Shaykh Nizam ad-Din, state that those who love both knowledge and the knowledge specialists are excused from having their sins written in the book of deeds.[9] The stress here is double: Knowledge is to be esteemed, and those who attain it are highly esteemed, but sins are not forgiven unless one goes beyond esteem, and loves both knowledge and the knowledge specialists.

One way of reflecting on these linkages of knowledge and love is to distinguish between the gradations of knowledge. There are three kinds of knowledge: sensory knowledge, cognitive knowledge, and intuitive knowledge. Human life is not possible without sensory knowledge, and Sufis in common with other Muslims acknowledge the importance of the senses. Cognitive knowledge is related to book learning, scholarship, and teaching, and all religious specialists including Sufis are expected to master this kind of knowledge. Intuitive knowledge, on the other hand, is reserved for prophets and saints. It grows out of the quest to know the creator, to know the creator as the deepest source of self-knowledge. It is this level of knowledge that connects Sufis to the Prophet Muhammad, the apogee of prophecy, and projects their common goal as the reflection of divine knowledge. As a prophetic tradition states, "Whoever knows himself has known his lord."

This implosive knowledge of self as lord contains an unknowing, a deliberate uprooting of sense knowledge and a rejection of cognitive knowledge. In Sufi terms, this is called *fana'*, annihilation. It requires an exertion, a discipline, a patience that can be sustained only by a higher reflex, a longing for vision of the creator, and acceptance of the pain of separation from one's source. It requires divine love, love inspired by God, love satisfied with nothing less than God. It is an overpowering love. It is a love that leads to annihilation. It leads to what is described as "destruction of the soul."

In Sufi terms, divine love holds out the hope that beyond personal annihilation there will be divine restoration or permanence (*baqa'*). Yet it will be permanence without comfort, medicine without cure. Such love can be imagined and experienced only as burning. In the words of Rumi, "The result of (divine) love is naught but this: I burned, and I burned, and I burned." Every Muslim who becomes a Sufi knows the rhythm of this inner dialectic of *fana'* and *baqa'*. Every Sufi hears the echo of divine love as the apogee of human experience. It is the real purpose of creation.

The *fana'*-*baqa'* dialectic pervades the narratives of classical Sufism and the Sufi orders, including their modern-day successors. It embodies a distinctly Muslim

quest, one that is often phrased in terms of the tension between the three stages of *shari'a* ("law"), *tariqa* ("way"), and *haqiqa* ("truth"). Here law may be understood as an encompassing code of conduct, and the way as the pursuit of intuitive knowledge, while the truth looms as the point of unknowing that is the only thing worth knowing and loving.

While every Sufi tradition has oriented itself around this basic framework, the Chishti order of Sufism has provided its own special emphasis. It may be etched in single verse. The verse, attributed to an Iranian Sufi, Ahmad-i Jam,[10] stands hallowed as a lyrical icon within the Chishtiyya:

*Kushtagan-i khanjar-i taslimra*
*Har zaman az ghayb jan-i digar ast*
Those slain by submission's dagger
Each moment find new life from beyond.

The whole emphasis of the Chishti discipline can be drawn out of this single verse. In the words of a twentieth-century Sufi master, after the inspiration to attend the tomb, the next inspiration for the disciple is annihilation in the master (*fana' fil-shaykh*), then annihilation in God (*fana' fillah*), then journeying to God (*sayr ila allah*), then journeying in God (*sayr fillah*), which finally leads to permanence in God (*baqa' billah*)—and this process is all summarized in the verse just quoted.[11]

The same dialectic of *fana'* and *baqa'* pervades Sufi verse, but what is distinctive to the Chishti outlook and practice is the use of such verse. First it is introduced by a *qawwal* or musical performer, then it is highlighted by a prominent master or senior devotee, then it becomes the focus of constant repetition to the point of transforming both consciousness and physical existence, and then, in some cases, the result is a shift from ritual engagement to mortal disengagement: The verse, the music, the mood render the listener/devotee blank to any mood save that of the One Calling, and the Call, once heeded, leads to death. To outsiders, it appears as suicide, but to insiders it is surrender to love. The death of the second major Chishti master, Shaykh Qutb ad-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki, is attributed to Ahmad-i Jam's verse.

The power of this transformation as a reflex of the Chishtiyya persists into the twenty-first century. A saint from Allahabad, Maulana Muhammad Husayn Ilahabadi, a disciple of the "tone deaf" Sabiri Chishti master Hajji Imdadullah, died while attending a session at Ajmer Sharif in the early years of the twentieth century. Maulana Muhammad, like Qutb ad-Din, was entranced by a single verse, and made the *qawwal* repeat it and repeat it, until he too was overcome by its power. The verse in this case was attributed to the major Sabiri Chishti master of the second cycle, Shaykh 'Abd al-Quddus Gangohi. The verse is:

*Guft quddusi faqiri dar fana' u dar baqa'*
*Khwud ba-khwud azad budi, khwud giriftar amadi*
Quddusi, a mendicant in annihilation and in permanence, said:
"The self was freed by the Self, then the Self itself became captive."

That the verse may have been by some other figure and then attributed to 'Abd al-Quddus does not reduce either its force or the lesson of *sama'* that it conveys. God absorbed the human ego to free it from slavery to its selfish desires. This is an expe-

rience that only the true Sufi can grasp, one who is a mendicant, denying all reality but the reality of God. And the poetry epitomizes the irony of this spiritual quest: There is no longer even an independent subject. The you who speaks beyond *fana'* is not the wrangling, blaming self of the human seeker, but the *baqa'* of one who has overcome that self by the higher self. It is the higher self that speaks when the poet and Sufi declares: "The Self (itself) became captive."

There is a deep lesson in this verse. It is the metaphysical extension of that famous Sufi dictum: "He who knows himself knows his lord," and the meaning is to know one's deepest self as other. It is to know not from one's petty, selfish, temporal human condition but from the transcendent, annihilating force of God as lord.

At the same time, it is important to stress that the dynamic character of this dialogic exchange does not mean that the whole of Sufi teaching can be reduced to a set of neat dyads. The process is not either *fana'* or *baqa',* but a constant playing back and forth between the human and the divine. It is not reducible to homologies, or boilerplate principles.[12] A seriatim list does not allow for the proper understanding of spiritual stages. To be effective, they must be linked as a perpetual interaction that the devotee embraces in the quest for truth. In what follows we will stress the simplicity of certain Sufi practices advocated by the Chishtis, but they all rely on an element of experience that cannot be articulated or learned by rote memory.

This threefold orientation to *shari'a, tariqa,* and *haqiqa* is a useful entry point for seeing how Sufi orders in general, and the Chishti order in particular, are at once "ordinary believers" and "extraordinary seekers." For centuries, the Sufi orientation has been limited to that unitary community defined as the community of Muhammad. Sufis are Muslims in every point of ritual, practice, and belief; they are governed by a web of codes called the *shari'a* that is much broader than law is commonly understood in the West. But for Sufis, the relationship of seekers to the material world via prophecy and law fulfills only part of the obligation of Islam. Outward observance is itself subordinated to an inner vision of the creator and the universe. The vision itself is not given to everyone, but is attained by only a few of the Muslim community who have elected to become seekers. Their vision of the unseen, beyond time and place, is mediated through luminous beings, spiritual guides on the Path (shaykhs, *pirs*). As Rumi noted in the *Masnavi, pirs* are the touchstone of truth.[13] In the words of a Chishti master, the ideal Sufi exemplar is "one who is both lover and beloved, both the seeker and the sought, both the impassioned and the impassioning, both the perfect and the perfected. . . . His way is sometimes intoxicated and sometimes sober, at times absorbed, and at times effaced."[14]

The spectrum of behavior that is reflected in Sufi masters varies tremendously. Sufis range from *qalandars,* ecstatic dervishes among whom cognitive knowledge is either absent or refused, to the *'ulama',* jurists and scholars who represent the official religious classes and are part of both the economic and political elites of their societies. The temptation is to see *shari'a* and *tariqa* as not only symbolic terms but also as referents for contrasting views of Muslim piety. But one cannot speak of "orthodoxy" and Sufism as if the two were opposed. Often these categories combine, since Muslim elites participate in multiple activities without experiencing contradiction. Moreover, it is possible for the same individual to be a pious judge when presiding at court and an ecstatic dervish at a Thursday evening music recital.

While many Muslim jurists have been Sufis, and vice versa, the groups are not coextensive. Numerous are the instances of confrontation between Sufi masters and

their juridical critics. For example, Shaykh Nizam ad-Din Awliya' was once debarred from visiting the deathbed of a prominent jurist, because the jurist viewed the saint as a "despoiler" of Islam. In the same vein, Sufis often had to defend even the practice of choosing a master and maintaining loyalty to him. Was it Islamic according to the *shari'a?* One Chishti disciple raised the question to his master, asking, "Is following the master an additional duty above and beyond that of following the Prophet? Is it incumbent on the elect? Could one say that contemplation of the master is like recitation of the Fatiha (the first section of the Qur'an), and other practices deriving from Prophetic example, like using the salt shaker and praying over food?" "Yes," replied his master, confirming that the master-disciple relationship was as integral to Islam as canonical prayer and following the example of the Prophet.

The norm for Sufi masters and their disciples was to expand rather than to contract the expected duties of pious Muslims. This can be borne out with many examples, such as supererogatory prayer, fasting, vigil, and especially almsgiving. The notion that compassion was central to Islam meant that this could not be just a 10 percent tithe; longing for God has as its complement care and consideration for fellow human beings. In the words of Burhan ad-Din Gharib: "Our order is known for two things: love and compassion."[15]

There is a continuous tension between truth regulated through law and practice (*shari'a*) and the creative expression of human longing (*tariqa*), with the goal of both being the ultimate reality (*haqiqa*). In all of Sufism it would be hard to find a better example than Rumi, the great scholar/poet/saint who gives up books by throwing them down a well.[16] The supreme mark of his higher calling is the dedication to poetry that overwhelms him and produces a pathos and pain that continues to reverberate among readers today, Muslim and non-Muslim alike. For Rumi, the only permanence was the permanence of fire. Even his poetry was not spared from the flames. In his conversations he disparaged his own verse, comparing it to the tripe into which the host puts his hands in order to please a visitor: Nothing, not even verse, is a reliable comforting assurance for the passionate seeker. It is but a glimmer of *haqiqa* from the divine source of truth, erupting through creative human expression, yet it remains prone, like all forms of human knowledge, to the same limitations that stamp both law and praxis.

Yet even with Rumi one must recognize that the image of him giving up books and disdaining poetry is to some extent a hagiographic trope, or better yet, a symbolic strategy that he himself encouraged. It is hard to take it literally in view of the fact that Rumi's *ghazals* form the largest single collection of lyrics by any author in the millennium-old tradition of Persian poetry. As Fatemeh Keshavarz has pointed out, the rhetoric of silence in Rumi's poetry is itself fully ambivalent: It is both a way of pointing to the necessity for Truth to transcend language, and at the same time a way of underscoring the durability—indeed, the necessity—of the poet's voice.[17]

## Social Structures and Anti-Structure: Sufis Within and Outside the Orders

This tension between inner transcendence and the limitations of outer form was constantly felt in the development of Sufi institutions. How could outer structures match inner longing? Nowhere is this tension better illustrated than in the emergence of the

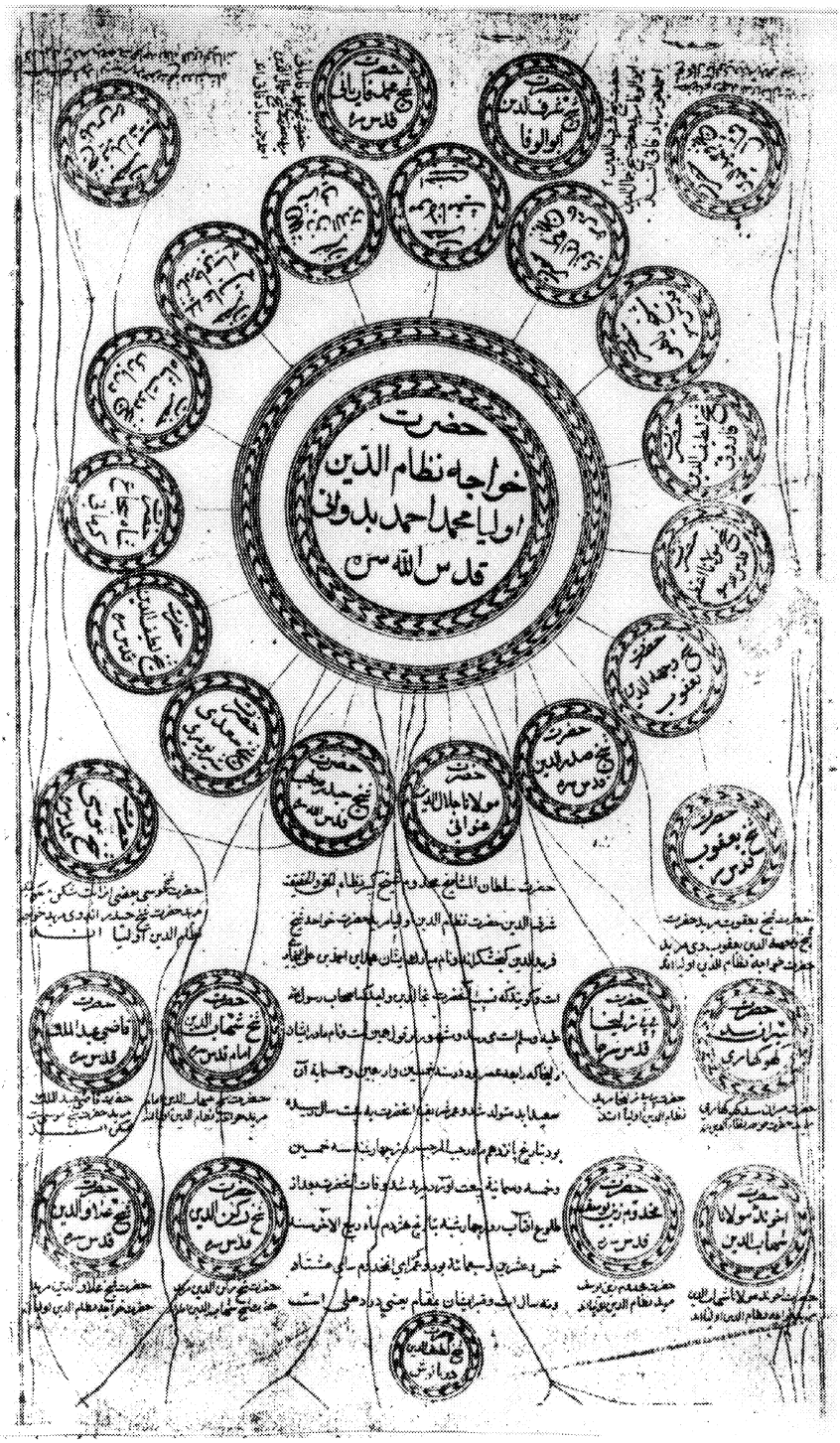
networks and lineages that we now call Sufi orders. Through the orders, from the twelfth century on, Sufism became much more widely known and practiced at multiple levels of society. Distinctive rituals of initiation and special practices were adopted among the many lineages that proliferated in Muslim lands. As Marshall Hodgson observed about the "unexpected" growth of medieval Sufi orders, "a tradition of intensive interiorization reexteriorized its results and was finally able to provide an important basis for social order."[18]

The experiential origin of Sufism as a set of social institutions rested on the master-disciple relationship. It is hard to overestimate the importance of this relationship. Manuals of practice and discipline contain extensive discussions of how the disciple is to behave with respect to the master. Obedience to a master was understood psychologically as renouncing the lower self and replacing it with a purified self made possible by the annihilation of the master's ego. The master assumed an extraordinary role as the intermediary linked to the Prophet and God. In the most extreme formulation, the disciple was expected to be to the master like a corpse in the hands of a corpse washer; nothing less than total compliance with the master's will was acceptable.

It is in this context that one realizes why the most common word for disciple was *murid,* the one who desires, while the master was called *murad,* the one desired. Because of his superintending importance, the master was also known as the elder: *shaykh* (Arabic) or *pir* (Persian), though the Sufi orders that originated in Central Asia and Khurasan, particularly the Chishtis and the Naqshbandis, often refer to their masters by the distinctive term for lord: *khwaja.*

It was during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that the organization of Sufi orders as teaching lineages crystallized. Most Sufi orders are eponymous; they are named after a famous figure who is viewed in effect as the founder. Hence the Suhrawardiyya is named after Abu Hafs as-Suhrawardi; the Shadhiliyya after Abu al-Hasan ash-Shadhili; the Kubrawiyya after Najm ad-Din Kubra. Each of the founders is usually a master who epitomized the distinctive teachings and practices of the order named after him. Most orders were also identified with particular regions, though a few, such as the Qadiriyya and the Naqshbandiyya, did achieve transregional stature, with networks throughout much of the Muslim world. Crucial to each order was its initiatic genealogy, also known as a *silsila,* or chain: each master's authority derived from that of his predecessor who, in turn, was linked to another predecessor, going back in a chain to the Prophet Muhammad (figure 1.1). Within each order there were also frequently suborders, sometimes designated by composite names with two, three, or more elements to indicate each level of branching. One of the main branchings within the Chishtiyya, for instance, is the Nizami-Chishtiyya, derived from Shaykh Nizam ad-Din Awliya' (d. 1325); a sub-subbranch is the Sulaymaniyya, linked to Shaykh Sulayman Taunsawi (d. 1850). Hence a master of the latter subbranch would be properly identified as a Sulaymani-Nizami-Chishti shaykh.

Unlike other orders, the Chishti order is not named after a particular person but rather a place that symbolizes an entire lineage. Chisht, not far from Herat, is one of the two ancient Sufi centers in eastern Khurasan (present-day Afghanistan), along with Jam, home to the famous master Ahmad-i Jam (d. 1142). The historical origins of the shrine at Chisht are shrouded in obscurity, but it goes back at least as far as the early tenth century, when Abu Ishaq of Syria was directed by his Baghdadian master 'Ulu Dinawari to go to Chisht, then a remote outpost at the eastern edge of the Islamic world. Though Abu Ishaq is reported to have returned to Acre to be buried, his




1.1. Spiritual genealogy or “tree” document illustrating Chishti lineage.

disciple Abu Ahmad Abdal (d. 966) was buried at Chisht, thus inaugurating the first recognizable stage of the pre-Indian Chishtiyya.[19] It was not, however, until the thirteenth century, when Shaykh Mu'in ad-Din Chishti reached Hindustan, that the Chishti order emerged into the light of history. We will take up that story later, but first we must sketch the institutional form taken up by a Sufi order.

The institutional support of Sufism inevitably linked teaching circles to centers of political power. Since the court was typically located in a major city, it was inevitable that any order that wanted to influence the tone of Muslim public life would become urban. From the time of Shaykh Mu'in ad-Din through to the twentieth century, the Chishtiyya has remained an urban order, with consequential, but also ambivalent, links to the court. The earliest Indian Chishti masters recommended avoiding formal ties through endowments, yet they accepted donations in cash or kind with one stipulation: that they be quickly spent for appropriate purposes, such as food, modest clothes, and living quarters, as well as ritual necessities, including assemblies of music (*majalis-i sama'*). Typical was the instruction given to the major Deccan master, Shaykh Burhan ad-Din Gharib, when he was commissioned by Shaykh Nizam ad-Din as one of his successors. "Take worthy people as disciples," commended Shaykh Nizam ad-Din, "and on the subject of donations, 'no rejecting, no asking, no saving.' If anyone brings you something, do not reject it, but do not ask for anything, and if they bring a little of something good, do not reject it (politely) in order to get it increased, nor should you specify everything (else that you need) in accepting it."[20]

Despite the desire to remain outside royal control, the significant resources at the disposal of medieval rulers created a constant pressure to accept patronage. When Shaykh Burhan ad-Din Gharib's lodge ceased to be controlled by a teaching master after the death of his successor, the trustees and attendants sought donations and eventually land endowments from the sultans of the Deccan. By the eighteenth century, the shrines of Shaykh Burhan ad-Din and his disciples had become extensions of the authority of the court, with royal music balconies even being built into the shrines themselves for the performance of court ceremonies.

Already by the sixteenth century the Mughal emperors had established elaborate bureaucratic hierarchies that dispensed royal funds and land revenue to Sufi shrines, often appointing the trustees and regulating the internal affairs of the shrines as well. Shrines were exempted from ordinary taxes, on the condition that attendants pray for the welfare of the ruling dynasty. Descendants of Sufis frequently had opportunities to enter the ranks of nobility or to serve as courtiers; see, for instance, the example of Shaykh Nur Qutb-i 'Alam's older brother in fifteenth-century Bengal. If most royal support was directed at the shrines of deceased masters rather than the circles of living teachers, it was probably because the rulers remained at heart pragmatists: They foresaw more benefits and fewer conflicts with dead saints than with living exemplars.

The established Sufi orders were not the only social option for mystics, however. A radical interpretation of dervish poverty unleashed a very different form of Sufism in the *qalandar* movements.[21] Scorning the Sufi establishments as themselves part of the worldliness that Sufis were pledged to eschew, these self-conscious deviants embraced an itinerant lifestyle not unlike that of Hindu mendicants (*sadhus*). They challenged domestic life, public structures, and expected modes of behavior. They were dropouts who claimed to be the "only" ones tuned in with their own times, and also with eternity. Their modes of extreme ascetic rejection were so varied that they came

to be known in different regions by different names: Haydaris, Qalandars, Malamatis, Torlaks, Babs, Abdals, Jamis, Madaris, Malangs, and Jalalis. They rejected all property. They begged. They wandered. They remained celibate. They often mutilated themselves. They flouted not only ritual prayer but those who put stock in prayer and other Islamic rituals. They seldom bathed. They went about naked or near naked, wearing rough dark wool. Often they sported a bizarre assortment of hats and other paraphernalia, including iron chains. They were often popularly referred to as people who lived without Islamic law.

These extreme male ascetics shaved not only their heads but also their facial hair. Again, in opposition to social expectations of comportment and appearance for proper adult Muslim males, many of these nonconformist mystical groups also engaged in the use of hallucinogens and intoxicants, prompting even more abusive behavior toward "normal" Muslims, including Sufi masters. Though some Chishti masters such as Baba Farid and Shaykh Nizam ad-Din tolerated, and even seemed to admire, the feistiness of the *qalandars,* they could be dangerous; one of their number, called Turab, attacked and seriously wounded Shaykh Nasir ad-Din Chiragh-i Dihli with a knife.[22] Shaykh Nasir ad-Din forgave his assailant, and so have subsequent hagiographers forgiven all the excesses of the *qalandars,* remembering instead how necessary their challenges and provocations were. One early figure associated with the Qalandar movement, Bu 'Ali Shah Qalandar, is credited with some dazzling verse, and is reputed to have been a follower of the early Chishti masters.[23] The name Qalandar continues to be intoned in popular *qawwali* lyrics of the Punjab, and it has been appropriated by a mainstream Sufi group, the Indian Qalandari order centered at Kakori near Lucknow.

## Lineages of the Chishti Order: Initiation and Rules of Conduct

Within the Sufi tradition, the formation of the orders did not immediately produce lineages of master and disciple. There are few examples before the eleventh century of complete lineages going back to the Prophet Muhammad. Yet the symbolic importance of these lineages was immense: They provided a channel to divine authority through master-disciple chains. It was through such chains of masters and disciples that spiritual power and blessings were transmitted to both general and special devotees.

In another respect, the transhistorical character of Sufi initiation subverts the usual, expected sense of succession. The model subversive is Uways al-Qarani, a Yemeni contemporary of the Prophet Muhammad who never met him, yet was considered a saint, deeply devoted to the Prophet and his spiritual quest. The nonphysical binding of two like-minded Sufis is called Uwaysi initiation, and it shows up with particular force in the Sabiri branch of the Chishtiyya. It is Shaykh 'Abd al-Quddus (d. 1537) who declares himself to be the beneficiary of an Uwaysi initiation through the spirit of the deceased Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Rudawlavi (d. 1434).[24] Remarkably, this initiation preserves the historical form of the typical initiatic genealogy while also somersaulting over the need for external physical contact. It demonstrates once again that the Sufi order has greatest meaning for the person who is being initiated. Through his person he creates the line of spiritual transmission and authority to val-

idate his experience through the central figures of Sufism. It is, moreover, always a selective recall of seminal figures, and does not claim, nor require, attention to the whole panoply of spiritual forebears going back to the generation of the Prophet Muhammad.

Yet some link to the Prophet himself was crucial, so crucial that all lineages are recited as prayers with a chain of masters in each lineage traced back to the Prophet Muhammad. In later times this practice was supplemented by writing out the names of the masters of the order; what resulted was a filial tree, or *shajara.* Knowing the names of the previous masters constituted a virtue comparable to the recitation of the 99 most beautiful names of God. It was believed that the recitation or even the writing of the names of these lofty souls would confer on the reciter/scribe the spiritual benefits they uniquely possessed. Even distance in time from the Prophet Muhammad was not a barrier to this lodestone of spiritual power: Since the chains were attested by trustworthy masters, those with more links had greater merit, just as additional lamps provide more light to a room.

While the genealogical tree is probably the most elemental representation of a Sufi order, it is subject to varied, and intriguing, elaboration. Some tree documents contain brief biographical notes, often showing circles of minor disciples emanating from the major masters. Not all are presented in book form: While a simple tree document may be only one page long and easily presented by itself or as part of another document, there are shrines in India and Pakistan where genealogical scrolls extend to hundreds of feet. These more complicated diagrams require oral commentary to be understood. Eminent masters of other orders are juxtaposed alongside the chief representatives of a chain; the relationship of the branch to the trunk is suggestive but remains enigmatic. What is clear is that each document represents a principal line of transmission, one that eventually reaches the disciple whose name is inscribed at the bottom.

Each graphic representation suggests a simple statement of authority, but at the same time it conceals significant differences of opinion about legitimate succession. As with the Shi'i imams, Sufi shaykhs did not always have a single successor, one whose authority was recognized by all devotees of that order. The result was branching off of sublineages. Each branching off is the acknowledgment of multiple authorities within a Sufi order. Yet each individual representation of the order will consider itself and its *shajara* as a single uncontested chain of mastery.

Consider the case of the Indian Chishtiyya. Within it there is a long-standing formulation of "the 22 masters," forming a discrete but clear cycle of authority. Throughout northern India, many Chishtis begin counting the archangel Gabriel as the first in the sequence and reckon as the final, 22nd, name the major successor of Shaykh Nizam ad-Din Awliya' (d. 1325), that is, Shaykh Nasir ad-Din Mahmud Chiragh-i Dihli (d. 1356). The branch of the Chishtiyya that predominates in the Deccan follows a different *shajara,* however. It starts with the Prophet Muhammad and counts Shaykh Nizam ad-Din's successor, Burhan ad-Din Gharib (d. 1337) as 21st and his major successor, Zayn ad-Din Shirazi (d. 1369) as the 22nd.[25] Hence the same structure can, and does, support conflicting identifications of the standard-bearers of the Chishtiyya.

In the biographical dictionaries of saints (*tazkiras*), the tree documents took on still more complicated dimensions. The early hagiographies broke down their subject into generations, and some Mughal *tazkira* authors, such as Shaykh 'Abd al-

Haqq Dihlawi, who was himself a *hadith* scholar, followed that model (see Appendix). But other authors were inspired by the proliferation of orders to reconstruct the past following the lineage of a particular order. Shaykh 'Abd ar-Rahman Chishti went so far as to link all saints from disparate regions of the Muslim world to the Chishti exemplar listed in "the 22 masters" *shajara*. A Sufi order thus became not merely remembered but reimagined through the narrative texts elaborating each order's past. For an individual master the profiles could vary considerably between the "simple" invocation of the saint by a biographer and the elaboration of his significance by a hagiographer.

One of the major ways that the Chishtis were reimagined was as part of a cluster of different orders. Some of the more inclusive–and often unwieldy–*tazkiras* took their cue from the eleventh-century theorist of Persian Sufism, Shaykh 'Ali Hujwiri. He classified the Sufi orders into 12, linking each to a famous early Sufi master, despite the fact that there was seldom a correspondence between these early ascetics and the well-known Sufi orders of later times. Both Sultanate and Mughal *tazkira* writers increased the number of families by two, and most of the major Chishti and non-Chishti *tazkiras* liked to categorize the Sufi orders as dispersed through "14 families," of which the Chishtiyya were prominent. Even here, however, there were major disagreements about how to project "the 14 families."

On one point all the biographical orders do agree: The major satisfaction, and basic requirement, of Muslim piety was to find a master. Without a master, one's life, one's work, one's hope, one's destiny was at risk. A master provided security, direction, and structure. He also provided a link back to the earliest days of Islam; he connected his disciple to the Prophet and to the Prophet's practice.

It was the Prophet Muhammad himself who blazed the Sufi path of initiation. He formalized the relationship he had with his companions through an oath of allegiance that they swore to him. They then became his emissaries to the rest of the expanding Muslim community. He is alleged to have said: "My companions are like the stars: Whichever of them you follow will guide you." The Sufi masters, including the Chishtiyya, saw themselves as transmitters of this same practice.

A more difficult question facing the master was to judge the worthiness of a would-be devotee to become an actual disciple. How did the shaykhs judge whether or not someone should be taken on as a disciple? Frequently it was said that a master would gaze upon the tablets of destiny to see if the disciple's oath had been decreed from preeternity; and not every seeker's name was found to be inscribed.

Initiation itself varied from order to order, and the Chishti initiation has been well documented, at least from the fourteenth century. It went as follows. If someone wanted to be honored with initiation, he would fast that day, give alms, and perform ritual prayer. Then three further conditions had to be fulfilled: The master had to accept him with a handshake; his head had to be shaved; and he had to be invested with a cloak (or other emblematic garment). When the master actually accepted the prospective initiate, he would clasp the disciple's hand in his own, saying:

> You have sworn an oath (*'ahd*) with this broken one, and with the master of this broken one, with the masters of Chisht, with the followers of the followers, with the followers [of the Prophet], with the Messenger of the Lord of Creation, with the bearers of the Canopy, and with God Himself. Guard your eye, and guard your tongue. Do not speak evil of anyone nor think evil of anyone. Do not bring harm to anyone, and do not ap-

> proach forbidden things. Remain on the path of the religious law (*shar'*). You have sworn an oath to all of this, so observe these conditions.

The disciple then would say: "I have sworn an oath to all of this." After this he would be shaved. They take hair from the right side of the head and cut it with scissors, and do the same for the left. They put a hat on his head. The master invokes the name of God, announcing (in Arabic) that this is the clothing of piety, the clothing of well-being. The disciple then replies (in Arabic): "I intend to perform two cycles of supererogatory prayer; rejecting all that is other than God, I turn my face to the noble Ka'ba. God is Most Great." After performing the prayer, he then prostrates himself before the master, touching his head on the master's feet. Rising, he presents some gift to the master and joins other companions of the assembly. Later the master determines his capacity and gives him appropriate instruction.[26]

There were women disciples also admitted to the Chishti fold. For their initiation the master used special procedures, again based on the usage of the Prophet Muhammad. The crucial step was for the woman to place her hand into a cup of water, in this way avoiding inappropriate physical contact. The master, following the example of the Prophet, would then put his own hand in the water and proceed to administer the oath of initiation given above.[27]

For Chishtis as for all Sufis, correct behavior (*adab*) was crucial at all times and in all places. Rules detailing the norms that were to be upheld, and the procedures to be followed, were elaborate. Even before the orders came into existence, there were collections specifying social relations, as between master and disciple, or with fellow disciples, and also moral exercises such as control of the lower self and sexual appetite. With the emergence of the first Sufi lodges in eastern Iran, a list of rules came into popular usage. Linked to the master, Shaykh Abu Sa'id ibn Abi'l-Khayr, they numbered ten. They stressed purity, constant prayer, meditation, and hospitality.

Later rules became more elaborate. They included many dispensations or relaxations of stricter rules, suggesting a wider circle of adherents with variant degrees of commitment to the strict life of the lodges. Especially important were rules on behavior during the performance of music or the recitation of poetry. How, for instance, was one to divide Sufi cloaks that had been torn in ecstasy and therefore were prized by all in attendance? Manuals gave directives for those in need of an authority to ratify what otherwise would be seen as an arbitrary, and unfair, dispensation of spiritual benefits. Mostly, however, the manuals dealt with more routine matters, such as how to sit with the master, how to behave while traveling, how to respond to offers of food when fasting, or how to deal with pride in one's literary accomplishments. Disciples were also warned to refrain from bad company, and in this regard bad company was especially linked to the company of "mad *qalandars*," wine drinkers, and disreputable Sufis.

So frequent are the reminders about certain points that one suspects the infractions they are intended to correct were frequent and widespread. The sheer volume of the many *adab* manuals generated by Sufi authors testifies to the normative appeal of the lodges to convergent circles of teaching in diverse locations: Muslims in general shared the Sufi preoccupation with regulating one's behavior with God, with holy men, and with fellow Muslims. In this sense, one should acknowledge the Sufi orders, including the Chishtiyya, as bellwethers for society as a whole. They projected

not merely mystical insights for like-minded mystics, but practical points of responsible behavior, which had an ethical appeal to Muslims from numerous classes and professions in the major urban areas of the Muslim world.

While we will dwell on the importance of genealogical lines in a subsequent chapter, it is first necessary to highlight the spiritual practices that in effect define the Chishtiyya. The most distinctive practices of the Chishtiyya, recollection of God and listening to music, are the subject of our next chapter.

# Chapter Two

# The Core Chishti Practices

## Recollection of God

It was above all the transmission of distinctive practices that gave each order its character. For the Chishti order, this transmission included distinctive practices associated with listening to music (*sama'*). But the core of Sufi transmission was the complex of prayer and meditation practices associated with the recollection and recitation of the Arabic names of God mentioned in the Qur'an.[1] The term for this recitation is *zikr,* meaning "recollection." *Zikr* is mentioned very frequently in the Qur'an, since humanity is often called upon in the sacred text to remember God and his commands. The movement toward interiorization of the Qur'an that was so decisive for the development of Sufism lent itself especially to the practice of meditation in which the names of God (traditionally 99 in number) are chanted over and over again, either in solitude or in company, aloud or silently. Both historically and in the present day, the practice of recollection continues to be a central part of Sufi practice.

The practice of *zikr* seems to have become well established by the eleventh century, though there are indications of it among earlier Sufis. In the description of *zikr* by al-Ghazali (d. 1111), it assumes a great importance as the single technique best adapted to concentrate the heart on nothing other than God. The first major treatise on *zikr, The Keys of Salvation* by Ibn 'Ata' Allah of Alexandria (d. 1309), demonstrates the range of Sufi practices available in the Mediterranean region in the thirteenth century.[2] The principal formulas used in *zikr* were based on the negation ("there is no god") and affirmation ("but God") of the Muslim profession of faith, and the 99 Arabic names of God. Historical transmission, though inherently conservative in character, is also cumulative, however. Generations of Sufi teachers added their own formulations of new combinations of divine names and distinctive litanies that were carefully preserved by their disciples. Specialized psychophysical techniques including breath control were developed by each order; thus the Kubrawi order in Central Asia was known for its systematic 40-day retreats with elaborate forms of visualization to accompany *zikr.*

One must be cautious, however, in attempting to generalize about the character of a Sufi order. The tendency of some recent scholarship is to treat membership in a Sufi

order as something like an ideological commitment to a political party. It is often assumed in addition that membership in a Sufi order was exclusive. That is not in fact the case. Unlike the Christian monastic orders, which were divided by firm lines of authority and sacrament, Sufi orders frequently could overlap one another. Multiple initiation has been noted since the early fifteenth century, when a Chishti like Ashraf Jahangir Simnani claimed initiation in 14 different orders. We can assume that one of these initiations would take precedence, but that did not by any means prevent one from receiving these additional initiations as a kind of supplement to the main teaching. The nonexclusive character of Sufi initiation has important implications for the social extension of Sufism. Under this light, it is difficult to regard the constitution of Sufi orders and sainthood as a zero-sum competition, which a purely political analysis would suggest. It is in fact this wide collection of techniques that makes Sufism a cumulative tradition rather than a series of isolated and private experiences.

A good example of both the distinctiveness of Chishti practice and its augmentation from other orders is provided by two Chishtis of the eighteenth century, Shah Kalim Allah Jahanabadi (d. 1729) and his chief disciple, Nizam ad-Din Awrangabadi (d. 1730). These two have been credited as being the leaders of a Chishti "renaissance" that restored the ethical principles of the early Indian leaders of the order.[3] As indicated above, it may be something of an exaggeration to regard the Chishti order as moribund or in decline between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries; it may be more useful instead to consider Kalim Allah and Awrangabadi as two prominent examples among many who strove to give life to the tradition. In any case, the letters Kalim Allah wrote to Awrangabadi repeatedly touch upon what is simultaneously the tension between two Sufi orders and the multidimensional character of a single order. Kalim Allah in these letters tells his disciple to avoid excessive and conspicuous practice of vocal *zikr* and music, as these are controversial and are not shared by other Sufi groups; the Naqshbandis, in particular, avoid music and have a silent *zikr*. He urges Awrangabadi to cultivate the practice of meditation (*muraqaba*), which is common to all orders. Kalim Allah observes that people of Central Asian ancestry (notably in the court and the military) are almost always attached to the Naqshbandi order, and therefore it will be necessary in some public contexts to downplay distinctive Chishti practices and highlight instead those that are common:

> The people of Central Asia generally belong to the teaching of the Naqshbandi masters, and their way is the way of meditation. Previously in Central Asia there was much of the Kubrawiyya and Kazaruniyya teaching; in both of these orders they go to the extreme in performing *zikr*. But today, because they are submissive, the Naqshbandi path is very widespread. Since all the paths are found in you, why should you remain a stranger to the way of meditation? Train people in this way also, for by God! It is the shortest of paths. There is no doubt concerning the greatness of this order.[4]

Here Kalim Allah is reminding Awrangabadi that he has been initiated into the Suhrawardi, Naqshbandi, and Qadiri orders alongside the Chishtiyya. Hagiographies of the nineteenth century stress that at certain strategic moments, it was possible to integrate other Sufi orders into the structure of the Chishtiyya. Muhammad Gul Ahmadpuri (d. 1827) composed in 1810 a supplementary biographical work on the Chishti order that clarified these other links.[5] He included a complete lineage of the Suhrawardi order under the entry on Mahmud Rajan (d. 1495), a Qadiri lineage

under Hasan Muhammad (d. 1575), and a Naqshbandi lineage under Kalim Allah.[6] Once any of these masters took on an outside initiation, they transmitted it to their successors, and so Awrangabadi received all four initiations (Kalim Allah also had a Shattari initiation, but did not put as much emphasis on this connection). These were additions to the central repertoire of the order rather than competing techniques. It would be easy to read the attitude of Kalim Allah and Awrangabadi as a purely political struggle between Sufi orders, but that would be a drastic oversimplification of the issues of religious practice and the master-disciple relationship.[7]

Awrangabadi later composed a comprehensive account of Chishti meditation techniques in a treatise called *The Order of Hearts.* Composed in 21 chapters, it emphasizes vocal *zikr,* and it includes detailed descriptions of many individual practices. The circumstances of its composition are described as follows:

> The reason for composing this treatise was that, on many prior occasions, certain spiritually sincere ones . . . repeatedly and passionately demanded that the author (may God forgive him) should compose an explanation of the benefits of *zikrs,* joining these precious pearls into a single string, which would be the order of hearts (*nizam-i qulub*) for the religiously sincere and the people of conviction.[8]

Awrangabadi urges the reader to use the treatise only with permission from a qualified guide, and asks that it be concealed from the eyes of the unworthy. While many of the chapters of *The Order of Hearts* are brief accounts of specialized practices, the longest chapters treat breath control (chapter 3) or provide classifications and groupings of the most commonly used *zikr* formulas (chapters 7, 14). *The Order of Hearts* illustrates the Chishti approach to *zikr* in four ways, each of which we shall explore in detail. First, it contains detailed prescriptions of meditations that are widely found wherever Sufism is practiced. Second, it provides a series of particular exercises associated with masters of the Chishti lineage. Third, it delineates practices associated with other orders, which nevertheless form part of the Chishti repertoire. Fourth, it makes explicit references to the Indic background and to yogic practices, which have been accepted and included in Chishti practice much like the exercises of other Sufi orders. In addition, if we compare this treatment with a description of *zikr* techniques by a Naqshbandi Sufi, Shah Wali Allah, the comparison will highlight some of the distinctive characteristics of Chishti practice.

Regarding the general practice of *zikr,* Awrangabadi begins (in chapter 2) by emphasizing the role of *zikr* in initiation, and he describes a three-day fast with numerous prayers in preparation for this event. After promising to uphold the *shari'a* and to love God, the disciple shakes hands with the master and receives instruction in the *zikr* formulas that are appropriate for his or her spiritual state. The disciple repeats each formula three times in order to memorize it. This is a tradition that is traced back all the way to the initiation of 'Ali by Muhammad. The basic elements of *zikr* include the recitation of the name Allah, the first half of the Muslim profession of faith ("there is no god but God"), or the Arabic divine names; breath control; concentration on "moving" a name or formula from the lower to the upper body; and occasional visualizations of letters, words, or complicated visions. An example is the "recollection of astonishment": "It has no fixed position. While holding the breath, seven times one gradually raises the visualization of the name *Allah* from beneath the navel up to the throat, where it becomes *hu* [he]. When the seventh repetition is completed, gradually

release the breath and repeat. The effects will be obvious."[9] There are many such prescriptions, the actual practice of which obviously depends on detailed personal instruction to supplement the text. One of the only obvious ways of grouping these exercises is in terms of the numbers of "beats" contained in a single repetition, i.e., the number of times one sharply focuses the attention on a part of the body with an effort equivalent to a physical blow; these may range from one up to twelve beats in any exercise.

Breath control is a constant theme throughout this manual, repeatedly mentioned in many different exercises. Some of the longer descriptions are especially interesting for the effects they describe:

> By holding the breath, as soon as the breath becomes engaged, and one begins to breathe, one brings the breath up forcefully to the brain. When breath becomes short, one gradually exhales until the breath is no longer perceived. This is called peace and tranquility. It is best to remain occupied in the *zikr* of "Allah, Allah" by remaining centered and contemplating while holding the breath.[10]

The effects of these techniques lift one to the higher reaches of spiritual attainment even as they control physiological processes based on Indian yoga techniques. When the upper and lower breaths join the breath of life, they become one; they arrive at "the meeting-place of the two oceans" (*majma' al-bahrayn;* Qur'an 18:60). This is the station of the "water of life," where one becomes a spiritual being and enters the world of flight and journeying. Knowledge of the divine presence—"by which we taught him a knowledge from us" (Qur'an 18:65)—appears. Not only does one attain long life and meet the immortal prophet Khizr, but one also becomes the emblem of sainthood.[11]

In addition to celibacy, asceticism, and isolation, assiduous practice of breath control is essential. "My dear, one should so hold the breath in one breath of recitation that one runs out of breath and becomes unconscious. One should try so that a thousand breaths a day, and a thousand breaths a night, become easy. One is absorbed both night and day."[12]

Breath control in the Chishti tradition is linked to the repetition of selected divine names in given sequences. These complex exercises have no obvious precedent in the early Arabic manuals of meditation like Ibn 'Ata' Allah's *Key to Salvation.* In particular, three divine names from the Qur'an are often joined with the "essential name," Allah: Hearing (*sami'*), Seeing (*basir*), Knowing (*'alim*) appear prominently in these Chishti invocations. Awrangabadi describes this process in detail:

> Say Allah in the heart, cleave the tongue to the palate, and hold it still. Start with the "A" [of Allah] from beneath the navel so that the *zikr* recitation with all the breath has [no] defect. Prolong it in order to complete awareness and centering, in this manner, a second and a third time. This is "descent." Contemplate one [divine] attribute in each name. Some contemplate all three attribute names (Hearing, Seeing, Knowing) in the essential name (Allah), and so prolong it. Some contemplate nine attribute names by descent and ascent in one name. Some prolong the essential name until a constriction of breath takes place, contemplating as many names as enter during this constriction. Forcing and prolonging it, above and below, mean that you grasp the *zikr* "Allah" from below the navel, and then forcefully begin and extend it, prolonging the breath, calling upon the beauty of the beloved until *zikr* becomes the habit of worship. Through the ef-

> fort of recollection of the heart, insinuating thought goes away. One grasps all the breath to the upper part of the chest, holding the breath for two or three or more *zikr* recitations, until heat appears internally, and a spiritual state is born.[13]

This account of meditative practice and breath control obviously assumes a vast pool of accumulated experience, and some of the details remain obscure in a text that is laconic and obviously aimed at insiders. Part of the density of the text is simply the specialization that has gone on in the Chishti order, by which certain of the Qur'anic names of God have become central for meditative practice in ways that are not obvious to outsiders. Yet even these introductory exercises are richly suggestive of a complex legacy of psychophysical control and contemplation.

Beyond these basic and general exercises, Awrangabadi cites a number of specific prescriptions from the great ones of the Chishti tradition. Thus Nasir ad-Din Chiragh-i Dihli is said to have written that his master Nizam ad-Din recommended and taught the exercise of visualizing the founder of the Qadiri order, 'Abd al-Qadir Jilani, "which up to today they do in Chisht and in the Qadiriyya order."[14] Gisu Daraz reports from his master, Nasir ad-Din, a method of causing spirits to be unveiled by *zikr*.[15] Farid ad-Din Ganj-i Shakar is the source of specific *zikr* formulas, including some in Indian languages.[16] Nizam ad-Din, Nasir ad-Din, and Gisu Daraz describe a three fold division of these practices into meditation (*muraqaba*), witnessing (*mushahada*), and vision (*mu'ayana*).[17] And none of this practice is silent. For lovers of God, it must be out loud:

> In our order, most of the lovers who participate in the *zikr* circle perform vocal *zikr*. Always they sit from the end of the night until morning, and after dawn prayer they always recite the vocal Chishti *zikr* 7,000 times. Likewise from noon to mid-afternoon prayer, from mid-afternoon prayer to sunset prayer, and from sunset prayer to evening prayer, the lovers are bound to the circle of *zikr*. After the mastery of longings, most pass the entire night in *zikr,* most reaching 30,000 *zikr;* 20,000 *zikr* or 18,000 *zikr* is their usual custom.[18]

The Chishti attachment to the vocal or spoken *zikr* contrasts with the practice of other Sufi groups (such as the Naqshbandis) who practiced a silent *zikr*. The time demands of this practice also clearly prevented serious Chishtis from having regular jobs.

Awrangabadi emphasizes that another characteristic of the Chishtis ("our teaching") is the choice and arrangement of the divine names that are to be used in their invocations. There is a basic threefold arrangement of names. The first level consists of the fundamental names Hearing, Seeing, and Knowing. After calling upon those names, one can proceed to the second level, containing the five names Lasting, Standing, Present, Looking, and Witnessing, making for a total of eight. The third level adds twelve more names: Holy, Loving, Living, Subsistent, Outer, Inner, Forgiving, Mild, Light, Guide, Renewer, Eternal. After mastering these three levels, one can go on to a fourth level and learn others of the 99 names of God or isolated phrases from the discourses of the master. On the fifth level, additional names beyond the 99 include superlative forms (e.g., "Most Merciful of the Merciful Ones"). Awrangabadi offers a lengthy prayer that demonstrates all of the five levels.[19] These examples appear to be exclusive to the Chishti tradition.

The emphasis on Chishti practices does not preclude, however, the use of exercises specifically associated with other Sufi orders, such as the visualization of ʿAbd al-Qadir Jilani. The Qadiris too have their own choice and sequence of divine names: "God is Hearing, God is Speaking, God is Seeing, God is Powerful, God is Desiring, God is Existent, God is Knowing."[20] Awrangabadi records that the Qadiris employ variations on standard recitations (such as "Allah" and "There is no god but God") of from 1 to 12 beats.[21] He also gives an extensive description of a Qalandari *zikr,* with variations:

> Recite in beats "Ya Hasan" between the knees, "Ya Husayn" at the navel, "Ya ʿAli" at the left shoulder, "Ya Muhammad," saying it to oneself and pulling it from the head. Some ascetic masters say "Ya Muhammad" thus: [they say] "Ya" to heaven and "Muhammad" to the breast. In the Qalandari order they say "Allah Huwa Haqq" in one breath. Interior exercises are of different types. Some gaze upon their own forms as seen in a mirror, some gaze upon a spiritual form, some gaze continuously at the master's face in a mirror, some gaze at the form of "Allah," imagining the unimaginable form of God.[22]

The Shattari method of reciting "Allah" also appears in his account.[23] Of all non-Chishti orders, he pays most extensive attention to the Naqshbandi order. He quotes a lengthy passage in Arabic on how to instruct disciples in *zikr,* taken from the Naqshbandi master Saʿd ad-Din al-Kashghari.[24] More extensively, in an appendix to an account of 40 forms of meditation (*muraqaba*) in the lengthy chapter 18, Awrangabadi gives a four-page description of Naqshbandi techniques of instruction. He focuses on describing a series of experiences called "unveilings" that are peculiar to Naqshbandi teaching, as well as their triple method of concentration on the ineffability of God without words, concentration on the relationship with the master, and the silent *zikr.*[25] There are also several references to spiritual techniques associated with particular individuals such as Ibn ʿArabi and Rumi.[26]

The last major topic that appears in Awrangabadi's treatment of meditation is the Indic background and the ascetic practices of yoga. This is extremely prominent, as there is a lengthy discussion of the "unstruck sound" (Sanskrit *anahita*) experienced in certain yogic practices, and yogic breath control techniques, in chapter 3. Awrangabadi gives this an Islamic context by pointing out that this sound occurs when one recites the 99 names of God while holding the fingers in the ears. After enumerating the benefits of this technique, he mixes Hindi syllables with Arabic *zikr* phrases to describe the results:

> Among the Indian monotheists, although there are different types, the best of these practices is that which continuously comes forth from them in waking and in sleep, and is involuntary and unintentional. The Qur'anic verse "There is nothing that does not praise him, but they do not understand their praise" (17:44) alludes to this. That is expressed by two words. The breath that ascends they call [in Hindi] *hun* and the breath that goes out they call *hin,* that is, "I am not he." Sufis understand what occurs as the practice of the two phrases *huwa allah* [Arabic for "he is God"] and *allah hu* ["God is he"], that is, inhaling *hu* and exhaling *allah,* and inhaling *allah* and exhaling *hu.* The best breath control is just as described.[27]

Awrangabadi, like many Sufi commentators, fits yogic techniques into an Islamic framework that supplies the intentions and ultimate meaning that yogis may have been unaware of.

Along with this matter-of-fact description of yogic breath control, Awrangabadi makes frequent reference to the use of non-Arabic *zikr* formulas, which in his view are perfectly valid for non-Arabs in particular. "It is right if one instructs the non-Arab disciple with expressions in Hindi or Persian or whatever he understands."[28] Awrangabadi also quotes a line of Hindi poetry to comment on a Qur'anic verse.[29] But it is especially noteworthy that he also cites *zikr* formulas in Punjabi and Hindi, such as the following, attributed to the famous Chishti saint Farid ad-Din: "Say *wuhi hi* upwards, *hi hi* to the left side of the breast, *hin hi* toward the heart."[30] Variations on this Hindi *zikr* of Farid ad-Din are well known in a number of Indian Sufi texts, particularly among Chishti and Shattari masters. These phrases belong to a long tradition of adapting hatha yoga mantras to Islamic themes and Sufi practices, as illustrated in the many translations of the curious yogic text known as *The Pool of Nectar.*[31]

The Chishti approach to meditation by Awrangabadi can be seen more clearly when compared with a discussion of *zikr* techniques presented by a contemporary Naqshbandi figure, Shah Wali Allah. In his *Information on the Orders of the Friends of God and the Transmissions of the Heirs of the Messenger of God,* Wali Allah sets forth an account of all the spiritual practices to which he has been exposed, not only from the Naqshbandi but also from other Sufi orders, including Qadiri, Chishti, Suhrawardi, Kubrawi, Shattari, Shadhili, Madyani, and 'Aydarusi initiations. His purpose was "to describe the famous orders that I have been trained in for both external and internal knowledge, and in which I have participated."[32] His treatise may be compared to the synthetic works on Sufi practice that began to emerge in the seventeenth century by scholars located in Arabia, who, like the Indian Shattari master Ahmad Qushshashi, were veritable collectors of *zikr* techniques.[33]

What are the differences between Chishti and Naqshbandi approaches to *zikr,* as expressed in these two texts? Again and again, the Chishti author emphasizes vocal *zikr* as the standard form of mystical exercise, while the Naqshbandis with equal fervor insist on performing the silent *zikr.*[34] Moreover, Wali Allah shows not the slightest interest in languages other than Arabic, and he even regards the word "Allah" as beyond any human tongue.[35]

What are the differences between Awrangabadi's account of Naqshbandi practices and the account given by Shah Wali Allah? Awrangabadi dwells at length on meditation (*muraqaba*), which was a central aspect of Naqshbandi observance. He provides 6 meditations containing elaborate visualizations, followed by 50 Qur'anic passages with mystical explanations for the meditator.[36] Wali Allah, by contrast, offers a precise description of meditation as intensive concentration on the name "Allah" in the place of the pineal heart until it becomes a habit.[37] There are other contrasts. Awrangabadi gives only passing mention to other major themes of Naqshbandi practice and doctrine, such as the psychophysical of the subtle centers and the philosophical debate over existential or testimonial unity.[38] Yet there are several overlapping discussions in both these texts. They occur in nearly identical forms, which suggests either that Wali Allah used Awrangabadi's text, or that they both relied on a common source.[39]

Nizam ad-Din Awrangabadi was a Chishti author, but he had other allegiances. In providing a broad description of *zikr* techniques, he wanted to note a number of relevant aspects of other Sufi orders alongside the Chishtiyya, not with a view to completing a tradition that is deficient, nor as a borrowing from competitors, but rather

to give a comprehensive and practically useful overview of a common heritage. The yogic practices of non-Muslim ascetics are simply one more set of parallel techniques that can be added to the mix. Continuities in meditative practice help inform the structure of a Sufi order, but they do not constitute fixed boundaries. Indeed, *zikr* is so fundamental that it underlies the basic fact of breathing, and perhaps life itself. As Awrangabadi observes, "The realizers of truth say that the recollection *'hu'* [he] occurs involuntarily, whether one knows it or not. Thus everything always is in the recollection of God, but only the perfect one is aware and comprehends his own recollection."[40]

## LISTENING TO MUSIC

Particularly challenging to the harmonious relationship between Sufis and "ordinary believers" was *sama'*, the practice of listening to music. Its external decorum was more readily describable (and more easily violated) than its internal reality. To defend *sama'* was to justify the supremacy of divine love over all other religious obligations, while at the same time acknowledging that both music and love and, indeed, every aspect of life had to be experienced within an Islamic worldview upholding the Qur'an, the Traditions of the Prophet and the rudiments of Muslim law, the *shari'a*.

*Sama'* as a theoretical issue, therefore, is related to a paradox larger than itself: the paradox of a relationship between the Divine Beloved, who is also the supreme creator, and the human lover, who is but a humble creature. The ambiguity of the Beloved/lover relationship inevitably determined the parameters for the debate over *sama'*. How could the divine and the human have a continuing and mutually reinforcing relationship? Its fundamental precondition was separation. For without separation there could be no love, and yet separation was also to be overcome, for union with God was the ultimate goal of every Sufi adept, just as proximity to the Beloved was the constant refrain of medieval Muslim poets. The problem of separation was elaborated by Sufi theorists into two seemingly opposite approaches to the divine: *wahdat al-wujud* (the unity of existence; all is the One; the One is all) and *wahdat al-shuhud* (the unity of witness; all is from the One but is not the One).[41]

*Sama'* relates to the spiritual progress of a Muslim mystic or Sufi adept in one of three ways: (1) it may be totally excluded as inappropriate to Islamic teaching—mystical or nonmystical (as the Mughal Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi [d. 1624] and his suborder, the Mujaddidiyya Naqshbandiyya, believed); (2) it may be accepted as a penultimate stage on the mystical ladder leading to ontological unity, i.e., perfection; or (3) it may be viewed as the top rung on the ladder, itself the ultimate mystical experience when properly pursued.

The challenge faced by the earliest Chishti masters had already daunted the classical Sufi theorists who predated the introduction of mystical orders into the Asian subcontinent. But for these theorists, as for their Chishti successors, the debate on *sama'* revolved around the second and third approaches: Which of these two valuations of *sama'* was to be accepted, and why? For proponents of the second approach, music was related to the epistemological or phenomenological rather than to the ontological or metaphysical core of Muslim mystical experience. Music was said to help the lover in attaining the ecstasy derived from imminent union with the Beloved, but it itself was not thought to be coextensive with ecstasy. For the genuine seeker, music

was intended to optimize the dyadic relationship between a human lover and a Divine Beloved. Because of the subtlety of verse as well as the waywardness of human emotion, however, the dyad could be (and sometimes was) construed as the love of two human beings for one another, whether that of a man for a woman or a man for a boy or occasionally a man for another man. It was on this account that proponents of the second approach argued that *sama'* should not be made available to beginners, for they might be led to experience sensual delight instead of spiritual catharsis.

Those who supported the third approach had no such reservations. For them music was both the ontological and the epistemological sine qua non of Islamic mysticism. It not only helped the lover to attain a state of ecstasy in the presence of the Beloved, but it itself was integral to the ecstatic moment. According to their view, *sama'*, in the early stages, presupposed the dyadic relationship, but after a certain point (which varied depending on the theorist) it absorbed the human listener into the place of music till there remained only the song. They advocated guidelines governing the conduct of listeners but downplayed the risk to potential listeners, since they viewed the benefits of *sama'* as at once limitless in scope and also unobtainable by other means.

The variant emphases between these two approaches were major enough to spark a debate within the fold of Sufism. The debate would not have had far-reaching historical repercussions for the Sufi brotherhoods (*tariqas/silsilas*), however, had *sama'* been only a matter of personal preference, a diversion randomly elected by individual Sufi masters. *Sama'* became influential because it developed into a recurrent congregational expression of Sufi mystical devotion. Verses were chanted in a corporate setting, in the presence of a group of like-minded men, all of whom were presumed to share the same lofty motives for convening to listen to what is simply termed "the beautiful voice." Though there are instances of isolated encounters between individual adepts and an ecstasy-inducing voice, *sama'* applies mainly to corporate performances for the spiritual benefit of a gathered group of Sufis.[42] Rather than merely "hearing," it ought to be defined as "hearing chanted verse (with or without accompanying instruments) in the company of others also seeking to participate in the dynamic dialogue between a human lover and the Divine Beloved."[43]

It seems probable that *sama'*, like many aspects of Sufism, was known as an occasional experience before it came to be justified as a normative, legitimate activity. The experience, moreover, was so contextual, depending on where, when, how, and by whom it was heard, that reaction to it was mixed, and Sufi authors from an early date verbalize the Muslim community's hesitancy to espouse *sama'*.

Most of the classical theorists, in fact, seem to deal with the topic of *sama'* marginally and then only because it reflects a prevalent practice that cannot be ignored. Did the mystical trends established in the Nile-to-Oxus region, especially in the urban centers of non-Arab Islam, persist with greater or lesser influence in the outlying areas of the Islamicate tradition, including South Asia? Some scholars, notably the French Islamicist Marjan Molé, assume that this is the case.[44] He cites four Indian writers as important theorists of *sama'*: 'Ali Hujwiri, Gisu Daraz, 'Ali Hamadani, and Muhammad Nur Allah. The last is a nineteenth-century Chishti author of a little-known work, *Naghma-ye 'Ushshaq,* and the other three, while important, do not exhaust the list of early Indian Sufi authors who speculated about *sama'*. Some in fact did so from an original perspective that marked a theoretical contribution different in tone as well as in content from their non-Indian Muslim predecessors.

Contrary to Molé, we argue that in the Indian environment, from the period of the Delhi Sultanate through the Mughal era into the postindependence era, *sama'* retained a unique significance as the integrating modus operandi of the Chishti order. The Chishtis, as the largest and most important mystical order among South Asian Muslims in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, forged the first authentic specimen of South Asian or Indian Islam, and it was they who adopted a distinctive attitude to *sama'*. Far from being an embarrassment to the Chishtis, as the literature sometimes suggests, *sama'* also served a valuable practical function: It separated the Chishti saints from the Suhrawardiyya, their major mystical rivals in the Sultanate era of Indian Islam, and also opposed them to the *'ulama'*, those too comfortable spokesmen for official, i.e., government sanctioned, Islam. *Sama'* became, if not the monopoly of the Chishtiyya, the preeminent symbol crystallizing their position.

*Sama'* also became Indianized. We would like to know more about the precise process of Indianization; for instance, the contribution of the noted fourteenth-century poet-musician-lay Sufi Amir Khusraw Dihlavi. Though it was undoubtedly a multilevel phenomenon, only one aspect of *sama'* can be critically examined in the earliest phase of Indo-Muslim history (1206–1526), because only one was recorded by those Sufi authors, especially from the Chishti order, who defended the practice of mystic music and elaborated its significance for their fellow worshipers. Unfortunately, the popular, nonelite, mass sentiment in favor of *sama'* fell outside the scope of their inquiry: Popularization suggested vulgarization, and for the Chishti theorists, as for most of the Indo-Muslim elite, vulgarization of any mystical institution, including *sama'*, was firmly resisted. Hence, we find but a few, random references to the popular dissemination of *sama'*.[45]

Yet the literary legacy on *sama'* from the Delhi Sultanate Sufis of the Chishti order is itself enormous, diverse, and informative. It consists of three kinds of writing: independent essays on *sama'*; chapters on *sama'* that appear in biographical accounts of saints (*tazkiras*) or books devoted to theological inquiry; and anecdotal references to *sama'* in the *malfuzat,* or recorded conversations, of major saints. Each category has its special value. Collectively they present a unique profile of *sama'* as it first functioned in a predominantly non-Muslim region.

There are two surviving works that focus exclusively on *sama'*: one, *Usul as-sama'* (Principles of Listening to Music), was written in Arabic by a disciple of the foremost Chishti saint of Delhi, Nizam ad-Din Awliya' (d. 1325), and the other, *Risala-i sama'* (Treatise on Listening to Music), was composed in Persian by Sufi Hamid ad-Din Nagauri (d. 1274), a successor to the first Indian Chishti shaykh, Mu'in ad-Din Ajmeri (d. 1233). These two treatises, different as they are from each other, contrast with another treatise from an early non-Indian devotee of *sama'*, *Bawariq al-ilma'* (Gleams of Illumination) by Ahmad Ghazali (d. 1126)—a brilliant, independent work by one of the most influential Baghdadian Sufis, who is just now beginning to receive the scholarly attention he deserves; it provides an important benchmark for assessing the contribution of Indian Sufi theorists to *sama'*.

*Bawariq al-ilma'* is an odd book: Over one-half of its pages are devoted to an elaborate apologetic of *sama'* that first examines then refutes the arguments of its opponents, while the advantages and the distinctive features of *sama'* assemblies are assessed in comparatively less detail. Two aspects of Ghazali's treatise are especially noteworthy for the emphasis they convey: (1) He argues that *sama'* "is necessary for the people of knowledge, perfection, serenity and union," while it is to be assigned (as

a duty) for disciples and is allowable as a practice for aspiring lovers; (2) In condemning those who oppose *sama'*, he offers as his decisive argument the example of universally acclaimed saints of the past who practiced *sama'*. Citing the *hadit,* "He who is hostile to a saint of mine has come forth against me in warfare," he points to Junayd, Shibli, Ma'ruf Karkhi and 'Abd Allah ibn Khafif as model shaykhs who "went into ecstasies in audition and danced to destroy from their hearts what was apart from Allah."[46] He concludes that one who opposes *sama'* is hostile to these saints and, therefore, to Allah; such a person is *ipso facto* an infidel.

In form, Zarradi's *Usul as-sama'* and Nagauri's *Risala-i sama'* are unlike Ghazali's *Bawariq. Usul as-sama'* is defensive but rarely polemical. It consists of an introduction and ten sections, each enunciating a particular aspect of *sama'*. The introduction separates the religious leadership of thirteenth-century Islam into three groups: legalists, traditionalists, and Sufis. Of the three, the Sufis are unabashedly declared to be the best and their superiority is extolled with reference to a cryptic *hadith.*[47] Zarradi then sets forth a point-by-point consideration of *sama'*. It excludes a female vocal accompaniment, depending instead on a beautiful male voice comparable to the Prophet David's. Of musical instruments, only the reed pipe is forbidden by the Prophet Muhammad, but the use of other instruments, such as the drum and tambourine, is permitted because the Prophet used them. Since inspired verse comes from the Creator and heightens the desire of the creature for the Creator, its use is not only permitted but also encouraged for Sufis of all stages. Numerous citations from the Qur'an and the traditions support both the beautiful voice and the recitation of verse, but *sama'* is to be conducted in a suitable place. Zarradi offers examples and quotations in support of *sama'* from early saints, including Shaykh Nizam ad-Din, and they tell us that one of the chief effects desired in *sama'* is *tawajud,* which Zarradi defines as "graceful movement that voluntarily emanates from the listener when he is overcome by *sama'*," and we will refer to it as empathetic ecstasy. Zarradi then gives a detailed discussion of empathetic ecstasy, elaborating a saying from Nizam ad-Din. The great shaykh had noted that there were three kinds of listeners in *sama':* the uninitiated listener (*mutasammi'*), the mature listener (*mustami'*) and the perfected listener (*sami'*). The uninitiated listener hears music through the moment (*waqt*) of his spiritual awareness; the mature listener hears music through the state (*hal*) of his spiritual progress; while the perfected listener hears music through the direct agency of God (*al-Haqq*). Hence, concludes Nizam ad-Din, the characteristic of the uninitiated listener is empathetic ecstasy, that of the mature listener is momentary ecstasy, and that of the perfected listener is durative ecstasy.[48]

The homologies are suggestive though hardly novel, either to Nizam ad-Din or to the Chishti order. The effect of their presentation in Zarradi's treatise, however, is to link the experience of *sama'* inextricably with empathetic ecstasy, momentary ecstasy, and durative ecstasy in the normative outlook of the Chishtiyya. Zarradi also systematizes the approach to *sama'* hinted at by his Chishti predecessor Hamid ad-Din Suwali in *Risala-i sama'*. The latter offers less an explanation of *sama'* than a meditation on its benefits. He begins by declaring that he hopes his treatise will prove to "be of use to the seekers of Truth, and enhance the ecstasy of the lovers of God, at the same time that it brings grief to the souls of disbelievers."[49] Hamid ad-Din then sets forth his own series of homologies: *Sama'* and ecstasy are "wings of the spirit by which it takes flight till it reaches the Divine Presence." *Sama'* is the power of the heart of dervishes, the centrifugal force of those who are distraught, the focal point

of those who witness to the Divine Decree. Or, again, it is an ocean bird transporting lovers to the treasures that they seek. At the end of his brief essay, Hamid ad-Din offers samplings of his own verse, repeatedly implying the interconnectedness of *sama'* and ecstasy. One couplet, for instance, reads:

> Every ecstasy that is derived from *sama'*
> Is a taste that relieves the soul of anxiety.

Zarradi gives no poetic citations, and his treatise has less charm than the lyrical treatise of the farmer-saint Hamid ad-Din. Yet Zarradi makes a novel and monumental contribution to *sama'* in a manner that is distinctly Indian. He constructs a system out of the terse sayings of his master, Nizam ad-Din, and that system influenced numerous later Chishti theorists, including Mas'ud Bakk and Ashraf Jahangir Simnani.

Non-Indian theorists before Zarradi had also dealt with the categories of empathetic ecstasy, momentary ecstasy, and durative ecstasy and occasionally applied them to *sama'*, but in a tentative, often deliberately ambiguous manner. Only Ahmad Ghazali had been an enthusiastic advocate of *sama'*. Abu Nasr Sarraj (d. 988), Makki (d. 996), Hujwiri (d. ca. 1071), and Qushayri (d. 1074)—all non-Indian except Hujwiri—concurred that *sama'* might be more dangerous than useful to a novice or beginner.

The issue goes deeper than what the classical authors state on this or any other particular point relative to *sama'*. The major Sufi theorists have been honored and their works remembered long after their own time precisely because they were able to summarize numerous perspectives rather than advocate only one view (their own) and suggest that it was binding on all Sufis. Yet the tone and arrangement of their several writings reveals the true sentiments of the theorists themselves on the subject of *sama'*. Hujwiri, for instance, is often seen to be Indian because he died and was buried in Lahore. Yet he lived prior to the Sultanate period, and his reflections on *sama'* are closer to the non-Indian than to the Indian, especially the Chishti, attitude. Hujwiri ably summarizes the several conflicting views toward *sama'* that were voiced by contemporary and earlier Sufis, but he severely criticizes sensual gratification through empathetic ecstasy.[50] Moreover, when a contemporary traditionist reports to Hujwiri that he has written a book on the permissibility of *sama'*, the Lahori shaykh replies: "It is a great calamity to religion that the Imam should have made lawful an amusement which is the root of all immorality." Still, he goes on to admit that he himself practices *sama'*.[51]

To the extent that Hujwiri affirms empathetic ecstasy, he is constrained by the well-attested *hadith* of the Prophet, "When you recite the Qur'an, you should weep, and if you cannot weep, then you should try to weep."[52] Elsewhere, however, he quotes approvingly the rebuke that he once received from a venerable shaykh who indulged Hujwiri's desire for *sama'* and then told him: "A time will come when this music will be no more to you than the croaking of a raven. The influence of music only lasts so long as there is no contemplation, and as soon as contemplation is attained music has no power. Take care not to accustom yourself to this, lest it grow (to be) part of your nature and keep you back from higher things."[53] It is perhaps with the shaykh's reprimand in mind that Hujwiri closes his section on *sama'* and concludes his book with a petitionary prayer requesting divine forgiveness for his sins of the past in *sama'*.[54]

Almost despite himself, Hujwiri gives some of the claims made on behalf of *sama'* and for the first time links the topic of *sama'* to the discussion of the grades of ecstasy. It is the linkage of *sama'* to empathetic ecstasy that made possible the later and distinctive Chishti contribution to *sama'* theory. By looking at the non-Indian theorists, Qushayri, Abu Nasr Sarraj, and the Suhrawardis, we can appreciate the speculative advances of the foremost Indian exponents of *sama'*, all of them belonging to the Chishti brotherhood.

Qushayri treated the grades of ecstasy independently of *sama'* in the section of his treatise concerned with technical terms; and while he does refer to *sama'* in this latter section, he fails to make mention of the grades of ecstasy in the section on *sama'* except for the solitary cryptic aphorism: "*sama'* is the invitation, ecstasy the intention."[55] Qushayri also quotes some remarks that are openly critical of *sama'*.

Abu Nasr Sarraj, like Qushayri, is inherently hostile to *sama'* or at least dubious of its effects on beginners. He identifies all three groups of listeners; the first are the sons of truth, the second, the people of invocation(s), the third the isolated beggars of God, who, for him as for Qushayri, are "the nearest to God in peace."[56] One would expect that here, as in most triadic sequences of Sufi inspiration, the first is the least and the last is best. Both Sarraj and Qushayri do state that the last is, in fact, the best, but how are the beggars of God rated above the groups that precede them, especially since the first group are said to be "sons of truth" in direct contact with the Truth?

A later generation of Sufi theorists, including Abu Najib Suhrawardi (d. 1168), author of *Adab al-muridin* (Manners for Disciples), and his nephew Abu Hafs Suhrawardi (d. 1234), compiler of *'Awarif al-ma'arif* (Gifts of Knowledge), all borrowed from Sarraj or Qushayri this same three-part categorization of listeners.[57] The Suhrawardis, despite their inclusive, synthesizing minds, felt constrained—perhaps by their own experience, perhaps by the dictates of community consensus—to suggest that *sama'* was a limited and potentially dangerous experience. Their outlook is the more surprising because, unlike Hujwiri, who was the disciple of a shaykh disinclined to *sama'*, both Suhrawardis were direct spiritual descendants of Ahmad Ghazali. In *Adab al-muridin* Abu Najib gives the following description of the three classes of listeners: "First there are those who refer, when they are listening, to what is communicated to them from the Real One (*al-haqq*). Then there are those who refer, when they are listening, to what is communicated to them by means of their states, stations, and moments of experience. The third class are the beggars of God who have entirely detached themselves from worldly things; *sama'* is suitable for them." Immediately he adds: "It is said that only one whose state is weak needs the *sama'* (to arouse his spirit), while the vigorous one does not need it. One of the Sufis said: 'How low is the state of a person who needs someone to stir him! Upon my life, a bereaved mother does not need a mourner!'"[58]

The implication of Abu Najib's juxtaposition of citations is that one of the three groups of listeners is weak, or perhaps that all three are weak. In either case, he offers less than wholehearted support for the practice of *sama'*.

His nephew, Abu Hafs, provides a novel twist to the same citation of three groups of listeners. He quotes it in its entirety from Sarraj and adds the qualifying phrase that the isolated beggars of God are not only the nearest of people to peace but they are the best preserved from iniquity since every heart that is contaminated with love of the world listens to *sama'* (only) at the level of sensuality and affection.[59]

In general, Abu Hafs's disinclination from *sama'* is milder than his uncle's. He follows Qushayri in separating the explanation of momentary ecstasy and durative ecstasy as technical terms from the treatment of *sama'* as a Sufi endeavor. Yet he does integrate the categories of momentary ecstasy and durative ecstasy within his presentation of *sama'*, at least to the extent that he can distinguish between spiritual states with rare dexterity, as in the following passage: "Though momentary ecstasy is the culmination of the spiritual state (*hal*) of the beginners, it is a defect in the perfected ones because it signifies that they have reverted to a state of witnessing after they had already passed beyond it into the state of durative ecstasy. In *sama'* the one who experiences ecstasy wants to lose it because loss of the state of witnessing signifies the appearance of the qualities of durative ecstasy."[60]

Despite his sensitivity to the dynamic tension between momentary ecstasy and durative ecstasy, Abu Hafs is almost silent on the point of empathetic ecstasy. Mu'izz Kashani, however, who summarized the *'Awarif* in Persian, takes the liberty to expand its slim references to empathetic ecstasy. He adds that empathetic ecstasy may be a proper prelude to momentary ecstasy, since the Prophet had noted that those who cannot weep over a recitation of the Qur'an should try to weep.[61] Later he states that empathetic ecstasy is permissible for beginners though inappropriate to the spiritual state of shaykhs.[62] Kashani's assessment of empathetic ecstasy is more adequate than that of any other non-Indian classical theorist of Sufism, but it is still brief, especially in comparison with his treatment of momentary ecstasy and durative ecstasy.

Ironically, empathetic ecstasy becomes the pivotal technical term in distinguishing between non-Indian and Indian theorists' approach to *sama'*. Unlike Qushayri, Abu Nasr Sarraj, the Suhrawardis, and also Hujwiri (who, though Indian, lived in the eleventh century), the Chishti authors of the Sultanate period maintain that empathetic ecstasy is not just optional but indispensable to the entire experience of *sama'*. Empathetic ecstasy, in their view, ought to be emphasized as much as momentary ecstasy and durative ecstasy, even though the latter are technically "higher" spiritual states.

How strange that the inspiration or justification for this new approach to *sama'* comes from one of the most ambivalent advocates of musical assemblies, Qushayri! The saying that Zarradi attributed to Nizam ad-Din concerning types of listeners was a direct quotation from Qushayri, who in turn had been quoting Abu 'Ali Daqqaq: "There are three types of people who participate in *sama'*: the uninitiated listener, the mature listener, and the perfect listener, etc."[63] Elsewhere Qushayri discusses empathetic ecstasy as the beginning (of mystical experience), durative ecstasy as the culmination, and momentary ecstasy as the intermediary state.[64] What Nizam ad-Din does is conflate the two texts, pairing each listener with an appropriate level of experience: The characteristic of the uninitiated listener becomes empathetic ecstasy, that of the mature listener becomes momentary ecstasy, and that of the perfect listener becomes durative ecstasy.

How do these extended definitions affect the Chishti theory of *sama'*? Initially, they add a new dimension to empathetic ecstasy, as we saw in Zarradi's *Usul as-sama'*. But the fuller implications of Nizam ad-Din's gloss were worked out only after his death in other Chishti writings, the principal focus of which was not *sama'* but either the speculative inquiry into several theoretical aspects of *tasawwuf* or the biographical recapitulation of a particular saint's life and teachings. Let's briefly examine the chapter on *sama'* that appears in a representative work from each category: *Mir'at al-'arifin* (The Mirror of the Gnostics) of Mas'ud Bakk, written about

1378, and *Lata'if-i Ashrafi* (Subtleties of Ashraf), compiled by Nizam Gharib Yamani at about the same time.

The former is a brilliant but now seldom read theological treatise from the hand of a fourteenth-century Indo-Muslim saint. Mas'ud Bakk was a Delhi recluse of the Chishti fold who produced few successors but many poems, together with some longer manuscripts, before his execution by order of the reigning Tughluq monarch around 1380. One of his works is *Mir'at al-'arifin.* It consists of 14 chapters covering all the major topics of Sufi speculative thought and corporate discipline. The thirteenth chapter treats *sama'*, with special reference to empathetic ecstasy, momentary ecstasy, and durative ecstasy. Though many medieval biographical writers laud the fourteenth and final chapter because of its subtle exposition of the spirit, the thirteenth chapter of *Mir'at al-'arifin* also marks an advance over any previous Indian essay on the topic of *sama'.*

Bakk begins by providing his own list of Qur'anic verses and Prophetic traditions that support the practice of *sama'.* Some of them overlap with scriptural references given elsewhere. Others are original to him. Like Hujwiri, he proceeds from a general description of hearing and its role in Islamic revelation to a particular exposition of the Sufi practice of *sama'.* His tone, however, is much more decisive than Hujwiri's: Concerning the prophets, for instance, he ingeniously argues that since none of them was ever deaf, they all, by their reception of revelation, attest to the legitimacy of *sama'* ("hearing"). Nor does he hesitate to invoke the authority of past saints: In a manner reminiscent of Ahmad Ghazali, he declares that many of the ancient Sufis participated in *sama'* and none of them ever denied its efficacy. He then goes on to elaborate the parallelism between melodies and the heavenly spheres, and declares that after one's musical sensitivities have risen to the orbit of Venus (the third of the seven planets in an ascending scale), there is no longer an experience of self: Instead, through the remaining four orbits one "hears the word of God through God without letters or voice."[65]

In the central portion of his essay, Bakk tries to distinguish the different levels at which *sama'* is experienced. He condemns no group of listeners; he evaluates all of them according to their capacities, and he uses as his proof a classical text, Qushayri. No less than six citations from both sections of Qushayri's handbook are set forth in Mas'ud Bakk's defense of *sama'.*[66] However, the tone is far more daring than Qushayri; nor does Bakk, who is much better than most medieval authors in citing his sources, ever once mention Qushayri by name.

As with Zarradi, the critical aspect of Bakk's essay is the attention he accords empathetic ecstasy as a threshold experience integral to *sama'.* Bakk links both *sama'* and empathetic ecstasy to a third term, *hizza,* which means for him both the physical shaking or agitation of the body and the spiritual state of ecstasy. He begins the final section of his chapter on *sama'* by saying, "Whoever has no agitation (*hizza*) in *sama'* will never have the pleasure (*lazza*) of seeing the face (of God)."[67] He then enumerates the three stages of *hizza:* empathetic ecstasy, momentary ecstasy, and durative ecstasy. To legitimate his accent on *hizza,* he quotes a *hadith* in which the Prophet Muhammad declares to his personal attendant: "O Mu'awiya, no one experiences my kindness who is not agitated at hearing mention of the Beloved." The Prophetic tradition is reinforced by a saying from Shaykh Nizam ad-Din, to the effect that every disciple in *sama'* should experience *hizza* at the mention of his Beloved, and if he does not, then his heart is certainly dead and his soul frozen.

Yet the levels of *hizza* vary, as do the stations of mystical progress: That which appears in the body, according to Bakk, is empathetic ecstasy; in the heart, momentary ecstasy; in the spirit, durative ecstasy. The distinction cannot be pressed, though, since each of the three anticipates and/or is anticipated by the other two. After quoting the isolated dictum of Qushayri (*sama'* is the invitation, momentary ecstasy the intention)[68] to prove that empathetic ecstasy invites momentary ecstasy, even as momentary ecstasy is intent on *wujud-i mahbub* (the existence of the Beloved), Bakk cites still another supporting passage from Qushayri: "Empathetic ecstasy is an uprooting, momentary ecstasy is a submersion and durative ecstasy a destruction of the self of the seeker. It is as if some one sees the ocean, then rides upon it and finally is drowned in it."[69] In summation, he explains the successive stages of resolving, entering, witnessing, finding, and being extinguished (*qusud, wurud, shuhud, wujud,* and *khumud*), also from Qushayri, by deducing that finding lordship (*wujud-i rububiyya*) causes the extinction of humanity (*khumud-i bashariyya*). It is a dazzling display of mystical logic, which ends, as do all of Bakk's chapters and most of his subchapters in *Mir'at al-'arifin,* with a verse (in this case, a quatrain) of his own composition appropriate to the theme under discussion:

*Anku bi-sama' dar tawajud ayad*
*Wajd-ash zi-khoda ru-yi bi-dil binmayad.*
*Pas wajd su-yi wujud-i mahbub kashad*
*Anja chu rasad na-mord ba khwud ayad.*
Whoever in sama' anticipates ecstasy
Ecstasy appears in his heart from God.
Ecstasy draws him toward the realm of the Beloved,
He arrives there but does not die; he enters himself.[70]

The second Indian work to be considered is *Lata'if-i Ashrafi.* It is an enormous biography, which partly consists of the collected sayings of the major Chishti saint of eastern Uttar Pradesh in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani (d. 1425). He was a man of diverse talents, who dabbled in magic as well as mysticism. He is remembered as a well-traveled, highly esteemed saint who sought out the company of wise, famous, and powerful men, from the local rulers of Jaunpur to the Persian lyricist of Shiraz, Hafiz. He is even reputed to have once met the Mongol warlord Timur. Among his several literary monuments, only two have survived: his letters (*Maktubat-i Ashrafi*) and *Lata'if-i Ashrafi.* It is in the twentieth chapter of the *Lata'if* that his biographer, Nizam Gharib Yamani, collates the numerous observations of the saint on the practice of *sama'*.[71] The chapter is far more anecdotal and wide ranging than the corresponding chapter from Mas'ud Bakk's *Mir'at al-'arifin.* Yet both authors emphasize the beneficial aspects of *sama'*, including empathetic ecstasy, and they boldly elaborate the Indian antecedents for participation in musical assemblies.

The chapter in *Lata'if-i Ashrafi* is divided into three parts: (1) the explanation of proofs for the permissibility of *sama'*, derived from Qur'anic verses and Prophetic traditions as well as from the decisions of jurists and the deeds of "masters of guidance," i.e., early Muslim leaders; (2) the statements of Sufi theorists regarding the practice of *sama'* and the example of ancient shaykhs (referred to as *al-kubara al-kamilin*); (3) guidelines for the conduct of *sama'*, including observations about the

concurrence of "time, place, and brethren" as well as grounds for permitting the use of musical instruments.

The first and second parts of this chapter in the *Lata'if* are the most intriguing. Simnani begins by defining *sama'* as itself empathetic ecstasy. The definition is not his own but one attributed to an anonymous saint: "*Sama'* is the attempt of Sufis to understand the meaning that arises from different voices." Like all his predecessors, Simnani stresses that there are variant levels of understanding that correspond to the variant capacities (and intentions) of the listeners. He proceeds to give a three-part classification of listeners, though *not* on the model of Zarradi or Bakk. Instead, he follows the three categories of seekers first set forth by the thirteenth-century Chishti saint Jamal ad-Din Hansawi: (1) those who forsake this world and seek the next; (2) those who forsake the next world and seek this; and (3) those who forsake both worlds and seek only God.[72] The last are obviously the preferred group, and it is to them alone that all the subtleties of *sama'* are revealed, but neither of the other two is to be excluded from musical assemblies according to Simnani. In addition, Simnani cites the opinions of notable *hadith* scholars and the decisions of Hanafi jurists with reference to *sama'*. The latter are especially notable because they support the permissibility of not only *sama'* but empathetic ecstasy for those who otherwise discharge their mandated Islamic duties.[73]

Having established the legal basis for musical assemblies, Simnani next reviews the statements of Sufi theorists concerning *sama'*. He makes brief reference to Makki, Imam Ghazali, Abu Hafs Suhrawardi, and Nizam ad-Din before discussing at length the question also raised by Imam Ghazali: Why are Qur'anic passages inappropriate for chanting in *sama'*?[74] The principal point of the second part of Simnani's synopsis, however, concerns the authority for *sama'* that has been established by the example of past saints. He mentions some of the same ancient shaykhs extolled by Ahmad Ghazali in the *Bawariq* (e.g., Shibli and Ma'ruf Karkhi) and even quotes the same *hadith:* "He who is hostile to a saint of mine has come forth against me in warfare." But Simnani adds three elements to his advocacy of *sama'* that are not present in the *Bawariq:* (1) He extends the list of bygone saints who favored music to include Indian shaykhs, viz., Qutb ad-Din, Qazi Hamid ad-Din, Farid ad-Din, and, of course, Nizam ad-Din; (2) he describes these saints not merely as advocates of *sama'* but as those who "experienced empathetic ecstasy and danced";[75] and (3) he re-creates the condition and lauds the example of saints who died in *sama'*, from Zu'l-Nun Misri and Shibli to Qutb ad-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki and Ruzbihan Baqli Shirazi. It is an impassioned, protracted exposition of *sama'*, with abundant references to classical authorities and frequent poetical citations, that we find set forth in the twentieth chapter of *Lata'if-i Ashrafi.*

One could explore the Chishti attitude to *sama'* in further detail with documentation from other chapters of major authentic writings by Indo-Muslim saints, but one such author stands out: Rukn ad-Din, the disciple of Burhan ad-Din, himself the disciple of Nizam ad-Din. Rukn ad-Din exhaustively surveyed Sufi doctrine and practice in his encyclopedic *Shama'il-i atiqiya* (Virtues of the Pious). There he includes a chapter devoted to music that culls references from over 20 literary documents, Indian as well as non-Indian, some of them no longer extant, to describe "the meaning of chanting, the benefit of the beautiful voice, and the permissibility of poetry and *ghazals,* in accordance with the example of the Prophet and his companions." The *Shama'il* also discusses procedures for organizing musical assemblies

and cites variant opinions about what is proper and improper conduct in such gatherings.[76]

There are five major dimensions to the Chishti practice of *sama'* and its legacy. First, the theoretical approach to *sama'* among Indian Sufis is related to non-Indian antecedents. At the most general level, it follows the Sufi penchant for triadic progressions and often distinguishes between classes of listeners with reference to commonly accepted authorities who cite the same classes. Both Indian and non-Indian theorists share a sensitivity to the differentiation of human capacities for participating in *sama'*.

Second, not all non-Indian writers are sympathetic to musical assemblies, and even those who present evidence in favor of *sama'* often express their personal antipathy to the self-indulgence (rather than divine inspiration) to which they feel immature listeners are prone. Among non-Indian classical Sufi authors, Ahmad Ghazali stands out as an unqualifiedly enthusiastic proponent of *sama'*.

Third, the Chishti essayists are closer to Ahmad Ghazali on the issue of *sama'* than are their Sultanate rivals, the Suhrawardiyya, even though the latter were Ahmad Ghazali's avowed spiritual successors. Nagauri, Zarradi, Bakk, and Simnani all champion the experience of mystic music for perfected Sufis as well as for beginners. In advocating *sama'*, moreover, they are less defensive than Ahmad Ghazali: Instead of destroying the arguments of their opponents, as he had done, they describe the benefits that, in their opinion, accrue to sincere participants in *majalis-i sama'* (musical gatherings).

Fourth, at the theoretical level, the sole but significant innovation of Indian writers is their stress on empathetic ecstasy as a normative, essential aspect of *sama'*. For the Chishtis, every seeker on the path of *tasawwuf* was obliged to experience empathetic ecstasy prior to attaining the experiences of momentary ecstasy and ultimately durative ecstasy (finding the existence of God). The intellectual possibility of integrating empathetic ecstasy into *sama'* was already present in *al-Risala al-Qushayriyya.* Emotively, the two were associated with each other in Ghazali's *Bawariq.* But it remained for Nizam ad-Din and his successors to explicate the subtlety of empathetic ecstasy as the threshold experience incumbent on all Sufi aspirants. The subsequent doctrinal development was not uniform: Bakk, for example, subsumed empathetic ecstasy (as well as momentary ecstasy and durative ecstasy) under a new category, agitation (*hizza*), while Simnani linked it to dancing (*raqs*). However, both positions were consistent with the Chishti advocacy of *sama'* as the pride or adornment of their devotion to inner—and sometimes also outer—poverty.

Finally, the legacy of the Chishtis was cumulative. Each generation built on the experience and referred to the statements of past generations of renowned saints. Ahmad Ghazali, for instance, had cited the examples of ancient shaykhs as the unimpeachable, personal authority for his own participation in, and support of, *sama'*. The Chishti writers adopted a similar authority and extended it to include their own saints, especially those who were martyrs of love because of their attraction to verse chanted in musical assemblies.

The Indianization of *sama'* began with the Chishtis. Its tone, direction, and persistence were secured by the many talented Delhi saints who formed the inner circle of Nizam ad-Din's entourage. Their writings mirrored the influence that the early Chishti attitudes were to have not only on their own devotees but also on Indo-Muslim society as a whole, including the contemporary Suhrawardiyya and later Sufi or-

ders such as the Qadiriyya and Firdawsiyya.[77] It is a signpost of the Chishtis' success that among Indian Muslims the wholesale rejection of *sama'* was not voiced—either as a theoretical desideratum or a practical requirement—till the advent of the Mujaddidiyya Naqshbandiyya in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

But even faced with the challenge of the Mujaddidiyya, the Chishti emphasis on *sama'* and its importance found new advocates. The Chishtis also imposed new requirements to maintain the spiritual intent of *sama';* none was more important than the moral training and disposition of those who performed at *sama'* sessions. So important, in fact, was the probity of performers that it became the topic for a listing of qualifications for *sama'* in a twentieth-century manual intended for the use of *qawwali* singers.

## The Manners of the Musician

Sweet-voiced musician, sing something fresh and new;
Look for a wine that makes the heart fresh and new.

Where there are explicit manners for listeners, there also are manners for the speakers. In the time of the classical writings, the manners of the singer are not separately treated, but here and there passing references are made to the singers. From this it appears that in that time, there was no such necessity for rules applying to singers. The singer was generally learned, spiritually sensitive, and stylistically expert, and they passed their time in association with pure and outstanding personalities, a single glance from whom could turn someone into a real human being. It is no wonder that in the beginning the Sufi singer was just a singer, and later on that same singer became the cause of the spiritual advancement in the Sufis. All authoritative opinion agrees that one cannot be a singer without being in the company of Sufis. But since at the present time, the singer is generally illiterate and is excluded from the company of pure souls, therefore I will mention a number of necessary manners for singers. I hope that singers will try to benefit from this.

First, the singer should not be greedy. When the singer is reciting, he should be able to proceed without calculation. Whatever he receives he should regard as a blessing, and accept cheerfully, nor should any performance of his cause aversion or distaste. Nor should one first of all settle on the amount of payment, in the style of courtesans. This is highly objectionable, and it is in conflict with the honor of the singer. This is the custom of courtesans and low-caste musical performers, who first set the price for performing or singing, not even setting foot outside their house until the payment is made. But if the singer is invited out, it is no problem if he asks for travel expenses, rather it is the duty of the one who invites him to send adequate travel expenses in advance.

Second, the singer should not engage in questionable things. His habits and character should be good, and he should be bound by the rules of fasting and ritual prayer. While singing he sits in a state of ritual purity, dressed in clean and perfumed clothes, which are an external means toward spiritual blessings. One should avoid listening to the performance of a singer who indulges in intoxicants; otherwise, constriction and scattering will result instead of expansion and opening up. Shaykh Ruzbihan Baqli, in his *Book of Lights in the Unveiling of Secrets,* writes that the singer should be beautiful, since the knowers of God need three things while listening to music in order to give life to their hearts: sweet perfumes, a beautiful face, and a lovely voice. Some Sufis say that a sober singer is better than a beautiful one, since there is danger in that.

> Third, a singer must understand spiritual states and have a subtle sense of taste. With his gaze on the listeners, seeing which verses exert their power over which people, if one person goes into ecstasy from a particular verse, it is essential for him to repeat that verse until that person settles down from ecstasy. How many moments have been constricted and thoughts destroyed because of an ignorant singer! He does not know the spiritual state of someone who is in empathetic ecstasy, the kind of poetry that is appropriate for that spiritual state, or which direction will lead to his well-being and which direction to his destruction. These days, knowledgeable singers are few. Therefore while listening to music in company, if the singer makes an error, he should be made aware of it.
>
> Fourth, the enunciation and attention of the singer should be directed towards the people of taste and ecstasy, not towards the rich and powerful because of greedy hopes.
>
> Fifth, it is objectionable for a singer to engage in vocal exercises or showing off his art. This does not mean he should have a bad voice or be a stranger to the art of music. He performs the words along with melody, thinking of the musical modes (*raga, ragini*) and their rhythms.
>
> Sixth and finally, it is necessary to consider the order of presentation of subjects. One begins with praise of God and adoration of the Prophet. At the end, one recites the unity of God. It is difficult to set other moods after reciting the unity of God.[78]

This last directive makes clear how thin the line is between *zikr* and *sama'*. Together they have been both a challenge and an opportunity for Chishti adepts in every generation. While there are many dimensions to Chishti spirituality, it becomes clear when we consider how the Chishtis defined themselves as Sufi masters that both meditation and listening to music were emblematic of the great masters of the Chishti fold, and it is to their biographies that we next turn.

# Chapter Three

# The Art of Ancestry

## Why Hagiography?

We talk about genealogies because Sufi authors themselves do. They do so because to reiterate and retrieve and conjure a spiritual line that links the current generation to earlier generations is central to defining identity. The key link is always through the Sufi masters, the spiritual giants, who define each generation. Genealogies serialized become biographies, and in the hands of Sufi authors, biographies often become hagiographies—the lives of holy exemplars.

Even nowadays, after the partition of colonial India into the Muslim state of Pakistan and the nominally secular state of India, an aggressive retrieval of memory has led to numerous translations of old hagiographies from Persian into Urdu in both Pakistan and India.[1] It is a postmodern, premodern move that many "moderns" find odd, if not objectionable. Sufi masters, along with their Muslim disciples and Muslim followers, continue to accept what are now regarded, in a post-Galilean and post-Cartesian worldview, as old styles of reasoning. They show a preference for "textual exegesis, cosmic analogies and above all appeals to authority, scriptural and hierarchical [and also] genealogical, which is to say time-sanctioned."[2]

Genealogical authority within Islam goes back to the pre-Muslim era, and to Arab clan kinship practices. Modified in referents, it persists as a major index of both identity and legitimacy. A noted scholar once remarked that "the significance of genealogies, according to which the legitimacy of a particular clan or chief [or brotherhood] is authenticated, points to the perpetual continuity of the past in the present."[3] This trait of pre-Islamic Arabia still holds as an organizing principle in Sufism.

Pride of descent is strong among Sufi masters, who carry in their heads long and complicated genealogies. The authority of the past is made relevant by being personified and symbolized in spiritual figures of authority who can claim descent from an illustrious ancestry. Authority of the past, emphatically yet tacitly expressed in the genealogies, is as natural to a Sufi master or devotee as is the physical existence of his father and mother. Each implies and reinforces the other.

What is needed is nothing less than a reorientation to the past if we are to understand authority in general and genealogical authority in particular among the Chishtis and other brotherhoods. We need to be able to understand the internal

Chishti vision of history, while employing categories that allow us to step outside it and view it from the perspective of the global history of religions.

One can start by taking a critical approach to hagiography in reading the biographies of the saints of this movement. The biographical literature in Persian on the history of Sufism is massive to the point of being almost overwhelming. What is at first even more surprising is that more Persian Sufi hagiographical literature was produced in India than in all of Persia and Central Asia combined. This great quantity of books has had a peculiar result. By far the majority of English-language writing on the history of Sufism in India is of a biographical or historical character. But the spell of hagiography, with its powerful evocation of the virtuous and ideal life, is so strong that few writers have been able to escape its influence altogether. That is to say, most of the supposedly scholarly literature on eminent Sufis ends up adopting the same rhetorical style of presentation employed by devotees.

Yet, while we need to be able to appreciate the stories of the saints, we should distance ourselves from them by comparison and analysis. The tension between our outsider point of view and the insider's vision provides one of the most important dynamics in the understanding of this kind of religious phenomenon. Flattening out either one of these poles results in either advocacy or reductionism.

Marc Bloch once observed that religious history has been muddled by the confusion between origins and beginnings.[4] Origins reflect the ideal vision of a new moment, while beginnings are the record of its actual occurrence. Bloch wanted to emphasize beginnings and downplay origins. With respect to Sufism, neither beginnings nor origins can be ignored. Yet they also cannot be conflated; they serve different purposes. Beginning moments, together with their actors and stories, provide a frame narrative for the curious inquirer, while the story of origins offers sources of motivation for the involved and engaged.

Unfortunately, too much of Euro-American scholarship on Sufism has focused on beginnings.[5] Influences and borrowings are accounted for, and Sufis labeled according to those whom they resemble, that is, antecedent others, whether Muslim or non-Muslim. In studies of Sufi hagiographical texts that stress beginnings, two approaches predominate. Both embrace, even as they perpetuate, an outdated style of intellectual history, the goal of which is to press Sufi narratives into the service of a narrowly positivist agenda, in which only scientifically determined facts are allowed entry. One approach takes historical data in general and Sufi biographies in particular as test cases for rules or methods. The real purpose of scholarship, their proponents argue, is to winnow the few pellets of truth lying beneath all the accumulated dross of legend and superstition concocted by overzealous hagiographers.[6] The other approach is to excavate and then array massive chunks of obscure information about little-known saints, on the assumption that once their story has been told "in their own words," the message of their quest for Truth will be self-evident.[7] What is ignored in both approaches is what one scholar has stressed as crucial, that "a fact is a pertinent fact only with respect to a frame of reference involving questions that we pose to the past. . . . It is the ability to pose the 'right' questions that distinguishes productive scholarship."[8]

With reference to the origins of Chishti Sufism, the right questions are not easily posed. They occupy a penumbral zone between this time and former times. They require attention to origins in order to understand beginnings. For even though beginnings do have to be accounted for apart from origins, in practice the two invariably commingle. To trace the multiple histories of Chishti Sufism, each historian must en-

gage in a struggle with both. The exclusive quest for beginnings is wrongheaded because it presumes that beginnings matter and origins do not. The former are deemed to be clear and "factual," the latter muddled and "legendary." Yet to isolate origins from beginnings is equally futile; it makes of origins a timeless myth marked by human names yet unshaped either by human initiatives or by unforeseen social circumstances. The history of Chishti Sufism demands something more; it demands attention to both its historical beginnings and its transhistorical origins.

What then is the "right" question about genealogy? In our case, the first question is to ask how Sufi authors themselves viewed their task. How did Sufi hagiographers in various historical periods recall the formation of the Chishtiyya as a brotherhood dedicated to preserving the Divine Trust, without which neither existence nor their own lives could have meaning?

## Two Strands of Indo-Persian Sufi Hagiography: ʿAbd al-Haqq and Dara Shikuh

The question opens up a view of the Muslim past as interpreted and reinterpreted through spiritual exemplars. But it is not a uniform, homogeneous past that offers a cornucopia of equivalent figures. While all were Muslim, not all excelled on the Path. Some did not even pursue the Path, and some pursued more than one Path. The hagiographers had to make choices about how they presumed to recall and represent certain figures from the Muslim past to their readers. Were the exemplars whom they cited and about whom they wrote only saints to people of bygone eras, or were they noble persons esteemed by all Muslims? Wadad al-Qadi, after surveying the entire range of Islamic hagiographical dictionaries written in Arabic, noted about Sufi biographies:

> The first book we have of this genre, al-Sulami's (d. 412/1021) *Tabaqat al-sufiyya,* . . . [displays] a certain desire for "historicizing" Sufism. The biographies in the book are arranged chronologically, beginning with the earliest Sufi (al-Fuzayl ibn ʿIyaz) and ending with contemporary Sufis (the last one is Abu ʿAbd Allah al-Dinawari). . . . And the same principles are noted in some of the following dictionaries, such as al-Qushayri's (d. 465/1072) *al-Risala al-qushayriyya.* When, however, one reaches the work of Abu Nuʿaym al-Isfahani (d. 430/1038) in his *Hilyat al-awliya,* the situation changes completely. There, almost all the great figures of Islam who have been known for their outstanding piety or great learning are considered *awliya'* [saints] just like the Sufis. Thus, the biography of the Companion ʿUmar ibn al-Khattab stands side by side in the book with that of the Follower al-Hasan al-Basri, the jurist al-Shafiʿi, and the Sufi al-Junayd. The underlying assumption of the author is further strengthened by lengthy citations from the words/works of all those people, giving credibility to the criterion used.[9]

The same double option—to limit oneself to Sufi exemplars or to include all pious Muslim "heroes"—is present in the Persian and Indo-Persian hagiographical tradition, and without understanding the tradition as a whole, one can not understand how it affects the picture we have today of the Chishtiyya. It was ʿAbd Allah Ansari (d. 1089) who first expanded Sulami's *Tabaqat al-Sufiyya* (Generations of the Sufis) to include Persian-speaking saints. Four centuries later Jami in his massive *Nafahat al-uns,*

(Breezes of Intimacy, completed in 1477), enlarged Ansari's *Tabaqat* even further while embellishing its Persian style. What resulted was the classic Persian hagiography of Sufi and Sufi-affiliated saintly figures. Jami begins with a minor figure, Hashim as-Sufi, and 566 entries later concludes with another minor figure of the generation preceding his own, Mir Sayyid Qasim Tabrizi (d. 1433). He adds entries on 13 Persian Sufi poets and 34 on women saints.

The classical tradition of Sulami/Ansari/Jami, which examines only Sufi saints and Sufi poets, is continued in Indo-Persian. Its premier pre-Mughal exponent is the Suhrawardi adept Shaykh Jamali (d. 1536): In *Siyar al-'arifin* (Lives of the Gnostics) he offers a wealth of information about 13 major Chishti and Suhrawardi saints of the Delhi Sultanate. Jamali is followed in the Mughal period by the Qadiri loyalist Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawi: His *Akhbar al-akhyar* (Tales of the Great Ones), though limited to entries on saints, depicts over 260 Sufi exemplars from the Chishti, Suhrawardi, Firdawsi, Shattari, and Qalandari orders, and also, of course, the Qadiri order. A short appendix includes 14 pious women, all of Indian extraction. 'Abd al-Haqq's is a saint's hagiographical dictionary intended for the edification of all those who either pursue the Path or admire those who do. It was often emulated in later generations.[10]

But the second option for writing hagiographies, expanding to include all Muslim heroes, is also broached: Though seldom evident in Persian, it attracted some major hagiographers in the high period of Indo-Persian culture, particularly during the reign of the great Mughals. That option required the hagiographer to write not only about saints and poets but also about all the formative personalities who have helped to forge a distinct galaxy of Persian spiritual luminaries, with their own repertoire of attributes, skills, and paradoxes as saints.[11] Among the most famous hagiographies deploying this approach is the Mughal prince Dara Shikuh's *Safinat al-awliya'* (The Ship of Saints), completed in 1640, when he was only twenty-five years old. Though hailed as "a standard work of reference" on the Sufi brotherhoods extant in seventeenth-century Mughal India,[12] *Safinat al-awliya'* in fact offers only fragmentary biographical resumés of some 400 saints, both Indian and non-Indian, many of them mined from Jami. Preceding his account are other biographies of Muslim notables, beginning with the Prophet Muhammad, the first four caliphs, the eleven imams (successors to the fourth caliph, 'Ali), and the four founders of Sunni legal schools. The significance of non-Indian, non-Sufi entries is evident in the concluding section on "wise, virtuous, perfected and united" women. It begins with the Prophet's wives, then depicts his daughters before turning to women saints. In effect, claims Dara Shikuh, the legitimacy of the Path he pursues is affirmed by the most esteemed and lauded exemplars from the foundational period of Islam, both men and women. He tries to map his own beginnings as a Qadiri adept through an appeal to the origins of Islam as a historical movement. Fascinated with the miraculous, he nonetheless takes account of real events. "For example," notes Perwaiz Hayat, "he did not accept the age of Salman or the Prophet Muhammad cited in the traditional accounts. He narrates different sources, but accepts that account which for him seems to be nearer to historical fact. He was also interested in providing as complete an account of the *awliya* [saints] as possible: he tried his best to furnish birth dates, death dates and the places of the tombs of every *wali* [saint]."[13]

Yet Dara Shikuh's apparent concern for historical accuracy in *Safinat al-awliya'*, like his appeal to Muslim "heroes" from the seventh and eighth centuries, is a mask

for his overriding goal: not only to affirm 'Abd al-Qadir Jilani as the foremost Sufi exemplar and the Qadiriyya as the paramount Sufi brotherhood, but also to undergird his own authority vis-à-vis rival claims to Qadiri spirituality. *Safinat al-awliya'* was not the first Indo-Persian biographical dictionary written by a Qadiri. Dara was preceded by the formidable scholar of *hadith,* himself a Qadiri adept, Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawi (d. 1642). 'Abd al-Haqq's *Akhbar al-akhyar,* completed in 1618, had already gained considerable fame by 1640, and Dara Shikuh models many of his own entries on Indian saints in *Safinat al-awliya'* after the longer, fuller entries of *Akhbar al-akhyar.* Yet in presenting the Qadiriyya, Dara bypasses the lineage traced by 'Abd al-Haqq, acknowledging only that line of Qadiri affiliation traceable through 'Abd al-Qadir II to Abd Allah Bhiti to Miyan Mir (d. 1635) and then to his own preceptor, Mulla Shah (d. 1660).

The significance of the Islamic past for Dara Shikuh is functional: It affirms his status as a Qadiri adept. Giants of Persian Sufism like 'Ala' ad-Dawla Simnani and Jalal ad-Din Rumi, while mentioned, are accorded only half a page devoted mostly to biographical, travel, and literary data. Their inclusion affirms Dara Shikuh's awareness of the long tradition in which he stood, but their sole purpose in *Safinat al-awliya'* is to provide a backdrop for the stage onto which he places as central exhibit the Qadiriyya, especially his own immediate spiritual mentors.

## Chishtis and Suhrawardis as Spiritual Equivalents: Shah Mina

The lens of hagiography can also be turned in the opposite direction. Instead of attempting to capture much or all of history, certain hagiographers focused on a single saint, whose importance was then clarified by his linkage to one or more lineages. A good example of one such saintly subject is the fifteenth-century master Shah Mina of Lucknow. Hagiographers of Shah Mina (d. 1465) claim as his inheritance two major branches of Indo-Persian Sufi filiation, one through the Chishtis going back to Ibrahim ibn Adham, the other through the Suhrawardis going back to Junayd. Thus Shah Mina is Chishti, Suhrawardi, and more. He acquires added luster through a connection with the elusive and eccentric saint Shah Madar, who is supposed to have sent him a disciple named Atish-Pargala ("Compass of Fire") with a prayer carpet.[14]

The complexity of Shah Mina in part derives from different hagiographical approaches to his memory and legacy. There are two contrasting narratives of Shah Mina, one dealing with him as "just another Chishti master" and the other presenting him as the foremost paragon of spirituality in his age. In the first account, 'Abd al-Haqq locates Shah Mina in relation to the galaxy of the saints of the Mughal era and places him neatly into accepted Sufi lineages as a model ascetic. The second account, written in the nineteenth century by a custodian of the shrine of Shah Mina, Irtida 'Ali Khan, uses every trope of hagiography and every imaginable religious source of authority to provide an overwhelming set of credentials for the saint. The one by 'Abd al-Haqq is very brief; Irtida 'Ali Khan's is much more developed, and also more ornate.

The contrasts between these two accounts are striking, especially when one considers the popular hagiographical tradition that is not reflected, or that is at best only distantly echoed, in these two learned and literate presentations. Popular lore has

made Shah Mina into a miracle worker whose exploits form part of a widely repeated pattern of saintly charisma, in which a local saint, riding on a tiger and wielding a poisonous snake like a whip, is defeated by the superior holiness of a saint who rides on a moving wall. Variations of this story are found in western Asia (Hajji Bektash, the Ahl-i Haqq of Kurdistan), as well as in Tibetan and Hindu versions. Martin van Bruinessen suggests that this story initially represented the triumph of literate and scripturally based religion over raw antinomian charisma, although in later versions the conflict is transformed into a cooperation projecting the compatibility of diverse forms of spirituality.[15] This interpretation would seem to be borne out by the nearly complete suppression of the miracle contest from the literary accounts of Shah Mina. In popular lore, preserved in currently available prints, Shah Mina is depicted as sitting on the moving wall while the saint on the tiger with the snake is none other than Shah Madar. In our literary hagiographies, the only remaining trace of this story is the wall on which Shah Mina performs his rigorous asceticism.

## TWO ACCOUNTS OF SHAH MINA'S LIFE

### *'Abd al-Haqq's Account*

Shaykh Mina was the possessor of sainthood and the patron saint of Lucknow; his name was Shaykh Muhammad. He had been nurtured since childhood in the shadow of the training and favor of Shaykh Qiwam ad-Din. After that he became a disciple of Shaykh Sarang, for whom he labored.

It is said that Shaykh Qiwam ad-Din had a son named Shaykh Muhammad, whom the Shaykh used to call Mina. In the dialect of that region "Mina" is a word that is used for the station of greatness and belovedness, that [in Hindi] we call "Miyan." This Shaykh Muhammad Mina, son of Shaykh Qiwam ad-Din, because of the dominance of desires that accompany the days of youth, decided to enter into the service of one of the kings of that time. Indeed, the kings of that time had more disciples than did his father [the shaykh]. His aspiration and petition were such that he received access to the company [of the king]. However, the Shaykh was deeply offended with regard to his son's state. No matter how much the son tried to fulfill his service to the Shaykh, the Shaykh was never pleased with him.

Finally the Shaykh requested that he never again return home. His son fell down at the Shaykh's feet and remained there until his offenses were forgiven. Yet he relapsed into his offensive behavior on the edges of the region of Nadirughar, and since it occurred amongst the people there it reached the ear of the blessed Shaykh. He said, "I do not wish that that failure should ever come into my presence again." From that day the boy became ill, and died.

There was a certain dervish by the name of Qutb ad-Din, who was especially honored in the exclusive service of Qiwam ad-Din. The Shaykh said to him, "I want you to become a son, your name will be Muhammad Mina, and you will receive the decree of favor in place of my own child." In this way Shaykh Mina came into existence, and became favored by the look of grace and compassion of the Shaykh, whom he raised in the place of his own child.

It is transmitted that on the first day that they sent him to school, upon the mention of "A, B . . ." he spoke of spiritual wisdom and divine realities, so that those present were astonished.

Shaykh Mina was often solitary and removed from the world, during which times he performed many intense mortifications. They say that he often went on pilgrimages to

Shaykh Sarang, and from there to the tomb of the Shaykh, back and forth. He would also wear wooden sandals, and at times would travel barefoot. The path led through musty wilderness and thorny ground.

He used to spend nights sitting upon a wall, awake. If sleep overcame him he would fall to the ground. When he sat upon the ground, he would spread thorns all around him so that if sleep came upon him he would fall upon the thorns and awaken. Twice each winter he would remain naked and soak himself with water. He used to sit in the secluded precinct of Shaykh Qiwam ad-Din and keep awake.

His tomb is in Lucknow, blessings be upon him. He died in the year 884 A.H. [c. 1479 C.E.][16]

### *Irtida 'Ali Khan's Account*

Savior of all creatures, Axis of the World (*qutb*), the revered master Shaykh Muhammad, known as Shaykh Mina (may God prolong his blessings in us) was born a saint; it is well known that during the pregnancy of his honorable mother, people heard *zikr* and Qur'an recitation coming from her belly. They were astonished. When nursing during the month of fasting, he did not drink milk during the day. Through his entire infancy he would not drink milk from his mother unless she had performed ablutions. At night, when his noble mother put him to sleep beside her, each time she awoke she saw the revered master under his leopard skin in prostration. They say that before the birth of Shaykh Mina, his saintly uncle, the revered master Shaykh Qiwam ad-Din (may God sanctify his secret), gave the glad tidings: "In the house of my brother Shaykh Qutb ad-Din a baby will be born, who will be the candle of our household, and our name will shine forth because of him." When the news of the noble birth reached the blessed ears of the Shaykh, he arrived and said in Hindi, "Come, my little bird [*mynah*]." Therefore his nickname became Shaykh Mina, and his name was Shaykh Muhammad.

It is reported by his grandfather that when Shaykh Mina was two or three years old, he said, "Give me those sparrows that are flying around me." So the grandfather said, "Sparrows, Shaykh Mina summons you!" They came and alighted facing the revered master, and they were unable to fly away until he gave them permission to leave.

When at five years he went to school, the teacher said, "Say 'A.'" And he said, "A." Then the teacher said, "Say 'B.'" And he said, "Why should I be squint-eyed?" In that word he made clear so much truth and gnosis that the teacher and those others present lost their senses. When the teacher found out that he was a born saint, after that he didn't try very hard to teach him, but considered his attendance at the school to be a great honor. When he arrived at school, he would close his eyes and remain occupied in *zikr.* At the end of the day he would become aware of the noise of the children leaving. Then he would say goodbye to the teacher, and go home.

Until the age of ten, he remained under the shade of the training and mercy of the revered master Shaykh Qiwam ad-Din. After that, from some of the disciples of the revered Sayyid Raju Qattal he received instruction in *zikr,* and became bound to this activity. Later in the presence of the second greatest Shaykh [the greatest was legal scholar Abu Hanifa], who had been one of the most famous of the *'ulama'* of his time, [Mina] explained the section on devotions from *The Commentary on the Wiqaya* [a famous work of the Hanafi school of Islamic law], in such detail and with such clear points that despite all the Shaykh's erudition, he had never heard the like before. With each problem he gained new insight. After Mina finished his discourse on devotions, the Shaykh said, "A different task has come before me, and I have no business with the study of religious practices." Shaykh Mina next read the whole of *'Awarif al-ma'arif* [a famous Sufi manual]. In a little while he became such that distinguished scholars inquired about the stages of the rational and traditional sciences from him.

When he reached the honorable age of twelve, he achieved the rank of Axis of the World (*qutb*). The revered master was recognized as the Axis of the World by Qazi Shihab ad-Din Atish Pargala, who lived in Chatla'i and was a disciple of Shah Badi' ad-Din Madar. The story goes as follows. The Qazi went with the intention of kissing his master's feet, and when he came to Lucknow many of the individuals there presented to him their needs. The Qazi wrote out all their petitions and took a companion with him, that they might let him go into the presence of his master. The revered Shaykh [Badi' ad-Din Madar] said, "Tell those with needs to return to the service of Shaykh Mina, who has taken on the duty of the Axis of the World, even though that revered one is still young, only twelve or thirteen years old." He explained the whole of the blessed *Hilya* [the devotional description of the Prophet Muhammad's appearance], and then he spoke, saying, "They know that I am the Axis of the World. But as for the people there, they have not yet received the news. Go convey my greetings and assist the needy, and give a woolen prayer carpet to Shaykh Mina as a gift from me." The prayer carpet remains in the possession of the descendants of the revered master Shaykh Ilah-diya.

The Qazi left from there and returned to Lucknow. He allowed the needy to travel along with him, and came into the presence of the Axis of the World. He greeted him and presented him the gift of the prayer carpet from his master. The revered master helped all [the needy], saying prayers and writing amulets for them. All except for one of them, who had come seeking a cure for his son, and who stood there petitioning continuously until it became late. When he repeated his entreaty once again, the Shaykh said, "Baba, go. Have patience. As for your son's cure, no matter how much I requested it from the divine court, it did no good. His life has been thus decreed." Then he recited a *dohra* [Hindi verse], the meaning of which was the following:

When the rope is loosed from above I can't tie it
When a friend incites enmity he breaks up friendship

In this way, his work progressed each day, until at the age of fifteen he entered the circle of discipleship of the revered master Shaykh Sarang. Despite having been given sainthood [as a baby], he underwent a degree of intense mortifications that were beyond human endurance. The revered master Shaykh Sa'd wrote that if ever sleep overcame the World-axis in the nights of winter, he would sometimes wet his shirt and his cap with cold water. He used to sit in the courtyard of the hospice of the revered master Shah Qiwam ad-Din, so that the intensity of the cold and the chilling wind would keep him from sleeping, and he passed the entire night in the remembrance of God.

Sometimes when they prepared warm water for ablutions, if his carnal soul took an amount of comfort from the warmth of the fire or a state of laziness overtook him, he would get up, leaving the warm water for the cold. Shaykh Mina performed the full ablution nightly, [although] it was not required [i.e., he neither ate, slept, nor had sex].

He spent nights occupied with the inverted prayer (*namaz-i ma'kus*). Sometimes he spread gravel on the ground and would sit upon it while in meditation, so that if sleep overcame him he would roll onto it and would wake up again. For as is well known, who can sleep upon gravel? Sometimes he would spend nights sitting up on a high wall, so that from fear of falling off the wall sleep would not come.

The majority of the time he spent continuously fasting, and he would remain in a 40-day retreat. When the retreat was almost complete, for the sake of a friend or a traveler he would eat food, breaking the fast. He would not say to him, "I am fasting," for his intention was not fame. Then once again he would start the retreat again from the beginning. Shaykh Sa'd said that in this way he spent periods of time unhurriedly, and would not actually complete the 40-day retreat until his carnal soul did not become proud with finishing it.

Shaykh Mina wore wooden sandals on his feet, and he would walk for eleven or twelve leagues in order to visit his master. In this way he put his carnal soul through hardship and harm. After all this, he became perfect and perfecting, and arrived at the light of reality.

With effort and pain people have arrived at a (high) place;
You ignorant one, where are you going to get by coddling your carnal soul?

The forbearance of the Shaykh is well known and famous, so much so that one day a barber became drunk on wine, and showered the Shaykh with abuse. The Shaykh responded to him with complete courtesy, offering his apologies. If an individual harmed him, he would apologize and with a perfect laugh he would pray for the person. Upon his blessed tongue he spoke this quatrain:

May God befriend all those who are my foes,
May all who hurt me gain increased repose.
May all who in my path place thorns from spite
Lead lives that flower like a thornless rose.[17]

In addition, a servant of the revered master [Shaykh Sa'd] wrote: "For twenty years I was in the presence of the Axis of the World. Whenever he got up or stood, I did not see him sit down. He always faced the direction of prayer sitting in the posture of ritual prayer. He never put on or removed his shoes except when facing the direction of prayer. He never ate anything that was desired, and he never wore a garment to satisfy his own desire. He used to say, 'Does a Sufi eat or drink to satisfy the desire of his carnal soul? Of course not, God forbid! He would not be a Sufi. He would be a crook in the religion of the Prophet (peace be upon him)!'"

It was his custom that no matter how much he performed ablutions, after an hour or two he would perform them again, and then would perform a double cycle of the ritual prayer of salutation. After the completion of ablutions again, he would fill a pot of water with the intention of the next ablution. At mealtime, and after a meal, he performed new ablutions. He used to say that food which is eaten with ablutions becomes active in the stomach praising God. After a rich meal, he would expel it. Light would increase upon light. He would never speak without ablutions, nor would he go to bed without them. Since he would not sleep without ablutions, he would not roll over from one side to the other without getting up and performing dry ablutions, and after that make preparations for ablutions with water.

He used to say that the basis of human essence is water and dust. With these two, one can put out the fire of seeking the world. There is also great hope that the fire of the next world will also be extinguished.

It is reported that Shaykh Sarang sent the revered master to the city to attend to a matter. He went there, and after attending to it he returned and came into his [master's] presence. The Shaykh said, "There was a Sufi there. Did you go visit him?" Shaykh Mina said, "No, I did not." Shaykh Sarang replied, "In the towns that you may visit, if there is a dervish there you must visit him." To which [Shaykh Mina] spontaneously uttered this verse:

All the town is full of beauties, and I am thinking about fish—
What can I do, for the evil eye does not harm the one who looks!

[Shaykh Mina continued,] "To me, the love of one's own shaykh is enough. I do not go flying off to another." At that moment Shaykh Sarang gave him the cloak of successorship to wear, and he also gave him permission to work (i.e., take disciples of his own).

It is reported that once a person who was traveling in the world died, but his head kept on moving, never quieting down. Each place they took his coffin, they asked the scholars and shaykhs there about this strange state of affairs. They could not find a satisfactory answer anywhere until they arrived in Lucknow, and came into the presence of the Axis of the World, seeking to shed light on this situation. Shaykh Mina explained that the man was nobody's disciple. He needed a cap and a [spiritual] lineage. He gave them the cap off of his blessed head, that they might put it on his head. He also wrote out a lineage, that they placed on the man's chest. As soon as the cap arrived on the head of the dead man it stopped moving and became still. Shaykh Mina said, "His head shook externally, but every head upon which the cap of masters does not rest shakes internally, and finds neither stillness nor tranquility."

The revered master Shaykh Sa'd related, "One day during the rainy season I received permission from the revered Axis of the World to pay respects to my parents and relatives. So I set out for Unnam, my hometown. Soon I arrived near the Mawhan river, but because of the flooding torrent and huge amounts of water I fell off my horse. At that moment, I thought of the aid-giving Axis of the World. At the moment that I thought of him, I saw him present by my side. He threw me up to the surface of the water where others were swimming who knew how to swim, and they kept me afloat with them."

[Sa'd continued], "Another time I came down with a burning fever, such that I did not have the power to sit nor stand. I sent word to Shaykh Mina about my condition. The Axis of the World heard about my state while he was busy dividing the food from the celebration of the anniversary of the death of the axis of the masters, Nasir ad-Din Chiragh-i Dihli. From the bread soaked in butter and sugar that happened to be at the assembly, he sent me one round piece, commanding that I eat the whole thing. Though I did not have the endurance to eat even a single morsel, as ordered I ate the entire prescribed amount and fell asleep. The moment that I woke up, I found myself returned to perfect health." And there are other miracles and powers of his, such that they exceed the range of what can be written.

He has an entirely pure spirit,
unconnected to dust or water.
His eyes are closed to existence and nonexistence,
his very being remote from any reproach.
Annihilated from the self, and with the friend abiding,
stranger from the body, joining the soul.
Joined to the Truth and unaware of self,
"they do not [even] know their own hair."

The revered master was both an ascetic and present with God, and he honored two people with the gift of the cloak of succession. One of them was the revered master Shaykh Sa'd. The other was Shaykh Qutb ad-Din, the son of his brother, who also was the owner of the carpet. The death of the Axis of the World was on the 23rd of Safar, in the year 884 A.H. [1479 C.E.]. His shrine is in the region of Lucknow, the pilgrimage destination of both Sufis and common folk. A great saint once said:

He who wants his eyes to see
Should make an ointment from the dust of the door of Mina![18]

The major importance of the above account is, first of all, its extraordinary detail, differing in tone and content from the *Akhbar al-akhyar* narrative, even in matters such as the meaning of the saint's name. The common elements are limited to the

story of the adoption of Shah Mina, his miraculous knowledge exhibited at elementary school, and the brief reference to the wall as the site of his ascetic practice. ʿAbd al-Haqq's only distinctive contribution is the extraordinarily negative portrayal of courtly life as the opposite of the spiritual path, powerfully illustrated by the death of the original son of Qiwam ad-Din due to his father's curse. The suggestive substitution of a second, worthier son for the errant one who died directly parallels the murder of the mischievous son of believers by Khizr in the Qur'an (18:74, 80–81). Irtida ʿAli Khan's account portrays Shah Mina as a saint from infancy, who performs miracles with birds reminiscent of those ascribed to Jesus in the Qur'an. In addition, however, he is portrayed as a master of the scholarship of Islamic law as well as Sufism, and his ascetic and ritual perfection is confirmed by the recognition bestowed upon him by saints such as Shah Madar and Shaykh Sarang, all of which is enhanced by references to the norms of Islamic piety. The curious concluding story of the restless head seems to indicate that spiritual initiation is a necessity beyond the grave, in death as well as in life. It is doubtless the same logic of necessity that dictated the numerous confirmations of Shah Mina's authority, and it is these confirmations that constitute the main theme of this hagiographical account.

Beyond these hagiographical themes, however, this single saint becomes the locus of a distinctive institutional line of spirituality, combining Chishti, Suhrawardi, and Madari spiritual filiations. Shah Mina's own master was Qiwam ad-Din (d. 1436); his successor was Saʿd ad-Din Khayrabadi (d. 1580). The latter was not even deemed worthy of inclusion in ʿAbd al-Haqq's book, *Akhbar al-akhyar,* yet all three are profiled in another local hagiography, a series of short saintly biographies composed in 1607 under the title *Tuhfat al-suʿada* (The Gift of the Felicitous Ones).[19] Saʿd ad-Din is said to have finished compiling his master's discourses under the title *Malfuzat-i Shah Mina* "in the style of *Khizana-yi Jalali*" (that is, in the style of a Suhrawardi *malfuzat* text of Jalal ad-Din Bukhari, *The Jalalian Treasury*). Saʿd ad-Din is best known for his scholarship, especially a rare commentary on the metaphysical masterwork of Ibn ʿArabi, *al-Futuhat al-Makkiyya* (Meccan Revelations), while Qiwam ad-Din is best known for his spiritual initiation, as a Chishti through Chiragh-i Dihli, and as a Suhrawardi through Jalal ad-Din Bukhari (d. 1383). Neither Saʿd ad-Din nor Qiwam ad-Din would be remembered, however, were it not for Shah Mina. It is the latter saint's close connection to Lucknow that led a subsequent Lakhnawi notable, Muhammad Irtida ʿAli Khan (d. 1836) to produce the *Fawa'id-i Saʿdiyya* (Morals of Saʿd), quoted above as the fullest version of Shah Mina's life.[20]

Shah Mina is important also for another reason: The line from Shah Mina resurfaces in the nineteenth century in the figure of Hafiz Sayyid Muhammad ʿAli Khayrabadi, marking the expansion of the Nizami branch of Chishti Sufism through disciples of Shaykh Sulayman Taunsawi in the upper Punjab. Khayrabadi, a native of the same suburb of Lucknow as his spiritual predecessor, became one of the major successors of Shaykh Sulayman. In turn, he developed his own pattern of spiritual discipline by going to meditate at tombs of Chishti Sufi masters from the first cycle, beginning with Qutb ad-Din in Delhi, then Muʿin ad-Din in Ajmer, and Farid ad-Din in Pakpattan. Khayrabadi included a stay at the tomb of Shah Mina in Lucknow before returning to the living master, Shaykh Sulayman in Taunsa.[21] Thus Shah Mina, despite his multiple initiatic connections amplified in hagiographical writing, himself becomes a new anchor for subsequent generations of Chishti adepts.

## THE CHISHTI "POLE" DEFINING EACH GENERATION: 'ABD AL-RAHMAN CHISHTI

Shah Mina's position in hagiographical writing stands out as much for its regional emphasis as for its connection to Chishti ideals. Other writings, however, are much blunter about advocating the distinctive benefits of Chishti spirituality. While hagiographies like 'Abd al-Haqq's and Dara Shikuh's attempt to be inclusive of multiple traditions, others prioritize one *silsila,* in this case the Chishtiyya. Just as 'Abd al-Haqq included diversely affiliated heroes, Ashraf Jahangir Simnani did not hesitate to privilege the Chishtis above all others both in his letters and in his discourses. The latter, entitled *Lata'if-i Ashrafi,* were compiled by his disciple Nizam ad-Din Yamani between 1350 and 1378 C.E. *Lata'if-i Ashrafi* details a series of multiple lineages, 14 in all, 5 through 'Abd al-Wahid ibn Zayd and 9 through Habib 'Ajami. Although both sides ultimately derive from the Prophet Muhammad through 'Ali and Hasan al-Basri, the 5 traced to Ibn Zayd include the Zaydis, Iyazis, Adhamis, Hubayris, and Chishtis, but of these only the Chishtis are historical. The rest resemble the list of ten acceptable Sufi schools or teachings compiled by Hujwiri in the eleventh century, which he acknowledged was a theoretical construct based on individual masters, not a current institutional reality.[22] Descending from the Habibi line are Tayfuris, Karkhis, Saqatis, Junaydis, Tusis, Kazarunis, Firdawsis, and Suhrawardis. Here too only the last four represent concrete historical lineages, the rest resembling the approved schools from Hujwiri's list. While there seems to be an equivalence between the Chishtis and Suhrawardis, the balance of spiritual favor is tipped toward the Chishti lineage because of the preeminence of Ibn Zayd.

Also of interest is Sayyid Ashraf's replication of the 14 family genealogy in one of his letters, with the important addition of a genealogy traced to the popular but enigmatic Shah Madar.[23] In later Indo-Persian hagiographies, the paradigm of "the 14 families" was the dominant taxonomy for understanding the ramification of Sufi orders. A court source like Abu al-Fazl in fact seems to be dependent on the 14 families named in *Lata'if-i Ashrafi,* which he juxtaposes with Hujwiri's theoretical list of ten approved and two heretical orders in his own account of Sufism.[24]

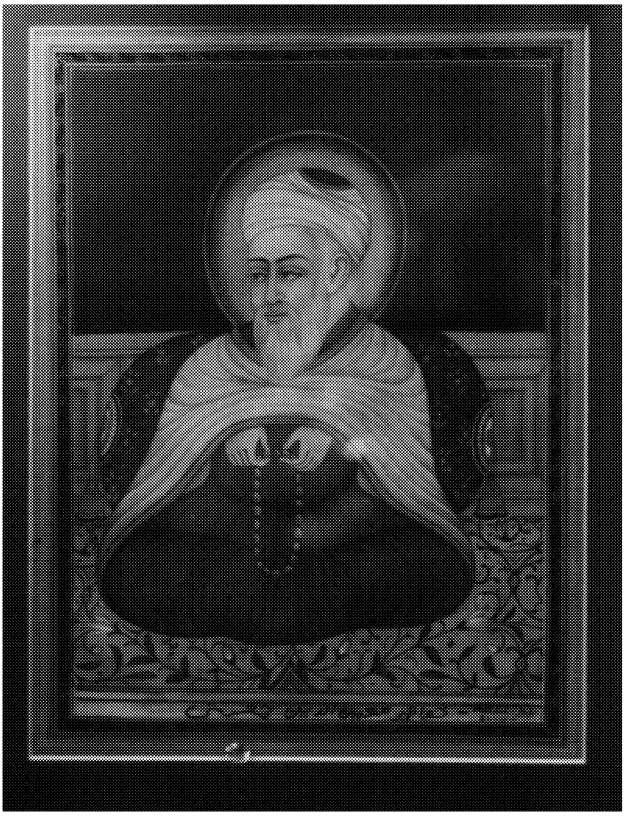
One of the more striking Chishti adepts of the late Mughal era was Shaykh 'Abd ar-Rahman (d. 1683). He was a scholar and saint as well as a prolific author. He wrote a large biographical dictionary, *Mir'at al-asrar* (Mirror of Secrets), that combines elements of both *Lata'if-i Ashrafi* and *Safinat al-awliya'.* Though it appears in several published catalogs, *Mir'at al-asrar* has never generated a fraction of the interest directed to *Safinat al-awliya';* the Persian text has never been published, though a good Urdu translation is available. Yet the two works merit comparison, if only because their authors were near contemporaries and also because they employed the same inclusive method of *tazkira* writing but with different objectives. In *Mir'at al-asrar,* after noting the 12 family clusters into which Sufi brotherhoods may be parceled, Shaykh 'Abd ar-Rahman reviews no fewer than 23 generations of spiritual exemplars. He begins his account of the primordial period by bracketing the Prophet Muhammad and his three immediate successors as the first generation, followed by 'Ali and the other 11 imams in the second generation. He continues in this manner till he reaches the tenth generation, which ends the primordial period, when the first Chishti master, Abu Ishaq Shami, is said to have lived and died in Syria (ca. 940). Ap-

pearing in the same generation with Shami were his contemporaries Shibli and Hallaj. In the formative period, each Chishti master is shadowed by other spiritual luminaries. Hence, by the time of the fourteenth generation, when Qutb ad-Din Mawdud (d. 1132) became the successor at Chisht, he counted among his contemporaries Muhammad and Ahmad Ghazali as well as 'Ayn al-Quzat Hamadani. Successive generations of the formative period boasted still more illustrious names. For instance, by the sixteenth generation, when the formative period ends and 'Usman Harwani (d. 1210) became the Chishti standard-bearer, he welcomed as fellow masters both 'Abd al-Qadir Jilani and Abu Madyan Maghribi.

The first Indian cycle highlights the spiritual preeminence of the Chishti master, who is attended by a galaxy of well-known non-Indian Sufis. Less important than the historical connection of these luminaries with their Chishti contemporary is his role as the *qutb,* or axis of the generation in which he lives. The first Indian cycle actually begins with two masters who are contemporaneous with one another, but to stress their successive importance 'Abd ar-Rahman lists them as leaders of the seventeenth and eighteenth generations, allied with different non-Chishti masters in each instance. Together, Mu'in ad-Din Chishti (d. 1236) and Qutb ad-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki (d. 1235) mark the first Indian cycle of the Chishtiyya, the period when the Chishti order was introduced into India and began to establish itself as the sole brotherhood linked exclusively with South Asia. From this point onward, the Chishtis become the linchpin of Sufism, and all other Sufis are viewed from their perspective.

Under Mu'in ad-Din Chishti (Figure 3.1), who leads the seventeenth generation, we find notable saints such as Najm ad-Din Kubra, Shihab ad-Din Suhrawardi, Muhyi ad-Din Ibn 'Arabi, Ruzbihan Baqli, Baha' ad-Din Walad, Sa'd ad-Din Hamuya, Sayf ad-Din Bakharzi, and Farid ad-Din 'Attar. Under Qutb ad-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki, who actually predeceased his master Mu'in ad-Din but is still regarded as heading a separate, eighteenth generation in the Indian Chishti lineage, we find equally illustrious saints, among them Jalal ad-Din Rumi, Sadr ad-Din Qunawi, Awhad ad-Din Kirmani, Muslih ad-Din Sa'di, and Rumi's son, Sultan Walad. The arbitrariness of these two clusters is evident. Not only are the death dates of the two Chishti masters nearly identical, but also there is a wide disparity in the death dates of the accompanying Persian masters; while Najm ad-Din expired in 1221, Sayf ad-Din, one of his disciples, is included in the same generation, though he did not expire till 1251. Moreover, both Jalal ad-Din Rumi and Sadr ad-Din Qunawi survived till the 1270s, while the supposedly contemporary Muslih ad-Din Sa'di died in 1292. Such temporal disparities, while historically erroneous, do not detract from 'Abd ar-Rahman's primary purpose: to retell the saga of Persian/Indo-Persian Sufism as a single drama shaped by the Unseen, benefiting humankind through the Chishti masters of each generation.

Yet during the second cycle of the Indian Chishtiyya, the Indo-Persian actors begin to overshadow their Persian predecessors. After the eighteenth generation, scarcely any non-Indian saints are mentioned, the few notable exceptions being 'Ala' ad-Dawla Simnani (d. 1336), Baha' ad-Din Naqshband (d. 1389), and 'Abd Allah Yafi'i (d. 1367) in the twenty-first generation, and Muhammad Parsa (d. 1421) and Sayyid Ni'mat Allah (d. 1431) in the twenty-second generation. The reason is not hard to discover: Shaykh 'Abd ar-Rahman is not only a Chishti master, he is also the incumbent of a shrine in Awadh, well to the east of Delhi in modern-day Uttar Pradesh. He traces his own spiritual lineage back through the Sabiri rather than the Nizami subbranch of Chishti Sufism.



3.1. Mu'in ad-Din Chishti. Modern portrait from Rajasthan, from the collection of Robert Dreyfus.

The Sabiri lineage, however, is beset with chronological difficulties that cloud its initial years. Its eponymous founder was one Shaykh 'Ali ibn Ahmad Sabir, who died in Kalyar, a town in northern Uttar Pradesh in 1291. He is said to have been the Shaykh 'Ali Sabir who is briefly mentioned in *Siyar al-awliya'* as a disciple of Shaykh Farid ad-Din Ganj-i Shakar. No less an authority than Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq, however, questions the conflation of the two names and persons. Even if it is accepted, there seems to be more than a generation between 'Ali Sabir's successor, Shams ad-Din Turk Panipati (d. 1318), and Shams ad-Din's successor, Jalal ad-Din Panipati (d. 1364). Further compromising the historical markings of the lineage is the fact that Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq (d. 1434), who succeeds Jalal ad-Din Panipati and is the biological as well as spiritual ancestor of 'Abd ar-Rahman, was not born until about 1350, so that he would have completed his spiritual training, and would have been named successor, by the age of fourteen.

'Abd ar-Rahman, rather than linger on these hiatuses and discrepancies, paints a colorful canvas of spirituality that includes all the major figures of the Nizami subbranch of the Chishtiyya as part of his own mystical legacy. Unlike Dara Shikuh's brief reminders, these are full, vivid accounts of both Persian and non-Persian saints

of earlier eras. The organization by successive *tabaqat,* or generations, despite the chronological discrepancies, draws attention to the preeminent Sufi authority (the "axis of the world," or *qutb*) of each age. From the perspective of 'Abd ar-Rahman's lineage, the *qutb* of each age, since the appearance of Shaykh 'Ali Sabir, had to be, and has been, a Sabiri Chishti master. Yet his is not a partisan view arguing for Sabiris over Nizamis, Chishtis over other Sufis, Sufis over other Muslims, or Muslims over Hindus. Instead he shows a wide acquaintance with classical Persian Sufism and an appreciation for the luster that its exemplars bring to his own generation and to his own place. While each generation is marked by a *qutb,* he is situated among, not apart from, other Sufi masters: Though he stands at their head, they add to his preeminence. By this ingenious artifice the author of *Mir'at al-asrar* accomplishes a double purpose: He makes clear how vital the connection to a Persian Sufi tradition was for all Sabiri Chishtis while at the same time conferring the highest spiritual rank on a handful of obscure saints, most of whom lived and toiled and died in northern India.

The reputation of 'Abd ar-Rahman does not rest on the *Mir'at al-asrar* alone. He is a curious figure who existed on the margins of several worlds. A member of the Indo-Turani elite, he lived in Agra for a while but chose to settle far east of Agra in the region of Lucknow. A skilled Persian prosodist, he nonetheless shows scant interest in Arabic, except for the usual familiar quotations. His real "second" language is Sanskrit, from which he does translations into Persian.[25] In a sense he seems to be as much the heir of the emperor Akbar (r. 1556–1605) as was Akbar's great-grandson, Dara Shikuh. It was Akbar who in 1582 made Persian the official government language of the Mughal empire. It was also Akbar who authorized and subsidized translations from Sanskrit into Persian. 'Abd ar-Rahman, like Akbar and also like Dara Shikuh, wanted to make Persian the bridge language between a legally based Islamic world beyond India and an Indian domain privileging local resources of myth, miracle, and magic. Many of 'Abd ar-Rahman's "heroes," such as Mu'in ad-Din Chishti, Gisu Daraz, Muhammad ibn Ja'far, Shah Madar, and the two Simnanis, 'Ala' ad-Dawla and Ashraf Jahangir, accent the visionary and the miraculous. They are also peripatetic—traveling, or claiming to have traveled, to many parts of the Islamic world. 'Abd ar-Rahman's worldview cannot be straitjacketed into one or another vision of Sufi metaphysics. It is more a kaleidoscope than a coherent system of thought. Praxis reigns over theory, anecdotes and poetry over metaphysical treatises.

To understand the origins of Chishti Sufism, one must look again at the figures who are most often linked to its beginnings. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Indo-Persian Chishti adepts saw themselves as parts of a chain that extended back to the earliest period of Islamic history, but which had its strongest links during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, when Persian Sufism crystallized its distinctive worldview. The major achievement of 'Abd ar-Rahman is to etch his Chishti loyalty through a visionary union with all past saints, of his own and parallel lineages. In the long entry on Farid ad-Din, for instance, he quotes from the Shattari exemplar, Muhammad Ghaws (d. 969/1562), who wrote about a dream in which he found himself in one of the highest celestial realms. There he came face-to-face with Farid ad-Din Ganj-i Shakar. Farid ad-Din explained that he shared that station with three other saints: Bayazid, Junayd, and Zu'n-Nun![26] By such visionary accounts 'Abd ar-Rahman seeks to confirm his own vision that pre-Indian and Indian exemplars merge in their common striving to become heirs to the blessing of the Prophet Muhammad.

'Abd ar-Rahman's hagiography underscores the extent to which all Indo-Persian Sufi biographers were dependent on a perception of Islamic origins in struggling to account for local beginnings. The tradition of Persian Sufism flourished in the subcontinent because it could be simultaneously cosmopolitan and local. There was no single story of ancestry but many stories with a varying cast of ancestors. The appropriation of saintly forebears, far from being uniform or incremental, depended on the narrator and his narrative strategies. The legacy of Indo-Persian Sufism was continually reshaped as both an extension and a replacement of Persian antecedents, and not only in each period, but also in each region and in each order. It was further reshaped to suit the temporal-spatial needs of particular adepts. In 'Abd ar-Rahman Chishti we witness how a learned member of the Indo-Turani elite privileged the legacy of Persian Sufism at the same time that he transformed that legacy into a local narrative. His paramount need was "to create a local sacred geography for Indian Islam."[27] By being local his message was not divorced from extra-Indian territorial referents but it did reconfigure them to exalt the tastes and affirm the spiritual authority of his own Indian masters. 'Abd ar-Rahman's, far from being a solitary quest, illumines how durable yet malleable is the legacy of Persian Sufism as mediated by Chishti biographers in a distinctively Indian direction.

Shaykh 'Abd ar-Rahman not only replicates the Delhi bias of Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq, as do almost all subsequent authors, but he also affirms the standard successorship of the five principal Chishti masters of the first cycle, even though there are other members of each generation, from Shaykh Qutb ad-Din on, with strong claims to be the "principal" successor to their common master. Perhaps of greater importance is the question of how Chishtis themselves wrestle with differences in lineage going back to the time of the Prophet Muhammad. Some of the subcurrents in that story suggest alternate readings of Chishti spirituality and its "legitimate" succession during the second and third cycles. One current comes from the time of the third cycle, from Shah Wali Allah, the noted reformer and Naqshbandi Sufi of the eighteenth century. Though he himself was initiated into the Chishti tradition and acknowledged that they had the largest following in India,[28] he challenged the Chishti construction of the primordial period—above all, the claim of a direct link to the Prophet through Hasan al-Basri's initiation by 'Ali. In his view, it seemed "historically implausible," since Hasan al-Basri's dates were 642–728, while 'Ali ruled as caliph from 656 to 661; that is, Hasan al-Basri would have to have been initiated as a teenager during 'Ali's caliphate.[29]

Earlier, during the second cycle, Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq had also revisited the historicity of this initiation, but had implicitly supported it, by noting that the Egyptian Shaykh Jalal ad-Din Suyuti, a fellow traditionist of high repute, "argued that Hasan Basri had been associated with 'Ali at one time or another . . . sufficient(ly long) to support the idea that he had learned *zikr* from 'Ali."[30] Also at the beginning of the third cycle, the eminent eighteenth-century Chishti master Maulana Fakhr ad-Din supported the argument of Suyuti. Citing it, he took exception to Shah Wali Allah's skepticism, and defended the chain of initiations through Hasan al-Basri as the foundation of Chishti genealogy and spiritual authenticity.

The outcome of this debate is not so decisive for our purposes as its existence: The relationship of Chishti masters to foundational moments of Islamic history had to be defended by their heirs at each stage in whichever cycle a scholar/master found himself answering critics/skeptics, especially when the critics had acknowledged reputations in Islamic sciences.

What is most important is that the major hagiographies, whatever their author's location or viewpoint, share an interest in confirming piety by fixing a series of generations prior to their own, and then telling the stories of individual Muslim "heroes" as the prologue to the central narrative of Sufism in general and the Chishtiyya in particular. Yet biographical literature is not only important for telling the story of masters generally and Chishti masters in particular, it is also important for setting expectations of what is and is not the prerequisite character sketch for Indo-Muslim sainthood. The stories do not discount individual variation and personal creativity, but at the same time none of them appears de novo, either factually or fictionally. The story portrays a pattern of sainthood that extends beyond one saint, one family, or even one brotherhood, in this case, the Chishtiyya.

Furthermore, the Chishti accounting of their own lineage goes back to multiple and cumulative sources: *Lata'if-i Ashrafi* is a Nizami Chishti source from the Sultanate period, followed two centuries later by *Mir'at al-asrar,* a Sabiri Chishti source dating from Mughal India. Both are then confirmed in the late colonial period by *Anwar al-ʿarifin* (Lights of the Gnostics), another Nizami Chishti work. There are many other similar works, but the basic narrative pattern and outcome of all of them, despite differences in affiliation, is remarkably consistent, only the spiritual claims are inflated over the centuries. Consider how *Anwar al-ʿarifin* tells the familiar story of Chishti piety, including the Chishtiyya as the 9th of the 14 ancient families, of whom 4 families are primordial: the Zaydiyya, the ʿIyaziyya, the Adhamiyya, the Hubayriyya, supplemented by the immortal prophet Khizr. Shaykh Mumshad ʿAlu Dinawari is a disciple of Hubayra Basri, who in turn is a disciple of both Ibrahim ibn Adham and Fuzayl ibn ʿIyaz, as well as Khizr. Thus the earliest Chishtis are not only linked to three of the "original" 14 families but also to Khizr. This adds a vertical dimension of spiritual authority to the horizontal dimension of the historical tradition. If that were not enough, they are further linked to the Shiʿi imams through the ʿIyaziyya connection, since Fuzayl ibn ʿIyaz is counted as a disciple of the fifth Shiʿi imam, Muhammad Baqir.

In all extant sources, the first generation of the Chishti lineage begins with the Prophet Muhammad, while the second is headed by ʿAli. The ensuing eight generations are given as follows: 3. Hasan Basri (d. 728), 4. Ibn Zayd (d. 792), 5. Fuzayl ibn ʿIyaz (d. 802), 6. Ibrahim ibn Adham (d. 777 or 779?), 7. Huzayfa al-Marʿashi (18 Shawwal: no year), 8. Hubayrah al-Basri (18 Shawwal: no year), 9. Mumshad ʿAlu Dinawari (14 Muharram: no year), 10. Abu Ishaq Shami Chishti (14 Rabiʿ II: no year). In the fullest accounts, the lineage continues as follows: 11. (Abu) Ahmad Chishti (d. 966), 12. Rukn ad-Din Abu Muhammad (d. 1020), 13. Nasir ad-Din Abu Ishaq Yusuf Chishti (d. 1067), 14. Mawdud Chishti (d. 1126), 15. Sharif Zandani (n.d.), 16. ʿUsman Harwani (d. 1211), 17. Muʿin ad-Din Chishti (d. 1236), 18. Qutb ad-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki (d. 1235), 19. Farid ad-Din Masʿud Ajodhani Ganj-i Shakar (d. 1265), 20. Nizam ad-Din Awliya' (d. 1325). While the pattern up to the tenth generation is much the same in most of these texts, the author of *Anwar al-ʿarifin* reduces the number of succeeding generations. The rhetorical urge for symmetry seems to have informed his choice for a shorter list of Chishti generations. He reckons but five exemplars as inhabitants of Chisht. They are: Abu Ishaq (no. 10 in the standard Chishti lineage, and the first to bear the epithet "Chishti"), followed by Abu Ahmad, Khwaja Yusuf, Khwaja Mawdud, and Khwaja ʿUsman Harwani (skipping nos. 12 and 15). Khwaja ʿUsman completes the pre-Indian Chisht resident

masters, and also prefigures their Indian successors, who happen to be five in number, from Mu'in ad-Din Chishti through to Nizam ad-Din's successor, Nasir ad-Din Chiragh-i Dihli. Both groups of five masters are characterized by the same traits: solitude (*zuhd*), discipline (*riyazat*), music (*sama'*), and a taste for God (*zawq*).

However one calculates generations in the Chishti family, the same formula becomes the model for later orders. Beginning with the Chishtiyya and the other four primordial orders (the Zaydiyya, the 'Iyaziyya, the Adhamiyya, the Hubayriyya), the remaining nine are the 'Ajamiyya, the Tayfuriyya, the Karkhiyya, the Saqatiyya, the Junaydiyya, the Kazaruniyya, the Tusiyya, the Suhrawardiyya, and the Firdawsiyya (Kubrawiyya). While the author of *Lata'if-i Ashrafi* stops at 14 orders, *Mir'at al-asrar* and *Anwar al-'arifin* extend that list to include 13 "later" historical orders that did not exist, or had not become prominent, during the fourteenth century. The full list, then, concludes as follows: the Qadiriyya, the Yasawiyya, the Naqshbandiyya, the Nuriyya, the Khadrawiyya, the Shattariyya, the Hasaniyya Bukhariyya, the Zahiriyya, the Ansariyya, the Safawiyya, the 'Aydarusiyya, the Qalandariyya, and the Madariyya. The value of genealogy for the Chishtis does not lie in facts, narrowly defined. Shadowy figures from the generations after the most prominent founders are not supplied with a death year at all, but are known only by a death date so that they may be ritually celebrated. The near-identical death dates of Mu'in ad-Din and Qutb ad-Din, as well as the startling gaps in the Sabiri Chishti genealogy, would perplex any conventional historian. But these criticisms do not undermine the importance of genealogy for the Chishtis, because what matters to the engaged inquirer is the ritual invocation of heroes who can be traced, even with gaps, back to the foundational period of Islamic spiritual reflection and practice, the time of the Prophet Muhammad and his companions and successors.

# Chapter Four

# The Chishti Masters

## Common Traits and Practices

The first Chishti shaykhs to establish their order in Hindustan (northern India) made a decisive shift from their Central Asian bearings, despite the continued appeal of that tradition for future generations. What are the primary characteristics of those early masters? Why did they become emblematic models for later generations? These are the questions that will concern us in the present chapter.

Certain social markings are peculiarly Islamic and remain integral to the concept of the ideal shaykh, even though individual shaykhs from time to time opted for alternate patterns of behavior. Above all, it is incumbent on Muslim males to marry, to produce children, and to care for a family. That obligation is hard to reconcile with the mandate to poverty, or at least restricted income, that characterized early Sufism. At the same time it contrasts with the image of the shaykh as one perpetually engaged in prayer and meditation as well as austerities. Yet perseverance in marriage is an essential to the masters as to other Muslims. Nor could they escape the obligation to perform the ritual duties of Islam. The cycle of five daily prayers and the occasional performance of pilgrimage to Arabia were the two most difficult requirements for saints; ecstasy cannot be easily regulated nor can the overland journey from Hindustan to the Arabian peninsula be undertaken unless there is a freedom of time and surplus of capital that only the well-to-do elite of Indo-Muslim society enjoyed. There are numerous ways, resulting in even more numerous stories, by which Sufis—from India and elsewhere—resolved these paradoxes, but the point is clear: They are uniquely Muslim paradoxes with which Indian Sufis had to wrestle and that were unknown to their Hindu counterparts, because they did not exist for Hindus.

The masters (*masha'ikh*) were as a rule presumed to be as learned as their scholarly contemporaries in the Islamic tradition, with one distinction: They were expected to know the essential or inner meaning of whatever question was raised or issue answered, while the scholars, that is, the *'ulama'*, could provide an answer that satisfied only the formal requirements of the situation. The expectation of scholarly competence did not inevitably lead to the writing of books, but at the least it

did result in the composition of prayers, almost always in Arabic, and the recitation of poetry, almost always in Persian, on the part of nearly all medieval Indian *masha'ikh.*

Hence in three critical respects (conjugal perseverance, adherence to Islamic ritual observances, and evidence of scholarly skills), the Sufi masters remained peculiarly, distinctively Islamic in India as well as in other medieval non-Arab regions (*'ajam*) of Islamdom.

The earliest Chishti *masha'ikh* of Hindustan exemplified the normative qualities of the Sufi master in both their proximity to and distance from the lifestyle of gurus, or Hindu holy men. In their upbringing, initiation, and signs of spiritual success, they functionally paralleled the gurus, though contextually the two groups pursued opposite spiritual goals. Moreover, the Chishti saints retained Islamic qualities that have no parallel in Hindu devotional life.

Mu'in ad-Din Ajmeri, Qutb ad-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki, Farid ad-Din Ganj-i Shakar, Nizam ad-Din Awliya', and Nasir ad-Din Chiragh-i-Dihli—these are the five human pillars on whom the Indian extension of the Chishti order was built. All but one were sayyids, i.e., they traced their biological ancestry back to the Prophet Muhammad. (Significantly, however, they preferred to be addressed by the title "shaykh" rather than "sayyid," emphasizing their spiritual status as masters rather than their illustrious ancestry.) All received a protracted, formal education and stressed its benefit for the formation of spiritual values even after they became Sufi masters. They either memorized the Qur'an or knew many of its passages by heart. They also acquired a thorough grounding in Muslim law (*fiqh*).

The major moment that led each of them to pursue the mystical path or to change the direction of their life's work was related to some external event or person. While we do not know how Mu'in ad-Din became a Sufi, it was in a dream that the Prophet appeared to him, directing that he go to India. Later, it was the personal magnetism of Mu'in ad-Din that prompted Qutb ad-Din to join the Chishti order in Baghdad and then follow his shaykh to India. The visit of Qutb ad-Din to Multan (a strategic commercial center in the Punjab) became the occasion for Farid ad- Din's pledge of allegiance to the Chishti master. Nizam ad-Din, in turn, developed a youthful attachment to his future *pir* when, at the age of twelve, he heard a *qawwal* (musician) sing songs in praise of Farid ad-Din. The songs inspired such an intense longing for the shaykh in his heart that he became emotionally aligned to him from that moment, though they did not actually meet until four years later when Nizam ad-Din was already a precocious sixteen-year-old. By contrast, Nasir ad-Din was forty-three years of age when he was initiated into the Chishti fold; it was only then, we are told, that he felt the need of a spiritual master and journeyed to Delhi to meet Nizam ad-Din, probably because the fame of the elderly Chishti saint had become widespread throughout Awadh (where Nasir ad-Din lived) as well as the rest of Hindustan.

In their spiritual disciplines, too, the early Chishtis reveal the peculiar paradoxes and tensions of Muslim mystics. The authentic biographical accounts produced by contemporary followers or later sympathizers abound in anecdotes extolling their self-willed poverty and lavish austerities. Nizam ad-Din and Nasir ad-Din were the only two to practice voluntary celibacy. Though they did not enjoin celibacy on their followers, some chose to follow their example. One senses also that they were less restricted than their saintly predecessors in their ability to dispossess themselves totally. To use the language of Sufis, they could renounce the world while remaining in it

(*tark-i dunya*) and practice complete reliance on God's will (*tawakkul*). Each of the first three Indian Chishti masters—Mu'in ad-Din, Qutb ad-Din, and Farid ad-Din—had families. Mu'in ad-Din married late in life, and was reportedly unhappy with the burden that domestic responsibilities placed on his spiritual routine. Qutb ad-Din was indifferent to his children. But above all, it is Farid ad-Din who poignantly attests to the tension peculiar to Muslim saints, the tension between bearing responsibility for one's family and abandoning all to God. His reputation for vigils, fasting, and penances extended back to his boyhood when he used to be regarded as "crazy" for the severity of his observances. Customarily he broke his fast by eating stale bread, though once he is alleged to have consumed a single seed of a pomegranate brought by Jalal ad-Din Tabrizi, with astonishing results. Farid ad-Din later refused land grants that were offered to him, and routinely gave away all money and other gifts brought to his lodge. As a consequence, his family is said to have literally faced starvation on numerous occasions. Once, we are told, one of his wives came to him and said: "O Khwaja, today a son of ours is at the point of death from starvation." "What can Mas'ud do?" replied the shaykh, bowing his head. "If it be the will of God and the boy departs from this world, tie a rope around his feet and throw him outside."[1]

The story is grim but probably exaggerated: Several of the saint's children did live to manhood and, in fact, were a credit to their ascetic father, whom they emulated in many respects. Nonetheless, the problem of a family is integral to the lives of Farid ad-Din and other *masha'ikh,* because they remain loyal to the tradition of Islam. The exceptions of Nizam ad-Din and Nasir ad-Din only underscore the constancy of the norm: Most shaykhs, like most Muslims, married; but the shaykhs, unlike their spiritual kin, had to maintain a personal regimen that with difficulty accommodated the stresses of family life.

Concerning the ritual observance of Islam, the shaykhs provide still another contrast to their guru counterparts, though they also exhibit certain deviations among themselves. The pilgrimage, for instance, is a major requirement incumbent on all healthy Muslim males to undertake at least once in their lifetime. Its universal scope—Muslims from everywhere come to Arabia—is balanced by its particularist focus: All come to Arabia and all use the Arabic language while participating in the liturgical remembrance of an Arab prophet. For Indian Sufis to be assimilated to the guru model, one would expect a relaxation of the mandate to pilgrimage. Such a relaxation does, in fact, take place but only temporarily and only among the Chishtis: While Mu'in ad-Din had undertaken the pilgrimage before coming to India, Qutb ad-Din, Farid ad-Din, Nizam ad-Din, and Nasir ad-Din all failed to fulfill this critical obligation of Islam. It must be quickly noted, however, that they espoused poverty and, therefore, were not technically able to go on the pilgrimage; at the same time they internalized the imagery of the pilgrimage, as did Sufis elsewhere, speaking of the true pilgrimage as a journey into the depths of the heart in search of God. They also exalted the rites of pilgrimage to the tombs of earlier saints, suggesting that such acts of homage bestowed spiritual merit equivalent to the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina.

While even a partial relaxation of the pilgrimage requirement suggests that Indian Sufis were less strict as Muslims than either their orthodox contemporaries or Sufis elsewhere, in their adherence to ritual and supererogatory prayers they were second to none. Numerous are the stories about their all-night vigils and the effect of these on themselves and others. Implicitly, for Indians as for other Sufis, there is a tension-inducing paradox between the demands of five daily prayers and the ecstatic states of

a Sufi who is continually at prayer, or so close to God as seemingly to be beyond prayer. The final days of Qutb ad-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki provide another example of how Sufis themselves resolved this paradox, as he emerged from ecstasy five times a day to perform prayers throughout the three days of his last *sama'* session.

The ecstasy normally attributed to the prayer and meditation of the Chishti masters is intense but controlled in comparison with the experience of other shaykhs as well as yogins. About Nizam ad-Din, for instance, one of his disciples writes:

> Once I saw my shaykh and master Nizam ad-Din in meditation. I used to go to see him frequently, but one time after entering his cell, I observed that he was sitting perfectly still; not a muscle moved on his face. His eyes were wide-open. I announced my presence, but he didn't seem to recognize me. "Who are you?" he asked. Having observed his condition, I was about to leave. Then he rubbed his eyes and recognized me. "Be seated," he said and began talking to me, but his eyes rolled as though he were in a drunken state. "What are your spiritual practises at home?" he asked. "Whatever has been laid down by my master," I replied. "Busy yourself with God," he said, and then added, "Always imagine yourself to be the least of God's creatures and say to yourself, 'I am sitting before God, before the Prophet and before my fellow man.'"[2]

The shaykh may also exercise miraculous gifts (*karamat*) during the period of ritual prayer. Recurrent is the ability of the shaykh to foresee events and to predict the actions of others, and Nizam ad-Din narrates one of the most famous such incidents, of Farid ad-Din while at prayer:

> One day Farid ad-Din offered his morning prayer and placed his head in prostration. . . . He used to spend some time in that position very often. Only I was present at the time. A man suddenly appeared and spoke so gruffly that the shaykh was disturbed in his devotions. While still prostrate with the garment spread over him, he asked, "Who is there?" "I am," I replied. "The man who has come," remarked the shaykh, "is he a Turk of medium size with slightly yellowish complexion?" I looked at the man; he was as the shaykh described him. "Yes, he is like this," I replied. "Is he wearing a chain around his waist?" inquired the shaykh. When I looked, I saw that he was. "Yes, he is," I replied. "Has he anything in his ears?" I looked at him and replied, "Yes, he has rings." Every time that I went to look at the man, his colour changed. "Tell him," the shaykh told me, "to go away before he is disgraced." The man took to his heels and disappeared.[3]

In contrast to Nizam ad-Din and Farid ad-Din, the bizarre, libertine masters (*bi-shar' masha'ikh*) are said to experience shamanistic forms of ecstasy, with attendant powers that resemble, if not in detail, in degree, the states of gurus. Consider, for instance, the description of a Hindu convert to Islam, Sufi Badhni, whose limbs appeared to separate from his body during prayer, or the graveyard antics of the alleged founder of the Qalandariyya, as depicted in the following passage from *Khayr al-majalis:*

> There was once an anonymous saint, into whose assembly a number of iron-clad dervishes [i.e., Haydaris] came one day. These people wore neither a gown nor a cloak, only their iron shackles and a blanket wrapped around their chest and a loin cloth. They had no worldly possessions. As they were leaving the saint's assembly, he remarked: "Their freedom is written all over them." Shaykh Jamal Savaji (the alleged founder of Qalandars) added: "We will be truly men when we are more clearly marked by Divine

favour than they are." It was such a blessed moment when he spoke these words that a spiritual state overcame him. He dedicated himself to complete renunciation so that even his beard weighed heavy on him. Shaving off his beard, he dressed himself in sackcloth and went to a graveyard. There he sat awestruck, with his heart and his eyes turned towards the heavens. People reported to the saint that such a state had taken hold of Mawlana Jamal ad-Din Savaji that he had shaved off his beard and gone to sit in a graveyard. The saint went there with his followers and saw a gaping face: the eyes which had been turned towards the sky were glazed. Then it is said that Mawlana Jamal ad-Din melted a piece of lead and put it into his mouth. "Praise be to God!" he exclaimed; "it has become like cold water." The *'ulama'* came to make an investigation. At that time Shaykh Jamal ad-Din had returned to his senses somewhat. "You have done something against the Law," pronounced the *'ulama',* "and you have cut off your beard." "Is it a beard you want?" retorted the Mawlana, and he drew his head down into his cloak and brought it out again. After this incident, all the other people left the graveyard; only Jamal ad-Din and the other saint remained.[4]

The details of this story may sound excessively miraculous in tone, yet they underscore the tension between the Law and the Path, the demands of Islamic tradition and the attraction of mystical pursuits, that persists in the Sufi tradition as it evolves in India.

Though the numerous anecdotes and actions later attributed to the great saints may involve historical distortions of their actual lives and teachings, the indigenous nonelite, who are their probable source, do not challenge or overturn the Islamic identity of the masters, which is firmly set forth by the migrant elite both in reports of their conversations and in hagiographies. It is the patterning of hagiographies, in particular, that fixes the memory of Chishti masters, both major and minor, both premodern and modern. What needs to be further examined is the way in which the self-image of the saint and the retrospective view of his followers elide, but do not concur, on the nature of the Path, especially the Chishti path.

Instead of reviewing the tensions that mark all biographical accounts of Chishti spirituality, we focus on three masters to accent both continuities and shifts in the literary legacy of the Chishtis: Nizam ad-Din Awliya', Ashraf Jahangir Simnani, and Sayyid Muhammad Zauqi Shah. Two of these three are from the first cycle of the Indian Chishtiyya. The accounts of Nizam ad-Din and Simnani are drawn from a single hagiography, *Akhbar al-akhyar,* written by the foremost North Indian hagiographer from the pre-Mughal and early Mughal period, Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlavi. Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq, though a Qadiri himself, was keen to underscore the extent to which all of Hindustan was under the protection of major Sufi masters, with the Chishtis having pride of place, at least for the first cycle and arguably for every cycle thereafter. 'Abd al-Haqq privileges the North Indian development of the Chishtiyya and sometimes neglects the regional subgroups that emerged under the Chishti banner.

Despite this elitist and regional bias, 'Abd al-Haqq has underscored the urban connectedness of the Chishtiyya, especially the location of Shaykh Nizam ad-Din in the Sultanate capital of Delhi. Nizam ad-Din projected an indigenous ethos for the Chishtis that none of the other orders could match. One scholar alludes to the circular nature of this process when he observes, "Leading Chishti shaykhs dispersed from Shaikh Nizam ad-Din's lodge to all parts of the empire and often enjoyed the patronage of provincial rulers (seeking to legitimate themselves both as Muslims and as

Indians). Conversely many young Indian-born Muslims journeyed from all over India to live in or near that shaykh's lodge, later to return to their native lands, where they would establish daughter Chishti lodges and enjoy the patronage of local rulers."[5] The point is that the Delhi bias of 'Abd al-Haqq, while it needs to be corrected in light of later history, accurately reflects the way that many of the early members of the Chishti order perceived themselves and their foundational history.

Yet the regional significance of our second subject, Simnani, underscores the extent to which the Delhi bias of 'Abd al-Haqq is expanded, rather than limited, by the early Chishti masters. Simnani can be considered either in relationship to the Delhi masters whom he counts as his guide or as the initiator of a new direction to Chishti spirituality in a provincial location that is only partially reflective of the capital city of the Delhi Sultanate.

The third of our Chishti biographical subjects, Zauqi Shah, lived in the twentieth century. He was remote in time but not in influence from both Nizam ad-Din and Simnani. His life story reveals the extent to which the older paradigm of Chishti spirituality persists through the colonial period to the present day.

In all three cases, we see patterns of spiritual leadership that exemplify enduring models of Chishti mastery and that permit us to consider saintliness as an index of shifting social and cultural norms, from medieval times to the present. The "golden age" of Chishti spirituality is a literary trope that should be balanced against what came after, juxtaposing the great saints of the past with contemporary Chishti masters. The biography of Zauqi Shah not only continues the lineage of his Chishti forebears; it also allows us to confront the past with the present while privileging neither.

## The Standard-Bearer for Chishti Spirituality: "The Beloved of God," Nizam ad-Din Awliya' (d. 1325)

If one saint from the earliest cycle may be singled out from the other early Chishti masters as "the foremost of all masters," the one who embodies traits that appear later in others, that saint is Shaykh Nizam ad-Din Awliya'. To choose him over the others reflects the sorting out of early Chishti spiritual aspirations, both within and beyond India. No one has better summarized this than Sayyid Muhammad ibn Ja'far Makki, who, in a dream vision, was informed by the immortal prophet Khizr that Nizam ad-Din and Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir Jilani (the famous saint of Baghdad and founder of the Qadiriyya) are the only saints who have ever attained the state of *mahbubiyyat*—being the beloved of God.[6]

The appearance of Sufi masters cannot be understood apart from the hieratic structuralization of spiritual power and authority that was developing in Central Asian and Middle Eastern as well as South Asian Islam. The features of the Sufi master presented in Indo-Muslim biographical literature could be replicated elsewhere; what is distinctly Indian about them is elusive, especially since the earliest literature is self-consciously Muslim and only by circumstance Indian.[7]

Two leading scholars of Indo-Islamic culture, Annemarie Schimmel and Simon Digby, have summarized the dominant features to be found in nearly every medieval Sufi shaykh. Schimmel lists twelve recurrent traits. There must be an epiphanic mo-

ment or ecstatic utterance that is identified as the threshold experience. The role of the mother in the formative years of education must be stressed. There must also be claims of early ascetic pursuits or the performance of extraordinary feats (*karamat*). Nor can one neglect the paradox of family life: While not a hermit, the shaykh still remains chaste. Each master must perform the canonical pilgrimage (*hajj*) and/or undertake extensive travels to meet other Sufis. He must be initiated, either by a proper master or the mysterious Khizr. He must live a long life, often marked by food and conversion miracles. He must acknowledge the Prophet as a prototype of all saintly conduct, even though he should also possess qualities that often compete with each other, such as beauty (*jamal*) and majesty (*jalal*). Above all, he must exemplify pain (*dard*) through love (*'ishq*) as the most efficacious and rapid means of attaining perfection (*kamal*) and/or union (*wisal*). And finally, he should monitor the distinction between drunkenness (*sukr*) and sobriety (*sahw*) as spiritual states (*hal,* plural *ahwal*).[8]

Digby gives a list similar to Schimmel's, though he emphasizes the contrasting qualities expected of a Muslim saint. "Detailed study of a mediaeval Sufi shaykh," he observes, "will often reveal apparent inconsistencies of attitude, character and behavior. Acceptance of a Sufi in his lifetime as a great shaykh depended on the recognition that he possessed, to an impressive degree, qualities which indicated that he was the special recipient of Divine Grace. The balance of these qualities in a single shaykh might vary, just as a winning hand at cards might be stronger in some suits than others." Digby then goes on to detail the singular qualities of a winning shaykh. He must claim descent from the Prophet, his companions, or other noble families of seventh-century Arabia (*ashraf*). He must be connected with a Sufi *silsila* (order) of already established local prestige. He must enjoy a reputation for strict orthodoxy. He must perform his Islamic duties meticulously. He must also perform austerities of a more and sometimes of a less orthodox character. At the same time, he must have a mastery of Islamic doctrinal and Sufi texts or an abundance of literary compositions, and while he must be able to work miracles (*karamat*), he should be careful to avoid their vulgar display. Enjoying a reputation for inaccessibility and disliking human society, he should nevertheless care for disciples and accepted hangers-on. Finally, he should experience visible ecstasy, but it should be linked with a refined sensibility to poetry and music.[9] So disparate are the above qualities, concludes Digby, that one might reasonably expect inconsistencies to "result from striving after such different excellences."

Though Schimmel and Digby largely agree on the many features comprised by the ideal profile of a major Indo-Muslim shaykh, it seems worthwhile to present a synthetic portrait of the recurrent paradoxes of sainthood. Well-born into an established Muslim family, the future saint must yet be motivated to seek a Sufi master in order to improve the quality of his Islamic faith. Educated in Qur'an, *hadith,* theology, and also Sufi literature as well as Persian poetry, the future saint must yet be able to intuit the deepest truths behind, and often beyond, the written word. Initiated by a shaykh whom he acknowledges to be the sole vehicle of divine grace for him, the seeker becomes a saint in his own right who strives to attain his own level of spiritual excellence, often through severe fasting and prolonged meditation. Living in isolation from the company of others, the established saint must yet constantly attend to the needs of his fellow Muslims, or at least to those needs evidenced by his disciples and visitors to his hospice. Married and the father of sons, the accomplished saint must

yet be celibate in temperament and disposition. Capable of performing *karamat,* the empowered saint must yet be careful to suppress them on most occasions. Prone to ecstasy, whether in silent solitude or abetted by music and verse while in the company of other Sufis, the balanced saint must yet be able to recall and to perform his obligatory duties as a Muslim. Avoiding the company of worldly people, merchants, soldiers, and government officials, including kings, the mature saint must yet live in proximity to them (i.e., near a city) and stay in touch with worldly people through his lay disciples. Clearly, the task of being a shaykh involved, in Digby's words, "striving after different excellences."

The reputation of a Sufi master largely depended on a hagiographical process that may be divided into two parts. First, there are the pivotal life events of the saint, as noted by his contemporaries and applauded during his lifetime. The crucial question remains: How well did this genealogy and life history conform to attitudes, activities, and allegiances esteemed by the various groups composing the elite of his time and his region? Second, there is the saint's posthumous fame, which raises a different, equally crucial question: How well did his family and followers perpetuate his memory through the construction of an impressive tomb/shrine, through the oral dissemination of his teachings and influence, and also (of equal importance) through the creation of a literary legacy extolling him to future generations?

Above all, it is necessary to recognize the unique importance of a given shaykh for his followers. Each major Sufi saint becomes an indispensable link extending the spiritual charisma—and hence the organizational longevity—of his order (*tariqa/silsila*). Inevitably the shaykh as a shaykh reshapes the way in which his followers think about all antecedent, and also all subsequent, saints. It is impossible to have an equal distribution of spiritual authority among several Sufi masters, even those joined together in a single order, with a common spiritual pedigree and a common spiritual outlook. The followers of one saint, by the very nature of their devotion to him, will esteem him not only as the foremost master of his generation but also as the greatest Sufi shaykh of all times and all places. "The axis of the world," "the Sultan (king) of the saints," "the Beloved of God"—these are more than flowery encomia attached as epithets to the names of saints; they reflect the edge of superiority that devotees of Sufi masters ascribe to their shaykh, elevating him above all other scriptural and personal modes of spiritual authority.

Yet the self-image of the saint and the retrospective image of his followers seldom mesh. Often there is a real difference between the way in which the shaykhs themselves viewed their authority during their lifetime and the way in which their authority was subsequently described by their followers and later generations of Sufis professing loyalty to the deceased saint's memory, and also often to his tomb. In Indian Islam, except for the Naqshbandis, most Sufi masters acknowledge their teacher (*pir*) to be greater than themselves. Only at the death of the teacher, and through the inheritance of his mystic regalia, will a successor saint claim to be the greatest among equals, the dominant successor (*khalifa*) among all those designated as successors to a particular master.

Here we can examine the process of succession as it shaped both the actual life and the biographical remembrance of the most renowned saint of North India, the fourth of the first five Chishti shaykhs of the Sultanate period, Hazrat Nizam ad-Din Awliya'. Nizam ad-Din is the subject of two very different biographies: *Fawa'id al-fu'ad,* or *Morals for the Heart* (a record of his conversations, compiled by one of his poet-

disciples, Amir Hasan Sijzi), and *Siyar al-awliya'*, or *Lives of the Saints* (a fundamental Chishti hagiography, authored by Mir Khwurd Kirmani some 30 years after the saint's death).

Consider first Nizam ad-Din's birth. Nowhere in the saint's own discourses in *Fawa'id al-fu'ad* do we learn that the saint was a sayyid, i.e., a biological descendant of Prophet Muhammad through 'Ali. Only in the later *Siyar al-awliya'* are we told that Nizam ad-Din came from a sayyid family of Bukhara in Central Asia. Indeed, two anecdotes from *Fawa'id al-fu'ad* suggest that, in Nizam ad-Din's view, it was not a person's parents but his own actions that revealed whether or not he was a genuine descendant of Prophet Muhammad.[10] The threshold experience for Nizam ad-Din was neither his birth nor his childhood but his resolve to seek a shaykh. In *Fawa'id al-fu'ad,* he describes both the moment of decision and the subsequent meeting with Shaykh Farid in lucid detail. His account of their meeting is as graphic as it is compressed:

> On the first day that I had the honor of going into his presence, the first thing I heard from Shaykh Farid ad-Din was the verse
>
> The fire of separation from you has burnt many a heart;
> The flood of yearning to meet you has engulfed many a soul.
>
> After that I wanted to confess the strong urge I had to kiss his feet. But the awe of his presence had overwhelmed me. I only managed to say this much: "The desire to kiss your feet has been very strong." He perceived the effect of awe on me. (In Arabic) he said: "Everyone who enters is (at first) overcome."[11]

Consider next the education of Nizam ad-Din. He was thoroughly familiar with the Qur'an and *hadith.* He was also conversant in the literature on juridical, theological, and mystical topics. So zealous was he as a student in Delhi that his classmates had labeled him Nizam ad-Din Bahhath ("Nizam ad-Din the Debater"). Yet once he met Farid ad-Din and embarked on the Sufi path, his bookishness bothered him. According to *Siyar al-awliya',*[12] upon swearing allegiance to Shaykh Farid, Nizam ad-Din's first question was: "What is your command? I will abandon scholarship and pursue my devotions and supererogatory prayers." Shaykh Farid ad-Din replied: "I do not restrain anyone from learning. Do both till one predominates. A dervish should have some measure of learning."

This anecdote is not found in *Fawa'id al-fu'ad.* It may or may not be true. Yet it aptly reflects the tension between scholarship and sainthood with which Nizam ad-Din, and every successful shaykh, never ceased to struggle. For, despite his commitment to Shaykh Farid, Nizam ad-Din's bookishness did not leave him quickly. At one point in *Fawa'id al-fu'ad*[13] he confesses to having committed an unintentional act of arrogance against his shaykh: It happened during a class on Sufi doctrine. The young Nizam ad-Din became more concerned with the textual accuracy of the book being studied than Farid ad-Din's commentary on it. Farid ad-Din was enraged. He unleashed a volley of saintly fury that drove Nizam ad-Din from the Ajodhan hospice and pushed him to the verge of suicide. Only the intervention of one of Farid ad-Din's sons paved the way for Nizam ad-Din's eventual restoration to the favor of his *pir.*

Frequently, the tension between book learning and mystical insight prompts the saint to praise "dumb intuition" in his conversations. The following anecdote from *Fawa'id al-fu'ad,* for example, manages to affirm simultaneously the sanctity of the written word and the superiority of illiteracy:

> Khwaja Hasan was illiterate (observed the master). He could not read. People would come to him and, placing a piece of paper and a tablet before him, would begin to write some lines, a sample of poetry, a sample of prose, some in Arabic, some in Persian; of every sort they would write some lines. And in the midst of these lines they would include a single line from a verse of the Word of God. Then they would ask Khwaja Hasan, "Of all these lines, which is from the Qur'an?" He would point to the Qur'anic verse, saying, "It is this!" "But you can't read the Qur'an," they would protest; "how can you tell that this is a Qur'anic verse?" He would reply, "I see a light in this line that I do not see in the other lines of writing."[14]

This testimony to saintly illiteracy is all the more powerful because it comes from a highly literate saint.

Consider next Nizam ad-Din's attitude to Shaykh Farid. His total dependence on his *pir* is evident from already quoted passages. Yet the austerities he practices are distinctly his own. It is the later text, *Siyar al-awliya',* which calls repeated attention to this aspect of the saint's discipline, and in one passage even goes so far as to suggest that compassion for the real poor is the root motive for all Nizam ad-Din's protracted fasting.[15]

The shaykh maintained a strict personal regimen. They say that in the later part of his life, when he had passed eighty years of age, he continued to excel in this discipline, fasting continuously. At the time of breaking of the fast (*iftar*), he would eat very little. When food was brought in the early morning, he would usually refuse it. A servant would plead with him: "Our master has eaten very little at *iftar,* and he is also taking very little in the morning. What will become of him? His health will decline." To which the shaykh would reply: "Think how many poor people and beggars are suffering hunger and deprivation, huddled around the mosques and sleeping in the streets of the city—how can this food go down my throat?" And after a while, they would take the food away. Sainthood may have declined in Delhi since the fourteenth century, but the shaykh's depiction of the poor seems eerily contemporary, his motive still as valid today as 650 years ago.

Next consider Nizam ad-Din's conduct. His compassion for people went beyond fasting and suffering vicariously their hunger pangs. He also experienced on many occasions the tension between a proclivity to prayerful solitude and a commitment to helping others. *Fawa'id al-fu'ad* resolves this tension through the appearance of a mysterious youth, probably Khizr, who also augurs Nizam ad-Din's future fame:

> I thought to myself [mused the saint] that I should leave Ghiyaspur (because of the crush of visitors). On that same day at the second time of prayers a handsome, delicate youth appeared before me. His first words were:
>
> That day that you became the moon, you knew not
> That you'd be the place to which the world looks up.

> Then he said: "A person should not set out to become famous. If by chance he does become famous, he should act in such a way that on the Day of Resurrection he will not be embarrassed before Prophet Muhammad." And then he added; "What power, what gain is there in turning a deaf ear to people and busying oneself with God? True benefit comes from remaining in the midst of people while constantly remembering God."[16]

Consider, too, Nizam ad-Din's celibacy. More problematic than any of the tensions we have described is the absence of any tension between family life and ascetic pursuits in the career of Nizam ad-Din. Unlike most Sufi masters and nearly all male Muslims, Nizam ad-Din did not marry. The reason he gives for pursuing a celibate life, in seeming disregard of the Prophet's *sunna,* is itself strange. According to *Fawa'id al-fu'ad,*[17] the saint's abstinence was directly ordered by his shaykh, Farid ad-Din, as a further rebuke against the display of arrogance related to book knowledge. The explanation offered in *Fawa'id al-fu'ad* may also suggest, however, that Nizam ad-Din honored the explicit command of his shaykh more than the model behavior of the Prophet, and as always with anecdotes from *Fawa'id al-fu'ad,* one is left guessing which of the numerous levels of interpreting the event is actually intended; in this case, perhaps both.

Consider further Nizam ad-Din's attitude to miracles, *the* or *karamat.* Many miracles are recounted about other saints in *Fawa'id al-fu'ad;* none are performed or claimed by Shaykh Nizam ad-Din himself. In *Siyar al-awliya',* however, miracles are attributed to the saint; for instance, he is said to have made a nightly passage from Delhi to Mecca in order to circumambulate the Ka'ba, implying that he performed the canonical pilgrimage, a duty incumbent on Muslims that was otherwise not fulfilled during the saint's lifetime.[18] Yet coupled with such miracles is an insistence on curtailing their demonstration, in both *Fawa'id al-fu'ad* and *Siyar al-awliya'.* "For real men [that is, for Sufis]," remarks the saint, "revealing [divine secrets] and performing miracles are a hindrance in the Path. True work consists of maintaining love."[19] Elsewhere, in the same vein, he declares: "The manuals on spiritual progress list a hundred stages of spiritual advancement. Seventeen of them pertain to disclosing secrets and performing miracles. If the traveler remains content with these seventeen, how can he reach the other eighty-three? One must see saintly miracles (*karamat*) in the proper perspective."[20] Yet Nizam ad-Din accepts prophetic miracles (*mu'jizat*) as real and necessary occurrences. When queried about Prophet Muhammad's ascent to heaven, for instance, he asserts: "Believe firmly and do not try to investigate. One should have faith in matters of religion; one should not persist in exploring or scrutinizing them."

In short, Nizam ad-Din's attitude toward miracles is openly ambivalent; he espouses their full acceptance for prophets, their conditional acceptance for lower grade saints (or disciples), and their infrequent disclosure by accomplished Sufis.

Consider next Nizam ad-Din's pathos. What makes him so charismatic for other Sufis is without doubt the depth of his spiritual passion or ecstasy. Passages from *Fawa'id al-fu'ad* are replete with instances of his sensitivity to both poetry and music; even the depiction of his initial meeting with Farid ad-Din hinges on the recitation of evocative verses.[21]

An intense regimen of nighttime solitude in prayer and daytime solicitude for the needs of others did not prevent Nizam ad-Din from observing his Islamic duties. He was so convinced of the importance of the weekly congregational prayer, for instance,

that he went so far as to warn, "If a person fails to go to Friday prayer once, a black dot will appear on his heart; if twice, two black dots; if three times, the whole heart will become black."[22]

*Siyar al-awliya'* describes the last days of the life of Nizam ad-Din, in which he scrupulously observes every time of prayer and also underscores his commitment to poverty:

> For forty days before his death Shaykh Nizam ad-Din ate nothing. As the end approached, he said, "The time of prayer has come; have I said my prayers?" If his followers replied, "Yes, you have said them," then he would reply, "I must say them again." He would perform every prayer twice, and add, "I am going, I am going." He instructed his servant, Iqbal: "If anything of any sort remains in this house, it will have to be accounted for on the Day of Judgment. You must distribute everything, except the minimum which is necessary for the daily subsistence of the dervishes." But then he would correct himself: "These are the effects of a dead man, why should they be preserved? Give it all away and sweep the room clean." As soon as they cleared the storerooms, a host of people gathered and snatched up the goods. Then the servants pleaded, "But we are poor men. After you have gone, what will become of us?" "The charity that will arrive at my grave will suffice for you," he rejoined. "Who will be able to divide it up among us?" they asked. "That man who is able to relinquish his own portion" was the shaykh's reply.[23]

Finally, consider Nizam ad-Din's attitude to the world and to those who directed its affairs. Avoiding preeminent people who enjoyed secular authority and/or amassed wealth was perhaps the principal paradox in Nizam ad-Din's long residence at Ghiyaspur. His hospice lay on the outskirts of the major city of the Delhi Sultanate; had he lived anywhere else and been the same kind of person, it is unlikely that he would have been remembered as more than a minor Sufi saint. His fame, in large part, derives from the fact that he was not only a Muslim male elite by birth but a resident urban shaykh by choice. He was accessible to both the nonelite and the elite, as the extant biographical literature repeatedly states, and yet it was the elite who helped to establish his enduring fame.

Among Nizam ad-Din's most prominent lay disciples were the poet Amir Khusraw and the tough-minded historian Ziya' ad-Din Barani. Both of them earned their pay and gained their renown through the royal court. Though Nizam ad-Din refused to see kings, he benefited both contemporaneously and retrospectively from the association that his lay disciples had with their imperial patrons. The contradiction between the reclusive, apolitical saint and the publicly touted courtiers, who were at the same time his disciples, is not solved in *Fawa'id al-fu'ad,* perhaps because its author, Amir Hasan, was himself a courtier. In *Siyar al-awliya',* however, the problem is broached on two fronts. First, Nizam ad-Din is said to have reserved the closest bond of discipleship for those who, like himself, were totally detached from the world. At one point he allegedly declared, regarding the numerous Sufi cloaks (*khirqas*) that he had given to disciples, that "only four actually confer successorship; all the others have been *khirqas* of blessing."[24] Second, from time to time Nizam ad-Din is shown to have distanced himself from those who were his lay disciples and still involved in the world. Amir Khusraw may have been the shaykh's dearest human companion, yet by the high standards that Nizam ad-Din set for himself and for his most intimate disciples, the great poet could not be a soul brother of the great saint. The unbridgeable gulf between them is evoked in a graphic anecdote from *Siyar al-awliya':*

> Once at a musical gathering presided over by the shaykh, Amir Khusraw threw up his hands in ecstasy and began to dance, as was common to Sufis while hearing religious verses sung. Shaykh Nizam ad-Din summoned Khusraw to him, saying; "You are connected with this world; you are not permitted to raise your hands when dancing." Amir Khusraw brought down his hands, closed his fists and went on dancing.[25]

From the accounts we have of Shaykh Nizam ad-Din, it is clear that there were ample contradictions, tensions, and paradoxes in the life of the most famous Delhi saint of the Sultanate period. None were peculiar to Nizam ad-Din, however. All his Chishti predecessors, and all successful Sufi masters of every generation in every region of the Islamic world, had to face the same or similar issues. As Muslims, they had to be lower than the Prophet Muhammad. As guides, they had to be higher than other men. Functionally, they straddled the world beyond and the world here-and-now for many of their coreligionists, representing unique vehicles of communication to the divine presence and to the tangible benefits reserved for God's lovers. Inevitably there were paradoxes, both acknowledged and unacknowledged. During his lifetime, it was the way in which a saint faced paradoxes that often determined his ranking among peers. The great saint was the one who lived out paradoxes, holding seemingly irreconcilable tensions in a delicate, unresolved balance. Lesser saints could not do that. Hagiographers also could not do that. Like other followers of a particular shaykh, Nizam ad-Din's hagiographers tended to make him conform to expected norms of conduct, often by flattening or eliminating paradoxes in their retrospective portrait of the deceased master.

With respect to Indian Muslim shaykhs in general, and Nizam ad-Din in particular, it would be convenient if the two-stage biographical process were mirrored by a two-stage literary process. One could simply conclude that *Fawa'id al-fu'ad,* or any record of conversations closely approximating the actual discourse of a great saint, will give the most accurate biographical raw material for reconstructing his life and thought. *Siyar al-awliya',* on the other hand, or other hagiographies that were not compiled till well after the saint's death, will reflect inflated memories, conscious rewordings, or other distortions because their authors incorporate into the saint's biography the expectations of his family and followers, not the least of whom were custodians and beneficiaries of his tomb/shrine.

Unfortunately, the material does not admit of such a neat segmentation. *Fawa'id al-fu'ad,* though early and of inestimable value, is chronologically limited; it records conversations from only a fifteen-year period of the saint's more than eighty years. It is also implicitly compromised at numerous points by the compiler's outlook: Amir Hasan is himself a courtier and a rival poet to Amir Khusraw, the saint's other renowned poet-disciple. Many of the paradoxes in Nizam ad-Din's life would not be evident from *Fawa'id al-fu'ad* alone; without them, however, the saint's biographical profile would be skewed. *Siyar al-awliya',* on the other hand, though late in composition, inflated in style, and perhaps distorted on some points of fact, does offer a complete chronology of Nizam ad-Din. It also incorporates evidence from viewpoints other than the author's, such as the *Hasratnama* of Ziya' ad-Din Barani and oral traditions current among the saint's followers. More important, by trying to resolve some of the paradoxes implicit in *Fawa'id al-fu'ad,* it actually helps us to see at what points the great saint did not conform to the expected norms of behavior for a proper Muslim and a successful Sufi master. Indeed, the posthumous retouching of Nizam

ad-Din's halo in *Siyar al-awliya'* allows the rough edges of his distinctive discipline to be as evident to future generations as it must have been to those who first observed and venerated him as a saint.

The tomb cult around Nizam ad-Din's burial site continued to play multiple roles in the Mughal period, and its continuing importance to the present day is evident both in the activities of Khwaja Hasan Sani Nizami (see chapter 6) and in the attacks on the tomb by the reform-minded Tablighis. The Beloved of God projects such an aura over the city of Delhi that to this day even non-Muslim writers are moved to speak of the city's continued survival as dependent on his intercessory powers.[26]

## A Premodern Saint in the Hagiographical Process: Ashraf Jahangir Simnani (d. 1425)

Compared to Shaykh Nizam ad-Din, Ashraf Jahangir Simnani would be considered a minor Chishti master. What separates minor from major? It may be the absence of either a literary tradition, or a tomb cult, or both, but it also may be that the circle of influence, at least in respect to major saints, seems less broadly inclusive and brightly remembered. There are saints whose legacy appears like a mighty river, and there are others who have become small eddies. Both make Sufism an ocean of religiosity, integral to the legacy and practice of Islamic spirituality.

Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani is a mere drop in the ocean of Sufism, yet he stands out as an unusual minor figure.[27] He is a primary transmitter of the metaphysical school of Ibn 'Arabi in India. His massive *malfuzat, Lata'if-i Ashrafi,* is shorn of any oral, extemporaneous qualities; it is a highly complex literary and historical composition, with tremendous value for reconstructing precisely those aspects of the Chishtiyya that are not touched upon in the informal discussions chronicled in either the original records of conversations or later hagiographies. This is complemented by an enormous collection of letters (*Maktubat-i Ashrafi*) that in many cases overlaps in detail the substance of his discourses. The writings of Simnani in fact constitute a vast repository of early Indian and Persian Sufi tradition, often with surprising variations on standard themes.[28]

According to the late hagiography *Khazinat al-asfiya',* Simnani's birth and early childhood were not important, except that one should note that he "was born a saint"—this in spite of the fact that Simnani himself says in *Lata'if-i Ashrafi* that sainthood is something that needs to be acquired: "One of the conditions of a saint is that he be learned (*'alim*) and not ignorant (*jahil*)."[29] Simnani was born into a noble sayyid family in Simnan (Khurasan) in 688/1289. His father Sayyid Muhammad Ibrahim was a local ruler, and his mother, Khadija, was a granddaughter of Shaykh Ahmad Yasawi (d. 1166), founder of the Yasawiyya order. Simnani placed a good deal of importance on his aristocratic genealogy, to judge from the detailed accounts he gives of his ancestors (the imams) descended from the Prophet Muhammad.[30]

According to *Khazinat al-asfiya',* by the age of seven he had memorized the Qur'an according to seven different methods of recitation, and by the age of fourteen he had mastered all the rational and traditional sciences. His "real" education began when he left Simnan at age twenty-three and began to travel. He may have gone directly to India, following a dream that directed him to travel there; the sources give conflict-

ing accounts of his travels.[31] In any case, he finally settled in Ruhabad (his name for Kichchaucha, a village 53 miles from Faizabad in eastern Uttar Pradesh). From there, he is said to have made several journeys through West and Central Asia, accompanied on his first voyage by Shah Madar, the popular saint linked to Shah Mina. But he may have gone to Kashan after leaving Simnan, and if so, he then studied with Shaykh 'Abd ar-Razzaq Kashani for five or six years, before leaving in 1328–29.[32] Kashani, a commentator on Ibn 'Arabi's *Fusus al-hikam,* was a major exponent of the school of Ibn 'Arabi, and Simnani vigorously followed his teacher in this respect. From Kashan (according to this version of his itinerary), Simnani traveled to all the important Sufi centers in Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Turkey, apparently with the Kubrawi saint Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani as his companion. In Transoxiana he spent time with Khwaja Baha' ad-Din Naqshband, before moving on to the Punjab to spend time with the Suhrawardi saint Makhdum-i Jahaniyan Jahangasht. He arrived in Delhi in time to meet the Chishti master Gisu Daraz, but the two did not agree, so he traveled east in 1380, arriving in Bihar just as Sharaf ad-Din Yahya Maneri was about to be buried. Simnani then led his preburial prayers before going to Bengal, where he was initiated into Chishti Sufism by Shaykh 'Ala al-Haqq Lahawri, himself the successor to Akhi Siraj, who was Shaykh Nizam ad-Din's emissary to Gaur (Bengal).

Chishti Sufism was the last order into which Simnani was initiated, since during his travels he had already been initiated into all the other major orders (perhaps for this reason *Lata'if-i Ashrafi* includes uncommonly full references to all the 14 orders, their principal teachings, and their major shaykhs).[33] Shah Madar also appears as a companion in *Lata'if-i Ashrafi.* Having already traveled around the Muslim world once, Simnani repeated the journey, this time in the company of Shah Madar.[34]

Of Simnani's attitude to his own Chishti master, Shaykh 'Ala al-Haqq Lahawri, we do not hear much in either *Lata'if-i Ashrafi* or *Maktubat-i Ashrafi.* He was told by his master that he should go to Kichchaucha Sharif, despite the rival claim of a Suhrawardi saint, to make the region of Jaunpur his *wilaya,* or spiritual domain. He was also harrassed by Qazi Shihab ad-Din Dawlatabadi, a forceful proponent of legalism, in the court of the local Sharqi dynast, Ibrahim Shah. He corresponded with Dawlatabadi but also kept his distance from the capital.[35] Much more emphasized is Simnani's relationship to the immortal prophet Khizr. It was due to the appearance of Khizr to him after seven years of continuous spiritual discipline, and above all, his immersion in cycles of chants (*azkar*), that he began the spiritual odyssey that brought him to India, to Bengal, and eventually to discipleship in the Chishtiyya under Shaykh 'Ala ad-Din Lahawri. Thus it was a transhistorical apparition that led him to join the Chishti order.

Another unusual feature of Simnani's life story is the lack of any account of his conduct in society. A saint's social conduct is usually considered important in his hagiography, so its absence from Simnani's is all the more surprising.

His attitude to family life is also, uncharacteristically, given little attention. We do learn that he was designated to succeed his father as a local ruler when the latter died in 1305–6, and that he soon thereafter abdicated in favor of his brother Muhammad. Of his own progeny, we learn little, except for the mention of one of his sons (Shaykh Muhammad) among his successors, and of another son, 'Abd Allah, to whom he sent a letter on the proofs of love.[36]

Simnani's attitude to saintly miracles (*karamat*) was controversial. He is known in the hagiographical tradition as a master of divine disclosure (*kashf*) and miracles

(*karamat*). His discourses contain a list of 15 miracles that he performed in different localities, frequently to discomfit his critics; in one case, negative comments spread about him after his arrival in a village in Gujarat and prompted him to summon fire from heaven, consuming the entire village.[37] This kind of miracle story legitimizes the authority of the saint through supernatural power of divine origin. It may be "true," but it betrays the institutionalizing form of the hagiographical impulse. Similarly, Simnani's conversion of the doubting 'Ali Qalandar seems to serve a confirmatory function in his subsequent hagiography. 'Ali Qalandar is converted because he had made the mistake of challenging Simnani about his titular name, Jahangir ("the one who holds the world").[38]

Simnani's strength of pathos is probably the most important feature of his life. It is revealed in his staunch defense of *sama'*, his equally staunch exposition of ecstatic utterances, his taste for poetry, and his appreciation of Sufi-minded poets. He was committed to meditation on the image of the shaykh and to the practice of visiting saints' tombs. He provides a deep mystical interpretation of all the pillars or obligations incumbent on Muslims.[39]

Simnani, finally, had closer connections to the world and to those who directed its affairs than many others. This is evident from *Lata'if-i Ashrafi* and developed further in his letters, which include a political appendix on the history of royal dynasties.[40] This political aspect of his life has been explored only in connection with his teacher Shaykh 'Ala al-Haqq Lahawri, whom at one point he seems to be recommending to the court for a pension. It is striking that he does so with an immensely erudite letter on the controversial theme of "the faith of Pharaoh" according to Ibn 'Arabi.[41] In the letters we also learn about Simnani's advice to rulers and commiseration with Muslims suffering under Hindu tyrants. Hence he responds empathetically to his co-*khalifa,* Nur Qutb-i 'Alam, who is lamenting the oppression he experiences under Raja Ganesh. At the same time, he writes to good Muslim rulers, such as Sultan Hushang of Mandu and Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi of Jaunpur, advising them on how best to conduct affairs of state.[42]

Simnani also had the distinction of meeting twice with the neo-Mongol conqueror Timur.[43] The second meeting occurred in Mashhad sometime after Timur had sacked Delhi. When Qiran as-Sa'dayn ("the Conjunction of Felicities," an epithet based on Timur's horoscope) asked Simnani how to win battles, the latter told him to recite a passage from the Qur'an (Sura 58, al-Mujadala); we are not told if the world-conqueror employed this technique, or with what results.[44]

On preparing disciples, or directing the affairs of his lodge (*khanaqah*) during his lifetime, or his tomb (*mazar*) after his own death, we hear very little. Along with references to other famous scholars of the late fourteenth/early fifteenth centuries, his discourses give a listing of over 30 of his disciples, although they are otherwise mostly unknown.[45] As impressive as the list of disciples is, few were considered important enough to merit a listing in the near exhaustive roll of major and minor Chishti saints included in later works, such as *Khazinat al-asfiya'* in the nineteenth century.

What is also missing in the case of Sayyid Ashraf is a tomb cult that sustains more than local interest. Kichchaucha is one of those remote towns in eastern Uttar Pradesh that can be reached only through extraordinary effort. When Annemarie Schimmel, the noted German scholar, visited Kichchaucha Sharif in the mid-1970s, she tried to take a picture of the women in ecstasy next to Simnani's tomb, but the film when developed remained blank. Since the healing specialty of this shrine is to

cure mental illness and possession, the conclusion seemed inescapable to Professor Schimmel: The *jinn,* or spirits inhabiting the possessed, had also been responsible for frustrating her documentary quest.[46]

## A Modern Saint: Sayyid Zauqi Shah (d. 1951)

Since Sufism and sainthood should not be limited to a remote golden age, we must consider modern saints in terms of the same paradoxes that confronted the archetypal model, Nizam ad-Din. New constraints must be recognized, including the inversion of traditional sources of authority by the imposition of non-Muslim foreign rule in British India. Many of these new aspects come into the narrative naturally, as adjuncts to the newly reconfigured biographical process. To demonstrate both the continuities and innovations in the concept of Sufi sainthood, we will consider the case of a Sabiri Chishti master, Sayyid Zauqi Shah, who spanned the period from the height of colonial rule to just after political independence.

With Sayyid Zauqi Shah, we see how the legacy of Hajji Imdad Allah could also be claimed by Sabiri Chishtis, even though they rejected the scripturalist reformism of the Deobandis, who claimed Imdad Allah as their founder and exemplar. Zauqi Shah's profile exhibits many surprising characteristics of the modern era. The biographical details of his life have been laid out in a formal biography by a disciple named Sayyid Sharif al-Hasan, which is embedded between sections of Zauqi Shah's voluminous record of Urdu discourses (*malfuzat*).[47]

Zauqi Shah was born in 1877 to a sayyid family in northern India; his original name was Sayyid Muhammad Ibrahim. His sayyid ancestry is prominently featured in a separate section of his biography, listing each of his male ancestors for 36 generations going back to the Prophet Muhammad. Among these forebears was Jalal ad-Din Bukhari Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, the famous fourteenth-century Suhrawardi saint of the Punjab, who also had close ties to the Chishtiyya. After the fifteenth century, this lineage fell into obscurity until it suddenly reemerged into history during the British Raj. Zauqi's father had a different kind of distinction: He studied modern medicine at Agra College and served the colonial government as a physician, receiving a pension when he retired in 1898.

Zauqi's education was at first traditional. He attended a local school and learned Arabic from his father. Accounts of his love and attraction for learning include and yet go beyond the standard model of Islamic learning. Since he grew up in an environment that was already saturated by the new technology of printing, his approach to books was very much a part of that new mode of communications. He indexed books that he read, he collected articles published by installments in periodicals so that he could read them in a single sitting, and he made much use of encyclopedias and dictionaries. He was especially fond of newspapers like the *Times of India* and the *Illustrated Weekly.* His love of poetry sometimes followed expected patterns, as when he made his own anthology of verses from classic Urdu poets. Yet he moved into new literary territory when he collected many favorite Persian verses and used them to adorn his mystical Urdu novel *The Wine and the Cup.* Zauqi was probably the first Chishti master to be educated in a modern university, having studied for three years (1893–96) at the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh (now Aligarh

Muslim University). His studies of course included education in English, something that would later make it possible for him to pursue a career in journalism and to interact with English disciples and correspondents.

Zauqi's initiation into Sufism is said to have been sealed with a childhood encounter: In 1888, while on pilgrimage to Mecca with his family, he met and received a prayer from Hajji Imdad Allah. He was only ten, yet much later, in 1914, he was formally initiated into the Chishtiyya in Lucknow by Pir Muhammad Shah. These personal contacts were supplemented by dreams and spiritual experiences at Chishti shrines, including an encounter with Khizr and a dream initiation by Mu'in ad-Din Chishti in 1920. His mystical connections even included obtaining spiritual succession in a dream from the notable Deoband reformer and disciple of Imdad Allah, Rashid Ahmad Gangohi.

Zauqi's life pattern included periods of isolation, as when he performed 40-day retreats in 1914 at Ajmer and in 1916 at Kalyar, the site of the shrine of 'Ali Sabir. He maintained a Sufi lodge (*khanaqah*) in Hyderabad (1930–40) and Ajmer (1940–47), traveling frequently to other cities, and finally moved to Karachi after the establishment of Pakistan. His maintenance of a Sufi residence did not in any way impede his active involvement in society and politics.

The family life of Zauqi Shah combined marriage (following the example of the Prophet Muhammad) with longings for the solitary state. He was married in 1896 as a young man, and his first wife (d. 1911) had one daughter. He resisted marrying again, but his master repeatedly told him, "Marry, though a single life is peaceful." He accordingly remarried in 1918, and his second daughter, Rashid Khatun, eventually married his English disciple Shahid Allah.

Zauqi Shah believed in the reality of miracles, but they did not play a prominent role in his own life. Most of the extraordinary events that he experienced were internal (dreams, spiritual encounters). He did not speak about these experiences directly, but he occasionally revealed an intuitive knowledge of the spiritual states of others. Zauqi's biography begins, for example, with an incident in which he encountered the Sufi-minded prime minister of Hyderabad, Maharaja Kishen Parshad, and asked him why he had abandoned a particular meditation, much to the amazement of the minister. Nor were these miracles limited to his lifetime. In accordance with the Uwaysi pattern of postmortem initiation well known in the Sabiri branch of the Chishtiyya, a disciple, Shahid Allah, received authorization from Zauqi Shah to be his successor, four years after the master's death.

Zauqi's name ("tasting," in the sense of mystical experience) came from his propensity for music and ecstasy. Amidst the polemical modern controversy over listening to music, he strongly defended this aspect of Chishti practice. He even managed, during his final pilgrimage to Mecca in 1950, to arrange for a performance of Sufi music in the sacred mosque of Mecca—something that would have been violently opposed by the anti-Sufi Sa'udi regime had they known of it.[48]

Regarding political affairs, Zauqi, as a journalist, traveled widely and saw the condition of Muslims in different regions; this convinced him of the justice of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's view that Indian Muslims needed a separate political destiny. He was therefore present at the first meeting of the Muslim League in Karachi in 1907. He met with Muhammad Ali Jinnah several times during the tense period of 1938–39, and formally entered the Muslim League in 1940, becoming vice president of a provincial district. He was particularly concerned with legislation that governed the

administration of the Ajmer shrine. He enthusiastically supported the demand for the creation of an independent Muslim state (Pakistan), and he immigrated to Pakistan immediately after the partition of British India in 1947. His biography portrays him as the inner or spiritual founder of Pakistan, in parallel with Jinnah, who was the external founder.[49]

The story of Zauqi Shah indicates how strongly the older paradigm of sainthood continued to function in the literary portrayals of modern Chishti circles. At the same time, the new religious attitudes of the colonial period and the conditions of modernity are forcefully displayed in the career of Zauqi Shah, particularly in the areas of education and politics. The immediate impact of this Chishti master on his followers and associates has been extensive, and it has been amplified and modulated by the extensive publishing programs of his followers, both in Urdu and, increasingly, in English. The biographical process continues to be a critical tool in the ongoing fashioning of identities after the death of the saint, even though in his case there is no possibility of a tomb cult, since he is buried outside Mecca. Instead, the legacy of Zauqi Shah is now being expanded both by the activities of his followers in new locales (Malaysia, America) and through a new medium, English translation. While the distinction of oral discourses from literary biography theoretically offers the tempting clarification of fact from legend, the reality is that the process of shaping the legacy of Sufi lives continues to be complex; the major difference in the modern period is that a host of new economic, technological, and cultural factors are added to the mix.

# Chapter Five

# The Major Chishti Shrines

The extreme devotion paid to particular saints' tombs is confusing to many Muslims as well as non-Muslims. It is well known that in the Islamic tradition the *hajj* pilgrimage to Mecca is of paramount importance, but local and sectarian forms of pilgrimage to tombs (Arabic *ziyara,* Persian *ziyarat*) are also widely practiced. Pilgrimage to the tombs of the Shi'i martyrs is an important feature of Shi'i piety, and across the Islamic world, from Morocco to Chinese Turkestan, the tombs of the saints are the resort of Muslims of many varying backgrounds.

The oldest Chishti shrine in India is the tomb of Shaykh Mu'in ad-Din Chishti in Ajmer. It became the object of pilgrimage soon after the death of the shaykh in the thirteenth century. The town of Chisht in Afghanistan was a sacred center much earlier, of course; one of the first to visit its shrines was the great early Sufi biographer and mystical theorist 'Abd Allah Ansari (d. 1089).[1] In the century after Mu'in ad-Din's death, Ajmer became one of the main points on a pilgrimage itinerary, along with Delhi and Pakpattan. This route was followed in 1352 by Shaykh Zayn ad-Din Shirazi, the main successor to Burhan ad-Din Gharib in Khuldabad.[2] And it was not only Chishtis who regarded Ajmer as an essential pilgrimage destination. Just to name one example, Taj ad-Din ibn Zakariyya (d. 1646) began his spiritual quest by visiting Ajmer, where the spirit of Mu'in ad-Din Chishti gave him instruction in meditation and ordered him to visit the nearby tomb of Hamid ad-Din in Nagaur, where he received further illumination. He then was initiated into the Shattari Sufi order by a certain Allah Bakhsh, before eventually becoming a dedicated Naqshbandi under the guidance of Baqi Billah of Delhi. Taj ad-Din ended his days in Arabia, where he had many disciples, particularly from Yemen.[3]

Among pilgrims to Ajmer and other shrines were many Muslim women who shared the enthusiasm for saints of their male relatives and coreligionists. We know this from the highly critical account of Sultan Firuz Shah ibn Tughluq (r. 1356–1387), which is set forth in a lengthy inscription of the late fourteenth century. There he complains about the large numbers of women traveling by all sorts of conveyance outside of the city of Delhi to visit the tombs of saints, where (he believed) they were exposed to the lascivious attentions of rogues and profligates. His solution was to issue a royal decree forbidding women to perform pilgrimage to these tombs, since he regarded this as a religiously prohibited activity for them; this was in spite of his

opulent refurbishing of the tomb of Nizam ad-Din, presumably for the edification of men only.[4] The very existence of such a prohibition is clear evidence of the popularity of the practice of pilgrimage among women. While one might expect to find accounts of their piety in the biographical literature, the opposite is the case: No hagiography sets forth a major saintly woman on the same par as the Chishti exemplars discussed elsewhere. Instead, pious Muslim women are noted in the literature only as part of the groups seeking advice and solace from the major masters. 'Abd al-Haqq does provide brief accounts of saintly women at the end of his famed *tazkira,* but they are noted mostly because of their relationship to "famous" male saints.[5]

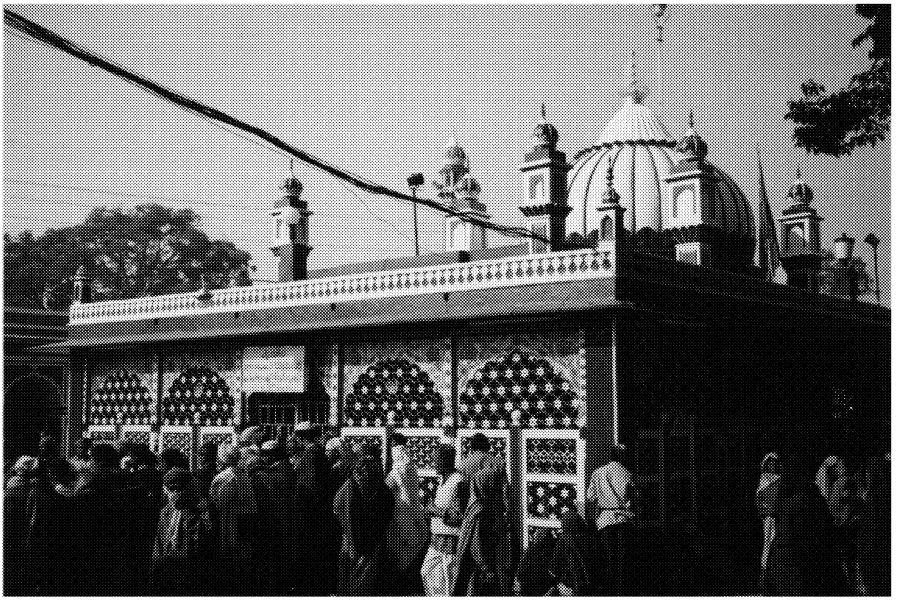
There is an exception to this near total rule of silent women participants in the saintly tradition of the Chishtiyya. Along with initiate pilgrims, Ajmer soon became the focus of various royal patrons as well. Particularly in the Mughal period, rulers made state visits and endowed major construction at the site. One of the royal visitors was the Mughal princess and Chishti devotee Jahanara.

Yet the practices of pilgrimage to saints' tombs did attract pious criticism from legal scholars. Periodically they voiced the suspicion that it detracted from the purity of worshiping the one true God. It was in response to such criticism that a treatise in defense of pilgrimage was written by a Chishti disciple from western India in the eighteenth century. Criticism of shrine pilgrimage, though sporadic in premodern times, mushroomed into an unprecedented denunciation in the nineteenth century, led by a branch of reformist Chishti scholars linked to the reformist school at Deoband in North India.

The tombs that are the goals of pilgrims have widely divergent locations, from the desert to the edge of the city, and even occasionally in the heart of an imperial capital.[6] One had to go to the desert to reach the tomb of Farid ad-Din at Pakpattan/Ajodhan, or that of Hamid ad-Din at Nagaur in Rajasthan. Likewise, the shrine of Sulayman at Taunsa on the upper Indus is remote, and difficult of access. On the margin of a city was the location of Burhan ad-Din's tomb in Khuldabad (near Daulatabad). The tomb of Gisu Daraz was originally on the edge of Gulbarga, as was that of Jamal ad-Din Hanswi near Hansi. Even the shrine of Nizam ad-Din in Ghiyaspur was outside the city of "old Delhi" at the time that he first went there. Of the Chishti shrines in the Sultanate capital of Delhi, only that of Nizam ad-Din has remained prominent until the present.[7] The capitals of local dynasties in Bengal (Pandua), the Deccan (Bidar, Mandu, Burhanpur), Gujarat (Ahmedabad), and Jaunpur (Zafarabad) were also the sites of Chishti shrines.

The major shrine complexes are more noteworthy because of their textual documentation, architectural patronage, and imposing administrative structure. This is especially evident in the imperial expansion of Ajmer under the Mughals, and in the creation of a court-appointed administrator for the religious endowment of the shrine.[8] The buildings themselves have been commemorated in detailed miniature paintings for the court, frequently in the context of royal visits.[9] The political significance of the shrines was even more obvious in terms of the involvement of local Mughal nobles, as also of independent *maharajas* and *rajas.* Even modern-day politicians feel the need to visit Mu'in ad-Din's shrine; prominent visitors to Ajmer included General Zia ul-Haq of Pakistan in the 1980s, and Shaykh Husaina Wajid of Bangladesh and Shaykh 'Abd Allah of Kashmir in late 1996.

In addition to these major shrines, which at times have been the focus of an immense devotional following, there are countless minor Chishti shrines found all over



5.1. Tomb of 'Ali Sabir in Kalyar Sharif. (Photograph by Robert Rozehnal)

the Asian subcontinent. These include tombs of saints who have never been known outside their own localities, or who have been described in texts though their shrines remain obscure.[10] But there are many more whose history will never be known. Some shrines remain mysterious. Kalyar Sharif is the site of the tomb of Shaykh 'Ali Sabir (d. 1290), whose name distinguishes the Sabiriyya branch of the Chishtiyya, but we do not really know when it began to function as a tomb cult, although it functioned as such by the time of 'Abd al-Quddus Gangohi in the late fifteenth century.[11] The tomb of 'Ali Sabir (Figure 5.1) attained new prominence in Shah Jahan's reign, and his life story was elaborated in Ilahdiya Chishti's account of his miracles in 1647.[12] And this is to say nothing of the attitudes of non-Muslim pilgrims toward the tombs of Sufi saints.

What follows here is therefore an account of the most accessible aspect of Sufi shrine pilgrimage, that is, the intersection of ritual practice and social history that is made possible by the literate tradition of Indo-Persian Sufi writing and the patronage of Timurid dynasts. The full story is much bigger, but even this brief glimpse suggests how important these major Chishti shrines were to their devotees.

## A Mughal Princess's Account of Pilgrimage to Ajmer

Although relatively few non-elite Muslim women left well-attested literary legacies, among upper-class women there was much freer access to education as well as the possibility of acting as a patron for religious and cultural activities. Jahanara (1614–1681) was a daughter of the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan, builder of the Taj Mahal. Like her brother Dara Shikuh, she was drawn to Sufism, and like him she is

the author of biographical works on contemporary and historical Sufi saints. She was also responsible for the creation of a number of Mughal gardens and other architectural projects. She wrote a biography of her Qadiri Sufi teacher Mulla Shah as well as an account of the life of Mu'in ad-Din Chishti (d. 1236). It is from the latter text that the following autobiographical remarks derive. She is buried in a small white marble tomb, open to the elements and devoid of any dome, outside the shrine of Nizam ad-Din Awliya' in Delhi. The inscription reads as follows:

> He is the Living, the Sustaining.
> Let no one cover my grave except with greenery,
> For this very grass suffices as a tomb cover for the poor.
> The annihilated *faqir* Lady Jahanara,
> Disciple of the Lords of Chisht,
> Daughter of Shah Jahan the Warrior (may God illuminate him).

Her biography of the Indian founder of the Chishti Sufi order, though compiled from existing works on Sufi saints, is highly regarded for its judgment and literary quality. The conclusion and an appendix, which describes the author's pilgrimage to Mu'in ad-Din's tomb at Ajmer in 1643, convey her personal engagement with Sufi practice. There she uses the feminine form of the word *faqir—faqira*—to signify her own spiritual vocation as a Sufi woman. She clearly regarded Mu'in ad-Din Chishti as the supreme Sufi saint of India, the master who initiated her over four centuries after his death (initiation is referred to by the expression "taking the hand," which is the ritual gesture that seals this relationship). At the same time she also remembers her living Sufi master, Mulla Shah, thus illustrating the easy coexistence of dual initiations. Her pilgrimage was timed to coincide with the death anniversary of the saint, and at his tomb she performed the customary rituals that are still carried out at Sufi shrines around the world, including the recitation of prayers and sections of the Qur'an, with the dedication of their benefit to the inhabitants of the tomb. And as she indicates, the mosque where she prayed in Ajmer had been recently reconstructed by her father Shah Jahan; like many other rulers, the Mughals erected extensive monuments at the tombs of Sufi saints, as a sign of their devotion and in hope of saintly assistance. Although this passage offers the reflections of a disciple rather than a master, it affords an interesting glimpse into the practice of Sufi piety among the royal class.

From *The Confidant of Spirits* by Jahanara:

> Know that, after the performance of religious duties, requirements, and the recitation of the holy Qur'an, this weak woman who hopes for salvation regards no action as nobler than the remembrance of the spiritual states and stations of the revered saints (may God sanctify their spirits). Therefore, I have spent a portion of my time in reading books and treatises that contain the felicitous accounts of the great ones of religion and the mighty ones of certainty. This *faqira* had such perfect sincerity and devotion that I wrote a summary of the career of the revered master who took my hand in discipleship, as well as the chief successors of that revered one (may God inspire their spirits).
>
> Praise and favor be to God, for by the assistance of God the Knower, the Powerful, and with the helping grace of the revered master who took my hand, I attained this desire of mine, and this treatise *The Confidant of Spirits* was edited and put on the robe of completion on the 27th of the blessed month of Ramadan, 1049 [January 21, 1640].

The lives of these great ones, who are the close ones of the court of eternity, having been extracted with great care from well-known books and treatises, have been committed to writing. In the belief of this weak woman, whatever is affirmed in this text is completely correct. I hope that readers will have the full blessing and benefit of it. . . .

After praising the one God—and He is all eternal, great is His majesty—and following the adoration of his messenger Muhammad the chosen one (may God bless him and grant him peace)—this lowly *faqira* Jahanara, with the aid of fortune and ascendant victory, went from the capital Agra in the company of my great father toward the pure region of incomparable Ajmer. From the 17th of Sha'ban, 1053, to Friday the 7th of the blessed month of Ramadan [October 31 to November 19, 1643], when I entered the building on the shore of Anasagar lake, I was committed to this idea, that every day in every station I would perform two cycles of optional prayer. Then, having recited the Book of Yasin [Qur'an 36] and the Opening [Qur'an 1] with perfect sincerity and devotion, I bestowed the reward for that on the generous, pure, illuminated spirit of the revered master Lord Mu'in ad-Din Chishti (may God be pleased with him).

For the several days when I stopped in the above mentioned buildings, from extreme courtesy I did not sleep on a leopard skin that night, I did not extend my feet in the direction of the blessed sanctuary of the revered saving master, and I did not turn my back towards him. I passed the days beneath the trees.

By the blessing of that revered one, and the gracious influence of this heavenly land, I experienced concentration and mystical experiences. One night I performed a wonderful birthday and lamp festival for the saint. I did not stint in adorning and serving the blessed sanctuary with what I had and will have, nor will I ever do so.

Praise and favor be to God, and a hundred million thanks, for on Thursday, the fourth of the blessed month of Ramadan, I attained the happiness of pilgrimage to the illuminated and perfumed tomb of the revered saving master (may God be pleased with him). With an hour of daylight remaining, I went to the holy sanctuary and rubbed my pale face on the dust of that threshold. From the doorway to the blessed tomb I went barefoot, kissing the ground. Having entered the dome, I went around the light-filled tomb of my master seven times, sweeping it with my eyelashes, and making the sweet-smelling dust of that place the mascara of my eyes.

At that moment, a marvelous spiritual state and mystical experience befell this annihilated one, which cannot rightly be written. From extreme longing I became astonished, and I do not know what I said or did.

Finally with my own hand I put the highest quality of *attar* on the perfumed tomb of that revered one, and having taken off the rose scarf that I had on my head, I placed it on top of the blessed tomb. Having gone to the marble mosque that the great and God-knowing father of this lowly woman erected, I performed ritual prayer, and then, sitting in the blessed dome, I recited the Book of Yasin [Qur'an 36] and the Opening [Qur'an 1] for the generous spirit of the master. I was in that place until sunset prayer, and I lit a candle to the spirit of that revered one. I broke my fast with spring water. It was a marvelous night I saw there, which was better than the dawn.

If the sincerity, love, and spiritual concentration of this annihilated one demanded that I should not go back home after having gone all the way to that blessed and gracious place, the corner of security, what can be done?

The beloved has placed a noose on my neck,
And he pulls me wherever he wishes.

If I had the choice, I would always have stayed in the sanctuary of that revered one, which is the marvelous corner of security—and I am a lover of the corner of security. I would also have had the honor and happiness of walking around it continuously.

> Unwillingly, weeping and with burning heart, with a hundred thousand cries, I was excused from the court of that revered one and came home. All night long a wonderful restlessness was in me. That Friday morning, my great father ordered that we head toward Agra.
>
> I have presented this elegant, noble, and sublime book, which this lowly woman compiled from well-known books and treatises according to their value, having collected it and entitled it *The Confidant of Spirits,* as the perfect and felicitous life of that revered saving master (may God be pleased with him), so that it may always be in the illuminated and blessed sanctuary.
>
> It is hoped that, from the complete grace and great generosity of that revered one, he will confer special acceptance on this treatise by this least of his devoted disciples, that he will be happy, and that he will turn his attention upon this woman disciple.
>
> Our Mu'in ad-Din is annihilated in God,
> And after that he subsists in the absolute essence.
>
> This lowly one is a *faqira* who is in the reality of realities, by the blessing of the saving master, the revered Lord Mu'in ad-Din Chishti, and from the external and internal attention of the real master, the revered Mulla Shah (may God lengthen his shadow and preserve him). Fictitious existence has gone, and that endless existence remains by itself.[13]

This account by Jahanara, both by its content and by its uniqueness, draws attention to the difficulty of eliciting the role of women in the practice of Sufism through historical documentation alone.[14] Jahanara's lengthy meditations in the tomb of Mu'in ad-Din Chishti would not be permitted in current Chishti practice, according to which women are not allowed to enter the tombs of men (nor are men allowed to enter the relatively few women's tombs). The fact that she and her father the emperor were the principal patrons of the tomb no doubt gave her a special license. Still, this is part of the famous problem of the "invisibility" of Muslim women, which is slowly being illuminated through the efforts of many scholars.[15]

## Controversies over Pilgrimage to Sufi Shrines

The major shift in Chishti devotionalism to tomb cults dates not from the second but from the third cycle of the Indian Chishtiyya. It occurred during the colonial period, in particular due to the rise of the Wahhabis of Sa'udi Arabia in the nineteenth century. Modern reformers in South Asia and elsewhere have tended to denounce the veneration of both imams and saints as idolatrous worship of fallible human beings.[16] In the Indian subcontinent, where pilgrimage (Arabic *ziyara,* Persian *ziyarat*) to Sufi shrines is particularly common, Protestant British civil servants and modern Muslim reformers alike have often seen in this ritual the insidious influence of Indian paganism. From the frequent denunciations of *ziyarat* as "*pir* worship" (worship of the master) in contemporary polemics, one might suppose that it was a transparent case of the corruption of Islam by Hindu polytheism, but a closer look reveals that the case is not so simple. Hindu practices undoubtedly occur at some Muslim shrines.[17] The presence of Hindu practices at a Muslim shrine cannot, however, explain centuries of participation of educated Sufi masters in pilgrimage, for they found *ziyarat* pilgrimage to be an authentic expression of Islamic piety, Qur'anic in

spirit and firmly based on the model of the Prophet Muhammad.[18] This interpretation of pilgrimage is well illustrated by a treatise of the eighteenth century that explains and justifies the practice of pilgrimage to saints' tombs according to the traditions of the Chishti Sufi order.[19]

The treatise in question is a guide to observance of Sufi saints' *'urs* (pl. *a'ras*) festivals. It was written as a preface to the *Makhzan-i a'ras* (Treasury of Death Anniversaries) in 1742–43 by Muhammad Najib Qadiri Nagawri Ajmeri, a Sufi of the Chishti order who lived at the beginning of the third cycle in the Deccan city of Awrangabad. The main body of the book is a calendar of saints, which, like the Roman Catholic calendars, lists for each day of the year the Sufi saints whose festivals are to be celebrated according to the Islamic lunar calendar. Like the Catholic calendars, this Muslim calendar lists saints' festivals by the death anniversary, called *'urs,* literally "wedding"; this records the date when the saint's soul was "wedded," that is, united with God.[20] The celebration of saints' death anniversaries seems to be peculiar to the Islamic East, since in Mediterranean countries celebrations commonly occur on the birthday (*mawlid*) of the saint.[21] It is common to find short calendars of death anniversaries of saints of a particular order, as in a manuscript in the Nizami-Chishti shrine of Taunsa, compiled at the end of the eighteenth century and arranged according to the months of the Muslim lunar calendar (see Appendix). The calendar from this shrine is not strictly equivalent to the direct lineage of the chain (*silsila*) of masters, frequently portrayed in the genealogical "tree" (*shajara*) document. Not only does the list include extra figures outside the Chishti lineage, like the first four caliphs; it also contains some relatively obscure undated ancillary figures who are related by family to the main Chishti shaykhs of this lineage.

It is not clear when the term *'urs* first came into use, though it was already common among the Chishtis in the early fourteenth century.[22] The later Chishti scholar Hajji Imdad Allah (d. 1899) traced the term *'urs* to a saying of the Prophet Muhammad, directed at the saints as they prepare for death: "Sleep with the sleep of a bridegroom (*'arus*)"; this saying suggests that the physical death of the saint is in fact the moment of joyous reunion with the beloved.[23] To make a pilgrimage, or *ziyarat,* to the tomb of a saint is considered beneficial at any time, but at the time of the *'urs* special blessings are available, since Paradise rejoices at the return of that supremely happy moment when a human soul is united with God. A comprehensive pilgrim's guide to these holy days, the lithographed edition of the *Makhzan-i a'ras* gives the death anniversaries of hundreds of saints in well over 200 pages. In the 12-page introduction, the author describes the reasons for making pilgrimages to the tombs of Sufi saints, and how to perform the requisite ceremonies.

The *Makhzan-i a'ras* was not a novelty, but was based on earlier calendars of saints and a number of other literary sources. Muhammad Najib explained that the calendar was an expanded critical edition of the *A'ras-nama,* or "Book of Death Anniversaries," completed several decades earlier by one of Muhammad Najib's fellow disciples in Sufism, Shaykh Sharaf ad-Din ibn Qazi Shaykh Muhammad Nahrawali. The introduction to the calendar is, however, quite unusual as an extended monograph on pilgrimage as a Sufi practice. While the introduction to the *Makhzan-i a'ras* cites by name or quotes from more than two dozen Persian and Arabic Sufi texts, it quotes most extensively from two texts, each of which makes up about one-fifth of the introduction. One of these sources is the *Lata'if-i ashrafi,* the discourses of Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani (d. 1425), a Chishti master from Central Asia.[24] The other

source is a manual on religious practices called *Adab al-talibin* (Rules for Aspirants), by Muhammad Chishti Ahmadabadi (d. 1630), one of the most prolific Sufi authors of the Mughal period. This treatise, which lays heavy stress on Islamic law and ritual, codifies in a few pages current Chishti practices associated with pilgrimages to Sufi tombs.[25] The practices described by Muhammad Najib, based on these early texts that he quotes at length, are thus the product of centuries of tradition.

Muhammad Najib's own version of the calendar was also a scholarly work, quoting extensively from standard works of Sufi biography and history to complement the records of shrines and oral tradition.[26] He compiled this work as an act of piety, to enable Muslims to celebrate saints' death anniversaries and perform pilgrimage to their tombs. The intended audience of the *Makhzan-i a'ras* consisted of Sufi disciples educated in Persian and dedicated to the practices and piety of the Chishti order. References to problems of presenting food offerings during times of poverty indicate that the author had in mind the religious devotee lacking worldly resources. Yet the rich and powerful were also interested in observing the death anniversaries of the saints, to judge from the dedication of the work to a powerful noble and patron of Sufism, Anwar ad-Din Khan. The popularity of the calendar of saints among the ruling class is indicated by its appearance in another recension, compiled by one Muhammad Sharif at the request of Tipu Sultan of Mysore (r. 1783–1799), which eliminated the scholarly apparatus (including the year of death), thus becoming a purely devotional calendar.[27] A number of other works of this type have been written in Persian, and today one can still acquire current Urdu almanacs printed in Bombay and Lahore that prominently feature the death anniversaries of Sufi saints of the Indian subcontinent.[28]

From an early date, pilgrimage to tombs such as Qutb ad-Din's in Delhi was an established practice among the Chishtis, though authorities for this practice are cited from other orders as well, such as the Suhrawardis and Naqshbandis.[29] The famous Moroccan traveler Ibn Battuta made such a pilgrimage to the tomb of Farid ad-Din Ganj-i Shakar (d. 1265) at Ajodhan (modern Pakpattan) around the year 1340.[30] Historical literature from the Sultanate period also attests to the popularity of pilgrimage, and the visits of various sultans to major tombs are frequently mentioned.[31]

Because Muhammad Najib lived in the third cycle, at the outset of British expansion into South Asia, his calendar of saints was an expanded projection of the Chishti order. He explicitly informs us that he amplified the basic text by Sharaf ad-Din Nahrawali, which had been originally written at the order of their master Nizam ad-Din Awrangabadi. Neither Muhammad Najib nor Sharaf ad-Din Nahrawali appears among the list of Nizam ad-Din Awrangabadi's chief disciples, nor do they mention his successor Fakhr ad-Din Dihlawi, so it may be assumed that they were probably minor government functionaries and lay disciples rather than full-time Sufis.[32]

The times during which Muhammad Najib wrote were troubled ones, when, it may be supposed, the codification of religious traditions might serve as a source of order amid political chaos. Mughal India in the eighteenth century was undergoing a difficult decentralization, and its territory was disputed by Afghans, Marathas, and Sikhs. The British and French were eyeing opportunities for their own imperial expansion in India. The Deccan was nominally an appendage of the Mughals, but was increasingly independent under the powerful Nizam, who initially made Awrangabad his capital. The first Nizam (Nizam al-Mulk Asaf Jah, d. 1748) was closely attached to the Chishtis, and even wrote a biography of Nizam ad-Din Awrangabadi.[33] Both the

first Nizam and his successor, Nizam ad-Dawla Nasir Jang (d. 1164/1750), were buried next to one of the principal Chishti places of pilgrimage in the Deccan, the tomb of Burhan ad-Din Gharib (d. 1338) in Khuldabad, near Awrangabad.[34] In what appears to be a dedication at the end of his introduction, Muhammad Najib mentions as a friend of the Sufis Anwar ad-Din Khan Bahadur (d. 1749), the first Nawwab of Arcot, who was allied militarily with the Nizam against the French and British.[35] Evidently Sufis like Muhammad Najib still needed the support of powerful protectors. This had also been true for his master Nizam ad-Din Awrangabadi, who had to travel in the company of the royal army.[36] The internal reorganization of the Chishti order was, in any case, combined with highly uncertain political conditions. This makes it all the more understandable that a calendar of saints, recording and memorializing the religious heroes of the past and present, should have been considered an important enterprise. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries witnessed a considerable growth in the literature of Islamic hagiography and martyrology in India, as has been shown elsewhere.[37]

Many of Muhammad Najib's allusions to the rituals of pilgrimage are casual, presupposing that the reader is familiar with them already, and they touch on observances concerned not only with saints' tombs but also with the tombs of one's relatives and other ordinary persons. Nevertheless, we can summarize here the most important rituals that he mentions. There is an emphasis on determining the exact hour and day of death for commemoration, though this is not indispensable. Food and drink also play an important role and are to be offered to the spirits of the dead and then distributed on whatever scale the pilgrim can afford. Offering food to the spirits of the saints brings good fortune in this life, and pilgrims may also present petitions to the saints. The pilgrim is also urged to offer "sweets, roses, and flowers" at the tomb, or a bit of money, and this is still expected of the visitor today. Performance of music on these anniversaries is a characteristically Chishti practice.

Yet the *ziyarat* is not a terribly rigid ritual, as can be seen from the frequent statement that one should perform only what can be done in accordance with one's ability, especially in case of poverty. Muhammad Chishti summarized this relaxed attitude toward pilgrimage by saying that one should perform it "as much as possible without objection [being attached to it] (*bi-la haraj*)."[38] The ritual is possible and permissible, but not blameworthy. This ritual flexibility is bolstered by a saying of the Prophet Muhammad, that one is to be judged by one's intentions. Another interesting feature is the mention of the superior nights and days of the year, according to the encyclopedic *Revival of Religious Sciences* of Muhammad al-Ghazali (d. 1111 C.E.). This listing of holy days is tied in with the development of Sufi piety and stipulates the most propitious times for supererogatory prayer. Although the holy days have nothing intrinsically to do with saints' death anniversaries, their inclusion by Muhammad Najib is natural in a book that organizes the year into a series of daily sacred remembrances. In addition, repetition of sections from the Qur'an and of various Arabic prayers forms a major part of the pilgrimage procedure.

To tie all the anniversaries together, there is a Muslim equivalent of the Christian All Saints' Day on the first Thursday in the month of Rajab, when one may commemorate all the saints' festivals at once. Muhammad Najib also included instructions for prayers of intercession on behalf of deceased sinners who are undergoing preresurrection torments in the grave; one may willingly give to another the reward for years of prayer, as is shown by the story of Abu al-Rabi' and his 70,000 repetitions

of the Islamic creed. While no precise Islamic equivalent of the Christian All Souls' Day arose, celebration of the salvation of the saint is similarly distinguished from penitential remembrance of the sinner in both traditions.[39] The expansion of a calendar of saints from a strictly Chishti lineage to a comprehensive list of Muslim saints suggested a generic piety detached from specific teaching circles, perhaps assisted by the practice of multiple initiation (from his full name, it is clear that Muhammad Najib had a Qadiri initiation). The earlier sources used by Muhammad Najib, such as Muhammad Chishti's treatise, were commonly used with calendars that provided only a single Chishti lineage to facilitate concentrated devotional practices.

Other pilgrimage practices described by Muhammad Najib raise interesting questions about the status of *ziyarat* as an Islamic ritual and the psychological dimensions associated with its external performance. Like the *hajj, ziyarat* calls for circumambulation, in this case of the tomb rather than of the Ka'ba.[40] Some enthusiastic pilgrims actually found *ziyarat* to be superior to the *hajj.* These comparisons were evidently designed to emphasize the acceptability of *ziyarat* as an Islamic ritual. That some questioned the pilgrimage to saints' tombs we may suppose from the response of the learned Nasir ad-Din Chiragh-i Dihli, who discovered a *hadith* of the Prophet in support of *ziyarat.*[41] Muhammad Najib accepted this canonical approval of *ziyarat* wholeheartedly, and concluded his treatise by describing these practices as good *sunna,* that is, exemplary behavior based on the Prophet's word or deed. Muhammad Najib frequently reminds the reader to observe proper manners (*adab*) and reverentially correct behavior; otherwise one risks offending the saints, who are consciously present and not averse to correcting the offender. One should especially avoid turning one's back on the saint's tomb or turning one's feet disrespectfully in that direction. The pilgrim is also instructed to perform a deep psychological self-examination while visiting tombs, for receptivity to supernatural communications is then greatly increased and one may hope for spiritual guidance by this means.

One of the most interesting extended accounts in the treatise is the lengthy and somewhat obscure reply of 'Ala' ad-Dawla Simnani to an extreme idealist who scorned the spirit's need for a body and so doubted the efficacy of pilgrimage to tombs. 'Ala' ad-Dawla pointed out that pilgrimage to tombs increases one's spiritual concentration (*tawajjuh*) through contact with the earthly remains of a saint. Simnani said further that, along with the subtle body that will appear at the resurrection, the place of bodily entombment is more closely connected with the spirit than is any other material phenomenon. Citing the example of the Prophet Muhammad's tomb in Medina, he argued that while meditation on the Prophet at any time is beneficial, physically visiting the Prophet's tomb is better, since the spirit of the Prophet senses the extra effort and hardship of the journey and assists the pilgrim in attaining the full realization of the inner meaning of the pilgrimage. Sacred space is therefore a function of the concentration of those who visit a site, rather than being intrinsic to the place itself.

Muhammad Najib concedes that there is controversy over honoring the dead, and he argues that objections to this practice simply misunderstand its true nature. He maintains that those souls who received honors while living are still worthy of those honors after their death. This leads him to consider those honors that were controversial in Islamic law, such as prostration before the master. It is common for pilgrims to express their love and respect for the saints by kissing and touching their eyes to the tombs. Prostration, though customary in the courts of kings, is technically per-

missible only before God, as in ritual prayer; many jurists draw the inference that prostration before a mortal is therefore idolatrous, although some permit a distinction between the prostration of respect and the prostration of worship. The Chishti master Nizam ad-Din Awliya' was uncomfortable with the practice but permitted it since it was an established custom with his predecessors.[42] 'Ala' ad-Dawla Simnani mentioned an occasion when people bowed down before his own master, and a jurist forbade them to do so. Yet he made it clear that this prostration is not worship (*'ibadat*) of the person but spontaneous respect (*ta'zim*), which is paid to the spiritual reality that is manifest in the form of the shaykh.

Supporters of *ziyarat* pilgrimage reject the suspicion that it is the result of Hindu influence, and they find the Wahhabi iconoclasm extreme, pointing to passages in both the Qur'an (e.g., *al-Kahf,* 18:21) and the *hadith* reports that approve graves as memorials and allow the visiting of saintly people's tombs as a pious and beneficial act. The tomb was in fact an untypical form of architecture in Hindu India, where cremation was the preferred method of disposal of the dead. From a purely architectural perspective, it might be more correct to describe Sufi shrines as mosques with funerary functions, since the tombs invariably have an orientation to the direction of Mecca, and large mausolea almost always feature a *qibla* niche in the appropriate wall.[43] From this functional perspective, tombs of Sufi saints are developments within the Islamic tradition that do not rely on any Hindu example.

Muhammad Najib's introduction to the *Makhzan-i a'ras* shows a learned Sufi's understanding of *ziyarat* pilgrimage to Sufi shrines as a religious practice comparable to the *hajj* pilgrimage and generally permissible according to Islamic law. Though some disputed the legitimacy of *ziyarat,* Sufi scholars prior to the modern period almost unanimously accepted it as a practice founded on the example of the Prophet Muhammad, and in this view it was thoroughly Islamic in intention. The use of the Islamic lunar calendar and a ritual atmosphere saturated with recitation of the Qur'an reinforced the Islamic character of pilgrimages to saints' tombs. The Sufis' own understanding of the encounter with a saint's spirit derived from their intense cultivation of the master-disciple relationship, which for them reached beyond the limits of life and death. The *ziyarat* pilgrimage is not merely a journey to a place of burial, but is literally a visit to a living saint: One of the most common Persian terms for a saint's shrine is *mazar,* a place that is visited, indicating that the act of personal encounter takes priority over the structure's reliquary function. Pilgrimage to Sufi saints' shrines is, temporally, a search for union with God through synchronicity with the saint's death anniversary; physically it is an approach to the divine presence over the threshold of the saint's tomb.

Given the weight of Islamic tradition that is invoked in this treatise to support pilgrimage to the tombs of saints, and the rarity of criticism of this practice before modern times, it is all the more striking that reformist Sufis of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries should so thoroughly have accepted the critique of pilgrimage advanced by the Wahhabis and their allies. An extraordinary sea change must have taken place in nineteenth-century Muslim countries to allow this reversal to proceed so far. While it cannot be said that the opponents of tomb pilgrimage have at all succeeded in suppressing the practice, its condemnation has a very prominent place in the most widely used textbooks of the Deoband school, such as Ashraf 'Ali Thanvi's *Heavenly Ornament.*[44] Another modern example of juristic opposition to *ziyarat* is the collection of legal responses by Rashid Ahmad Gangohi (d. 1905), who denounces the impropriety

of petitioning the dead, condemns the practice of kissing tombs, and inveighs against attending death anniversary festivals. The learned author, a scholar of the Deoband school and a member of the Sabiri Chishti order, does not deny that spiritual grace (*fayd*) emanates from tombs, but he maintains that the common people must not be permitted to have access to this practice because of the danger of idolatry. His main objection is to its similarity to non-Muslim religious practices.[45]

The stridency of the defense of tomb pilgrimage by recent Sufi authorities in South Asia is probably the best evidence of the success of the reformist polemic.[46] It may be fairly stated that the chief divide in modern South Asian Islam is that between the reformist Deoband school and the devotional and pietist Barelvi school, which champions practices that honor the Prophet and the Sufi saints.[47]

The ritual articulations of sacred space and time at Sufi saints' shrines have probably shifted somewhat over time, with specific variations found at particular shrines. The acceptance of forms such as prostration and kissing the tomb has endured, along with local variations such as having a *fatiha* recited with a scarf (*chadar*) over one's head while standing at the foot of the tomb upon arrival, especially in Ajmer Sharif. Pilgrimage also marks the sites of heroic asceticism, particularly the location of the 40-day retreat (*chilla-gah*).[48] Elite performances of *qawwali* music occur during the day, linking the *chilla-gah* with distinct personalities; e.g., one *chillah* of Baba Farid abuts the shrine of Khwaja Mu'in ad-Din in Ajmer, while another associated with Farid is found outside the tomb of Qutb ad-Din in Delhi. One must also consider the "station of Mu'in ad-Din" outside the shrine of Hujwiri in Lahore, where the first Indian Chishti master was granted the dominion of all of India, for himself and his successors. Ritual space is also generally set aside for Thursday evening *qawwali* music performance. *Mahfil-i 'amm* (public assembly) and *mahfil-i khass* (private assembly) are musical sessions for distinctive audiences, but in major shrines like Nizam ad-Din and Ajmer Sharif, *qawwali* occurs every day, often at specified intervals during the rituals surrounding the maintenance of respect for the tomb.[49]

There remains the question of how to define Sufi shrine pilgrimage in relation to its royal supporters. Can one reduce these institutions to this political relationship? It is sometimes said that later Chishti Sufis compromised major principles of early Chishti practice, particularly the notion that one should give away all donations and avoid visits to royal courts. However much these ideals were compromised, nevertheless they remained ideals throughout. Some social historians tend to focus on the compromises, in which Sufis appear to become too dependent on kings. The alternative is to point out the persistence of the ideals—which is what the sources do and what we, too, will try to do, taking Bengal as our example.

A purely political account claims that Turko-Afghan elites were united in a political-religious symbiosis under several dynastic banners, all of which promoted Islamic rule in northern India through the sponsorship and co-optation of the *tariqa* Sufi orders.[50] There was rivalry between the Sufis and the sultans, not only for material gain but also for spiritual prestige. This cooperation/rivalry is best seen in the lives of famous shaykhs such as Nur Qutb-i 'Alam, who after leaving Delhi at the order of Nizam ad-Din settled in Bengal, becoming closely allied to the local ruling dynasty. In Richard Eaton's view, there were two major strategies for the shaykhs vis-à-vis the court: Either co-opt the court or defy it. The first approach was taken by a non-Chishti group, the Firdawsis. Shaykh Muzaffar Shams Balkhi tried to tutor the sultan to make him more receptive to a Sufi worldview, and to advise him to become

a more observant Muslim in order to maintain his rule. This meant removing infidelity from the kingdom, by opposing and oppressing non-Muslims. The second strategy was to oppose one ruler by substituting another one. In the case of Chishti opposition to the Hindu ruler Raja Ganesh, the ruler's son Jalal ad-Din became a Muslim and a devotee of the saints' descendants. This kind of reading focuses the reader's attention on the political role of Sufis, or alternatively, the manipulation of saintly heroes and their tombs by crafty military leaders who happen to be Muslims. What is missing from either of these scenarios is any sense of a spiritual legacy from the shaykhs themselves. To the contrary, the political comments by Sufi shaykhs constitute a very minor portion of their literary legacy, as Friedmann has shown with the letters of Ahmad Sirhindi.[51] The same applies to the letters of Nur Qutb-i 'Alam, the bulk of which are devoted to elucidating mystical and religious themes. Furthermore, the instrumental view of Sufism as political legitimation becomes enmeshed in self-contradiction, because in practice the dynasts either reject Sufism when they do not need its supportive authority, or they support shrine administrators whose pliancy to political structures invalidates the spiritual legacy of the Sufi masters.[52] What underlies the "compromise" interpretation is an evolutionary-functionalist view of religion, in which Sufism becomes significant only as a symbolic capital negotiated between elites, and the erstwhile spiritual supports weaken or disappear as the political structures get stronger.

The approach of political reductionism ignores the recurrent references in Sufi literature to spiritual masters, and to the patronage of tombs, as a locus of loyalty over centuries of Muslim rule. Although Bengali Sufis of the Sultanate period may have urged Muslim rulers to attack Hindu rulers, Mughal rulers and contemporary Muslim religious figures adopted a hands-off attitude toward Hindu subjects. Regional Sufism cannot be reduced to a question of religion and politics, nor can it be reduced to a question of Muslims versus non-Muslims. Certainly there are notable instances of shrines that became extensions of the court, but this is by no means a universal "decline" from an earlier ideal, as Trimingham would have it; as numerous examples from this book indicate, the later centuries of South Asian Sufi history provide enough counterexamples to discredit that theory. It would be extreme to insist that Chishtis can honor their heritage only by remaining recluses unpolluted by contact with the court. To do so would be to project something like early Christian notions of world-rejecting asceticism, or the Franciscan ideal of poverty, onto Sufism. Yet Sufis who followed the model of Muhammad always felt the duty to return to the world to face their social responsibility. Although some Chishtis lived like hermits, the whole tenor of the master-disciple relationship is one that insists on fulfilling worldly responsibilities and severely limits world renunciation.[53]

Not only for Gujarat, Bengal, but also for Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, and the Deccan does the significance of the early Muslim saints in general, and the Chishti *masha'ikh* in particular, mark a particular kind of South Asian spiritual authority that is not only political and religious but also cultural. Rather than a kind of pre-Jeffersonian division of church and state, we are faced with a spectrum of spiritually charged spaces or sites. They are the devotional loci for Indian Muslims from several classes, and also for Hindus. Their complex character does not allow easy generalization, but one can discern some broad, general features. Perhaps the most important of these is the continuation of the shrines under the management of biological descendants of the shaykhs, many of whom compete with each other for the privilege and the

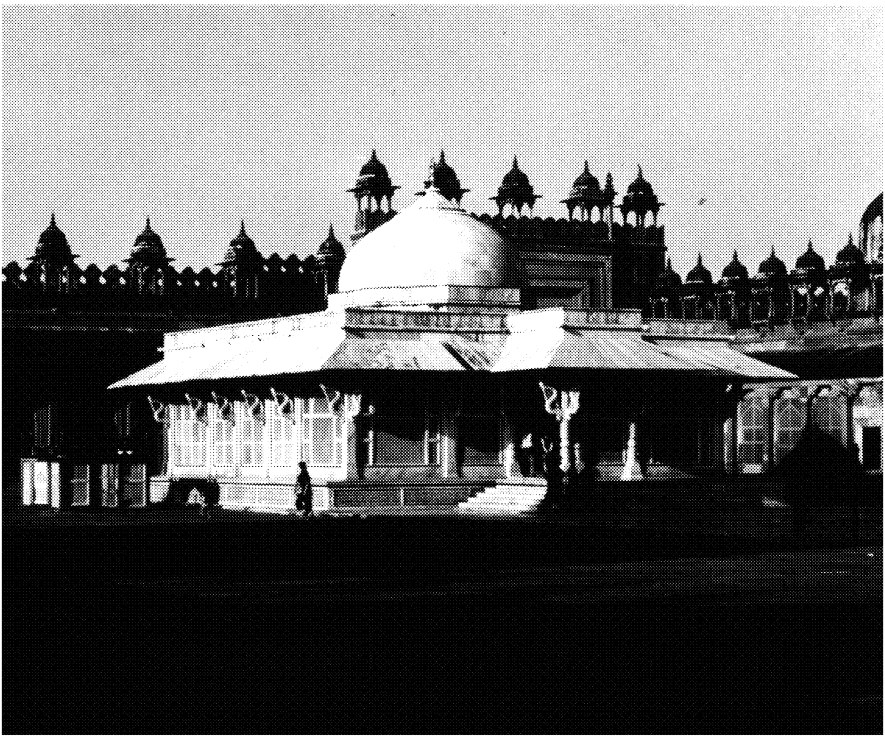
prestige of being addressed as *gaddi nishin,* "the one who sits on the throne." Variations of this practice can be traced from the principal Chishti shrine in Ajmer to branch shrines, like Taunsa on the west bank of the Indus. That continuity, whether in the biological or spiritual line, is ultimately a more important guarantor of institutional coherence than any single source of outside support.

## AKBAR AND SALIM CHISHTI: THE FATE OF THE CHISHTI SHRINE AT FATEHPUR SIKRI

What none of the official dynastic accounts explains is the nature of the Sufi brotherhoods and the attitude of their legatees and devotees toward the Mughal emperor. They single out one important encounter and use it to frame every judgment about the relationship between the royal court and institutional Sufism. This central event is the meeting that took place between Akbar and Shaykh Salim Chishti, when the latter blessed the childless emperor so that he produced an heir. So grateful was the emperor that he built his new capital city, Fatehpur Sikri, in baroque red sandstone surrounding the white marble shrine of Salim Chishti (figure 5.2). Yet Shaykh Salim has left little imprint in Sufi texts; he produced no discourses and has an almost negligible profile in the principal hagiographies. The most extensive reference to his personal traits is provided by the contemporary court historian Bada'oni (but with no reference to any tomb cult). Bada'oni feels that the conduct of the saint, apart from his tomb, merits the fame he attributes to him, emphasizing his spiritual personality rather than his public cult.

Still, in terms of Akbar's new royal capital at Fatehpur Sikri, Shaykh Salim is unquestionably the most famous (and certainly the most visible) of the Chishtis of the Mughal period. Because his biography looms so large in the official court history, it has dominated much subsequent historical attention, yet it begs for a different kind of consideration than as the fulfillment of Akbar's dynastic ambitions.[54] At the very least we could explore the motives for the common bond between the shaykh and the emperor. Consider Shaykh Salim's mystical genealogy. He belongs to an interesting subbranch of a Sufi order. His family heritage, the Faridi line, is traceable back to another miracle-working ascetic recluse, Shaykh Farid ad-Din Ganj-i Shakar (d. 1265). Shaykh Farid was in the first generation of Indian-born masters of the Chishti order. Without denying the spiritual motives attributed to the emperor by his minister Abu al-Fazl, we can see another, pragmatic motive at work in the choice of the Chishtis for royal patronage: Akbar identifies with an illustrious India-specific order, enhancing his own position as a South Asian Muslim monarch.

Traditional accounts stress the firmness of Akbar's claim to rule, and claim that he quickly forgot the exile of his father Humayun from India in the 1540s. Akbar could have linked himself to the then dominant tomb complex of North India, the *mazar* of Shaykh Nizam ad-Din Awliya' (d. 1325) in Delhi, but he chose not to. Why didn't he? Both K. A. Nizami and Simon Digby have indicated the extent to which the Nizami affiliates of the Chishtiyya, as also the tomb of Shaykh Nizam ad-Din, dominated northern India during the period of the Lodi sultans (late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries). In 1564, during his eighth regnal year, Akbar did attempt a pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaykh Nizam ad-Din in Delhi, but he was wounded by an assailant.[55] The injury was reportedly minor, yet the incident resonates with symbolic



5.2. Tomb of Salim Chishti in Fathpur Sikri (Photograph by Carl Ernst)

undertones: Delhi was the stronghold of the ruling Muslim elites. Delhi itself had been the capital of Muslim dynasties in North India until Sikandar Lodi (1489–1517) had opted to make Agra his capital. Agra had continued to serve as the capital for his successor, the last Lodi sultan, Ibrahim (1517- 1526). It remained the imperial center for the brief period of Babur's reign (1526–1530), while Humayun, both before and after his exile in Iran, preferred Delhi.

In securing his own rule at Agra in the decade or so after his accession in 1556, Akbar had to be aware of the tension between Agra and Delhi as rival imperial centers. It may have been in part due to their asymmetry (Delhi having the longer history, Agra the more immediate strategic advantage) that Akbar sought another base from which to project his distinctive version of imperial authority. But one could not simply choose another site. The choice had to have such symbolic and legitimating power that others would accept the rightness of the emperor's decision. Akbar chose Fatehpur Sikri as his new imperial center, linking it to the saint who predicted the birth of his heirs and successors. This fact made its selection logical, even compelling. There were also other advantages that appealed to the spiritual dimension of Akbar's multifaceted personality. Having chosen Fatehpur Sikri, he was able to confirm and continue his affiliation with the tomb of Shaykh Mu'in ad-Din Chishti in Rajasthan while also drawing on the power of a living saint, Shaykh Salim, and through him on the spiritual blessing that derived from his ascetic patron, Shaykh Farid ad-Din Ganj-i Shakar in the Punjab. Through a twofold, redoubled

Chishti loyalty, Akbar could anchor his imperial legitimacy in two provinces adjacent to Uttar Pradesh, the Punjab and Rajasthan, both of which also happened to be crucial to the political-military ambitions of his reign.

As important as Akbar's affiliation with Chishti saints was for the Fatehpur Sikri phase of his life, he abandoned it by 1585, twenty years before the end of his reign. This abrupt shift in loyalty had an impact on institutional Sufism that reverberated throughout the Mughal period. Just as neither Shaykh Salim nor Shaykh Mu'in ad-Din remained a constant focus of Akbar's allegiance, so Fatehpur Sikri was sited as a temporary rather than a permanent capital city; it was, after all, the emperor, not a place or a saint, who was lauded as the apogee of authority—spiritual and temporal—in the Mughal polity as reconceived by Akbar. To the extent that his person did become, in John Richards' apt phrase, "the metaphor for empire," spiritual luminaries could function alongside the imperial cult only by being linked to or subordinated within the aura of ultimate authority arrogated to Akbar and to him alone. The absolutist claims that were raised by Akbar, or by his minister and historian Abu al-Fazl in Akbar's name, forced a redefinition of both sainthood and dynastic succession.

The impact of this change of milieu on the Chishtiyya merits attention. Strangely, we find little evidence about the Chishtiyya in the chronicle of Abu al-Fazl. Apart from Abu al-Fazl's accounts of Akbar's frequent visits to the tomb of Khwaja Mu'in ad-Din Chishti and the emperor's encounter with Shaykh Salim Chishti in the main dynastic chronicle (the *Akbar-nama*), the biographical profiles of all the Indian saints listed in its administrative supplement (the *A'in-i Akbari*), including the Chishtis, are condensed, formulaic recapitulations of minimal interest.[56] Most of the data they set forth can be gleaned from earlier *tazkiras* that must have been available to Abu al-Fazl. By contrast, it is in the contemporary anti-chronicle *Muntakhab at-tawarikh* by Bada'oni, the alleged defender of orthodoxy, that we find many more saints extolled. Bada'oni often recapitulates personal encounters with saints of this generation, in which he meets with or is embarrassed by them. But in 1577, Abu al-Fazl's father, Shaykh Mubarak, had drafted the *mahzar* decree, which, in Bada'oni's words, "affirmed the spiritual supremacy of the Emperor and his superiority to all religious functionaries." Akbar's quest to establish his own supremacy, not just as a political ruler, but also as a spiritual authority, was already well launched. By then the Chishti *silsila* had already lost whatever benefit its partisans—whether shrine custodians, living saints, or Hindu/Muslim devotees—may have gained by the favor that Akbar had previously showered upon them.[57]

It is one of the seldom-noted ironies of Akbar's reign (1556–1605) that the decline of Chishti political fortunes occurred in spite of Chishti family linkages to Akbar's administration. The first official in charge of charitable trusts under Akbar, 'Abd an-Nabi, had a family lineage directly linked to one of the foremost Chishti saints of Babur's period, 'Abd al-Quddus Gangohi (d. 1537). In a similar way, Abu al-Fazl's father Shaykh Mubarak could trace his lineage back to a still earlier Chishti forebear, Shaykh Hamid ad-Din Suwali Nagauri (d. 1274). Both courtiers, however, were removed from active advocacy of either their own Sufi legacy or the active mystical interests of others. Nor did Akbar's construction of Shaykh Salim's tomb within the walled courtyard of the great mosque at Fatehpur Sikri promote the spiritual agenda of the Chishti lineage that he represented. By his patronage of Salim's tomb, Akbar claimed the pan-Indian role of the Chishtis while simultaneously asserting his own authority as imperial patron.[58]

Moreover, following the *mahzar* decree, Akbar continued to command allegiance more to his person than to any achievement, even the mosque-tomb complex of Fatehpur Sikri. During his visit to Shaykh Nizam ad-Din of Narnaul (1579), Akbar showed scant regard for the aged ascetic. The next year when the holy footstone was brought back from Mecca, he feigned interest but actually (if we believe Abu al-Fazl) doubted its authenticity. In 1581 he again visited an esteemed saint, Shaykh Jalal Thanesari, a disciple of the most famous Sabiri Chishti master, 'Abd al-Quddus Gangohi (d. 1537). But this time it was the saint who praised the emperor and submitted to his authority, rather than the reverse, which would have been expected (Akbar had exhibited traditional humility in his early pilgrimage to Ajmer and subsequent engagement with Shaykh Salim). Most telling of all, Akbar did not dignify any saint's tomb with his presence after 1580.

The evidence of the *Akbar-nama* about the pattern of Akbar's visit to saints' tombs is revelatory of the emperor's changed mood. After the momentous events of 1579, Akbar visited Delhi once and spent most of his time at his father Humayun's tomb, and when he last visited Delhi in 1585 he did not visit any tomb but Humayun's. The pattern of visitation, and the actual exclusion or failure by Abu al-Fazl to mention a visit to Nizam ad-Din's tomb at Ghiyaspur, implies that Akbar devalued the spiritual potency of the Chishti connection. The same conclusion can be drawn from other evidence, but it is confirmed at the point where Akbar was most visible, his travel to appointed places of merit or remembrance in between rounds of military engagement. It is, therefore, impossible to say, as Akbar's apologists have repeatedly tried to do, that the greatest Mughal remained faithful to Sufi Muslim exemplars to the end of his life.

## The Regulation of Current Practices at the Ajmer Shrine

Because Ajmer is so important, it deserves closer analysis than it has received to date. The shrine has functioned continuously as a site of visitation and prayer, intercession and music since the death of its founder, Khwaja Mu'in ad-Din Chishti, in 633/1236. It includes not only the central shrine of Khwaja Sahib, who is also known as Gharib Nawaz (the succor of the poor) and 'Ata-i Rasul (the gift of the Prophet), but also a vast complex adjacent to the central shrine containing a religious academy (*madrasa*), a mosque, and a burial plot. Other abodes of rest, or "royal courts" (*dargahs*), as tombs are called, abut the main area of Ajmer Sharif, mostly belonging to Chishtis but also to Qadiris and one to a Shi'i martyr.

Such a vast institution provides the intersection for numerous claims to sanctity and blessing. It also provides the battleground for conflicting financial interests. These began with the Mughal emperor Akbar and were continued by his successors, including Aurangzeb. Had Akbar limited his largesse to the construction of buildings or even direct expenditures of charity for the poor or the upkeep of custodian families, long-term problems might have been avoided. But instead, he offered land grants for the maintenance of the *dargah.* They were continued by his son and successor, Jahangir, but also other royal visitors (*maharajas, rajas,* and *nawabs* of princely states), with the result that the positions of volunteer service that dated back to the thirteenth century became linked to real estate holdings that yielded and continue to yield considerable annual income.

To put the problem in its rawest form, *namaz,* or Islamic ritual prayer, which is the main function of all visitors to the shrine, became linked to *nazar-o-niyaz,* monies that are paid to the *khuddam,* or resident functionaries, by visitors to Ajmer Sharif. The same process operates in other shrines. At Ajmer it is simply cast in its broadest, and most complex, pattern.

The biggest income from offerings comes at the time of the annual *'urs,* celebrated during the first six days of the month of Rajab (as with all observances in the 356-day Muslim lunar calendar, this occurs nine days earlier each solar year, so it has no fixed date in the Gregorian calendar).[59] But at other times visitors also come to the shrine for numerous reasons, and when they do, they are usually served by one of the attendants (*khadims,* sometimes known by the Arabic plural *khuddam*).

These "servants" are more than servants. They are attached to the shrine as those who serve it from the time of their ancestor, himself an attendant of the great saint, Khwaja Sahib. Maulana Syed Fakhruddin Ahmad Gardezi was the first *khadim,* or *khadim-i khass,* of Gharib Nawaz, and his successors—a group numbering perhaps 1200 adult males with families, most living close to the shrine—have been aptly described as a "tribe." They are a tribe with many clans, each staking out some claim to the vast responsibilities and resources of the shrine complex. Their primary task is to oversee and perform the day-to-day rituals and services connected with the shrine. They also maintain and modify the various buildings adjacent to the shrine.

But the most important function is to supervise pilgrims. The attendant who supervises serves as an intermediary, or *wakil.* His relationship with pilgrims is formalized through a contract called a *wikalat-nama.* Often this document goes beyond just an exchange of services or payment of fees; it has been described as "a sort of pledge . . . by which a devotee bound himself, his family members, relatives, clansmen (and in the case of a *pir,* his followers, too) to a particular *khadim* . . . by accepting him as his/their *wakil* at the *dargah.*" And what does the *wakil* do? He "helps and guides them (his clients) in the performance of *ziyarat* (visit to the tomb), circumambulation, rituals, recitation of *fatiha* (prayers for the dead)." The *khadim* prays with his client during the time of visitation; he continues to pray for him after his departure. And in return, he receives all the *nazar-o-niyaz* (offerings), whether in cash or kind, gold and silver articles, animals, and a one-quarter share of the cauldron food offered by the devotee.[60] This service included Hindus as well as Muslims, and it is evident from correspondence preserved at the Ajmer shrine that the traffic in Hindu clients, not only in temporary *nazar-o-niyaz* but also permanent land grants, was substantial.[61]

If Ajmer signifies how important shrines, custodians, and succession of custodians in the precolonial period were, it also reflects how, with the arrival of the British, the pattern of influence and intrigue became still more complicated. In Ajmer, the British Deputy Commissioner took on the task of choosing between claimants to the office of chief shrine custodian, it is or *sajjada nishin.* From 1867, the affairs of the shrine were regulated by the Religious Endowments Act of 1863. The family that was in charge of the shrine from 1912 to 1947 migrated to Pakistan at Partition, and the Chief Commissioner then selected a new incumbent. Legal appeals filed by disappointed claimants went eventually to the Indian Supreme Court, and resulted in the passing of the Dargah Khwaja Sahib Act in 1955, a law designed specifically to regulate the affairs of that Sufi shrine. This gave the Dargah Committee the right to appoint as shrine administrator the Diwan (a title meaning "royal treasury"), and it also

opened up all the procedures of the *dargah* to judicial review. Particularly vilified, and marginalized, were the hereditary *khadims,* who, as we saw above, received offerings directly from the pilgrims for the services they rendered.

Both native and foreign scholars have chosen to hold the *khadims* up for scathing review. They are accused of mismanagement, corruption, and peculation.[62] They exclude, however, the viewpoint of the *khadims* themselves as the sole group with long-standing hereditary claims to manage the Ajmer shrine. One descendant of a *khadim* lineage who is now on the history faculty of Aligarh Muslim University is trying to rectify the account, but so far his has been a solitary voice. The chorus of condemnation has been almost unremitting. The saint can have only unworthy followers as keepers of his shrine; the more money they have, the less spiritual they become. And then, of course, there is the prospect that they may become pawns or players in politics, whether at the local, regional, or national level.

What this reading ignores is the extent to which members of the *khadim* community have maintained their role often at personal sacrifice. Consider the moment of Partition. While it is true that the chief administrator of the Ajmer shrine went to Pakistan, all the *khuddam* family members stayed in Ajmer. One scholar suggests that they stayed because the commercial gain and social prestige were too great for them to leave.[63] More likely, however, they had a commitment to continue, at any cost, in the steps of their own ancestors. From 1951 to 1971 the remuneration of *nazar-o-niyaz* was very low indeed. Some *khuddam* complain of eating dust during this period. Then, with 1971, things changed for the better, for two reasons: the war for Bangladeshi independence, and the recycling of funds from Indians working in the Persian Gulf. Yet the disadvantages of being in Ajmer remain. The current government of the province of Rajasthan, where Ajmer is located, is dominated by the pro-Hindu Bharatiya Janata Party. Consequently, funds allotted for much-needed infrastructure improvements in the vicinity of the Ajmer shrine have been redirected to the nearby Hindu holy place of Pushkar, now a popular tourist stop for many Europeans and Middle Easterners.

Examples of shrines in Pakistan comparable to Ajmer include Baba Farid's tomb and its custodians (*diwans/gaddi nishins/sajjada nishins*) at Pakpattan, and also the tomb-shrine of Shah Sulayman Tawnsawi, both discussed at length by David Gilmartin.[64] Gilmartin underscores the change in notions of authority that began with the British colonial rule but are not limited to it. He describes how the custodians of the major Chishti shrines became local figures in a larger regional/global contestation of political power and traces how the authority of these figures changed due to the mediating control on questions of succession exercised by the British court system. Equally important was the changing notion of what constituted Islamic education. For instance, a debate raged in Chishti circles in the 1930s over whether or not the British could compel a minor who had become *diwan* at Pakpattan to obtain education at a British college in Lahore. All the *sajjada nishins* from other major Chishti shrines in North India protested "that the *sajjada nishin* should be a Darwesh and has no need of receiving the education which is imparted to the sons of rich families."[65] However, modern education, at an institution with the full impress of British authority, did not prevent another twentieth-century Sufi *pir,* Zauqi Shah, from attaining wide recognition as a spiritual master, or the custodians of the shrine of Gisu Daraz at Gulbarga in the Deccan from covering education for both sexes up to medical school.

Although the custodianship of tombs incurred all sorts of difficulties and problems, tombs were also sites of sanctity, connected to the expansion of Sufi influence through major *khalifas.* There was in fact often an intimate connection that crossed over from the *farzandan-i nan* (those who claim direct biological connection to the saint and therefore maintain his *dargah* after his "death" through Muslim inheritance law) and the *farzandan-i jan* (those who see themselves as the saint's spiritual descendants, and often are loosely connected to the *dargah*). This connection can be seen with reference to the special role of Badr ad-Din Ishaq's descendants at the tomb of Nizam ad-Din Awliya'.[66]

While it would be convenient to create a binary category separating out the spiritual from the physical progeny of great saints, the actual fact is that the two offspring overlap, and interact, one with the other. We should read the testimony of living descendants, and custodians, alongside the judgments of prior scholarship that may have accepted too readily categories, and also category assumptions, that favor the "real" Sufi saint over the mendacious shrine functionary. One also should connect this crucial point to the hidden message of later *tazkira* authors, such as Khwishagi, who talk about both progeny and successors, noting the complementarity as well as the competition between a master's spiritual and biological offspring.

The issue of internal reform, as distinct from British influence, has remained alive at the major tomb-shrine complexes from the mid- nineteenth-century to the present. It concerns not only the elite-minded reformers but also the *khadim* community in its self-perception of the role that it is supposed to play as custodians and transmitters of the saint's legacy. It is a question that reverberates at lots of levels, not just whether or not the *diwan* is a minor or an illiterate, a "drunken" or a "sober" Sufi. It has to do with the climate of attack on Sufism as itself *in toto* a deviation from true Islam, insofar as it is linked to cults at saints' tombs, invocation of these saints as intercessors, and engagement with music and poetry as media for accessing the Unseen.[67] The reformist threats of the Jama'at-i Islami and the Tablighis overlap on this point: Even though both adopt a style of leadership that presumes the authority of a Sufi master, they try to annul the traditional order and their sites, especially at Nizamuddin in Delhi, perhaps because of its enormous symbolic capital.

Pilgrimage to the shrines of Chishti saints is a practice that pulls together many contradictory strands of religious identity and political power. It is simultaneously defended and attacked for its Islamic credentials, and it is at once dependent on state patronage and on popular participation. It is both a living link to God through the Sufi masters of the past and an idolatrous obstacle to true worship of God. But it is also a practice that lies at the center of what it means to be a Chishti, and no one related to this tradition can afford to be indifferent to it.

# Chapter Six

# Colonial Chishtis

It is often supposed that as we approach the modern period, we enter into a realm of greater factual certainty, offering richer analytical insight, because we come closer to our own time and to people more like us, less like the ancients or medievals, who are at once remote from us in time and sensibility. This temporal provincialism can be an obstacle, however, to the appreciation of either modernity or the premodern past. Assuming an absolute break between past and present ignores powerful continuities and the influence of tradition. Yet there are new realities that appear in the field of our investigation over the past two centuries, which introduced radical changes into South Asia during the period of British colonial rule. Colonialism, a massive process whose impact is still poorly understood, looms over the history of much of the non-European world like an immense shadow. Its existence is a fact that must be accounted for.

Explaining this colonial period is no easy task, however. And facts are meaningful only in relation to significant questions that one can pose within larger frames of reference. The right questions about the colonial/early modern period of Chishti Sufism are not easily posed. They are made more difficult by what J. H. Hexter has called "the disposition to present-mindedness," that is, the tendency to see all of history as only a reflection of our present. We occupy a penumbral zone between a former time that is remote from our understanding and a current time that suffuses our own perceptions of social order and meaning. We are still faced with the chasm between the perspective of a Sufi author and a modern researcher, who is not a Sufi. The chasm cannot be bridged, but it can be constantly kept in mind. Both of us are modern researchers, and we work together to investigate premodern writings from a non-European part of the globe. A chasm of time and space separates us from our subjects, and them from us. Our subjects' worldview, in common with all premodern worldviews, eschewed both the Galilean mode of reasoning and the Cartesian conception of knowledge. In their stead our subjects privileged "textual exegesis, cosmic analogies and above all appeals to authority, both genealogical and literary, scriptural and juridical."[1]

We study premodern Chishti Sufis, knowing that their worldview is not ours, no matter how great our affection for their writings or our immersion in the quest that motivated them. Our perspective is at once individual and collective. While both of

us may have doubts about the place and time in which we live, we cannot fully escape its dominant mood. We remain present-minded, even when we resist present-mindedness. We investigate the past as a social datum filtered through our own present. We enjoy no secure frames of reference; we possess no uncontestable or incontrovertible facts.

And yet we approach the premodern period with a glut of texts, all of which talk about decline and revival, innovation and reform, heresy and orthodoxy. And all of them are shaped, sometimes explicitly, more often unconsciously, by the existence of three modern nation-states: Bangladesh, India and Pakistan. Each has its own ideology of survival and filters the past according to priorities matching that ideology. Pakistanis, for instance, channel much scholarship into proving either the inevitability or the avoidability of Pakistan, while Indian scholars frequently see only the link to Hindu *bhakti* devotion as confirming Sufis, especially Chishtis, in a variant mode of specifically Indic spirituality.[2] The best scholarship frees itself, or at least distances itself, from such preoccupations, but there remains an underlying partisanship favoring one Sufi group (e.g., Naqshbandis over all for many Pakistanis) or one subgroup over other subgroups (Nizami over Sabiri Chishtis for many Indian scholars).

Yet Western scholarship, merely by being outside the immediate arc of nationalist ideologies, is not thereby free of its own prejudgments. There is, for instance, a scholarly approach that concentrates on showing the limits of all South Asian Sufism, because it is tied either to political developments or material limits. While these observations are useful within their own frame of reference, they depend for their validity upon functionalist assumptions about the relationship between religion and politics, a relationship in which the overriding importance of political legitimation reduces other aspects of religion to a secondary position.[3]

We would like to highlight a different aspect of the recent history of South Asian Sufism, taking as our point of departure a historiography developed by our subjects themselves. The narratives by which Chishtis explained their own history in the period of British dominance distinguish two principal sublineages, the Nizamiyya and the Sabiriyya. It is through examining their interaction that one gains the most comprehensive narrative of the order in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The Nizami Chishtis came to prominence in the eighteenth century, principally in Delhi, the Deccan, and Punjab, through masters who were related to but in tension with local political leaders. Although each of these Sufi teachers (the successors to Sulayman Taunsawi) had a major commitment to founding and maintaining a religious community with a material and political base, they also made spiritual training in the meditative techniques of the Chishti tradition the foundation of that particular localized community. But from the outset of the twentieth century, this account of traditional Chishti masters was complicated by the modernizing cultural technique of Hasan Nizami (1878–1955), who began to employ new forms of literary communication adapted to the mass audience of print capitalism.

The Sabiri Chishtis, by contrast, vaulted from obscure origins to prominence in the Mughal period. They achieved renown through a series of masters whose explosive power frequently was attained by transhistorical Uwaysi initiations, initiations that were also modulated by contact with Indian yoga techniques and Sufi metaphysical doctrine. In the wake of the abortive 1857 revolt against the British, some of the Sufi heirs of Hajji Imdad Allah adapted and transformed their outlook into a pan-Indian force. They took the lead in reasserting Islamic scriptural and legal norms,

particularly through the foundation of the Deoband seminary. This reformist move entailed a reevaluation and critique of parts of the Chishti legacy, especially in matters of practice such as tomb pilgrimage and listening to music. Of special note is Ashraf 'Ali Thanvi, whose erudite and reasoned consideration of Chishti history illustrates this reformist trend. In the case of the twentieth-century missionary movement of the Tablighi Jama'at, reformism amounted to a sublimation and simplification of Sufi piety. In the end, the Tablighis rejected institutional Sufism altogether.[4] Other heirs of Imdad Allah retained the key spiritual practices of the Chishtiyya. Particularly in the circle of Zauqi Shah, these practices were preserved for new audiences through modern techniques of argumentation and dissemination.

Though cognizant of the Sabiri/Nizami divide, Chishtis themselves typically resort to less analytical accounts of the differences between the two great suborders. According to Liaqat Moini, himself a member of the *khadim* family attached to Ajmer Sharif, the divide may be explained in terms of emphasis on different divine qualities that may be perceived by the spiritually acute at the major shrines. Up to the present day, the aspect at the chief Sabiri shrine of Kalyar Sharif is one of divine majesty (*jalal*), complementing while also competing with the ambience of divine beauty (*jamal*) at Ajmer Sharif. This comment on shrine atmosphere is based on a long-standing opinion contrasting the temperaments of the saints 'Ala' ad-Din Sabir (the awe-inspiring recluse) and Nizam ad-Din Awliya' (the benevolent friend of humanity).[5] Thus the Chishti's own perception of the difference between their suborders rests on the spiritual character of pivotal figures, while our approach stresses the complexity of historical contexts and institutional structures.

## The Nizamiyya Chishtiyya

Those who speak of a Chishti revival or resurgence too often have in mind the idea that renewed attention to religious learning and the mediation of spiritual exemplars marks a new beginning, if not a return to the glory of past historical epochs.[6] There is no doubt a sense of coalescence around a set of symbols and leaders that suggests "movement." There is also institution building and networking, but it seems to be continuous with a perceived common past, even while responding to new ground-level realities. What is required, above all, is attention to lineages as more than family trees; they also become resources for mobilization and engagement in the present.

Those who devalue religious experience in general and Sufism in particular cite the Chishti developments of the eighteenth century as lingering attachments to outdated traditions, at once local and parochial. In their view, latter-day Sufism is a simulacrum, a pale imitation, of the previous days of glory.[7] What is lost in this approach is the extent to which a model of Sufism outside the sources themselves must always reflect its own temporal, and often locational, presuppositions. Too often a kind of modernist triumphalism is smuggled into "objective" analyses of South Asian Sufism. It is presumed that late Mughal/early modern Indian spiritual masters reflect a historical devolution, marked by institutional sclerosis, in which the high-water mark of Sufism actually precedes the rise of the Sufi orders (*turuq*) in the twelfth century. In this view, the orders themselves are epitomized by the original thinkers and magnetic leaders whose period of ascendancy was limited to their earliest period, and whose successors thought narrowly in terms of securing local

terrain, material gain, and political access. The main characteristics of the three periods of Sufism were defining Islam, expanding Islam, and defending Sufis as Muslims against rival reformist Muslims. While there is a neat symmetry and progression to this view of Islamic spirituality, it reduces Sufism to a process of inescapable decline that ignores the agency of individual masters and also the persistence of ideals that link one period to the other. Our own five-part periodization of the history of the Chishtis, with two archaic pre-Indian periods and three cycles in India, is deliberately formulated to avoid the "decline and fall" model and illustrate the continuities in changing contexts.

The ideals that conjoin the early with the middle and late periods are especially important for studying the Chishtiyya (or for that matter any of the other major Sufi orders) in the late Mughal/early British period. While there are particular practices of *sama'* and *zikr* that characterize the Chishtiyya, it shares with other orders the following four ideals: the primacy of mystical insight (*'irfan*), the invocation of a sacred lineage (*nasl*), the recollection of the model behavior of the Prophet Muhammad (*sunna*), and the advocacy of Muslim learning (*'ilm*).[8]

Consider the case of Shaykh Sulayman Taunsawi (d. 1850). Rather than categorize him as part of the so-called Chishti revival, we prefer to locate him in the third cycle of the Chishti Nizamiyya, a historical period (eighteenth–twenty-first centuries) characterized by powerful political, religious, and cultural upheavals besides the ideological issue of reform. While numerous scholars cite him as a founding figure of the Chishti recuperation in eighteenth century North India, we lack a complete picture of him, although we can say with confidence that future scholarship will benefit from the library built up and retained at his principal lodge in Taunsa on the upper Indus. But we do know that he himself was the major successor to Nur Muhammad Maharvi (d. 1790), who was acclaimed for his efforts to bridge mystical knowledge (*'irfan*) and religious scholarship (*'ilm*) through *sunna,* that is, the exemplary behavior of the Prophet. He thus demonstrated loyalty both to Islamic law (*shari'a,* the outcome of *'ilm*) and to the spiritual path (*tariqa,* the outcome of *'irfan*). This concentration on the religious sources of Islam was not the only activity of Sulayman Taunsawi, however. At the same time, he and other Chishtis were drawn into complicated political relations with non-Muslims, as a result of the dissolution of old imperial structures as British colonialism began to take hold of India. He urged his followers to participate in resistance against Sikh aggression in the Punjab, and so, apparently for the first time in the annals of Chishti history, we have spiritual biographies drawn into partisanship on behalf of one political group (Muslim) over against another (non-Muslim). Another successor of Nur Muhammad, Sulayman Taunsawi's contemporary Hafiz Muhammad Jamal (d. 1811), is also said to have taken part in resistance to Sikh attacks on Multan.[9] Notable, however, is the effort of Shah Sulayman to maintain cordial relations with Punjabi Hindus even while he opposed their Sikh neighbors.[10]

It is, above all, the combination of spiritual valence and political activism that characterizes Shaykh Sulayman. He consolidated the order by stressing learning through establishment of institutions: not only the academy called Dar al-'Ulum at Taunsa on the upper Indus, but also other religious schools throughout the Punjab, linking each to instruction in the mystical insights of the Nizami Chishti branch of Sufism. The same pattern of educational effort was followed by his successor Muhammad 'Aqil (d. 1814), and the latter's disciple Gul Muhammad Ahmadpuri

(d. 1827), both of whom founded religious schools in the southern Punjab that provided free instruction and lodging to hundreds of students.[11]

The key to understanding this branch of the Nizami Chishtiyya is the pattern previously established by Shah Kalim Allah (1650–1729). He is often credited with engineering the revival of the Chishti order at a time when "Muslim society was in a state of utter disorder."[12] Decline/revival or disorder/order—both oppositions reflect an overly determined dyadic model. Shah Kalim Allah, although a native of Delhi, was initiated into a branch of the Chishtiyya based in the Gujarat region, although his master, Yahya Madani, had moved to Arabia. This Gujarat branch is traced back to Kamal ad-Din 'Allama, a fourteenth-century disciple of Nasir ad-Din Chiragh-i Dihli.[13] Kalim Allah's master also initiated him into the Qadiri, Suhrawardi, Naqshbandi, and Shattari orders, illustrating how common the practice of multiple initiations was becoming. The Gujarat Chishti lineage over eight generations had a hereditary aspect, but with Kalim Allah there is a breaking away from the principle of hereditary succession. He himself came from a prominent family of architects, who were closely involved in the construction of the showcase of Mughal monuments: the Taj Mahal. Kalim Allah had a broad scientific education and wrote commentaries on major works of astronomy ('Amili) and medicine (Avicenna's *Canon*). It was in Arabia that he received his initiation into the Chishtiyya from Yahya Madani, before returning to Delhi where he began large-scale instruction of disciples in basic religious texts (*hadith*) and in Sufism. He kept in touch with his chief disciple, Nizam ad-Din Awrangabadi (d. 1730), through a series of letters while the latter traveled in the Deccan with the army of the powerful noble Nizam al-Mulk. During this period, Shah Kalim Allah was sensitive to public criticism of Chishti practices of *zikr* and *sama'*, but he defended their practice with tempered arguments.

K. A. Nizami argues that from a structural point of view, the decisive achievement of Kalim Allah was to recentralize the Chishti order, which had been operating on a regionally dispersed basis since the beginning of the second cycle of the Indian Chishtis, i.e., after the death of Nizam ad-Din Awliya' in 1325. He also maintains that this recentralization (which coincided with the decentralization of the Mughal empire) was a return to the methods of spiritual dissemination that had characterized the masters of the first cycle of the Chishtiyya, so that it permitted once again a coordinated extension of the order in different regions.[14]

While politics is never separate from religion, the shift in political fortunes for the Mughals did not mirror or cause the shift in fortunes of the Nizamiyya Chishtiyya. The key issue is what was happening to Indo-Muslim society as a whole in the eighteenth century. It is often maintained that after the death of the emperor Aurangzeb in 1707, under whose reign the Mughal empire reached its maximum extent, the empire went into political decline, culminating in the repeated sacking of Delhi by the Afghan invaders Nadir Shah (1738–39) and Ahmad Shah Durrani (1757). This political decline is often linked with a moral and religious decline among the Muslims of North India. In such a degraded landscape, a spiritual light like that provided by Kalim Allah stands out all the more sharply by contrast. In our view, the portrait should not be so starkly drawn, not to detract from Kalim Allah, but to highlight the peculiar sensitivity and nostalgia of modern Indo-Muslim attitudes. It is only in modern times that the trope of decline has become pervasive. It needs to be differentiated as well as challenged. It may have even been the decline of central political authority in Delhi that made possible the establishment of independent institutions of

spiritual and religious instruction by the successors to Kalim Allah. As we saw with Akbar, a powerful empire centered on a charismatic ruler had little interest in fostering spiritual creativity on the part of others. In any case, the institutional importance of Kalim Allah is such that he remains the pivotal figure who inaugurates the third cycle of the Indian Chishtiyya.

Yet how subtly the third cycle (eighteenth–twenty-first centuries) emerges from, and reinforces, trends already present in the second cycle (fourteenth–eighteenth centuries). Consider the precursors to Shah Kalim Allah, especially Shaykh Miyanji, i.e., Shaykh Hasan Muhammad Chishti ibn Shaykh Ahmad ("the greatest Chishtiyya in early sixteenth century Gujarat"), whose life is recounted in the Supplement to the regional history of Gujarat, *Mir'at-i Ahmadi*.[15] He was particularly effective in precisely those areas of spiritual practice that are regarded as the hallmark of Chishti tradition. Not only was Shaykh Miyanji a formidable figure, but so was his pir Shaykh Jumman, and then his successor, Shaykh Muhammad (d. 1630); his successor, Shaykh Siraj ad-Din (d. 1640–41); and his successor, Shaykh Yahya Madani ("certainly the greatest Chishtiyya of his time"), who was himself the master of Shah Kalim Allah.[16]

The continuity of practice of the third cycle with the first cycle is also evident. Shah Kalim Allah and his successors stressed the importance of avoiding the court, in his case the emperor Farrukhsiyar (r. 1713–19); his disciple Nizam ad-Din Awrangabadi had to be careful with Aurangzeb himself (apparently in the 1670s) and later with his son and heir Prince A'zam Shah (r. 1707).[17] Yet these later Chishtis made it a principle always to distribute the alms they received, except under special circumstances (such as personal illness for Shah Kalim Allah, or the desire to pay the *qawwals* on Friday night for Shaykh Nizam ad-Din Awrangabadi). To this extent one can see their deliberate attempt to maintain the continuity with classic Chishti principles from the first cycle.

Yet even within the lineage of Shah Kalim Allah there was disagreement about the relative importance of particular masters. In *Manaqib-i Fakhriyya* (written by a member of the new Deccan dynasty of the Nizams) there is a long excerpt on behalf of Nizam ad-Din Awrangabadi, and then a long section on his successor Fakhr ad-Din Dihlawi, implying that the latter was the most important Sufi in the third cycle of Delhi Chishtis. Nor does the extension of the Kalim Allah tradition from Delhi to the Deccan represent the sole regional view of spiritual vitality in the eighteenth/nineteenth century Nizamiyya Chishtiyya. Consider the massive nineteenth-century Punjab-based biographical collection *Khazinat al-asfiya*. From that perspective Shaykh Yahya Madani, Shaykh Kalim Allah, and Shaykh Nizam ad-Din Awrangabadi are hardly given more than cursory treatment. Other nineteenth-century biographies provide still different priorities as the Chishti order continued to ramify into different branches. In short, for Sufi masters, as for their sublineages, it is historical context, not abstract dyads, that is determinative. Judgments of greatness and decline interfere with our ability to grasp the detailed significance and character of either individual Sufi masters or their family traditions.

No narrative can be invoked, no interpretation offered without first recognizing the powerful magnet emanating from the model of the earliest masters of the first cycle of Indian Chishtis. To return to Shaykh Sulayman Taunsawi, his immediate *pir*, Nur Muhammad Maharvi, was himself the fourth in line of succession from Shah Kalim Allah. In Chishti genealogical documents, the sequence is: Kalim Allah Jahanabadi (1142/1729), Nizam ad-Din Awrangabadi (1142/1730), Fakhr ad-Din Dihlawi

(1199/1784), Nur Muhammad Maharvi (1205/1790), Sulayman Taunsawi (1267/1850). Why a cluster of five masters? And why these five? The parallel of the third and most recent phase to the first is not only evident but also decisive. As with their thirteenth–fourteenth century forebears Mu'in ad-Din and Qutb ad-Din, the eighteenth/nineteenth century Nizami Chishtis begin with two major shaykhs whose lives overlap and whose death dates are nearly identical. The third Shaykh in each case (Farid ad-Din in the thirteenth century, Fakhr ad-Din in the eighteenth century) consolidates and extends the order, but it is his successor (Nizam ad-Din in the thirteenth–fourteenth, Nur Muhammad in the eighteenth) who secures the growth and expands still further the influence of his predecessors. The fifth successor in both instances is hemmed in by non-Muslim political authorities and Muslim spiritual rivals to such an extent that the luster is limited though still retained.

The difficulty with this evident similarity over a five-century span is that it is too neat. It derives from a revision of the master account of the Chishtiyya, called *Takmila-i siyar al-awliya'* [The Appendix to *Siyar al-awliya'*], itself a nineteenth-century supplement to *Siyar al-awliya'*, the major biography of Shaykh Nizam ad-Din written in the fourteenth century. This supplement is by Gul Muhammad Ahmadpuri (d. 1827), a Sufi disciple who is himself third in succession from Nur Muhammad, albeit by a different subbranch than Shaykh Sulayman Taunsawi, since his master was Muhammad 'Aqil (d. 1813). What needs to be stressed is the influence on Gul Muhammad Ahmadpuri's account—conscious but more likely subconscious—of the exemplary masters from the first cycle. Not only their actual but also their perceived power was such that it prompted him to retell their story as his. They offered a model in his subconscious too pervasive to be erased or modified greatly in his own updating of the story of the Nizami Chishtiyya. The classical becomes the modern; the later third period is a return to, and a re-embodiment of, an earlier "golden age."

Yet the modern is never simply a retelling or a reliving of an earlier, glorified epoch. It also brings its own dynamics. If we were to follow only the dictates of political history and the criteria of social science, the test case for the Chishti Nizami Sulaymaniyya lineage in the colonial period might seem to be the battles over shrines in the Punjab. Consider the shrine at Taunsa, which witnessed a conflict between two of the branches of succession from Shaykh Sulayman, one of them linked to his grandson Allah Bakhsh (d. 1901), the other to Mihr 'Ali Shah (d. 1937). Political power struggles internal to the Sulaymaniyya can be traced to British manipulation and also the rivalry of local Sikhs, Hindus, and Muslim reformers. But political contestation is only part of the narrative. In terms of the Chishti spiritual legacy and its continuity, we find a different story. It is a story that focuses on the expanded lineage of particular saints and their devotional discipline.

Prior to the colonial period, spiritual lineage (*nasl*) was conceived with reference to India and its several regions or outlying areas. But because of the dispersal of labor and the immigration of Indians to other parts of the British empire, Chishti missionary activity (*tabligh*) extended within and beyond India. For instance, although Mihr 'Ali Shah's direct *pir* was Shams ad-Din Siyal (d. 1882), he was also affiliated with Muhammad 'Ali, one of whose disciples was Habib 'Ali Shah, who in turn was the master of Sufi Saheb (d. 1916), the Chishti responsible for introducing Chishti Nizami Sulaymaniyya into South Africa. His successor in South Africa was Shah Muhammad Ibrahim Sufi. This lineage is listed as an example of authentic succession

(*khilafat-i rashida*) in a late English-language hagiography published in the Deccan, thus joining the local with the international.[18]

The biography of Shah Muhammad Ibrahim Sufi is important at two levels for the spatial expansion of the lineage. The first and most evident is Chishti linkage overseas to the significant Indian minority community in South Africa. Especially in Durban, the Chishtiyya have shaped a part of the local ethos, as explained in a special issue of the Delhi-based Sufi periodical *Munadi* dedicated to Chishtis in South Africa. But the equally important second level is the way in which Chishti devotional practice in South Africa connected back to the center of Chishti Sufism in India, the shrine of Mu'in ad-Din Chishti in Ajmer. Thus the increased travel and communication, fostered by the colonial infrastructure made possible a new degree of geographical extension and networking of the Chishtiyya.

As an example of this new international reach, the story is told that Shah Muhammad Ibrahim Sufi as an old man left South Africa to come to Ajmer to die. When he died, he was buried there in a modest tomb. Then a successful disciple from South Africa committed funds to expand the tomb into the structure that now sits on Taragarh Hill, on the climb up to the disputed tomb of Miran Husayn Khing Sawar, a legendary Sunni Muslim warrior who was turned into a Shi'i martyr over the course of time.[19] This new shrine of Shah Muhammad Ibrahim Sufi suggests what the whole topography of Ajmer from the thirteenth to the twenty-first century attests: The shrine of Mu'in ad-Din Chishti has become the lodestone of piety, for all kinds of Muslims (and also for many Hindus), drawing visitors from every region of India and abroad. One of the major disputes in early 1997 concerned two visitors who were not given special treatment: Shaykh Husaina Wajid, prime minister of Bangladesh, and Shaykh 'Abd Allah, head of state of Kashmir. Both wanted private time at the saint's tomb, but other devotees did not want to absent themselves from the shrines for the convenience of these public figures. Perhaps the only ones who have as much time as they want with Mu'in ad-Din are the other subterranean residents of that region, with Shah Muhammad Ibrahim Sufi having pride of place, and also the much maligned hereditary attendants; one of their privileges is to have a place inside the sanctuary to pass the entire evening, either in prayer or sleep, and many still do so today.

Seemingly related to the question of political struggle, but unrelated to the level of intra-order competition, is the other Punjabi Chishti shrine noted by David Gilmartin in *Empire and Islam,* namely, that of Haydar 'Ali Shah (d. 1908), whose majestic tomb lies in the Salt Range at Jalalpur Sharif. Gilmartin's discussion focuses on the rivalry between descendants of Haydar 'Ali Shah over how best to represent his legacy, with one group founding a political party named Hizb Allah, but enjoying a narrow band of influence. In contrast, the disciples of Haydar 'Ali Shah focused their hagiographical accounts of him on his charismatic personality and miraculous influence.[20] Another comparable shrine is at Golra Sharif, on the outskirts of present-day Islamabad, where Mihr 'Ali Shah established his prominence in the early twentieth century.

In terms of political influence, the two masters had different roles, with Mihr 'Ali Shah taking on the historical persona of a Sufi pir who was thoroughly engaged by both the regional and international politics of his time. In terms of regional politics, both Mihr 'Ali Shah and Haydar 'Ali Shah opposed the sectarian and messianic Ahmadi movement, though Mihr 'Ali Shah was said to be one of those most influential in marginalizing and stigmatizing its latter-day prophet, Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian.

At the same time, he was attracted to the Khilafat movement, which coalesced around the largely symbolic figure of the Ottoman caliph, and he permitted his disciples to support this movement.[21]

We must underline the importance of spiritual training throughout all of the three cycles of Chishti history, as indicated by the persistence of meditation manuals and compilations, from the *Mulhamat* of Jamal ad-Din Hansawi (hardly mentioned in most modern treatments of the Sultanate period) to Muhammad Chishti's *Rasa'il* in the high Mughal period, to the *Lama'at al-anwar* of Muhammad Mahdi 'Ata (successor in the line of Husam ad-Din Manikpuri, the Bengal/Jaunpur line).[22]These were all precursors of Hajji Imdad Allah's *Ziya' al-qulub,* which appropriated the meditative techniques of Shah Wali Allah and Nizam ad-Din Awrangabadi. To this one must add the extensive literary activities of the successors of Gisu Daraz, such as the theological treatises of Raju in Hyderabad, and the metaphysical systematization of Mahmud Khush Dahan (d. 1617) in Bijapur.[23] All these are literary indications of the ongoing spiritual practices that constituted the basis for the ideal of mystical insight (*'irfan*).

Still important is another of the ideals that guided the earlier Chishtiyya, authentic spiritual genealogy (*nasl*). The complexity of the issue is suggested by an unusually personal book by K. A. Nizami on his own ancestors, which shows how the descendants of Farid ad-Din Ganj-i Shakar (the Faridis) have shaped the continuation of Chishti identity. The book includes an introduction by Khwaja Hasan Sani Nizami, but what is omitted, and needs clarification, is the concept of two lines of genealogical influence. One, through blood descent, is called "the children by bread" (*farzandan-i nan*). It is traced through the younger son of Khwaja Muhammad Imam, the older son of Bibi Fatimah, a prominent daughter of Farid ad-Din Ganj-i Shakar.[24] That is the line through which Nizami's family is traced (though the Amroha connection needs to be traced more carefully). The other line of influence is traced through spiritual affiliation. It is called "the children by the soul" (*farzandan-i jan*). It is through this line that Khwaja Hasan Sani Nizami and his forebears among the attendants at Nizam ad-Din's tomb in Delhi trace themselves.[25]

But all the centuries of Chishti tradition could not on their own guide modern Chishtis in the changed situation of British colonial rule. We will consider below the more dramatic responses of the Sabiri Chishtis to the colonial situation. But if we wish to understand the modulations of modernity among the Nizamiyya branch, we need to examine the crucial institution of Nizam ad-Din's shrine in Delhi. Here we draw upon Marcia Hermansen's detailed and insightful study of the Chishti leaders who made the central urban location of this shrine into the linchpin for Nizamiyya Chishti identity, extending beyond the tumult of Independence into the dawn of the twenty-first century.[26] The multiple aspects of the shrine include the roles of Khwaja Hasan Nizami, as both a generic Indian holy man (*sadhu*) and an inclusive Sufi *pir* (with non-Muslim disciples, including Baha'is and Jews). The shrine is also the center of a network established through print media, with the Urdu periodical *Munadi* [The Crier] serving to highlight the achievements of Nizamiyya Chishtis of all periods. While devotion to the example of the Prophet (*sunna*) may not have wavered, this period has definitely seen the reconfiguration of the other ideal of the Chishtis, Muslim learning (*'ilm*), through new concepts of education and communication.

It is hard to imagine a more important modern figure for the India-based Nizami Chishtiyya than Khwaja Hasan Nizami. Khwaja Hasan Nizami (1878–1955) was

born on 2 Muharram 1296/September 27, 1878 in the Nizam ad-Din neighborhood in Delhi. In his spiritual training, he encountered most of the major figures and movements of the contemporary Chishtiyya. Nizami was given a traditional education in the Nizam ad-Din *basti* and later at Rashid Ahmad's *madrasa* in Gangoh for one and a half years. When he was eleven his father made him a *murid* of Shah Allah Bakhsh Taunsawi; at sixteen his brother made him a *murid* of Khwaja Ghulam Farid. At the age of 24, of his own will and believing he had a spiritual sign from Baba Farid, he became a *murid* of Mihr 'Ali Shah and eventually was appointed his successor (*khalifa*).

Although Hasan Nizami was a Sufi brought up in traditional circles, he did not settle into a custodial role. At one point in his autobiography, Nizami states that all the trials and difficulties that he faced early in life enabled him to realize his aim of "presenting Islamic Sufism in a new way and a fresh manner." He describes finding his spiritual guide through a dream visitation by Nizam ad-Din Awliya', which convinced him to undertake self-reform as well as a trip on foot (partially) to Pakpattan in emulation of the saint's trip to find his master Farid. In 1908 he gathered young hereditary shrine custodians (*sajjadas*), and some famous patrons such as Azad and Shibli Nu'mani, to form a group called the Halqa-i Masha'ikh (or "Circle of Masters"), in order to reform institutional Sufism in India and support its authentic teachings. Their aims were to spread and preserve Sufism, to unite the Sufi shaykhs within one body, to reform customs at *'urs* festivals and *khanaqahs* so as to eliminate practices outside of the *shari'a* and *tariqa,* and to protect the political rights of Sufi shaykhs. While this program had the aim of strengthening Sufi institutions, it contained enough similarity to the reform program of the Deoband school that Nizami faced criticism and opposition. Those who feared any talk of unnecessary customs and corruption at the shrines even declared him an enemy of Islam and Sufism. In 1928 someone shot at him, but killed one of his relatives instead.

The founding of this organization marked a turning point in Hasan Nizami's career. But while on the one hand opposition to him was arising from the shrines, on the other hand in the new secular colleges there was increasing interest in the great Chishti saints of the past, like Mu'in ad-Din Chishti. Those Muslims who supported English education were not ignoring the religious scholars and Sufi shaykhs; in fact, they were searching for such scholars and shaykhs who could cooperate with them. In Mu'in ad-Din Chishti they found someone worthy of reverence. Newspapers also turned their attention to the great saints of the past and so gave their prominent support to the objectives of the Halqa-i Masha'ikh.

In 1911 Hasan Nizami went to Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and the Hijaz under the auspices of the Halqa-i Masha'ikh. He seems to have contacted various Sufis and activists at this time, including a *khalifa* of the great North African Sufi reformer, Shaykh Sanusi. In fact, he took a great interest in the teachings and activities of Sanusi and wrote about him in a number of contexts as well as translating some of his teachings and other writings on Shadhili practices.

Hasan Nizami also met with pan-Islamic activist circles, and for this he became the subject of intense surveillance and harassment on the part of the British authorities. Meetings of the Halqa-i Masha'ikh became impossible, and it was only in 1917 that this surveillance was lifted by the commissioner of Delhi, Hayley. One of Nizami's writings, a guidebook to Delhi, is dedicated to Hayley and seems to be designed to assuage British suspicions as to his loyalty.

Hasan Nizami also took an interest in other religions, studying Hinduism and visiting the Hindu holy places as a young man to study with *sadhus,* and publishing a biography of Krishna. He wrote favorably about the Sikhs and Baha' Allah, founder of the Baha'i faith. He conducted a campaign against the Arya Samaj, and their "Shuddhi" (purification) movement of the 1920s, which was attempting to get Indian Muslims and Christians to convert back to Hinduism. As part of this campaign he published a number of pamphlets on basic Islamic teachings. In all these gestures Hasan Nizami was responding to the atmosphere of inter-religious controversy and polemic fostered by the colonial government with its support of Christian missionaries, and to this extent his concept of religious identity absorbed the modern European paradigms.

Nizami was unusual in his appeal to secular virtues of the colonial realm, such as general education and public morality. Writing within the context of India, he urged accommodation to diversity, i.e., the perspectives of non-Muslims. He wrote, for example, against cow slaughter. In his *Nizami Bansuri,* a biography of Nizam ad-Din Awliya' and other Chishtis, he makes extensive reference to a Persian work called *Char Rozah,* which is supposed to be by a fourteenth-century Hindu, Har Dev. In his writings he often portrays a Hindu person in the story as sensitive; for example, in a story in which a coarse Muslim shopkeeper claims that the Hindu is from a subservient religious class and under his protection. The saint later corrects him, saying that all are under the protection of God. Still, Nizami opposed the assimilation or apostasy of Indian Muslims and more than once articulated that his purpose was to promote Islam.

In the latter years of his life Hasan Nizami was afflicted with weakening health and loss of eyesight. He lived through the difficult times of India's Partition, and in his old age he seems to have felt that Sufism was embattled by the political and ideological conflicts raging in India. For example, a small statement entitled "A Saying from My Last Days" is attached to his work on the permissibility of performing prostration before one's spiritual guide. This text was written in 1951 when he was seventy-five years old. He addresses his "hundreds of thousands of disciples" and "hundreds of successors," stating, "The time of Resurrection Day is approaching, fighting and wars are on the increase all over the world. After the division of Hindustan, in both India and Pakistan, the believers in the saints appear to have lost out to the religious scholars due to the political influence of the latter. Therefore I feel that it is necessary to write this—that those who have the love of Sufism should not become frightened and should remain firm in their belief. The Maulvis, since the beginnings of Islam, have been opponents of the dervishes since they find the dignity of the dervishes a threat."

Although Hasan Nizami's religious views place him squarely in the colonial period, it is probably in his prolific writing and publishing that he best exemplifies the spirit of the age. He was attracted to writing from an early age, and it was actually in the context of newspaper publishing that he acquired his professional name. Some of his first articles were published under the name Sayyid Muhammad 'Ali Hasan Nizami, but a newspaper editor in Amritsar published one of his pieces simply under the name Hasan Nizami; then the poet Muhammad Iqbal started to call him Khwaja ("Master") Hasan Nizami, a title with ancient resonance in the Chishti tradition.

A contemporary critic of Urdu literature, 'Ali Jawad Zaidi, gives this summary of Nizami's literary activities:

> He was a prolific writer, who wrote in a simple, colloquial style with an intimacy, mystic perception, and light-heartedness that enlivened any subject he touched. He has written over a hundred books and pamphlets including the moving story of the Great Rebellion of 1857 in twelve parts in the form of a romance. . . . He also edited a weekly, *Munadi,* which contained his personal diary and other writings. . . . His works are replete with outspoken autobiographical references that add to their charm.[27]

Muhammad Sadiq, another critic of Urdu literature, is less enthusiastic about the skills of Hasan Nizami. He ranks him with Rashid ul-Khairi (1868–1936) as one of those rare Urdu writers who has been able to live off the income from his writings. Sadiq claims that Nizami rose from being an itinerant bookseller to being a millionaire.

> With his long loose cloak and an outlandish conical cap, his beard and long flowing hair, he looked like a patriarch of old, despite his short stature. . . . Hasan Nizami wrote more than a hundred books and pamphlets, besides editing a number of newspapers, mostly written by himself. Consult the catalogue of any well-equipped library and you will be surprised by his versatility and amazing output. Here was a man who could write on any conceivable subject under the sun. His books range from metaphysics, religion, history, philosophy to such items as confectionery. The fact is that he did not write all these books himself. Some of them, no doubt, are his own; others were written by hacks employed for the purpose. These he corrected and improved and gave out as his own.[28]

He was given the honorific title *musawwir-i fitrat,* "the depicter of creation/nature," probably because of his talent for bringing out human nature and writing in a more natural and accessible style. He both modernized and popularized a variety of subjects, not restricting himself to Sufism, but addressing much more general questions. For example, his work "The Education of the Wife" is said to have been composed during a 40-day spiritual retreat, when he realized that his younger and inexperienced wife, if she were to be left a widow, would be at a loss to handle worldly and family affairs. He composed 20 lessons for her, initially treating religious, family and economic matters, but ending with topics of contemporary political urgency such as British rule, the home rule movement, etc. To indicate his respect for women, he states that he believes that what he learned in 20 years, she could learn in 20 days. After each of his lessons, she replies in the text, commenting on and critiquing his opinions.

Although he claimed not to know English, Nizami took a strong interest in the West and supported "English" education for boys and girls. His earliest patron was a British general named Dixon, who seems to have become one of his first *murids.* Shortly after the abdication of King Edward, he composed an imaginary diary portraying the latter's inner struggle as a Sufi fable, *A Modern Gulistan for Modern Man: Ex-King Edward's Diary, "The Sufi's Secret of Real Happiness,"* which also critiqued British understandings of the Indian situation. Another early work, *The French Dervish* [*Fransisi Darvish*], excerpts anecdotes from a life of Napoleon Bonaparte that had been translated into Urdu, treating Napoleon's epigrams as Sufi *malfuzat* and proof of his spiritual wisdom and insights.

Nizami composed an autobiography when he was only 41, which includes personal and spiritual experiences. His travelogues in diary form are also autobiographical, as is his daily diary, *Roznamcheh,* a genre of Urdu prose that he developed. He composed several Sufi biographies, including *Char darvishon ka tazkira* [Memoir of

Four Dervishes], a brief biography of Indian, Spanish, Yemeni and Egyptian exemplars; and *Nizami Bansuri,* a biography of Nizam ad-Din Awliya' based on published and unpublished *malfuzat* and historical sources. In the latter biography, Nizami renders his sources into a highly readable Urdu narrative. The tone is edifying and entertaining. Occasionally there will seem to be a break in the translated narration in order for Nizami to enter a note, but this is clearly indicated and usually of a historical or architectural nature. Quite a lot of attention is given to material that is relevant to the Nizam ad-Din shrine and its system of resident families. Nizami's family is called "Nabiragan" (grandchildren), one of the four traditional custodial families descended from the children of a *pir* brother of the saint. There are also occasional critiques of current Chishti shaykhs in India; for example, their lack of attention in preserving the literary heritage, and the fact that those in the Nizami line do not all attend the *'urs* of Nizam ad-Din, whereas the Sabiri Chishti shaykhs all attend the *'urs* in Kalyar in the company of their disciples.

Nizami's *Autobiography* [*Ap Biti*] is introduced by three prefaces. The first preface was composed by his wife, Laila (Khwaja Banu). She characterizes the work as edifying advice (*nasihat nama*). A Chishti devotee named Wahidi, in the second preface, finds in his life an example of a child of poverty making good through education and good upbringing. The work is described on several occasions as an illustration of self-reform (*islah*). The third preface by a literary figure, Shaykh Muhammad Ihsan al-Haqq, claims that the work is the first independent autobiography of its kind in Urdu. It is the story of a "self-made" man. In his own introduction Nizami states that the work is written for his disciples, whom he terms "*pir* brothers," since they are on the same level as he in being *murids* of Allah. Later he mentions that many of his disciples have never met him and have pledged their allegiance by post (he is said to have initiated 60,000 disciples by 1919).

The first portion of Hasan Nizami's autobiography gives a brief account of his life, followed by the recounting of small incidents and the lessons that can be derived from them. Interestingly, a long section discusses his various writings in chronological order, why he composed them, how well they have sold, and their current prices and availability. Sufi aspects of the book include mention of some of his visions and a section concerning a sort of "spiritual autobiography." This segment explains the physical/human and spiritual/divine aspects of the human condition. Following Rumi's famous verses about the progression of existence through the mineral, vegetal, human, and angelic realms, Nizami portrays his identification with successive spheres of existence, concluding with the experiences of various prophets, as well as contemporary figures such as Kaiser Wilhelm, Hindenburg, King George, and Lloyd George. "This month I can be seen and heard in the voices of Sir Hamilton Grant and General 'Ali Ahmad Khan," he once observed. In his writings Nizami also cites Western sources such as the *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* and he speaks approvingly about the Sufi mission of Hazrat Inayat Khan to the West in his *Nizami Bansuri.*

Print clearly plays an increasingly important role in Nizami's writings. He gave his readers permission in print to perform Sufi practices such as the recitation of the famous talismanic Arabic prayer *Hizb al-Bahr.* Since many of his disciples apparently never actually met him but corresponded with him by mail, composing and publishing his own autobiography was one way for them to have contact with him. Even the commercial aspects of writing emerge on occasion. In addition to advertisements at the back of books, there are references to books within the text, and

Nizami also discusses which of his writings sold well, and why. The price increase of certain publications is justified, as is the free distribution of others.

The two-century trajectory leading from a late Mughal teacher like Shah Kalim Allah to a modern Sufi controversialist (and best-selling author) like Hasan Nizami is not all downhill. There are the demands and challenges of colonial authority, secularism, religious politics, and the marketplace of ideas created by print. While the principal ideals of the Chishti tradition (mystical insight, genealogy, Prophetic example, and religious learning) still held a central position, the context had changed. From being a privileged group often supported by state patronage, the Nizami Chishtis had been forced to become contenders in a complex society in which they were threatened by powerful opponents (British, Hindu, or reformist Muslim) even as they offered new ways to reach mass audiences.

## THE SABIRIYYA CHISHTIYYA

The Sabiri branch of the Chishtis poses a different kind of problem from the Nizamiyya. The centuries-old division between the two branches stems from the time of Farid ad-Din Ganj-i Shakar, and it is his two disciples 'Ala' ad-Din 'Ali Sabir and Nizam ad-Din Awliya', after whom these two branches are named. But the founder of the Sabiriyya is an elusive figure, and his followers are not easy to trace. They do not have a three-stage history like the Nizamiyya, but a slow unfolding of a single phase of spiritual development. The first part of their story is opaque and leaves no trace in major literary sources. All the major saints from the Sultanate and Mughal periods who can be traced to the Chishtis are instead linked to the Nizami branch, with one exception from the Mughal period, 'Abd al-Quddus Gangohi and his successors.[29] Even 'Abd ar-Rahman Chishti, whose *Mir'at al-asrar* we examined in an earlier chapter, focuses on Nizami masters in his recapitulation of the Chishti lineage. Other Sabiri tazkira authors are similarly vague or sparse in their accounts of the founding masters of this subbranch of the Chishtiyya.[30]

What then was behind the later flowering of the Sabiriyya? One explanation is the transhistorical phenomenon of spiritual masters who appeared to disciples long after their physical death but nevertheless inspired them to a new tradition of spirituality. Another is the deep engagement of this tradition both with Hindu spiritual practices and with the philosophy linked to Ibn 'Arabi.[31]

The major figure in Sabiriyya after 'Abd al-Quddus is Hajji Imdad Allah (d. 1317/1899), a North Indian Sufi master who was exiled to Mecca after the abortive 1857 rebellion against the British (hence his title "Hajji"). He continued to train disciples and to inspire the nascent Deobandi movement, from his Arabian exile. And just as there is a connnectedness between 'Abd al-Quddus and the Sabiri masters whom he mentions, so there is a perceptible line of spiritual influence from him to Hajji Imdad Allah. Most of the interim figures in various *shajaras* are not active proselytizers or organizers, in the Chishti Nizamiyya tradition, but rather philosophically minded intellectual masters of the Path.

Most of what we know of early Sabiris is from later biographical dictionaries. What are the motives that impel the authors of these texts to fill in the blanks? Their narrative leaves us with no clean generational pattern for the Sabiriyya, nor does it account for their parallel influence, on the Nizamiyya, on non-Chishti Sufis (espe-

cially the Naqshbandis), and on early modern reformers who deny all connections with Sufism. This influence plays out in different ways in each case. The Sabiriyya had the least impact on the Nizamiyya; although ostensibly part of the same order, the Sabiris were merely listed in Nizami Chishti biographical works without further elaboration. Among non-Chishtis, Sabiri influence is seen in the Mughal-era Naqshbandi leader Ahmad Sirhindi, especially with the development of a notion of spiritual centers, or *lata'if,* that has parallels in the meditation techniques of 'Ala' ad-Dawla Simnani and the Central Asian tradition of the Kubrawi Sufi order.[32] This seems to have been applied in the subcontinent first through 'Abd al-Quddus, then through later Naqshbandi and Chishti teachers. Most importantly, the development of Sabiri Chishti influence appears in anti-Sufi reformers, first through the Deoband school in the colonial period, and then through the missionary society of the Tablighi Jama'at, in the example of Muhammad Ilyas and his successors.

Hajji Imdad Allah had connections through no fewer than eight "trees" (*shajarat*) of spiritual lineage.[33] He gives an exposition of his own sense of lineage at the conclusion of his principal work on spiritual discipleship, *Irshad-o-murshid,* listing his lineage to the Prophet Muhammad first through the Chishtiyya Sabiriyya, then through the Silsila-i Chishtiyya Nizamiyya Quddusiyya Darwishiyya and two other Chishti sub-branches, the Quddusiyya Nizamiyya Sa'diyya and the Nizamiyya Gisu Daraziyya. He also gives four lines of Qadiriyya affiliation, five of Nasqshbandiyya affiliation, two through the Madariyya Qalandariyya Ajmaliyya, one through the Suhrawardiyya, and another through the Kubrawiyya Quddusiyya. He concludes with a paean to "the Lords of Chisht, the people of Bihisht (Heaven)—may God be pleased with all of them."[34]

How is Hajji Imdad Allah's profile like that of Shaykh Nizam ad-Din? His birth and early childhood, like Nizam ad-Din's, were unexceptional. While he was born into a scholarly family of Faruqi Shaykhs in the Upper Doab, no special qualities are assigned to him in his younger years. His education seems to have been minimal, though he "was early inclined to Sufism and the practical craft of bookbinding."[35] He was also noted for his early inclination to Persian, particularly to Rumi's *Masnavi,* which would remain a lifelong companion.[36]

What is crucial for Hajji Imdad Allah, as it was for Shaykh Nizam ad-Din, is his relationship to his *pir.* While he himself claims multiple affiliations, Sabiri sources are not so clear. Wahid Ahmad Mas'ud states only that Shaykh Nasir ad-Din Hanafi Dihlawi became his *pir* and initiator into the Naqshbandi *silsila,* and that after Nasir ad-Din's death (ca. late 1830s?), he took as his *pir* Hazrat Nur Muhammad Jhanjhanvi (d. 1845), who initiated him into the Sabiri *silsila.* Secondary sources obscure his affiliations even more. One describes him only as similar to Shaykh Nasir ad-Din, in that both were *khalifas* of the Naqshbandi reformer Sayyid Ahmad Shahid. This identification of Imdad Allah with the first and most ferocious ancestor claimed by later Indo-Muslim reformers seems to be in harmony with the hagiographical assertion found in some sources that at the age of three, Imdad was embraced by Sayyid Ahmad Shahid and given an honorary initiation.[37] Yet Imdad Allah himself never mentions this spiritual lineage.

Even more perplexing than his own spiritual genealogy is the relationship of Hajji Imdad Allah to his successors. According to a biography entitled *Imdad al-Mushtaq,* there was disagreement between Hajji Imdad Allah and some of his successors. Hajji Imdad Allah had always indicated that he had two kinds of successor: those to whom

he himself had given spiritual authority as Sufis (*khilafat*) and those to whom he gave permission, at their request, to spread the message of religion (*tabligh-i din*). All the first kind were loyal to him, and obedient. But of the second kind, those who differed with him included famous names like Maulvi Qasim Nanautawi, Maulvi Rashid Ahmad Gangohi, and Maulana Ashraf 'Ali Thanvi.[38] A Sabiri historian notes that "the '*ulama*' of Deoband did not even examine Hajji Imdad Allah's metaphysical treatises, but consigned them to the flames." In other words, Hajji Imdad Allah's spiritual vision was broader than that of his Deobandi successors.

Hajji Imdad Allah's literary legacy included not only his mystical treatise *Ziya' al-qulub* but also the hagiographical work devoted to his life and miracles, *Karamat-i Imdadiyya.* Especially interesting is *Karamat-i Imdadiyya.* The compiler, Ashraf 'Ali Thanvi, was one of Hajji Imdad Allah's foremost Deobandi followers. He portrays Hajji Imdad Allah as both a traditional saint and a stern reformer. Thanvi does not denounce miracles as superstitious premodern practice but rationalizes them as essential to the repertoire of spiritual purification. He even quotes an Urdu translation from an unusual source. It is the chapter on miracles from the magnum opus of the most controversial Sufi theorist, *al-Futuhat al-Makkiyya* of Ibn 'Arabi (d. 1238). Ashraf 'Ali finds here the key to interpreting his master's legacy:

> *Karamat* are of two kinds: sensory (*hissi*) and spiritual (*ma'nawi*). Common folk only know sensory *karamat* and think them to be perfection, like predicting (others') thoughts, telling about that which is hidden in the past, present and future, causing things to disappear, walking on water, and flying through the air and traversing the earth (*tayy-i 'ard*) and disappearing from sight and responding to petitions. And common folk only know these kinds of miracles.
>
> As for spiritual *karamat,* only the elite from among God's servants know them; the common folk do not. And these preserve the norms of Muslim law (*adab-i shari'at*). They succeed in conferring the benefits of ethical practices, and also in avoiding imperfections, and ensuring that Muslims perform their duties perfectly and at the right times. They also succeed in hastening [the performance of] good deeds, and in removing from people difficulties, jealousies, rancor and bad thoughts. They further succeed in cleansing the heart from all despicable traits and sweetening it through contemplation with breath [control], leading to the safeguarding of the rights of others, both in their person and in their possessions. Above all, breath control succeeds in searching for the traces of his Lord (*athar-i rabbihi*) in his heart and in observing his breaths in both exhalation and inhalation. And he welcomes them with respect when they come to him, and when he exhales them, for they convey the robe of the Divine presence (*khil'at-i hudur*).
>
> And all these, according to us, are the spiritual *karamat* of saints, and no deceit or conjuring enters them. And all of that is a guide to the fulfillment of duties, and to right guidance and the acceptance of Divine fate, without seeking one's own benefit or experiencing what is detestable. And only the angels nearest to God and the purified elect of God's people share in these *karamat.*[39]

Here miracles are not renounced; they are redefined. In describing the miracles of Hajji Imdad Allah with this passage from Ibn 'Arabi, Ashraf 'Ali is affirming them while denying them, and retrieving them while distancing himself from miracles as usually conceived. The sensory miracles are acknowledged as the legacy of the common folk, but are also relegated to the level of common understanding. The spiritual

miracles become higher and internalized; they do not merely follow the norms of *shari'a,* they actually preserve the *shari'a.* Miracles purify the soul and inspire ethical behavior, especially when combined with the powerful meditative techniques of breath control. This passage is typical of Ashraf 'Ali's double strategy: to include quotations and even whole texts of early Sufi masters selectively; and then to redirect their original meaning to the apologetic and polemical context of nineteenth-century South Asia.

In numerous other respects, too, Hajji Imdad Allah can be linked to the earliest cycle of Chishti masters. For instance, in his treatise on meditation, *Ziya' al-Qulub,* he enjoins following a tenfold path of discipline, which culminates in contemplation and annihilation, in which you desert all your own assertive power and will, as at the time of your death. At the same time Hajji Imdad Allah links himself to the doctrinal and practical approach of the Naqshbandiyya. Following Naqshbandi practice, he advocates pursuing the duties of the *shari'a,* defining mastery as a higher level than sainthood.[40] Yet even while Imdad Allah claims a remarkable parallel to the Mujaddidi Naqshbandi tradition, he seeks to retain a direct link to Shaykh 'Abd al-Quddus, the Sabiri Chishti forebear, and he does so through an alternate Naqshbandi line that bypasses Sirhindi and goes through Shah Kalim Allah.

Hajji Imdad Allah highlights the need for constant reflection on what it means to be a practicing Sufi in late Mughal/early modern India. His legacy is contested precisely because many people would like to make him be a perfect Muslim religious scholar, for whom the Sufi dimension of his persona is either minor or tangential or both; for these reformists, his Sufi identity is irrelevant to his "true" legacy as a scholar. But for others, Hajji Imdad Allah's Sufi legacy is not only evident, but also continuous. Among his Chishti legatees are two equally impressive but utterly different figures: Ashraf 'Ali Thanvi (d. 1943) and Zauqi Shah (d. 1951).

Maulana Ashraf 'Ali Thanvi was a well-known scholar and interpreter of the Islamic tradition who attempted to rework Sufism into a more acceptable expression consistent with Islamic legalism.[41] After completing the course at Deoband in 1883, he started a job as a teacher at Cawnpore. The same year he performed the *hajj* and became a disciple of the exiled Hajji Imdad Allah. In his mid-thirties, he retired to his hometown Thana Bhavan, where he wrote voluminously, taught, answered letters, and counseled so many visitors that newcomers were asked to fill out a form upon arrival. He remained in Thana Bhavan till his death in 1943.

Hundreds of works were attributed to him, although many were probably written by his followers. In addition to those that dealt with Sufi practice and doctrine, he also wrote a short work on Sufi biography, *Al-Sunna al-jaliyya fi-l chishtiyya al-'aliyya* [The Radiant Sunna Among the Exalted Chishtis]. Its intent was to refute the charges that the Chishtis did not follow the *shari'a* and *sunna,* or that they followed it in a lax way. Thanvi approaches the Chishti biographical tradition as a legalist, and he tries to explain problematic materials in order to make them fit legal norms and expectations.

Thanvi's approach is that of a juridical reformer, not a historical critic. He does not try to cast doubt on any text in its entirety, even the (highly questionable) *malfuzat* of 'Usman Harwani, but rather he uses the methodology of *hadith* criticism in order to explain how particular reports can either be questioned or else reconciled within the context of *shari'a.* Applying the principle of *husn-i zann,* that is, trying to think the best about something, he never utterly rejects even the most outrageous report. When faced with cases of dubious content, he questions their authenticity. He

also finds ways to make the account somehow plausible either within the *shari'a* categories or through invoking claims to privileged knowledge or insights on the part of Sufis. He also calls on mystical proofs such as dream evidence, the insight of spiritually endowed persons, and the fact that Sufi shaykhs are credited with independent juristic authority (*ijtihad*) as part of the argument in some cases.

Thanvi begins his biographical analysis with a preface stating that he wishes to disprove the common perception that the Chishti shaykhs did not enforce the *shari'a* or were lax about it enforcing it. Then he goes on to enumerate in the first section several anecdotes on the practice of listening to music and poetry (*sama'*). For example, he cites an anecdote from *Anis al-Arwah,* in which Mawdud Chishti says that villages in Khwarazm will be destroyed because their inhabitants like music and singing too much; in Thanvi's mind, this demonstrates the saint's disapproval of music. According to another report, when the early Chishti saint, Ibrahim ibn Adham, heard a seductive voice, he blocked his ears. At the same time, according to Thanvi, the Chishti masters are extremely scrupulous about performing Islamic ritual duties in minute detail. Thanvi draws attention to specific cases where he can give a commentary on their legal and religious importance. Perhaps there is the famous case of the death of Shaykh Qutb ad-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki. As we have mentioned previously, Shaykh Qutb ad-Din went into spiritual ecstasy (*hal*) while listening to *qawwals* singing and jumped ten yards. For three days he remained in this ecstatic state, returning to his senses only periodically in order to pray. On the third day he died. Thanvi asks us to see how important the performance of prayer was to Khwaja Qutb ad-Din: Even when overcome with ecstasy, he did not cease praying.

Another of Thanvi's discussions centers on the mother of Farid ad-Din Ganj-i Shakar. Bibi Sharifa became a widow at an early age and had no children besides Farid ad-Din. Until her dying breath, she continued to remember God, and was considered to be a great perfected saint. Her son, Baba Farid, used to say, "If *khilafat* and *sajjada* [deputyship and successorship] could be given to a woman, then undoubtedly she was worthy of getting the *khilafat.*" See how precisely he followed the *shari'a,* observes Thanvi, alluding to the *sunna* that says that a woman can not be given the succession.

In another section Thanvi explains sayings and actions in Sufi biographies that seem to contravene the *shari'a.* Perhaps most impressive is his narration of the performance of the inverted *chilla,* the upside-down meditation performed for 40 days. Baba Farid was reputed to have practiced this unusual form of meditation. How could this be justified? Thanvi concludes that if it is performed as a practice stipulated for drawing a person closer to God then it is not allowable, but if it is done in order to cure some moral defect, then it may be permitted. A similar problematic case comes from Shaykh Mu'in ad-Din Chishti. He asked a potential disciple (*murid*) to recite "there is no god but God, Chishti is the Messenger of God" *(la ilaha illa Allah, Chishti rasul Allah).* Thanvi interprets this as perfectly pious: The term *rasul* is used here in general sense of "messenger," meaning "message bringer," not Prophet. Hence it is not a profession of faith that would render one an infidel *(kalima-i kufr).* He notes that this incident occurred within a gathering of the elite, and its purpose was the benefit of testing the disciple (*murid*).

What is evident in *Al-Sunnat al-jaliyya,* as in numerous other works of Thanvi, is his reforming bent and his rational explanations of "acceptable" Sufi practices. Like Hasan Nizami, he eschews charismatic claims. The distinction between the De-

obandi interpretations and the role of shrine-based shaykhs or a more devotional approach may be illustrated by Hasan Nizami's frequent citations of prayers and invocations, which he composes before the tombs of departed saints and Prophets. In these moments Hasan Nizami claims to speak to them directly as if they are alive in the tomb, illustrating the practice of "unveiling the deceased" (*kashf al-qubur*). While Thanvi certainly upholds the idea of the insight of the Sufi saints, and encourages his followers to recite certain litanies, he seems to focus more on the practice of the Sufis rather than their influence after death. Often his glosses on the Chishti *malfuzat* seem to be doing a rhetorical violence or disservice to the intent of the original accounts, which do celebrate the charismatic powers of the saints. Thanvi, however, is not interested in this meaning, and rather seeks to show how the reports fall within Islamic norms.

As for the issue of Chishti identity, Thanvi is unequivocal: He has gone through the Chishti *malfuzat* tradition in detail because it is his own legacy. He has a proprietary sense of the order and its historic links. He is defending the Chishtis, but not in conjunction with the modern world.

By contrast, with Zauqi Shah (1877–1951), a host of new activities and characteristics signal the engagement of Chishti Sufism with the modern world. Zauqi was forced to become an apologist for Sufism in a new public way, defending the Islamic credentials of Sufism. His biography begins with the sentence, "The revered Shah was a saint firmly bound to Islamic law," and it provides numerous examples of his piety.[42] He refutes the Orientalist theories of the Hindu or Christian origins of Sufism. Sufism is not based, he says, on yoga or Persian or Greek sources but on the Qur'an and *hadith.* Nor is Sufism to be confused with Hindu yoga, since the Prophet excluded "monkery" from the proper practice of Islam. While the first part of purity of heart is accessible to non-Muslims, attaining the higher part requires the *shari'a.*[43] Zauqi argued that the miracles of yogis are fundamentally different from those of Sufi saints, citing the example of Shaykh 'Abd al-Quddus Gangohi, who triumphed over a yogi with a miracle demonstrating his greater purity.[44]

Yet he also found it necessary to take a stand against the reforms of Muslim fundamentalists. He spoke out against Wahhabi actions in Arabia that prevented Indian pilgrims (including his own teacher) from performing the *hajj* pilgrimage properly. He was highly critical of the views of Abu al-'Ala' Maududi, founder of the Jama'at-i Islami.[45] At the same time, he undertook a defense against the reformist critique of Sufism, which he described as misunderstandings. Thus, he observed that some people mistakenly believe that Sufism consists of offering flowers or shawls at saints' tombs, thus reducing Sufism to tomb worship or the celebration of saints' anniversaries. Others accuse Sufis of holding extreme pantheistic views, according to which everything is God and all things are permitted; this misunderstanding provides the ignorant with a dangerous weapon against Sufism.[46] In combating Wahhabism, Zauqi claimed to have inherited the true legacy of the Chishti masters. He deliberately drew on the legacy of Hajji Imdad Allah, whom he is said to have met as a child while on his first pilgrimage to Mecca in 1888. Zauqi had a significant initiatic dream of Hajji Imdad Allah in 1924, and in 1949 he brought out a volume reprinting a selection of the latter's most important writings.[47] Zauqi interpreted another dream as initiation with authorization to teach from Rashid Ahmad Gangohi, Hajji Imdad Allah's chief reformist disciple and one of the founders of the Deoband school.[48]

Zauqi's sharp differentiation of Sufism from Hinduism and other non-Islamic traditions was to some extent a product of the polemical atmosphere of Hindu and Muslim communalism in the colonial period. He presents Sufism as a spiritual path that is essentially superior to the mysticism found in other religions, a superiority brought out in a number of examples that are tinged with political implications. On one occasion when he was in Ahmedabad, he decided to visit the ashram of "Mr. Gandhi," but the latter happened to be out of town. There he met a young woman named Ansuya Bai who was attempting without success to follow a particular meditation prescribed by Gandhi; Zauqi gave her instructions that permitted her to perform this meditation properly.[49] Zauqi also made comments critical of Hindu ideas such as the renunciation of the world; this was, he observed, contrary to the examples of Ram and Krishna, both of whom were portrayed in Indian epics as warrior kings and therefore very much engaged in the world.[50] He felt that Hindu scriptures such as the Bhagavad Gita can be understood by Muslims in a different way than by Hindus.[51] The Sikh leader Guru Nanak, he believed, was originally a Muslim, and Sikhs should be considered a Muslim sect rather than as idolatrous Hindus.[52] His critique of Christianity centered on the concept of Christian mysticism as renunciation of the world (similar to Hinduism). This was the path of Jesus, which means abandonment of possessions, family, and the world. Such renunciation is far easier than the path of Muhammad, which involves responsibilities like marriage.[53] On the level of mystical experience, while many religions offer the possibility of annihilation (*fana'*), only Islam permits one to go beyond that to the abiding in God (*baqa' billah*) that consists of a renewed consciousness of servanthood and obligation in the world.[54]

The most polemical of Zauqi's remarks on religion need to be understood in the context of the highly confrontational politics of the later colonial period. During this time his biography notes major Hindu-Muslim riots in Bombay in 1932, 1940, and 1946, because of which he was forced to modify his plans.[55] At the same time, Zauqi himself had become an active participant in the Muslim League and the demand for the creation of Pakistan as a Muslim state. His political position was closely related to the remarks he made on the characteristics of various religions, and here he was clearly responding to the anti-Muslim polemics of Christian missionaries and Hindu nationalists. Zauqi began writing a book in Urdu called *A Glance at the Heavenly Books,* of which excerpts appeared in a Hyderabad periodical, containing studies on the Torah and the Gospel; projected sections on the Vedas and the Qur'an were unfortunately not completed, but the aim of the series was evidently to prove that only the Qur'an can be considered a truly divine book.[56]

Another of his writings took up the debate on race as it developed in the colonial period. Zauqi's English pamphlet *New Searchlight on the Vedic Aryans* was a response to *The Arctic Home in the Vedas,* written in 1903 by B. G. Tilak, an Indian nationalist politician.[57] While Tilak had been concerned to prove the extreme antiquity of the Aryan race and their Hyperborean origin, Zauqi was probably arguing against more recent theories of Hindu nationalism, which criticized Muslims as late invaders of India. He used Tilak and others to argue instead that both the Aryan and Dravidian races were interlopers into India from the Middle East. Zauqi also accepted the rhetoric of European anti-Semitism, employing it to further the anti-Hindu polemic. He maintained that Hindus and Jews were from the same source, with the same customs; one causes trouble in Europe, the other in India. The First and Second World Wars were caused by Jewish bankers and armaments dealers, who would also cause

the third.[58] In adopting this kind of hard-edged and ideological emphasis on Muslim supremacy, Zauqi was adopting a position similar to that of Maulana Maududi, founder of the fundamentalist Jama'at-i Islami movement. Indeed, several of Zauqi's articles on religious topics appeared in Maududi's periodical, *Tarjuman al-Qur'an.* Despite his opposition to Maududi's authoritarianism, Zauqi essentially agreed with Maududi's analysis of the crisis facing Indian Muslims; both felt that reviving Islam through political means (Pakistan) was absolutely necessary, but they differed considerably in their interpretation of what Islam actually meant.[59]

The need to take a stand on interreligious relations, necessitated by the colonial context, also led Zauqi Shah to a new emphasis on conversion of non-Muslims to Islam. While instances of conversion by Hindus to Islam had not been unknown in previous Chishti history, it had never been a major objective of the Chishti masters. Sufi biographies of the past might contain as a typical hagiographical feature the description of how a non-Muslim (usually a Zoroastrian or a Hindu) became a Muslim under the influence of the saint. With Zauqi there is a striking shift toward viewing the European Christian as the potential convert.[60] His biographer tells the story of a British railway official named Price, who was impressed with Zauqi's saintly qualities.[61] One English sea captain actually converted to Islam upon meeting the ticketless Hajji Imdad Allah seeking passage to Mecca in 1857.[62] Zauqi became extremely interested in Christian converts to Islam, and he conducted correspondence with several of them, including a Canadian woman named Amina Pope and two Englishmen, Fadl al-Haqq Berkeley and Habib Allah Lovegrove. Also among his correspondents was Muhammad Marmaduke Pickthall, the well-known English translator of the Qur'an; Zauqi took the latter to task for his willingness to accept the possibility that non-Muslims could attain salvation.[63]

But the most remarkable instance of British Muslims in relation to Zauqi was clearly his encounter with two brothers named Lennard, who had converted to Islam in 1936 after reading the Sufi classic *The Unveiling of the Concealed,* by 'Ali Hujwiri (d. 1072). Having left their well-to-do English family and taken the Muslim names Faruq Ahmad and Shahid Allah, they had traveled to the Middle East and India in search of a Sufi master, finally meeting Zauqi Shah late in 1938 in Hyderabad. Shahid Allah was soon initiated, and both brothers resided as disciples with Zauqi in Ajmer after 1940; indeed, both were married there (Shahid Allah, now surnamed Faridi, married Zauqi's daughter Rashid Khatun). Faruq Ahmad died in February 1945, and was buried within the tomb precincts of his patron saint Hujwiri (Data Ganj Bakhsh) in Lahore. Shahid Allah, a very close disciple of Zauqi, recorded his master's Urdu conversations during the late 1940s; and his own Urdu discourses, along with some English titles, have been published in Pakistan in recent years. In 1955, following the Uwaysi pattern that is well established in the Sabiri Chishtiyya, Shahid Allah Faridi was internally given the status of full successor to Zauqi Shah some four years after the latter's death.[64] Among Chishti disciples, it must have been considered a profound instance of the power of Sufism when a member of the colonizing race would change his religion and become a fully qualified Sufi master in the Chishti lineage. He died in 1978, and his tomb in Karachi is the site of an annual death-anniversary festival observed by members of the Chishti order in the customary fashion.

Just as Zauqi's religious attitude had an undeniably modern tone, he also was engaged with the full range of discourse relating to science and technology. As one of the first Chishti masters to receive a Western-style university education, and with a

professional journalistic career in both English and Urdu newspapers, Zauqi criticized the dominant scientific worldview even as he made use of modern technologies of information. Born into the family of a physician in government service, Zauqi was educated at the Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental College, the precursor to Aligarh Muslim University (1893–96), and he served the colonial government for several years (1898–1902) in a district in Kashmir. He then worked (1904–1908) at several Urdu and English newspapers in Peshawar, Lahore, Hyderabad-Sind, and Karachi, at one time acting as chief correspondent reporting the Indian tour of the Prince of Wales. After a series of business ventures, he became drawn to Sufism, and was initiated into the Chishtiyya in Lucknow in 1914; he was at that time given the name Zauqi by his master because of his mystical experience (*zauq*) and longing (*shauq*).

The subsequent career and teachings of Zauqi reveal how he made use of his education and journalistic training. Science, in particular, was a factor of modern life that had to be confronted. As part of the dominant power structure of modernity, science claimed to have all the answers. Zauqi responded to such claims with anecdote and argument. He describes the astonishment of American doctors who witnessed the recovery of patients when the healing power of the opening chapter of the Qur'an was recited at their sickbed.[65] He wrote on the "natural and supernatural" (transliterating those English words in Urdu script), and pointed out that reason and scientific theories differ from one time to another, as the examples of Einstein, Newton, and Euclidean geometry show. He argued that the realm of time and space, which is the proper domain of science, is ultimately unreal, a point he said that was confirmed by the Qur'an.[66] "The farther science progresses," he asserted, "the closer it approaches Sufism." He claimed that Einstein's theory of relativity is very close to Sufism.[67] This rhetorical capturing of the symbolic dominance of science is one of the ways in which Zauqi articulated the position of Sufism in relation to modernity. It is noteworthy that this response required him to take the dominant European culture seriously enough to reply to it; his Urdu discourses are peppered with English words, transliterated or in Roman script, on many pages.

The technology of modern communications and the literary genres of modernity also played a part in the teachings of Zauqi Shah. His journalistic background came into play when he founded a Sufi magazine, *The Lights of Holiness* [*Anwar al-Quds*], that was published in Bombay from October 1925 to February 1927. He continued to publish in newspapers, including some pieces in Dawn (Karachi, 1945–1946) and a weekly column in The People's Voice (1948–1949). As Arthur Buehler has pointed out, Sufis used periodicals to reach a wider public and to organize disciples more effectively. Some of these Urdu and English articles have been reprinted. Another useful publication of Zauqi's is an extensive lexicon of Sufi terminology, which has gone through several editions and revisions by Zauqi's successors. A more unusual literary production was Zauqi's Urdu novel *The Wine and the Cup,* begun after a visit to Ahmedabad in 1919. There he had visited the tomb of Qazi Mahmud Darya'i and experienced what he described as several miracles. This tomb is believed to have the special property of conferring literary gifts on visitors. Zauqi maintained that if he were a poet, he would have written in the style of Rumi; as he was not a poet, it was appropriate for him to write a novel instead. This he did with enthusiasm, even writing on newspaper when he ran out of ordinary paper.[68] The novel itself is quite unusual. It is set in colonial Bombay, and it includes lengthy dialogues between the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan and his queen. It is described as dealing with stations of

the spiritual path in the form of a story. The striking effect of putting Sufi teachings into this modern form was indicated by the poet Akbar Ilahabadi, who stated with reluctant admiration, "My dear Shah! You have put the water of Zamzam [from Mecca] into a soda water bottle!"

After the birth of Pakistan, Zauqi soon settled in Karachi, but eventually decided to leave on pilgrimage to Mecca with a number of his followers. There he visited the tombs of two notable Chishti masters, one from the twelfth century, 'Usman Harwani, and one from the nineteenth, Hajji Imdad Allah. Between them they encapsulate the great period of the Indian Chishtiyya, when nearly all of the great Chishti shaykhs were buried in India. After performing the full *hajj* pilgrimage, Zauqi fell ill and died on the plain of 'Arafat in September 1951, and was buried there.[69] His full engagement with the ideology and technology of modernity marks a new style of leadership, and a new era for the Chishti order. When considered critically in terms of the characteristics delineated above, Zauqi remains very much a modern exemplar of the virtues—and tensions—linked to the Delhi master of the fourteenth century, Shaykh Nizam ad-Din.

Like other Chishti masters before and after them, Zauqi Shah, Hasan Nizami, Ashraf 'Ali Thanvi and Hajji Imdad Allah all remained loyal to the cornerstones of the Chishti worldview derived from the first cycle (twelfth–fourteenth centuries) and persisting in the second cycle (fourteenth–eighteenth centuries). What is distinctive in the third cycle (eighteenth–twenty-first centuries) is the colonial, post-colonial, "modern" context of South Asian Sufism. Sufis continue to draw upon the spiritual resources of all Chishti masters and their disciples: textual exegesis of Qur'an, *hadith* but also Sufi biographies, cosmic analogies and 'rational' miracles, and above all multiple appeals to authority—genealogical and literary, scriptural and juridical, spatial and cultural. The Sabiri and Chishti lineages were not divided by ideology; they were formed by the initiatic link, and within each lineage there was room for both improvisation of traditional resources and accommodations to modernity. Even in criticizing practices such as *sama'* performances or *'urs* celebrations, reformist shaykhs acknowledged loyalty to their own masters as superseding literalist or fundamentalist appeals to "pure" Islam. In light of this continuing tension and creativity, the Chishtiyya of the third cycle are not the debased form of a spiritual movement that flowered in the twelfth century, but only its most recent advocates.

# Chapter Seven

# Modern Day Chishtis

While extensive attention has been given to the early Chishti Sufis, and even to their Mughal and colonial successors, the same cannot be said for the contemporary period. The latest period is not only treated as last, but also as least important. It is most often summarized as a "revival," following a "decline" from the original greatness of a "classical" or "formative" period. Our own approach questions the threefold model of classicism, decline, and revival. Those who speak of a Chishti revival or resurgence too often imply that renewed attention to religious learning and the mediation of spiritual exemplars marks a new beginning, but it is a new beginning with limited horizons; at best it can imitate—it can never equal—the glory of past historical epochs.[1] Hope, in this view, is limited, for while every movement must coalesce around a set of symbols and leaders, it remains reactive, a diminished response to outside, often colonial, forces. Success, too, is limited, for it depends on institution building and networking, yet rivals limit their long-range potential.

For the Sufis themselves, however, both hope and success are measured by other criteria. Not only do they muster creative responses to new realities, but they also accept the challenge of mobilizing the same resources of past generations. And so there is hope now as there was then; while people change, the issues do not. As we noted in chapter 1, there was a strong sense among Chishti chroniclers that each generation of spiritual leaders was capable of responding, with equal measure of passion and insight, both to the ideals of Islam and to the demands of the age. As Shaykh Hasan Muhammad Chishti pointed out in the sixteenth century, every age has the equal possibility of producing—or not producing—saints.

As we have often noted before, the difficulty is to retell the entire story of the Chishtiyya, keeping in mind the open-ended nature of sainthood in general and the Chishti experience in particular. K. A. Nizami, in his massive but incomplete history (based on a theme of decline and revival), sees the modern period as a tail end, with many valiant minor attempts to rival the great period of revival initiated by Shah Kalim Allah in the eighteenth century. Among other major historians, Simon Digby does not deal with any figure more recent than the early Mughal period. David Gilmartin and Barbara Metcalf, on the other hand, deal exclusively with modern figures, but in their studies the Chishtis are subsumed under the general category of Sufism, where the Naqshbandis dominate and where reformers are the major anti-Sufi

representatives of Muslim society.[2] The same tendency can be found in modern Urdu scholarship on these modern Chishti leaders.[3] The common topics of discussion are Sufi shrines and British authorities. New reformist *madrasa*s and the Pakistan movement are foregrounded, Islam becomes important as public domain rather than private worship, and the former is almost always prioritized over the latter.

Yet too-close attention to political developments obscures the major shift in popular culture and public forms of community that affected Sufis as well as reformers during the colonial and postcolonial eras in South Asia. Francis Robinson, for example, has argued that the introduction of printing in nineteenth-century India democratized Islamic religious knowledge, privileging reformist Islam while discrediting organized Sufism.[4] Yet a large body of publications emanating from Sufi orders and shrines, particularly those connected with the Chishtiyya, suggests that the situation is more complex. The Chishti response to the colonial experience involved the appropriation of new communications media, beginning with print, soon to be followed by sound recordings, occasional appearance in government films and on television programs, and most recently on Internet sites. These new forms of communications have been used to respond to ideological challenges from Orientalists, fundamentalists, and secular modernists. In the process, they are contributing to new forms of community that reconfigure the spiritual practices inherited from the spiritual lineages that connect the Chishtis to their past. Some prominent South Asian masters of the Sabiri Chishti lineage, for example, have adapted spiritual practices for their modern disciples. Chishti spirituality has been adapted into a universalist message aimed at non-Muslim Sufis, in the groups connected to Hazrat Inayat Khan. And there is an exuberant Chishti presence on the World Wide Web, part of a transnational repackaging of spirituality that has been initiated by technologically privileged cosmopolitan elites but is not limited to them. While none of these responses can be said to represent or exhaust the totality of options available to those who still aim to be "by the spirit's dagger killed," they are indicative of serious choices that today's Chishtis have made.

## The Technological Reconfiguration of Sabiri Chishti Spirituality

The twentieth-century Sabiri Chishti master's distinctive roles are multiple and changing. They center on four indices crucial to all Chishtis, especially those of the Sabiri branch: the "rational" role of miracles; the dynamic interplay of physical/spiritual realms; the centrality of vocal *zikr;* and polemically inspired adaptations of *sama'*. At the same time that nineteenth/twentieth century Sabiri Chishtis are legatees of previous generations, they have also become reformulaters of the Chishti ethos for their own time. If there is one figure who embodies both the continuity and the shift in Chishti spiritual practice, it would have to be the already familiar figure of Hajji Imdad Allah (d. 1899). Hajji Imdad Allah made an important contribution both to the Sabiri Chishti outlook and to the rise of the Deobandis (see chapter 6), but he is also significant for his spiritual practice on the core indices of Chishti identity in the current chapter. It is this familiar yet changing repertory of Chishti devotionalism that allows us to explore the still more recent master in the Sabiri Chishti lineage, Capt. Wahid Bakhsh Sial (d. 1995). Focusing on these two figures does not by any

means provide a complete picture of recent developments even in the Sabiri branch of the Chishtiyya, but it does illustrate some important trends.

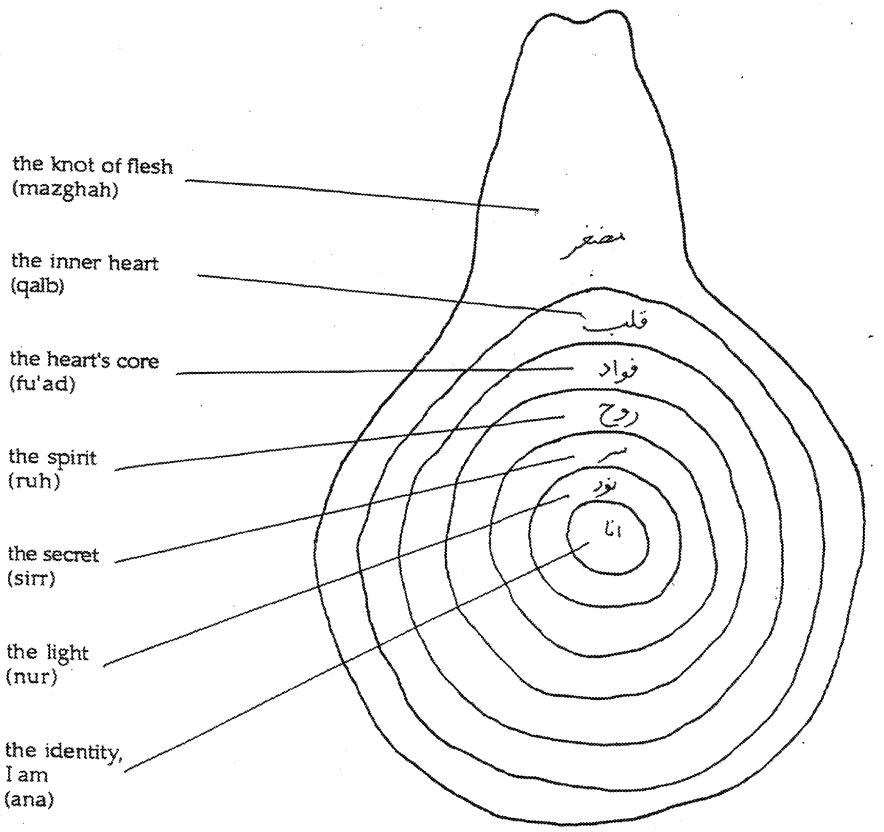
Let us begin with Hajji Imdad Allah's view of miracles. His emphasis on the distinction between physical and spiritual *karamat* could be seen as a move that simply reappropriates the idea of "outer" and "inner" as dichotomous categories, here applied to miracles. But in fact, he links "true" miracles to the correct performance of the meditative practice of inhalation and exhalation. Outer and inner are projected not in a dichotomous but in a dialectic relationship to each other. The physical world mirrors its spiritual counterpart, and the health of each depends on two exercises: *zikr* and *sama'*. Neither stands alone, each is defined in relation to the other, and each makes nineteenth-century Chishti Sufism, like its antecedent phases and masters, the lodestone of piety and hope for all Muslims of North India.

Yet there is nothing new about Hajji Imdad Allah's worldview, for underlying both *zikr* and *sama'* is a centuries-old anthropology of ascent/descent, microcosm/macrocosm. It relates to the "heart" as a multilayered sensorium of consciousness, the wellspring of all effort by the servant to approach the lord. In this pursuit, Hajji Imdad Allah is following Indian as well as non-Indian masters. The basic psychology of the six subtle centers derives from the fourteenth-century Central Asian Kubrawi master 'Ala' al-Dawla Simnani.[5] But in Hajji Imdad Allah's presentation (see figure 7.1), this mystical psychology is modified by the characteristic stress on breath control developed by two Indian figures: the Sabiri master 'Abd al-Quddus Gangohi and the Shattari shaykh Muhammad Ghawth.

In his best-known work, *Ziya' al-qulub,* Hajji Imdad Allah evolves an ingenious set of exercises. *Ziya' al-qulub* is a manual of Sufi devotions that focuses on the physical body as a window to its spiritual counterparts. The physical body is known through the senses, the spiritual through internal organs. Both need to be developed, and each reinforces and purifies the other. It is a dynamic anthropology, and while it has equivalents in Hindu yogic practice, he develops them in a specific Sufi idiom that projects both his loyalty to tradition and his own spiritual creativity.

On the one hand this work is very much a continuation of the synthetic works on spiritual practice of the eighteenth century, such as Nizam al-Din Awrangabadi's *Nizam al-qulub,* and Shah Wali Allah's *Intibah fi salasil awliya' allah* (discussed in chapter 2). Like his predecessors, Hajji Imdad Allah reviews the practices of other Sufi orders active in the subcontinent. On the other hand, *Ziya' al-qulub* has a remarkable stress on *zikr* as the practice of inhaling and exhaling the breath in the recitation of the profession of faith ("there is no God but God, and Muhammad is the Messenger of God"), as the implementation of a *hadith,* narrated as follows:

> There are seven subtle substances related to the heart. These levels are implied in the Prophetic saying, "Surely in the body of Adam is a small knot of flesh, and in this knot is the inner heart, and in this heart is a moral core, and in this core is a spirit, and in this spirit is a secret, and in this secret is a light, and in this light is 'I' (*ana*)." Since there are seven such layers to the heart, the recollection by inhaling and exhaling has also been designed with seven levels. At each level, there is inhaling and exhaling. Therefore the disciple should become immersed in each vocal recollection as if there were no other level except this level. Do not draw in a single breath without recollection in the appropriate manner. When the seeker has become accustomed to one level, and has mastered its experiences, he will reach a subtle level above the material realm. The disciple should




7.1. Diagram of the Seven Layers of the Heart, from *Ziya' al-qulub* by Hajji Imdad Allah (Prepared by Scott Kugle)

be fully occupied with this level of recollection and knowing the level of "no God," so that all things will be negated except the affirmation "except God." Once the seeker has attained this level, he has transcended the level of *self,* and has attained the level of *heart.* And since the recitation of the heart is "except God," the seeker should hold the image of "except God" in the presence of the inner heart, and his own individual essence and attributes should become bound up with the essence and attributes of the Lord of Creation, so that everything except "except God" becomes negated. When the seeker attains a new level by leaving the level of the heart, he will arrive at the level of the *spirit.* Since the recitation of the spirit is the recitation of the name "Allah," the seeker should concentrate only on reciting the Essential Name, so that the "al-" preceding the name "Allah" no longer remains. Only the pronominal syllable "*hu*" is allowed to persist.

On entering this level, the seeker will become recitation and recollection from head to toe. By progressing through the level of the spirit, he will arrive at the level of the *secret.* After this, the seeker should become absorbed to the fullest extent possible in reciting, "*hu, hu,*" so that the one recollected (Allah) becomes the very self (*khwud*). This is the meaning of annihilation in annihilation (*fana' dar fana'*). On reaching this level the seeker will actually become transformed from head to toe into *light.* He will attain the level of "through me he sees, through me he hears." At this level, the true relationship

between worshiping and being worshiped will be made clear without veiling or obscurity. After this the seeker should remain occupied with worship in the strict sense and preserve the dignity and commandment of the *shari'a*. Having become resplendent and support on the seat of guidance, he will point out the path for fellow seekers of the truth. His own sainthood and mastery will stay sound and valid.[6]

No reference is made here to antecedent Sabiri masters and their devotion to a similar kind of breath control/*zikr* (although the *hadith* that introduces this scheme was earlier cited by 'Abd al-Quddus). 'Abd al-Quddus had a complex relationship to the yogic tradition, which he invoked in Hindi verses of his own composition as well as in more oblique references in Persian prose. But Hajji Imdad Allah has so internalized the psychology of the heart that he no longer needs to refer to any external Hindu analogues. The above passage is seamlessly woven into a *zikr* manual that seems to be one with that of Nizam ad-Din Awrangabadi and Shah Wali Allah, yet the flavor is more fully and freely Indian than either of theirs.

At first glance, the relation between these *zikr* practices and *sama'* seems elusive, even nonexistent. Nowhere in *Ziya' al-qulub* does Hajji Imdad Allah make the connection clear. But elsewhere he does. In a separate essay that accompanies *Ziya' al-qulub* in most printed editions, he summarizes the interplay between *zikr* and *sama'*. It is a short treatise, *Faysala-i haft mas'ala* (*Resolution of Seven Questions*), and only in the third question does he take up the controversial topics of death anniversaries of saints (*'urs*) and listening to music (*sama'*). For his reform-minded disciples, this can be seen as his way of identifying with the Chishti past while still distancing himself from the problematic nature of then current musical practice:

This is a matter of much discussion, but the gist is this: It is an ethical question. In pure *sama'*, too, ethics are present, regarding which the realizers of truth affirm that if the permissible conditions are present and negative characteristics are removed, then it is permitted; otherwise, it is not permitted, as Imam Ghazali decreed (God's mercy be upon him). Now, regarding *sama'* with instruments, there is a difference of opinion. Some people have reinterpreted unfavorable hadith and have adduced decisive comparisons in favor of musical instruments, such as Qazi Sana' Allah (God's mercy be upon him), who mentions them in his *Treatise on sama'*. Nevertheless, there is consensus as to the necessity of proper manners (*adab*), even though at this time in most gatherings these are nonexistent or nearly so. "God did not make the five fingers alike." At any rate, these hadith are unanimous, and the supposition of these pro-*sama'* interpreters is unlikely. The argument supporting the dominant view in this matter is quite hard for anyone to refute.

My practice in this matter is as follows. Every year at the time of the passing of the blessed spirit of my master and guide, I perform a virtuous act. First there is Qur'an recitation, then sometimes if time permits, a birthday poem in honor of the Prophet Muhammad is recited, food is prepared for those present, and the virtue of these deeds along with other things is dedicated to the shaykh. My custom has been that no *sama'* ever occurs, whether with voice alone or with instruments. But in my heart I have never objected to ecstatics (*ahl-i hal*). Certainly, the sheer hypocrite or pretender is bad, but to specify that a person attending *sama'* is a hypocrite without legal proof is not right. Here too one needs to make a practical distinction, which was mentioned above: those who do not practice *sama'* see themselves as desirous of following the Prophetic example (*sunna*) perfectly, and those who do it think themselves to be the people of love. Yet neither group contradicts the other, unlike the common people [i.e., those who

> pursue neither the *sunna* nor love], whose extremism blocks them from both grace and tenderness.[7]

Here, like some of the more conservative early Chishti masters (e.g., Nasir ad-Din Chiragh-i Dihli), Hajji Imdad Allah rejects the practice of *sama'* with musical instruments, but he stops short of rejecting music altogether. Indeed, he provides a backdoor confirmation of its most extreme ecstatic practitioners (*ahl-i hal*), at the same time that he echoes the accent most frequently voiced in Chishti circles: not only to tolerate the resort to *sama'* in others, but also to continue it as integral to one's own outlook and practice. In a sense, without ever explicitly linking it to the complementary concept of *zikr,* Hajji Imdad Allah is building on *sama'* as the natural and necessary completion of spiritual exercises (*azkar*).

Now if we shift from Hajji Imdad Allah to Capt. Wahid Bakhsh, we transit over a broad period, from the height of the colonial period in the nineteenth century to the aftermath of Independence. Bracketed together, these two Chishti exemplars reveal a double tension, one between South Asian Islam and British Christian Orientalism, and a second between anti-Sufi reformers and the defenders of Sufi practices as integral to Islam. Indeed, both tensions are epitomized in Capt. Wahid Bakhsh's book, *Islamic Sufism.*[8]

Even when Capt. Wahid Bakhsh writes for a very different audience than Hajji Imdad Allah, he still invokes the meditative techniques of his nineteenth-century predecessor. One of his principal Urdu writings, *Mushahada-i haqq* [The Witnessing of God], expounds the position of Sufism in the modern world. The exposition of Sufism is initially framed by chapters entitled "The Need for Islam in a Misguided World," "The Conception of God in Islam," and "The Nature of Humanity"; then follows a chapter on "Objections to Sufism" that responds primarily to orientalist attempts to find extra-Islamic origins for Sufism. But the key part of the book is the chapter on Sufism, entitled "Traveling to God, or the Path for Attaining the Goal of Life." While the context makes clear that this book has a polemical function, it still retains core elements from Hajji Imdad Allah's manual *Ziya' al-qulub,* i.e., the description of the three principal methods of meditation, the *zikr* of affirmation and negation in the profession of faith, and the six "subtle centers."[9] Though Hajji Imdad Allah offers a far more detailed treatment, Capt. Wahid Bakhsh in his very cursory review of these methods of *zikr* clearly has in mind the outline of *Ziya' al-qulub.*

We also find a ringing endorsement of *sama'* in Capt. Wahid Bakhsh, an emphasis preserved by his followers after his death (figure 7.2). In the English version of his teaching in *Islamic Sufism,* a chapter is devoted to *sama'* and poetry, extolling them as the instruments for spiritual perfection, which also presupposes the same anthropology adduced by Hajji Imdad Allah. In the lengthy Urdu introduction to his translation of the discourses (*malfuzat*) of another great nineteenth-century Chishti, Ghulam Farid (d. 1911), Capt. Wahid Bakhsh devotes more than a third of 225 pages to the exposition and defense of *sama'.*

Yet there are differences between these two masters that extend beyond their different audiences and time frames. We have seen how Hajji Imdad Allah pursues the traditional approach: He talks about *sama'* and its defense with reference to scholars and Sufis of the past, chief among them Muhammad Ghazali. Book 8 of Ghazali's *Revival of Religious Sciences* sets the pattern for what others have interpreted as the legal and illegal uses of music. But the approach of Capt. Wahid Bakhsh is at once bolder

7.2. Qawwali singers at the 2001 'urs festival of Capt. Wahid Bakhsh (Allahabad, Pakistan) (Photograph by Robert Rozehnal)

and more "rational." He explicates *sama'* as the culmination of spiritual discipline, which alone can produce the result of annihilation (*fana'*) in God. It is no longer ancillary; it is central. It is, moreover, projected as modern because it recognizes the interior/exterior correspondence of spiritual/physical health that both European and Americans have too narrowly construed as unidimensional or physical.

Among the other notable features of Captain Wahid Bakhsh's approach to *sama'* is his appreciation of Hajji Imdad Allah as one of its staunch supporters. We have seen earlier how it would appear that the nineteenth-century Sabiri Chishti master was at best reticent, at worst ambivalent about the practice of *sama'*, and it is not surprising that biographies of Hajji Imdad Allah such as *Kamalat-i Imdadiyya* give no account whatever of his practicing *sama'*. Yet Capt. Wahid Bakhsh has salvaged from one of Ashraf 'Ali's works a remarkable account of Hajji Imdad Allah's encounter at Mecca with a representative of the Mevleviyya, the Turkish Sufi order founded by Jalal ad-Din Rumi. Hajji Imdad Allah (like his disciple Ashraf 'Ali after him) had written an extensive commentary on the great Persian mystical epic of Rumi, the *Masnavi,* so we should ordinarily expect a Chishti shaykh who is an expert on Rumi to jump at the chance to hear the Mevlevi *sama'*. Yet, as this anecdote shows, Hajji Imdad Allah was himself temperamentally incapable of appreciating such a performance; he was, as he himself admits, unmusical. This personal idiosyncrasy was for him not a matter of principle, however. Unlike those of his disciples who became leaders of the Deoband *madrasa,* Hajji Imdad Allah did not unconditionally reject *sama'* as a practice. In this instance, after politely declining the offer to hear the flute performance, he referred the Mevlevi dervish to one of his disciples, Mawlavi Muhammad Husayn Ilahabadi, noting that the dervish would find an appreciative

connoisseur of music in him. These were prophetic words, for in a famous episode that added to the annals of ecstasy in the Chishti tradition, Mawlavi Muhammad Husayn Ilahabadi in the early years of this century would die during a musical session in Ajmer, while listening to a *qawwal* recite Persian verses by 'Abd al-Quddus Gangohi.[10]

Within the Chishtiyya Sabiriyya, there is a diversity of views about spiritual practices, but what is evident from this brief review of two major spiritual teachers of this sublineage is that the symbolic resources of the Chishtiyya, while challenged, are not exhausted by developments in colonial and postcolonial India. Hajji Imdad Allah, and his generation, expounded the crucial anthropology reflecting the hierarchy of essences, inner and outer, but he stops short of affirming *sama'* as the completion of meditative practice. Capt. Wahid Bakhsh, however, while respecting both Hajji Imdad Allah and his reform movement, reinterprets their contribution as confirming *sama'*. Instead of explicitly disagreeing with either Hajji Imdad Allah or major disciples of his like Ashraf 'Ali Thanvi, he instead recalls anecdotes from their own writings where they actually approved of *sama'* or listened to it themselves. Even about that stern reformer, Ashraf 'Ali, Capt. Wahid Bakhsh can—and does—find an anecdote that suggests his suppressed engagement with *sama'*. The little- known incident is gleaned from Ashraf 'Ali's *Khumkhana-i batin.* Once, while traveling by train, Ashraf 'Ali wrote, he met his co-disciple Muhammad Husayn Ilahabadi. The latter was accompanied by Farzand 'Ali, a *qawwal* who had become quite old. Farzand 'Ali said that he had a deep longing to sing for the scholar. Since there were no instruments, and the performance would be only for him, Ashraf 'Ali permitted him to proceed with a single *ghazal.* Such was the power of the singer's voice that Ashraf 'Ali could not even tell whether the train was still moving or had stopped. But after one *ghazal* he withdrew his permission.[11]

Capt. Wahid Bakhsh has ample antecedents for his impassioned defense of *sama'*. Indeed, his method of recalling his contemporaries as "secret" defenders of *sama'* harks back to the experience of the fifteenth-century Chishti saint Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani (d. 1428). In the twentieth chapter of *Lata'if-i ashrafi,* he provides a list of all the Indian shaykhs who favored music, and above all, he "recreates the condition and lauds the example of those saints who died in *sama'*."[12] Five centuries later, the major Sabiri Chishti disciple of Hajji Imdad Allah, Muhammad Husayn Ilahabadi, is not only approved for his action, but his own experience of death is depicted in the same work of Ashraf 'Ali Thanvi, that is, the *Khumkhana-i batin,* where the above train incident is recounted. Especially powerful is Ashraf 'Ali's final description of the saint's demise: Overwhelmed by hearing the *ghazal* by 'Abd al-Quddus, he prostrated himself in prayer and "gave up his spirit." Capt. Wahid Bakhsh, in recapitulating the anecdote, comments that Muhammad Husayn Ilahabadi had entered into absolute annihilation in God—"he flew so high that he had no power to come back."[13]

What we have earlier as indirect testimony from Ashraf 'Ali and also Hajji Imdad Allah, we now have as direct, forthright, and unequivocal affirmations from Capt. Wahid Bakhsh: *sama'* and *zikr* together—one inextricably reinforcing and extending the other, both working always and everywhere together—*zikr* and *sama'*, *sama'* and *zikr* remain the core spiritual methods of the Chishtis, from the Sultanate period to the postcolonial era. The critique of *sama'* by reformist Chishtis illustrates the extent to which neo-scriptural tendencies can create conflicting identities, as Islam and Su-

fism are differently construed, with both overlap and contradiction, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

While Capt. Wahid Bakhsh stresses the continuity of experience, one must also note the discontinuity or change of the instruments for disseminating that experience. Technology may reconfigure Chishti spirituality, and it may either expand its range and form of communication or it may change the very way in which it is conceived as a worldview and mode of knowledge. We differentiate two tangents of modernizing technology: One is instrumental and the other is cognitive.

First, at the instrumental level, Regula Qureshi has explored how the very devotion to *sama'* was changed by a shift in audience; it came to include non-Sufis as well as Sufis, non-Muslims as well as Muslims.[14] In the early part of the century, the British Gramophone Company of India monopolized the recording and distribution of *qawwali* music, under the catchall category of "Urdu Muslim Islamic." Then with the advent of film in the 1930s, live *qawwali* performances were also introduced, especially in the Bombay productions from the 1950s on. One example was a film about Shaykh Mu'in ad-Din Chishti, *Hind ke Wali* [The Saint of India], featuring the Hindu *qawwal* Shankar Shambhu, notable for his "remarkably high and flexible tenor voice."[15] The ideology of postindependence India was to use *qawwali* to promote religious tolerance, creating "a musical style that blended distinctive features of *qawwali* with general traits of Indian popular music."[16] More than one observer has also commented on the striking similarity between current *qawwali* performances at major shrines such as Nizamuddin in Delhi, and the aesthetic established by Bombay film music. In Pakistan, by contrast, *qawwali* became the one musical genre with a clear Muslim identity, overshadowing even the sung poetry of Muhammad Iqbal.[17] It was above all the Sabri Brothers, with the help of long-playing recordings, who pioneered what Qureshi calls "serious popular religious *qawwali,*" taking musical devices from film *qawwali* but also from classical music. At the same time, especially from the 1970s on, more and more *qawwali* recordings featured textual phrases in Arabic, appealing to the re-Islamized sensibilities of Pakistan expatriate workers and overseas Muslims.

It is notable that the continuity of lineages does not merely echo the past but updates the relevance of all generations of Chishtis. Just as the recording industry democratized the private rituals of *sama'* for a mass audience, the introduction of print and lithography technology made possible the distribution of Sufi teachings on a scale far beyond what manuscript production could attain. As has been noted in the case of Ibn 'Arabi's Arabic works, when they first emerged into print in the late nineteenth century, suddenly a work that had been represented by at most a hundred manuscripts (and those difficult of access) was easily available at a corner bookstore in a thousand copies. Evidence is still far from complete, but indications are that in the principal locations for the introduction of printing technology on a mass basis in the nineteenth century (Cairo, Istanbul, Tehran, and Delhi), the main patrons of publication, aside from governments, were Sufi orders.[18] Hence the printing press made possible the mass distribution of biographical works on premodern Sufis. It was the printing press, too, that popularized the works of polymaths like Ashraf 'Ali Thanvi and Hasan Nizami. And this publicization of Sufism occurred at precisely the time when Sufism was becoming an abstract subject, separated from Islam in orientalist writings, and condemned by reformists as a non-Islamic innovation.

A striking instance of the newly specialized situation of Sufism is the way Sufi leaders could focus on marketing to their disciples through the publication of serials, a topic that is only beginning to be explored.[19] Also striking are the uses to which the new technology could be put in constructing documents of initiation. For the first time there appeared the open-ended printed genealogy. Typically, initiation into a Sufi order in previous times involved the disciple learning by heart and then transcribing by hand the family "tree" (*shajara*) of the Sufi lineage, inscribing his own name at the end of a line traced back to the Prophet Muhammad. Now, for this ritual process (as in the mass production of *qawwali* recordings), the publisher makes available a large stack of ready-made lineage documents, with a blank for the would-be initiate and the master to inscribe their own names. On a facing page, a grid forms a calendar of saints' death anniversaries, with some spaces filled in but others left blank for the owner to fill in with the names of favorite saints.[20]

This innovation could be viewed favorably or not, depending on one's notion of authenticity. On the one hand, it could be argued that print spirituality introduced a dilution, even a banalization of Sufi practice generally and Chishti devotionalism in particular. How could a printed *shajara* chart substitute for the vibrant presence, and the needed direction, of a living spiritual master? And how could one ever track the tens of thousands of disciples whom Khwaja Hasan Nizami was said to have initiated via the British postal service? These are valid questions, and they underscore the slippery nature of the wedding between modern technology and traditional spirituality. On the other hand, one could argue that what printed *shajaras,* mass deputizations, and now *qawwali* recordings indicate is that Muslims in both Pakistan and India practice a form of cultural hybridity that eludes the usual indices of political intrigue, regional conflict, and global power. The colonial period remains important, but the dimensions of its importance have to be extended.

First, for instance, there is the question of how one should evaluate the use of lithographic printing (both color and black and white) for the mass production of images of Sufi saints, whether imaginary portraits or photographs of living masters. This practice, which surely dates from the early nineteenth century, has been criticized as a heretical innovation.[21] But it also taps into the wildly popular phenomenon of mass printing of religious iconography that can be seen throughout South Asia, and images of Sufi saints are available from many shrines and at every festival (see figure 7.3).

Second, at the cognitive level, there is also a shift due to this modernizing technology during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, and it is a shift that adds new dimensions to the instrumental developments cited above. It may be labeled "diffusion into a broad based spiritual aesthetic that is neither specifically Sufi nor generically Muslim." In other words, if Inayat Khan may be said to have loosened the ties between Sufism and Islam (see below), it may be said of some recent practitioners that they move still further toward providing a trace rather than a stamp of Chishti elan in the domain of global culture.

Consider the most celebrated *qawwals* of the subcontinent. The success of present-day practitioners of *qawwali* such as the Sabri Brothers and Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan has gone far beyond the boundaries of its customary South Asian audiences. The first to appreciate these performers as transnational artists were ethnomusicologists in Europe, who esteemed them for their musical dynamism as much as for their recognizable spiritual qualities. A series of state-of-the-art recordings from the

7.3. Popular poster of the tomb of Nizam ad-Din Awliya'

French Ministry of Culture has made *qawwali* available to discriminating European listeners in a cultural continuum with indigenous musical traditions ranging from Morocco to Indonesia. Indeed, Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan has surpassed all his predecessors "by orienting his musical style toward audiences unable to understand his texts,"[22] or even to recognize his music as either Muslim or South Asian. In the Hollywood movie *Dead Man Walking,* for instance, Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan blends his voice with indigenous American bluegrass chords, to produce an unforgettable but also unrecognizable score. Few of the thousands who saw that film even knew that there was a Muslim artist, much less a Sufi and certainly not a Chishti Sufi musician, providing the tone to some of its most haunting passages.

Still more significant is a cognitive shift in the reverse direction of emphasis: not to diffuse or dilute Sufi/Chishti spirituality in a sea of global hybridity but instead to highlight it as the core of what Allah intended in all domains for the current and future generations. We might call this the Chishti seal of approval on creative exploration in all branches of science as well as in the domain of culture. We again find the Chishti case advanced most assertively by Capt. Wahid Bakhsh. He combines his exposition of Sufism with a full-scale evaluation of "the West." He pays attention not only to transmitting the spiritual teaching of an early generation (and often authorized by explicit reference to them), but also to using new media of communication (printing and lithography) to disseminate these teachings to non-Chishti audiences. He takes particular account of reactions that non-Sufis and non-Chishtis will have to his work. These new audiences include orientalists who would be engaged by what the Sufis say, and rational modernists who would dismiss all religion, including Islam, and especially Sufism. Science as an outcome is seen as the perfection of Sufism, even

when scientists ignore "the spiritual origins of their discipline."[23] The real science they are discussing is not astrophysics or chaos theory; it is science of the inner self, and it is there that they reapply to the modern world the notion of the six subtle centers that goes back to 'Ala' al-Dawla Simnani in the fourteenth century. Direct and self-confident is the linkage of Sufism to cognitive psychology, a connection that modern Sufi teachers from other orders and cultures have not failed to pursue. Even if one dismisses this approach as bad science or rampant apologetics, one cannot ignore its core Chishti reflex: to reaffirm *sama'*, music, as the ultimate experience of humanity.[24]

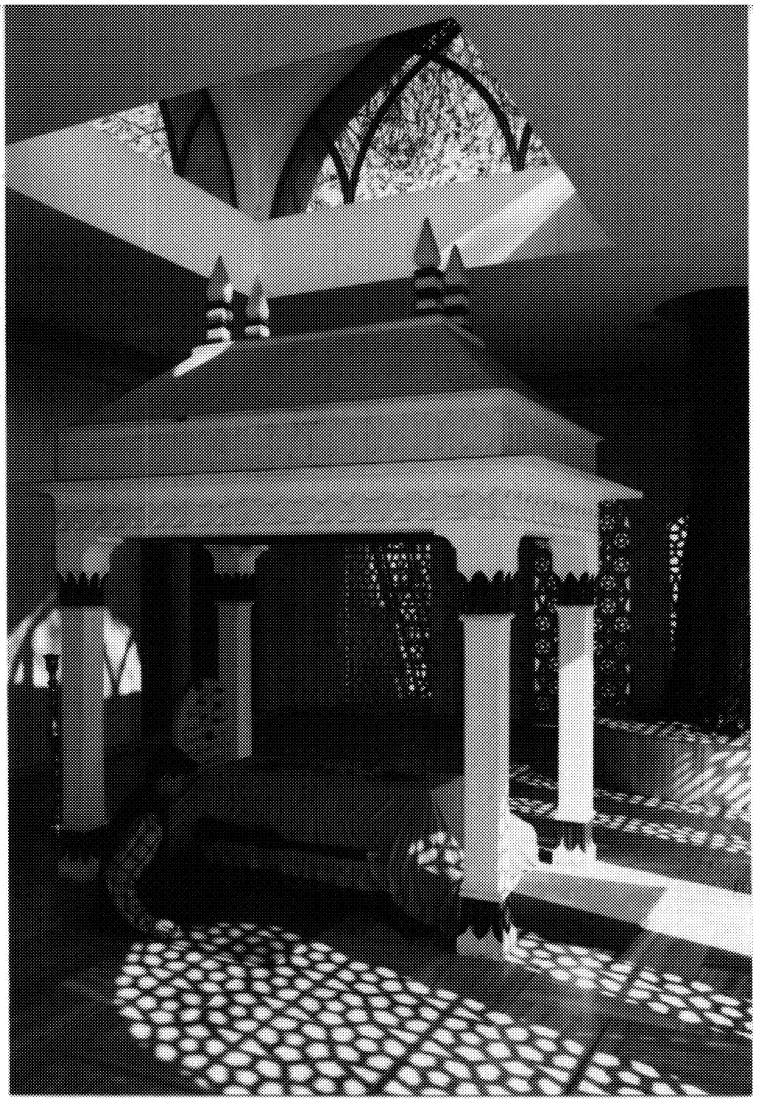
There is no single narrative of the past 150 years of Chishti Sufism, nor should we expect to find one. While this book has engaged with numerous master narratives, it is not proposing a meta-narrative to supplant them. What results from the transformations of the past century and a half is not a historical certainty but an interpretive ambiguity, about Sufism in general and the Chishtiyya in particular. On the one hand, they have clearly lost the single-order identity that underscored their prominent influence in earlier eras. Since the time of Shah Kalim Allah (d. 1729), Chishtis have integrated the meditative techniques of other orders into their own repertoire, while also decrying laxity or laziness on the part of their coreligionists. But on the other hand, some Chishti figures have hit upon strategies of survival and techniques of reformulation that made possible a kind of Chishti spirituality able to succeed and even thrive in a whole new set of contexts. Above all, what prevails is a concern with spiritual praxis, however defined, rather than surrender to reformist ideology or secular nationalism (although there are clearly tensions in both these directions). Miracle mongering is not the outcome of Hajji Imdad Allah's legacy, but neither is prohibition of *sama'*. The inner-directedness of those who pursue the "heart of meditation" and *sama'* remains the stamp of Sabiri Chishtis for the postcolonial and postmodern era.

## The Euro-American Adaptation of Hazrat Inayat Khan and His Successors

Beyond the Sabiri Chishtis one must account for redirections in the Chishtiyya that come from latter-day legatees of the Nizami Chishtiyya. Among the custodians of the Chishti legacy there are two groups that are at most peripherally connected to normative Islamic religious practice: non-Muslim South Asians, and non-South Asians who have been attracted to Sufism. It is this latter group who are the subject matter of the current section.

Among the most notable of modern Chishti legatees is one whose tomb graces modern-day Delhi. It stands near the tomb of the epigone of the Delhi Chishtiyya, Shaykh Nizam ad-Din Awliya' Mahbub-i Ilahi. It must be approached through a separate and private garden in the Nizam ad-Din complex. One must climb steps and glance at a solitary peepal tree before one sees a canopied grave (see figure 7.4) bearing an inscription in English that extols the universal mission of Hazrat Inayat Khan.

In terms of lineage, Inayat Khan stands within the Nizamiyya subbranch of the Chishtiyya. His spiritual genealogy dates back to Chiragh-i Dihli, and may be depicted as follows: Nasir ad-Din Chiragh-i Dihli (d. 1356); Kamal ad-Din 'Allama (d. 1355); Siraj bin Kamal ad-Din 'Allama (d. 1368); 'Alam ibn Siraj (d. 1406); Mahmud



7.4. Tomb of Hazrat Inayat Khan (Nizam ad-Din Dargah, Delhi) (Photograph by Robert Rozehnal)

Rajan ibn ʿAlam ad-Din (d. 1495); Jamal ad-Din Jumman ibn Rajan (d. 1534); Nasir II Hasan Muhammad ibn Miyan Jiv (d. 1575); Muhammad Chishti (d. 1630); Yahya Madani (d. 1689); Kalim Allah Jahanabadi (d. 1729); Nizam ad-Din Awrangabadi (d. 1730); Fakhr ad-Din Dihlawi (d. 1785); Muhammad Qutb ad-Din; Muhammad ʿurf Kalamyan; Muhammad Qibla Kalami Dihlawi; Abu Hashim Madani; Hazrat Inayat Khan (d. 1927). Born into a prominent family of musicians in Gujarat, Inayat Khan was at the court of the Nizam of Hyderabad, and he was initiated into Sufism by Abu

Hashim Madani. He went to America and Europe in 1910, first touring as a musician and then as a propagator of Sufism in the West. He left a large literary legacy in English, and various branches of his followers are active in the Netherlands, France, England, the United States, and Canada. He did not return to India until late in 1926, when he chose a tomb site near the shrine of Nizam ad-Din in Delhi, made the pilgrimage to Ajmer, and returned to Delhi, where he died in the presence of Khwaja Hasan Nizami on February 5, 1927.

The literature on Inayat Khan and the various movements that have emerged from his teachings is voluminous.[25] The central question he raises is about Chishti identity: How does one become a Sufi, and a Chishti, in a non-Muslim society? Though there is little doubt about Inayat Khan's own Islamic observance and loyalty, there is a question about the Islamic identity of those participants in various Sufi organizations linked to him. On the one hand, his order is marked by universalism, following the Qur'anic dictum (2:136) that no distinction is to be made between the messages revealed by God to the different prophets. Also, one of his alleged disciples, Muhammad Marmaduke Pickthall, was the first English convert to Islam to translate the Qur'an into his native tongue. Yet Inayat Khan made the momentous decision to present Sufism to Europeans and Americans as a spiritual path that was not tied to Islam. More than most of his contemporaries, he grasped the depth of the enormous prejudice against Islam in Europe and America:

> Among the existing religions of the world Islam is the only one which can answer the demand of Western life, but owing to political reasons a prejudice against Islam has existed in the West for a long time. Also, the Christian missionaries, knowing that Islam is the only religion which can succeed their faith, have done everything within their power to prejudice the minds of Western people against it. Therefore there is little chance of Islam being accepted in the West.[26]

Inayat Khan therefore cast his own thought in a more universal image, as indicated both in his epitaph and in the title of one of his books, *Universal Religion.* As a result, Islam both as symbol and as religious system is conspicuously downplayed in the multiple groups that derive their authority from Inayat Khan. Among those exposed to these traditions, there are many who assume that there is no relationship between Sufism and Islam. There was some precedent for this, in that certain earlier Chishti masters (notably Kalim Allah) did not require Hindus to convert to Islam as a condition of Sufi initiation. But the concept of a non-Muslim Sufi was the exception rather than the rule prior to the twentieth century.

At the same time, however, Inayat Khan was identified not only with the Chishtiyya, but also with what has been called "four-school Sufism." There are old traditions in the Chishtiyya associating the principal masters with major figures from other orders such as 'Abd al-Qadir Jilani. Early Chishtis like Ashraf Jahangir Simnani claimed initiation in multiple lineages, though they gave priority to the Chishti orientation (see chapter 3). Inayat Khan himself stated, "I studied Qur'an, hadith, the literature of the Persian mystics, and underwent a course of training in four schools."[27] These four schools are generally taken to be the Chishti, Suhrawardi, Qadiri, and Naqshbandi orders. While other Chishtis like Shah Kalim Allah had affiliations with these orders, Inayat Khan may have gone further than his predecessors in claiming equivalence for each of the schools.[28] A recent disciple went so far as to

say, "Given that the teachings of the Suhrawardi, Naqshbandi, and Qadiri masters are found throughout the written legacy of Inayat Khan, along with the teachings of recognized masters such as Imam al-Ghazali, Muhyi ad-Din Ibn 'Arabi, Mevlana Rumi of Balkh, and others, to identify Inayat Khan solely with the Chishtiyya is in itself a mistake."[29] Elsewhere the same person states that "our Chishti lineage or tariqat is only one part of four school Sufism, whose founders and precursors knew each other in tenth-century [*sic*] Baghdad." Others have advanced the notion of "four-school Sufism" as "evolving away from the moorings of Chishti identification." We are told that "Shah Kalim Allah was a Sufi with a four-fold repertoire more than he was a Chishti using other orders. A spiritual descendant of the Shah in the early 20th century identified himself as an initiate of Four-School Sufism."[30]

Less clear than the Chishti quasi-affiliation is the issue of successorship to Hazrat Inayat Khan.[31] He is said to have recognized Murshida Rabia Martin of California as his successor. Another *khalifa* was Murshid Samuel Lewis, who inspired a number of American disciples and left a literary legacy. There is also a European branch based in the Netherlands, which has been led by family members. But his most widely recognized successor is his son Pir Vilayat Khan, who has a large American and European following and a center in Mt. Lebanon, New York. Both Pir Vilayat Khan and his son and heir Zia Inayat Khan have taken a strong interest in the scholarly study of Sufism, and indeed the latter is emerging not only as a Sufi leader but also as a scholar. Zia Inayat Khan's doctoral research on the Chishti masters of Gujarat during the first cycle of the Indian Chishtiyya (for which both the present writers are advisers) is an indication of a renewed interest in both the early traditions of Chishti practice and their Islamic context.

## Cybersufis: Modern-day Chishtis as Spiritual Netaphysicians

Cultural critic David Hollinger has argued that the twenty-first century will be marked by self-ascription–individuals drawing on multiple sources in constructing their own identity, rather than shoring up a collective identity that always prioritizes one group or one language or one race over others.[32] If Hollinger is correct, then it is possible that the next wave of the Chishtiyya may benefit from cyberspace as much as an earlier generation benefited from print technology. The crucial spiritual shift for the modern-day Chishtiyya may not be territorial, however, but technological. How well do they move through what Castells calls the gradients of modern communication, from printed texts to radio to television to movies and now to the Net?

One answer is clear: The state apparatus cannot be ignored, and in both Pakistan and India the state-operated radio and television did not promote the spiritual practices of either the Chishtiyya or other orders, with the exception of documentaries produced by foreigners or the Government of India film cited earlier. The allure of *qawwali* as Muslim music suited to the global arc of popular culture provides a Sufi accent, but not a set of practices continuous with the three cycles of initiatic practice described earlier in this book. What is possible, however, is the move from print Sufism to net Sufism. We have seen above how Chishti Sufism adapted to print culture in the subcontinent and abroad. We are also now beginning to see how Chishti sites

appear on the Net, and we project that the future will resemble what Castells calls the information age, with multiple sites but no fixed center.

On the one hand, it is impossible to reduce the importance of Indianness for the Chishtiyya. Traditionally, Indianness has been expressed through links to the physical places of Hindustan, whether through teachings of living masters or tombs of bygone masters, but always acknowledging that the network of Chishtiyya passes through India. If Mu'in ad-Din moved to Ajmer as a new Mecca, the inner Mecca for Chishtis remains Ajmer, not only for Nizami and Sabiri Chishtis but for all—both Chishti and non-Chishti, Muslim and non-Muslim—who identify with the devotional legacy of this ancient and still vibrant brotherhood.

On the other hand, Chishtis, like other Sufis and other non-Sufi groups of Muslims, have discovered another life in cyberspace. Sufism on the Internet is like anything else in terms of its technological infrastructure. Issues of cost and access to equipment at the present time limit the extensive use of the Internet in developing countries to elites. We now see the formation of virtual Sufi communities based on electronic networks in proliferating Sufi web sites and discussion groups, but these are pretty much localized in America and Europe. Passionate debates take place in these discussion groups regarding the issue of Sufism and Islamic identity. But in a sense this debate is between two modes of communication. For some, the Internet is still seen as a means for efficiently diffusing printed texts.

There are, in addition, a number of other Chishti Web sites for different constituencies: the Chishti-Qadiri Web site from Chennai (Madras), India: (http://www.geocities.com/Athens.Olympus/5352/index); Sharib Press, a British publisher of books on Chishti teachings (http://www.j-morris.dircon.co.uk); the Chishti Habibi Soofie Islamic Order International, a South Africa-based organization (http://www.soofie.org.za); Moon over Medina, a bookstore in Malaysia featuring publications of Pakistani Chishtis including Capt. Wahid Bakhsh Sial (http://www.moonovermedina.com/home); The Sufi Study Circle of Toronto, Canada (http://www.campuslife.utoronto.ca/groups/sufi). Although these do have some interactive features, such as e-mail lists, they tend to be largely informational with a proselytizing touch.

In contrast, the Web sites associated with Hazrat Inayat Khan in North America play much more fully into the Internet sensibility. Pir Vilagat Khan, Sufi Sam, and others have a massive presence that is ramified in a number of parallel but distinct organizations as well as individual Web sites, among which are the following: A Cherag's Library, for Cherags [ordained ministers] of the Church of All, A Universal Perspective of Sufism (http://www.cheraglibrary.org/library); International Network for the Dances of Universal Peace (http://www.dancesofuniversalpeace.org); The Sufi Healing Order, connected to Inayat Khan (http://sufihealingorder.org); Sufi Order International, under the leadership of Pir Vilayat Khan(http://sufiorder.org); the Web site of Baba Farid, a contemporary poet and representative of the Hazrat Nizamuddin Spiritual Foundation (http://www.angelfire.com/ca/sufi). These sites feature numerous interactive features including discussion groups, travel schedules of leaders, online classes, daily inspirational messages, audio files, and massive collections of links to sites on Sufism and other religions. An updated list of Chishti websites will be maintained at http://www.unc.edu/depts/sufilit/links.htm.

What are the implications of these new modes of interactivity for the nature of religious community? They can only be conjectured, but they seem likely to include

above all a reaffirmation in different form of the long-standing Chishti emphasis on *zikr* and *sama'*, *sama'* and *zikr*. While it may be possible for some to downplay Islam and remain a Sufi, one cannot be a Chishti Sufi and ignore *sama'* and *zikr*. They are the irreducible core of Chishti devotionalism, whatever the epoch, whatever the place, whatever the aesthetic. Another possible implication is a link of diasporic Chishtis to other Sufi and Muslim groups, such as Rumi devotees in the United States and Barelvis in the United Kingdom. This takes place wherever such groups form minority communities vis-à-vis a majority community that is neither Muslim nor Sufi in its dominant outlook. These ties vary, depending on the degree of hostility from anti-Sufi, pro-Wahhabi groups. A third implication is a retention of Indianness as the stress on a broad-gauged spiritual formation that recalls central moments and still pivotal places that are located in Hindustan (meaning the current-day Republic of India, the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, and also Bangladesh). In the South Asian subcontinent, one finds not only the major tombs of the early saints, but also their latter-day legatees who are attached, emotionally if not physically, to the spaces made sacred by the centuries-old practices of these same masters. Government manipulation, as in Pakistan's control of the *'urs* of Baba Farid, may present an institutional, ideological face to this practice that many "pure-minded" mystics would resist or resent. Still, no state-controlled apparatus—whether in Pakistan, India, or Bangladesh, Saudi Arabia or Iran, or the United States—can have ultimate control. Spiritual practice, openness to other ways, and an inescapable local Indian emphasis despite the homogenizing force of globalization—these will remain the hallmarks of the Chishtiyya in coming years.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the Chishti message endures, stretching across many lines of identity and ideological formation. Among its ironic traces is the tribute of the great twentieth-century modernist Sir Muhammad Iqbal. Despite his reservations about the medieval, anti-progressive legacy of institutional Sufism, his poet's heart produced this ghazal ("A Pilgrim's Plea") in praise of the paragon of Chishti spirituality, Shaykh Nizam ad-Din Awliya':

The name that angels whisper—that is your name.
Wide is your embrace and grand, indeed, your grace.
Spellbound by you is Love—as stars by sun.
A step around your grave's a step into the life within.
Such heights at which you dwell—higher than Jesus—
Such shades of love you hide in your one love.

If I am cursed, O Lord, with a burnt black heart,
Then know, my Lord, it is the one chance scar
That stains the silken core
Of every tulip.

And if, instead, I'm blessed—
As the open tulip
Then know, my Lord—it was your warmth
That kissed it open.

I am that exiled scent
Which, like all scents, must waft in fickle winds—at home nowhere—

Though longing every moment
For the rose that gave it birth.

Or else, I'm rooted, leafless, parched and waiting,
Patient—as the forlorn desert tree
That eyes the heavens for a wispy cloud
And spurns the gardener with his watering can.

Or else, I sit in splendor holding court
As the sun outshines the stars arrayed in heaven.
O Lord, may I outpace all who walk
With me in life's long journey—
Outpace to such a length that reaching me
They think me to be the longed-for journey's end.

Grant just this much, God, that the words
Of this poor poet
May wound the heart of none upon this earth
And yet, that like the shining, cruel saber,
May those same words shred every soul that hears.

Grant also that I rest my humble head
At the feet of those who nurtured me on earth.

And also this, Oh God,
That the saint who shines
Like a candle in the court of Martyred 'Ali,
The saint whose breath has opened my soul and heart—that tight lipped rose,
Whose grace has made of me the king of verse—
Grant that I step, just once, around his tomb.

Grant that that Second Joseph, that flame of love,
Who scorched me till there was no "I" and "you,"
Who lavished me with my second youth—
Grant, God, that he stay smiling
In this autumn-garden, that is the world

Grant this, for he's the soul of the soul of my soul.

May my sullen heart be open and smiling—
May this pilgrim's plea be found not wanting.[33]

The challenge of Chishti Sufism, then, remains the self-sacrifice whose very possibility is demonstrated by those martyrs of love who have gone before. There is only the veil of time separating the cycles of Chishti spirituality, and for those who can pierce that veil the tulip can open its silken core in the twenty-first century, as it did in the thirteenth century and as it has in every human epoch since.

# Appendix

# The Earliest Chishti Masters

## A Chishti Calendar of Saints' Death Anniversaries

The following list is given as an addendum to a manuscript of *Adab al-muridin* by Muhammad Chishti, copied in Taunsa ca. 1790 (personal collection of Carl Ernst; thanks to Mr. Khalil al-Rahman Dawoodi of Lahore). It lists the death-anniversary dates of important saints of the Chishti lineage, arranged in sequence according to the months and days of the Muslim lunar calendar.

*Muharram*

1. ʿUmar ibn al-Khattab, the second caliph (d. 23/644)
4. Hasan Basri (d. 110/728)
5. Farid ad-Din Masʿud Ajodhani [Ganj-i Shakar] (d. 664/1265)
14. Mumshad ʿAlu Dinawari (d. 329/941)
28. Yahya Madani (d. 1101/1689)

*Safar*

22. Mahmud Rajan ibn ʿAlam ad-Din (d. 901/1495)
26. ʿAlam ibn Siraj (d. 809/1406)
27. ʿAbd al-Wahid ibn Zayd (d. 177/793)

*Rabiʿ I*

2. Muhammad the Prophet (d. 11/632)
3. Fuzayl ibn ʿIyaz (d. 187/802)
4. Qutb ad-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki (d. 633/1235)
24. Kalim Allah Jahanabadi (d. 1142/1729)

*Rabiʿ II*

4. Abu Ishaq Chishti Shami (d. 329/941)

18. Nizam ad-Din Awliya' (d. 725/1325)
18. Amir Khusraw (d. 725/1325)
26. Nasir ad-Din Abu Ishaq Yusuf Chishti (d. 459/1067)

*Jumadi I*

21. Siraj bin Kamal ad-Din 'Allama (d. 817/1414)
26. Ibrahim ibn Adham (d. 163/779)

*Jumadi II*

1. Abu Muhammad Chishti (d. 411/1020)
1. [Abu] Ahmad Chishti (d. 355/966)
22. Abu Bakr, the first caliph (d. 13/634)

*Rajab*

1. Mawdud Chishti (d. 520/1126)
6. Mu'in ad-Din Chishti (d. 633/1236)
16. Hajji Sharif Zandani (d. 612/1215)
27. Ahmad Miyan Jiv ibn Nasir ad-Din (d. 776/1374)
28. Nasir ibn Muhibb ad-Din (?)

*Sha'ban*

16. Abu al-Fath (d. 858/1454)

*Ramadan*

17. Nasir ad-Din Chiragh-i Dihli (d. 757/1356)
21 (or 17). 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (d. 40/661), the fourth caliph

*Shawwal*

5. 'Usman Harwani (d. 607/1211)
7. Abu Hubayra Basri (d. 287/900)
22. Majd ibn Siraj
25. Huzhayfa al-Mar'ashi (d. 207/822)

*Dhu al-Qi'da*

16. Muhammad al-Husayni Gisu Daraz (d. 825/1422)
27. Kamal ad-Din 'Allama (d. 756/1355)
28. Nasir II Hasan Muhammad Miyan Jiv (d. 982/1575)

*Dhu al-Hijja*

6. Jamal ad-Din Jumman ibn Rajan (d. 940/1534)
12. 'Usman ibn 'Affan, the third caliph (d. 35/656)

# Major Chishti Masters

The story of Shaykh Mu'in ad-Din and all his successors come from a single, heretofore untranslated tazkira, Akhbar al-akhyar, written by the foremost North Indian compiler of Sufi biographies from the pre-Mughal and early Mughal period, Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlavi (see chapter 3). The book is structured by generations and it recounts the lives of great sufi masters from the twelfth to the late sixteenth century. Though there is no bias toward any one order or viewpoint, 'Abd al-Haqq accents the pivotal role of the Chishtiyya, at least for the first cycle and arguably for every cycle thereafter. The first three generations are headed by Mu'in ad-Din, Farid ad-Din, and Nasir ad-Din. Many of the biographies relate to disciples of Nizam ad-Din, arguably the foremost Chishti master of the premodern period.[1]

### *Khwaja Mu'in ad-Din Chishti*

*[The strongest accent of ' Abd al-Haqq is on location. Where Mu'in ad-Din came from, where he settled and where Ajmer was in relation to Nagaur—all occupy the imagination of Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq. The collection of aphorisms—which may or may not have been uttered by the saint—establish a pervasive tone for the entire Chishti discipline: Always maintain loyalty to inner travel; do not cease to search for the ocean of knowledge which is God's domain!]*

Khwaja Mu'in ad-Din Hasan al-Husayni Sijzi Sanjari, we are told, was the head of the great Shaykhs and leaders of the Chishti order in this region. The foremost people of his era were reckoned as his disciples, his successors and others associated with them.[2] He spent twenty years in the service of Khwaja 'Usman Harwani—may God sanctify his secret. On trips and at home he looked after the bedding of his master. Then he was accorded the blessing of successorship. In the reign of Pithaura Rai, he came to Hindustan. Settling in Ajmer, he busied himself with the worship of God. At that time Pithaura Rai, too, was in Ajmer. One day Pithaura on some pretext hassled a Muslim who was among the followers of the saint—may God sanctify his secret. That Muslim came and complained to Khwaja Mu'in ad-Din. The master sent a message to Pithaura Rai on behalf of this man, but Pithaura Rai rejected it, saying: "This man (i.e., Khwaja Mu'in ad-Din) has come here but what does he do except sit and converse with the Unseen?" When this response reached the master, he said: "We have caught Pithaura Rai alive, and delivered him (to his enemy)."

Soon thereafter the army of Sultan Mu'izz ad-Din Sam (i.e., Sultan Shihab ad-Din Ghori) invaded from Ghaznin. Pithaura Rai, opposing the army of Islam, was taken captive by Mu'izz ad-Din. Since that time Islam has prevailed in this region and the root of unbelief and corruption has been eradicated.

After his death, on the forehead of Mu'in ad-Din appeared this inscription: "The lover of God has died in the love of God."

The master died on the sixth of Rajab, A.H. 633 (A.D. March 15, 1236), though some say that he died in Dhu'l-Hijja in the same year, but the first date is correct. In Ajmer, where he had lived, he was also buried.

The first tomb for Mu'in ad-Din was made of wood, and then they built above it a stone canopy. In other words, they left the first tomb in its place, erecting a lofty,

noble canopy over it. The first person to add to the tomb edifice of Mu'in ad-Din was Khwaja Husayn Nagori. Afterward, some of the kings of Mandu added the doorway and hospice.

Among the holy, celestial dicta of Mu'in ad-Din in Dalil al-'arifin, (a book) that Khwaja Qutb ad-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki compiled from the conversations of his master (may God sanctify his secret), are the following:

> The heart of the lover is set ablaze with love. Everyone who enters the domain of love is scorched. It should not be avoided, since there is no loftier fire than the fire of love!
>
> Listen to the voice from the incoming waves; it is loud. But when the tide goes out, the voice becomes silent.
>
> I heard from the tongue of Khwaja 'Usman Harwani—may God sanctify his secret—that those who befriend God Almighty, even though for a time they become veiled from Him in this world, will not remain veiled.
>
> I have heard from the tongue of Khwaja 'Usman Harwani that everyone in whom these three qualities are to be found—it is certain that God Almighty has befriended him. First, generosity like the generosity of the ocean. Second, compassion like the compassion of the sun. Third, humility like the humility of the earth.
>
> The company of the righteous is better than a righteous deed, just as the company of the evil is worse than an evil deed.
>
> That disciple is firm in his resolve to repent when the angel on his left side records no sin for him during a period of twenty years! The recorder of these lines attests that some of the early saints also spoke such words and the truth of the meaning of these words is such that some of the latter-day scholarly Sufis have said: "Repentance and seeking of forgiveness are indispensable for the spiritual development of the disciple, and the recording of sins, once repentance and seeking forgiveness are evident, is impossible since by nature such a person can commit no sin. And for this reason they have made it incumbent (on disciples) to recite the prayer seeking forgiveness just before going to sleep, in order that the recording of sins from the previous day, having been suspended due to the mercy of God Almighty, will not become manifest.
>
> From the blessed tongue of Khwaja 'Usman Harwani I have heard the question; "Who is the man who has attained (spiritual) poverty? It is he for whom in the world of annihilation (*fani*) nothing remains (*baqi*)."
>
> The sign of love is that you obey (unconditionally), and not out of fear that the Friend is near.
>
> There is this rank for the gnostics that when they reach it, they see the entire world and all that is in it between two of their fingers.

The gnostic is he who whatever he wants he acquires, and whatever he asks he obtains an answer from God.

The lowest stage and degree of the gnostic, with respect to love, is that the divine attributes appear in him. The highest degree for the gnostic, with respect to love, is that if someone requests something of him, he provides it through the power of saintly miracles.

For years we are engaged in this work, and in the end we obtain nothing but awe (*haybat*) [at God's power].

Your sin serves no function except to bring despair and distress to your fellow Muslim.

For the people of gnosis worship takes precedence over (the desires of) their lower selves.

The sign of having recognized God Almighty is that you flee from people and remain silent in (your) gnosis.

The gnostic does not achieve gnosis till he forgets the signposts of gnosis.

The gnostic is someone who banishes from his heart whatever is without God, so that he remains alone and apart, just as the Friend is alone and apart (from all others).

The sign of perversity is that someone sins and still hopes that I will accept (him as a disciple).

The sign of a gnostic is that he remains silent and sad.

Whoever finds grace discovers (the meaning of) generosity.

The dervish is every servant (of God) who chances on someone in need and does not leave him wanting.

The gnostic on the path of love is someone who has freed his heart from both worlds.

The most precious of things in this world is that dervishes sit with other dervishes and the worst of things is that dervishes remain separated from other dervishes, especially when there is no cause for their separation.

Someone trusts in God who flees from the affliction and distress of people, and also listens to no complaint from another, nor tells any story about another.

The foremost of the gnostics are those who are most agitated.

> The sign of the gnostic is that he befriends death, foregoes comfort and eschews intimacy, (because he is immersed) in remembrance (*zikr*) of his Lord.
>
> When God Almighty revives the lovers, He grants them the vision (of their revival) through His own lights.
>
> The people of love are those who, without the mediation of a teacher, hear the speech of the Friend.
>
> The gnostic is someone who, when he rises in the morning, has no recollection of the previous evening.
>
> The best of times are those unsullied by the whispers of the tempter.
>
> Knowledge is a vast ocean, gnosis but a wave of that ocean. Where then is God, where His servant? Knowledge is God's domain, gnosis, His servants.
>
> Gnostics are suns, suns which shine over the entire world, and the effulgence of the world, all of it, is due to their lights.
>
> A man should not go from one halting place to the next except after taking leave (of his host) at the end of prayer; for "the ascent of the believer is his very prayer"!

Moreover, they say that the reason for the name Ajmer derives from the ruler Aja, who was among the rulers of Hindustan before the king of Ghaznin conquered that place. *Aja* also means sun, and *mir* mountain, in the Hindi language. In the histories of the Hindus they write that the first fortress built on a mountaintop were the same walls atop the mountain of Ajmer, just as the first reservoir that was excavated in Hindustan was Pushkar, which is four *karohs* [i.e., almost eight miles] from Ajmer. The Hindus worship that reservoir. Every year for six days at the time of the passing of Scorpio they congregate and bathe there, wasting both their lives and their childrens' lives in futile religious rituals. Those among them who believe in Judgment Day claim that Judgment will begin at this same reservoir.

Just as Aja was the name of the first king among all the Hindus who ruled from there, so Pithaura was the last, since it was from him that the Muslims seized the domain of Hindustan.

And the city of Nagaur was the first major cantonment built by Pithaura. Amir Ahuz, one of Pithaura's subordinates, was ordered: "Go and find a place suitable for grazing horses that I may make it into a major cantonment." Amir Ahuz looked far and wide. When he came to the locale of Nagaur, he saw a sheep that had just given birth to a lamb. A wolf had impregnated that sheep, and the newborn lamb lay on the ground, contentedly gazing at that wolf! When Amir Ahuz realized what had happened, he declared: "This is a place suitable for human beings." And he also saw water and grass in that desert region, enough to be of use for grazing horses. He had a city built there, calling it Nawanagar, that is to say, new city [in Hindi]. When the army of Sultan Mu'izz ad-Din Sam arrived and killed Pithaura, they changed the name into Nagaur [which has the same meaning] in the Turkish tongue. And God knows best!

### *Shaykh Qutb ad-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki*

*[Shaykh Qutb ad-Din stands next in rank after Shaykh Mu'in ad-Din. He is chiefly remembered for his ecstatic and contemplative life. Although prone to intoxication, he did not neglect his observance of the canonical prayers.]*

His full name was Khwaja Qutb ad-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki Ushi, and he was the principal successor of Shaykh Mu'in ad-Din Chishti, and was among the greatest of the saints and the most illustrious of the pure in heart. He found great favor with God. He was especially distinguished by his ability to renounce the renunciation of the world [*tark-e tajrid*]. He was content in abject poverty. He completely immersed himself in remembering God. When anyone came to pay a call on him, it would be some time before he came back to himself. Only then would he give his full attention to the visitor. Whether they discussed his own affairs or those of the visitor, after some time he would say "Excuse me" and return to his concentration on God. Even if one of his children happened to die, he would not be aware of what had happened till some time later.

There was a certain grocer in his neighborhood who in the early years of his career always used to give Qutb ad-Din a *dam* [1/40th of a rupee] on credit. The saint instructed the grocer not to lend him any more than 300 *dirhams.* As charitable offerings [*futuh*] began to arrive, he also made use of them. After some time he promised himself, "Henceforth I will not take any more loans." Then it happened by the grace of God that a loaf of bread appeared under his prayer mat. He distributed the loaf among his entire household. The grocer meanwhile thought to himself, "Perhaps the Shaykh is displeased with me, since he no longer asks anything from me." The grocer sent his wife to gather information in the women's quarters of the Shaykh's household. The women of the Shaykh's family told the grocer's wife what had been happening, and from that time on the cake ceased to appear.

Shaykh Nizam ad-Din Awliya' that Shaykh Mu'in ad-Din had permitted Shaykh Qutb ad-Din to borrow up to 500 *dirhams.* When he became a perfected saint, however, he ceased to live on credit.

In his early years, when drowsiness overcame him, Qutb ad-Din would rest for awhile, but in the last part of his life, he exchanged even this little sleep for wakefulness. Shaykh Muhammad Nur Bakhsh in *Silsilat az-zahab* has spoken thus of him: "Bakhtiyar Ushi was among the chosen saints who traveled the Path and strove (to find God) in seclusion, eating little, sleeping and talking little but continually remembering (the name of) God. He was one of the 40 *abdal* "deputies of God" and was distinguished by those inner states that are peculiar to ecstatic Sufis." Every night before resting he recited 3000 invocations [*durud*] in praise of the Prophet. At the time of his marriage he missed saying these invocations for three nights. A man named Ris saw the Prophet in a dream. The messenger of God said to him: "Give my greetings to Bakhtiyar Kaki and tell him that my nightly gift from him has not arrived these past three nights."

On one occasion the Khwaja attended a gathering at the house of Shaykh 'Ali Sanjari, a dervish who was closely related to Shaykh Mu'in ad-Din Chishti. He was a neighbor of Khwaja Qutb ad-Din and now lies buried near him. The *qawwal* recited this verse of Shaykh Ahmad-i Jam—may God have mercy upon him:

Those by the dagger of submission killed
Each moment by God with new life are filled.

This line so moved Khwaja Qutb ad-Din that for four days and four nights he remained ecstatic, continually longing to hear this line repeated. On the fifth night he died. Mir Hasan Dehlawi has referred to the event in a *ghazal* which is recited to the present day:

That saint who on this single verse expired,
What a gem, from a diff'rent mine quarried:
Those by the dagger of submission killed
Each moment by God with new life are filled.

Khwaja Qutb ad-Din died on 14 Rabi' I, 633 A.H. in the same year that Sultan Iltutmish—may God illuminate his grave!—died on 14 Sha'ban.

In *Dalil al-'arifin* Khwaja Qutb ad-Din writes: "On Thursday in the Jami' masjid of Ajmer I kissed the feet of Shaykh Mu'in ad-Din. Dervishes, disciples and friends of the Sufis were present. The conversation turned to the topic of death. 'The world without death,' said the Shaykh, 'is worth less than a mustard seed.' 'Why?' they asked. 'In the words of the Prophet,' replied the saint, 'death is a bridge that joins friend to Friend.' 'Friendship,' he added, 'is that which is in the heart and not merely on the tongue. (At the time of death) you cease to talk about that which you know and circumambulate around the (heavenly) throne.

'The knowers of God are like the sun which is illumined. 'O dervishes,' he asked, 'why has God brought me here? God wishes me to die here. After a few days I will go on a journey.'

"Later the Shaykh ordered 'Ali Sanjari: 'Write a document indicating that Qutb ad-Din should go to Delhi since we have given him the authority to succeed us and Delhi should be his place of work.' When the document was completed, it was given into the hand of this well-wisher. I fell face down on the ground, and the Shaykh said, 'Draw nearer.' I came closer to him. He placed a turban and a cap on the head of this *faqir,* and the staff of Khwaja 'Usman Harwani in my hand, and the patched cloak [*khirqa*] on my back. He also gave me the Holy Qur'an, the prayer carpet and the wooden shoes. 'This is a trust from the Prophet,' he noted, 'which has been handed down by my master (i.e., the pre-Indian Chishti *shaykhs*). I bequeath it to you so that on the Day of Judgment I will not have to hide my face in shame before those saints who preceded me.' I prostrated myself and said two rounds of prayer. The Khwaja took my hand and, looking to heaven, declared: 'Go, I entrust you to God, and I will see you safely to your goal.' Then he added, 'Four things are the jewels of the soul: helplessness which appears as power, hunger which appears as satiety, distress which appears as happiness, and friendship which appears even in the face of enmity. Every place that you go, keep your temper, and wherever you may be, act like a man.'

"Then I went to Delhi and settled there. All of the *sudurs* and *imams* [i.e., religious functionaries] of the city came to do me homage. Forty days had not passed before a messenger came to tell me that twenty days after I had left Ajmer, Khwaja Mu'in ad-Din had surrendered his soul to the mercy of God."

### *Shaykh Farid ad-Din Ganj-i Shakar*

Shaykh Farid ad-Din, like his master, was an extraordinary ascetic, noted for his controlled ecstasy; yet unlike Qutb ad-Din, he was also a loyal father and husband. Reckoned among the greatest of the saints and the foremost of the Sufis, according to 'Abd al-Haqq, he embodied the three characteristics of pious Chishtis: eschewing all stable income, engaging in meditation, often abetted by music, and training worthy disciples. Both the major sublineages of the Chishtis derive from him.

Shaykh Farid maintained an austere self-discipline, marked by poverty and the renunciation of worldly pursuits. God bestowed on him the capacity to reveal His secrets and to perform miracles. The noble nature of Farid ad-Din was formed by divine inspiration and blessing, and he was an exemplar of the joyous love of God. He pursued his spiritual labors inconspicuously, always endeavoring to avoid notoriety. After wandering from city to city, he at last settled in Ajodhan. At that time its inhabitants were harsh-mannered people who worshiped the world and had no faith in dervishes. He said when he arrived there: "This is the place where I will settle." He made his home there, yet none of the residents ever asked about him or came to greet him. Outside the town there was a grove of *karil* trees. One was especially thick, and Farid ad-Din used to spend his time meditating under that tree, though he also frequented the congregational mosque. It was there in Ajodhan that his children were born. Often they suffered pangs of starvation and underwent hardships. Later, when the proof of his powers as a Shaykh became known, he could no longer remain anonymous.

One time his clothes had become very ragged. A man presented him with a new shirt. He put it on and immediately took it off. Handing it to Shaykh Najib ad-Din Mutawakkil, he noted, "I don't find the pleasure in this shirt that I received from the old one."

Most of the time he broke his fast with sherbet. They would serve him a cup of sherbet to which a small quantity of grapes had been added. Of this one-half or even two-thirds he would give to others who were present. Of this one-half or even one-third was left to him, except that he would give some of it away, too, if anyone happened to ask for it. After that he was served two pieces of bread with oil. One piece of it he would spread on a tablecloth and serve with every variety of food. People would help themselves, but the Shaykh would not eat again till the next day at *iftar.* When the time for sleep came, he used the rug upon which he had been sitting during the day as his bed, even though the rug did not cover his feet. Shaykh Nizam ad-Din Awliya' noted that Shaykh Farid usually ate stale bread at the time of *iftar,* and Shaykh Nasir ad-Din also observed that: "For years they would bring stale bread to Shaykh Farid ad-Din. Shaykh Nizam ad-Din used to say, 'That night when I ate *delah* or the fruit of the *karil* tree was like a festival to me; it was a gift of grace. One of the friends would gather the fruit and bring it back for all of us to eat. When the season of *karil* ended, leftover bread was served.'" Nasir ad-Din added, "For years they also used to serve stale bread to Shaykh Nizam ad-Din. Both saints have eaten like this, and see what a place of perfection they have attained!"

One time a servant had borrowed a small bit of salt. When the food was served at *iftar,* the Shaykh, by his inner light, perceived what had occurred. "Some flavoring was used in this food," he commented, "and it is not fitting that I should eat such food."

At another time one of his wives came to him and said, "O Khwaja, today a son of ours is on the verge of death due to starvation." The Shaykh bowed his head, and said, "What can Mas'ud do? If it is God's will and the boy departs from this world, tie a rope around his feet and throw him outside."

When Shaykh Farid wanted to increase his austerities, he petitioned Khwaja Qutb ad-Din. "Go and fast for three days," commanded his master. He performed this fast and for three days ate nothing. On the third day at the time of *iftar* someone gave him a few pieces of bread. Assuming it came from the world of the Unseen, he broke his fast with that bread. But it did not sit well on his stomach. He vomited. Approaching Khwaja Qutb ad-Din, he asked why this had happened. "Mas'ud, after a three days' fast you have broken your fast with the food of a drunkard," replied the saint, "but God has shown His concern for you so that the food did not remain in your stomach. Now go, fast for another three days, and break your fast with that which will come to you from the Unseen world." Three days more he fasted. When the time of *iftar* came, no food appeared, so he passed the first part of the night without food. Weakness overcame him. He began to burn with hunger. Stretching out his blessed hand to earth, he picked up some pebbles and put them in his mouth. Those pebbles turned to sugar on his tongue. When the same miracle had occurred three times, he realized that the sugar was a gift from God. The next day at dawn he went to Khwaja Qutb ad-Din, "You have done well to break your fast with that morsel," said his master, "for it was from the Unseen world. Go, and you will be sweet like sugar." From that day forth he has been called Ganj-i Shakar, "the Treasure of Sugar."

The previous passage is recorded in *Siyar al-Awliya'* in the section explaining how Farid ad-Din received the name Ganj-i Shakar. In addition to the above, there is another well-known story about how he came to have this epithet. They say that one time a sugar merchant loaded with his wares came along and the saint asked him for some sugar. "This is not sugar; it is salt," replied the merchant. "Then let it be salt," quipped the saint. When the merchant later opened his bags, he found that they had indeed all turned to salt. Approaching the Shaykh, he apologized for his earlier indiscretion. He asked the Shaykh to pray that the salt be turned back to sugar. The Shaykh so ordered, and it became sugar.

Though Khan-i Khanan Muhammad Bayram Khan enjoyed a high position in the Mughal court and had indescribable wealth and power at his command, nonetheless, with respect to the dervishes, he may be described as one who had faith in, and love of, them as well as humble empathy for their Way. Honoring the command of God, he showed compassion for the people of God. He lived sincerely in his faith and died a happy witness to it. About the name of Farid ad-Din, he is said to have composed the following poem:

Mine of sugar, treasure of sugar, Shaykh Farid
Is he who made sugar appear as a mine of salt and
Then looked into the mine of salt, turning it to sugar!
What morale can be sweeter than this?

After this incident, Farid ad-Din performed the "the inverted 40-day fast" [*chilla-i ma'kus*] in the well of the Hajj mosque of Ucch. For 40 days they would suspend him from a branch of the tree that overhung the well every night. At daybreak they would pull him out.

Shaykh Nizam ad-Din has said: "There was a certain scholar by the name of Ziya ad-Din who used to hold classes under the minaret (of the mosque in Ajodhan). I heard from him that one time he came to see Shaykh Farid ad-Din. 'Other than the science of disputation,' reported Ziya ad-Din; 'I knew nothing. It passed through my mind that if the Shaykh were to ask me about sciences that I do not know, what would I tell him? Tortured with this anxiety, I came into his presence. He asked me about cross-examination, a problem set forth in the science of disputation. I was delighted and began to explain the problem in great detail, covering both the affirmative and negative positions that are integral to cross-examination.'"

The Shaykh died on 5 Muharram 634 A.H. at the venerable age of 95. It is related that he succumbed on the evening of 5 Muharram. After saying his evening prayers in congregation, he fell unconscious. An hour later he regained consciousness and asked whether or not he had said his evening prayers. They assured him that he had. "I should say them again," he rejoined. "Who knows what might happen?" After offering his prayers, he again fell unconscious. This second lapse into unconsciousness was longer than the first, and when he once again awoke, he asked whether or not he had said his evening prayers. "Yes," they replied, "you have said them twice." "I had better say them one more time," he said: "Who knows what may happen?" A third time he said his prayers. At the end, he exclaimed "O Living one, O Eternal one!" and gave up his soul to God.

Some of the sayings [*malfuzat*] of Shaykh Farid ad-Din Ganj-i Shakar have been recorded by Shaykh Nizam ad-Din Awliya in a letter:

> 700 saints were asked 4 questions, and they all gave the same answer:
> (1) Who is the most intelligent? He who leaves off sinfulness.
> (2) Who is the shrewdest? He who is not affected by anything (in the world).
> (3) Who is the richest? He who is content.
> (4) Who is the poorest? He who has lost contentment.

> God is loathe to have his servant raise his hands in prayer and go away empty-handed.

> If existence is pain, non-existence is also pain.

> The day of disappointment is a night of ascension for the brave, i.e., the true Sufi.

> Don't dissipate the heat of your work by engaging in cold conversation with people.

Shaykh al-Islam Jalal ad-Din (Tabrizi)—may the divine light shine upon his grave—once said: "Speech incites the hearts of men. Weigh both the beginning and the end of what you intend to say. Focus those words on God and then speak. Otherwise, remain silent."

Shaykh Farid ad-Din also declared:

> Whenever a *faqir* (God's beggar) puts on a garment, he should think of it as a funeral shroud.

Look at who you are; otherwise, how can you communicate (to others) what you really are?

To be attracted to God is better than all the devotions of men and angels put together.

The Prophet—may peace be upon him!—said, "Blessed is he who busies himself with his own faults rather than with the faults of others."

The Sufi is he who keeps himself free of all impurities and does not let anything defile him.

If you wish to enter the ranks of the saints, keep away from the sons of kings.

Last night the dew took away my sad heart
Thought of my Friend occupied my mind.
"To Your door I should lift my head and my eyes," I said.
Tears poured down my cheeks and clung to my sleeve.

Someone once asked Shaykh Farid about the permissibility or illegality of *sama'*, a topic disputed among the *'ulama.* "Praise be to God!" he replied. "One group has been burnt to ashes, while the other is still arguing."

His other dicta include the following:

Planning brings disaster, surrender peace.

Among Muslims the *'ulama,* or scholars, are considered to be noble people, while the *faqirs* (God's beggars) are the noblest of the noble.

The most contemptible of people is he who thinks only of food and clothing.

Once a man asked the Shaykh to write a letter of recommendation on his behalf to Sultan Ghiyas ad-Din Balban.

Shaykh Farid ad-Din wrote as follows: "I entrust this man's fate to God and then to you. If you give him something, God is the giver but you will be thanked for it. If you give him nothing, God is the preventer, and you are excused."

### *Shaykh Nizam ad-Din Awliya'*

*[Shaykh Nizam ad-Din, the foremost of the Chishti exemplars, has been memorialized by 'Abd al-Haqq in a format resembling the other biographies of major saints. 'Abd al-Haqq recounts his life, and then also includes select teachings from his recorded conversations. The major difference is the accent on location and influence: he was the spiritual master of Delhi, and from Delhi, his blessings influenced all of India.]*

Shaykh Nizam ad-Din Muhammad Bada'uni was a successor of Shaykh Farid ad-Din. His full name was Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn 'Ali al-Bukhari. He was called Sultan

of the Shaykhs and Nizam ad-Din Awliya'. He was one of the dearly beloved of the House of God. The country of Hindustan is full of the effects of his blessings.

Both his paternal grandfather, Khwaja 'Ali Bukhari, and his maternal grandmother, Khwaja 'Arab, came from Bukhara. After passing some time in Lahore, they went south and made their home in Bada'un. His father, Khwaja Hamid, died at an early age and is buried in the vicinity of Bada'un. After his father's death, his mother enrolled the boy in a school. He read the Holy Qur'an and took up various other books. At the tender age of twelve he was already studying the science of grammar.

One time a *qawwal,* Abu Bakr by name, came from Multan to visit Nizam ad-Din's teacher. "I was reciting in sama' before Shaykh Baha ad-Din," he said, "and I reached this line: 'The snake of desire has stung my heart.' I could not recall the second half of the couplet, but the Shaykh did." And then he began to extol the virtues of Shaykh Baha ad-Din, saying that in his hospice devotion to God was such that even the slave girls recited the names of God while grinding grain. In this fashion he rambled on, but his words did not make any lasting impression on the heart of the young Nizam ad-Din.

Then the *qawwal* told another story. "From Multan," he explained, "I went to Ajodhan and saw a king." And then he proceeded to talk about Shaykh Farid ad-Din.

Hearing these words, Nizam ad-Din was immediately attracted to Farid ad-Din and longed to meet the saint, so much so that he forgot himself and who he was. The seed of love for Shaykh Farid was firmly planted in his breast. Day by day as he grew to manhood, whether sitting or standing, eating or sleeping, he remembered the Shaykh. Later he came to Delhi to further his education. He completed his studies under Shams al-Mulk, the chief of religious endowments of Delhi. It was with him, for instance, that Nizam ad-Din studied the *Maqamat-i Hariri.* He also read *hadith* with him. Among his fellow students he became known as Nizam ad-Din Bahhath ("the Debater").

After this his desire to become a disciple of Shaykh Farid prompted him to go to Ajodhan. At the time he was twenty years old. Under the direction of Shaykh Farid he mastered six sections of the Qur'an and six chapters of the *'Awarif al-ma'arif* as well as the *Introduction* of Abu Shakur, together with some other books. He said: "When I was blessed by kissing the feet of Shaykh Farid, the first words that I heard from his esteemed lips were:

> Ah, the fire of absence from you has burnt many a heart,
> And the flood of yearning for you has ruined many a soul!

I had wanted to show the Shaykh how much I had wanted to meet him, but the awe I felt in his presence overwhelmed me. I could only say this much, that I had a strong desire to kiss his feet. When he saw the effects of awe in me, he said: "To everyone who enters, there is some fear." That very day I swore an oath of allegiance to the Shaykh. "What is your command?" I asked; "I will abandon scholarship and pursue my devotions and supererogatory prayers." "I do not restrain anyone from learning," he replied. "Do both until one predominates. A dervish should have some measure of learning." Afterward Farid ad-Din conferred on Nizam ad-Din the blessing of successorship and the latter returned to Delhi. During the lifetime of his master, Nizam ad-Din went to Ajodhan three times, but he was not present at the time of the Shaykh's death, just as Farid ad-Din had not been present at the death of Qutb

ad-Din nor Qutb ad-Din at the death of the great saint Mu'in ad-Din. May God sanctify all their secrets!

In Delhi, by an intimation from the Unseen World, Nizam ad-Din settled in Ghiyaspur, where to the present day his hospice is located. "In that city," he related, "Mu'izz ad-Din Kaiqubad built a new city. The people thronged to see me—nobility and the elite and others came in large numbers. I thought to myself, 'I should leave this place.' On the same day at the second time of prayers, a very handsome and delicate youth appeared before me. His first words were:

That day that you became the moon you did not know
That you would be the place to which the world looks.

Then he said, 'A person should not set out to become famous. If by chance one does become famous, he should act in such a manner that on the Day of Resurrection he will not be embarrassed before the Prophet.' And then he added, 'What power, what gain is there in turning a deaf ear to people and busying oneself with God? True benefit comes from remaining in the midst of people while constantly remembering God.' After the youth had finished speaking, I offered him some food, but he did not eat. Then I expressed my intention to stay where I was. On hearing my resolve, he drank a little water and left."

Once Nizam ad-Din had committed himself to staying in Ghiyaspur, he found complete acceptance with God. The noble and the lowly—every class of people turned to him, and the doors of *futuh* (charity) were opened and the world benefited from the outpourings of his generosity and kindness. He maintained a strict personal regimen: They say that in the latter part of his life, when he had passed eighty years of age, he continued to excel in this discipline, fasting continuously. At the time of breaking fast [*iftar*], he would eat very little. When food was brought in the early morning, he usually refused it. A servant would plead with him, "Our master has eaten very little at iftar, and he is also taking very little in the morning. What will become of him? His health will decline!" To which the Shaykh would reply: "Think how many poor people and *faqirs* [spiritual mendicants] are suffering hunger and deprivation, huddled around the mosques, sleeping in the streets of the city—how can this food go down my throat?" After awhile, they would take the food away.

"One time," reported Shaykh Nizam ad-Din, "my Shaykh and I were in a boat. He called me to him and said, 'Come here; I want to tell you something. When you go to Delhi, continue to strive. To be idle is worthless. To maintain fasting is half the task; actions like prayer and pilgrimage are the other half.' At another time he said, 'I have asked God that whatever you want from Him he might provide it.' And again he said, 'On your behalf I have also requested something of the world for you.' At the time of conferring successorship on me, he said, 'You must continually strive to prepare the path.' At another time in his cell he bared his head, assumed a grave expression and recited the following verse:

I wish that always I may live in loyalty to You.
May I become dust and live under Your feet.
My goal, beyond both worlds, is You.
It is for You I die, and for You I live.

On finishing the verse, he prostrated himself. Many times I had seen him like this. Once I entered the cell and laid my head at his feet. 'Khwaja,' he asked, 'what do you wish?' I requested a spiritual gift, which he granted me, but how many times since then have I regretted that I did not ask to die in *sama'*!"

Every night Shaykh Nizam ad-Din remained alone in his cell. He would bar the door and pass the hours in contemplation of the divine mysteries. When day broke, everyone who saw the glow on his face would think him to be intoxicated. From staying awake all night, he caused his blessed eyes to redden. Amir Khusrau, who often saw him in this state, has captured the mood of the Shaykh's nocturnal piety in the following verse:

> You seem to be a reveler of the night—
> In whose embrace did you pass the night
> That even now your drunken eyes
> Show the effect of wine?

"In a dream," said the Shaykh, "I saw a book in which was written, 'So long as you are able, provide comfort to the ear of the believer, for that is the place where lordship is manifested.' And again, 'On the Day of Resurrection, purity of heart will not be for sale in the market place.'"

It once happened that during the afternoon rest period a dervish came to the hospice and was turned away. Shaykh Farid ad-Din appeared in a dream to Nizam ad-Din and said, "You have remarked that even if there is nothing in the house, one is expected to show perfect courtesy to whomever comes. How then has it happened that someone has gone from your house with a heavy heart?" When he awoke, the Shaykh inquired into this matter and, on learning that a dervish had been turned away, Nizam ad-Din became angry with the person who had turned him away. "I saw my Shaykh in a dream," he exclaimed, "and my Shaykh reprimanded me. From now on when you consider awaking me, ask yourself two questions: One, has evening come? and two, has a guest come?"

On another occasion a group of people came to meet the Shaykh. As was the custom, each brought some gift. Among the visitors was a scholar. "All these gifts will be put together in front of the Shaykh," the scholar said to himself, "and a servant will come to pick them up." Taking a handful of dust from the road, he wrapped it in a twist of paper. When they entered the Shaykh's presence, everyone presented something. The scholar also offered his paper packet. The servant began to pick up the gifts and the Shaykh asked him to pick up the twist of paper also. "Put this with the other gifts," he directed, "since it is a special collyrium for my eyes." The scholar then came forward and apologized for his insolence. The Shaykh treated him affectionately and added, "If you need anything, just ask me."

There was a man who journeyed from his home town to visit the Shaykh. On his way he passed through a town where a certain Shaykh Mohun lived. When he went to pay his respects on the Shaykh, the latter asked him where he was going. "To see Shaykh Nizam ad-Din," replied the man. "Give Shaykh Nizam ad-Din my greetings," said Shaykh Mohun, "and tell him that every Friday evening I see him at the Ka'ba [the sacred stone cubicle in Mecca]." On his arrival in Delhi, the man reported to Shaykh Nizam ad-Din that a certain dervish from Bundi sent his greetings and also a message about their weekly rendezvous in Arabia. Nizam ad-Din became distressed.

"So-and-so is a fine dervish," lamented the Shaykh, "but he doesn't know how to hold his tongue."

In order to test Nizam ad-Din, Sultan 'Ala ad-Din Khilji once wrote him a long letter concerning matters of state. One portion of it read as follows: "Since the respected Shaykh is the master of all mankind, and everyone who has both spiritual and worldly needs comes to him, and since he has given the reins of this kingdom into our hands, it behooves us to submit every act and affair of state to him, so that he might give us some indication as to how we might act in our own best interests."

When he had finished composing the letter in this vein, the Sultan ordered it to be sent to the saint with the explicit directive: "Below each proposition would you please indicate what is in the best interests of the state that we might implement your advice?"

'Ala ad-Din chose his favorite son, Khizr Khan, to deliver this letter since the prince was a disciple of the Shaykh. When Khizr Khan presented the document to him, the Shaykh left it unopened. Turning to the assembly, he said, "We should recite the Surat al-Fatiha." Then he added, "What has the work of dervishes to do with the work of kings? I am a dervish and I have chosen a corner of the city in which to busy myself with prayers for the king and for all Muslims. If the king says anything further to me, I shall shift to another place."

When this news was related to the Sultan, he was overjoyed. Confident of the saint's sincerity, 'Ala ad-Din wished to meet him. "If Nizam ad-Din is agreeable," he said, "I will go to him." The Shaykh, however, demurred. "It is not necessary for you to come here," he said. "In your absence I am busy in prayers, and these prayers in your absence are fully effective." The Sultan persisted in his request. Finally the Shaykh sent back this reply: "The house of this humble person has two doors. If the king enters by one, I will leave by the other."

Nizam ad-Din used to say, "If I hear the word *sifat* [quality] in *sama'*, I am frequently reminded of the qualities, that is to say, the splendid virtues, of the great Shaykh [Farid ad-Din]. One day while the Shaykh was still alive, I heard the following couplet being recited in an assembly of Sufis:

> Parade not your wondrous qualities lest
> By the evil eye you are distressed.

It brought to my mind the praiseworthy manners, the choice qualities, the perfect saintliness and the marvelous elegance of the Shaykh. I was so moved that when the couplet was repeated, my eyes welled with tears." "Sometime after this," he added, "the news reached me that the saint had died."

In a public assembly a person came before the Shaykh and announced that some of his friends had been attending *sama'* gatherings in which musical instruments were used. The Shaykh said, "I have prohibited the use of musical instruments and indulgence in other forbidden practices during *sama'*. What they have done is not good." He spoke at great length on this matter. "Once Awhad ad-Din Kirmani came to see Shaykh Shihab ad-Din [Suhrawardi]," he said. "The host folded up his own prayer mat for the visitor to sit on. (Among Sufis this is a way of showing great respect.) When evening came, Shaykh Awhad ad-Din asked for *sama'*. Shaykh Shihab ad-Din summoned *qawwals* and arranged a room for the gathering, yet he himself retired to a corner where he busied himself in devotions and prayers."

A person once wrote a letter to the Shaykh in an indecipherable scrawl. Nizam ad-Din delayed opening it. "Maulana, is this your handwriting?" he inquired. The Maulana became very apologetic. "Respected sir," he explained, "this is just your humble servant's natural way of writing." "Natural?" quipped the Shaykh, with a smile: "What a nature you have, Maulana!"

For 40 days before his death Nizam ad-Din ate nothing. As the end approached, he said, "The time of prayer has come—have I said my prayers?" If they replied, "You have said them," he would reply, "Then I must say them again." He would perform every prayer twice and add, "I am going, I am going." He instructed his servant Iqbal: "If anything of any sort remains in this house, it will have to be accounted for on the Day of Judgment. You must distribute everything, except the minimum that is necessary for the daily subsistence of the dervishes." But then he corrected himself: "These are the effects of a dead man—why should they be preserved? Give it all away and sweep the room clean." As soon as they cleared the storerooms, a host of people gathered and snatched up the goods. Then the servants pleaded, "We are poor men. After you have gone, what will become of us?" "The charity that will arrive at my grave will suffice for you." "Who," they asked, "will be able to divide it up among us?" "That man who is willing to relinquish his own portion" was the Shaykh's reply.

He died at sunrise on Wednesday the 18th of Rabi' al-akhir, 725 A.H. May God have mercy on him!

Nizam ad-Din used to say: "The traveler, so long as he is progressing in the Way, is in hope of perfection." Later he added: "There is the traveler, the standstill, and the retreater. The traveler is the one who treads the Path; the standstill is the one who stops along the Way." In this connection he was asked, "Can the traveler become the standstill?" "Yes," he replied. "Every time that the traveler lapses in his obedience, he becomes stationary. If he quickly resumes his work and repents, then he may again become a traveler. If, God forbid, he remains at a standstill, then he may become a retreater or backslider." He next explained the seven stages of spiritual backsliding: (1) Turning away, (2) Veiling, (3) Multiplying the veil, (4) Wasting the excess, (5) Wasting the basis, (6) Hardening, and (7) Hatred.

Then he elaborated: "Say there are two friends: the lover and the beloved, absorbed in love of one another. If the lover, either by what he does or fails to do, displeases the beloved, the friend shuns him, that is, he turns away from him in aversion. Then the lover must immediately apologize and continuously repent. If he does, the beloved will again become content with him. But if the lover persists in his error and refuses to apologize, the turning away becomes a veil between them: It is the beloved who puts a veil between them. Then the lover must repent, but if he delays further, the veil multiplies. What happens beyond this point? If the friend becomes separate from his friend and the latter still does not repent, there will be a confiscation of the excess merit that has accrued to him from all his supererogatory devotions and prayers and other actions. If he still doesn't repent and persists in that foolishness, then he loses the basis, i.e., the comfort in obedience, which had preceded the accumulation of excess. Then, if even at this point he falls short of complete repentance, there is a hardening of the heart—that is, the friend separates himself even in his heart. If he still fails to repent, the hardening of the heart turns to enmity. From that (fearful state), we take refuge in God.

*Sama'* is neither absolutely permitted nor absolutely forbidden. On being asked about *sama'*, a certain saint said, "It depends first on who the listener is. Can mere

listening to a melodious voice be prohibited? [No,] but *sama'*, with instruments, is prohibited."

"Some dervishes," observed Nizam ad-Din, "have sworn allegiance to one spiritual master and then, having become dissatisfied with that master, they go to another and profess allegiance to him and also accept a cloak emblematic of discipleship from him. In this hospice such a thing does not occur: One's allegiance remains to the first spiritual master, even if he should be a very ordinary person."

"Then what about Husayn Mansur Hallaj?" they asked him. "In the case of Mansur," replied the Shaykh, "he was refused. He was the disciple of Khayr-i Nassaj, whom he left to go to Shaykh Junayd. Though he wished to profess allegiance to the latter, Junayd told him, 'You are Khayr-i Nassaj's disciple: I cannot give you the hand of discipleship.' In other words, he refused him! Now Junayd was the foremost saint of his age, and his grounds for refusing Hallaj should be applied to all similar cases. As the poet has said:

> Although God guides us in our faith,
> Still efforts must be made by men.
> The deed-books read on Judgment Day
> Must have their entries here first penned.

If the disciple says to the Shaykh, "I am your disciple," and the Shaykh says, "You are not," discipleship nonetheless exists. But if the Shaykh says, "You are my disciple," and the disciple says, "I am not," then he is not a disciple. The retention of discipleship rests with the disciple, not with the Shaykh.

"There are many keys to the lock of happiness," said Nizam ad-Din; "You ought to try all the keys: If one does not fit, perhaps another will open the door."

"The morning of the righteous is morning, but the morning of the lovers is evening. With regard to this, it has been said that the Shaykhs come to life between the sunset and night prayers."

"It has been said," reported Nizam ad-Din, "that you must not give away the cloak you receive from your Shaykh. Though it is permissible to wash it, it is better not to wash it. Concerning the blessed objects that the disciple has received from the master, if he decides to have them buried with himself, that is proper. If, on the other hand, he decrees that they are to be given to some worthy descendant, that also is proper."

When Nizam ad-Din was laid in his grave, they covered his body with the cloak that he had received from Farid ad-Din and they put under his blessed head the prayer mat of the Shaykh. Nizam ad-Din also said, "Tomorrow on the Day of Judgment some Sufis will be made to stand in the midst of thieves. They may protest, saying, 'We have stolen nothing.' The answer will be, 'You have worn the clothes of men, but you have not done a man's work.' In the end through the intercession of their spiritual masters they will be saved."

"Of the cloaks that this humble person has bestowed," he is alleged to have said, "only four have been given with the intention of conferring spiritual successorship; the others have been cloaks of blessing."

"In the manuals on spiritual progress," he noted, "we find a hundred stages of spiritual advancement. Ninety-seven of them pertain to disclosing secrets and performing miracles. If the traveler remains content with these 97, how can he reach the last 3? One ought to see saintly miracles in their proper perspective."

"When my Shaykh made me a successor, he said: 'May God Almighty grant you knowledge, wisdom, and love. Everyone in whom these three qualities exist is worthy of being a successor to the Shaykhs, and his work will go well.'"

May God have mercy on them all.

### *Shaykh Nasir ad-Din Chiragh-i Dihli*

*[Though less renowned than his four predecessors, Shaykh Nasir ad-Din Mahmud brings the experience of his masters to completion, while also reformulating that experience in terms that are characteristically his own. His scholarship caused him to be known as a second Abu Hanifa, because like that great legal scholar, he kept "dry books." Shaykh Nasir ad-Din was described in* Akhbar al-akhyar *as the foremost and most distinquished of the successors of Shaykh Nizam ad-Din.]*

He was heir to the spiritual mastery and knowledge of the mysteries possessed by his illustrious guide. After the death of Shaykh Nizam ad-Din, it was to him that the spiritual care of Delhi passed. He was distinquished by his perfect loyalty to his Shaykh as well as his saintly life of poverty, patience, forbearance, and surrender to the will of God.

Shaykh Nasir ad-Din once asked Amir Khusrau, who was a close confidant of Shaykh Nizam ad-Din, to submit the following request to the Shaykh: "Your humble servant from Awadh is residing in a place where the comings and goings of so many people make it impossible for him to devote his full attention to God. If permission is given, he would prefer to worship God in some isolated place with peace of mind."

It was the habit of Amir Khusrau to visit the Shaykh after *'isha* prayers and to discuss the events of the day. At the appropriate time, he presented the request of Shaykh Nasir ad-Din. Shaykh Nizam ad-Din responded: "Tell him: You ought to remain among the people, take upon yourself the burden of their hardships and calamities, and give them in return as much as you can provide."

They say that Shaykh Nizam ad-Din once summoned Shaykh Nasir ad-Din to his private quarters and asked him: "What is your heart? What is the purpose of your work? And what was your father's occupation?"

Shaykh Nasir ad-Din answered: "My purpose is to pray for the increase of the life of my master, and to set the feet of the dervishes on the true path; my father owned slaves who worked in the cotton trade."

Then Shaykh Nizam ad-Din said: "Listen! Once when I was in the service of my own noble Shaykh, Farid ad-Din Ganj-i Shakar, I met in Ajodhan a scholar who had once been my friend and fellow student. When he saw my tattered clothes, he exclaimed, 'Nizam ad-Din, how is it that you have come to this? If you had taught in the city, you would now have an ample livelihood.' I listened to my friend's words but made no reply. I went back to my Shaykh who said, 'If one of your friends should come to you and say "What misfortune has befallen you, and why have you left teaching, by which you could have earned a comfortable income?" If this should happen, what would you answer him?' I submitted that I would follow my master's advice. The Shaykh then recited a couplet:

> We are not fellow travelers—follow your own road.
> May you be happy, and may I continue to be wretched.

Then he called for a tray full of food and said to me: 'Nizam ad-Din, take this tray on your head and go to the place where your friend is staying.' I did as he said. My friend listened to me attentively and then observed: 'The company you keep, and these difficult conditions under which you live, are surely a blessing to you.'"

Shaykh Nasir ad-Din added, "The respected Shaykh disciplined me in the same way, and after this story, he instructed me about the benefits of austerity and discipline. Sometimes I would pass ten days on an empty stomach, and most of the time when I was disturbed by carnal appetites, I took some lemon juice."

They say that Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq, who had no appreciation for Nasir ad-Din's spiritual perfection, persecuted the saint and forced him to travel in the royal entourage. They further say that one time the Sultan made Shaykh Nasir ad-Din his personal valet. He bore all this because of the spiritual bequest of his master and did not utter a word of protest. May God have mercy on his soul; he died in the month of Ramadan, 757 A.H./A.D. 1356.

It is recorded that Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq once sent a gift of food in gold pots to Shaykh Nasir ad-Din. He intended only to cause trouble. "If the saint refuses to eat the food, I will interrogate him on that account," said the Sultan to himself, "and if he does eat it, I will ask him, 'Why have you broken the law by eating from a golden vessel?'" When the food was brought before the Shaykh, he took a little portion from the golden dish, placed it on his palm and then ate from his own hand. Thus did he frustrate the Sultan's evil intentions.

Some friend of Shaykh Nasir ad-Din once told him: "In the *malfuzat* [collected sayings] of Shaykh Usman Haruni it has been written that whoever kills two cows has committed murder; whoever kills four cows, two murders; whoever kills ten sheep, one murder."

To this Shaykh Nasir ad-Din replied: "First, the saint's (proper) name was not Haruni but Harwani, since Harwan was the name of the village from which he came." Then he added: "Moreover these are not his sayings. I have also seen a copy of this work, in which many things are said that are not in keeping with the character of the saint. Shaykh Nizam ad-Din used to say to me: 'I have not written any book because neither Shaykh al-Islam Farid ad-Din nor Shaykh al-Islam Qutb ad-Din nor any of the Chishti saints before them wrote any book.'"

It is recorded that one day several of Shaykh Nizam ad-Din's disciples were sitting together listening to a woman singing and playing a tune on a drum. Shaykh Nasir ad-Din, who had been sitting with them, got up to leave. His friends urged him to stay but he refused, saying, "This activity is contrary to Prophetic practice [*sunna*]." They replied, "Are you rejecting *sama'*, which was an accepted practice of your own spiritual master?" He said, "That is not sufficient proof; you must adduce some supporting evidence from Qur'an or *hadith*." Some of the disciples reported this matter to Shaykh Nizam ad-Din, saying, "Shaykh Nasir ad-Din said thus and so." The Shaykh, however, had no doubts about the sterling character and probity of Shaykh Nasir ad-Din. "Nasir ad-Din has spoken the truth," he replied.

Shaykh Nizam ad-Din allowed neither musical instruments nor hand-clapping in his assembly. If one of his friends reported that so-and-so had been listening to musical instruments, he forbade the practice, saying, "He is not acting properly." Similarly, some friend of Shaykh Nasir ad-Din once came to him and asked: "Where is it written in Qur'an or *hadith* that instruments such as the drum or reed-pipe or rebeck are permitted in Sufi assemblies, or that Sufis are allowed to dance?"

Shaykh Nasir ad-Din answered: "Musical instruments are not permitted in Sufi assemblies. If someone deviates from the Way, may God will that he remain within the Law; but if he deviates from the Law, then where will he go? As to *sama'* itself, there is a controversy. In the opinion of the *'ulama,* under certain conditions it is permissible to its devotees; but using musical instruments in Sufi assemblies is absolutely forbidden."

Once Shaykh Nasir ad-Din was sitting in his lodge, and on hearing the following couplet, he was overcome with ecstasy:

> You have sworn not to oppress your lovers,
> yet us you oppress;
> You have sworn not to write off those who lost their hearts to you,
> yet us you have obliterated.

Maulana Mughis the poet wrote an epistle describing what had happened in this gathering. He maintained that the above couplet carried no true meaning. "To apply terms like 'oppressive' and 'tyrannical' to God is heretical," he argued, and made other statements in a similar vein. He gave a copy of the epistle to Maulana Mu'in ad-Din 'Imrani, who sent it to the Shaykh. Shaykh Nasir ad-Din read it and then summoned Maulana Mu'in ad-Din, to whom he returned the letter without comment. Instead, he presented the emissary with a turban and a shirt and gave him permission to leave.

On another occasion there was a Sufi assembly in which Shaykh Nasir ad-Din was so moved by the following quatrain that he became manifestly enraptured and began to dance:

> Last night we fearlessly beat the drum of a young tavern-goer;
> We raised his flag high into the skies;
> For the sake of this tavern-going youth we all became drunk;
> A hundred times we flung the cap of repentance into the dust.

Then, still highly agitated, he went up to sit on the roof and sent for Maulana Mughis. The Maulana was distraught. Reluctantly he paid a call on the Shaykh. "Now, Maulana," Nasir ad-Din said to him, "record all the foolishness you see here." Having spoken these words, he dismissed the Maulana, who never returned to the *khanqah* (and died shortly thereafter.)

Shaykh Nasir ad-Din Mahmud once said, "How worthless I am now that I have become a shaykh, for today this work has become mere child's play." Then he recited the following line of poetry from Shaykh Sana'i:

> Muslims! Muslims! Are you really Muslims? Are you really Muslims?
> With this ritual of the irreligious, I am totally fed up, fed up.

He also said that one must suffer the anxiety of faith and not rely on miracles. Sayyid Muhammad Gisu Daraz, one of his disciples, said: "During the lifetime of my master [Shaykh Nasir ad-Din] I was in Delhi, and the city was experiencing a drought. The Shaykh came out to pray for rain. The people also prayed to God and offered time-sanctioned invocations, and still no rains came. They returned to their homes. That day I came to pay my respects to the Shaykh. "You did not participate in the prayer

for rain," he noted. "You are correct, I did not," replied I. "Today you have seen," he said, "how many people have been speaking to us about this and that. People have been clamoring on every side—all to no avail. Whatever we did it brought shame to us, and so we returned home (i.e., God did not will that it should rain at that time)."

My master also said to me: "As a youth I used to read in the mosque before a scholar. In (the courtyard of) the mosque there was a dry shrub on which sat a crow, and whatever that crow said (in his cawing) I understood."

On another occasion one of his friends asked Shaykh Nasir ad-Din about the origin and nature of the spiritual states of dervishes. The Shaykh replied: "Their states are the result of healthful exercise. This exercise is of two kinds—everyone understands the first, that is, exercise of the body; the second, which is the exercise of the heart with the knowledge that God is watching you."

And then he added: "The light of the upper world first shines upon the soul, then it makes an impression on the heart, and finally on the body (since the body follows the heart, e.g., when the heart becomes agitated, the limbs also begin to quiver.)"

Later this same friend asked: "In *'Awarif al-ma'arif* they say that the master of spiritual states has reached the intermediate level." And then he quoted the relevant passage from *'Awarif al-ma'arif:* "The beginner is master of the moment, the intermediate is master of spiritual states, and the consummate one is master of the (heart's) breath." Others of the company found some difficulty in understanding this quotation and asked for an explanation. Shaykh Nasir ad-Din turned to the original questioner and remarked: "You said that what you had heard in this connection you read in *'Awarif al-ma'arif*?"

The man gave no reply, and so Shaykh Nasir ad-Din proceeded to explain: "The beginner is the master of the moment. And who is this master of the moment? He is the Sufi who looks upon each moment as a blessing, not knowing whether another will come to him or not. The one who knows, 'I have just this brief time,' counts that moment as a blessing . . . whether he is reading the Qur'an or reciting and reflecting on the names of God. When the spiritual traveler is able to maintain his moments continuously and the moments increase and become stabilized, he is hopeful that he may achieve a spiritual state. In short, divine gifts are a result of human effort, and that spiritual state depends upon the lights that descend from the higher world upon the souls of men, and then upon their hearts, and finally diffuses throughout the rest of the body. But this spiritual state is not permanent. If it should become continuous, then it becomes indwelling. The consummate one is the master of breath. The masters of breath(s) speak at a different level. Of every word they say and every breath they take, God Himself is the agent.

This is an explanation of spiritual vocabulary (he added): "In the technical language of the great Shaykhs, they call the master of the moment one who has experienced a spiritual state in one of his moments but for whom that moment has not become enduring. So in this sense the beginner becomes the master of the moment. The intermediate is called the master of the spiritual tastes because for the majority of his moments he is able to maintain a spiritual state. The consummate one is called the master of breath(s) because his spiritual state is as natural and continuous as his breathing; his spiritual state becomes abiding within him."

The Shaykh Nasir ad-Din heaved a deep sigh and quoted the following *hadith:* "Within your lifetime there are fragrant breezes of morning which belong (only) to your Lord, so pay attention to them."

This *hadith* (he added) has a mystical interpretation. "If one remains engaged in prayer throughout the night, when morning comes, one feels a fragrant breeze. If the dervish goes to sleep hungry, moreover, and wakes at the end of the night to pray and is so absorbed in God that there is nothing except God inside him, then he is sure to witness the descent of the lights of the upper world onto the souls of the lower world. And if at the same time he should renounce his worldly attachments altogether, these spiritual states become manifest in him. Of this there can be no doubt, God willing."

Then the Shaykh quoted the following line of poetry:

> The defect lies in trying to see God with the eyes—
> Otherwise, there is no one from whom my friend is hidden.

"The heart of the matter is regulation of the breath. In meditation it is necessary that the Sufi pay attention to his breathing, so that his inner self may be composed. If he neglects his breathing, then the inner self becomes distraught. Thus one interpretation of the statement 'The consummate one is he who is the master of the breath' is that he counts breaths, and the yogins, though they call the breaths *siddhis,* engage in the same practice of counting."

After that the saint gave a deep sigh and said: "You and I are like the hungry dervish face to face with (a cook's) stall; he sees the delicious food and savors its aroma and then says to the shopkeeper, 'Whatever you have, let me eat it at once.' After that the same dervish would say: 'Look at me! Now I have neither the opportunity nor the privacy for devotions. The whole day I remain busy with people—usually most of the time I haven't even time for a noon-day nap. Many times when I try to take a nap, they wake me up saying, "Someone has come, get up!" You who have the opportunity before you, why don't you seize it?'"

Then, concerning his own routine, Shaykh Nasir ad-Din asked: "If I am able to remain awake in the evening, I either read the Qur'an or invoke the names of God. In the daytime, though, that is impossible. Still, I am not without hope." As he spoke, his voice cracked. Bursting into tears, he recited the following couplet:

> This bucket that I have thrown into the well;
> I am not without hope that it may some day come up full.

The person who has looked into his heart [he added] and, fixing his attention on God, has driven out everything but God from the heart, ought to persist till he sees what result comes of his effort. The dervish wears sleeves for this reason: When he undertakes the spiritual discipline of Sufism he vows to cut off his hands, so that he can neither stretch out his hand to beg, nor close it to grasp. But if the hands are cut off, he will be unable to perform many pious acts: What will he do when he cannot perform ablutions or shake the hand of his fellow Muslim? Hence the sleeves, which are next to the hands, should be cut off, and this should serve as a reminder that his hands are cut off from greed. Likewise, the shirt should be cut short, and the head shaved. The reason is this: When the dervish enters the Sufi Way, his head should be cut off, because on this path, the first step is to risk one's head. Yet if the head is actually severed, he will be cut off from everything and then what can he do? Hence the hair of the head should be cut. The cutting of the hair stands for the cutting off of the

head. Since he could do nothing if his head were severed from his body, it is preferable to cut only the hair. Moreover, there is nothing unlawful about shaving the head.

The disciples asked: "What is the meaning of the following phrase? 'Struggle in us.'" Nasir ad-Din replied: "I will give you an explanation." The Shaykh proceeded to give an explanation so refined that the listeners could not understand it. "Come closer," he said. "Now I will give you an easier and more obvious explanation." Then he made a second, simpler explanation as follows: "By 'struggle in us' is meant 'struggle for us' and by 'struggle in God' is meant 'struggle for God.' In the preposition *fi* there is an intensity of unity that does not exist in *li. Fi* has a connotation of 'capacity for containing.'" As illustration he recited the following verse from the Qur'an: "'Alms are only for the poor and the needy, and those who collect them, and those whose hearts are to be reconciled, and the slaves [*fi 'r-riqab*]' (Q 9.60). The poor and the destitute take alms to relieve their hunger, but for slaves charity consists of breaking the yoke of servitude, for the yoke of servitude connotes a decree of death. To free the slave is like giving life to a dead man. Since there is more intensity in this form of charity, *fi* is used with reference to slaves in the Qur'an, while the preposition *li* is used for other cases of charity. This explanation is in accord with rules of grammar and syntax."

And then he gave a further, helpful explanation: "Whoever makes this struggle does so for one of two reasons: either because of the hope of heaven and the fear of hell or for the love of God. In the former instance, it is a struggle towards God; in the latter a struggle in God. The latter is more demanding than the former, but also more complete, as the truth of the struggle is borne out in the end. Hence it says in the Qur'an: 'Struggle hard for God, with the struggle appropriate to him' [Q 22.78]. People do not understand the true worth of God until they have had to make a long and arduous struggle to attain Him."

Shaykh Nasir ad-Din also said: "Divine acceptance of human action depends on one's attraction to God; that is to say, whatever you do, so long as you are not attracted to God, your action is not acceptable to Him. When attraction arises within a spiritual state, however, everything one does is acceptable. And this attraction to God can occur at any moment—in childhood, youth, or old age—though it has degrees. The desire of the common believer is to obtain divine acceptance of his actions while the aim of the spiritually elect is to turn to God to the exclusion of all else."

Someone once asked: "What are the best times for seeking favor with God? Which night is the best—the first or the last (night of a month)?" Shaykh Nasir ad-Din answered him by quoting the following *hadith.* Muhammad once asked Gabriel: "What are the best times?" Gabriel answered: "I don't know, but when half the night has passed, the angels descend and the throne of God begins to shake. Surely your Lord during your lifetime provides fragrant breezes. Is it not so? Then pay attention to them."

Muhammad once said: "I saw my Lord on the night of the *Mi'raj* [Ascension] in the most beautiful of forms." "One interpretation [of this *hadith*] is as follows: that by 'the most beautiful,' the Prophet was referring to himself, that is to say, 'I was in the most beautiful of forms,' as he elsewhere says, 'I saw someone riding a lion, and I was the rider.' That is to say, at that time my own form was most fair. Because it was the time of the *Mi'raj,* I was in the company of the prophets, I was hearing the good news, and there was a descent of lights from the upper world, and I had drawn very close to God.' And so every moment beauty upon beauty was added to the form of the Prophet—may peace be upon Him.

"The second possible explanation is that by 'my Lord' was meant 'my master,' as though he said, 'I saw my master Gabriel in the most beautiful of forms.' It has been said that he said 'Lord' but meant 'master.' Support for this interpretation comes from Abu Hurayra. Once he said, 'I saw my Lord walking down the main street of Medina. He had a reddish nimbus about his head, and upon his feet were fine shoes! Those who were listening to him said, 'Have you become a disbeliever after you once had faith?' And Abu Hurayra retorted, 'I saw my Lord, that is to say, my master, that is the Beautiful One—may God bless Him.'"

When the discussion came to the matter of "his form," they asked, "What is meant by the *hadith* 'God created man [Adam] in his own form'?" Shaykh Nasir ad-Din replied: "The pronoun 'his' refers to Adam, because Adam's form was unchanging from the time of his creation, unlike the forms of ordinary men, which change from childhood to youth to old age. Adam's form remained the same, and never changed throughout his life."

## Regional Chishti Masters

Regional masters were also important for the development of the Chishti order. Four particular examples stand out: Hamid ad-Din Suwali Nagauri, who established a Chishti presence in rural Rajasthan; Burhan ad-Din Gharib, who brought the Chishtiyya to the Deccan; Shaykh Nur ad-Din Qutb-i 'Alam Pandawi, to indicate the importance of Bengal; and Kamal ad-Din, whose successors had an enduring impact on Gujarat. They are also distinctive in terms of the biographical process that developed around them. In the cases of Shaykh Hamid ad-Din and Shaykh Nur ad-Din, *Akhbar al-akhyar* remains an authoritative source, but for Shaykh Burhan ad-Din and Shaykh Kamal ad-Din, we can gauge the profile of their lives and the importance of their legacies only by consulting additional sources.

### *Shaykh Hamid ad-Din Suwali Nagauri*

*[Shaykh Hamid ad-Din Suwali Nagauri is a counterexample because, unlike his esteemed predecessor Mu'in ad-Din, and his co-*khalifa *Qutb ad-Din, Hamid ad-Din wrote, and he wrote extensively. The excerpts below expound for the first time in prose what is elsewhere evident only in fragmentary maxims, or topically diffuse conversations. It charts the Chishti view toward worldliness, which is at the heart of Chishti practice till the present day, and it anticipates what recurs in successive generations beginning with the three Chishti giants, Farid ad-Din, Nizam ad-Din, and Nasir ad-Din, who complete the first cycle of the Chishtiyya.]*

His title appropriately is *sultan-i tarikin* ("king of those who leave everything which is other than God"). His patronym is Abu Ahmad, and his full name Shaykh Hamid ad-Din Sufi Nagauri Suwali.

He is among the greatest successors of the great Khwaja Mu'in ad-Din Chishti. He made a firm step in *tajrid* [outer renunciation] and *tafrid* [inner renunciation]. He is among the special servants of God—may His name be praised. His high resolve [*himmat-i 'ali*] surpassed this world and the world beyond: His favorable glance never fell on anything except that which pointed to Three (i.e., this world, that world,

and God). He has a high stature in Sufism and an exalted place among those who attest to the oneness of God.

He was descended from Sa'id ibn Zaid, one of the ten boon companions of the Prophet Muhammad—may God bless them. He was among the earliest saints of India, and in his old age, he used to say: 'I was the first child who was born into a Muslim family after the conquest of Delhi'. He lived from the time of Khwaja Mu'in ad-Din Chishti till the period of Shaykh Nizam ad-Din Awliya'—may God sanctify his tomb.

With respect to his teachings, Shaykh Hamid ad-Din made a summary of his writings, *Usul at-tariqa,* which he copied in his own hand. The author of *Siyar al-Awliya'* extracted his own information about the teachings of the Shaykh from a copy of the *Usul at-tariqa* written by Sultan al-masha'ikh (Shaykh Nizam ad-Din).

It is reported that one day when Khwaja Mu'in ad-Din was in a good mood, he said: "Everyone who wishes something let him speak and the gates of Divine favor will be opened." One asked for this world; another asked for the world beyond. Then Khwaja Mu'in ad-Din turned to Shaykh Hamid ad-Din: "Do you wish to be honored and esteemed in this world and the next?" he asked. The Shaykh replied: "'Wishing' is not for the creature. Whatever is wished is the will of God Almighty." After that Khwaja Mu'in ad-Din turned to Khwaja Qutb ad-Din and spoke the same words to him. Khwaja Qutb ad-Din submitted: "There is no choice for the creature. Whatever has been commanded is your choice." After that Khwaja Mu'in ad-Din said: "The one who leaves this world and also dispenses with the world beyond is the King of those who leave (everything except God)." From that day Shaykh Hamid ad-Din acquired the title of *Sultan at-tarikin.*

It has been reported that he lived in Suwal, which is one of the districts of Nagaur. He owned a piece of land that was two rope lengths in area. He tilled and planted it with his own hands, and from this he made a living.

He died in 29 Rabi' al-akhir 673 A.H. and was buried in Nagaur—may God sanctify his tomb.

He had extensive correspondence with Shaykh Baha ad-Din Zakariyya on the question of poverty and wealth. The content of one such letter is as follows: "According to (the teaching of) the Shaykhs and the testimony of the Qur'an and *hadith,* the property of this world is supposed to be an obstacle to the attainment of union with God. Yet it has been heard that some of the Shaykhs of our time enjoy a handsome share of it, and at the same time perform miracles. This simple man is much baffled about such reports. If your honor would be kind enough to unravel the knot of these doubts, I will be much obliged."

The content of another letter is as follows: "This humble creature has sent a letter to Shaykh Baha ad-Din and requested him to resolve certain difficulties. For whatever reason your honor did not reply, or if you did reply, what you said was not satisfactory. This humble man wept before God, 'Resolve this difficulty of your slave,' hoping that God might provide some sign in this connection. God accepted my prayer, and His answer appeared in the following manner:

Those who strictly observe the law also seek reward in the world beyond. It is in order to achieve that reward that they do good works and distribute alms and make sacrifices. But they remain veiled from the realities of piety and the subtleties of the lower soul, which are clear to the Masters of the Way (i.e., the Sufis).

By the same token, the Sufis have before them the secrets of nearness and the lights of the revelation of Essence. These are reserved for the seekers of God. Everything

which is other than the Essence of God, even if it be disclosed to men and witnessed by them, is a barrier to the Essence of God: It keeps them veiled and hidden. Hence everyone who is concerned with other than God is in truth veiled, even though he does not know that he is veiled."

In another letter which he wrote to Shaykh Farid ad-Din Ganj-i Shakar, he cited the following *hadith qudsi:*

> If those who busy themselves in remembering Me but knew what of my nearness eludes them, "they would laugh little and cry much" (Q 9.82); and if those who busy themselves in coming near to Me but knew what of My intimacy eludes them, they would shed tears of blood; and if those who busy themselves in being intimate with Me but knew what of Me escapes them, then they would also know that their souls have become severed from union with Me.

Shaykh Hamid ad-Din has written many essays and letters as well as numerous poems. The most famous of his compositions is *Usul at-tariqa* [The Fundamentals of the Path], and in it he has said: The men of the Path whose faces are directed to the abode of God are a group apart from others, as has been stated in the Qur'an (Q 35.32): (They are) those whom we have chosen from among our servants, and among them is he who is oppressed by his lower self, he who is moderate, and he who triumphs in (doing) good works. They are [1] the wretched [*ma'dhuran*], [2] the grateful [*mashkuran*], and [3] the vanishing ones [*faniyan*], respectively. [1] The wretched are those who profess faith in God and recite the *shahada* and yet still do not come into the presence of God, or if they do come, come late and proceed slowly to their goal. They neglect the divine decree: Be quick [to seek forgiveness from your Lord] (Q 3.132). [2] The grateful are those who come with faith and maintain a frequent recitation of the *shahada,* while [3] the vanishing ones are those who remember the Divine query: "Am I not your Lord?" (Q 7.172) and answering, they say: "Indeed." Even before the invitation (to become Muslims), they have heard the eternal query and given the eternal reply. At the outset they have succeeded in reaching the end of all secrets. Many among them have gone unnoticed. No one knew their name nor did anyone recognize their sign. Some of them would have remained anonymous had the Prophet himself not made them known.

One of them was Abu Bakr, who went in search of the Prophet before the invitation (to become a Muslim). For his own pain (polytheism) he was seeking a cure (monotheism). Another of them was 'Ali Murtada, who, before he reached manhood, was already prepared to accept the invitation (to become a Muslim).

Still another was Uways Qarani. If the Prophet had not disclosed his identity, his name would not have appeared on any book nor would his sign have been affixed to any ledger. Yet what a fine reputation he enjoyed before God! He put no stock in this world and took nothing from it. He came free and went away happy.

And another of them was Salman the Persian, who came in search of guidance before the invitation (to become a Muslim) and on his own sought the truth of the time of covenant. We may conclude from this who are the vanishing ones.

The vanishing ones are those who, knowing that God exists and that He does not vanish, seek to vanish themselves. They set their foot upon the path of nonexistence and sacrifice their head on that same path. The tablet of NO HOPE, though it is not to be read, they read it. On the path of faith they remain alone and unique like the

letter *alif.* Neither their existence nor their personal opinion remains. Hence they become immortal in the state of mortality, and everyone who becomes immortal, while still mortal, calls this state "eternity without end." It is for this reason that the Sufis assert: "Our kingdom is permanent." That is to say, our kingdom is sainthood, and sainthood is a matter of negation rather than affirmation. With respect to affirmation, negation is possible, but there can be no negation of negation. This is a deep secret. One cannot easily understand it.

They attest: "The breasts of Sufis are treasure houses of secrets." As long as a treasure is hidden, its stores remain full, but when its stores begin to flow out through a breach, the treasure becomes ruined.

And again they say: "Either one is born or one is aborted." If a child is aborted, he is blocked in his passage into this world. If he is born, he is born either alive or dead. If he is born dead, he is like one who has died a natural death, and if he has died a natural death, then he has died a perfect death, but if he has died a defective death, then his destination is hell, according to the extent of his defect. As to him who dies a perfect death, his death is a result of either inner striving or outer striving. If his outer striving causes his death, then his destination is among the high stations, according to the extent of his striving, and if it is his inner striving which causes his death, then his soul will reach the raised platform from which it originated; he will not be left standing in any intermediate place."

Now some of the masters in realizing the Truth (i.e., the accomplished Sufis) say that one must seek God Almighty, and others say that one cannot seek God. Beware that you do not take either of these two viewpoints as wrong; you should recognize the truth in both of them. Also, beware that they do not appear to you as contradictory and opposed to one another. Two decrees appear to be opposed to each other only when they are viewed from a single direction. If one says, "You should seek," i.e., if you do not seek Him that is making Him void of relationship to man; and if another says, "You should not seek," i.e., if you do seek Him that is implying a comparison between God and man—(know) that neither approach is befitting God. Then what should we do? How do we not seek Him, in order to avoid making Him comparable, at the same time as we do seek Him, in order to not make Him devoid of relatedness?

The answer is: Do not seek and do not give up seeking. For God is not in any direction toward which you might proceed, nor is He at any place where you might grasp Him. He is not immanent, so that you might aspire to reach Him by prayers and tears. Nor is he far so that you might hope to become near to Him. He is not lost so that you might trace Him; He is not temporal so that you could expect to find him; He is not spatial so that you might confine Him to one place. All these assertions constitute the negation of seeking, and they are all correct.

So where is the affirmation? You should deny yourself and your own attributes. Free yourself from human attributes and put aside all inclinations to possess. Separate yourself from all things; go into isolation. Just as He is Almighty and Holy and is not like anything, so your seeking should not be like anything. This is the affirmation of seeking. He who wants his reflection to be accurate yet does not clear his mirror, he is seeking the impossible. Similarly, everyone who seeks God but does not clear his heart of human attributes, he too is seeking the impossible. Whoever treads the path of union must remove all impressions from his breast; otherwise, he speaks nonsense and walks topsy-turvy.

Seeking God is not that you affirm Him. Seeking is this: that you dissolve yourself. Seeking is not that you run after Him. Seeking is this: that you risk your own existence. Seeking is not that you seek. Seeking is this: that you renounce yourself. Clear the mirror, for when the mirror is clear the reflection must appear. Quatrain:

> The traveler should choose a straight path,
> And then on that path he should go straight.
> The crooked ambler—who is he? I will tell you.
> Listen. Crooked is he who pursues his own desire.

And also he said: The first of the stages of the path is knowledge. Knowledge is necessary because without knowledge one cannot go straight. The second of the stages of the path is work, for without work one cannot produce intention. The third of the stages of the way is intention. Correct intention is necessary because without correct intention work becomes worthless. The fourth stage is sincerity; without sincerity love does not become manifest. The fifth stage is love; without love meditation does not become correct. The sixth stage is meditation; without meditation progress on the path is deficient. The seventh stage is progress, for without progress one cannot open the door of the Divine abode. The eighth and final stage requires the opening of the door of the Divine abode in order that the goal of the traveler may appear.

Q: What is the first stage of progress?

A: That you begin the journey from both worlds.

Q: What is the goal?

A: That you daily recite the Qur'anic verse: "Everything perishes except His face" (Q. 55.26) and apply to yourself the following quatrain:

> There is a work beyond all knowledge. Go and have it.
> Don't go after the gem. Go and have the mine.
> The heart is a temporary abode. Leave it and come.
> The soul is the last destination. Go and have it.

He has put a path before you. It is both narrow and long. He has given you a life. It is both dark and short. And in this short life He has commanded you to tread this long path. The night of the world may be dark (for this world is naught but darkness), yet in this darkness for your sake He has caused the moon to shine. He created mankind in darkness but then He caused the light of the heavens and the earth to shine upon them, and He illumined the earth with the light of its Lord. Arise and hasten, but you should count the moonlight as your gain. And this short life that he has given you, take advantage of it. Count yourself as already among the dead, and if you are not dead, then know yourself to be subject to death, and in your heart continuously focus upon this line of poetry:

> Necessarily the soul will go from the body;
> But if it goes due to the pain of its love for You, that is better.

But the negligent man, sleeping contentedly on the bed of neglect, does not know that he has made a claim to love. Woe to him who in bad faith has made a claim to

love; if, when night comes, he does not sleep with his Beloved, his name will be etched upon the ledger of liars.

Q: When a man dies and his soul becomes separated from his body, does it return to its origin or not?

A: Whoever in his natural life has recognized his origin will return to the origin of all life. He has learned about the veils and hindrances and attachments of this world and the love of that world has appeared in him. His desire for God abets his love of God, so that he is able to throw aside veils and cut through obstacles and break attachments. He turns his face from existing things and brings himself to the source of existence. He fulfills the obligations of every station but leaves the appendages when he leaves the station. In short, he experiences real death before his natural death. Whoever lives like this, he will return to his origin; he will attain union with God.

Q: What is the world?

A: Everything which is beneath God is the world. Your lower self is beneath God and everything which is near to your lower self is the world. Today the world is near your soul but tomorrow the other world will be near: that world is the tomorrow of this world. That is why they have said:

> Today, day before yesterday, yesterday, tomorrow—
> All four are but one, for tomorrow you will be alone.

"Alone we believed and we assented" is the speech you will make (Q 6.95) (on the day of judgment), as it says in the Qur'an: "Certainly you have come to us one by one as we first created you." If at last your work was this, why did you not choose it at the beginning? It would have been a fortunate fellow who was able to choose it, for this world is the habitation of the lower self, and it is equipped with all the instruments for making war. The lower self will stay in his house so long as he has food. He will go on fighting and will take help from his friends and followers. In this world it is the soul which has fallen away from its friends; it has become isolated from its original source. So long as divine help does not reach it, the soul is helpless.

Q: When will God's help come? How long will He hold it back? To whom is He prepared to give it and to whom does He desire to give it?

A: He is God the Generous, and His benefit is always available. The difference you see is not between the benefit and the benefactor but between the act of acceptance (of the benefit) and the one who accepts.

Q: You say that the availability of divine benefit is without distinction. The distinction which exists is in the one who accepts. How do we know this distinction?

A: Just as you distinguish between stone and dust. In their origin the matter of one is clear, the matter of the other is tainted. Those who have clear matter accept God's benefit directly. Their only medium is their own souls. That is, they absorb into themselves whatever medium they use—whether it be from the prophets or the saints or the philosophers or from themselves, i.e., by the practice of penitence and discipline. But he whose soul is tainted will not accept God's benefit by any means; even if some accept it by blind adherence to tradition, they do not succeed in realizing the Truth.

Q: Those whose matter is tainted, is it by God's intention or not?

A: Without His intention or His choice not a single leaf can drop from a tree nor can a blade of grass spring up form the ground.

Q: Then what benefit was there in creation that some were made of pure and clear matter and some were made of murky and tainted matter?

A: He is Almighty. He does what He chooses, and His action reaches no one without a purpose. Human beings may ask "How or when?" but God does not question what He does, even if they question Him. In eternity He knew a certain soul to be worthy of nearness and favors and He created him according to what He knew about him." And He does not question (what He does)." And in eternity He knew another soul to be suited for distance and torture, and He created him according to what He knew about him. And He does not deviate from His purpose. Take your hand off of this place and set your foot of ambition on the top of the sky. Quatrain:

Not a happy place is this world; go, be happy with the next world,
After all, who told you to be happy with this world?
May it come within your high ambition one day
That you renounce both worlds and be happy with God.

The destitute (believer) is happy in attaining the object of his desire, that is, the world. The moderate (believer) is happy in attaining the object of his desire, that is, the next world. The triumphant (believer) is happy in being united with the object of his desire, that is, God.

Q: There is religion and the world. You have spoken about the world and shown what it is. Would you (now) speak about religion (and show what it is) with reference to the Qur'anic verse: "Among them is he who is oppressed by his lower self, and among them is the moderate (believer), and among them is the triumphant" (Q 35.32)?

A: The religion of the destitute is to avoid and attach, i.e., to avoid sinful acts and attach themselves to acts of obedience. The religion of the moderate ones is to shun and rest, i.e., to shun this world and to rest (content) in the next world. The religion of the triumphant is severance and perseverance, i.e., they sever themselves from what is beneath God and they persevere in God: "Say 'God'; then leave them to their idle talk" (Q. 6.92).

Q: According to this classification, there are different kinds of religion.

A: No, religion is one and without distinction. This distinction which appears to you is a distinction among men, not a distinction within religion itself, since religion is in every instance one. When you look at religion outwardly there appear to be three forms, but when you see them with the inner eye you realize that "wherever you turn, there is only the face of God" (Q. 2.115).

Q: How do we know that the Law and the Way are one?

A: Just as you know your body and soul to be one, for the Way is the soul of the Law.

Q. Since He is and there is naught but Him, for whom does command and prohibition exist?

A: "Except for Him the creature and the command (do not exist)." The command is with reference to His own command, and the prohibition is with reference to His own creature. I did not say that there is nothing (except Him). Rather I said that everything exists through Him and, therefore, to this extent everything is Him.

Q: I understand what religion is and I recognize of what the world consists. Now inform me what heaven and hell are.

A: Heaven and hell are your actions! "Whoever does one particle of good will see it and whoever does one particle of evil will see it (on the day of judgment)"(Q. 99.7–8). From today's actions God will cause corresponding forms to appear in you. If you do good, then tomorrow He will bring before you forms which are suitable, and which correspond to your actions. And if you do evil, He will also bring before you forms which correspond to your actions.

Q: The way is what, and the destination is what?

A: You have asked a question with respect to which there are (many) secrets and all those who follow the path of Sufism are working (to understand these same secrets). One cannot express the answer to this question except with the help of the Qur'anic verse: "Who answers the person in distress when he calls upon Him?" (Q. 27.61) This is a pearl which all the intellects of the world are powerless to string. It cannot be strung through speech. The tongue which God looses is required for one to speak, and the ears which God has opened are required for one to hear. If this condition does not pertain, then nothing less will suffice, since he who speaks should speak from the heart and he who listens should listen from the heart. You and I by ourselves do not have that capacity. Hence nothing is more appropriate than that we renounce speaking and hearing altogether.

### *Shaykh Burhan ad-Din Gharib*

Akhbar al-akhyar *gives a meager, and altogether unflattering, portrait of Shaykh Burhan ad-Din Gharib. To bring out the contradictory perspectives that emerge from competing biographers, we have to flesh out his portrait from a number of other sources. We begin with Mir Khwurd's Siyar al-Awliya', which provides a glowing portrait of Burhan ad-Din:*

> He was an example in the matter of belief among the foremost lovers, and he preceded most of the foremost lovers in discipleship. He was a good balm to those disappointed in love and passion, and he was a good remedy for the pain of the lovers and jesters of the day, so that Amir Khusraw and Mir Hasan and other lovers became captivated by his love, because of his graceful nature and passion. . . . In *sama'* this saint was completely extreme, experienced much ecstasy, and said the prayers of lovers. He had a distinctive style in dancing, so that the companions of this saint were called "Burhanis" among the lovers. Whoever was in the presence of this saint for an hour fell in love with the beauty of his saintliness, because of the ecstasy of his passionate words and the purity of his enchanting conversation. There was no better master than he to show servants of God the way of belief and love. The author many times had the happiness of kissing the feet of that saint, and became captivated by his passionate words.[3]

'Abd al-Haqq, by contrast, simply reports that Shaykh Burhan ad-Din was noted for his zeal and desire for God, and that he was an ardent devotee of *sama'*. The luminaries of his time, such as Amir Khusrau, Amir Hasan, and other noble-minded men, were enthralled by him, but nothing more is said of the reasons for their high view of this senior disciple of Shaykh Nizam ad-din.

'Abd al-Haqq further observes that whenever Shaykh Nasir ad-Din Mahmud went to Ghiyaspur, he used to stay with Burhan ad-Din. So great was the latter's devotion to his master, that during the great Shaykh's lifetime he never left Ghiyaspur. What follows is an ambiguous account of Shaykh Burhan ad-Din's spiritual status. He was

acknowledged as one of the successors of Shaykh Nizam ad-Din, and the story of the conferral of the "certificate of succession" on him is reported in *Siyar al-Awliya'*. Khwaja Mubashshar, who was one of the earliest followers of the saint, once said to Sayyid Husayn and Sayyid Khamush: "Burhan ad-Din was among the initial followers of the great Shaykh, and even in this circle he is notable for his faith. Would it not be fitting if we present his name to the Shaykh for the conferral of the certificate of succession?" They all agreed, and having brought Burhan ad-Din to the great Shaykh, they submitted: "Maulana Burhan ad-Din is one of your oldest servants; he has been kissing your feet and remains hopeful that he will receive your blessing." Maulana Burhan ad-Din Gharib then kissed the ground before the great Shaykh, and Iqbal (the manager of the *dargah*), brought him a cap and a shirt that had been part of a donation. The saint blessed them, and in his presence, Iqbal put them on the Maulana and said, "Now you are indeed a successor." Shaykh Nizam ad-Din said nothing, but his silence was assumed to be an indication of his approval.

Shaykh Nizam ad-Din, it is said, once became angry with Maulana Burhan ad-Din. The cause of the great Shaykh's anger was this: Old age had weakened the already frail health of the Maulana, so he folded a blanket on which he sat in his house. 'Ali Zanbili and Malik Hamza, who were employed in the service of Sultan 'Ala ad-Din and had also become disciples of Shaykh Nizam ad-Din, told the Shaykh about this matter, but they put a different construction on the facts. According to them, Maulana Burhan ad-Din was sitting on a carpet like a big Shaykh and dispensing favors in the manner of the great saints. Shaykh Nizam ad-Din became very angry; and when Maulana Burhan ad-Din next came to him, the Shaykh would not speak to him. As the Maulana left the Shaykh to go into the main assembly hall, Iqbal called him and said, "The Shaykh has ordered you to leave this place immediately and not return." Hanging his head dejectedly, the Maulana made his way back to his house and sat there grieving. The people of the city came to console him, and after some time Amir Khusrau went to see the great Shaykh and he put the Maulana's case before him in a better light. "Burhan ad-Din," said Khusrau, "is a sincere disciple and trustworthy servant. He has become extremely weak, and he is unable to sit on a reed mat—it causes him pain in his legs. It was in order to avoid pain that he folded up his carpet before sitting on it." But however much Khusrau pleaded, Shaykh Nizam ad-Din didn't accept his explanations.

Having taken counsel with his friends, Amir Khusrau once again came before the Shaykh. He had wound his turban around his neck and appeared like a fugitive giving himself up to justice. "All right, Turk," said the Shaykh, "what do you want?" "Pardon the offense of Maulana Burhan ad-Din," replied Khusrau. The Shaykh smiled. "Where is he? Bring him to me," he commanded. Afterwards, Maulana Burhan ad-Din and Khusrau, both of them with turbans wrapped around their necks, returned and bowed their heads to the ground before the Shaykh. Shaykh Nizam ad-Din pardoned the Maulana, and the latter renewed his oath of allegiance. Burhan ad-Din Gharib outlived his master by several years. He made many disciples, and gave up his soul to God only after he went to Deogir. His tomb is in that place. The well-known city of Burhanpur is named after him; and members of the ruling house of that area have maintained their faith in him.

'Abd al-Haqq's account ends here, accenting the influence of Amir Khusraw more than that of Burhan ad-Din. Other Chishti sources from the Deccan project his absolute loyalty to Nizam ad-Din unequivocally and his own authority as unassailable.

Consider the contemporary evidence found in the *malfuzat* texts recorded by Burhan ad-Din's own disciples in Khuldabad in the 1330s. Burhan ad-Din Gharib described his own relation with Nizam ad-Din Awliya' in terms suggesting a very close spiritual relationship, in which he directly inherited the substance of the authority of the Chishti masters. Nizam ad-Din Awliya' commented on Burhan ad-Din Gharib's jealousy with regard to other visitors.[4] Nizam ad-Din observed, "Burhan ad-Din Gharib has both eyes on me and does not attend to any other."[5]Burhan ad-Din Gharib mentioned how he vigorously defended Nizam ad-Din Awliya' and the practice of *sama'*against hostile criticism.[6] He stated in 1333 that he had followed the path of Nizam ad-Din Awliya' for 40 years (a number symbolic of perfection), and only on four occasions had he been forced to ask directly for the latter's help.[7] His disciples recorded of him that never in his life did he disrespectfully turn his back toward his master's tomb in Ghiyaspur.[8]During the last few years of his life, which were marred by constant illness, Burhan ad-Din Gharib once confessed that he remained alive only in order to fulfil the instructions of Nizam ad-Din Awliya'.[9]

The nature of Burhan ad-Din Gharib's discipleship is also indicated by other anecdotes from his *malfuzat,* which depict Nizam ad-Din presenting him with the initiatic regalia of the Chishtis and confirming his spiritual status. Burhan ad-Din described himself as having received from Nizam ad-Din Awliya' the "essential" hat of initiation, as opposed to the hat of ordinary discipleship.[10] On the journey from Delhi to Daulatabad, Burhan ad-Din Gharib had a cot carried alongside him, in which was the staff of Nizam ad-Din, one of the primary insignia of succession.[11] When Burhan ad-Din Gharib was on his deathbed, he called for Nizam ad-Din's rosary.[12] Other less tangible evidence also attests to the high regard that Nizam ad-Din had for his disciple. At their first meeting, Nizam ad-Din's attendant announced that Burhan ad-Din, a poor man (*gharib*), had arrived; the Shaykh remarked, "He is indeed poor now, but the whole world will come to know him," thus conferring upon him the epithet, *gharib.*[13] Nizam ad-Din Awliya' is quoted as saying, "Burhan ad-Din Gharib is with the *majmu'* [the group]," apparently meaning the group of those who are saved.[14] Nizam ad-Din Awliya' pronounced the Qur'anic passage "Today I have perfected your religion and completed my bounty to you" (Qur'an 5:3), in reference to Burhan ad-Din Gharib's spiritual perfection, when he gave the latter dominion (*wilayat*) over the Deccan.[15] When a number of disciples one day were discussing the famous Sufi Bayazid Bistami, Nizam ad-Din Awliya' remarked, "We too have a Bayazid," indicating Burhan ad-Din Gharib.[16] At their last meeting, Burhan ad-Din Gharib requested from Nizam ad-Din Awliya' the gift of being under the direct spiritual observation (*nazar*) of Farid ad-Din Ganj-i Shakar.[17]

These characterizations of spiritual authority contrast sharply with the two incidents described by Mir Khwurd, which have led some (including 'Abd al-Haqq) to regard Burhan ad-Din as a nice but doddering old man who offended his master and was only made *khalifa* because of Amir Khusraw's special pleading.[18] Despite a long-time residence in the Deccan, and an apparent fondness for the shaykh, Mir Khwurd had closed his account of Burhan ad-Din Gharib with the barest mention of the latter's sojourn there. Although Mir Khwurd had admired Burhan ad-Din Gharib personally, the former had fallen away from Sufism when he served in the administration in the Deccan, and so had not kept in touch with Chishti circles in Daulatabad. Since his reconversion to Sufism had taken place when he returned to Delhi and met Chiragh-i Dihli, it was only natural that he should regard the latter as the central figure

in Chishti Sufism. Although Mir Khwurd admired Burhan ad-Din, he basically omitted or downplayed any information that would indicate that Burhan ad-Din might in fact be one of the chief disciples of Nizam ad-Din.

The other follower of Chiragh-i Dihli who commented negatively on Burhan ad-Din Gharib was Muhammad al-Husayni "Gisu Daraz" (d. 1422), so named for his long tresses of hair. According to his oldest biography, Gisu Daraz had gone with his father from Delhi to Daulatabad in 1325, at the age of four, at the time of Muhammad ibn Tughluq's enforced transfer of the population to the new capital (that event actually took place four years later, in 1329). He remained there for eight more years until he returned to Delhi, and there he became a disciple of Chiragh-i Dihli in 1333 at the age of twelve.[19] Gisu Daraz cannot have had much significant contact with Burhan ad-Din Gharib during his childhood years in Daulatabad, but many years later, when he passed through the Deccan again, he recalled hearing Burhan ad-Din Gharib predict that Gisu Daraz would obtain spiritual guidance from Chiragh-i Dihli. In a conversation recorded in 1400, Gisu Daraz described the relationship between Burhan ad-Din Gharib and Chiragh-i Dihli as that of disciple to master.[20] According to Gisu Daraz, "Mawlana Burhan ad-Din Gharib had perfect faith in our shaykh, saying just this: 'If I had not been connected to the revered Shaykh al-Islam Nizam ad-Din, I would be connected to Mawlana Mahmud [Chiragh-i Dihli].'"

Gisu Daraz illustrated the spiritual superiority of Chiragh-i Dihli by several anecdotes. In the first story, Burhan ad-Din Gharib's associates criticize Chiragh-i Dihli for an apparent lapse of manners, but he is vindicated. In the second, Burhan ad-Din Gharib approaches the meditating Chiragh-i Dihli, led by Gisu Daraz himself (who would have been less than four years old at the time), and humbly begs Chiragh-i Dihli to pray for him. The third incident was a letter that Burhan ad-Din Gharib wrote expressing his admiration and sympathy for Chiragh-i Dihli during the sufferings inflicted upon him by the sultan. Gisu Daraz reflected that it was this suffering that caused Chiragh-i Dihli to inherit the saintly authority (*wilayat*) of Nizam ad-Din, which was later transmitted to Gisu Daraz himself.

The trend in these stories is to stress Burhan ad-Din's recognition of Chiragh-i-Dihli as the true successor of Nizam ad-Din and as his own spiritual superior. Gisu Daraz complained, however, that some of Burhan ad-Din Gharib's associates (in the circle of Ya'qub Chanderi) had erroneously supposed that Chiragh-i Dihli had learned something about Sufism from Burhan ad-Din Gharib; Chiragh-i Dihli, according to him, had hotly denied this and said it was quite the reverse: "If some words of dervishes have reached the hearing of Mawlana Burhan ad-Din, they have come from this very person [i.e., from me]." Gisu Daraz was concerned to praise Burhan ad-Din Gharib faintly and to preserve the prestige of Chiragh-i Dihli (and by extension Gisu Daraz) as the true successor of Nizam ad-Din. Yet it should be noted that the notion of Chiragh-i Dihli as studying with Burhan ad-Din was held by others outside the Deccani Chishti circles. According to Ashraf Jahangir Simnani, "The revered master Nasir ad-Din Mahmud Awadhi attended upon him [Burhan ad-Din Gharib] to study the occult sciences. The Emperor of the Masters said in relation to the revered master Nasir ad-Din, 'Where is he? With whom is he studying?' They said, 'At the house of Gharib the scholar.'"[21]

What are we to make of the discrepancies between these accounts of the status of Burhan ad-Din Gharib? The negative evaluations of Burhan ad-Din Gharib's position come primarily from the followers of Chiragh-i Dihli, who viewed the latter as

having succeeded to the authority of Nizam ad-Din. In addition to Mir Khwurd and Gisu Daraz, Hamid Qalandar also proclaimed the authority of Chiragh-i Dihli by elevating him above Burhan ad-Din Gharib.[22]

Yet the accounts of how Nizam ad-Din named his successors do not suggest that any of his followers received a preeminent position. Mir Khwurd has described the way Nizam ad-Din chose the leading disciples from a list of 32 candidates. He drew up their diplomas (*khilafat-namas*) according to a strict procedure that Farid ad-Din Ganj-i Shakar employed. This all took place on 20 Dhu al-Hijja 724/December 20, 1324, not long before Nizam ad-Din's death on 18 Rabi' II 725/March 12, 1325.[23] Although in that passage Mir Khwurd did not indicate the exact number of *khalifa*s, his organization of the chapter on Nizam ad-Din's *khalifa*s makes it clear that there were ten.[24] As Simon Digby has pointed out, Nizam ad-Din did everything he could to discourage competition among his successors; at the time of the investiture of Shams ad-Din Yahya and Chiragh-i Dihli, he minimized the slight precedence given to the former and caused the two to embrace.[25] Although there is little evidence that any of the *khalifa*s of Nizam ad-Din actually vied with one another, their followers in the next generation could not help playing the game of one-upmanship, and Burhan ad-Din's biographical profile became a casualty of that contest.

The lesser-known Deccan tradition deriving from Burhan ad-Din Gharib's followers shows an entirely different picture. It is his critics who are refuted, while Burhan ad-Din is extolled. Azad Bilgrami minimized the incident of Nizam ad-Din's anger with Burhan ad-Din Gharib over the carpet, arguing that it was just a case of backbiting.[26] Mir Khwurd's story of Burhan ad-Din Gharib's *khilafat*, however, posed greater problems; Azad simply repeated it without comment.[27] Azad's Urdu translator leaped to the defense, though, pointing out that Burhan ad-Din Gharib's own references to this event contrasted with Mir Khwurd's description; instead of using the silence of an ailing saint to approve his own nomination as successor, Burhan ad-Din Gharib specified the precise oral instructions that Nizam ad-Din gave him when authorizing him to teach.[28] Mir Khwurd's account of this event seems to belong to the class of rumors regarding Nizam ad-Din's feebleness in the month before his death, which some had used to question the credentials of certain *khalifa*s. Mir Khwurd himself had hastened to dismiss these rumors, arguing that Nizam ad-Din was still quite vigorous at the time of the selection of the ten *khalifa*s.[29] Other late hagiographers insisted that Burhan ad-Din Gharib had been the first *khalifa* invested by Nizam ad-Din, and they proceeded to enumerate the sacred Chishti regalia with which he was entrusted.[30]

His own followers regarded Burhan ad-Din Gharib as the "world-axis" (*qutb-i 'alam*), the supreme figure in the Sufi hierarchy.[31] His reputation became widespread in the Deccan during his lifetime. One of his disciples, Mahmud of Lajwara, had been a businessman in Ma'bar, some hundreds of miles to the southeast of Daulatabad, and after becoming a recluse he was told by a mysterious saint to seek the perfect master Burhan ad-Din Gharib. "He has recently arrived in Daulatabad," said the man, "and compared with others he is like the sun compared with the moon." When Mahmud came to Daulatabad, Burhan ad-Din Gharib without being told described the personal appearance of the saint of the south.[32]

Each *khalifa* of Nizam ad-Din was surrounded by disciples who necessarily tended to see their master as the one supreme successor to Nizam ad-Din's authority. This quest for paramountcy was reflected in the images of Burhan ad-Din Gharib in the

writings of his own circle as contrasted with the circle of Chiragh-i Dihli. Among Chiragh-i Dihli's followers, it was well known that Burhan ad-Din Gharib was an older disciple of Nizam ad-Din, and that Chiragh-i Dihli had often stayed with Burhan ad-Din Gharib when he came from Awadh to see Nizam ad-Din in Delhi. The relationship between the two men thus became a matter of some concern, and the writings of Hamid Qalandar, Mir Khwurd, and Gisu Daraz show a tendency to belittle the spiritual stature of Burhan ad-Din Gharib and enhance the status of Chiragh-i Dihli. Due to the continued prominence of the Delhi branch of the Chishtis, and by dint of repetition in later biographical texts, this picture of the relationship between the two has come to dominate the later Chishti perspective. The discrepancies between the different evaluations of Burhan ad-Din Gharib's status, then, derive from competing historiographies within the Chishti order. For the historian, it is not necessary to decide which is the "correct" version, but in considering the legacy of 'Abd al-Haqq, one must surmise that he was driven by the concept of undivided transmission of authority. Despite Nizam ad-Din's clear unwillingness to designate a single successor, later interpreters, including 'Abd al-Haqq, could not resist the temptation to draw a single North Indian line of transmission back from Nasir ad-Din to Nizam ad-Din and, ultimately, to the Prophet Muhammad.

### *Shaykh Nur ad-Din*

*'Abd al-Haqq's biography of Shaykh Nur ad-Din Qutb-i Alam is fuller than that of Shaykh Burhan ad-Din, though one wonders how much of it, too, was compressed by the centrist perspective of the author. 'Abd al-Haqq's account shows Nur ad-Din as the leading figure in Bengal among the Chishtiyya. The chief point of this excerpt is to illustrate the teachings of the shaykh with reference to his letters, paralleling similar summaries of Chishti principles found in the accounts of Mu'in ad-Din and Hamid ad-Din Suwali. It is also crucial to recall the importance of his connection to the court through his elder brother A'zam Khan. The Chishti masters identified themselves with the expanding Muslim polity as a counterweight to sultans, in particular the Ilyas Shahi dynasts (1342–1415, 1433–1486).*[33] *Seen from the perspective of the Chishti masters, their urban location was not meant for the exercise of backdoor political and public influence, but rather to resist the effort to accord undue power and authority to earthly instruments—whether political or military, social or economic. The first five Chishti masters were uniformly urban in their orientation, but always on the margin of power, not at its center. For the Bengali master Nur Qutb-i 'Alam, the brief reference to his elder brother's view of the spiritual life is as intriguing as it is elusive. For the elder brother, immersed in life at the court, anything less than the advancement of the political goals of the Ilyas Shahi dynasts was a waste of time and talent! To be a Sufi, and to ignore the benefit of seeking other employment, was a waste!*

Shaykh Nur al-Haqq wad-Din is known by the title Nur Qutb-i 'Alam (the Light, the Axis of the World). He was the son and disciple and successor of 'Ala' al-Haqq and is one of India's best- known saints. He was a master of love, taste, and miracles. He performed all the duties required for the *faqirs* of his father's *khanqah,* from laundering clothes to heating water. His first duty was to clean the latrine. It happened that one of the dervishes was suffering from a stomach upset, and came unexpectedly into the latrine. Shaykh Nur, who was cleaning the gutter on schedule, got his clothes and

body completely soiled with the effluent. Shaykh 'Ala' al-Haqq happened to pass by, and on seeing Nur ad-Din in this condition, he was quite pleased. "Truly you have done this job well," he exclaimed. "Now take another assignment." And he appointed him to still another rigorous duty.

We are told that Shaykh Nur for eight years carried wood; one time A'zam Khan, his elder brother who was a minister at the court, saw him doing this menial work. "You have wasted all your talents," he said.

One day Shaykh 'Ala' al-Haqq said, "In that place where the women go to fetch water the ground is very slippery and people are losing their footing and breaking their pots. Go fetch the water and bring it up to them." For four years he did this task. At the times of festivals he would carry water; many of his former fellow students would also carry jugs on their heads, and the people of Bengal found this very amusing.

Shaykh Nur ad-Din once said: "The shaykhs of old had set 99 stages for the completion of the spiritual quest (this corresponded to the number of the names of God). The shaykhs of our *silsila* have fixed on 15 stages, of which this *faqir* has selected 3. First: Taking account of yourself before God demands an account from you. Second: Whoever thinks he has been righteous for even a day has deceived himself. Third: The true worship of the *faqir* is to repel thoughts of other than God. Whoever acts according to these three principles—God willing—he will complete the work of the traveler."

One day the Shaykh had been busy in contemplation when a tumult overcame him. He left the *khanqah* and went out to a certain place where he sat down under a tree. In the midst of his agitation, a voice came to him: "Leave off hypocrisy. Be a lover! Be mad!"

They also report that one day the Sheikh left the *khanqah* and went riding in a palanquin. The following refrain continually came to his lips:

"Every evening I am grieving . . ."

And tears flowed from his eyes. At last he stopped to see an elderly widow who was a relative of his. She asked him questions about the Way. At once he stopped weeping and said, "If God is favorable to me on the Day of Judgment, it will be on account of this old woman."

It is also reported that one day he had decided to go riding and many people followed him. He began to convulse with weeping; tears flowed in torrents from his eyes. He said, "God almighty has led so many people to be captivated by me. Some of them prostrate themselves before me, some of them grab and kiss my feet. (May it not be) that tomorrow at the resurrection that they will trample on my head."

The Shaykh also used to say, "Perfection of discipline is that every time one searches the heart, he finds it to be connected with God, whether in sleep or in wakefulness, in the same way that a child, when it goes to sleep in love of something, when he wakes, he searches for that same thing."

Also, of Shaykh Husam ad-Din Manikpuri he said, "At the time that the Shaykh bid farewell to me, he said, 'In generosity be like the sun, in humility like the water, and in patience like the earth, and bear the oppression of the people.'" He also reported, "My Shaykh never wore wool except in the coldest part of winter, and he did not sit on a carpet. He used to say, 'Truly to "sit on the carpet" is this: whoever (sits on the carpet) looks neither to the right or the left.'"

Also, one day a person came before the Shaykh and uttered a string of abusive demands. The Shaykh endured all this without betraying any emotion. Finally the man said: "May God pardon you." The Shaykh clasped his hand and replied: "We are already with God and God is with us."

They then went to sit in the *jama'at khana,* and the man said, "This ground is unclean." When the Shaykh directed the servant to bring the food, the man said, "This is the flesh of the pig. We don't eat it." The Shaykh called for some money. The man took it, then left. "Oh friends," exclaimed the Shaykh after the man had departed, "have you seen what madness this dervish has done?!"

Another time someone who had been on a pilgrimage to the Ka'ba arrived to ask the Shaykh: "Respected sir," he said, "don't you remember I met you at the Gate of Peace (Mecca)?" The Shaykh replied, "My friend, I have never left this house. There are so many people who resemble each other." "No, sir," the man insisted, "it is you whom I saw." The Shaykh made him a present of something and bidding him farewell, he asked him not to repeat his tale.

It is also reported that someone once asked the Shaykh, "Why do the shaykhs customarily shake hands after the *salaam* at the end of the obligatory prayer? Tell me, what is the inner meaning of this practice?" The Shaykh replied, "It is traditional that when a traveler returns from a journey he shakes hands with his friends. Now when the dervish stands up in prayer he becomes so immersed in God that he leaves himself to go on an inward journey. When he says the *salaam,* it is because he has come back to himself, and hence must shake hands with his friends."

Shaykh Nur Qutb-i 'Alam also wrote a collection of letters that are extremely sweet and eloquent, in the idiom of people who are sensitive to the love of God. The following are selections from some of the letters:

From the letter of Nur ad-Din to Najm: This helpless sad light of the poor has wasted his life, and has not achieved his purpose. In the desert of bewilderment and on the plain of grief, I have wandered in confusion.

Every night I grieve that the morning does not bring a fragrant breeze. If the morning does not dawn favorably on me, why should I blame the morning breeze?

My life has passed eighty, and I have sought peace of mind for sixty years, but from the evil of the lower self I have not been free for one hour. Except wind in the hand, fire in the liver, water in the eyes, and dust on the head (bad luck, lust, regret, and humiliation) nothing has remained. I have not succeeded in grasping anything except regret and shame, and wherever I turned there was naught but pain and sighing.

Bear the pain, brother, bear the pain.
The heart of the man of God must be full of pain;
From affliction, his forehead must be covered with dust.

However much I belabored myself from head to foot, I have not attained my purpose. I asked that my work might bear fruit—it did not. And that the Friend God from his tyranny might repent—he did not. I asked that for a time he might be favorable to me—he was not. That fickle fortune should be my servant—it was not.

The world is a place of deceit, the soul is tired and God is very jealous. When the goal remains distant, my heart, who can find the secret? God revealed this to David: "Tell the sinners that I am merciful, and tell the righteous that I am jealous."

> The way is not safe, the goal is distant. Your mount is lame, and the Friend is jealous. The jealousy of God has decreed that you may not permit anyone other than Him in the middle. Everyone who becomes involved with other than Him, He melts.
>
> Everyone with whom you are friendly, by Him you will be burnt. Consider what friendship is—it is a page of fire.
>
> Brotherly soul, for years I have been disciplining the lower self with many forms of chastisement, but I have not been safe from its wickedness for even one hour—it has not let me rest for a moment.
>
> I have tried to turn this black cloak into white silver, but this black cloak has not been removed from me. I have washed it over and over with many soaps. The trouble was, I did not wear a shirt of prayer.

And elsewhere in his letters, he has written:

> For a dervish, contentment is discontent. The devotion of a dervish to anything but God is a distraction; to be occupied with other than God is captivity. Obedience without inner immersion is futility. Adorning the external appearance is worthlessness. From God the cry comes down, chiding us: "My servant, make clean the face of your virtues. What use is it to clean your external face?" By my life, the external cleansing is leaving of ritual impurities; but what is required is inner cleansing.
>
> The Shaykhs say that everyone into whose hearts comes a thought of the world must wash this away as though it were a ritual impurity. Don't give your heart to a mere thing, and don't sign it away to anyone; for they have put the seal of unfaithfulness on the forehead of every created thing.

His grave is in the city of Pandua and he died in the year 813 A.H.

### *Shaykh Kamal ad-Din 'Allama*

*[*Akhbar al-akhyar *does not even mention Shaykh Kamal ad-Din, nor was he featured in early Chishti hagiographies. Yet we do find his biography in a sixteenth-century work, Majalis-i Hasaniyya, written by one of his descendants, Hasan Muhammad Chishti, which in turn is quoted in the supplement to Mir Khwurd's Lives of the Saints* (Takmila-i Siyar al-Awliya') *written by Gul Muhammad Ahmadpuri early in the nineteenth century. He is lauded by both Shaykh Nizam ad-Din and Shaykh Nasir ad-Din and is described as receiving full successorship from both senior Chishti saints. He was subsequently praised both by the premier Chishti of the Deccan, Gisu Daraz, and by the sultan of Delhi. Although this Gujarat-based lineage was not well known outside western India for several centuries, the later emergence of masters such as Kalim Allah Jahanabadi in this branch of the order ensured that the relatively obscure earlier figures would still be remembered.]*

Shaykh Kamal al-Haqq wad-Din 'Allama (God be pleased with him) benefited externally and internally from his true uncle, the pole of poles, the imperishable wisdom, the beloved of the infinite holy one, the heir of the messenger of the Lord of the worlds, the revered Nasir ad-Din Awadhi Chiragh-i Dihlavi (God most high be pleased with him). It is related in the *Majalis-i Hasaniyya,* written by the revered master of masters, the perfect manifestation of the eternal God, the revered master Muhammad ibn Hazrat Shaykh Hasan Muhammad (God most high be pleased with

them both), that Shaykh Kamal ad-Din obtained succession both from the revered emperor of the masters, Shaykh Nizam ad-Din Muhammad Bada'oni (God be pleased with him) and from the revered Shaykh Nasir al-Haqq wad-Din.

By the blessing of their glance, up to (the time of) Shaykh Yahya Madani, the succession to authority [*sajjadagi-i mashyakhat*] was restricted to the descendants of the revered Shaykh Kamal ad-Din (God be pleased with him). Up to our day, it is current with his successors, and it shall remain established until the day of resurrection.

It is related in the *Majalis-i Hasaniyya* that the revered Chiragh-i Dihlavi praised the revered Shaykh Kamal ad-Din greatly. Whenever the gaze of Chiragh-i Dihlavi fell on Shaykh Kamal ad-Din walking by, he would just stand there. The Sayyid of Sayyids, Banda Nawaz, Sayyid Muhammad Gisu Daraz, related many wonders of Shaykh Kamal ad-Din in his writings. In his time, he was the model of the age. Abul Muzaffar Sultan Firuz Shah (may God illuminate his proof), his nobles, and his ministers, paid considerable attention to the revered Shaykh Kamal ad-Din.

It is related in the *Majalis-i Hasaniyya* that when the revered Shaykh Kamal ad-Din was overcome with longing to make pilgrimage to the house of the Ka'ba and the pure shrine of the Messenger (prayer and peace be upon him), he went into the presence of the emperor of the masters, Shaykh Nizam al-Haqq wad-Din (God sanctify his secret), and asked permission to undertake pilgrimage to the house of the Ka'ba. The revered Shaykh Nizam ad-Din bade him farewell, and clothing him with the robe he wore, he put him in his own place and gave him a succession document. Shaykh Kamal ad-Din put his head at the feet of the emperor of the masters and then left. By the blessed glance of Shaykh Nizam ad-Din, he went on pilgrimage to the house of the Ka'ba, and performed seven *hajj* pilgrimages, the pilgrimage to the revered Prophet (prayer and peace be upon him), and the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He returned to Khurasan, and sultans came from diverse regions and kingdoms to speak with Shaykh Kamal ad-Din, praising him and bringing many gifts.

When he reached Delhi, he brought with him 13,000 *tankas* of gold, silver, and other property. When Shaykh Nasir ad-Din Mahmud saw 13 camels laden with money and other property, he said, "Shaykh Kamal ad-Din! How did you collect so much of the world?" Shaykh Kamal ad-Din said, "I heard on the road that the emperor of the masters, Nizam ad-Din, had departed, and Shaykh Nasir ad-Din sits on the prayer carpet. Although I will travel penniless, my sons will call me a man of parts. I have brought the property of this external condition of mine for this reason, that now I will spend this on behalf of the scholars and pious ones, though I will remain detached." So he did. He rubbed each *tanka* coin with ink and gave each one to the scholars tied in a knot. He said, "It is black; accept it." By this means he gave most of the wealth to scholars, pious people, and the poor, remaining himself detached.

Then Tatar Khan wrote out and brought a rescript for a daily prayer ration of 80 *tankas.* Shaykh Kamal ad-Din brought it to Shaykh Nasir ad-Din and said, "What do you suggest?" The master said, "Since the prayer ration came without any request or tale on your part, it is in the category of voluntary gifts; accept it." Shaykh Kamal ad-Din accepted the prayer ration. By the blessed glance of Shaykh Nizam ad-Din and Shaykh Nasir ad-Din, Shaykh Kamal ad-Din belonged to the congregation of the ascetics, devotees, and exemplars of the time. Praise be to God.

# Notes

## Introduction

1. All dates in this book are given according to the Gregorian calendar or Common Era (C.E.) unless otherwise noted; occasionally we employ the Muslim lunar *hijri* calendar, which begins at 622 C.E.
2. Simon Digby, "The *Tuhfa-i Nasa'ih* of Yusuf Gada," in Barbara Metcalf, ed., *Moral Conduct and Authority* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), p. 119, with some omissions and minor corrections.
3. Richard M. Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur, 1300–1700: Social Roles of Sufis in Medieval India* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 227–35.
4. K. A. Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India in the Thirteenth Century,* IAD Religio-Philosophical Series, vol. 2 (2nd ed., Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1978), pp. 199–200.
5. Muhammad Umar, *Islam in North India during the 18th Century* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1993), p. 382.
6. Nizam ad-Din Awliya', *Morals for the Heart,* recorded by Amir Hasan Sijzi, trans. Bruce B. Lawrence, Classics of Western Spirituality, 74 (New York: Paulist Press, 1992), p. 121.
7. Carl W. Ernst, *Eternal Garden: Mysticism, History, and Politics at a South Asian Sufi Center,* SUNY Series in Muslim Spirituality in South Asia (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), p. 154.
8. Note the commentary on this martyrdom to ecstatic love, as seen by a twentieth-century reformer Sufi, Ashraf 'Ali Thanvi, described in chapter 6. Thanvi defends the Chishti masters in general, and Shaykh Qutb ad-Din in particular, from any charge of laxity in complying with Islamic ritual practices.
9. Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani, as quoted in *Lata'if-i ashrafi,* comp. Nizam Gharib Yamani (2 vols.; Delhi: Nusrat al-Matabi', 1295/1878), I: 346–47, on the Chishtis.
10. See chapter 4 below, where the full details of his life as a minor Chishti master of the first cycle are provided.
11. Riazul Islam, "Ideas on *Kash* in South Asian Sufism," in *Indian Historical Review* 17 (1991), pp. 90–121 (citing p. 114).
12. *Morals for the Heart,* pp. 185–86.
13. Wahid Bakhsh Sial Rabbani, *Islamic Sufism: The Science of Flight in God, with God, by God and Union and Communion with God, Also Showing the Tremendous Sufi Influence on Christian and Hindu Mystics and Mysticism* (Lahore: Sufi Foundation, 1984), p. 3.

## CHAPTER 1

1. J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), pp. 2, 70–71. Surprisingly, this study has recently been reprinted (Oxford University Press, 1998) in unaltered form, with a new preface by John Voll that lauds the book as still providing the standard account of Sufi orders. It is our contention that the main historiographical thesis of the book needs to be rejected.
2. Gustave E. von Grunebaum and Willy Hartner, eds., *Klassizismus und Kulturverfall* (Frankfurt: V. Klostermann, 1969).
3. Isma'il R. al-Faruqi and Lois Lamya' al Faruqi, *The Cultural Atlas of Islam* (New York: Macmillan, 1986), pp. 303–34.
4. Trimingham explicitly states that "the decline in the orders is symptomatic of the failure of Muslims to adapt their traditional interpretation of Islam for life in a new dimension" (pp. 256–57), i.e., the failure of Muslims to become totally Westernized. One of the most powerful critiques of the simplistic notion of the "decline" of Islamic civilization was provided by Marshall Hodgson in *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), vol. 3, *The Gunpowder Empires and Modern Times,* esp. pp. 165–248.
5. Yohanan Friedman, *Prophecy Continuous: Aspects of Ahmadi Religious Thought and Its Medieval Background* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 94–101.
6. Gul Muhammad Ahmadpuri, *Takmila-i siyar al-awliya'* (MS K.A. Nizami), fols. 43b–44a.
7. Ibid., fols. 19a (Kamal al-Din 'Allama, d. 1355), 24a ('Alam ibn Siraj, d. 1406), 42a (Hasan Muhammad, d. 1575). The phrase used is *ihya'-i sunnat.*
8. Peter Berger, *The Heretical Imperative* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1979), suggests that Feuerbach's anthropological argument on God's nonexistence can be reversed, relativizing the relativizers; the only reason we can conceptualize God is because he first conceptualized us. This "modern" argument had already been anticipated by medieval scholars, including the subjects of this monograph.
9. Nizam al-Din Awliya', *Fawa'id al-fu'ad,* comp. Hasan 'Ala Sijzi, ed. Muhammad Latif Malik (Lahore: Malik Siraj al-Din and Sons, 1386/1966), p. 370.
10. See Simon Digby, "To Ride a Tiger or a Wall? Strategies of Prestige in Indian Sufi Legend," in W. N. Callewaert and Rupert Snell, *According to Tradition: Hagiographical Writing in India* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1994), p. 118, n. 41. Digby details how the attribution of this verse to Ahmad-i Jam remains problematic but still possible, and for the purposes of most Chishti adepts, it is the force of the couplet rather than its composition that remains central to their own recollection of the death of Shaykh Qutb ad-Din; see the account of *Akhbar al-akhyar,* below, Appendix.
11. Wahid Bakhsh Sial Rabbani, *Islamic Sufism: The Science of Flight in God, with God, by God and Union and Communion with God, Also Showing the Tremendous Sufi Influence on Christian and Hindu Mystics and Mysticism* (Lahore: Sufi Foundation, 1984), p. 274.
12. See the discussion of *Ma'rifat al-suluk* by Richard Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur, 1300–1700: Social Roles of Sufis in Medieval India* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978), p. 147.
13. Hodgson, *Venture of Islam,* vol. 2, p. 252.
14. Carl W. Ernst, *Eternal Garden: Mysticism, History, and Politics at a South Asian Sufi Center,* SUNY Series in Muslim Spirituality in South Asia (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), p. 124.
15. Ibid., p. 127.
16. See *Signs of the Unseen: The Discourses of Jalaluddin Rumi,* trans. Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr. (Boston: Shambhala, 1999), no. 25, p. 109.

17. Fatemeh Keshavarz, *Reading Mystical Poetry: The Case of Jalal al-Din Rumi* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998).
18. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam,* vol. 2, p. 218.
19. Mutiul Imam, "Abu Eshaq Šami," *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Press, 1989-), I:280; id., "Abdal Češti, Abu Ahmad," *Encyclopaedia Iranica,* I:175.
20. Burhan ad-Din Gharib, *Ahsan al-aqwal,* comp. Hammad ad-Din Kashani (Khuldabad ms.), pp. 82–83.
21. For a detailed analysis of this highly diverse nonconformist movement, see Ahmed T. Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends: Dervish Groups in the Islamic Later Middle Period, 1200–1550* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994).
22. K. A. Nizami, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh-i Dehli* (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1991), pp. 63–64.
23. See Bruce B. Lawrence, *Notes from a Distant Flute* (Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1978), pp. 79–82, for a review of the skepticism about his Chishti affiliations, and also the translation of an excerpt from the famed *Masnavi* attributed to him. It compares *dunya* to a deceitful hag, and also invokes the still more famous verse from Maulana Rumi:

    If your desire is both for God and the mundane,
    This is illusory, impossible, insane.

24. Bruce B. Lawrence, "'Abd al-Qoddus Gangohi," *Encyclopaedia Iranica,* I:1388–40; id., "Ahmad Rodowlavi," *Encyclopaedia Iranica,* I:653–4.
25. For an elaboration of these differences, see *Eternal Garden,* pp. 118–23.
26. *Ahsan al-aqwal,* pp. 46–47.
27. Rukn ad-Din ibn 'Imad al-Din Dabir Kashani Khuldabadi, *Sham'il al-atqiya',* ed. Sayyid 'Ata' Husayn, Silsila-i Isha'at al-'Ulum, no. 85 (Hyderabad: Matbu'a Ashraf Press, 1347/1928–9), pp. 48–49.

## CHAPTER 2

1. See Carl W. Ernst, *The Shambhala Guide to Sufism* (Boston: Shambhala Publications, 1997), esp. chapter 4, for a discussion of Sufi practices associated with the names of God.
2. Ibn 'Ata Allah al-Iskandari, *The Key to Salvation: A Sufi Manual of Invocation,* trans. Mary Ann Koury-Danner (Portland: International Specialized Book Services, 1996).
3. K. A. Nizami, "Či*sh*tiyya," *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new ed., Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960–), 2:55.
4. Kalim Allah Jahanabadi, *Maktubat-i Kalimi* (Delhi: Matba'-i Mujtaba'i, 1315/1897), p. 57; cf. also pp. 11, 19, 47, 77–8, 80.
5. K. A. Nizami, "Ahmadpuri, Gol Mohammad," EIr, I:666.
6. Ahmadpuri, *Takmila,* fols. 24a, 45a, 76a. The Naqshbandi lineage goes via Khwaja Kalan, a son of Muhammad Baqi Billah, thus bypassing Ahmad Sirhindi.
7. The thesis of political rivalry between Chishtis and Naqshbandis is maintained by S. A. A. Rizvi, *Shah Wali Allah and His Times: A Study of Eighteenth Century Islam, Politics, and Society in India* (Canberra: Ma'rifat Publishing, 1980), esp. pp. 360, 372.
8. Nizam al-Din Awrangabadi, *Nizam al-qulub* (Delhi: Matba'-i Mujtaba'i, 1309/1891–2), p. 2.
9. *Nizam al-qulub,* p. 7.
10. Ibid., p. 7.
11. Ibid., pp. 7–8.

12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., pp. 8–9.
14. Ibid., p. 12.
15. Ibid., p. 24.
16. Ibid., p. 30.
17. Ibid., p. 35.
18. Ibid., p. 22.
19. Ibid., p. 25.
20. Ibid., p. 9.
21. Ibid., p. 10.
22. Ibid., p. 10.
23. Ibid., p. 11.
24. Ibid., pp. 13–14.
25. Ibid., pp. 46–50.
26. A *zikr* from Ibn 'Arabi is quoted in ibid., p. 24 (cf. also p. 37), and one from Rumi is given on p. 50.
27. Ibid., pp. 6–7.
28. Ibid., p. 19.
29. Ibid., p. 22.
30. Ibid., p. 30. Cf. p. 32, where a longer version is linked with the lotus position, the chief of the 84 yogic postures.
31. For a detailed study of yoga and Sufism, see Carl W. Ernst, *The Pool of Nectar: Muslim Interpreters of Yoga* (forthcoming).
32. Shah Wali Allah, *Intibah fi salasil awliya' Allah,* Persian text ed. with Urdu trans. Muhammad Ishaq Siddiqi (Deoband: Kutub Khana Rahimiyya, n.d.), p. 10.
33. Another example of this kind of collection is *The Clear Fountain on the Forty Paths,* written by the North African scholar Muhammad al-Sanusi al-Idrisi (d. 1859); as its name implies, it contains examples of *zikr* practices from 40 different Sufi orders from many Muslim countries. See *Guide,* pp. 110, 123, 205, and figure 7.1.
34. *Intibah,* p. 10.
35. *Intibah,* p. 40.
36. *Nizam al-qulub,* pp. 33–50.
37. *Intibah,* pp. 40–41. It is only in a short passage at the end of the chapter on *muraqaba* that Awrangabadi gives a succinct account of a threefold Naqshbandi method of concentration (described above) that roughly corresponds to practices described by Wali Allah; cf. *Nizam al-qulub,* p. 49, to be compared with *Intibah,* pp. 40–41.
38. *Nizam al-qulub,* pp. 47–48. For the subtle centers (*lata'if*) as bodily focus points for meditation, see Ernst, *Guide,* p. 119. For the debate on existential and testimonial unity (*tawhid-i wujudi, tawhid-i shuhudi*), see Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1978), vol. 1, index.
39. Parallel passages include *Intibah,* p. 96 = *Nizam al-qulub,* p. 3 (twelve-year *zikr*); *Intibah,* p. 91 = *Nizam al-qulub,* p. 4 ('Ali); *Intibah,* p. 92 = *Nizam al-qulub,* p. 14 ('Umar's seated posture); *Intibah,* p. 98 = *Nizam al-qulub,* p. 11 (*zikr* of divine presence); *Intibah,* p. 140 = *Nizam al-qulub,* pp. 11, 25 (Shattari practices). The last example appears to indicate a case of imperfect literary transmission, as Shah Wali Allah inadvertently inserts Chishti practices into the account of the Shattaris.
40. *Nizam al-qulub,* p. 6.
41. Toshihiko Izutzu, "The Basic Structure of Metaphysical Thinking in Islam," in M. Mohaghegh and H. Landolt, eds., *Collected Papers on Islamic Philosophy and Mysticism,* Wisdom of Persia Series, no. 4 (Tehran: Tehran University Press, 1971), pp. 40–72, quoting pp. 69f., 91.

42. 'Ali Hujwiri, *Kashf al-mahjub,* trans. R. A. Nicholson, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, XVII (reprint ed., London: Luzac & Co., 1976), pp. 409–10.
43. Bruce B. Lawrence, "The Early Chishti Approach to Sama'," in *Islamic Society and Culture: Essays in Honour of Professor Aziz Ahmad,* ed. M. Israel and N. K. Wagle (Delhi: Manohar, 1983), p. 72.
44. See Marjan Molé, "La dance extatique en Islam," *Sources Orientales* 6 (1963), pp. 147–228. Molé's analysis offers thematic continuity but not a holistic perspective. He alludes, for instance, to the importance of *Adab al-muridin,* a Sufi manual written by Abu Najib Suhrawardi; *'Awarif al-ma'arif,* a similar manual by Abu Najib's nephew, Abu Hafs 'Umar Suhrawardi; and *Misbah al-hidaya,* a summary Persian translation of *'Awarif* by 'Izz ad-Din Mahmud Kashani (Molé, p. 184); yet he gives no quotations for these sources, nor does he compare their contents with those of the works he does cite.
45. Most literary evidence for the role of *sama'* in disseminating Sufi beliefs through the Asian subcontinent derives from the Mughal period and later. See Richard M. Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur 1300–1700: Social Roles of Sufis in Medieval India* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 117–27 and 157–64.
46. Ahmad Ghazali, *Bawariq al-ilma',* trans. J. Robson, *Tracts on Listening to Music,* Oriental Translation Fund, N. Series XXXIV (London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1938), pp. 63–184, citing pp. 97–98.
47. Fakhr ad-Din Zarradi, *Risalat usul as-sama'* (Jhajjar: Matba'-i Ahmad, 1311/1894), pp. 8–10. The reference is to *ikhtiyar al-mazhab al-mu'ayyan,* i.e., opting for the fixed or rote doctrine, which Zarradi interprets as an approach disparaged by Muhammad, even though it was subsequently enthroned by traditionists and legalists, the Sufis alone having adhered to the spirit of the Prophetic mandate.
48. Zarradi, pp. 52–53.
49. Quoting Hamid ad-Din Nagauri, *Surur as-sudur* (Persian ms., Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University), fols. 33–37, in preference to the translation by Ihsan al-Haqq Faruqi in *Sultan at-tarikin* (Karachi: Da'ira-i Mu'in al-ma'arif, 1963), pp. 261–80, because the former text seems to be the more plausible of the two.
50. Hujwiri, pp. 398.
51. Ibid., p. 402.
52. Ibid., p. 415–16
53. Ibid., p. 171.
54. Ibid., p. 420.
55. Abu al-Qasim Qushayri, *Risalat fi 'ilm at-tasawwuf* (Beirut: Dar al-Kitab al-'Arabiya, n.d.), p. 154.
56. Abu Nasr Sarraj, *Kitab al-luma' fi't-tasawwuf,* ed. R. A. Nicholson, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, XXII (Leiden: E. J. Brill, and London: Luzac & Co., 1914), p. 288.
57. Important translations of both works have appeared. See Abu Najib Suhrawardi, *A Sufi Rule for Novices: Kitab Adab al-Muridin,* trans. M. Milson, Harvard Middle Eastern Studies 17 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), and 'Abd al-Qadir (Abu Hafs) Suhrawardi, *'Awarif al-ma'arif* (Beirut: Dar al-Kitab al-'Arabiya, 1966), trans. R. Gramlich, *Die Gaben der Erkenntnisse,* Freiburger Islam-Studien 6 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1978).
58. Suhrawardi, *A Sufi Rule for Novices,* pp. 63–64.
59. Suhrawardi, *'Awarif,* pp. 184–88.
60. Suhrawardi, *'Awarif,* pp. 196–97.
61. Mu'izz ad-Din Kashani, *Misbah al-hidaya wa miftah al-kifaya,* ed. Jalal Huma'i (Tehran: Kitab Khana-i Sana', n.d.), p. 135.
62. Kashani, p. 197.

63. Qushayri, pp. 157–8.
64. Qushayri, p. 34.
65. Mas'ud Bakk, *Mir'at al-'arifin* (Hyderabad: Mufid-i Dakan, 1310/1891), pp. 161–63.
66. The pattern of citation is consistent without being either redundant or imitative: Bakk, p. 164/Qushayri, p. 155; Bakk, p. 166/Qushayri, pp. 15458; Bakk, p. 168/Qushayri, p. 154; Bakk, p. 169/Qushayri, p. 34. The last two citations are especially significant since they reflect the innovative reinterpretation of *tawajud* advanced by the Chishti theorists on *sama'*.
67. Bakk, p. 167.
68. Bakk, p. 168; Qushayri, p. 154.
69. Bakk, p. 169; Qushayri, p. 34.
70. Bakk, p. 169.
71. *Lata'if-i ashrafi,* comp. Nizam Gharib Yamani (2 vols.; Delhi: Nusrat al-Matabi', 1295/1878), I: 45–69.
10. See chapter 4 below, where the full details of his life as a minor Chishti master of the first cycle are provided.
72. *Lata'if-i Ashrafi,* pp. 45–6; also Jamal ad-Din Hansawi, *Mulhamat* (Alwar: Matba'-i Yusuf, 1306/1888), pp. 8–10.
73. *Lata'if-i Ashrafi,* pp. 50–53.
74. Muhammad Ghazali, *Ihya 'ulum ad-Din* (section on music), trans. J. B. Macdonald, "Emotional Religion in Islam as Affected by Music and Singing," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1901), pp. 132–48.
75. *Lata'if-i Ashrafi,* pp. 53–69.
76. Carl W. Ernst, *Eternal Garden: Mysticism, History, and Politics at a South Asian Sufi Center,* SUNY Series in Muslim Spirituality in South Asia (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), pp. 147–154.
77. See Bruce B. Lawrence, *Notes from a Distant Flute* (Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1978), but a continuation of the equivocal posture of Hujwiri and Qushayri vis-à-vis *sama'* may be found in Sharafuddin Maneri, *The Hundred Letters,* trans. Paul Jackson (New York: Paulist Press, 1980), pp. 382–93.
78. Mushtaq Ilahi Faruqi, *Naghmat-i sama'* (Karachi: Educational Press, 1392/1972), pp. 249–51, trans. Carl W. Ernst, *Teachings of Sufism* (Boston: Shambhala Publications, 1999), pp. 112–15.

## CHAPTER 3

1. The Persian word *tazkira* is used for any anthology with a biographical organization; we use it here for biographies of Sufi saints, though the term can cover literary and other anthologies. See Marcia K. Hermansen and Bruce B. Lawrence, "Indo-Persian Tazkiras as Memorative Communications," in David Gilmartin and Bruce B. Lawrence, eds., *Beyond Turk and Hindu: Rethinking Religious Identities in Islamicate South Asia* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), pp. 149–75.
2. Steven Lukes, "Relativism in Its Place," in Martin Hollis and Steven Lukes, eds., *Rationality and Relativism* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982), p. 297.
3. Adapted from Hamid Dabashi, *Authority in Islam* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction, 1989), p. 19.
4. Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft,* trans. Peter Putnam (New York: Knopf, 1953), pp. 32–35.
5. Examples of this obsession with beginnings include R. C. Zaehner, *Hindu and Muslim Mysticism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), and Julian Baldick, *Mystical Islam* (New York: New York University Press, 1989).

6. P. M. Currie, *The Shrine and Cult of Mu'in al-Din Chishti of Ajmer,* Oxford University South Asian Studies Series (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989).
7. S. A. A. Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India* (2 vols., New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1978–1983).
8. Dominick LaCapra, *Rethinking Intellectual History: Texts, Contexts, Language* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), p. 31.
9. Wadad al-Qadi, "Biographical Dictionaries: Inner Structure and Cultural Significance," in *The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East,* ed. George N. Atiyeh (Albany: State University of New York Press/Library of Congress, 1995), p. 111.
10. For fuller details on *Akhbar al-akhyar,* see the article by Bruce Lawrence in *Encyclopaedia Iranica,* I:711–12.
11. Bruce Lawrence has explored these paradoxes in "The Chishtiyya of Sultanate India: A Case Study of Biographical Complexities in South Asian Islam," in Michael A. Williams, ed. *Charisma and Sacred Biography* (Chico, Cal.: Scholars Press, 1982), pp. 47–67.
12. C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey* (London: Luzac & Co., 1953–1972), I:993.
13. Perwaiz Hayat, "The Concept of Wilaya in the Early Works of Dara Shukoh (1024/1615–1069/1659)," M.A. thesis submitted to McGill University, May 1987, p. 63.
14. Simon Digby, "To Ride a Tiger or a Wall? Strategies of Prestige in Indian Sufi Legend," in W. N. Callewaert and Rupert Snell, *According to Tradition: Hagiographical Writing in India* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1994), pp. 111–16.
15. Martin van Bruinessen, "Haji Bektash, Sultan Sahak, Shah Mina Sahib and Various Avatars of a Running Wall," *Turcica: Revue d'Études Turcs* 21–23 (1991), pp. 55–69. See also Digby, "Tiger," passim.
16. 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawi, *Akhbar al-akhyar fi asrar al-abrar* (Delhi: Muhammadi Press, 1283/1866), p. 140.
17. These verses by Sayf ad-Din Bakharzi are quoted approvingly by Nizam ad-Din Awliya'; cf. *Morals for the Heart,* pp. 13–14, 180. This translation is by Christopher Shackle.
18. Muhammad Irtida' 'Ali Khan Gopamawi, *Fawa'id-i Sa'diyya* (2nd ed., Lucknow: Nawal Kishor, 1319/1901), pp. 8–13; this text, originally composed in 1826, is also available in an 1885 edition listed by Storey, I:1038–9. We thank Frederick Colby for this translation, included here with some modifications. For more background on this text, see Claudia Liebeskind, *Piety on its Knees: Three Sufi Traditions in South Asia in Modern Times* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 124–76.
19. Storey, I:983
20. *Akhbar al-akhyar,* p. 193; Rizvi, I:273.
21. For details, see *Manaqib-i hafiziyya,* quoted in K. A. Nizami, *Tarikh-i Mashayikh-i Chisht* (2nd ed., Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyyat-i Delli, 1980–5), V:384–85, and Rizvi, II:314–15.
22. See Carl W. Ernst, *Words of Ecstasy in Sufism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985), p. 124.
23. Ashraf Jahangir Simnani, *Maktubat-i Ashrafi* (MS 166 Farsi, Subhanullah Collection, History Department Library, Aligarh Muslim University), letter no. 55.
24. See Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India in the Thirteenth Century,* IAD Religio-Philosophical Series, 2 (2nd ed., Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli), 1978, p. 174.
25. This point is amplified and documented in Roderic Vassie, "Persian Interpretations of the Bhagavadgita in the Mughal Period, with special reference to the Sufi version of 'Abd al-Rahman Chishti," Ph.D. thesis submitted to SOAS 1988.

26. 'Abd ar-Rahman Chishti, *Mir'at al-asrar,* British Museum copy, f. 302.
27. Carl W. Ernst, *Eternal Garden: Mysticism, History, and Politics at a South Asian Sufi Center,* SUNY Series in Muslim Spirituality in South Asia (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), pp. 227–50.
28. J. M. S. Baljon, *Religion and Thought of Shah Wali Allah Dihlavi, 1703–1762* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986), p. 86, citing *Tafhimat-i Ilahiyya,* I, 86.
29. S. A. A. *Rizvi, Shah Wali-allah and His Times* (Canberra: Ma'rifat Publishing House, 1980). See his chapter on the Chishtis, pp. 358–78.
30. See, for instance, Rizvi, II:96, citing *al-Makatib wal-rasa'il,* p. 354.

## CHAPTER 4

1. This anecdote and many other features of the life of Shaykh Farid ad-Din are provided in the Appendix, translated from the foremost biography of medieval Indian saints, *Akhbar al-akhyar.*
2. *Siyar al-awliya',* cited by K. A. Nizami, Introduction to *Morals for the Heart.*
3. Nizam ad-Din Awliya', *Morals for the Heart,* recorded by Amir Hasan Sijzi, trans. Bruce B. Lawrence, Classics of Western Spirituality, 74 (New York: Paulist Press, 1992), pp. 256–57.
4. Chiragh-i Dihli, *Khayr al-majalis,* comp. Hamid Qalandar, ed. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami (Aligarh: Department of History, Muslim University, 1959), pp. 131–32.
5. Richard M. Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier, 1204–1760* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), p. 84.
6. Carl W. Ernst, trans., "The Life of Sayyid Muhammad ibn Ja'far Makki," in *Religions of India in Practice,* ed. Donald S. Lopez, Jr., Princeton Readings in Religions, 1 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995), p. 498.
7. For an instance of this problem, and its uneasy resolution, see Simon Digby, "'Abd al-Quddus Gangohi (1456–1537 A.D.): The Personality and Attitudes of a Medieval Indian Sufi," in K. A. Nizami, ed., *Medieval India—A Miscellany* (Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1975), pp. 34–36.
8. Excerpted from notes by Annemarie Schimmel, "Sufi Biographies," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Society for the Study of Religion, Cincinnati, Ohio, April 27, 1979.
9. Digby, "'Abd al-Quddus," pp. 17–18.
10. *Fawa'id al-fu'ad,* pp. 40–41 and 243–44.
11. *Fawa'id al-fu'ad,* p. 30.
12. Amir Khwurd, *Siyar al-awliya'* (Delhi: Chiranji Lal Jain, 1302/1885), p. 107.
13. *Fawa'id al-fu'ad,* pp. 26–27.
14. *Fawa'id al-fu'ad,* pp. 110–11.
15. *Siyar al-awliya',* p. 128.
16. *Fawa'id al-fu'ad,* p. 142
17. *Fawa'id al-fu'ad,* pp. 245–46
18. *Siyar al-awliya',* pp. 143–44.
19. *Fawa'id al-fu'ad,* p. 33.
20. *Siyar al-awliya',* p. 354; also *Fawa'id al-fu'ad,* p. 117.
21. Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier,* p. 84.
22. *Fawa'id al-fu'ad,* p. 231.
23. *Siyar al-awliya',* pp. 152–53.
24. *Siyar al-awliya',* p. 343.
25. *Siyar al-awliya',* p. 507.
26. Willliam Dalrymple, *City of Djinns: A Year in Delhi* (New York: Henry Holt, 1994).

27. For various sources on Sayyid Ashraf, see Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1978), I:266–70; Lawrence, *Notes from a Distant Flute* (Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1978), pp. 46–47, 53–55; Ansari, "Ashraf Djahangir," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 1:702; *Khazinat al-asfiya',* pp. 360–66 (largely quoting from *Ma'arij al-wilaya*). Also on *Lata'if-i Ashrafi,* see Wladimir Ivanow, *Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1924; reprint ed., 1985), no. 1214 (pp. 577–81). And for a full citation of many works attributed to him see 'Abd al-Hayy ibn Fakhr al-Din al-Hasani, *Nuzhat al-khawatir wa bahjat al-masami' wa al-nawazir* (8 vols., 2nd ed., Hyderabad: Da'irat al-ma'arif al-'Usmaniyya, 1386/1966-), III:32–34.
28. Carl Ernst, "Ruzbihan Baqli on Love as 'Essential Desire,'" in *Gott ist schön und Er liebt die Schönheit/God is Beautiful and He Loves Beauty: Festschrift für Annemarie Schimmel,* ed. Alma Giese and J. Christoph Bürgel (Bern: Peter Lang, 1994), pp. 181–89.
29. *Lata'if-i ashrafi,* comp. Nizam Gharib Yamani (2 vols.; Delhi: Nusrat al-Matabi', 1295/1878), I: 40.
30. *Lata'if-i Ashrafi,* II:322–33, 346–61.
31. Bazmee Ansari, "Ashraf Djahangir Simnani," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 1:702.
32. Rizvi, 1:267.
33. *Lata'if-i Ashrafi, latifa* 14 (I:340–54); see also Simnani, *Maktubat,* no. 55.
34. *Lata'if-i Ashrafi,* I:354.
35. See excerpt from letter in *Akhbar al-akhyar* and also *Khazinat al-asfiya'.*
36. *Lata'if-i Ashrafi,* I:400; *Maktubat,* no. 49, fol. 145a.
37. *Lata'if-i Ashrafi, latifa* no. 55 (II:372–79), citing particularly p. 374.
38. *Khazinat al-asfiya',* p. 365.
39. *Lata'if-i Ashrafi, latifa* no. 20, also *Maktubat,* no. 74 (*sama'*); *Lata'if-i Ashrafi, latifa* no. 16 (*shathiyyat*); ibid., nos. 18, 54 (poetry), no. 10 (the shaykh), no. 17 (pilgrimage), nos. 29–32 (five pillars).
40. Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier,* pp. 53, 85, and 93, espec. 93.
41. Carl Ernst, "Controversy over Ibn 'Arabi's *Fusus:* The Faith of Pharaoh," *Islamic Culture* 59 (1985), pp. 259–66.
42. *Maktubat,* nos. 23, 24, 26, 28.
43. *Lata'if-i Ashrafi,* I:409.
44. *Maktubat,* no. 16.
45. These names include the following (references are mainly to *Lata'if-i Ashrafi,* I:399–412, with some additions): Shaykh Kabir's son and successor, Shaykh Muhammad, Shaykh Shams ad-Din ibn Nizam as-Siddiqi Awadhi (*Maktubat,* nos. 40, 57, 59), Sayyid 'Usman ibn Khizr, Shaykh Kabir al-'Abbasi (*Maktubat,* no. 48, fol. 144a, with special attention to his miracles), Shaykh Sulayman Muhaddith, Shaykh Ma'ruf, Shaykh 'Arif, Qazi Hujjat-i Zikri, Shaykh Jamil ad-Din Sapidabaz (*Maktubat,* no. 66, on genealogies), Shaykh Asil ad-Din Jurrabaz (*Maktubat,* no. 64, on flag and drum), Shaykh Rukn ad-Din, Shaykh Qiyam ad-Din (*Maktubat,* no. 75, on Sufi verses), Shaykh Abu al-Mukaram, Shaykh Safi ad-Din Sayfi Rudauli, Shaykh Sama' ad-Din Rudauli, Shayh Khayr ad-Din Sadhuri, Qazi Muhammad Sadhuri (*Maktubat,* no. 72, legal questions on work), Maulana Ghulam ad-Din Jayisi (*Maktubat,* no. 51, fol. 149a, on Kubrawiyya), Maulana Abu al-Muzaffar Lakhnawi, Qazi Abu Muhammad 'urf-i Mu'in Muhayn Sadhuri, Shaykh Kamal Jayisi, Sayyid 'Abd al-Wahhab, Shaykh Raja, Jamshid Beg, and a meeting with Timur (*Lata'if-i Ashrafi,* I:409), Qazi Shihab ad-Din Dawlatabadi, Shaykh Da'ud, Shaykh Taj ad-Din, Shaykh Nur ad-Din, Shaykh al-Islam of Ahmadabad, Shaykh Mubarak Gujarati, Shaykh Mahmud Kanturi, Shaykh Sa'd Allah Kanturi (*Maktubat,* no. 55, on 14 *silsilas* and Shah Madar), Shaykh 'Abd Allah Banarsi.

46. See Annemarie Schimmel, *Mirror of an Eastern Moon* (London: East-West Publications, 1978), pp. 42, 62, for her poetic reflections on this shrine.
47. Shah Sayyid Muhammad Zauqi, *Tarbiyat al-'ushshaq,* comp. Wahid Bakhsh Siyal (Karachi, 1377/1958; reprint ed., Karachi: Mahfil-i Zauqiyya, 1393/1974), where the biography is found on pp. 429–503 of this voluminous (827 pp.) work; the summary given below is drawn from this biography.
48. Wahid Bakhsh Sial, *Hajj-i Zauqi* (2nd ed., Karachi: Mahfil-i Zauqiyya, 1993), pp. 95–96.
49. *Tarbiyat al-'ushshaq,* pp. 76–78 (introduction).

## CHAPTER 5

1. See Serge Beaureceuil, *Sar-guzhasht-i pir-i-Herat Khwaja 'Abd Allah Ansari Harawi,* Persian trans. from French by Ravan Farhadi (n.p. [Kabul]: Bayhaqi Kitab, 1355), with two unpaginated photos of Chisht.
2. Carl W. Ernst, *Eternal Garden: Mysticism, History, and Politics at a South Asian Sufi Center,* SUNY Series in Muslim Spirituality in South Asia (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), pp. 137–78.
3. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, "Die Çufiten in Süd-Arabien im XI. (XVII) Jahrhundert," *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft des Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse* 30, no. 1 (1883), pp. 136–37 (here Chishti is misspelled "Jashti"); *Nuzhat al-khawatir,* V:99–103.
4. Sultan Firuz Shah, *Futuhat-i Firuz Shahi,* ed. Shaikh Abdur Rashid (Aligarh: Department of History, Muslim University, 1954), pp. 8–9, 14; translated in Sir H. M. Elliot, *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians,* ed. John Dowson (8 vols.; Allahabad: Kitab Mahal, n.d.), III:380.
5. For examples, see Carl W. Ernst, *Teachings of Sufism* (Boston: Shambhala Publications, 1999), pp. 185–88; *Eternal Garden,* pp. 128, 144; Bruce B. Lawrence, "Honoring Women through Sexual Abstinence: Lessons from the Spiritual Practice of a Pre-Modern South Asian Sufi Master, Shaykh Nizam ad-din Awliya," in *Festschrift for Annemarie Schimmel,* ed. Maria Subtelny, *Journal of Turkish Studies* 18 (1994), pp. 149–61.
6. S. L. H. Moini, "Rituals and Customary Practices at the Dargah of Ajmer," in Christian W. Troll, ed., *Muslim Shrines in India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 60–75.
7. Simon Digby, "*Tabarrukat* and Succession among the Great Chishti Shaykhs," in *Delhi Through the Ages: Essays in Urban History, Culture and Society,* ed. R. E. Frykenberg (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 96.
8. P. M. Currie, *The Shrine and Cult of Mu'in al-Din Chishti of Ajmer,* Oxford University South Asian Studies Series (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 164–65.
9. Annemarie Schimmel, *Islam in India and Pakistan,* Iconography of Religions, XXII/9 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1982), plate no. XX.
10. See for instance *Chishtiyya bihishtiyya* by 'Ala' ad-Din Muhammad Chishti Barnawi, completed in 1666, which is mainly devoted to seven Chishti saints of the little-known towns of Rapri and Barnawa; in his notice on this text, Storey (I:1007) remarks that the latter town is so obscure that it "is not mentioned either in the Mainpuri District Gazetteer or in the Imperial Gazetteer of India."
11. See the elusive references in John A. Subhan, *Sufism: Its Saints and Shrines* (Lucknow: Lucknow Publishing House, 1938), pp. 230–33, plus the long notice of Ghulam Sarwar on Shaykh Sabir 'Ali Kalyari (*Khazinat al-asfiya,* I:299–303, mostly taken from *Siyar al-aqtab* and *Ma'arij al-wilayat*).

12. Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1978), I:154.
13. Qamar Jahan Begam, *Princess Jahan Ara Begam, Her Life and Works* (Karachi: S. M. Hamid 'Ali, 1991), pp. 117–23 of Persian text. This translation has previously appeared in Carl W. Ernst, *Teachings of Sufism,* pp. 194–99.
14. For an ethnographic study of women at the Nizam ad-Din shrine, see Patricia Jeffery, *Frogs in a Well: Indian Women in Purdah* (London: Zed Books, 1979).
15. Gavin R. G. Hambly, ed., *Women in the Medieval Islamic World* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1998).
16. A. J. Wensinck, "Ziyara," *Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam,* ed. H. A. R. Gibb and J. M. Kramers (Leiden, 1953; reprint, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), p. 660.
17. This is the case at the shrine of the warrior-saint Salar Mas'ud at Bahraich. Kerrin Gräfin Schwerin, "Saint Worship in Indian Islam: The Legend of the Martyr Salar Masud Ghazi," in Imtiaz Ahmed, ed. *Ritual and Religion among Muslims in India* (Delhi: Manohar), pp. 143–61.
18. For a modern example of the literary expression of Sufi attitudes toward pilgrimage, see the Persian poem in the classical style by the late Dr. Ishrat Hasan "Anwar," former head of the Department of Philosophy at Aligarh Muslim University, addressed to Khwaja Mu'in ad-Din Chishti, in *Masnavi-i sarud-i bi-khudi* (Agra: Akbar Press, 1954), pp. 105–6.
19. The following remarks are a revision of the introductory section to Carl Ernst, "An Indo-Persian Guide to Sufi Shrine Pilgrimage," *Manifestations of Sainthood in Islam,* ed. Grace Martin Smith with Carl W. Ernst (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1993), pp. 43–67. While the historiography of Sufism has advanced since the publication of that essay, the complete translation of the text provided in that article still remains satisfactory, and apt for the discussion of Chishti practices.
20. Conversely, the Catholic commemorations of martyrs' and saints' death anniversaries were called birthdays (*natalitia*) as a sign of rebirth into eternal life (*The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church,* ed. F. L. Cross [2nd ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983], pp. 954–55).
21. Ignaz Goldziher, "Veneration of Saints in Islam," *Muslim Studies (Muhammedanische Studien),* ed. S. M. Stern, trans. C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern (2 vols.; London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1971), II:284–85.
22. Nizam ad-Din Awliya' Bada'oni, *Fawa'id al-fu'ad,* comp. Hasan 'Ala Sijzi, ed. Muhammad Latif Malik (Lahore: Malik Siraj ad-Din and Sons, 1386/1966), p. 209, gives the etymology of *'urs* as "getting married," but also mentions another meaning, "the alighting of a caravan at night." Jurists such as the Baghdadian Ibn al-Jawzi (d. 1201) criticized Sufi *'urs* festivities, and the Mevlevi Sufis in Anatolia used the term *'urs* in the thirteenth century; see Fritz Meier, *Abu Sa'id-i Abu l-Hayr (357–440/967–1049), Wirklichkeit und Legende,* Acta Iranica 11 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), pp. 250, 261.
23. Wahid Bakhsh Sial, *Maqam-i Ganj-i Shakkar* (Lahore: Sufi Foundation, 1403/1983), p. 38.
24. *Lata'if-i ashrafi,* comp. Nizam Gharib Yamani (2 vols.; Delhi: Nusrat al-Matabi', 1295/1878), II: 28–30, quoted in sections 13–17 of the text.
25. Muhammad Chishti, *Adab al-talibin,* fols. 21b–22b (rules), 22b–24a (here later scribes have inserted a brief calendar of saints, including the *'urs* of Kalim Allah Shahjahanabadi [d. 1729]), 24a-b (concluding rules), quoted in sections 2–5 of the text; cf. Muhammad Chishti Gujarati, *Adab al-talibin, ma'a rafiq al-tullab wa albab thulatha,* Urdu trans. Muhammad Bashir Husayn, ed. Muhammad Aslam Rana (Lahore: Progressive Books, 1984), pp. 61–4, based on the Punjab University MS, which has no calendar of saints. The Persian text of *Adab al-talibin* was published in Delhi in

1311/1893–94 by Matba'-i Mujtaba'i, and there are a dozen copies of the MS in Pakistan alone; cf. Ahmad Munzawi, *Fihrist-i mushtarak-i nuskhah-ha-yi khatti-i farsi-i Pakistan,* vol. III (Islamabad: Markaz-i Tahqiqat-i Farsi-i Iran u Pakistan, 1363/1405/1984), p. 1213, no. 2140. K. A. Nizami has summarized some of the contents of this work in his *Tarikh-i mashayikh-i Chisht* (2nd ed., Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyyat-i Delli, 1980–5), I:446; for details of Muhammad Chishti's life, see the introduction to *Adab al-talibin,* Urdu trans., pp. 7–15.

26. For a survey of Sufi biographical sources, see Carl Ernst, "From Hagiography to Martyrology: Conflicting Testimonies to a Sufi Martyr of the Delhi Sultanate," *History of Religions* 24 (1985), pp. 308–27, esp. pp. 309–12; see also Marcia K. Hermansen, "Survey Article: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Islamic Biographical Materials," *Religion* 18 (1988), pp. 163–82.
27. *Tarikh-i wafat-i buzurgan* or *A'ras-i buzurgan,* cited in Hermann Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the India Office Library* (Oxford, 1903; reprint ed., London: India Office Library and Records, 1980), no. 2733, col. 1482; also called *Sahifat al-a'ras,* in Ivanow, *Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* p. 755, no. 1634. The relationship of this work with Muhammad Najib's collection is evident from its commencing with the same four names. Muhammad Sharif's treatise is apparently identical with the *A'ras-i buzurgan* attributed to one Sayyid 'Alawi, edited by W. Nassau Lees and Maulavi Kabir ad-Din Ahmad and published at Calcutta in 1855, as cited by Storey, I:1054.
28. A devotional work that arranges brief biographies of saints with their death anniversaries, in chronological order from the time of Adam, is 'Abd al-Fattah ibn Muhammad Nu'man's *Miftah al'arifin* (MS 4263/1613 Sherani, Punjab University, Lahore), an autograph written in 1096/1684–85 in Sirhind. Examples of modern Urdu calendars of saints include Muhammad 'Abd al-Hayy Siddiqi's *Tadhkirat al-sulaha'* (Badaun: Matba'-i Nizami, 1330/1911–12); Kalam ad-Din Banarsi and Ibrahim 'Imadi Nadwi's *Islami Muhammadi bari connect the taqwim Bombay 1402* (Bombay: 'Ali Bha'i Sharaf 'Ali and Company Private Limited, 1402/1981–82), pp. 18–38; and Hakim Mawlawi Muhammad Barakat 'Ali's *Asrar-i 'alam jantri 1987* (Lahore: Maktaba-i Rafiq-i Ruzgar, 1986), pp. 19–24.
29. Nizam ad-Din Awliya' told of his mother's visiting the tombs of martyrs and saints in Bada'on (*Fawa'id al-fu'ad,* p. 100), and mentioned the many tombs worth visiting in Lahore (p. 57). Simon Digby has briefly described pilgrimages to major Chishti shrines in "*Tabarrukat,*" esp. pp. 91–6.
30. Ibn Battuta, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325–1354,* trans. H. A. R. Gibb, ed. E. Denison Ross and Eileen Power (London, 1926; reprint ed., Karachi: Indus Publications, 1986), p. 191, where the translator misunderstands this as a visit (*ziyarat*) to a living person.
31. Sultan Firuz Shah ibn Tughluq, *Futuhat-i Firuz Shahi,* pp. 14–15; trans. Elliot and Dowson, III:384–85.
32. Nizami, *Tarikh,* 5:178–79.
33. Nizami, *Tarikh,* 5:173, 175–76, notes that this book is no longer extant.
34. P. Setu Madhava Rao, *Eighteenth Century Deccan* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1963), p. 61. The first Nizam considered patronage of Sufi saints an important state duty, and stressed this point in his testament to his successor (ibid., pp. 62, 66–67).
35. Samsam-ud-Daula Shah Nawaz Khan and his son 'Abdul Hayy, *The Maathir-ul-Umara,* trans. H. Beveridge, rev. Baini Prashad (reprint ed., 2 vols.; New Delhi: Janaki Prakashan, 1979), II:1065–66 (where he is praised for his knowledge of Sufism); Elliot and Dowson, VIII:391 (his death fighting the French); Ethé, II, col. 1011, Index, s.n. "(Nawwab) Anwar-aldinkhan"; *Eternal Garden,* pp. 214–15.
36. Nizami, *Tarikh,* 5:157–58.

37. See Ernst, "From Hagiography to Martyrology," esp. pp. 322–27.
38. Muhammad Chishti, *Adab al-talibin,* fol. 22b, 24b. The text frequently uses the Arabic phrase *bi-la haraj,* meaning "there is no harm or crime in it" from an objective legal point of view; the pilgrimage rituals are harmless but not required.
39. George Every, *Christian Mythology* (London: Hamlyn, 1970), p. 114. The Maliki jurist Ibn al-Hajj (d. 1336) refers to a candle festival for all the saints on 15 Sha'ban (Fritz Meier, *Abu Sa'id,* p. 264).
40. Cf. Goldziher, "Veneration," II:288, on circumambulation (*tawaf*).
41. Cf. Goldziher, "Veneration," II:335, n. 3, on *hadith* in favor of pilgrimage. For an early example of preferring pilgrimage to saints' tombs over the *hajj,* see Fritz Meier, *Abu Sa'id,* pp. 202–3. For other examples of Sufi attitudes to the *hajj,* see Carl W. Ernst, "Vertical Pilgrimage and Interior Landscape in the Visionary Diary of Ruzbihan Baqli," *Muslim World* 88/2 (1998), pp. 129–40.
42. *Fawa'id al-fu'ad,* pp. 267, 364.
43. James Dickie, "Allah and Eternity: Mosques, Madrasas and Tombs," in *Architecture of the Islamic World: Its History and Social Meaning,* ed. George Michell (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), pp. 43–44.
44. See the translation by Barbara Metcalf, *Perfecting Women: Maulana Ashraf* 'Ali *Thanawi's Bihishti Zewar* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990).
45. Rashid Ahmad Gangohi, *Fatawa-i Rashidiyya* (Karachi: H. M. Sa'id Company, 1985), pp. 59, 69, 134, 104.
46. See Shah Sayyid Muhammad Zauqi, *Tarbiyat al-'ushshaq,* comp. Wahid Bakhsh Siyal (Karachi, 1377/1958; reprint ed., Karachi: Mahfil-i Zauqiyya, 1393/1974), p. 441, and Muhammad Shafi' Allah Sahsarami "Mu'ini" (Head Maulavi, Mission High School, Nasirabad [near Ajmer]), *Anwar-i Khwaja,* pp. 66–72.
47. Usha Sanyal, *Devotional Islam and Politics in British India: Ahmad Riza Khan Barelwi and His Movement, 1870–1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).
48. See Regula Burckhardt Qureshi, *Sufi Music of India and Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 104, 144 ff.; figs. 23–24; Matsuo Ara, *Dargahs in Medieval India. A Historical Study on the Shrines of Sufi Saints in Delhi with Reference to the Relationship between the Religious Authority and the Ruling Power* (3 vols., Tokyo: University of Tokyo, Institute of Oriental Culture, 1977), fig. 278.
49. Qureshi, p. 111.
50. Eaton, *Bengal Frontier,* pp. 82–94.
51. Yohanon Friedmann, *Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi: An Outline of His Thought and a Study of His Image in the Eyes of Posterity,* McGill Islamic Studies, 2 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1971).
52. Eaton, *Bengal Frontier,* p. 94, last paragraph.
53. *Eternal Garden,* p. 196–97.
54. Abu-l-Fazl, *The Akbar-nama,* trans. H. Beveridge (London, 1902–38; reprint, Delhi: Ess Ess Publications, 1977), II:502–7.
55. *Akbar-nama,* II:312- 15
56. Abu 'l-Fazl 'Allami, *The A'in-i Akbari,* trans. H. S. Jarrett, revised Jadunath Sarkar (2nd ed., Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society, 1948; reprint ed., New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1978), who II:388–423.
57. 'Abdu-l-Qadir ibn-i-Muluk Shah al-Badaoni, *Muntakhab at-tawarikh,* trans. George S. A. Ranking (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1898–1925), III:131.
58. Bruce B. Lawrence, "Fatehpur Sikri as an Intellectual Center," *Marg Special Issue: Akbar and Fatehpur Sikri* XXXVIII/12 (1987), pp. 84–92.
59. See lengthy description in Moini, "Rituals and Customary Practices at the Dargah of Ajmer," pp. 60–75.

60. S. Liyaqat H. Moini, "Hindus and the Dargah of Ajmer, AD 1658–1737," in *Art and Culture: Felicitation Volume in Honour of Prof. S. Nurul Hasan,* ed. Ahsan Jan Qaisar and Som Prakash Verma (New Delhi: Vedams, 1993), pp. 155–56.
61. See above: the documents in question were actually provided by the Mughal emperors and nobility in the form of occasional bound volumes sent to the custodians of the Ajmer shrine; they have been published by Abu al-Bari Ma'ni in *Asanid as-sanadid* (Ajmer, 1952).
62. S. Khalid Rashid, *Wakf Administration in India* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 1978), pp. 111–26; Currie, pp. 156 ff.
63. Currie, p. 147.
64. David Gilmartin, "Shrines, Succession, and Sources of Moral Authority," in Barbara Daly Metcalf, ed., *Moral Conduct and Authority* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), pp. 221–40.
65. Gilmartin, p. 235.
66. K. A. Nizami, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farid-u'd-Din Ganj-i-Shakar,* IAD Religio-Philosophy Series No. 1 (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1955; reprint ed., 1973), p. 72; also mentioned by Moini in his unpublished article on the role of the *khadim-i khass* at both Ajmer and Delhi (Nizam ad-Din).
67. In this way Claudia Liebeskind has described the decline of three Sufi shrines in Uttar Pradesh as a result of the departure of former elites to Pakistan, the rise of anti-Sufi reformism, plus the many secularizing tendencies of life under colonial rule; see *Piety on its Knees,* esp. pp. 124–76 on the Chishti shrine at Salon.

## CHAPTER 6

1. Adapted from Steven Lukes, "Relativism in its Place," in Martin Hollis and Steven Lukes, eds., Rationality and Relativism (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982), p. 297
2. A striking example is a two-part film recently produced by the Ministry of Information of the Government of India, entitled *The Lamp in the Niche.* Despite its striking images and pertinent historical information, the film's strongest emphasis is on Sufism as an Indian phenomenon, best characterized by the interconfessional appeal of the non-Muslim poet Kabir.
3. As Sheldon Pollock has observed with respect to culture, "it is typical of such science, as the common sense of modernity and capitalism, to reduce one of these terms (culture) to the other (power)—a reduction often embodied in the use of the concept of legitimation of power. There is no reason to assume that legitimation is applicable throughout human history, yet it remains the dominant analytic in explaining the work of culture in studies of early South and Southeast Asia." See Sheldon Pollock, "India in the Vernacular Millennium: Literary Culture and Polity, 1000–1500," *Daedalus* (summer 1998), pp. 41–74, citing p. 44.
4. For an overview of this movement, see M. Gaborieau, "Tablighi Djama'at," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* X:38–39.
5. John A. Subhan, *Sufism: Its Saints and Shrines,* (1938; revised edn., Lucknow: The Lucknow Publishing House, 1960), p. 227.
6. In varying ways, these assumptions have characterized the studies of Nizami, Zameeruddin Siddiqi, and Rizvi.
7. Two of the foremost scholars of South Asian Islam, Eaton and Gilmartin, stress the limits of eighteenth century Chishtiyya, limits either within material culture (Eaton) or in the context of a regional power struggle in which not only British but also Hindu, Sikh and rival Sufi groups and Muslim reformers, all converge to limit the extent and the duration of what is called "the Chishti revival" (Gilmartin).

8. We are indebted to Arthur Buehler for the clear advocacy of these traits in examining the latter-day Naqshbandiyya in South Asia: While we disagree with him on the exclusive clustering of these traits around Naqshbandi masters in the pattern that he traces, we nonetheless apply his results to our own investigation with gratitude for his insight. See chapter 7 for the more recent reformulations of distinctive Chishti approaches to *sama'* and *zikr.*
9. S. Moinul Haq, "Sufi-Shaykhs and Sufi Poets in the 17th, 18th, and 19th Centuries," *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* 25/ii (1977), pp. 77–124, citing p. 99.
10. M. Zameeruddin Siddiqi, "The Resurgence of the Chishti Silsilah in the Punjab during the Eighteenth Century," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress 1970* (New Delhi: Indian History Congress, 1971), 1: 409.
11. M. Zameeruddin Siddiqi, "'Aqel, Mohammad," *Encyclopaedia Iranica,* II:193; K. A. Nizami, "Ahmadpuri, Gol Muhammad," *Encyclopaedia Iranica,* I:666.
12. A. S. Bazmee Ansari, "Kalim Allah al-Djahanabadi," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* V:507.
13. Here is the relevant part of the Chishti lineage from Gujarat (with death dates):

| | |
|---|---|
| 756/1355 | Kamal ad-Din 'Allama |
| 770/1368 | Siraj ibn Kamal ad-Din 'Allama |
| 809/1406 | 'Alam ibn Siraj |
| 901/1495 | Mahmud Rajan ibn 'Alam ad-Din |
| 940/1534 | Jamal ad-Din Jumman ibn Rajan |
| 982/1575 | Nasir II Hasan Muhammad [ibn] Miyan Jiv |
| 1040/1630 | Muhammad Chishti |
| 1101/1689 | Yahya Madani |
| 1142/1729 | Kalim Allah Jahanabadi |

14. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Tarikh-i mashayikh-i Chishti,* (Delhi: Idara-i Adabiyyat-i Delli, 1985), V:72–73.
15. Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufisn in India* (2 vols., Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt Ltd., 1978), II:295–96; Storey, I:730–31.
16. Rizvi, II:296.
17. Muhammad Umar, *Islam in North India during the 18th Century,*
18. Khaja Sayed Faqeer Muhammad Shah Chishti Nizami al-Quadri Sulaimani Hafizi Habibi of Ahmednagar, *Murid nama* (Ahmednagar, n.d.), pp. 49–51.
19. See P. M. Currie, *The Shrine and Cult of Mu'in al-Din Chishti of Ajmer,* Oxford University South Asian Studies Series (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 121. Currie only tells part of the story. The epithet *khing sawar* means "rider on a gray horse," and while it resembles names of other miracle-working animal-borne saints, it also assimilates him to the model of the Prophet Muhammad, whose ascension to heaven in some accounts was on a gray horse.
20. Malik Muhammad Din, *Zikr-i Habib* (1344/1925; 2nd ed., Lahore: al-Qamar Book Corporation, 1404/1983).
21. Munis Faruqui, "The Chishti Revival and Its Response to the Impact of British Rule in Western Punjab: The Peculiar Case of Pir Mehr Ali Shah" (Unpublished term paper, February 22,1995), p. 27.
22. For further references, see *Tajalli-i nur* by Nur ad-Din Zaydi (2 vols., Jaunpur, 1899–1900).
23. On Khush Dahan, see the latter's *Ma'rifat al-suluk,* and the remarks of Richard M. Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur 1300–1700: Social Roles of Sufis in Medieval India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 137 ff.; see also William Chittick, "Travelling the Sufi Path: A Chishti Handbook from Bijapur," in *The Heritage of Sufism,* ed. Leonard Lewison, vol. 3, *Late Classical Persianate Sufism (1501–1750): The Safavid and Mughal Period* (Oxford: Oneworld, 1999), pp. 247–65.

24. K. A. Nizami, *The Life and Times of Farid-ud-din Ganj-i Shakar* (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1955/1973), p. 66.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 67. Nizami first adumbrated these points in relation to his great-grandfather (Irshad 'Ali Faridi Amrohawi, 1825–1900) and his grandfather (Farid Ahmad, 1870–1942) in the closing pages of *Tarikh-i masha'ikh-i Chishti* (V:445–450). In effect, this personal conclusion gives the book something of the force of a *shajara* document, in which the initiate has literally inscribed himself at the end of the chain of masters and disciples.
26. The following remarks summarize the much more detailed presentation of Marcia Hermansen, "Rewriting Sufi Identity in the Twentieth Century: The Biographical Approaches of Maulana Ashraf 'Ali Thanvi (d. 1943) and Khwaja Hasan Nizami (d. 1955)," unpublished paper presented at the International Conference on Asian and North African Studies, Budapest, July 1997. The authors are indebted to her for permission to excerpt and summarize her extensive analysis in the current chapter. A similar biographical doublet, providing abundant reference to Khwaja Hasan Nizami, can be found in Marcia Hermansen, "Common Themes, Uncommon Contexts: Hazrat Inayat Khan (1882–1927) and Khwaja Hasan Nizami (1878–1955)" in Pirzade Zia Inayat Khan, ed., *A Pearl in Wine: Essays on the Life, Music, and Sufism of Hazrat Inayat Khan* (New Lebanon,NY: Omega Publications, 2001), pp. 323–53.
27. 'Ali Jawad Zaidi, *A History of Urdu Literature* (Delhi: Sahitya Academy, 1993), p. 262, cited by Hermansen.
28. Muhammad Sadiq, *A History of Urdu Literature* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp. 512, 514–15, cited by Hermansen.
29. Bruce B. Lawrence, "'Abd al-Quddus Gangohi," *Encyclopaedia Iranica,* I:138–40.
30. In addition to *Anwar al-'arifin,* completed in 1870 (Storey, I:1044), see Muhammad Baraswi's *Iqtibas al-anwar,* completed in 1729 (Storey, I:1019).
31. Simon Digby, "'Abd al-Quddus Gangohi (A.D. 1456–1537): The Personality and Attitudes of a Medieval Indian Sufi" in K. A., Nizami, ed., *Medieval India—A Miscellany,* vol. 3 (Aligarh: Aligarh Muslim University, 1975), pp. 1–66.
32. See Ernst, *Shambhala Guide to Sufism,* chapter 4, for details on these meditation methods developed by Central Asian Sufi masters.
33. Scott Kugle, "The Murk of Self Departs in the Brilliance of Hearts: Anatomy of Ritual in Nineteenth-Century Sufi Devotion," (Unpublished paper, January 23, 1995), p. 18.
34. Hajji Imdad Allah, *Irshad al-murshid,* pp. 51–57.
35. B. Metcalf, "Imdadu'llah Thanawi," *Dictionnaire biographique des savants et grandes figures du monde musulmane peripherique, du XIXe siécle à nos jours,* ed. Marc Gaborieau et al. (Paris: EHESS, 1992), p. 13.
36. 'Abd al-Hayy ibn Fakhr al-Din al-Hasani, *Nuzhat al-khawatir wa bahjat al-masami' was-nawazir* (9 vols., 2nd ed., Herabad: Da'irat al-Ma'arif al-'Uthmaniyya, 1966–72), VIII: 70–72.
37. Hafiz Qari Fuyud al-Rahman, *Hazrat Hajji Imdad Allah Muhajir Makki aur un ke khulafa'* (Karachi: Majlis-i Nashriyyat-i Islam, 1984), p. 12, quoting Maulana Zakariyya.
38. For information on all three, see Metcalf's articles "Ashraf 'Ali Thanawi," "Muhammad Qasim Nanautawi," and "Rashid Ahmad Gangohi" in the same *Dictionnaire bibliographique,* pp. 9–10, 17–18, 21–22.
39. Muhyi ad-Din ibn al-'Arabi, *al-Futuhat al-Makkiyya* (Beirut, n.d.), ch. 184, II:369, cited in *Karamat-i Imdadiyya,* introduction, *mas'ala* 3, p. 5; the Arabic text is also given on pp. 11, 14.
40. Hajji Imdad Allah Muhajir Makki, *Ziya' al-qulub,* in *Kulliyat-i Imdadiyya* (Deoband: Rashid Publishing Company, n.d.), p. 6.
41. Here again we follow the analysis of Marcia Hermansen.

42. *Tarbiyat al-'ushshaq,* p. 432.
43. Ibid., p. 441–42.
44. Ibid., pp. 87–89.
45. Ibid., p. 491; "Tahrik-i Abu al-'Ala'," in *Mazamin-i Zauqi,* ed. Wahid Bakhsh Sial (Karachi: Mahfil-i Zauqiyya, 1398/1975), pp. 279–303.
46. *Tarbiyat al-'ushshaq,* pp. 440–42.
47. Ibid., pp. 480, 492, 502.
48. Ibid., pp. 119–20, where in a 1940 discourse Zauqi recalls this as happening in Ajmer. His biography (ibid., p. 495) places this in Hyderabad in October, 1934.
49. Ibid., pp. 436–37.
50. Ibid., p. 413.
51. Ibid., p. 747; cf. p. 379, where Lakshman is praised as superior to Ram and Krishna.
52. Ibid., p. 746.
53. Ibid., p. 98.
54. Ibid., p. 705.
55. Ibid., pp. 494, 498, 499.
56. Ibid., p. 454. These articles were originally published in *Tarjuman al-Qur'an,* the periodical published by Maududi's Jama'at-i-Islami, before the latter's departure to Lahore in 1939.
57. The English version of *New Searchlight on the Vedic Aryans* is not currently available, but an Urdu version is found as "Hindi Aryon ki asl par tanqid-i jadid," *Madamin-i Zauqi,* pp. 412–37 (originally published in Urdu in the Delhi newspaper *Manshur* on June 20, June 27, and July 4, 1943, and in English in the Allahabad paper *Onward* on June 14 and June 21, 1943); in the table of contents it is listed by a slightly different title, "Vedik Aryon ki asliyat."
58. Shah Sayyid Muhammad Zauqi, *Tarbiyat al-'ushshaq,* comp. Shahid Allah Faridi, ed. Wahid Bakhsh Siyal (Karachi, 1337/1957; reprint ed., Karachi: Mahfil-i Zanquiyya, 1393/1974), p. 746., p. 746. Here Zauqi Shah regrettably opened the door to acceptance of notorious anti-Semitic propaganda, such as the apocryphal "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," within the Chishti order.
59. Seyyed Vali Reza Nasr, *The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution: The Jama'at-i Islami of Pakistan* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 3–27.
60. *Tarbiyat al-'ushshaq,* pp. 362, 715.
61. Ibid., p. 132–33.
62. Ibid., p. 145.
63. Ibid., pp. 599, 716; *Mazamin-i Zauqi,* pp. 353–402 (Urdu text of letters).
64. *Tarbiyat al-'ushshaq,* pp. 495–99, 502.
65. Ibid., p. 229.
66. Ibid., pp. 592–94.
67. Ibid., pp. 598–99.
68. Ibid., pp. 453, 490.
69. This pilgrimage is recounted in detail by Wahid Bakhsh Sial, *Hajj-i Zauqi* (2nd ed., Karachi: Mahfil-i Zauqiyya, 1993).

## CHAPTER 7

1. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Tarikh-i mashayikh-i Chisht;* M. Zameeruddin Siddiqi, "The Resurgence of the Chishti Silsila in the Punjab during the 18th Century," *Proceedings of the 32nd Indian Historical Congress* (1970), I, 408–12; Rizvi, HSI.
2. Barbara Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860–1900* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982).

3. Hafiz Qadiri Fuyuz ar-Rahman, *Haji Imdad Allah Muhajir Makki awr un ke khulafa'* (Karachi: Majlis-i Nashriyyat-i Islam, 1984).
4. Francis Robinson, "Islam and the Impact of Print in South Asia," in Nigel Crook, ed., *The Transmission of Learning in South Asia* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 62–97, citing p. 89.
5. For an able presentation of Simnani's mystical psychology, see Jamal Elias, *The Throne Carrier of God: The Life and Thought of 'Ala ad-dawla as-Simnani* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), pp. 81–91.
6. Imdad Allah Muhafir Makki, *Ziya' al-qulub,* in *Kulliyat-i Imdadiyya,* ed Muhammad Fakhr ad-Din Malik (Cawnpore: Matba'—i Ahmadi, n.d.), trans. Scott Kugel, p. 12, modified; see figure 7.1. Two levels of meditation appear to be missing from this summary instruction.
7. *Faysala-i haft mas'ala,* pp. 8–9.
8. Captain Wahid Bakhsh Sial Rabbani, *Islamic Sufism: The Science of Flight in God, Also Showing the Tremendous Sufi Influence on Christian and Hindu Mystics and Mysticism* (Lahore: Sufi Foundation, 1984).
9. Captain Wahid Bakhsh Sial, *Mushahada-i haqq: islami ruhani sa'ins [science]* (Karachi: Mahfil-i Zawqiyya, 1974), pp. 99–100, corresponding to *Ziya' al-qulub,* pp. 4, 37 ff.
10. Khwaja Ghulam Farid, *Maqabis al-majalis,* Urdu trans. from Persian by Wahid Bakhsh Sial (Lahore: Islamic Book Foundation, 1399/1979), Introduction, pp. 183–84, citing Ashraf 'Ali's *Khumkhana-i batin.*
11. *Maqabis al-majalis,* pp. 182–83; see also the anecdote on p. 181 in which Ashraf 'Ali arranges for a *qawwal* to cure the psychological ailment of a student at the Kanpur *madrasa,* much to the shock of the reform-minded student.
12. Bruce B. Lawrence, "The Early Chishti Approach to *Sama',*" in *Islamic Society and Culture: Essays in Honour of Professor Aziz Ahmad,* ed. M. Israel and N. K. Wagle (Delhi: Manohar, 1983), pp. 69–93.
13. *Maqabis al-majalis,* p. 184.
14. Regula Qureshi, "'Muslim Devotional': Popular Religious Music and Muslim Identity under British, Indian and Pakistani Hegemony," *Asian Music* 24 (1992–3), pp. 111–21.
15. Ibid., p. 117.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid., p. 118.
18. Muhsin Mahdi, "From the Manuscript Age to the Age of Printed Books," in *The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East,* ed. George N. Atiyeh (Albany: State University of New York Press/Library of Congress, 1995), pp. 6–7. Mahdi suggests that the large followings of mystical orders made such publishing economically feasible.
19. See the intermittent English-language journal published under the auspices of Capt. Wahid Bakhsh, *The Sufi Path,* which states on the back cover: "Sufism is the latest, easiest, simplest, quickest and the most successful of all mystical systems in the world." This periodical is not for Pakistani Muslim followers only, it also reflects what other engaged scholars or initiates have made of this tradition.
20. *Silsila-i 'aliyya-i Chishtiyya Nizamiyya Fakhriyya Sulaymaniyya Lutfiyya,* ed. Hajji Makhdum Bakhsh (Lucknow: Nawal Kishor, 1913).
21. Carl Ernst, *Shambhala Guide to Sufism* (Boston: Shambhala Publications, 1997), pp. 225–26.
22. Qureshi, p. 119.
23. Wahid Bakhsh, *Islamic Sufism,* pp. 69 ff.
24. Ibid., pp. 71, 305.
25. For a thorough bibliography on publications relating to Hazrat Inayat Khan, see Michael Köszegi, "The Sufi Order in the West: Sufism's Encounter with the New

Age," in *Islam in North America: A Sourcebook,* ed. Michael A. Köszegi and J. Gordon Melton (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1992), pp. 211–22, 237–40.

26. *Biography of Pir-o-Murshid Inayat Khan,* p. 221, cited by Zia Inayat Khan, "'The Light of the Divine Unity': Islam in the Teaching of Pir-o-Murshid Inayat Khan," unpublished paper, Duke University, 1997, p. 3.
27. *The Sufi Message of Inayat Khan* (Katwijk, Holland: Servire for the International Headquarters of the Sufi Movement, 1962), XII, 108.
28. Gul Muhammad Ahmadpuri in *Takmila-i siyar al-awliya'* lists a fifth initiation into the Shattari order (via Burhan ad-Din Raz-i Ilahi of Burhanpur) for Kalim Allah, but he does not give it as much prominence as the other four.
29. Daniel Muzaffar Donnell, personal communication to Bruce Lawrence, February 22, 1995.
30. Inayat Khan, *Confessions* (London: Sufi Publishing Society, 1915), p. 5.
31. The succession to Inayat Khan is discussed (in sarcastic tones) by Andrew Rawlinson, *The Book of Enlightened Masters: Western Teachers in Eastern Traditions* (Chicago: Open Court, 1997), pp. 543–52.
32. David Hollinger, *Post-Ethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism* (New York: Basic Books, 1995), p. 7.
33. Muhammad Iqbal, "Iltija-ye Musafir," in *Kulliyat* (Aligarh: Aligarh Book Depot, n.d.), pp. 96–97, trans. Shantanu Phukan.

## APPENDIX

1. Bruce B. Lawrence, "*Akhbar al-akhyar,*" Encyclopaedia Iranica, 711–12.
2. There is a near total omission of reference to his pre-Indian spiritual formation; only three throwaway lines occur in the next paragraph. Why? Possibly it is deliberate: to stress how the whole saga of Islamic spirituality begins anew in the subcontinent.
3. Burhan al-Din Gharib, *Ahsan al-aqwal,* comp. Hammad al-Din Kashani (Persian MS, Khuldabad, Fariduddin Saleem), pp. 288–89.
4. Burhan al-Din Gharib, *Nafa'is al-antas,* comp. Rukn al-Din Dabir Kashani (Persian MS, Khuldabad Saleem), session no. 7, p. 38.
5. Zayn al-Din Shirazi, *Hidayat al-qulub wa 'inayat 'ullam al-ghuyub,* comp. Mir Hasan (Persian MS, Khuldabad, Fariduddin Saleem), p. 146.
6. *Nafa'is al-anfas,* no. 10, p. 49.
7. *Nafa'is al-anfas,* no. 12, p. 56.
8. *Ahsan al-aqwal,* chapter 3, p. 42.
9. *Ghara'ib al-karamat,* p. 51.
10. *Nafa'is al-anfas,* no. 10, p. 50. Although the word "essential" does not appear in the Khuldabad manuscript, in the passage where Burhan ad-Din Gharib describes which kind of hat he was given, another version preserved by Muhammad 'Abd al-Majid emphasizes that Nizam ad-Din gave Burhan ad-Din Gharib the "essential" hat; cf. Azad, *Rawzat al-awliya',* p. 14, n. 1.
11. *Ahsan al-aqwal,* chapter 7, p. 55; Burhan al-Din Gharib, *Ghara'ib al-karamat wa 'aja'ib al-mukashafat.* Comp. Majd al-Din Kashani (Persian MS, Khuldabad, Fariduddin Saleem, p. 27, also mentions this staff, which is called the staff of Farid ad-Din Ganj-i Shakar.
12. *Nafa'is al-anfas,* no. 23, p. 93.
13. Azad Bilgrami, *Rawzat al-awliya',* p. 12, quoting the lost *malfuzat* of Zayn ad-Din Shirazi, *Hubbat al-mahabba.*
14. *Nafa'is al-anfas,* no. 36, p. 119. The term *majmu'* in this context has also been interpreted to mean "character, bounty, and divine knowledge" (Azad, p. 11, n. 1).

15. *Ghara'ib al-karamat,* p. 11.
16. *Ghara'ib al-karamat,* p. 52.
17. *Nafa'is al-anfas,* no. 1, p. 9.
18. Muhammad Habib did not even include Burhan ad-Din Gharib among the ten successors of Nizam ad-Din Awliya', but only listed nine out of Mir Khwurd's list of ten; cf. Muhammad Habib, *Hazrat Nizam al-Din Awliya'* (Lahore: Progressive Books, 1974), pp. 134–35.
19. Shah Muhammad 'Ali Samani, *Siyar-i Muhammadi,* ed. and Urdu trans. Nazir Ahmad Qadiri Sikandarpuri, Silsila-i Matbu'at-i Sayyid Muhammad Gisu Daraz Academy, Gulbarga, no. 3 (Gulbarga: Sayyid Muhammad Gisu Daraz Academy, 1399/1979), pp. 9, 13.
20. Muhammad al-Husayni Gisu Daraz, *Jawami' al-kalim,* comp. Muhammad Akbar Husayni, ed. Hafiz Muhammad Hamid Siddiqi (Cawnpore: Intizami Press, 1356/1937–38), pp. 239–40. Gisu Daraz's biographer mentions his visit in 801/1399 to the grave of his father, Sayyid Shah Yusuf al-Husayni Raju Qattal, which is in Khuldabad, but he does not record any visit to the tomb of Burhan ad-Din Gharib at that time.
21. Ashraf Jahangir Simnani, *Lata'if-i ashrafi,* comp. Nizam Gharib Yamani (2 vols.; Delhi: Nusrat al-Matabi', 1295/1878, I:356.
22. *Eternal Garden,* pp. 69–71.
23. Mir Khwurd, *Siyar al-awliya',* pp. 230–33.
24. The ten successors were Shams ad-Din Yahya, Nasir ad-Din Mahmud Chiragh-i Dihli, Qutb ad-Din Munawwar, Husam ad-Din Multani, Fakhr ad-Din Zarradi, 'Ala' ad-Din Nili, Burhan ad-Din Gharib, Wajih ad-Din Yusuf, Siraj ad-Din 'Usman, and Shihab ad-Din Imam; cf. SA, chapter 4, pp. 233–302.
25. Simon Digby, "*Tabarrukat* and Succession among the Great Chishti Shaykhs," in *Delhi Through the Ages: Essays in Urban History, Culture and Society,* ed. R. E. Frykenberg (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 63–103, esp. pp. 78–79.
26. Azad, *Rawzat al-Awliya',* p. 12.
27. Ibid., pp. 14–15.
28. Muhammad 'Abd al-Majid, in *Rawzat al-awliya',* pp. 13–14, n., quoting *Ahsan al-aqwal,* chapter 16, pp. 82–3.
29. Muhammad 'Abd al-Majid, ibid.; Digby, "*Tabarrukat,*" p. 79.
30. Jamali, *Siyar al-'arifin,* Urdu trans., p. 94 (Burhan ad-Din Gharib as first *khalifa*); *Fath al-Awliya',* p. 23 (Chishti cloak); Sabzawari, *Sawanih,* fol. 4b (turban, cloak, and prayer carpet; this author avoids referring to Mir Khwurd's critical stories altogether). Dara Shikuh regarded the four chief disciples of Nizam ad-Din as being Amir Khusraw, Chiragh-i Dihli, Burhan ad-Din Gharib, and Amir Hasan Dihlawi; cf. *Safinat al-Awliya',* ed. Mr. Beale (Agra: Madrasa-i Agrah, 1853), p. 167.
31. *Ghara'ib al-karamat,* pp.37–8.
32. *Ghara'ib al-karamat,* p. 16, where the man is described as a member of the invisible hierarchy, one of the *awtad* and *abdal.* Burhan ad-Din Gharib later reproved the same Mahmud of Lajwarah for excessive asceticism and bad behavior, *Nafa'is al-anfas,* no. 30, p. 106.
33. Richard Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier: 1204–1760* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1993), especially pp. 56, 91–94.

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### *B. Chishti figures listed in the Encyclopedia Iranica (EIr)*

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'Abd al-Vahed ibn Zayd (P. Nwyia), I:167–68.
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Čerag-e Dehli (Sharif Husain Qasemi), V:262–63.

### *C. Chishti figures listed in the Dictionnaire biographique*

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Imdadu'llah Thanawi (B. Metcalf), 13.
Rashid Ahmad Gangohi (B. Metcalf), 21–22.

# Select Bibliography on the Chishtiyya

## Persian and Urdu Sources

This is a large but still selective list of Persian and Urdu works by and about Chishti Sufis. It is divided by genre, and within each category, a roughly chronological order is adopted. It includes virtually all the sources cited in the book, plus a considerable number of manuscripts from the multivolume reference, *A Comprehensive Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in Pakistan,* ed. Ahmad Monzavi, and published by the Iran Pakistan Institute of Persian Studies in Islamabad. Several manuscripts are also included from the catalog of the Sherani Collection at the University of the Punjab in Lahore. While considerably more texts and manuscripts are listed in published catalogs of libraries in Hyderabad, Calcutta, London, etc., this bibliography gives a large enough working base to serve as an illustration of the range and number of writings concerning the Chishtiyya up to the present day.

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## 5. GENEALOGIES

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Faqir Muhammad, cf. Munzawi, III, 2029. *Shajara nama-i piran-i Chisht.* Lineage up to Ghulam Haydar Shah. Munzawi, XI, 1047, no. 244 (1 MS).

## 6. MONOGRAPHIC BIOGRAPHIES (CHRONOLOGICAL BY SUBJECT)

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Mu'in al-Din Chishti

Jahanara Begum (d. 1092/1681). *Mu'nis al-arwah,* composed 1049/1639. Storey 1000; Rieu 357B; Bodleian 372; ASB Curzon 74; U Punjab, Sherani 4269/1216, 5143/2131/4, 3565/541/2, 6260, cat. I, 86, nos. 433–36; Munzawi, XI, 898, no. 111 (15 MSS). The second Sherani MS contains an appendix on the author's pilgrimage to Ajmer in 1053/1643, and is itself dated 1104/1692 at Fathpur Sikri.

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*Ahwal-i Khwaja Mu'in al-Din Sijzi.* Munzawi, XI, 1074, no. 405 (6 MSS). Islamabad MS is dated 1084/1673–74.

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ʿAbd al-Quddus Gangohi

Jalal al-Din T'hanesari (d. 989/1581), comp. *Irshad al-talibin.* MS U Punjab, Sherani 1082, cat. II, 199. Copied by ʿAbd Allah Khwishagi in 1166/1753.

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Yahya Madani (d. 1101/1689). Muhammad Fazil Ahmadabadi. *Miftah al-karamat.* Completed in 1105/1693. Monzavi, III, no. 3585; Munzawi, XI, 933, no. 158 (4 MSS).

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Muhammad ʿAqil (d. 1229/1814). *Gulzar-i ʿushshaq.* Munzawi, XI, 995, no. 250 (1 MS).

Imam Bakhsh Maharawi (d. 1300/1881), great-grandson of the shaykh. *Gulshan-i abrar.* Biography completed in 1283/1866. Munzawi, XI, 1034, no. 315 (3 MSS).

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Muhammad Husayn Pishawari. *Raz-i Hazrat-i Khwaja Muhammad Sulayman.* Biography in 71 verses. Munzawi, XI, 1013, no. 277 (1 MS).

Ghulam Muhammad Chhachari. *Manaqib-i Sulaymani.* Biography compiled in 1256/1840. Munzawi, XI, 1014, no. 280 (6 MSS). The Bahawalnagar MS has an appendix dated 1287/1870 recording the author's later visits to Taunsa and the death of the shaykh.

Yar Muhammad. *Intikhab-i manaqib-i Sulaymani.* Munzawi, XI, 1021, no. 291 (10 MSS). Storey, I, 1045

Nizam al-Din Ahmad Bada'oni (ca. 1267/1850). *Rahat al-'ashiqin.* Munzawi, XI, 1017, no. 284 (1 MS).

Najm al-Din Nagawri (d. 1287/1870). *Manaqib-i mahbubayn.* Biographies of Tawnsawi and Nur Muhammad Maharawi, completed in 1278/1862. Munzawi, XI, 1027, no. 302 (4 MSS). Ed. Lahore, 1312.

Khuda Bakhsh Tawnsawi. *Muntakhab al-asrar.* Composed ca. 1287–88/1870–72. Munzawi, XI, 1038, no. 323 (2 MSS).

Khuda Bakhsh Tawnsawi. *Manaqib-i Sulaymani.* Biography in verse. Munzawi, XI, 1039, no. 324 (1 MS).

Nabi Bakhsh. *Manaqib-i Sulaymani.* Biography. Munzawi, XI, 1039, no. 325 (MS).

Ishaq Afghan (ca. 1292/1875) wrote in verse *Qamis-i sharif* on the pedigree of the *khirqa* of Sulayman, plus *Manaqib-i Sulaymani.* Munzawi, VIII, 1334.

Musa Buzdar, disciple of Hafiz Ghulam Shah Sadid al-Din Chishti (d. 1379/1960). *Fayd-i Muhtawi/Muraqqa'-i Sulaymani.* Mathnawi verse biography. Munzawi, XI, 1068, no. 313 (2 MS).

Lillahi, Muhammad Husayn. *Hazrat Khwaja Muhammad Sulayman Tawnsawi awr un ke khulafa'.* Lahore: Islamic Book Foundation, 1399/1979. A Karachi University Ph.D. dissertation.

Muhammad Fadil Shah Mirpuri (*khalifa* of Sulayman). Za'faran. *Nafi' al-rasikhin.* Monzavi, III, no. 3740 (1 MSS)

Jamal al-Din Multani and his disciple Khuda Bakhsh Multani. Ghulam Husayn Multani (d. 1265/1849), cf. Munzawi III, 1432. *Anwar-i jamaliyya.* Munzawi, XI, 1020, no. 289 (1 MS).

Imdad Allah Muhajir Makki.

*Karamat-i Imdadiyya, ma'a izafa: Zamima jadida.* Deoband: Kutub Khana Hadi, n.d. [1336/1917 cited on p. 37]. A hagiography by Ashraf 'Ali [Thanvi?].

Fuyud al-Rahman, Hafiz Qadiri. *Hajji Imdad Allah Muhajir Makki awr un ke khulafa'.* Karachi: Majlis-i Nashriyyat-i Islam, 1984.

Allah Bakhsh Tawnsawi (d. 1319/1901–2). Nur Muhammad Mak'hadi. *Shama'il-i gharib nawaz.* Munzawi, XI, 1061, no. 375 (1 MS).

Ghulam Haydar 'Ali Shah of Jalalpur Sharif (d. 1326/1908). Malik Muhammad Din. *Zhikr-i habib.* N.p, 1344/1925–6; reprint ed., Lahore: al-Qamar Book Corporation, 1404/1983–84. 702 pp. Note that there is a genealogy (Munzawi, XI, 1041, no. 330) indicating that the *qadis* of Jalalpur have been Mujaddidis.

## 7. "RETROSPECTIVE" MALFUZAT

*Hasht bihisht.* Lahore: Allah Wale ki Qawmi Dukan, n.d. Contains 8 Chishti malfuzat in Urdu trans. from Persian.

'Usman Harwani (d. 607/1211)

*Anis al-arwah.* Comp. Mu'in al-Din Chishti. Monzavi, III, no. 2299 (9 MSS).

*Ganj al-asrar.* Comp. Mu'in al-Din Chishti. Monzavi, III, no. 3357 (7 MSS)

Mu'in al-Din Chishti (d. 633/1236)

*Asrar al-awliya'.* Comp. Qutb al-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki. Monzavi, III, no. 2215 (16 MSS)

*Bahr al-haqa'iq.* Comp. Qutb al-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki. Unique late MSS, with mi'raj and shath. Monzavi, III, no. 2333.

*Dalil al-'arifin.* Comp. Qutb al-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki. Monzavi, III, no. 2633 (9 MSS).

Qutb al-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki (d. 633/1235). *Fawa'id al-salikin.* Comp. Farid al-Din Ganj-i Shakar. Monzavi, III, no. 3421 (24 MSS).

Farid al-Din Ganj-i Shakar. *Rahat al-qulub.* Comp. Nizam al-Din Awliya'. Monzavi, III, no. 2656 (22 MSS); no. 3696 (3 MSS)

## 8. "Original" Malfuzat

Nizam al-Din Awliya' Bada'oni (d. 725/1325).

*Fawa'id al-fu'ad.* Comp. Hasan 'Ala Sijzi. Ed. Muhammad Latif Malik. Lahore: Malik Siraj al-Din and Sons, 1386/1966.

*Fawa'id al-fu'ad.* Comp. Hasan 'Ala Sijzi. Lucknow: Nawal Kishor, 1302/1885 [1312 on cover]. Microfilm printout.

*Fawa'id al-fu'ad.* Monzavi, III, no. 3248 (14 MSS).

Burhan al-Din Gharib.

*Ahsan al-aqwal.* Comp. Hammad al-Din Kashani. (Persian MS.) Khuldabad: Fariduddin Saleem. Compiled ca. 1338; copied 1718.

*Ahsan al-aqwal.* Urdu translation by Muhammad 'Abd al-Majid. Hyderabad, 1342; reprint ed., Miraj: Ganj Bakhsh Publications, 1987.

*Ghara'ib al-karamat wa 'aja'ib al-mukashafat.* Comp. Majd al-Din Kashani. (Persian MS.) Khuldabad: Fariduddin Saleem. Compiled ca. 1340; copied 1897–9.

*Nafa'is al-anfas.* Comp. Rukn al-Din Dabir Kashani. (Persian MS.) Khuldabad: Fariduddin Saleem. Compiled 1331–7.

Chiragh-i Dihli

*Khayr al-majalis.* Comp. Hamid Qalandar. Monzavi, III, no. 2608, cites 3 MSS. One may be a later version; it contains lists of auditors.

*Khayr al-majalis.* Comp. Hamid Qalandar. Edited by Khaliq Ahmad Nizami. Aligarh: Department of History, Muslim University, 1959. Compiled 1354–55.

*Malfuzat ya dih majlis.* Monzavi, III, no. 3708 (1 MS)

Zayn al-Din Shirazi. *Hidayat al-qulub wa 'inayat 'ullam al-ghuyub.* Comp. Mir Hasan. MS Khuldabad: Fariduddin Saleem. Compiled 1344–67.

Gisu Daraz (d. 1422)

*Jawami' al-kalim.* Monzavi, III, no. 2494 (5 MSS).

*Jawami' al-kalim.* Comp. Muhammad Akbar Husayni. Ed. Hafiz Muhammad Hamid Siddiqi. Cawnpore: Intizami Press, 1356/1937–38.

*Jawami' al-kalim.* Comp. Muhammad Akbar Husayni. Urdu trans. from Persian by Sayyid Rahim al-Din Husayn Banda-nawazi. Gulbarga: Banda Nawaz Research Institute, 1394/1974. Part 2 only.

*Khulasa-i jawami' al-kalim.* Urdu trans. from Persian by 'Abd al-Samad Haydari Mirza'i. Silsila-i Gisu Daraz, 4. Hyderabad: Dar al-Saha'if-i Banda Nawaz, n.d. 32 pp.

Akbar Husayni, Sayyid (son of Gisu Daraz). *Malfuzat.* Monzavi, III, no. 3706 (1 MS).

Yad Allah (son of Gisu Daraz). *Malfuzat.* Monzavi, III, no. 3693 (1 MS).

Husam al-Din Manikpuri (d. 852/1448). *Rafiq al-'arifin.* Comp. Farid ibn Salar ibn Muhammad ibn Mahmud 'Iraqi. Monzavi, III, no. 2789 (1 MS).

Ashraf Jahangir Simnani

*Lata'if-i ashrafi.* Comp. Nizam Gharib Yamani. 2 vols.; Delhi: Nusrat al-Matabi', 1295/1878.

*Lata'if-i ashrafi.* Comp. Nizam Gharib Yamani. Urdu trans. Mir Ahmad Kakori, 2 vols., cit. Monzavi, III, no. 3369 (also 1 MS of original Persian).

Hasan Muhammad Chishti Ahmadabadi (d. 982/1574). *Majalis-i Hasaniyya.* Comp. Muhammad Chishti. Monzavi, III, no. 3406 (4 MSS).

Kalim Allah Shahjahanabadi (d. 1140/1728). *Majalis-i Kalimi.* Comp. Nizam al-Din Awrangabadi. Monzavi, III, no. 3407 (4 MSS).

Nizam al-Din Awrangabadi (d. 1142/1729)

*Ahsan al-shama'il.* Comp. Kamgar Khan. Monzavi, III, no. 2170 (1 MS)

*Fawa'id.* Comp. Kamgar Khan. Monzavi, III, p. 2037 [no number] (2 MSS: Karachi ATU, p. 53, 1 QF 93; one other Dera Ghazi Khan)

Fakhr al-Din Dihlawi (d. 1199/1784). *Fakhr al-talibin.* Comp. Nur al-Din Husayn Khan Fakhri Chishti. Monzavi, III, no. 3199 (4 MSS).

Fath Allah Chishti Jaland'hari (d. 1199/1784–85). *Fath al-adhkar.* Monzavi, III, no. 3184 (1 MS).

Nur Muhammad Thani Naruwala (d. 1204/1790), a year before his master Maharawi. *Khayr al-azkar.* Comp. Muhammad ibn Ghulam Muhammad. Monzavi, III, no. 2606 (2 MSS)

Nur Muhammad Maharawi (d. 1205/1790). *Khulasat al-Fawa'id.* Comp. Qadi Muhammad 'Umar Hakim Sayyidpuri. Monzavi, III, no. 2587 (7 MSS).

Khuda Bakhsh Multani (1150–1253/1737–1838). *Malfuzat-i Khuda Bakhsh.* Comp. 'Azim Bakhsh ibn Miyan Allah Bakhsh Ahmadpuri. Monzavi, III, no. 3686 (2 MSS)

Sulayman Tawnsawi (d. 1267/1850)

*Malfuzat-i sharif.* Comp. Ghulam Haydar. Monzavi, III, no. 3694 (1 MS)

*Nafi' al-salikin.* Comp. Imam al-Din Ghulam Shah in 1267/1851–52. Monzavi, III, no. 3741 (7 MSS); Monzavi, XI, 1040, no. 326 (1 MS).

*Muntakhab al-manaqib.* Comp. Yar Muhammad Dhawqi ibn Taj Muhammad Pakpattani. Monzavi, III, no. 3719 (2 MSS)

Jamal al-Din Multani. *Anwar-i jamaliyya.* Comp. 'Abd al-'Aziz Parharawi. Ed. Multan. Ganj Bakhsh 22050/22022. Cit. Munzawi, XI, 1020.

Muhammad Allah Bakhsh Tawnsawi (khalifa of Sulayman). *Ghaza' al-muhibbin wa samm al-mu'anidin.* Comp. Nur Muhammad Mak'hadi in 1314/1896–97. Monzavi, III, no. 3169 (2 MSS).

Ghulam Haydar 'Ali Shah of Jalalpur Sharif (d. 1326/1908).

*Nafahat al-mahbub.* Sadhura, Pakistan: Bilali Steam Press, 1327/1909.

*Malfuzat-i Haydari.* Comp. Sufi Nur 'Alam. Urdu trans. from Persian *Nafahat al-mahbub* by 'Abd al-Ghani. Lahore: al-Qamar Book Corporation, 1404/1983–4. 400 pp.

Ghulam Farid, Khwaja (d. 1319/1901)

*Isharat-i Faridi* or *Maqabis al-majalis.* Monzavi, III, no. 2244; Monzavi, III, no. 3588 (1 MS)

*Maqabis al-majalis.* Urdu trans. from Persian by Wahid Bakhsh Siyal. Lahore: Islamic Book Foundation, 1399/1979. Malfuzat compiled 1893–1901.

Muhammad Ilyas. Manzur Nu'mani, Muhammad, comp. *Malfuzat-i Muhammad Ilyas.* Lucknow: Maktaba-i Islam, n.d.

Zanqi, Shah Sayyid Muhammad. *Tarbiyat al-'ushshaq.* Comp. Shahid Allah Faridi, ed. Wahid Bakhsh Siyal. Karachi, 1377/1957; reprint ed., Karachi: Mahfil-i Zanquiyya, 1393/1974. Malfuzat compiled 1944–1951.

## 9. LETTERS

Ashraf Jahangir Simnani. *Maktubat.* MS 166 Farsi, Subhanullah Collection, History Department Library, Aligarh Muslim University. Microfilm printout.

Gisu Daraz. *Maktubat.* Ed. Sayyid 'Ata' Husayn. Hyderabad: Barqi Press, 1362/1943. 157 pp.

Husam al-Din Manikpuri (d. 852/1448). *Maktubat-i Manikpuri.* Monzavi, III, no. 3659 (1 MS)

Makki, Muhammad ibn Ja'far.

*Bahr al-ma'ani* (ca. 824–25/1421–22). Monzavi, III, no. 2335 (12 MSS).

*Daqa'iq al-ma'ani.* MS (Dakhila number 7916, fann number QA22), Andhra Pradesh Oriental Manuscript Library, Hyderabad. 322 fols., copied 28 Safar 1178 in Hyderabad by 'Abd al-Qadir. Asafiyya cat. I, 418, nos. 306, 597, 870.

'Abd al-Quddus Gangohi. *Maktubat.* EIO 1873, Bodleian 1275; U Punjab, Sherani 1422, cat. II, 256. Monzavi, III, no. 3646–7 (2 additional MSS).

'Abd al-Wahid Ibrahim Mazara'ani Bilgrami (d. 1017/1609). *Maktubat.* Monzavi, III, no. 3649 (1 MS).

'Abd al-Jalil Lak'hnavi Chishti (d. 1043/1634). *Maktubat.* Monzavi, III, no. 3638 (3 MSS). One letter is to Sirhindi.
Shah Muhibb Allah Ilahabadi (d. 1058/1648). *Maktubat.* Monzavi, III, no. 3663 (1 MS)
Kalim Allah (d. 1142/1729)
*Ruqa'at* (letters to Nizam al-Din Awrangabadi). U Punjab, Sherani 4561/1511, cat. II, 361, no. 1970.
*Maktubat-i Fakhr-i jahan.* Comp. Shah Muhammad 'Abd al-Samad Chishti Fakhri Faridi Sulaymani. Monzavi, III, no. 3653 (1 MS).
*Maktubat-i kalimi.* Comp. Muhammad Qasim 'Ali Kalimi. Monzavi, III, no. 3657 (5 MSS);, no. 3658 (3 MSS).
Rashid Ahmad Gangohi (d. 1323/1905). *Maktubat.* Monzavi, III, no. 3629 (1 MS.

## 10. Speculative Works

Mu'in al-Din Chishti (attr.).
*Ganj al-asrar.* Monzavi, III, no. 3357 (7 MSS).
*Maktubat.* Monzavi, III, no. 3623–4 (12 MSS).
*Risala.* Monzavi, III, no. 2681 (1 MS).
*Risala.* Monzavi, III, no. 2682 (1 MS).
*Wujudiyya.* Monzavi, III, no. 3820 (10 MSS). Most are on yoga.
Farid al-Din Ganj-i Shakkar (attr.)
*Ganj-i asrar.* Monzavi, III, no. 3355 (9 MSS).
*Risala-i 'irfani.* Monzavi, III, no. 2714 (2 MSS).
Shaykh Hamid al-Din Nagawri (d. 673/1273). *Surur al-sudur.* Monzavi, III, no. 2854 (1 MS, Pakistan Historical Society, Karachi).
Sharaf al-Din Abu 'Ali Shah Qalandar (d. 724/1324) (attr.)
*Asrar al-'arifin wa burhan al-'ashiqin.* Monzavi, III, no. 2223 (3 MSS). A theological treatise.
*Maktubat.* Monzavi, III, no. 3618 (2 MSS).
*Ma'rifat-i zat wa sifat-i khuda.* Monzavi, III, no. 3561 (2 MSS).
*Niyaz al-'ashiqin.* Monzavi, III, no. 3802 (6 MSS).
Nizam al-Din Awliya' (attr.)
*Risala-i 'irfani.* Monzavi, III, no. 2726 (1 MS).
*Maktubat.* Monzavi, III, no. 3673 (1 MS).
Fakhr al-Din Zarradi (d. 748/1347). *Tarjuma-i usul al-sama'.* Monzavi, III, no. 2265 (1 MS).
Rukn al-Din ibn 'Imad al-Din Dabir Kashani Khuldabadi. *Shama'il al-atqiya'.* Edited by Sayyid 'Ata' Husayn. Silsila-i Isha'at al-'Ulum, no. 85. Hyderabad: Matbu'a Ashraf Press, 1347/1928–29. Photocopy of Harvard copy. See also Monzavi, III, no. 3067 (9 MSS).
Mas'ud Bakk.
*Mir'at al-'arifin.* Hyderabad: Matba'-i Mufid-i Dakan, 1310–1892. 184 pp. Photocopy. Monzavi, III, no. 3461 (3 MSS).
*Risala dar jawaz-i sama'* (attr.). Monzavi, III, no. 2885 (1 MS).
*Umm al-saha'if fi 'ayn al-ma'arif.* MS 1444 Tasawwuf Farsi (dakhila number 15762, fann number QM22), MS 202 Tasawwuf Farsi (dakhila number 3697), Andhra Pradesh Oriental Manuscript Research Library, Hyderabad. Monzavi, III, no. 2288 (1 MS)
Nur Qutb-i 'Alam (d. 818/1415). *Anis al-ghuraba'.* Monzavi, III, no. 2303 (11 MSS)
Gisu Daraz (d. 1422)
*Adab al-muridin (intikhab).* Urdu trans. from Persian by Ma'shuq Yar Jang. Silsila-i Gisu Daraz, 2. Hyderabad: Dar al-Saha'if-i Banda Nawaz, n.d. 24 pp.
*Hada'iq al-uns.* Monzavi, III, no. 2534 (1 MS).
*Haza'ir al-quds.* Ed. Sayyid 'Ata' Husayn. Hyderabad: Intizami Press, n.d. [1359/1940]. Microfilm printout.

*Iqtibas-i risala-i Imam Qushayri.* Hyderabad: I'jaz Printing Press, n.d. 100 pp.
*Khatima sharif (ikhtisar).* Silsila-i Gisu Daraz, 3. 40 pp. Hyderabad: Dar al-Saha'if-i Banda Nawaz, n.d. Urdu trans.
*Khatima-i adab al-muridin al-ma'ruf bi-khatima.* Urdu trans. from Persian by Mu'in al-Din Darda'i. Karachi: Nafis Academy, 1976. 254 pp.
*Jawahar al-'ushshaq al-ma'ruf bi-sharh-i risala-i Ghawth al-A'zam.* Ed. Sayyid 'Ata' Husayn. Hyderabad: Barqi Press, 1362/1943. 63 pp.
*Risala-i ra'aytu rabbi fi ahsani suratin.* trans. from Persian by Rahim al-Din Husayni Chishti. Silsila-i Matbu'at-i Banda Nawaz Research Institute Gulbarga, 1. Hyderabad: I'jaz Printing Press, 1388/1969. 36 pp.
*Ru'yat-i khuda.* Monzavi, III, no. 2819 (2 MSS).
*Sabil al-muhaqqin wal-majzubin.* Monzavi, III, no. 2834 (2 MSS).
*Sharh-i asmar al-asrar* by Rafi' al-Din ibn Shah Wali Allah (d. 1233/1817). U Punjab, Sherani 1283, cat. II, 232 (dated 1203/1788).
*Wujud al-'ashiqin.* Monzavi, III, no. 3814 (14 MSS).

Akbar Husayni, Sayyid (son of Gisu Daraz)
*Risala-i 'irfani.* Monzavi, III, no. 2691 (1 MS). Theological text.
*Tabsirat al-istilahat al-sufiyya.* Ed. Sayyid 'Ata' Husayn. Gulbarga: Kutub Khana-i Rawdatayn, 1365/1946. 160 pp. Bound with the same author's *Kitab al-'aqa'id.* Ed. Sayyid 'Ata' Husayn. Gulbarga: Kutub Khana-i Rawdatayn, 1366/1947. 124 pp.

Abu al-Fath 'Ala' Qurayshi Gwaliyari (d. 853/1449), khalifa of Gisu Daraz. *Mushahid.* Monzavi, III, no. 3509 (3 MSS).

Muhammad-i Muhammad Husayni ibn Sayyid Shah Habib Allah (desc. of Gisu Daraz). *Risala-i 'irfani.* Monzavi, III, no. 2718 (1 MS).

Husam al-Din Manikpuri (d. 852/1448). *Anis al-'ashiqin.* Monzavi, III, no. 2301 (3 MSS).

Baha' al-Din Shah Bajan. *Gulistan-i rahmat,* on Shaykh Rahmat Allah. U Punjab, Sherani 5289/2282, cat. II, 300, no. 1657.

Miranji Shams al-'Ushshaq (d. 902/1496)
*Irshad al-talibin.* Monzavi, III, no. 2195 (1 MS).
*Ma'rifat al-qulub.* Monzavi, III, no. 3566 (3 MSS).

Abd al-Quddus Gangohi
*Majma' al-bahrayn.* Monzavi, III, no. 3413 (1 MS).
*Nur al-huda.* U Punjab, Sherani 3971/919/2, cat. II, 263, no. 1460 = Monzavi, III, no. 3792.
*Qurrat al-'ayn.* U Punjab, Sherani 1325, cat. II, 239.
*Risala-i qudsi.* MS U Punjab, Sherani 1236, cat. II, 224. Xerox printout CWE.
*Rushd nama.* MSS U Punjab, Sherani 1246–1247, cat. II, 226; Karachi ATU, p. 47, 3 QF 309 (descr. Monzavi, III, no. 2783).; 9W Arabic, Garrett Collection, Princeton University, fols. 37b–52b, CWE.

Rukn al-Din ibn 'Abd al-Quddus Gangohi (d. 945/1538). *Sharh majma' al-bahrayn.* U Punjab, Sherani 1295, cat. II, 234.

Jalal al-Din T'hanesari (d. 989/1582)
*Gulzar-i jalali.* Monzavi, III, no. 3348 (1 MS).
*Irshad al-talibin.* Monzavi, III, no. 2193 (27 MSS).

Burhan al-Din Janam Chishti (d. 990/1582).
*Kalid-i ganj.* Monzavi, III, no. 3325 (1 MS).
*Kashf al-'awalim.* Monzavi, III, no. 3297 (1 MS).
*Makhzan-i salikin wa maqsad-i 'arifin.* Monzavi, III, no. 3447 (4 MSS).
*Ma'rifat al-mahbub.* Monzavi, III, no. 3568 (1 MS).

Surur al-Haqq Chishti (ca. 1008/1599). *Risala-i 'irfani.* Monzavi, III, no. 2700 (1 MS).

'Abd al-Wahid Ibrahim Mazara'ani Bilgrami (d. 1017/1609)
*Sab' sanabil.* Monzavi, III, no. 2832 (6 MSS). A treatise on Sufism, with an appendix drawn from a biographical work by Qadi Hamid al-Din Nagauri on all the early Chishtis up to Qutb al-Din.

*Sharh-i nuzhat al-arwah* of Husayni Sadat. Monzavi, III, no. 3748 (12 MSS).

Khub Muhammad Chishti (d. 1023/1614)

*Amwaj-i khubi.* Monzavi, III, no 2290 (3 MSS).

*'Aqa'id-i sufiyyan.* Monzavi, III, no. 3137 (1 MS).

*Miftah al-tawhid.* Monzavi, III, no. 3578 (1 MS).

*Qulzum.* Monzavi, III, no. 3272 (1 MSS).

*Sulh-i kull.* Monzavi, III, no. 3091 (1 MS).

Nizam al-Din T'hanesari

*Bahr al-tasawwuf, sharh-i Sawanih.* Monzavi, III, no. 2332.

*Mazahir.* Monzavi, III, no. 3531 (4 MSS).

*Risala-i haqqiyya.* Monzavi, III, no. 2553 (2 MSS).

*Ru'yat-i khuda.* Monzavi, III, no. 2820 (1 MS).

*Sharh-i abyat.* Monzavi, III, no. 2918 (1 MS). Unknown commentator.

*Sharh-i iyyakum wal-amrudan.* Monzavi, III, no. 2933 (1 MS).

*Tajalliyyat-i jamal, sharh-i Lama'at.* Monzavi, III, no. 3387 (3 MSS).

Isma'il 'Abd Allah, at the request of Abu al-Fath, a khalifa of Nizam al-Din T'hanesari. *Ma'din al-haqa'iq.* Monzavi, III, no. 3542 (1 MS). A dialogue between 'Ali and Kumayl.

Muhammad Chishti

*Adab al-talibin.*

(a) MS copied in Tawnsah, probably after 1790, personal collection CWE. Gift of Khalil al-Rahman Dawoodi, Lahore.

(b) *Adab al-talibin, ma'a rafiq al-tullab wa albab thulatha.* Urdu trans. from Persian by Muhammad Bashir Husayn. Ed. Muhammad Aslam Rana. Lahore: Progressive Books, 1984.

(c) Monzavi, III, no. 2140 (13 MSS).

*Albab-i thulatha.* Monzavi, III, no. 2283 (1 MS Gulra Sharif).

*Hidayat al-mashyakha.* Monzavi, III, no. 3845 (4 MSS).

*Ilhamat.* Monzavi, III, no. 2285 (3 MSS). A treatise on theology in 40 chapters.

*'Ilm, Risalat al-.* Monzavi, III, no. 3147 (1 MS).

*Iman, Risala-i.* Monzavi, III, no. 2326 (2 MSS).

*Jihad-i akbar.* Monzavi, III, 1397, no. 2509 [misprinted 2519] (1 MS).

*Khilvat u jilvat.* Monzavi, III, no. 2599 (1 MS).

*Lubb, Risala-i.* Monzavi, III, no. 3365 (1 MS).

*Lazzat al-muntahin.* Monzavi, III, no. 3366 (3 MSS).

*Marajin al-'ushshaq fi bahr al-ashwaq.* Monzavi, III, no. 3485 (3 MSS).

*Ma'rifat.* Monzavi, III, no. 3554 (1 MS).

*Ma'rifat al-suluk.* Monzavi, III, no. 3562 (2 MSS).

*Masjid wa masjid-i ka'ba wa aqsá, Risala dar.* Monzavi, III, no. 3504 (1 MS).

*al-Nas bil-ba's, Risala dar bayan-i.* Monzavi, III, no. 3738 (2 MSS).

*al-Nihaya huwa al-ruju' ila' al-bidaya.* Monzavi, III, no. 3801 (1 MS).

*Niyyat, Risala-i.* Monzavi, III, no. 3803 (1 MS).

*Nukat al-ikhwan.* Monzavi, III, no. 3778 (7 MSS.

*Qur'an-i sharif.* Monzavi, III, no. 3262 (1 MS).

*Rafiq al-tullab.* Monzavi, III, no. 2788 (5 MSS).

*Rahat al-muridin.* Monzavi, III, no. 2657 (3 MSS).

*Rasa'il.* Monzavi, III, no. 2669. A collection of 37 treatises in a Lahore MS. Also Salar Jung 8:288, no. 3429 (16 treatises).

*Ruh-i a'zam.* Monzavi, III, no. 2806 (2 MSS).

*Sabr dar shiddat.* Monzavi, III, no. 3081 (2 MSS).

*al-Safar wal-iqamat bi-'inayat allah.* Monzavi, III, no. 2855 (2 MSS).

*Taqsim al-awrad.* Monzavi, III, no. 2432 (1 MS).

*Tawhid-i sulasa.* Monzavi, III, no. 2459 (3 MSS).

*Tuhfat [al-suluk al-mawsila ila' allah malik] al-muluk.* Monzavi, III, no. 2396 (1 MS).

'Abd al-Jalil Lak'hnavi Chishti (d. 1043/1634)
*Asrariyya.* Monzavi, III, no. 2235 (5 MSS). He exchanged letters with Ahmad Sirhindi.
*Rumuzat ya chahar manzil.* Monzavi, III, no. 2795 (14 MSS).
*Sayr-i maqamat.* Monzavi, III, no. 2903 (14 MSS).
' Abd al-Karim Chishti Sabiri Lahuri (d. 1045/1635).
*Masabih al-'arifin.* Monzavi, III, no. 3516 (1 MS)
*Sharh fusus al-hikam.* Monzavi, III, no. 3211 (1 MS).
' Abd al-Rahman Chishti. *Mir'at al-makhluqat.* U Punjab, Sherani 4076/1024, cat. II, 303, no. 1674
Raju Muhammad al-Husayni (d. 1092/1681). *Tariq al-muwahhidin.* Persian text ed. and Urdu trans. Mu'in al-Din Muhammad Muhammad al-Husayni Sahib Fayd al-Barqi. Silsila-i Matbu'at-i Shah Raju Academy Hyderabad, no. 2. Hyderabad: Shah Raju Academy, 1975.
Shah Muhibb Allah Ilahabadi (d. 1058/1648)
*Divan al-qulub ya muqaddama-i 'ibadat al-khawass.* MS U Punjab, Sherani 1188, cat. II, 218.
*Sharh fusus al-hikam.* Monzavi, III, no. 3210 (7 MSS).
Muhammad Akram Baraswi. *Nashr al-la'ali, sharh-i jawahar-i sitta.* U Punjab, Sherani 6300, cat. II, 262, no. 1451.
Kalim Allah (d. 1142/1729)
*Kashkul-i kalimi.* Monzavi, III, no. 3308 (37 MSS).
*Muraqqa'-i kalimi.* Monzavi, III, no. 3497 (27 MSS). MS Zia Inayat Khan.
Nizam al-Din Awrangabadi (d. 1142/1729). *Nizam al-qulub.* Monzavi, III, no. 3759 (2 MSS).
Shah Bahlul Barki Jaland'hari Bukhara'i (d. 1170/1756). *Sayf al-maslul 'ala' man a'rada 'an sama' al-rasul.* Monzavi, III, no. 2908 (1 MS). A defense of music by a disciple of Shah B'hika Chishti Lahuri.
Fakhr al-Din Dihlawi (d. 1199/1785)
*'Ayn al-Yaqin.* Monzavi, III, no. 3167 (3 MSS).
*Nizam al-'aqa'id.* Monzavi, III, no. 3758 (1 MS). A 1966 edition with Urdu translation has appeared.
Muhammad Rafi' al-Din Qandahari (active 1189–1213/1775–1799). *Suluk-i Chishtiyya.* Monzavi, III, no. 2868 (3 MSS). The author, a Deccani Rifa'i, wrote this for some "Chishti Naqshbandis" and also wrote works on Qadiri and Naqshbandi practice (Monzavi, III, no. 2143).
Khuda Bakhsh Multani (1150–1253/1737–1838) [Nizami, V: 325 ff.]. *Tawfiqiyya.* Monzavi, III, no. 2463 (10 MSS). It is noted here that the author studied with Wali Allah as well as with Jamal Multani (d. 1226/1811).
Muhammad Nur al-Din ibn Muhammad Muqim al-Din A'zampuri Chishti Sabiri (disc. of Shah 'Abd al-Rahman Lak'hnawi, d. 1245/1829). *Naghma-i 'ushshaq.* Monzavi, III, no. 3761 (3 MSS). Composed in 1275/1858–59.
Imdad Allah Muhajir Makki (d. 1315/1899). *Ziya' al-qulub.* Deoband: Kutub Khana Rashid Company, n.d. See also Monzavi, III, no. 3096 (1 MS).
Ghulam Husayn Shah Chishti Sabiri Qadiri Haydarabadi Dakani. *Suluk-i Hashimi.* Monzavi, III, no. 2878 (1 MS). Based on teachings of Sayyid Muhammad Hashim Hasani "Muhammad Shah," with whom he studied during 1300–1339/1883–1920.
Ramz al-Din Qadiri Mashhadi De'obandi. *Kashf al-muhaqqiqin wa asrar al-muwahhidin.* Monzavi, III, no. 3303 (1 MS). Written for the latter's disciple Hajji Muhammad Sulayman Chishti Qadiri Dihlawi, who was alive in 1354/1935.
Zauqi Shah, Muhammad.
*Madamin-i Zauqi.* Ed. Wahid Bakhsh Siyal. Karachi: Mahfil-i Zauqiyya, 1398/1975. Essays and letters.
*Sirr-i dilbaran.* 4th printing, Karachi: Mahfil-i Zauqiyya, 1405/1985. A dictionary of Sufi terminology. 476 pp.

Sharif Ahmad Sharafat Nawshahi (d. 1403/1983). *Fayz-i Chishtiyya.* Monzavi, III, no. 3253 (2 MS). The author is the *sajjada-nishin* of the Nawshahi order at Sahanpal, and this text records a vision he had of Muhammad Afzal Shah Chishti in the village of Dhabola-Bakhsh, Gujrat, in 1347/1928, when the latter was preaching the Hizb Allah there.

Shahid Allah Faridi. *Gul-i sad barg.* Karachi: Mahfil-i Dhawqiyya, 1405/1985. The author, an English convert, was originally named Lennard.

## 11. Literature

Gisu Daraz. *Burhan al-'ashiqin.* Monzavi, III, no. 2342 (4 MSS). Also known as *Chahar baradaran* or *Shikar nama.* There are seven commentaries on this text, which has been printed in *Yazda rasa'il.* One is by Rafi' al-Din ibn Shah Wali Allah (Monzavi, III, no. 2343), another by Muhammad Chishti (Monzavi, III, no. 2345). The commentary of Sayyid Muhammad Kalpawi is discussed by Nasrollah Pourjavady in *Nigahi digar,* pp. 169–77.

Muhammad Chishti

*Chand afsana.* Monzavi, III, no. 2513.

*Zan-i gul-furush.* Monzavi, III, no. 2829 (1 MS).

'Abd Allah Khwishagi Qasuri Chishti. *Bahr al-firasa.* Monzavi, III, no. 2957 (14 MSS). A commentary on Hafiz. See also nos. 2961–62, 2966, for other Chishti commentaries on Hafiz.

Zanqi Shah, Muhammad. *Bada u saghir.* N.p., 1339/1955. A novel.

## 12. Legal Texts

Muhammad Qiwam al-Din Jamal. *Qiwam al-'aqa'id.* MS Osmania, dated 791/1389.

Gisu Daraz. *Sharh fiqh al-akbar.* Ed. Sayyid 'Ata' Husayn. Hyderabad: Barqi Press, 1367/1948. 48 pp.

## 13. Devotional Works

Badr al-Din ibn Jamal al-Din Chishti. *Bahr al-hayat.* Monzavi, III, no. 2334. Chishti practices based on masters up to Qutb al-Din.

Chiragh-i Dihli. *Awrad-i Nasiriyya.* Monzavi, III, no. 2319 (2 MSS).

Gisu Daraz. *Du'a-yi istiftah.* Trans. from Persian by Rahim al-Din Husayni Banda Nawazi Abu al-'Ala'i. Hyderabad: I'jaz Printing Press, n.d. 35 pp.

Muhammad Akbar [Husayni] "Miyan" ibn Gisu Daraz. *Tarjuma-i risala-i azkar al-'arabiyya.* MS U Punjab, Sherani 1131, cat. II, 208.

Chishti, 'Abd al-Rahman (d. 1094/1683). *Awrad-i Chishtiyya.* Monzavi, III, no. 2311 (2 MSS)

Muhammad Lud'ha. *Awrad-i ruhi.* Monzavi, III, no. 2313. Prayers transmitted from Farid al-Din Ganj-i Shakkar by his *khalifa* 'Abd Allah.

Niyaz Ahmad Barelwi. *Raz u niyaz.* Monzavi, III, no. 2658 (2 MSS).

Anonymous. *Tariqa-i khatm-i khwajagan-i Chisht.* Monzavi, III, no. 3107 (1 MS).

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