MUSLIM-MYSTIC TRENDS IN INDIA
DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

ABSTRACT

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
Doctor of Philosophy
IN
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BY
Fozail Ahmad Qadri

Under the Supervision of
Professor K. A. Nizami

CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
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MUSLIM-MYSTIC TRENDS IN INDIA DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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Eighteenth century is an era of great significance in the history of the East as well as the West. It was a period of great achievements in Europe, but in the Islamic world it was marked by degeneration and anarchy. India was shaken by the political, economic and social turmoil that followed the death of Aurangzeb. "In the darkest hours of political Islam, observes Philip K. Hitti, religious Islam has been able to achieve some of its brilliant victories."\(^1\)

During the eighteenth century new trends and tendencies in the religious thought brought about a change in the religious milieu. The Muslim-mystical movements entered a phase of great significance characterized by fresh interpretation of religion and religious attitudes which had a deep impact during this period and after. "Through the course of Islamic history Islamic culture was challenged but never overpowered, for the Sufi and other mystical thought always came to rescue its most dogmatic preaching and always gave it that strength and power which no challenge could destroy."\(^2\)

"A period of political decadence in the history of Islam is marked by great intellectual developments", observes Philip K. Hitti.\(^2\)

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es Iqbal. During this period abundant literature was produced on almost every branch of Muslim religious thought. The religious and mystical writer show a deep and encyclopaedic knowledge of the subject they touched. It was a time when few religious thinkers and mystical personalities stood up to reform the afflicted Muslim society by their acts and deeds. They renewed the Islamic faith, revitalized the mystical movements and restored the Islamic religion to its pristine purity.

With the decline of the Delhi Sultanate the central structure of the Chishti Silsilah collapsed, though there were provincial centres in the Deccan, Bengal, Multan and several other parts of the country but they could not gain popularity and momentum. During eighteenth century Chishti Silsilah witnessed a renaissance under the leadership of Shah Kalimullah Jahanabadi, who had great reformatory zeal and always asked his disciples to strictly follow the tenets of the shariah and the tariqah. In every sense he was a true follower of the early Chishti saints. Shah Kalimullah sent his favourite disciple, Shah Nizamuddin, to the Deccan, who lived and worked in the Deccan for his whole life. Shah Nizamuddin's son and successor came back to Delhi and devoted his entire life for the propagation of the Silsilah and

reformation of the Muslim society.

Eighteenth century also witnessed the revival of provincial centres of Muslim-mystics, centres of Qadri, Chishti and Naqshbandi Silsilahs were spread in modern Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal, Punjab and Kashmir, with strong leaders. They employed great impact during their life time and after. Few of them still survive with their great traditions. The Firdausi Silsilah of Shaikh Sharfuddin Yahya Maneri at Bihar Shareef earstwhile Patna district was still popular with its brilliant past.

The mystical scene during this period was occupied by the Naqshbandi saints. Five great mystical personalities lived and worked in Delhi simultaneously; each having highest spiritual experiences, tried in their own right to reform the decaying Muslim society and interpreted Islamic thought, according to the space time conditions. Four of them, Khwaja Muhammad Nasir 'Andalib, his son Khwaja Mir Dard, Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan and Shah Waliullah, were related to the Naqshbandi Order and Shah Fakhruddin represented the Chishti Order. Later in the time of Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz, there were about twenty-two saints in Delhi with their established khanqahs. 4

Khwaja Muhammad Nasir 'Andalib, senior-most among all was a strange personality. A prolific writer and thinker in Islamic mysticism, all his writings are full of metaphysical and abstruse problems. Nasir 'Andalib gave a new mystic order to this world and called it Tariqah-i Muhammadi. His son, Khwaja Mir Dard, who gives all information and teachings of this new order, was also a great mystical personality. Considered to be one of the four pillars of Urdu poetry, Mir Dard wrote volumes on Islamic mysticism. The father and son had great love for each other. Mir Dard was the first to enter Tariqah-i Muhammadi. The father-Shaikh relationship ultimately led him to propound a new theory of resuscitation in the Shaikh (نالی اندلیب). Mir Dard very clearly and unequivocally declares that his entire writing is inspired after the Quran and Hadith by his father’s magnum opus Nalay-i 'Andalib. Being the first person to embrace the Tariqah-i Muhammadi (ناالی اندلیب) Mir Dard’s writing, according to his own statement, is the explanation of (یلی اندلیب) i.e., knowledge of God based on the teachings of the Prophet. The main theme of his mystical writing is the explanation of the problem of self-identification.

Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan was another great mystic of the period. This mystical, purified, derwesh-like, scho-

5. 'Ilm-ul Kitab, p. 85.
larly, perfect, famous, incomparable person, as his contemporary Mir Taqi Mir calls him, was also a Naqshbandi. Mirza, Mazhar too, is one of the four pillars of Urdu poetry, but his fame and respect was much in the pious circles than the literary community.

Mirza Mazhar concentrated upon the leadership of the Silsilah Shamsiyah-Mazhariyah - a branch of the Naqshbandi Order which Mirza Mazhar carved out and which flourished in Delhi and the neighbouring areas. He was a strict disciplinarian and an ardent follower of the Sunnah, a staunch Sunni known in the contemporary circles as Sunni maker as most of the Shi'is converted to Sunnism on his hands. Mirza Mazhar's reformatory zeal was inspiring and he endeavoured hard for the propagation of the Silsilah. He easily toured the areas round Delhi like Panipat, Shahjahanpur, Bareilly, Sambhal and Moradabad, and 49 of his spiritual successors went in the length and breadth of the country with the same goal.

Mirza Mazhar's works besides his Urdu and Persian anthologies are his small treatise on the explanation of some Shi'i beliefs, some prefaces to the works of friends and disciples and the collection of his letters. These letters of Mirza Mazhar are of great importance as they are the only

source of information about his mystical ideas. Unlike his contemporaries who wrote in high flown words Mirza Mazhar adopted a style which is simple, sober and matter of fact.

Shah Waliullah one of the most seminal figures in the history of Islamic thought, as Professor K.A. Nizami regards him was also a Naqshbandi. His father Shah Abdur Rahim was a mystical personality and a jurist, who worked in the compilation of the legal compendium Fatawa-i Alamgiri Shah Waliullah was a mystic, a jurist, a Muhaddith, a scholar of great eminence, over and above the renovator and reviver of Islamic faith in India during the eighteenth century.

For complete three decades Shah Waliullah served the Muslim society by his writings and actions. By his magnum opus Hujatullah-ul Balighah, Shah Waliullah laid the foundation of new 'Ilm-i Kalam which ranks with the Ahyaul Ulum-ud Din of Imam Ghazali. His reformatory zeal led him to declare the mystical works which may have a wonderful effect on the elect to be poisonous for the common people and heavily attacked some of the practices in the mystic circles which the common people adopted without knowing its secrets.

7. 'Shah Waliullah - Thought and Contribution', Islamic Culture.
8. Ilm-ul Kalam, p. 117.
Shah Waliullah brought about a reconciliation between different mystic Khanwadas and made a synthesis of the doctrines of Wahdat-ul Wujud and Wahdat-us Shuhud which had become a source of continuous conflict in the mystic circles for the last hundred years. Although his synthesis was not accepted by the contemporary mystics but the nature of the controversy became sober and moderate.

Shah Waliullah's attempts to bridge the gulf between the different sects of Islam and the followers of the various mystical orders were successful. For a complete understanding of the philosophy of Shah Waliullah, it is necessary to study them in the political, social, religious and economic background of the period. Among these five personalities Shah Waliullah gained greatest fame as translator of Quran into Persian, a political minded mystic who had a clear understanding of the political developments and a leader who interfered in the affairs of the state.

The approach of these great personalities to life and religion is largely the same. All of them alike stressed on the importance of the Divine Law as the centre of Muslim life, attacked philosophy and faka mysticism and refused to be called 'Sufis' as the term deteriorated in those days. Shah Waliullah regards those people who seduce men by miracle mongering as 'sellers of miracle' and sees in them...
'the high way robbers'. Mirza Mazhar held the earlier view that miracles are 'manstruel of the men', while Mir Dard uses the expression 'shop-keeper mystics' and 'pig-natured persons.' The aims and objectives of all the religious leaders were the same. Shah Waliullah often quotes his own Arabic verse which signifies this approach:

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\text{نَتَّلِفُ إِلَى ذُرُّ الدَّاءَ الْمَيْلَ بِضَيْقَةٍ}
```

Our signs are different and the beauty is one, and everything points to that beauty.

Hindu-Muslim relations were quite cordial during this period and the culture of the time had a far reaching impact on these two communities. Conversion to Islam was not a strange thing but of course it was an involved issue in prevailing political conditions; nevertheless many Hindus converted to Islam under the influence of Shah Kalimullah, Shah Nizamuddin and Shah Fakhruddin. They were given mystical trainings and were perfected yet many of them kept their new faith a secret to avoid the calumny of their kinsmen.

10. \textit{Bisharat-i Mazhariyah}, (MS)
Study of Hindu philosophy and thought was not a new thing for the Muslim-Mystics. During eighteenth century we find ample evidence. Khwaja Nasir 'Andalib had great allusion for the Hindu philosophy and Yoga, Mir Dard is believed to have learnt Sanskrit and knew all the rag and raginis of classical Indian music. Mirza Mazhar departed from the earlier Naqshbandi traditions and declared Hindus as Ahl-i Kitab and Vedas as revealed book. Never before any Indo-Muslim mystic had so clearly and categorically enunciated his views.

Shah Fakhruddin was enthusiastically involved for the benefit and moral upliftment of the Muslim society. Like Mirza Mazhar, he too concentrated upon the leadership of his Silsilah. Although Chishti Order was reorganized and revitalized by Shah Kalimullah and Shah Nizamuddin but under the leadership of Shah Fakhruddin it got further momentum. Taking in view the condition of the Muslim masses, majority of whom were ignorant and illiterate Shah Fakhruddin declared that the Friday sermon in the mosques should

be recited in Hindawi so that the teachings of Islam must
reach them. His Khangah was open to all irrespective of
caste and creed and Shah Fakhruddin received them with equal
love and affection.

With great vigour and dynamism they faced the
Shi'a-Sunni conflict of the period and wrote books and
treatises in support of their ideas, heavily attacked the
practices of 'Ashurah. Mirza Mazhar even went to the extent
of compiling a book in the defence of Amir Muawiyah and
argued that he should be treated like any other companion of
the Prophet. Large number of Shi'is converted to Sunnism on
the hands of Mirza Mazhar, Shah Waliullah and Shah Fakhruddin.
They often faced stiff opposition and were physically
assaulted. Mirza Mazhar was assassinated by the Shi'is.

Besides Mir Dard and his father who seldom refer
to the political conditions the remaining three had great
political insight. Shah Waliullah put forward many politi-
cal alternatives and remedies before the authorities and ul-
timately invited Ahmad Shah Abdali to fight the Marathas.

Mirza Mazhar had a following among the Rohillas, the only
source of hope and the Rohilla Chief, Zabita Khan, was his
disciple. Some kings and a large number of the members of
the royal family were spiritually related to Shah Fakhruddin
who reminded the king on several occasions about the politi-
cal developments which shows his deep political edudition.
It is difficult to judge the relations of Shah Waliullah with Nasir 'Andalib and Mir Dard because of the paucity of the source of information. Same is the case with Mirza Mazhar's relations with Nasir 'Andalib and his son except for two instances. In one of his letters to Mir Musalman, Mirza Mazhar informs about the sad demise of Nasir 'Andalib.\(^{15}\) In a later work Mir Dard recognizes light of saintliness in the face of a person who just came from the company of Mirza Mazhar.\(^{16}\)

Shah Waliullah had quite cordial relations with Mirza Mazhar and had a considerable admiration because of his faithful adherence to the Kitab and Sunnah.\(^{17}\)

Not much is known about Shah Fakhruddin's relations with Mirza Mazhar but it is well known that Shah Fakhruddin led the funeral prayer of Mirza Mazhar.\(^{18}\) Ahsanullah Bayan, a famous Urdu poet and student of Mirza Mazhar in poetry was Shah Fakhruddin's disciple. Shah Muhammadi, nom de plume Badar, who served Khwaja Nasir 'Andalib as his secretary on

rare occasion in the compilation of *Nalay-i 'Andalib*\(^\text{19}\) was although a student of Nasir Andalib but was spiritually related with Shah Pakhruddin.\(^\text{20}\) He had very good relations with the family of Shah Waliullah and was a close friend of Shah Abdul Aziz and helped him, during a misunderstanding between Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz and the English resident of Delhi. The last Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar was follower of Shah Pakhruddin and his verses are full of reverence for the saint.

"Just as children inherit the characteristics of their ancestors books possess the qualities of the people who have written them", observes Mir Dard\(^\text{21}\) and at another place he writes that, "just as the Prophets having books have a distinct position, same position occupy the mystics who wrote books, in his community"\(^\text{22}\) i.e., among the mystics. Thus we see that these mystics have this quality. They were persons with great intellectual calibre and men of letters and gave their thoughts by writing volumes on the subject. They left a deep impact on history and posterity which made them a legacy.

\(^\text{19}\) *Nalay-i 'Andalib*, p. 3.
\(^\text{20}\) *Maikhana-i Dard*, p. 156.
\(^\text{21}\) *Dard-i Dil*, p. 194.
\(^\text{22}\) *Ibid.*
By their common characteristics and the same object in mind they endeavoured hard to reform the afflicted Muslim society by laying greater emphasis on the Kitab and Sunnah, the only source of Muslim thought and which they were conscious was the main centre of Muslim life and without it nothing was possible. The salvation of this world and the other solely depends by the faithful adherence to the Divine Law of the Prophet as Nasir 'Andalib puts into a beautiful verse: 23

Strive to find the everlasting kingdom, and that you will find by the Law of Muhammad

A study of the mystical trends and tendencies in India during the eighteenth century is a great desideratum as these trends and tendencies brought about a change in the social and religious milieu of the period. My thesis on this subject is an humble attempt to fill this gap.

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1987
This is to certify that Mr Fozail Ahmad Gadri has done his research work under my supervision. The thesis submitted by him on 'Muslim Mystic: Trends in India during the 18th Century' is his original work, and is fit for submission for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History.

(K.A. Nizami)
SUPERVISOR

8.7.1987
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*
Dedicated to the sacred memory of

Hazrat Maulana Shah Amanullah Qadri

of

Khanqah Mujibiya, Phulwari Shareef, Patna

My genesis, my being and my uprising

All these phenomena of my creation,

are, but thy gift! O Maulana!
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Eighteenth century has been a period of crucial importance for the students of history. Culturally, this period constitutes an era of great significance in the history of medieval India. I have been interested in medieval Indian religious and cultural history since I joined the Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, as a student of History honours at graduation level.

I am highly indebted to my revered teacher and supervisor, Professor K.A. Nizami, whose constant guidance and encouragements enabled me to produce this work. Moreover, Professor Nizami has been a constant source of inspiration since my early age when I first read his magnum opus Tarikh-i Mashaikh-i Chisht. I am also indebted to my father—Shaikh Maulana Shah Fazle Ahmad Qadri, whose initial training in Persian, Urdu and mystical literature helped me a lot. My thanks are due to my mother and wife, who prayed day and night for the completion of this work.

My very special thanks are due to Dr B.R. Grover, former Director, and staff of the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, for granting me Research Fellowship, without which it would have been difficult for me to carry on my research. I am also thankful to all my friends and well-wishers at Aligarh, Darbhanga and Patna for their love, sympathy and help.

(Fozail Ahmad Qadri)
INTRODUCTION

The idea of an all embracing unity was propounded by the Mughal Emperor Akbar (1556-1605). He was certainly influenced by the Chishti-mystic ideology when he undertook to promote a deeper understanding among the different religions in the empire by arranging discussions of their representatives and having translated into Persian the main religious and literary works of the Hindus. But Akbar did not stop here, his religious experiments went beyond and took dangerous turns when he started a new religion. The orthodox circles did not approve such a dangerous interpretation of Islam. The century which followed the death of Akbar was marked by conflicts between the concept of universal toleration and orthodoxy and of the two concepts of Wahdat-ul Wujud and Wahdat-ush Shuhud.

The supporters of these two schools of thoughts were drawn from different sections of the Muslim Society. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, his son Khwaja Muhammad Ma'sum and Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb represented orthodoxy and monotheism. Shah Muhibullah of Allahabad, Prince Dara Shikoh, Miyan Mir and Mullah Shah belonged to the liberal and pantheistic school of thought. Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Muhaddith of Delhi (1551-1642) chose a middle course of action and tried to reconcile the conflicting opinions of the two schools of thought.
Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (1563-1624) had been deeply distressed at the existing situation and humiliation of Islam. He had also assessed the situation correctly when he came to the decision that the political malaise was the result of a general deterioration in the religious consciousness of the Muslims who were unable to distinguish between true Islam and its distortions. His progress in the mystic realization of the truth was the perfection for his historic mission. Without the clarification of the ideas reality to Wahdat-us Shuhud and the validity of mystic experience, he could not have developed that clarity of vision that he shows in his analysis of the ills that had weakened Islam during the period.

Aurangzeb's reign (1658-1707) proved to be the political culmination of the movement of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. He was a disciple of Shaikh Ahmad's third son and successor Khwaja Muhammad Masum, who played a considerable role in influencing the policies of the Emperor. Aurangzeb's greatest contribution to the Islamic thought is the compilation of the compendium of Hanafi law, Fatawa-i 'Alamgiri, during the year 1664-1672, on his command. The intention was to arrange in systematic order the most authoritative decisions by earlier legists which were scattered in a number of Fiqh books, and thus provide a convenient book of reference. The board in charge of compilation was presided over by

...3
Shaikh Nizam of Burhanpur (d.1679) who had four superintendents under him: Shaikh Wajihuddin of Gopamau, Shaikh Jalaluddin Muhammad of Machchli Shahar, Qazi Muhammad Husain and Mulla Hamid, both of Jaunpur, each of them was assisted by a team of ten or more ulema.

The chief exponent of Wahdat-ul Wujud and liberal school of thought during this period was Shah Muhibullah of Allahabad (1587-1648). He has surpassed all those who wrote in favour of Wahdat-ul Wujud. His coherent and systematic exposition of the ideas won him the title of Muhiuddin Ibn Arabi Sani. His contribution to improvement of pantheistic thoughts would have been known better if it had not been eclipsed by the efforts of the followers of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi's school of thought.

Shah Muhibullah is the author of thirteen books and a collection of letters eighteen in number addressed to Mullah Shaikh Muhammad Jaunpuri, Shaikh 'Abdur Rashid Jaunpuri, Mir Muhammad Qannauji, Dara Shikoh and others. 1 His other works are: Tarjumat-ul Kitab, an Arabic commentary of Quran with interpretation of the verses in support of Wahdat-ul Wujud. 2 Hashiyah Tarjumat-ul Quran is a commen-

2. Ms India Office, No. 1369.

Most of the works of Shah Muhibullah is still lying in manuscripts form, no systematic study of his thought has so far been made and no edition or translation of his work

3. Ms India Office, No. 1357.
5. Ms Rampur, 322.
8. Mss Rampur, 366; India Office, 1395.
9. Ms India Office, 1392.
13. Ms India Office, 1024.
is being done. This too is another great factor that his thoughts could not reach in greater volume to the posterity as that of the monotheist school has been done. Some of his views, however, provoked orthodox criticism. Once the Ulema of Allahabad issued a fatwa against him and condemned him on the charge of heresy. Aurangzeb became a critic of Shah Muhibullah because of his pantheistic thoughts, his associations and his attitude towards many problems of religion. When the Emperor's attention was drawn toward Shah Muhibullah's treatise Taswiya, he found many things objectionable but the Shah was dead, therefore his Khalifa Shaikh Muhammadi was called upon to offer an explanation or to renounce his discipleship and have the copies of the treatise burnt. Shaikh Muhammadi very frankly said that he was unable to offer any explanation as he had not yet reached that stage and on no account he can renounce his discipleship. So far as burning the copies of treatise is concerned there was enough fire in the royal kitchen for this purpose.

Dara Shikoh (1615-1659) was a keen student of mysticism and tauhid. He came into close contact with leading Muslim Mystics and Hindu Yogis, notably Miyan Mir

16. Ibid.
(d.1635), Mulla Shah of the Ladri Silsilah (d.1661), Shah Muhibullah of Allahabad, Shah Liruba, Sarmad and Baba Lal Das Bairagi, a follower of Kabir. Dara was the disciple of Mulla Shah and had learnt a lot from Shah Muhibullah.

Dara was a prolific writer, his work include Safinat-ul 'Auliyā, Sakinat-ut 'Auliya, Majma'-ul bahrain, Sirre-i Akbar, Risalah Haq Numa and Hasanat-ul Arifin. He came to the conclusion that there was no different except purely verbal in the way in which Vedanta and Islam sought to comprehend truth. He occupies a pre-eminent place among those who stood for the concept of universal toleration and who desired that the state should be based on the support of both Muslims and Hindus and remain essentially above religion. His defeat in the war of succession did not, by any means, imply the defeat of the trend he represented.

Eighteenth century is an era of great significance in the history of the East as well as the West. It was a period of great achievements in Europe, but in the Islamic world it was marked by degeneration and anarchy. India was shaken by the political, economic and social turmoil that followed the death of Aurangzeb. A period of political decadence in the history of Islam is marked by great intellectual developments. Professor Philip K. Hitti right-
ly observes that, "in the darkest hour of political Islam religious Islam has been able to achieve some of its brilliant victories." 17 Similarly Professor H.A.R. Gibb says that, "through the course of Islamic history Islamic Culture was challenged, but never overpowered, for the Sufi and other mystical thought always came to the rescue of its most dogmatic preaching and always gave it that strength and power which no challenge could destroy." 18

Before making an evaluation of the thought and contribution of the mystics who lived and worked during the eighteenth century an examination of the mystic literature produced during this period is felt necessary.

Shah Waliullah was a prolific writer with a knowledge of encyclopaedic range and had an unquestioned scholarship and interest in every branch of Islamic thought. In fact by his works Shah Waliullah, 'contributed essential elements to the present currents of thought in Islam' observe H.A.R. Gibb. 19 "He wrote about 90 books. Of those only 46 have survived but they cover almost all the princi-
pal areas of Muslim religious learning." \(^{20}\) Shah Waliullah by his works attempted fresh interpretation of mystical thoughts and initiated a movement which had a deep impact on Muslim religious life during the eighteenth century and after. He initiated a new phase of ijtihad which aimed at translation of Quran into Persian by him and later in Hindavi by his sons Shah Rafiuddin and Shah Abdul Wadirk. His ijtihad also aimed at the re-interpretation of Islamic law according to space-time conditions.

His works on Quranic Studies and Tafsir (exegesis) include Fath-ur Rahman, Al-Fauz-ul Kabir and Fath-ul Kabir. Of these three the Tafsir-i Fath-ur Rahman is a revolutionary work of Shah Waliullah because it was the first simple translation of Quran into Persian. In the introduction of Fath-ur Rahman Shah Waliullah says that the exigency of time prompted him to render the Quran into simple Persian without showing any pedantic erudition and dialating upon stories and parables as done by the earlier scholars. \(^{21}\) The idea behind his translation was that the children of poor and labouring classes and people not acquiring proficiency in Arabic would comprehend the knowledge of the Quran

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Al-Fauz-ul Kabir is a valuable work on the principles of tafsir. Shah Waliullah has laid down certain rules which if followed could help one grasp the general sense of the Quran. Quran is similar in many ways to the collection of tarmans of a king which naturally will have no regular sequence in the context, says Shah Waliullah.

Fath-ul Kabir is a small treatise on tafsir and in fact forms a supplement to Al-Fauz-ul Kabir, explaining certain words and phrases of the verses in the light of hadith and authentic verdicts of the ashab, companions of the Prophet.


Musaffa and Masawwa deserves special attention, the former is a Persian and the latter an Arabic commentary of Muwatta of Imam Malik, founder of Maliki School of Fiqh. In Musaffa Shah Waliullah has arranged and explained the

22. Ibid.
Hadith according to the Ijtihad and thus made it useful for the students. In Masawwa Shah Waliullah has also given the learned criticism with regard to the interpretations of different Hadith by various Schools, arranging it in a form that it may be convenient for references. In each chapter he has mentioned the legal problems of both Hanafi and Shafi'i Schools.  

Sharh-i Tarjuman Abwab-i Bukhari contains illuminating annotation on the chapters in the collection of Imam Bukhari. Shah Waliullah has also given some of the principles underlying the headings of the Bukhari.

The magnum opus of Shah Waliullah is Hujjatullah-ul Balighah which according to Shibli Nomani 'ranks with the Ihyaul 'Ulam-ud din of Imam Ghazzali.' In the words of Professor K.A. Nizami, 'it is the principal work which laid the foundation of a new 'ilm-i kalam.'

23. Contribution of India to Arabic Literature, p. 38.

24. Ibid.

25. 'Ilm-ul Kalam, p. 117.

Shah Waliullah started this work at the instance of his favourite pupil and relation, Shaikh Muhammad Ashiq of Phulat, whom Shah Waliullah remembers in these words:

'He is the embodiment of my teachings and a treasure of my achievements. His engagements are to preserve my scientific acquisitions and study my works. The fact is many of my works are inspired by him. He prepared their manuscripts.'

'Of all the branches of Islamic Sciences', declares Shah Waliullah in the introduction of Hujjatullah-ul Balighah, 'the secrets and philosophy of the commands of Shariah are the most important. In this book he has made an attempt to explain these secrets which in his opinion has not been done by any scholar of high integrity.

Al-Fitn, etc., is an authentic collection of Hadith in very simple and charming language. Al-Insaf and 'Iqd-ul jid deal with juristic problems.

Izlat-ul Khifa un al-Khulafa and Qurat-ul 'Aynain are works on Munazrah or verbal contests. Izlat-ul Khifa aims on the justification by arguments the succession of the four Caliphs of the Prophet where in during the course of discussion the principle of Sociology too have

been dealt with. In the opinion of Maulana Abdul Ji of Firangi Mahal, 'there is no better work to be found in the whole of Islamic literature.' Professor K.A. Nizami considers it to be 'a work characterized by a deep and searching study of the working of the Khilafat-i Khashida and its exemplary position in the history of Islam.'

Qurat-ul 'Aynain too deals with the problems of Caliphate and Shah Waliullah has repudiated some allegations of the Shi'is against the early two pious Caliphs.

Al-'Aqidat-ul Hasanah, Al-Balagh-ul Rubin, Al-Mugaddemat-us Sunniyah, Fath-ul Wudud (all in Arabic) and Al-Maqalat-ul Waziah-fil-Wasiyah (in Persian). All deal with 'aqaid or the tenets of Islamic belief.

Kalimat-i Taiyabat is the collection of letters as well as malfuzat, utterances of Shah Waliullah and the Siyasi Maktubat is a fine collection of his political letters addressed to King, nobles and other people at the whelm of political affairs. The letters were originally collected by Shaikh Muhammad Ashiq of Phulat and his son


Shaikh Abdur Rahman in two volumes. The အရေးမှတ်းမြောက်ကျော်က်း is a selection out of these two volumes made by Professor K.A. Nizami. In these letters Shah Waliullah has made an appeal to the king and nobles to set the things right. The letters his deep insight into the political affairs and his approach to the solution of the existing problems.

Shah Waliullah's contribution to mystical thought is fairly large, which bears witness to the fact that he had great interest in the subject theoretically as well as practically. It would not be erroneous to call him as an eminent mystic of Islam. He lived and worked at a time when mysticism was considered to be the noblest contribution to human thought.

Sat'at is a booklet in Persian where in Shah Waliullah has explained the relations between the creator and his creation i.e., နှစ်သို့ပေးထားမှုပြင်တွင်း (နှစ်သို့ပေးထားမှုပြင်တွင်း).

Fuyuz-ul Haramain is a record of religious experiences which the author had had in the Kaba and at the grave of the Prophet. The book is divided into forty-seven visions (ငါးသောက်ကြား) dealing with different aspects of theoretical mysticism, approach to the Absolute Reality and the way unity exists in diverse forms of the universe and the capacity of man to know that unity.

The historical development of Islamic mysticism and definition of the path leading to the absolute reality has been discussed by Shah Waliullah in *Ham'at*. He illustrates the difficulties of the path leading to the absolute reality by his own personal experiences.

According to Shah Waliullah the differences in the experience of the mystics are merely due to the differences in the grade of their perfection. "But all the mystics are to be respected for their devotion to the Almighty and search for truth, says Shah Waliullah in *Ham'at*.

*At-Tafhimat-i Ilahiya* is another record of Shah Waliullah's mystic experiences written both in Arabic and Persian. He discusses there in the theoretical and practical knowledge of the sphere of unknown. In the end the editor of this work has included Shah Waliullah's famous letter to Ismail Afandi of Medina about the possible reconciliation of the doctrines of Wahdat-ul Wujud and Wahdat-us Shuhud.

*Al-Budur-ul Bazighah* is in a way a Supplement to the *Hujjatullah-ul Baghah* and deals with mystical and sociological developments.

*Al-Qaul-ul Jameel fi Bayane Siwa-us Sabil* refers to the various mystical orders like Qadriyah, Chishtiyah,
Kaqshbandiyah, Suhatwardiyah and others. He has discussed the significance of daiyat (بدية), qualifications necessary for a preceptor (مرشد) and rules of training of an adept (ممر). Shah Waliullah has also given necessary extra-ordinary recitation of Award and Wazait ( Revelations) with their individual physical and spiritual benefit. The technical terms of the Naqshbandi Saints (معاريث نظم نقيشبندي) whose total number is eleven, eight related to Khwaja Abdul Khaliq Ghajdwani, and three of Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshband, have been explained by Shah Waliullah in a very simple and lucid style.

**Intibah fi Salasil-i Auliya Allah** deals with the origin of various mystical orders and explains some of the controversies regarding the origin and development of the orders. Shah Waliullah maintains that the Chishtiyah order does not end to Hazrat Ali because Hasan Basari never met the fourth Caliph.31

**Anfas-ul 'Arifin** contains life account of various mystics and other religious personalities including Shah Abdur Rahim and details about the ancestors of Shah Waliullah. This book gives important information about the mystical thought of Shah Abdur Rahim, a brief autobiographical note of Shah Waliullah and references to some important mystics of medieval period.

31. Similar view has been expressed in *Al-Qaul-ul Jameel.*
In *Al-Khair-ul Kasir* Shah Waliullah has discussed the secrets of mysticism, and hikmah, (wisdom) and some metaphysical problems. The controversial issues of mysticism has been discussed with full vigour and illuminating arguments, like the Wilayat or spiritual territory, various mystical orders and kinds of spiritual territory, etc.

Taking his Cue from the Quranic verse,

وَسَيِّئَتْ الْأَلْبَاتِ نُفُورًا نَحْرًا كَبِيرًا

(and to whom wisdom is granted receiveth indeed a benefit over flowing, 2:37) Shah Waliullah has named this book *Al-Khair-ul Kasir* and says that the title of the work is *(ّرَآئِيَّ الْأَلْبَاتِ)*, treasure of wisdom.\(^{32}\)

Shah Waliullah wrote some other very important treatises on mysticism and other allied subjects, they are, *Lam'at, 'Awarif, Shifa-ul Qulub, Altaf-ul Quds, Faiz-i 'Am, Sur-ul Mahzun, Tawil-ul Ahadith, Maktubat-ul Ma'arif, Anfas-i Muhammadiyah, 'Atiyyat-us Samadiyah* and *Sharh-i Kubaiyatain* (commentary on two quatrains of Khwaja Baqi Billah).

Nearly all important works of Shah Waliullah is now available in printed form except few, which are still

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\(^{32}\). *Al-Khair-ul Kathir*, p. 3.
in manuscript form. Urdu translations with original Arabic and Persian texts are also now available.

Khwaja Muhammad Nasir nom de plume 'Andalib was a great writer and thinker. He was the founder of Tariqah-i Muhammadi. Nalay-i 'Andalib is his magnum opus and is said to have the position of the revealed book of Tariqah-i Muhammadi. This voluminous work, comprising of two volumes of more than 900 pages folio size each in Persian allegory dealing with metaphysical and abstruse problems.

Nasir 'Andalib says that different kinds of people use to come and wanted explanation from me about religious laws, mystical secrets, juristic problems and other subtleties which every one can easily comprehend. But he was deeply shocked by the death of his spiritual master Muhammad Zubair in February 1740. When friends and disciples flocked for a condolence visit Nasir 'Andalib: "told this story in allegorical way in Hindi language during three nights to them, and by the grace of divine influence the listeners were deeply impressed and started crying and weeping. Some of them were enraptured and fell on the ground in ecstatic condition, and many of them entered the Tariqah-i Muhammadi."33

33. Nalay-i 'Andalib, I, p. 3.
The story which *Nasir 'Andalib* told in Hindi was later on elaborated effortlessly in Persian language. In noting it down *Mir Dard* was his father's assistant. At rare occasion *Bedar*, one of his disciples in poetry served as the scribe.  

The book was called *Nalay-i 'Andalib*, the lamentation of the Nightingale because *Khwaja Muhammad Nasir* had the pen name 'Andalib (Nightingale), his spiritual master *Shah Sadullah* wrote poetry under the nom de plume of Gulshan (Rose-garden) and *Shah Sadullah Gulshan*'s spiritual master had the title of Gul (Rose). And since the book contains an allegorical story of rose and nightingale — the representatives of love and beauty therefore this book was called *Nalay-i 'Andalib*. Its chronogram was formed by *Mir Dard* from the following words:

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data:image/png;base64,iVBORw0KGgoAAAANSUhEUgAAACAAAAAgCAYAAABpo5L6AAAAA3NCSVQICA缴券Vu7F8AAAgAElEQVR42u3W1vP9/9/8oAA8AAAEVAA+uAAAABJRU5ErkJggg==
\]

1153 A.H.

*Bedar*, too wrote some chronograms for the date of compilation of the book. His chronograms were also included in the book.  

Like many traditional allegories in the *Nalay-i 'Andalib*, one story develops out of the other. The whole

34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
machinery of the traditional Indian tales is mixed with allusions to Mughal history; there is the pious king and the wise merchant, Jupiter and Sun, musicians and dancers, the Hindu ruler converted to Islam, the rebellion in the Deccan, white elephant and the hunting parties; but every allegory is meant to explain the pure Muhammadan path. The nightingale eventually emerges as a symbol of the Prophet of Islam. The stories are interspersed with detailed theological discussions, thus about the various schools of sufism, and the different sects of Islam. Long paragraphs about the minutest details of ritual purity, fasting. Attack on the group of sufism representing the theories of Wahdat-ul Wujud.

Risalah-i Hosh Afza is the second work of Khwaja Muhammad Nasir 'Andalib, still extant in manuscript form in the Library of Punjab University, Lahore. This is a

36. Ibid., I, p. 813.
37. Ibid., II, p. 712.
38. Ibid., I, pp. 789, 882.
39. Ibid., II, p. 583.
40. Ibid., I, pp. 446-49.
41. Ibid., I, p. 842; II, p. 217.
42. Ibid., I, pp. 622, 797, 808.
book on "mystical chess", which the author composed to distract his disciples from chess-playing. By using the chess symbolism he had tried to explain the different events of human life in the terminology of chess.

Khwaja Mir Dard son and successor of Khwaja Muhammad Nasir 'Andalib was the most successful mystical writer of the period. He further elucidated and developed the teachings of Tariqah-i Muhammedi. At the age of fifteen during seclusion (Ramazan) in the month of Ramazan he wrote his first booklet, Asrar-us Salat, the secrets of prayer. This was the first fruit of his keen interest in religion. In this work Mir Dard has discussed the seven foundations of prayer (Juz) which are known as foundations (Juz). Mir Dard has put his ideas in seven secrets with mystical interpretations.

His second work is the magnum opus 'Ilm-ul Kitab which is in fact a commentary on his Waridat, the divine inspirations which is III in number. Just as the voluminous work of his father grew out of a story told in three nights the III Waridat developed into 648 big pages of 'Ilm-ul Kitab. Mir Dard's brother Mir Muhammad Asar urged him to develop the Waridat and explain them.

Each chapter begins with invocation Howan-Nasir, alluding to his father's name and also reminding of God's name an-Nasir. The name of the chapter is given relying
upon some Qur'anic verse followed by an Arabic introduction explaining the inner meaning of the title and at the same time the broad outline of the chapter. Main part of every chapter is usually in Persian, often highly technical and full of terms of logic and other sciences. It also occurs that a whole chapter is composed exclusively in Arabic.  

Mir Dard discusses in the chapters the stages and stations of mystical life, he ends with a praise of love, which means for him primarily love of his father, Shaikh and love of the Prophet.  

The contents of 'Ilm-ul Kitab shows that Mir Dard was well versed in the traditional mystic and non-mystic literature.

After finishing 'Ilm-ul Kitab, Mir Dard wrote Nalay-i Dard, Lamentation of Pain modelled after Nalay-i 'Andalib. Mir Dard felt that Nalay-i Dard was most effective means for guiding people the right way.  

His brother Mir Asar composed elegant chronogram for the beginning of Nalay-i Dard yielding the date 1190 A.H./1776 A.D.  

Shortly afterwards followed the Ah-i Sard, the cold sigh. Mir Asar again composed the chronogram which gives the year 1193 A.H./1779 A.D.  

43. 'Ilm-ul Kitab, p. 85.
44. Ibid., p. 641.
45. Nalay-i Dard, p. 244.
46. Ibid., p. 3.
47. Ah-i Sard, p. 2.
Mir Dard began to write his last two books Dard-i Dil and Shama'-i Mahfil simultaneously as the chronogram shows 1195 A.H./1781 A.D. but he finished Dard-i Dil first. Shama'-i Mahfil was finished in the beginning of 1199 A.H./the last days of 1784 at the age of 66 lunar years and died shortly afterwards.

Mir Dard considers his four Risalas to be compiled as introduction to his thought. He composed them according to the same principle: each book contains 341 short paragraphs called by names corresponding to the general title. Thus the Nalay-i Dard has 341 Nala, the Ah-i Sard comprises 341 Ah, the Dard-i Dil, 341 Dard and the Shama'-i Mahfil, 341 Nur. The number 341 stands for the numerical value of the word Kasir, Mir Dard chose this number so that his mystical connection with his father and spiritual guide is once more established.

Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan concentrated much on the leadership of his Tariqah Shamsiyah - Mazhariyah branch of the Naqshbandi Order. The literary output of Mirza Mazhar is much less than his illustrious contemporaries. Besides his Urdu and Persian Diwan there are two risalas Tanbihat-i

49. Ibid., p. 149.
Khamsah, five warnings against some Shi'i beliefs and
kisala Suluk-i Tariqah about some of the mystical training of the Silsilah. Mirza Mazhar wrote his autobiographical account on a request from Azad Bilgrami which the latter included into Sarw-i Azad. A preface was written by Mirza Mazhar on the Kalimat-ul Haq of his disciple Ghulam Yahya.

Mirza Mazhar's letters have been published in Kalimat-i Taiyabat. Most of the letters are addressed to his disciples and Khalifas, they often deal with domestic problems and instructions in the path, but are much sober and matter of fact than the high-flown words of his contemporaries.

Shah Kalimullah Jahanabadi was a great reformist 'alim of versatile intellectual qualities and a good writer. He is said to have written thirty-two books but only nine have survived. His Quran-ul Quran is an Arabic Commentary on Quran. Some of Shah Kalimullah's admirers consider it to be equivalent to the famous commentary

50. Both these small treatises have been published in the appendix of Makatib-i Mirza Mazhar by 'Abdur Razzaq Qureshi, Bombay, 1966.

Jalalain with the only difference that the latter is based on the Shafi'i fiqh and the former belonged to Hanafi school of thought.52

'Ashrah-i Kamilah is a mystical treatise containing ten chapters each chapter written in a day. Sawa-us Sabil deals with the analysis of the theory of Wahdat-ul Wujud and refutation of the objections of the followers of Wahdat-us Shuhud. Kashkol, Muragqa', Tasneem and Ilhamat-i Kalimi deal with the theoretical and practical aspects of the mystical teachings of the Chishti Silsilah in a lucid style.53

These works of Shah Kalimullah affirms that as a spiritual guide he occupied a distinct position. Among all his works, Kashkal received extra-ordinary popularity in the mystic circles and the later mystics used it as a manual and guide for the better understanding of the secrets of the silsilah, even Shah Kalimullah himself recommended it to his disciples.54 It was a common practice among the later mystics to give copies of Muragqa' and Tasneem along with Khirqa and ijazat to their successors.55

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53. Out of these six only 'Ashrah Kamilah, Kashkol and Muragqa' have been published.
54. Maktubat-i Kalimi, L.No. 16.
55. Takmilah Siyar-ul Auliya, p. 81.
Besides these works, there is a collection of letters of Shah Kalimullah known as Haktubat-i Kalimi has been published. These letters give a full picture of the reformatory zeal and the practical aspect of the revival of spiritual movement by Shah Kalimullah. His other works are theoretical and witness his great intellectual calibre, but these letters which are one hundred and thirty-two in number give a graphic account of his persistent endeavours for the propagation of the Chishti Order. As a whole both his works and letters give a complete picture of the towering personality of Shah Kalimullah and the real spirit of the revival of Chishti Silsila under his leadership.

Shah Nizamuddin in accordance with the wishes of his master concentrated on the leadership of Chishti Silsila and propagated his ideals. His work, Nizam-ul Qulub, is actually based on the mystic ideology of Shah Kalimullah, mostly those which he discussed in Kashkol. Shah Nizamuddin has also discussed some of the yogic exer-

56. *Tashrih-ul Aflak* is an Arabic work on astronomy by famous Iranian mathematician and astronomer, Bahauddin Muhammad bin Husain al-'Amini, (d. Isfahan, 1662).

57. *Qanun fi-it-tib* by Abu 'Ali Ibn Sina (980-1037), a famous work on medicine.
cises which resemble the mystic exercises. Shah Fakhruddin further developed the traditions of Shah Kalimullah. His father, Shah Nizamuddin, went to the Deccan on the command of his spiritual master, Shah Kalimullah, and Shah Fakhruddin worked mainly in Delhi. He combined his khanqah with a madarsa and taught there, hence, he is also known as Maulana Fakhruddin. He is the author of three books. The first fruit of his scholarly interest was Nizam-ul-'Aqaid, which is a treatise on Hanafi beliefs. He wrote it on the request of some friends. Risalah-i Murjiyah was written by Shah Fakhruddin to defend one statement of Shaikh 'Abdul Qadir Jilani, which the latter made in Ghuniyat-ul Talebin that the Hanafites belonged to the Murjiyah. In some of the circles, it was believed that this statement is a latter addition. Shah Fakhruddin maintains that the statement is original but the Shaikh never considered it in the terms in which people understood it. In fact the Murjites sect had gone far in their optimism of God's mercifulness and had left his Majestic powers, as the Hanafites rely much on the mercifulness of God, therefore, the Shaikh portrayed them as Murajites but they are not like the people of Murajite sect, \(^{58}\) who finally deviated from the path.

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58. The extreme opponents of the Kharajites.
Shah Fakhruddin's most famous work is *Kisarah Fakhr-ul Hasan*, which received much praise in the intellectual and mystic circles. The book was written in refutation of one of the statement of Shah Waliullah in both *Al-Qaul-ul Jameel* and *Intibah fi Salesil-i Auliya Allah* that the Chishti Silsilah does not end with Hazrat 'Ali, because at that time Hasan al-Basri was too young to receive spiritual benefit. Shah Fakhruddin supported his arguments on authentic classical works and refuted Shah Waliullah's view and proved Hasan al-Basri's ba'yt from Hazrat 'Ali.\(^{59}\) This work was warmly received in the Chishti circles and one of Shah Fakhruddin's disciples translated it into Persian.\(^{60}\)

During eighteenth century new trends and tendencies in the religious thought brought about a change in the religious milieu. The Muslim-mystical movements entered a phase of great significance characterized by fresh interpretation of religion and religious attitudes. The Chishti Silsilah which had declined during the earlier century was re-organized and revitalized by Shah Kalimullah, Shah Nizamuddin and Shah Fakhruddin. The Naqshbandi saints like Shah

\(^{59}\) Maulana Ahsan-uz Zaman of Hyderabad wrote a valuable commentary on this book under the caption of *Qaul-ul Mustahasan fi Sharh-i Fakhr-ul Hasan*.

\(^{60}\) *Manaqib-i Fakhriyah*, p. 70.
Waliullah and Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan attempted fresh interpretation of mystical thought and initiated movements which had a deep impact on Muslim religious life during the eighteenth century and after. Khwaja Muhammad Nasir 'Andalib and his son Khwaja Mir Dard gave new dimensions to the mystical thought by their experiences (Kashf) and regarded it the knowledge of God based on the teachings of the Prophet.

It was during this period that Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan departed from the earlier Naqshbandi traditions and declared Vedas as revealed book and Hindus as ahl-i Kitab. Never before, any Muslim religious thinker had so clearly and categorically enunciated his views. Shah Waliullah initiated a new phase of ijtihad which aimed at the translation of Quran into Persian and Hindawi and interpretation of Islamic law according to space time conditions. Shah Fakhruddin suggested that the Friday sermon in the mosques be recited in Hindawi. A study of these trends and tendencies is a great desideratum. My thesis on Muslim-mystic trends in India during the eighteenth century is an humble attempt to fill his gap.
Chapter I

THE MYSTIC ORDERS

(a) Rise of New and Regeneration of Old Mystic Orders:

The Naqshbandi Order:

The Naqshbandi Silsilah is the oldest among all the spiritual Orders. Previously it was known as Silsilah-i Khwajigan. It was founded by Khwaja Ahmad (d. 1166), popularly known among the Turks as Ata Yasavi. Ata Yasavi was followed by another great saint, Khwaja 'Abdul Khaliq Ghajdawani (d.1179), who gave to this Silsilah a distinct spiritual philosophy. Two centuries later there appeared Khawaja Bahauddin Naqshband (d.1388), who utilized the traditions of Ata Yasavi and the teachings of Abdul Khaliq Ghajdawani and built up the structure of the Silsilah. His contribution towards the consolidation and expansion of the Silsilah-i Khwajigan was so great that after his death the Silsilah came to be known as the Naqshbandi Silsilah, after his name.

1. The literal meaning of Ata in Turkish language is father, but the term is used for eminent saints. For his biography, see Rashhat-i 'Ain-ul Hayat, pp. 6-9.

2. For biographical notices, see Nafahat-ul Uns, pp. 339-341; Rashhat-i 'Ain-ul Hayat, pp. 18-27.

This Silsila was fairly popular in the Central Asia, specially among Turks and Mughals. Amir Timur had considerable admiration for the Naqshbandi saints. Khwaja 'Ubaidullah Ahrar (d. 1480) was held in high esteem by the Timurid Princes. Babar's father 'Umar Mirza was his follower. Whenever any dispute arose among the Princes, Khwaja Ahrar was called to intervene and settle the problem. His famous, Risalah-i Waladiyah, was translated by Babar. 'Abdur Rahman Jami, the famous poet and mystic of this Silsila was highly respected by Babar, who is of the opinion that Maulana Jami had no parallel in his times.

The Naqshbandi Silsila entered the Indian soil in the last. It was introduced in India by Khwaja Salli Billah in the closing years of sixteenth century and was

5. Babar Nama, p. 935.
6. Ibid., pp. 283-86.
7. Abul Muayyid Raziuddin also called 'Abdul Baqi was born at Kabul on 16th December 1563 and died at Delhi on 2nd July 1603. He received his early education from Sadiq Halwai in whose company he went to Samargand to pursue his studies further. It was during his stay there that he felt inclined towards mysticism. On the invitation of his friends in India he left for this country but instead of entering into imperial service he led the life of a true sufi and his fame spread in Delhi. He wrote a commentary on Quran and a collection of poems. Zabdat-ul Maqamat, pp. 5-20; Khazinat-ul Asfia, Vol.I, pp. 605-7; Rud-i Kausar, pp. 126-45; Hayat-i Shaikh Abdul Haq, pp. 136-42.
popularized by his favourite disciple Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi popularly known as Kujaddid Alf-i Sani and was named Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi Silsilah.8

Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi received education of highest standard available in those days. His writings show a deep understanding not only of Muslim theology, but also of philosophy. He was fully conversant with the writings of the Muslim mystics and was able to weigh every claim with

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8. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (1563-1624) was son of Shaikh 'Abdul Ahad, who was a well-known scholar and theologian. In his early age he joined the Qadri Silsilah under the discipleship of an accomplished mystic, Shah Kamal. His father taught him not only the subjects then included in the formal disciplines of education but also trained him as a mystic in Chishti Silsilah and then gave him permission to accept others as his own disciples. At the age of seventeen he had completed his education and made rapid strides in mystic attainments. Later he joined the Naqshbandi Silsilah under the guidance of Khwaja Baqi Billah of Delhi, who thought highly of his spiritual capacities from the very beginning. Then he embarked upon his mission of bringing about a renaissance of Islam. His reputation as a mystic teacher rests on his Maktubat which are a veritable source of mystic knowledge and have been translated into Arabic and Turkish.


(Footnote continued ...)...32
remarkable clarity. His rejection of wahdat-ul Wujud and his sense of mission were based upon his mystic experience. He attained the conviction that he held a very high position in the hierarchy of Muslim saints and that he was to bring about a renaissance of Islam. When he made his opinion public, he incurred the criticism of several contemporaries of great eminence and also the wrath of the Emperor Jahangir, who imprisoned him for what he considered to be extravagant claims likely to cause mischief. 9

(Previous Footnote continued)

Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, Calcutta 1868. Yohanan Friedmann's work, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi: An outline of his thought and a study of his image in the eyes of the prosterity, Montreal 1971, is a valuable study of life and thought of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. Abul Hasan Zaid Faruqi's Hazrat Mujaddid aur unke Naqidin, Delhi 1980, is yet another important work to study Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi's thoughts in better perspectives.

9. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi claimed that he was the Qayyum, according to him the Qayyum was even higher than Qutb and obtained inspiration directly from the Prophet and the office of the Qayyum was hereditary. Maktubat, II, L.No. 94, but it does not give any explicit opinion regarding the position of Qayyum but his biographers has given detailed accounts of the position of Qayyum, Rauzat-ul Qayyumiyat, f. 94b, is full of exaggeration. Abul Hasan Zaid Faruqi, however, maintains that Qayyumiyat is an elevated position of Wilayat. Hazrat Mujaddid aur unke Naqidin, pp. 279-80; J.A. Subhan has given a detailed study of Qayyum, Sufism: its Saints and Shrines, pp. 296-309.

10. Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Muhaddith of Delhi (1551-1642) wrote a strong letter (K.A. Nizami, Hayat Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Muhaddith Dihlawi; the letter is reproduced): Jahangir mentions Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi's

(Footnote continued ...)

...33
The Shaikh, however, was not deterred from his work, nor was he ready to withdraw his claims. Jahangir's memoirs bear the evidence that the monarch changed his opinion of the Shaikh.\textsuperscript{11} There is no exaggeration in the statement that it was through his influence that Islamic mysticism increasingly became a supporter of orthodoxy.\textsuperscript{12} The Shaikh's influence spread into Afghanistan, Central Asia and the Ottoman Empire in the west and Malaya and Indonesia in the east. He was hailed as Mujaddid Alf-i Sani, the one who had restored the pristine purity of the doctrine of Islam in the beginning of the second millennium of the history of Islam. Leading thinkers of Islam in the

(Previous Footnote continued)

claims in scathing language that "an imposter, bearing the name Shaikh Ahmad, had spread the net of hypocrisy and deception, had brought into his influence many persons who worship the apparent and ignore the reality, had sent to every city and every region one of his disciples who knows window dressing and gnosis pondering better than others as his Caliph and had compiled a book of the nonsense that he has written to his disciples and admirers which he has named \textit{tubat}. Hence I ordered that he should be produced in (my) justice dispensing court. He was not able to give convincing replies to my questions and proved to be extremely proud and self-centered. I felt that he should be imprisoned for sometime, so that he may be reformed and the excitement in his temperament and the confusion of his mind may settle down a little. For this reason he was handed over to Sangdilan for keeping him in the fort of Gwalior", \textit{Tuzuk-i Jahangiri}, pp. 272-73.


...34
Shaikh Ahmad was succeeded by his third son, Khwaja Muhammad Ma'sum, who became the second Qayyum. He is considered to be the Shaikh to whom Aurangzeb was attached and played a considerable role in influencing the policies of the Emperor. Muhammad Ma'sum's second son, Hujjatullah II, born in the year Shaikh Ahmad was dead, 1674, followed him as the third Qayyum; he, too, considerably influenced Aurangzeb. His grandson and disciple, Khwaja Muhammad Zubair, was the last Qayyum and perhaps the last member of the family of Shaikh Ahmad, who carried on the mystic traditions of the Sirhind family.

13. Great thinkers like Shah Waliullah, Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan, refer to him as Mujaddid Alf-i Sani. One of the earliest writers to refer to Shaikh Ahmad as the Mujaddid Alf-i Sani was Mulla 'Abdul Hakim of Siyalkot (d.1656), Maktub-i Madani, Kalimat-i Taiyabat, pp. 179-91; Magamat-i Mazhari, pp. 92-95; Kalimat-i Taiyabat (letters of Mirza Mazhar), pp. 17-18; Khwaja Hashim Kishmi in the sixth chapter of Zabdat-ul Magamat has said about Mulla 'Abdul Hakim of Siyalkot proposed the title of Mujaddid Alf-i Sani, the renovator of the second millennium for Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi.

14. Khwaja Muhammad Ma'sum (d.1668) was surnamed 'Urwat-ul Wusqa. He is said to be instrumental in the reimposition of Jizya and forbidding of music and Sama by Aurangzeb. Zabdat-ul Magamat, pp. 381-82; Rauzat-ul Qayyumiyah, Ruku II, ff. 145b-257a; Khazinat-ul Asfiya, I, pp. 639-42; Tazkira Ulama-i Hind, p. 212.

15. For the life sketches, see Rauzat-ul Qayyumiyah, Ruku III, ff. 258a-305a. His relations with Aurangzeb is mentioned in Maasir-i 'Alamgiri, pp. 227, 233-34; Rud-i Kausar, pp. 487-92.

16. For life sketches of Khwaja Muhammad Zubair, see Rauzat-ul Qayyumiyah, Ruku IV, ff.306b-62a. Rauzat-ul Qayyumiyah is a very detailed compilation on the lives of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi and his three immediate successors and short notices of their descendants and disciples.
His death almost coincides with the break down of the Mughal empire — he died in February 1740, not even one year after Nadir Shah had invaded India.

The mystic scene in Delhi during the eighteenth century was occupied by the Naqshbandi saints. Senior-most among them was Khwaja Muhammad Nasir 'Andalib (1693-1759), who was the disciple of Khwaja Muhammad Zubair and received Khilatat from him and Shah Sadullah Gulshan.17 Basically a Naqshbandi, Nasir 'Andalib, founded a new Silsilah called Tariqah-i Muhammadi. He was a prolific writer and thinker, his new Silsilah and the problems discussed in his works are based on his mystic experiences.18

Khwaja Mir Dard (1721-84) was the son of Khwaja Muhammad Nasir 'Andalib. He is one of the most successful mystical writers and poets of eighteenth century India. He calls himself the first person to adopt Tariqah-i Muhammadi (تاریخ-i مہمادی) and regarded himself as the elected leader of

17. Shah Sadullah Gulshan (d.1728) was a disciple of Shaikh Abdul Ahad Gul. Gulshan chose his nom de plume in order to exhibit his indebtedness to Shaikh Abdul Ahad Gul...e also suggested Khwaja Muhammad Nasir the nom de plume 'Andalib (nightingale) which has a very deep association with Gul (rose) and Gulshan (garden) in Persian poetry. Shah Gulshan died in Nasir Andalib's house and was buried on a plot belonging to him. Safina-i Khushgu, pp. 165-70; Khazinat-ul Afsiya, I, p. 271.

18. Nalay-i 'Andalib, I, p. 3. Besides some fragmentary works no systematic and coherent study has so far been made on the mystical thought of Khwaja Nasir 'Andalib. Annemarie Schimmel has attempted in her Pain and Grace: A study of two mystical writers of Eighteenth Century India, to highlight some of the aspects of his mystical writings.
his community. Through his writings Mir Dard explained the true profession of the faith which he calls Tawhid-i Muhammadi. He experienced the truth of the Saying, "The murid is the son of the Shaikh" in a two fold way, being both son and disciple of Nasir 'Andalib. The son followed his father on the mystical path and continued the traditions.

Mir Dard had been a close companion of his father in both his mystic experiences and intellectual pursuits. When Nasir 'Andalib locked up himself in a cell for complete seven days and nights at the time of the revelation of Tariqah-i Muhammadi and never turned to this world of human nature and remained lonely in his cell. Mir Dard remained laying on the threshold of the cell, and lay down day and night on that floor and cried silently and absolutely not turn to eating and drinking. When the father returned to this world of human necessity on eighth day, he said many words of good tiding for the beloved son who was watching

19. 'Ilm-ul Kitab, p. 85. Annemarie Schimmel has made a fresh attempt to study Mir Dard's mystical philosophy but her work is more a translation rather than an analytical study par excellence. Dr. Yusuf Husain was the pioneer to discuss Mir Dard's mystical thought in Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture. Waheed Akhtar's Mir Dard: tasawwuf aur Sha'iri is more devoted to poetic study rather philosophic. S.A. Bazmee Ansari's article in Encyclopaedia of Islam, II, is informative.

20. 'Ilm-ul Kitab, p. 85.
for his father outside the cell. 21

Mir Dard always acknowledges the superior merit of his father's work, *Kalay-i 'Andalib*, which according to him, is the "book inspired from God and the Ocean of divine wisdom." 22 This book, which Mir Dard heard word by word from his father, became eventually the only source of information after *Quran* and the Hadith. Mir Dard says that:

"my gnostic knowledge (عَرَف) and my learning do not come from realising the *'Awarif* of Shihabuddin Suharwardi, and my knowledge of realities exists not because of Ibn Arabi's *Fusus* and *Futuhat* — it is only from the abundant grace of the book, *Kalay-i 'Andalib*, that the door of all realities and subtleties was opened for my ignorant heart." 23

22. Ibid.
23. *Dard-i Dil*, p. 188.
Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan (1699-1781) occupied a pivotal position among the Muslim-mystics in India during the eighteenth century. He sent his Khalifas to the length and breadth of the country with a missionary zeal. 24

Mirza Mazhar received spiritual training from the famous saints of the time like Haji Afzal Siyalkoti 25 and Shaikh Nur Muhammad Badauni 26 and after a hard labour of

24. Forty-nine of his Khalifas are mentioned by name with their biographies in Bisharat-i Mazhariyah. They worked for the propagation of the Silsilah in the subcontinent and led people on right path of Islam. Later this Silsilah crossed the borders and even reached Syria and Iraq.

25. Haji Afzal Siyalkoti (d. 1160 A.H.) was a renowned 'alim and mystic and was a Khalifa of Shaikh Hujjatullah, son of Khwaja Muhammad Ma'sum, and grandson of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. Haji Muhammad Afzal was a Muhaddith, his lectures were famous. Even Shah Waliullah read Mishkat-ul Masabih from him and received a certificate (sanad) from him. Haji Afzal received Sanad-i Hadith from Shaikh Abdul Ahad and Shaikh Salim Basri al-Makki. He mostly remained in ecstasy of self annihilation and was fond of books. He used to purchase books out of his futuh amount. Once he received fifteen thousand rupees in futuh and purchased book which he later gave in endowment. Bisharat-i Mazhariyah (text); Magamat-i Mazhariyah, p. 22; Mamulat-i Mazhariyah, pp. 15-16.

26. Shaikh Nur Muhammad Badauni (d. 1135 A.H.) was the disciple of Shaikh Saiifuddin, the son of Khwaja Muhammad Ma'sum and grandson of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. Bisharat-i Mazhariyah (text); Magamat-i Mazhariyah, p. 22; Mamulat-i Mazhariyah, pp. 15-16.
thirty long years he perfected himself in the teachings of Naqshbandi Mujaddidi, Ghadari, Chishti and Sunnwardi Orders and achieved the highest point of mystic excellence. He started his mission by devoting his full life for the guidance of the people. His silsilah came to be known as Shamsiyah-Mazhariyah, after his title Shamsuddin Habibullah and nom de plume Mazhar. He propagated the silsilah for thirty-five years.

Besides Delhi he used to visit the Rohilkhand area, comprising Bareilly, Shahjahanpur, Sambhal and Murendabad. Some of his letters reveal that besides Delhi, Rohilkhand and Panipat, his disciples were in Deccan too. Mirza Mazhar was a regular visitor of Panipat where his beloved disciple Wazi Sanaullah was settled.

The Shamsiyah-Mazhariyah branch of the Naqshbandi Order which Mirza Mazhar carved out was further propagated by his venerable successors. The author of Bisharat-i Mazhariyan has mentioned forty-nine of his Khalifas by name. Among them Shah Ghulam 'Ali (1745-1825), Wazi Sanaullah Panipati (d.1810) and Maulvi Na'imullah Bahraichi (1741-1804) are big names, who popularized the Shamsiyah-Mazhari-

27. Bisharat-i Mazhariyah (text).
29. Makatib-i Mirza Mazhar, p. 3.

...40
yeh branch and the great tradition of Mir, v. Shah in their respective areas of influence. Shah 'Abdullah, commonly called Shah Ghulam 'Ali, was son of Syed 'Abdul Latif, and was born at Batalah in the Gurdaspur district of the Punjab. At the age of thirteen he went to Delhi and associated himself with leading saints of the period like Shah Pakhruddin and Khwaja Mir Dard. In 1766-67 at the age of twenty-two he became a disciple of Mirza Mazhar and in due course received the Khirqah-i Khilafat of four main orders. After Mirza Mazhar's death he succeeded him at his sajjadah.

His Khanqah was a great centre of mystic activities. People from Syria, Iraq, Baghdad, Egypt, China and Ethiopia flocked in his Khanqah, and more than five hundred visitors and Faqirs lived at a time. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's father Mir Muttaqi was his disciple and Sir Syed's Bismillah Ceremony was done by Shah Ghulam Ali. He wrote Majanat-i Mazhariya about life and thought of his master Mirza Mazhar Jani-i Janan.

Qazi Sanaullah of Panipat was the dearest spiritual successor of Mirza Mazhar. He was a direct descendant of third Caliph 'Usman. First he became a disciple of Shaikh Abid Sunnami then on his instruction he joined Mirza Mazhar.

He read hadith from Shah Waliullah and became a great jurist, commentator of Qur'an, a polemical writer and a leading mystic. His juristic work *calabud ul buhru,* his commentary of Qur'an *Tafsir-i Mazhari* in seven volumes which he named after his master Mirza Mazhar and his *Saif-ul Maslul* in refutation of Shi'ism earned him great fame. He was hailed in high esteem by his master and contemporaries. Mirza Mazhar called him 'Ilm-ul Huda and use to say that at the day of judgement I will present Gazi Sanaullah before Allah that this is what I earned in the world. Shah Abdul Aziz use to call him Baihiqi of the times.31

Na'imullah Banrai'ichi was born at Bahra'ich and was son of Shulam Wutbuddin alias Malik Laly. In 1758, he went to Lucknow and pursued Arabic studies under Waliullah of Lucknow; subsequently he studied at Shahjahanpur, Bareilly, Delhi and Moradabad. In 1773, he was initiated in Naqshbandi Order by Muhammad Jameel, a Khalifa of Mirza Mazhar, who happened to come from Delhi to Lucknow. In 1776, he visited Delhi and remained in constant association with Mirza Mazhar for four years and received from him Khilafat in four leading Orders. Thenceforward he liv-

31. *Bisharat-i Mazhariyah* (text); *Mamulat-i Mazhariyah,* p. 4; *Maqamat-i Mazhari,* pp. 65-67; *Malfuzat-i Azizi,* p. 61.
ed mainly in Lucknow. He wrote *Samulat-i Mazhariya*, about the mystical practices and daily religious life of Mirza Mazhar. Secondly, he wrote *Bisharat-i Mazhariyah*, a comprehensive work about life, thought and times of Mirza Mazhar, his spiritual masters and forty-nine of his Khalifas, in the appendix he has given his own autobiographical accounts. This autobiography in the appendix of *Bisharat-i Mazhariyah* (text); *Maqamat-i Mazhari*, p. 81; *Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan Aur Unka Urdu Kalam*.

"Shah Waliullah of Delhi (1703-63) is one of the most resplendent personalities of Islam," according to Professor K.A. Nizami: "His deep erudition, his rare insight into the religious sciences combined with the vigour and dynamism of his thought which could analyse all sociological situations in the light of religious principles, makes him one of the most seminal figures in the history of Islamic thought."  

Shah Waliullah's father Shah 'Abdur Rahim (1647-1719) was a jurist with mystical inclinations and had helped in the compilation of the legal compendium *Fatawa-i*

32. Autobiography in the appendix of *Bisharat-i Mazhariyah* (text); *Maqamat-i Mazhari*, p. 81; *Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan Aur Unka Urdu Kalam*,

Alamgiri. Shah Waliullah spent some time in Hejaz and returned to Delhi in 1730. For the next three decades he worked to help the Muslim community by his writings and actions. He claims to have been granted the highest possible rank in the religious hierarchy and was taught hikmah (speculative philosophy). A Hakim, Shah Waliullah says, was endowed with that kind of personal tajalli (theophany) which had uprooted other forms of non-spiritual, latent realities, practical subtleties and the secrets of life after death and such other sciences as are mentioned in the Qur'an. The most reliable instrument of hikma was wijdan (intuition) and not burhan (the demonstrative proof). Shah Waliullah was conscious that God had bestowed upon him the honour of a Mujaddid, the renovator of Islamic faith. His interest lay mainly in the purification of the Muslim community for a better life here and

34. Tafahimat-Ilahiya, II, p. 19.
37. Tafahimat-I Ilahiya, II, p. 145. Shah Waliullah claimed that he was the , the renovator of the period and the period was under his control.
even more in the other world. Shah Waliullah inherited the mystic aptitude from his ancestors, especially his grandfather Shah Majihudin and his father Shah Abdul Rahim, who were great saints of their times. His ancestors were followers of the Chishti Order, but Shah 'Abdur Rahim shifted to Naqshbandi Silsilah. Shah Waliullah, however, claims his connection with almost every Silsilah of the mystics.

At the time of his death Shah 'Abdur Rahim appointed Shah Waliullah as his successor. It was again after twelve years as Shah Waliullah was in Hejaz that he received the khirqa and ijazat of all the known mystical order from the famous saint Shaikh Abu Tahir Kurdi Madani. In

38. Shah Waliullah has given the life accounts of his father and grandfather in his Anfas-ul 'Arifin.


40. Intibah fi Salasil-i Auliyaa Allah, p. 41; Shah Waliullah has given the spiritual genealogy of the Silsilahs in Al-Waul-ul Janneel.

41. Shaikh Abu Tahir Muhammad bin Ibrahim Kurdi Madani (d.1733) was a great Muhaddith and a renowned saint. For decades he taught Hadith at Madina. He himself had been initiated into all the significant mystic orders of the time and he passed to his beloved student Shah Waliullah the khirqa and ijazat of the respective Silsilahs. Shah Waliullah also received the ijazat of Jawahir-i Khamsa of the Shattari saint Shaikh Ghaus of Gwalior and Khilafat of Shattari Silsilah from Shaikh Abu Tahir Madani. It was a memorable occasion that Shah Waliullah brought this Silsilah in India after a gap of a complete century. For life sketches of Shaikh Abu Tahir Madani, see Anfas-ul 'Arifin, pp. 191-92...
fact in the two sacred cities of Hejaz, Muhammad
found an opportunity to perfect his spiritual power by
coming into contact with the Prophet himself, and through
his extra-ordinary achievement he was able to explore the
spheres of soul and similitude. God led him to believe
that he was the Chief Imam in the journey along the mystic
path.\footnote{42} God had inspired him to tell the people that the
age in which they lived was under his control.\footnote{43} One of
the special divine favours he received was his appointment
as final spokesman of the last cycle of the world. He was
moreover, the world's philosopher, leader and guide.\footnote{44}

The works of Shah Waliullah have always been a

guide to the learned and a source of inspiration to the
seekers of spiritual truth. In fact by his works the pre­
diction of Shah Abdur Rahim that his Silsilah will last up
to the day of judgement\footnote{45} has come true till date, the
light kindled shall survive the storms of time and age.
Shah Waliullah took the path of mysticism to purify his
heart, discipline his mind and regulate his manners, that

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43. \textit{Tafahimat-i Ilahiyyah}, I, pp. 37, 45, 110, 115.
44. Ibid., II, pp. 160, 176, 180.
45. \textit{Anfas-ul 'Arifin}, p. 200.
is what actually mysticism teaches. He studied all aspects of this science theoretically as well as practically and made the largest contribution to it. His works on this subject are numerous, comprehensive and suggestive to his mastery over it.

Shah Waliullah was capable as we can understand from his writings and the writings of his successors who had studied him from the very close quarters, of explaining the spheres of matter and spirit with equal ease and efficiency. For obvious reasons he may be counted among very eminent mystics of Islam and his entire works are predominated by his mystic predilections.

Shah Waliullah was survived by three sons, Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz, Shah Kafiuddin and Shah 'Abdul Qadir, who maintained the great intellectual and mystical traditions of his venerable father. Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz was born in 1746 and only sixteen years old at the time of his father's death. Some of the most capable disciples of Shah Waliullah gave their utmost attention to Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz's education and soon after he became the leader of the movement started by his father. He wrote several books which were based on Shah Waliullah's ideas but were written in a language more easily intelligible to a man of average education which is evident from his works like Tuhfa-i Ithna 'Ashri and Tafsir-i 'Azizi.46 Twice a week he would preach

to large gatherings that even illness did not prevent him from attending to this urgent work.\footnote{47} For sixty years Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz laboured at his mission. He died in 1824.

Shah Rafiuddin was the second son of Shah Waliullah and was born in 1749. He was the first to render the \textit{Quran} into Urdu which is still popular. He ably assisted his brother Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz in his intellectual pursuits, whose long and protracted illness could not prevent him from reading and writing. His other works are \textit{Rah-i Hijat} and \textit{Damagh-ul Batil}. The latter he wrote in support of his father's synthesis of the theories of Wahdat-ul Wajud and Shuhud.\footnote{48} He died in 1818.

Shah 'Abdul Qadir was third son of Shah Waliullah and was born in 1753. His was a true mystical personality. He lived in seclusion in a mosque and represented the Nisbat (spirituality) of Shah Waliullah. He made an idiomatic translation of \textit{Quran}, \textit{Mauzih-ul Quran}, which is more comprehensible than that of Shah Rafiuddin. He died in 1815. They were men of great intellect, wisdom and piety and were held in high esteem in the contemporary circles.

\footnote{47. Ibid., p. 77.}
\footnote{48. This work of Shah Rafiuddin is still lying in manuscript form in different libraries of the country.}
The Madrasa-i Rahimiyah established by Shah 'Adur Kahim, father of Shah Waliullah, played considerable role in the propagation of the philosophy of Shah Waliullah and his successors. Every madrasa in the length and breadth of the subcontinent was directly or indirectly connected with the Madrasa-i Rahimiya. The graduates of this madrasa rendered great services to the Muslim community. It was here that Shah Waliullah, Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz, Shah 'Abdul Qadir, Shah Rafiuddin, Lazi Sanaullah, Shah Ismail and Shah Muhammad Ishaq received education and taught in their respective terms. The hadith education spread in the length and breadth of India from this madarsa.

In Bihar and eastern India the Naqshbandi Silsilah was introduced by Shaikh Muhammad Sultan (d. 1718), a disciple and Khalifa of Shaikh Adam Bannuri. Shaikh Sul-

50. Hindustan Ki Islami Darsgahain, p. 27.
51. Ibid.
52. Tazkirat-ul Kiram, I. 69b; A'yan-i Watan, p. 131.
53. Mu'izzuddin Abu 'Abdullah Adam bin Isma'il (d.1643) of Bannur in Uttar Pradesh was the premier Khalifa of Shaikh Ahmad Sihindi. He was a great mystical personality of his times and had settled in Medina. His works Nikhat-ul Asrar, Ms Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna, and Khulasat-ul Ma'arif are considered to be works of tremendous mystical value. The Naqshbandi Silsilah had made considerable impact in the mystic and intellectual circles of Mecca and Medina through his efforts. Anfas-ul 'Arifin, pp. 13-15, Nuzhat-ul Khwatis, V, pp. 1-3.
tan had settled in Wonglai. He gave the khilafat of the Naqshbandi Najaddidi Order to Shah Mujibullah Qadri (1686-1777) of Phulwari Shareef, Patna, a great mystical personality and founder of Khanwada-i Sujibi in Bihar during the eighteenth century. 54

At 'Azimabad, Patna, Shah Muhammad Mun'im (1670-1775) popularly known as Mun'im Pakbaz propagated the Naqshbandi Silsilah. He was a descendant of Shamsuddin Haqcani and was born at Pichna village near Bihar Shareef, modern Nalanda district. 55 Shah Muhammad Mun'im was the Khalifa of Shah Muhammad Farhad of Delhi and spent much of his time in Delhi. He is reported to have come to Patna in 1752, the year Shah Fakhruddin came to Delhi from the Deccan. 56 Shah Muhammad Mun'im was a great 'alim and a mystic of profound

54. A'yan-i Watan, p. 131. Shah Mujibullah Qadri founded a khanqah which still survives. The Sajjadah Nasheen lives in a cell (قفلت) and comes out only for five times prayers, for reciting fatiha in the graveyard after 'Asr prayer. He can go to enquire a sick person in the neighbourhood only that too after 'Asr prayer for Haj pilgrimage. The Sajjadah Sheen fulfills all the conditions laid down by the founder. They do not accept jagir or wealth and lead a life of tawakkul.


56. This is said that one day Shah Muhammad Mun'im declared in the presence of his disciples that the Qutab of Delhi is coming from the Deccan and now I am leaving towards cast. Kaifiyat-ul 'Arifin, p. 118.
intellect and was held in high esteem in the contemporary mystic circle. His works, *ukshliat-i mun'im* and *Ilkhamat-i Mun'im*, reveal the fact that he had full knowledge of the theoretical and practical aspects of Islamic mysticism. 

Shah Muhammad Mun'im's Silsila was further popularized in Bihar and Bengal by his illustrious successors. Eighteen of his Khalifas, among whom A'zamuddin 'Ishq el-as Shah Ghaseela (d. 1789), Makhdum Asan Ali (d. 1809), Shah Ghalam Ausein (d. 1838), worked in Bihar. Sufi Daim-ud-Lah (d. 1798) at Dhaka, in present Bangla Desh popularized the Silsila. They had established khanqahs with madarasas which still survive.

During the eighteenth century Naqshbandi Silsila was brought into the Punjab by Shah Muhammad Qasim, who represented the Abul Cla'i branch of Naqshbandi Order. Shah Muhammad Qasim was a native of Firozpur and popularized the Naqshbandi-Abul Cla'i branch of this Silsila which came to be known by this name after Syed Shah Abul Cla of Akbarabad, Fara, a great Naqshbandi saint.

57. *Catalogue of Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library*, Vol. 16, pp. 81-83. These works are also referred by Khushgu as compiled by Mun'im Khan Bahadur Shahi but Shamim Mun'im on the basis of internal evidences and an examination of various manuscripts of this work has proved to be that of a teacher-mystic which Shah Muhammad Mun'im in fact was; article read in South Asian Regional Seminar on Manuscripts of Sufism, Patna 1985.

In Sindh the Naqshbandi Silsilah gained the momentum of an organized movement under the leadership of the famous poet and mystical writer Mir 'Ali Sher Wani' (1725-89) and Makhdom 'Abdur Rahim Girhori (1739-78), the Khalifa of the famous saint Makhdom Muhammad Zaman who, in turn, was a disciple of Mian Abul Qasim Naqshbandi and Mian Muhammad Thattawi. 59

The Chishti Order:

The Chishti Silsilah is the oldest mystical order which entered the Indian soil. Much before the Churian conquest of India and establishment of Chishti centre at Ajmer, the mystics of this Silsilah settled in various parts of the country. 60 This Silsilah was introduced in India as an organized spiritual movement by Khwaja Mo'inuddin Chishti (1141-1236) at Ajmer and worked out its principles. His


60. 'Abdur Rahman Jami records that Khwaja Abu Muhammad Chishti came to India with the army of Mahmud of Ghazna and settled here. He had ijazat and khilafat of an organized spiritual order of that time, i.e. the Chishti Silsilah. Nafahat-ul Inn, p. 207. Syed Salar Mas'ud Ghazi is also reported to have come with the army of Mahmud. Professor K.A. Nizami suspects that the relation of Salar Masud with Sultan Mahmud is a later fiction. He might have entered the country in the later half of the eleventh century. Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, p. 139, thus it can be said that Khwaja Abu Muhammad was the first Chishti saint who came to India.
illustrious. Successors established Chishti Centres at different parts of the country and popularized the silsilah among the masses. Wutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki (d. 1236) at Delhi, Fariduddin Ganj-i Shakar (1175-1265) at Ajodhan and Shaikh Kizanuddin Auliya (d. 1325) at Delhi trained hundreds of their Khalifas and sent them in the length and breadth of the country with a mission to lead people on the right path and to perfect the morality of mankind.

The central structure of the Chishti Order collapsed with the demise of Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh of Delhi (1356) and a phase of provincial centres of Chishti Silsilah started. 61 Although there were mystics who propagated the Chishti mystic-ideology in the provinces with their strong Centres but they could not give it an all-India character. In fact, the tast was left for Shah Kalimullah Jahanabadi. 62

61. Syed Muhammad Gesudaraz (d.1422) in the Deccan, Shaikh Nur Qutb-i 'Alan (d.1410) at Pandua in Bengal and 'Allama Kanaluddin (d.1355), Shaikh Y'aqub, Shaikh Kabiruddin Nagori and Syed Kanaluddin Qazwini in Gujarat. Shaikh Wajihuddin Yusuf, Shaikh Kanaluddin and Maulana Kughisuddin (d.1320) in Malwa, established Chishti Centres and propagated the ideologies of the great Chishti mystics. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Chishti Silsilah lost the momentum of an organized spiritual movement and was carried on by individual efforts of the various saints in their respective areas. Shaikh Jalaluddin of Thanesar (d.1581), Shaikh Abu S'aid of Gangoh (d.1639), Shaikh 'Abdul 'Aziz of Delhi (d.1567) and Shaikh Salim Chishti of Fatehpur-Sikri, carried out the Chishti traditions in their areas of influence. Tarikh-i Mashaikh-i Chisht, I, pp. 252-89.

Shah Kalimullah Jahanuddin (1650-1720) was one of the most outstanding personalities in the later history of the Chishti Silsilah in India. This Silsilah which until now had lost its previous position was revived due to his patronage. Shah Kalimullah took up the reins of the Chishti Silsilah when the Muslim society was fast decaying, religious spirit was weakening and the moral fibre had loosened its grip. In such a situation Shah Kalimullah raised his voice and did his best for the revival of true faith by laying great emphasis on the tenets of Islam and the traditions set up the early Chishti mystics. He gave a new spirit to the Chishti Silsilah and sent his Khalifas in the distant areas and reformed the degenerating Muslim society. By his endeavours the Chishti Silsilah witnessed a renaissance during the eighteenth century.  

Shah Kalimullah was the son of Haji Nurullah son of Shaikh Ahmad, popularly known as Ahmad Mi'amar. Both father and grandfather of Shah Kalimullah were engineers and architects. The teachers of Shah Kalimullah were

63. Ibid., p. 367.
64. Ma'asir-ul Kiram, I, p. 42.
Shah Kalimullah stayed in Hejaz for sometime and received the khirqa and ijazat from him.  


66. Shaikh Abdur Riza Muhammad (d.1690) was the eldest son of Shaikh Wajihuddin. He was a mystic of great spiritual qualities and a great 'alim. Shah 'Abdur Rahim was his younger brother and received early education from him. He mainly taught Tafsir-i Baizawi and Mishkat and used to deliver sermons after Friday congregation and used to render Hadith into Persian and Hindi in his sermons. It was he who for the first time felt the necessity of rendering religious works into language of the people. Anfas-ul 'Arifin, p.116; Tarikh-i Mashaikh-i Chisht, V, pp. 89-90. 

67. The story that how Shah Kalimullah went to Hejaz is an interesting one, in his youth he is said to have fallen in love with a Khatri boy who was indifferent to the lover. Shah Kalimullah approached a majzub, known to accept gifts from those whose wishes were later fulfilled. He went with some sweets and the following day the boy is said to have fallen in love with Shah Kalimullah, who soon tired of the lover became involved with the majzub who referred him to go to Shaikh Yahya Madani. Shah Kalimullah went straight to Medina without saying good by to anyone including his mother. Takmilah Siyar-ul Auliya, pp. 85-86; Tarikh-i Mashaikh-i Chisht, V, pp. 91-92.
After his return from Hejaz, Shah Kalimullah settled in Delhi and started a madarsa which soon attracted large number of students and people flocked there from all sides. He led a life of tawakkul and never accepted gifts from kings and nobles. 68

Shah Kalimullah sent his favourite disciple and khalifa, Shah Nizamuddin (1650-1730) to the Deccan on a mission of religious reformation and spiritual revival with the advice that:

"God Almighty had bestowed the spiritual territory (مَنْخَلَتُ) of the Deccan upon you. Do your job whole heartedly and vigorously." 69

Shah Kalimullah persuaded him to propagate the principles of the Chishti Silsilah and insisted upon the progress of the Islamic faith. He wrote again and again with single aim of the development of the tenets of the Shari'ah and teachings of the tariqah.

Shah Nizamuddin went to the Deccan with the army which is evident from the letters of Shah Kalimullah as at various places mentions the 'lashkar' and visited Bijapur, Burhanpur and Sholapur. 70 He finally settled at Aurangabad.

68. Ibid., p. 95.
70. Ibid., pp. 26, 33, 34, 52.
Here he founded a khānqah which rose into prominence and soon attracted a large number of people from all parts of the Deccan.\footnote{san-us Shimail, f. 67a.}

Shah Nizamuddin led a simple and austere life and possessed an extremely charming personality. He propagated the Chishti Order in the Deccan and popularized it among the masses, according to an estimate he had one lakh disciples in the Deccan.\footnote{san-us Shimail, f. 67a.} Following the traditions of the early Chishti-mystics he did a lot for the help and benefit of the common people and avoided the company of worldly people.\footnote{The biographers of Shah Nizamuddin give a vivid and picturesque accounts of his khānqah that how people of all kinds floated there and how he received and treated them. He possessed an extremely charming personality and people were automatically attracted towards him. His disciple Khwaja Kamgar Khan wrote his biography Ahsan-us Shimail; Takmilah Siyar-ul Auliya, p. 96; Fakhr-ut Talebin, p. 45; Tarikh-i Mashaikh-i Chisht, V, pp. 159-61.}

Shah Nizamuddin was succeeded by his son Shah Fakhruddin (1717-84), who was placed under leading ulema of the period for education. Miyan Muhammad Jan taught him Fusus-ul Hikam, Sadra and Shams-i Bazigha and exposed to him the subtleties in Wahdat-ul Wujud. He read M汕头 from a leading 'alim of the period Maulana Abdul Hakim and

\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{san-us Shimail, f. 67a.}
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\item The biographers of Shah Nizamuddin give a vivid and picturesque accounts of his khānqah that how people of all kinds floated there and how he received and treated them. He possessed an extremely charming personality and people were automatically attracted towards him. His disciple Khwaja Kamgar Khan wrote his biography Ahsan-us Shimail; Takmilah Siyar-ul Auliya, p. 96; Fakhr-ut Talebin, p. 45; Tarikh-i Mashaikh-i Chisht, V, pp. 159-61.}
\end{itemize}
obtained a good grounding in both hadith and fiqh and in the art of warfare. Shah Fakhruddin was only sixteen years old when his father died therefore he continued his education for next three years. After completing his education instead of sitting in the khanaqah of his father Shah Fakhruddin joined military service. If his days were spent in the din and clatter of arms, his nights were devoted to prayers. Shah Fakhruddin is reported to have worked hard for complete eight years to perfect himself spiritually. He soon left the military service and sat on the Sajjadah of his father, attracted by his intellectual calibre, piety and spiritual excellence he soon became popular. For fifteen years he worked for the propagation of the Silsilah in the Deccan as a spiritual preceptor and then decided to leave Aurangabad and finally came to Delhi where he settled for good.

75. Tarikh-i Mashalikh-i Chisht, II, p. 89.
76. Fakhr-ut Talibin, p. 11; Manaqib-i Fakhriyah, p. 6; Tarikh-i Mashalikh-i Chisht, V, pp. 189-90.
77. Shah Fakhruddin left Aurangabad in the year 1747 and started on foot accompanied by two of his servants Qasim and Hayat. Manaqib-i Fakhriyah, p. 11; Manaqib-ul Mahbubin gives the date 1751 basing his date on the Masnawi of Ghaziuddin Khan Nizam, these verses are:

لله سالگر زخم، بیو،
خشید زخم، پیار اورانیزم
نزدیک، اپنی مشور میں
ویل پر زا بکشید

...58
Shah Fakhruddin very soon rose into prominence in Delhi and a large number of people gathered round him. The first person at Delhi who came to the fold of Chishti-Nizami Order under the influence of Shah Fakhruddin was Shah Nur Muhammad of Mahar, who popularized the Chishti Silsilah in the Punjab. The Madarsa of Ajmeri Gate, where Shah Fakhruddin taught was built by Ghaziuddin Khan Firoz Jung. Here he taught both traditions and reasonings and his lectures held the charm of Islamic mysticism. Shah 'Abdur Rahman, a famous Qadri saint of Lucknow in the nineteenth century, studied for sometime in this Madarsa.

It was the period when in Delhi the madarsa of Shah Waliullah was on its prime, in the madarsa of Shah Fakhruddin the mystic ideology was dominating and emphasis was given on intrinsic values of mysticism whereas in the madarsa of Shah Waliullah along with the education of mysticism emphasis was given on exterior education which was in fact a

78. Manaqib-ul Mahbubin, p. 83; Manaqib-i Fakhriyah, p. 10.

79. Ghaziuddin Khan Firoz Jung (d. 1752) was the eldest son of Nizamul Mulk Asaf Jah and brother of Nasir Jung. His original name was Mir Muhammad Panah. He was the son-in-law of Qamaruddin Khan, Wazir of Muhammad Shah. He worked as deputy of his father in the Deccan, where he was Mir Bakhshi. Later on he received that Office and the title, Amir-ul Umara. Ma'asir-ul Umara, I, pp. 592-93; Hindustan Ki Qadim Islami Darsgahain, pp. 27-28.

prelude to a great revolutionary movement in the light of Quran and Hadith. 81

Mention has already been made of Shaikh Nur Muhammad of Bahar (1730-91), who propagated Chishti-Nizami Silsilah in the Punjab during the eighteenth century. Earlier the Punjab and the Multan was dominated by Suhur-wardi and Qadri saints. Shaikh Nur Muhammad established Chishti Centres in the different areas of the Punjab like Taunsa, Ahmadpur, Chachiran, Jalalpur and Golrah, etc. 82

The Chishti-Nizami Silsilah was further popularized by numerous successors of Shah Fakhruddin. His work was carried out by his Khalifas, Shah Nayaz Ahmad of Bareilly (1760-1834), Haji Lal Muhammad of Delhi (d.1824), Maulana Jamaluddin of Rampur, Mir Ziyauddin of Jaipur and Mir Shamsuddin of Ajmer. 83

The Chishti Silsilah was fairly popular in the eastern region of Uttar Pradesh during the period under review. Salon in the Rai Bareilly district was a strong

81. Tarikh-i Mashaikh-i Chisht, V, p. 197.
82. Manaqib-ul Khabubin, p. 106.
83. Tarikh-i Mashaikh-i Chisht, II, pp. 241-49.
centre of Nizami-Siraji branch of Chishti Order. The spiritual descendants of Shaikh Muhammad Anshar (d.1477) carried out the traditions of the Silsila. Two important mystical personalities of Saloon during the eighteenth century were Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf (d.1755) son of Shaikh Pir Muhammad (d.1687) and Shaikh Muhammad Pahsh.

In Allahabad Shan Muhammad Fakhir (d.1751) was a famous Chishti saint who propagated the teachings of the Silsila. He was a fine poet nom de plume Sa‘ir and a renowned theologian. At the age of twenty-one he succeeded his father Shah Muhammad Khub, when twenty-eight he went to Mecca and obtained Sanad-i Hadis from Shaikh Muhammad Hayat Sirdhi-Nadrai.

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84. Nizami-Siraji branch of Chishti Order came after Shaikh Sirajuddin popularly known as Akhi Siraj (d.1357). He was Khalil of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya and had settled in Bengal and popularized the Silsila in Bengal, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. His successor Aqul haq of Pandua was a great saint and was succeeded by his son Nur uz-Zam. One of his illustrious Khalilas was Sultan Ashraf Jahangir who settled at Kachchochcha, Faizabad district of Uttar Pradesh. Siyar-ul Auliya, pp. 289-90; Akhbarkul Akhyar, pp. 140-41 & 161-63; Gulzar-i Aurar, pp. 104-5 & 145-46, and Lataif-i Ashrafi, Delhi, 1295 A.H.

85. Tazkirah Musarrat Afza, fol. 40b-41a; 'Ayan-i Watan, p. 142.

In Bihar and its environs the Chishti Silsilah was introduced by Shah Mu'izuddin Kurji (d. 1717), a disciple and Khalifa of Shaikh Pir Muhammad of Salon. Shah Mu'izuddin was a native of the saintly family of village "Chishtiyana" in Bihar Shareef but his grand-father shifted to Kurji, near modern Danapur, Patna. 87

Shah Mu'izuddin bestowed the Khilafat of the Nizami-Siraji branch of the Chishti Silsilah upon Shah Mujibullah Qadri of Phulwari Shareef, basically a Qadri saint Shah Mujibullah initiated people into the Chishti Silsilah too. 88 Besides Shah Mu'izuddin, he received the ijazat of Chishti Silsilah from the spiritual descendants of Shaikh Jalaluddin Tabrizi and directly from the saintly spirit (بطراء) of Sultan Ashraf Jahangir Simnani. 89

87. 'Ayan-i Watan, pp. 132-33.

88. In the Khanqah of Phulwari Shareef most of the practices are that of the Chishti Saints. The Sajjadah kasheen's turban is known as Dastar-i Mizani because it is made on the style of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya's turban as it is not folded on the forehead but in the sides, they also listen to Sama and perform Zikr-i jihr, etc. 'Ayan-i Watan, pp. 221-22.

89. Ibid., pp. 139-40.
The Qadri Order:

The Qadri Silsila is the earliest mystic Order founded by Shaikh 'Abdul Qadir Gilani⁹⁰ (1077-1166), one of the most outstanding figures in the annals of Islamic mysticism.⁹¹ His sermons, collected in Al-Fithur Rabbani are, according to Margoliouth, "some of the very best in Moslem literature: the spirit which they breathe is one of charity and philanthrophy."⁹² Professor K.A. Nizami observes that "it is strange that the Qadri Silsila did not reach India during the Sultanate period."⁹³ The Qadri Silsila is also one of the important mystical Orders which flourished in India. During the second half of the fifteenth century, this Silsila was brought to India by Shah Niamatullah Qadri (d.1430).⁹⁴ Syed Muhammad Ghaus Gilani, Syed Musa Qadri and Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Muhaddith of Delhi are some famous Qadri saints of the Mughal period.

⁹⁰ For his biographical sketches, see Akhbar-ul Akhiyar, pp. 9-22; Safinat-ul Auliya, pp. 43-56; Alfanat-ul Uns, pp. 526-90; Khazinat-ul Asfiya, 1, p. 94-95.
⁹¹ Religion & Politics in India during the 13th Century, p. 57.
⁹² Encyclopaedia of Islam, I, p. 41.
⁹³ Religion & Politics in India during the 13th Century, p. 58.
⁹⁴ Akhbar-ul Akhyar, p. 231.
During the eighteenth century the Silsila was fairly popular in the various parts of India and its centres flourished in large numbers. In eastern Uttar Pradesh it received sufficient popularity in the beginning of the eighteenth century under Shah 'Abdur Razzaq Bansawi (d.1724). The Silsila witnessed further popularity under his celebrated disciple and successor, Mulla Kizamuddin of Pirangi Sahal (d.1748). Mulla Kizamuddin was a renowned scholar, jurist and a famous teacher who founded the Dars-i Nizami system of education.

In Benaras Maulana Waris Rasul-Numa (1676-1753) was another famous Qadri saint who represented the Qamisi branch of the Qadri Silsila. He hailed from the family of Qazis of Jaunpur and had settled in Benaras. Maulana Waris Rasul-Numa took Sanad-i Hadis from Shaikh Hayat Sindhi Madani and the khirqa and ijazat of the Qadri-Qamisi Order from Shah Rafiuddin of Jaunpur. Maulana Waris was a mystic

95. Manazib-i Razzaqiyah, pp. 1-20; Malfuz-i Razzaq, pp. 120-45; Mufti Kaza Ansari has recently published a detailed biography of Shah 'Abdur Razzaq under the title of Syed Saheb Bansawi, Lucknow, 1986.


97. Tazkirat-ul Kiram, ff. 9a-15a; 'Ayan-i Watan, pp. 143-44.

98. Qadri-Qamisi Order came to be known after Shah Qamsi Qadri, a famous Qadri saint of sixteenth century, Akhbar-ul Akhyar, pp. 199-204.
of great spiritual excellence and left a large number of successors. His Silsilah came to be known as Qadri-i-khari Silsilah.

In western Uttar Pradesh the Qadri Silsilah gained popularity under Shah Fatah Muhammad Qadri (d. 1718) and his descendants at Kairanah in Muzaffarnagar. Shah Fatah Muhammad was a native of Ambala, Punjab and had settled in Kairanah, Muzaffarnagar. He received spiritual training and ijazat of Qadri Silsilah from Shaikh Yahya Madani.

The Qadri Silsilah was propagated in the Punjab by the descendants of Shaikh Haji Muhammad Qadri (d. 1692), popularly known as Naushan Ganjbakhsh. He was a saint of considerable popularity and died in the closing years of Aurangzeb's reign.

The main centres of Qadri mystics in the Punjab were Naushera, Lahore, Wazirabad, etc. In the later half of the eighteenth century and first half of the nineteenth century some Qadri saints achieved martyrdom on the hands

99. Terikh-i Qadriyah, ff. 36b-36a.
100. Ibid.
of the Sikhs due to their stronghold over the Punjab.\textsuperscript{102}

Among the mystics who popularised Qadri Silsilah in the Punjab during the eighteenth century mention may be made of Shaikh Muhammad Taqi Qadri Naushahi, Khwaja Hashim Darya Dil Naushahi (died during the reign of Muhammad Shah), Syed Bahauddin Gilani Lahauri and Shaikh Ismatullah Naushahi.\textsuperscript{103} In Kashmir, Syed Qutbuddin Gilani, Syed Shadi Shah, Syed Nathan Shah and Shah Dargahi played considerable role in the propagation of the Qadri Silsilah during this period.\textsuperscript{104}

In Rohilkhand area saints like Shah Fulaqi, Shah Shahbaz, Shah Ghulam Ahmad, Shah Muhammad Husain and Shah Munir gave sufficient popularity to this Silsilah.\textsuperscript{105}

In Bihar Qadri Silsilah received extensive popularity under the celebrated leadership of Shah Mujibullah Qadri (1686-1777) founder of Khanwadah-i Mujibi in Phulwari Shareef, Patna.\textsuperscript{106} He and his descendants exercised consi-

\textsuperscript{102} Ibid., pp. 193-97, 215-21.
\textsuperscript{103} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{104} Ibid., pp. 215-21.
\textsuperscript{105} Ibid., pp. 223-35.
\textsuperscript{106} Tazkirat-ul Kiram, ff. 105a-120a; 'Ayan-i Watan, p. 192.
derable influence in Bihar during the eighteenth century and after. This Khanwadah still survives with its great traditions and adherence to the teachings of its founder.

Shah Mujibullah Qadri received the izajat of Qadri-Qamisi Silsilah from his teacher and spiritual mentor Maulana Waris Rasul-Numa of Benaras. Further, he received the izajat of almost every known mystical Order from the eminent saints of his times but preferred to be identified with the Qadri Silsilah.

The Shattari Order:

The Shattari Silsilah was introduced in India during the Sultanate period. Shah 'Abdullah Shattar (d. 1485) brought the Shattari Order during the Lodi period. This

107. Ibid., if. 108b; p. 131.
108. Ibid., f. 115a; pp. 133-51.
109. Shah 'Abdullah Shattar travelled in the length and breadth of the country. In Bihar, Shaikh Qazin 'Ola Shattari (1439-95) of Vaishali and a direct descendant of Imam Taj Faqih of Maner became his disciple and received izajat from him. Shaikh Qazin, his three sons, Shaikh Uwais, Abul Fath Hadiyatulian Sarmast, and Shaikh 'Abdur Rahman, popularized this Silsilah in north Bihar. The Khangahs of Shaikh Qazin and his descendants still survive, Madin-ul Asrar (MS), Phulwari Shareef Library, Manahij-ush Shattar (MS), Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna; Tarikh-i Mashaikh-i Chisht, I, p. 183.
Silsila produced a number of saints, the most important of whom was Muhammad Ghaus of Gwalior (1465-1563). He was a disciple of Haji Hanid Hasur, a disciple of Shaikh Gauhar 'Ola Shattari of Vaishali in Bihar who received khilafat and ijazat from Shah Abdullah Shattar. Shaikh Ghaus Gwaliari's works are well-known. He wrote Jawahir-i Khamsa, Kalid-i Makhzan, Zamayir, Basayir, and Kanz-ut Tauhid. He studied the Hindu religious thoughts with insight and translated a Sanskrit work, Amrit Kund, into Persian as Bahr-ul Hayat. Shaikh Wajihuddin Gujrati (d.1580), Shah Pir of Meerut (d.1632), Shaikh Ruknuddin (1617-1705), and Pir Imamuddin of Rajgir (1648-1718), were other prominent saints of this Order.

"Shah Pir was the last of the great Shattari saints of India. We do not come across any reference to the Shattari saints during the reign of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb. The Shattari Silsilah was a spent bullet in the seventeenth century. Its pantheistic philosophy and catholicism was mercilessly criticized by the School of Mujaddid Alf-i Sani," remarks Professor K.A. Nizami. But we find great centre of Shattari saints during this period in Vaishali, north Bihar, where the descendants of Qazin 'Ola Shattari, 110

the only Khaliq ol Shah Abdullah from whom the Silsilah spread in the length and breadth of this country were busy maintaining the Shattari traditions. Shaikh Qutbuddin, Shaikh Muhiuddin (d.1660), and Shaikh Ruknuddin (d.1705), were great repositories of Shattari traditions. Pir Imamuddin ol Rajgir compiled two comprehensive works on the advice of his master Shaikh Ruknuddin. These are Kanahiush Sattar and Malfuzat-i Ruknuddin Shattari. Prince Azim-ush-Shan was a great admirer of Shaikh Ruknuddin Shattari.111

During the eighteenth century Shah Waliullah represented the Shattari Silsilah in Delhi. He brought the khilatat of this Silsilah along with the ijazat of Jawahir-i Khamsa from Shaikh Abu Tahir Kurdi Madani.112

At the same period Shattari Silsilah was represented in Bihar and its environs by Shah Mujibullah Qadri of Phulwari Shareef.113 He was a spiritual descendant of

111. Malfuzat-i Ruknuddin Shattari, f. 7b. In a later work it is mentioned that before his Delhi Campaign while proceeding from Patna Farrukh Siyar along with his mother visited the Khangah of Pir Imamuddin at Rajgir and requested him to accompany. Pir Imamuddin blessed him for victory and sent his khalifa Mir Syed Muhammad Taqi Qutbi with Farrukh Siyar, Makhzan-ul Ansab, Patna, 1342 A.H., pp. 19-20.

113. 'Ayan-i Watan, p. 150.
Shaiikh Muhammad Mazin Shattari of Bihar, a luminous Shattari saint of Bihar during the fifteenth century.  

In the Khanaqah of Mazin Shattari at Jandaha, modern Vaishali district of north Bihar, Shah Muhammad Shafi succeeded to the Sajjadah during this period. Shah Muhammad Shafi' was an 'Alim and a saint of considerable influence. He was related by matrimonial to the contemporary Firdausi mystics of Bihar Shareef.  

The Firdausi Order:  

The Firdausi Silsilah flourished in India during the Sultanate period mainly in the region of Bihar under the influence of Shaikh Sharfuddin Yahya Aneri and his successors and was considered to be a regional brilliance. Though it continued to hold tenaciously its grasp over the minds of the people in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, its sway dwindled towards the later half of seventeenth and during the eighteenth centuries. The downfall of the Silsilah took its roots in the mutual bickering


115. Tarikh-i Silsilah Firdausiyah, pp. 355-56.
of the descendants of Shaikh Shafuddin Ahmad Mari due
to the immense accumulation of wealth and over the succe-
sion to the Sajjadah.

The paucity of information of the history of the
development of the Firdausi Silsilah during the later
period leaves us without evidence of its activities. No
systematic study of the history of the Silsilah has so
far been made after Shaikh Sharfuddin Ahmad Maneri. How-
ever, individual and fragmentary works are available. 116

The eighteenth century Firdausi Silsilah had two
Centres in Bihar, one at Maner, the ancestral home of the
founder of the Order in Bihar and another at Bihar Shareef
in the neighbourhood of Rajgir where he had settled. At
Maner, the Silsilah gained momentum under Shaikh Daulat
Ali alias Shah Muhammad Bunyad Firdausi. 117 (d. 1782).
Other mystics of this Silsilah were Shah Asadullah Bhilu
Firdausi (d. 1786), Shah Mubarak Dhuman Firdausi and Shah
Muhammad Makai Firdausi. They gave sufficient popularity
to the Silsilah during the eighteenth century. 118

116. Moi'nuddin Dardai wrote Tarikh-i Silsilah-i Firdausi-
giya which is based on some family papers and mostly
on oral traditions. It was published in 1962 and is
now extremely rare.


118. Ibid., pp. 428-38.
In the Firdausi Khanyah of Lihur Shareef Shah Wajihuddin Firdausi, Shah Badiuddin Firdausi and Shah Aleemuddin Derwesh Firdausi succeeded to the Sajjadah during this period. Although most of their times and energies were wasted in calling 'Mahzar' and setting the property disputes and other family matters, yet they did a lot for the masses and popularized the Silsilah in which undoubtedly family influence played greater role than their individual capabilities.

Shah Mujibullah Qadri of Phulwari Shareef also represented the Firdausi Silsilah during the eighteenth century. But his was Firdausi-Imadi and Firdausi-Muizi branches of the Silsilah, after the names of Khwaja Imaduddin Qalandar and Shah Mu'izuddin Kurjawi.

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120. 'Ayan-i Watan, pp. 143-44.
(b) **Relations Between the Saints of Different Silsilahs:**  
**Social and Ideological**

It is difficult to judge the relations of Khwaja Muhammad Nasir 'Andalib and Mir Dard with Shah Waliullah because of the paucity of information. Although the father and son rejected the synthesis of the doctrines of Wahdat-ul Wujud and Wahdat-ush Shuhud made by Shah Waliullah, at no place they mention him by name.

Same is the case with Mirza Mazhar's relations with Nasir 'Andalib and his son, except for two instances. In one of his letters Mirza Mazhar informs his disciple Mir Musalmān about the death of Nasir 'Andalib, he writes:

> (and in the beginning of Sha'aban, this year Khwaja Muhammad Nasir Jiu passed away).\(^{121}\) In a later work Mir Dard is reported to have recognized the light of saintliness in the face of a person who just came from the Khanqah of Mirza Mazhar.\(^{122}\)

Shah Waliullah had quite cordial relations with Mirza Mazhar and had great admiration because of his faithful adherence to the Sunnah. In his letters to Mirza Mazhar, Shah Waliullah used high flown titles and was of the opinion that Mirza Mazhar had no parallel in India and Arabia in his mystic excellence and adherence to the Shariah. He

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The author of *Bisharat-i Mazhariyah* informs that Mirza Mazhar went to enquire about the health of Shah Waliullah while the latter was on his death-bed. Shah Waliullah took Mirza Mazhar's hand in his hands, recited a verse from the *Masnawi* of Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi and requested for his prayers. The verse was:

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dst $mm $mm $mm $mm $mm
$mm $mm $mm $mm $mm
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Although a healthy social relations existed between the two yet they differed ideologically. Mirza Mazhar was a

firm believer in the doctrine of Wahdat-ush Shuhud. He did not even accept the synthesis of the two doctrines and urged his disciple Ghulam Yahya to write a book refuting the concept of synthesis between the two doctrines made by Shah Waliullah to which Mirza Mazhar wrote a preface.  

But at the same time Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan had great admiration for Shah Waliullah's interpretation of moral and religious values of Islam and his intellectual and mystical calibre. Once he declared:

Shah Fakhir of Allahabad also admired Mirza Mazhar for his faithful adherence to the Shariah.

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125. Bisharat-i Mazhariyah, f. 81b; Kalimat-ul Haq, f. 1a.


127. Bisharat-i Mazhariyah, f. 13b.
On the other hand Mirza Mazhar too had great respect for Shah Fakhir and praised his adherence to Shari'ah and tariqah. Mirza Mazhar is reported to have said that 'although I consider myself better than many elects of the day yet I feel myself very little near Shah Fakhir.'\(^{128}\) Being a follower of the School of Shah Muhibullah of Allahabad Shah Fakhir believed in the doctrine of wahdat-ul Wujud.

However, not much is known about the relations of Mirza Mazhar with Shah Fakhruddin but this is well-known that he led the funeral prayer after the assassination of Mirza Mazhar.\(^{129}\) Ahsanullah Khan Bayan, a famous Urdu poet and a student of Mirza Mazhar was a disciple of Shah Fakhruddin.

It appears that Nasir 'Andalib and Mir Dard had no social relations with Shah Fakhruddin as there is not a single record in the contemporary or non-contemporary biographical or religious literature. Ideologically the father and the son rejected the doctrines of Wahdat-ul Wujud and Wahdat-ush Shuhud and developed the theory of Ta'hid-i Muhammadi.\(^{130}\) Though in the practice of Sama they had simi-

\(^{128}\) Ma'asir-ul Kiram, II, p. 218.  
\(^{129}\) Manaqib-i Fakhriyah, p. 11.  
\(^{130}\) 'Ilm-ul Kitab, p. 85.
larity, Shah Fakhruddin being a Chishti practiced it while Mir Dard basically a Naqshbandi not as much avoided Sama but practiced it and gave considerable explanations and justifications to his listening of music. Shah Muhammadi Bedar was a student of Rasir 'Andalib in poetry and had served as Secretary on rare occasions in the compilation of Nalay-i 'Andalib. He was spiritually connected with Shah Fakhruddin.

Shah Fakhruddin was on good terms with Shah Waliullah and often visited Madarsa-i Kahimiyah. Shah Waliullah used to organize Sama' in his honour but music was not allowed. Whenever Shah Fakhruddin desired Sama' along with music the venue was shifted to the nearby house of a relative.

Ideologically Shah Waliullah reconciled the doctrines of Wahdat-ul Wujud and Wahdat-ush Shuhud, whereas Shah Fakhruddin following the Chishti traditions continued to believe in the doctrine of Wahdat-ul Wujud. Shah Waliullah attempted to bridge the gulf between different sects of Islam and the followers of the various mystical Orders.

132. Nalay-i 'Andalib, I, p. 3.
133. Maikhana-i Dard, p. 156.
On the other hand Shah Fakhruddin strictly concentrated on the leadership of the Chishti Silsilah and asked his disciples for complete adherence to this tariqah instead of following various Orders at the same time.  

Although these mystics of eighteenth century sometime differed in their approach to the secrets of the tariqah and used different similies and metaphors in solving the problems. They had common characteristics and the same object in mind. They endeavoured hard to reform the Muslim society by laying great deal of emphasis on Kitab-o Sunnah. The salvation of this world and after solely depends on the faithful adherence to the Divine law as Nasir 'Andalib has put it into a beautiful verse:

\[
\text{کوش علیکم سر کے بابی}
\text{اپنے سر میں نے جابی}
\]

Strive to find the everlasting kingdom and that you will find by the law of Muhammad.  

(c) Relations of the Mystics with the 'Ulema:

The leading saints of the eighteenth century were themselves great Ulema and dominated both the realms of learning and spirituality. Shah Waliullah was the greatest reviver of learning during the eighteenth century and his traditions were continued by his successors. Kasir 'Andalib, Mir Dard and Mirza Mazhar belonged to the category of 'Ulema but they mostly remained attached with their respective Silsilahs. Among the Chishti mystics Shah Pakhruddin was popularly known as 'Maulana Pakhruddin' in the contemporary circles perhaps because of his scholarly qualities and teaching works.

Mir Ghulam 'Ali Azad Bilgrami (1704-86) was a great 'alim historian, poet and critic of eighteenth century.137 He was on friendly terms with Mirza Mazhar. Although they never met but corresponded with each other.138 On Azad Bilgrami's request Mirza Mazhar gave him a short autobiographical account for the former's work Sarw-i Azad.139 Azad Bilgrami has mentioned Mirza Mazhar in sober words and has praised his learning and piety in glowing words. Azad Bilgrami's request Mirza Mazhar gave him a short autobiographical account for the former's work Sarw-i Azad.139 Azad Bilgrami has mentioned Mirza Mazhar in sober words and has praised his learning and piety in glowing words.

137. Ma'asir-ul Kiram, pp. 161-64.
139. Ibid., p. 232.
writes:

Further more Azad Bilgrami says that the name and nom de plume of Mirza Mazhar is a gift of Masnavi of Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi and quotes the following verse: 140

Shaikh 'Ali Hazeen (1692-1766) was a famous poet and 'alim of eighteenth century who came to India with the army of Ahmad Shah Abdali. He was a descendant of Shaikh Zahid Gilani. 141 Hazeen widely travelled in India and was fascinated by its composite culture and finally settled in Benaras. He was a friend of Azad Bilgrami. 142

The author of Bisharat-i Mazhariyyah informs that Shaikh 'Ali Hazeen had great respect for Mirza Mazhar. An anecdote mentioned by the author gives that: one day Shaikh Ali Hazeen was sitting in a road-side house in Delhi, Mirza Mazhar passed by on a horse. When Hazeen saw Mirza Mazhar, he asked Same'y Khan, "who is this young man", Same'y Khan replied, "he is Mirza Mazhar". The Shaikh remarked, "he

140. Ibid., p. 231.
141. Ibid., p. 225.
142. Ibid.
has a perfect saintly personality, with all the exterior beauty"

(no mortal is this, this is none than a noble angel) 143

(Qura, 12:3)

Mulla Nizamuddin of Pizangi Mahal, Lucknow was a renowned 'alim, scholar and founder of Dars-i Nizami system of education in the eighteenth century. He was a disciple and Khalifa of the famous hadri saint Shah 'Abdur Razzaq of Bansa, district Barahbaki. Mulla Nizamuddin held his spiritual master in high esteem and wrote his biography, Manaqib-i Razzaqiyah, each word of which is full of veneration. 144

Qazi Sanaullah of Panipat (d. 1810) was a great scholar, jurist and 'alim of the period. He was a beloved disciple of Mirza Mazhar and was a student of Shah Waliullah. Qazi Sanaullah wrote about thirty books, the most famous of which is commentary of Quran, Tafsir-i Mazhari, in ten volume. He named this book after his spiritual master Mirza Mazhar. 145 Qazi Sanaullah was the Wazir of Panipat and Mirza Mazhar often visited him there. Mirza Mazhar

143. Bisharat-i Mazhariyah, f. 14b.
145. Bisharat-i Mazhariyah, f. 104b.

...81
wrote a considerable number of letters to Qazi Sanaullah which are all personal and reveal the fact that he had a say in the house-hold of Mirza Mazhar. 146

Mirza Mazhar was impressed by the scholarly pursuits of Qazi Sanaullah and gave him the title of 'Ilm-ul Huda. 147 Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz used to call him 'Bahiqi of the time' 148 after the great scholar of Islam Imam Abu Bakr Ahmad Bahiqi. Mirza Mazhar is reported to have said that "if on the day of judgement, God Almighty will ask me what gift have you brought for me, I will present Qazi Sanaullah." 149

Shah Fakhruddin was a friend of Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz, who was grand 'alim of his time. He also maintained cordial relations with the brothers of Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz, Shah 'Abdul Qadir and Shah Rafiuddin. They were often helped by Shah Fakhruddin whenever any difficulty arose. The author of Manaqib-i Fakhriyah informs that when the

146. These letters, 147 in number, have been edited and published by A.R. Quraishi, Bombay 1966.

147. Bisharat-i Mazhariyah, f. 104b; Maqamat-i Mazhariyah, p. 66.

148. Preface to Qazi Sanaullah's work; Mala Bud Minhu, p. 4.

149. Maqamat-i Mazhariyah, p. 66.
house of Shah Abdul Aziz was confiscated Shah Fakhruddin kept him in his house.150

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad is reported to have said that when Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz succeeded his father as the head of Madarsa-i Rahimiyah, Shah Fakhruddin placed turban on his head and whispered in his ear that your father has been maligned and you will have to remove that. Perhaps meaning thereby Shah Waliullah's juristic interpretations and non-acceptance of taqlid, which Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz in face removed.151


151. Naqsh-i Azad, p. 319, as quoted in Tarikh-i Mashaikh-i Chisht, V, pp. 211-12. This statement is also present in the Malfuzat of Shah Sulaiman Chishti Qadri of Phulwari Shareef that Shah Fakhruddin and Mirza Mazhar Jan-j Janan placed turban on the head of Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz but what he whispered in his ear is not mentioned, Khatim-i Sulemani (Malfuz portion, part IV), pp. 67-68.
Chapter - II

BASIC CATEGORIES OF MYSTICAL THOUGHT

(a) Revival of Chishti-Mystic Ideology:

Islamic mysticism took the shape of an organized movement during the 10th century. Although a complete philosophy of the movement was yet to come into existence but a large number of authentic literature was produced. The Spiritual Orders were not yet organized but during the three preceding centuries they progressed and the mystical movement became an essential aspect of Muslim religious life so much so that in the words of H.A.R. Gibb, "sufism increasingly attracted the creative social and intellectual energies within the community, to become the bearer or instrument of a social and cultural revolution."¹

During the eighteenth century new trends and tendencies in the religious thought brought about a change in the religious milieu. The Muslim-mystical movement entered a phase of great significance characterized by fresh interpretation of religion and religious attitudes. The Chishti Silsilah which had declined during the earlier century was reorganized and revitalized by Shah Kalimullah Jahanabadi who

¹ Studies on the Civilization of Islam, pp. 28-29.
received ijazat and khilafat in the Chishti, Qadri, Suharwardi and the Naqshbandi Orders but preferred to be known as a Chishti saint and laid greater emphasis on this Silsilah, to which he claimed first allegiance. As a result of his endeavours Chishti Silsilah witnessed a renaissance during the eighteenth century. ²

Shah Kalimullah's first and foremost stress was on the faithful adherence to the sunnah and shari'ah and urged that an adept must ornament his exterior by it and inculcate love of God in his heart.³ Most virtuous on the day of judgement would be that who strictly followed sunnah.⁴ To him, shari'ah is the yard-stick to measure the progress or regress on the spiritual path. An adept should be a repository of shari'ah, tariqah and haqiqah. For perfecting the tariqah and haqiqah, firm following of shari'ah is essential.⁵

Shah Kalimullah evolved a strict code of conduct for the spiritual training of his disciples and supervised

4. Ibid., p. 110.
5. Ibid., p. 72.
them with full care, particularly of those who were made responsible for the propagation of the Silsilah. He always enquired about the progress of his disciples on the spiritual path. The chief aim behind conferring khilafat upon any one was the progress of the Silsilah and development of Islamic faith. He emphasized that, this work is in accordance with the Divine will and a legacy of the Prophet and hence, this is a great job. His continuous efforts created a new spirit among his disciples and they worked with a complete religious zeal and full spiritual fervour.

For khilafat Shah Kalimullah developed a system in which only selected few were given this responsibility and he did not make it universal lest the spirit/order would be maligned, therefore he made certain criteria for the purpose and declared that:

(1) Whoever is chosen for khilafat, his full details must be sent to the centre so that his abilities should be estimated.\(^6\)

(2) The main aim of giving khilafat should be the progress and propagation of the Order.\(^7\)

\(^6\) \textit{Maktubat-i Kalimi}, p. 22.

\(^7\) Ibid., p. 39.
(3) Only learned persons may be given this responsibility because the learned would not give rise to innovations. 8

(4) Khilafat is of two types, Divine-Khilafat (خلافت ناری) and Khilafat of the Path (خلافت سیر). The former is for every one who enters the Order irrespective of literate or illiterate whereas the latter is exclusively for the learned. 9

(5) Permission for initiating into the Order should be given only after proper training, and not just after being initiated into the Order. 10

Particular attention was paid by Shah Kalimullah to the correspondence which he had with his disciples. He always asked them to write details of the progress made by them, insisted on them to be particular about timings and to be principled in life. In various cases he himself made the twenty-four hour programme for his disciples and recommended readings from Lam'at, Lawa'ih, Tazkirat-ul Auliya, Manazil-us Sa'irin, Nafahat-ul Uns and Rashhat-'Ain-il Hayat. 11

8. Ibid., p. 45.
9. Ibid., p. 74.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid., pp. 78-79.
In yet another letter Shah Kalimullah gives the gist of his teachings and which was considered as a manual (دستور الوثن) and his biographers considered it a manual for the adepts (دستور الوثن). Discussing the significance of this letter of Shah Kalimullah Professor K.A. Nizami remarks, "this letter is in fact the manifesto of the renaissance of the Silsilah. After a careful analysis and an acute feeling of the moral and religious degeneration his deep insight paved way to evolve a code of conduct for the organisational set up and a basis of thought for the Silsilah." 

(1) The leit-motif of life is to provide charity to others and charity means dying out all other things and moving towards the eternal one. Helping a saint of the path of God's love comes in this category. It must always be kept in mind, here its detail is not possible.

(2) During giving instructions of the path of God's love a mystic must exclude any thing which is not divine. Adopting a special type of dress has no significance. When an adept achieves higher

12. Ibid., p. 73.
stages he does not find any pleasure in what he eats or drinks, he is even ashamed of his mystic garment.

(3) A mystic must be thankful to God for the crowds around him and if greater is the number more thanks are due. The attraction of the people to a mystic emanates from the divine mercy and bounty. One must not be annoyed because such a felicity is not enjoyed by every one.

(4) Ijazat for training persons must not be given just after initiation in the silsilah and do not consider him as a trained adept.

(5) If a person is engrossed in spiritual training he may be given khilafat, provided that he is endowed with the knowledge of exterior, or he may be asked to continue his spiritual training.

(6) An adept should have the capacity to live alone and to live with few adepts. He should be kind to strangers and distribute futuh among his fellows. The day futuh is not received should be considered fortunate, for starvation has great spiritual advantage.
(7) The doctrines of Wahdat-ul Wujud and Wahdat-ush Shuhud may not be discussed publicly. It should be revealed to learned adept through symbolic language. If they appeared to comprehend, further details should be given to them. Otherwise, the subject should be dropped.

(8) The principle of meeting all rich-men should be adopted or none at all. It is not proper to grant interviews to some and not to others.

(9) Cordial relations should be maintained with Hindus and Muslims. Anyone from such communities who is devoted to you can be trained in zikr and meditation and the influence of zikr can itself attract them to the fold of Islam. But if a person who is not devoted, even if he is a Syed should not be trained. The relationship between a spiritual master and his disciple depends on devotion. Secondly, Sama' should be organized like me and if the situation allows then it may be organized openly. The training of close-ones should be done with their due honour because, even the Prophets honoured their companions. In the last, Shah Kalimullah advises that to whom khilafat and ijazat is given, may be asked to revive sunnah and remove innovations.  

15. Maktubat-i Kalimi, pp. 73-74.
Shah Kalimullah says that the relationship between a preceptor and a disciple depends on devotion and sainthood demands total obedience. To him devotion to the spiritual master was superior to all other worship except obligatory prayers, fasting etc. The disciple receives spiritual benefits through the power of the preceptor and if this was not inculcated nothing could be gained spiritually.

Shah Kalimullah considers habs-i nafs, i.e. breath control indispensable and says that it consists of two types: habs-i nafs, i.e. breath suspension or control and hars-i nafs, meaning thereby breathing below the normal rate. In habs-i nafs the breath was drawn from the stomach and the navel to the chest, this technique was most effective and generated intense heat. He described another form of habs-i nafs which was done by controlling the breath in the chest through expanding a section of the stomach most remote from the spine, a movement which proved a great boon to the digestive system. Hars-i nafs generated less heat in the body than habs-i nafs.

17. Ibid., p. 19.
The main aim of zikr believed Shah Kalimullah was
to remind the adept of the annihilation of the self into God.
The marvel of zikr lies in the fact that the adept hears the word 'Allah' coming from every thing which exists.\(^{19}\)

Shah Nizamuddin Aurangabadi stressed upon the Zikr-i Jihr, loud Zikr and Pas-i Nafs, i.e. protection of breath. According to him these two together form the base on which spiritual discipline should be built.\(^{20}\) One of his disciples Khwaja Nuruddin performed Zikr-i Jihr with two to three hundred fellows and Shah Kalimullah tried to stop him doing so in the Jama' Mosque.\(^{21}\)

Shah Fakhruddin was a great mystic and profound scholar, and followed the tenets of the Order as laid down by the early mystics. Two features are remarkable in the mystical interpretation of Shah Fakhruddin. Firstly, he took strong exception to the statement of Shah Waliullah that the initiation of Hasan Basari\(^{22}\) by Hazrat 'Ali, as

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19. Ibid., p. 35.
20. Ahsan-us Shimail (Ms).
22. Abu Sa'id bin Abul Hasan Yaser al-Basri was born at Medina in 21 A.H./642 A.D. and was a famous preacher of the Umayyad period at Basrah, belonging to the class of the successors (تابعين). He grew up in

(Footnote continued ...)

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asserted by the Chishtis is historically untenable.\textsuperscript{23} Basing his counter-argument on evidence gleaned from fifteen works of hadis, Shah Fakhruddin argued that the Chishti assertion of Hasan Basari's initiation by Hazrat 'Ali was quite tenable, and Shah Waliullah's teacher Shaikh Ibrahim Kurdi had also affirmed Hasan Basari's association with Hazrat 'Ali.\textsuperscript{24}

In another place Shah Fakhruddin explained statement of Shaikh 'Abdul Qadir Jilani. In his famous work \textit{Ghuniyat-ut Talebin} the Shaikh includes Hanafite among the Murajites. Some people believed that this was not actually written by the Shaikh but is a later addition. Shah Fakhruddin proved

\begin{footnotesize}
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  \item Wadi-‘ul Kurra and one year after the battle of Siffin went to Basrah. As a young man he took part in the campaigns of the conquest of eastern Iran, thereafter he lived at Basrah until his death in 110 A.H./728 A.D. His fame rests on the sincerity and uprightness of his religious personality, which already made a deep impression on his contemporaries and above all on his famous sermons and pronouncements in which he not only warned his fellow citizens against committing sins, but commanded them to consider and to regulate their whole life as he did himself. These sermons, of which only fragments have been preserved, are among the best surviving specimens of early Arabic prose. For his life see, \textit{Tabaqat-i Ibn Sa'd}, VII/1, 114 ff; \textit{'Uyun-ul Akhbar} of Ibn Qutaiba; \textit{Ibn Khaligan}, No.155; \textit{Al-Milal wa al-Nihal}, p.32; Louis Massignoon, \textit{Essai Sur les origins du lexique de la mystique Musulmane}, pp. 152-75.

23. Shah Waliullah holds this view in \textit{Intibah fi Salasil-i Auliya Allah} and in yet another work \textit{Al-Gaul-ul Jameel}.

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\end{footnotesize}
that the statement was made by the Shaikh himself and argues that the Murajites held an exaggerated notion of divine mercy which led them to believe that even disobedience would be forgiven. As the Hanafites also laid great emphasis on divine mercy Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani included them along the Murajite sect. 25

Shah Fakhruddin worked at the head of Chishti Silsilah in the circumstances when the Muslim society was fast decaying and the moral fibre was losing its grip. There was a general apathy from religion and religious teachings, superstitious beliefs were prevalent. Quran was in Arabic and hence was beyond their comprehension. Shah Fakhruddin felt the necessity of true understanding of religion therefore, he urged that Khutba (Friday Sermons) in the mosques be recited in Hindi: 26

25. This treatise of Shah Fakhruddin is known as Risalah-i Murjiya, Asar-us Sanadid, p. 479.

New Dimensions of Mystical Thoughts:

Khwaja Muhammad Nasir 'Andalib, a Naqshbandi mystic founded a new Silsilah and called it Tariqah-i Muhammadi which was totally based on his mystic experience. Mir Dard in his voluminous work 'Ilm-ul Kitab and his brother Mir Muhammad Asar in his Masnawi Bayan-i Waje 28 gives the details of the revelation of this Order.

At the time of revelation of Tariqah-i Muhammadi, Nasir 'Andalib remained silent for seven days and nights in a room and never turned to this world of necessity and humanity. For all these seven days and nights Mir Dard remaining alone on the threshold of the room and never turned to eating and drinking with the exception of few times when on the order of his venerable mother he ate a few mouthful just to obey her.

On the eighth day God Almighty eventually sent Nasir 'Andalib back to this world and he found the beloved son in the desperate condition, took him by hands, embraced him, kissed his forehead and said many words of praise. 29

27. 'Ilm-ul Kitab, p. 85.

28. This work is extremely rare; Nasir Nazir Firaq has given a portion of this masnawi in Maikhana-i Dard, pp. 29-30, and 99-104.

29. 'Ilm-ul Kitab, p. 85.
Mir Dard asked his father about the experiences, Nasir 'Andalib replied that the saintly spirit of Imam Hasan descended upon him, trained him and gave him spiritual blessings. 30 Mir Dard was initiated into the new path. 31

When Mir Dard asked his father how to name this new Order Nasir 'Andalib replied that if my intention had been such, I would have named the tariqah after my own name. I requested the Imam that since the secrets were entrusted to me through him therefore I wish to name this Order as Tariqah-i Hasaniyah, but the Imam said, 'all of us are children, lost in the sea of identity and drowned in one ocean.' 32

"Our name is the name of Muhammad and our sign is of Muhammad, our love is the love of Muhammad and our claim is the claim of Muhammad, and our way is the way of Muhammad." 33

30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.

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It is exactly the path of Muhammad and we have added nothing to it, declared Nasir 'Andalib.  

Nasir 'Andalib wrote Risalah-i Hosh Afza on 'mystical chess' to distract his disciples from chess-playing. By using the chess symbolism he tried to explain the different events of human life in the terminology of chess.

Nalay-i 'Andalib is the magnum opus of Nasir 'Andalib, which according to Mir Dard occupies the position of revealed book of the Tariqah-i Muhammad. This book comprises of two volumes in Persian allegory dealing with metaphysical and abstruse problems. Like other traditional allegories in this work to one story develops out of the other. There is the story of the wise merchant, Jupiter and Sun, musicians and dancers, the Hindu ruler converted to Islam, rebellion in the Deccan, white elephant and the hunting parties. But the main thing to note is the fact that every allegory is meant to explain the pure path of Muhammad i.e. (النّاْلى الدّهْر). The nightingale emerges as a symbol of the Prophet of Islam.

34. Ibid.
35. Still exists in Ms form in the Library of Punjab University, Lahore.
36. 'Ilm-ul Kitab, p. 38.
38. Ibid., I, pp. 789-882.
The stories are interspersed with detailed theological discussions about the various schools of mysticism and the different sects of Islam. Nasir 'Andalib devotes long paragraphs about the minutest details of ritual purity, fasting, etc.

In the allegories of Nasir 'Andalib long chains of titles are used for the heroes and heroins and negative attributes for the evil forces. The heroes are well versed in the art of arrow, shooting, calligraphy, painting and music, at last they leave military service and become soldiers of God, fighting the spiritual war against their lower selves.

In his theories of ascent and descent Nasir 'Andalib describes clearly the journey towards God as man's ascension.

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39. Ibid., II, p. 583.
40. Ibid., I, pp. 446-49.
41. Ibid., I, p. 842; II, p. 217.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid., I, p. 84; II, p. 123.
44. Ibid., I, p. 127.
45. Ibid, I, p. 129.
46. Ibid., I, p. 784.
47. Ibid., I, p. 834.

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to the rank of divine name, which is his Lord (رب), and the hundred names are comparable to the hundred petals of a centi-folia, which form one flower, as Nasir 'Andalib puts it into a beautiful verse: 49

A true follower of Muhammad (صلى الله عليه وسلم) will be qualified by the qualifications of the four Caliphs, says Nasir 'Andalib, 50 and the Prophet himself grants his companions and friends all the degrees of proximity to the perfection of Prophethood, of vice regency, of wisdom, etc., according to the degrees of their annihilation in him, their association with him, their dependence upon him, etc. 51

Much higher is the state reached by the (الزائج) the proximity attained by the legally prescribed actions, declares Nasir 'Andalib for this is the state of the Prophet, which is higher than that of the mystics. 52 To him a married derwesh is hundred time superior to a single derwesh. 53

48. Ibid., I, p. 217.
49. Ibid., I, p. 260.
50. Ibid., I, pp. 430-35.
51. Ibid., II, p. 335.
52. Ibid., I, p. 272.
53. Ibid., I, p. 895.

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Nasir 'Andalib connects seven attributes of God with the great Prophets and stresses that all these degrees should be traversed by the mystics. According to him, Adam manifests the divine will over creativity, Jesus life, Abraham knowledge, Noah power, David hearing, Jacob seeing, Moses talking and Muhammad existence, i.e., the most comprehensive attribute which is the hallmark of Tariqah-i Muhammadi as held by Nasir 'Andalib.

Nasir 'Andalib gives a most interesting description of zikr and meditation which is a perfect interpretation of the highest goal of the Naqshbandi mystics, e.g., to be surrounded by the eternal light but not lost in it, just as the pearl is in the ocean and yet distinct from it. This is the station of true confession of unity as it is practiced by the true Muhammadi.

Nasir 'Andalib invented a number of strange things like the wandering tent (خَيْرُ رَأْنَاء), bath of everywhere ( حوَامْ،). candle without tear (سُوْرَاتُ رَأْنَاءٍ بِمُرْتُبٖ), and lamp of darkness (قَلْبّ) and several other items. The construction and design of these items are given in the Nalay-i

54. Ibid., I, pp. 442-59; II, p. 652.
55. Ibid., II, p. 270.
56. Ibid., II, pp. 284-85, 595.

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'Andalib. The famous cane of Nasir 'Andalib called an-Nasiri, with the word Nasir engraved in it in an artistic tughra was used by the members of the family for the sake of blessing.  

A very strange invention of Nasir 'Andalib was the Harba-i Lawa-i Muhammadi (حربة لوبا المهدية) as to the banner of Tariqah-i Muhammadi; it plays an important role in the symbolism of his book, where it is described as a lance. When some brave hero takes it in his hand and a number of people with sword and shield surround him, he can alone and on his own gain victory over them.  

The extreme close connection of Mir Dard with his father Nasir 'Andalib led him to develop one of his most surprising mystical theories, i.e., resuscitation in the Shaikh (شايف). Since the medieval times annihilation and identification with the mystical leader was considered necessary in various mystic Orders. God's custom is to bring spiritual bounty from the living, initiation is the basis of successful spiritual progress. Even Uwais Qarani received initiation into the path through the Prophet. Direct illumination is impossible, either it happens after the initiation or the mys-

57. Maikhana-i Dard, p. 93; Nalay-i 'Andalib, II, pp. 860, 870 and 875.  

58. Ibid., I, pp. 322, 834; II, p. 868.
tic, after his first experience seeks a master to guide him further, says Mir Dard while laying emphasis on the importance of Shaikh; further, he very clearly and categorically declares

\[ \text{الَّذِي فِي جَمْعِهُ كَالَّذِي فِي الرَّسُولِ} \]

(the Shaikh is in his group like the Prophet in his people)

and the office of Shaikh is the vice regency of Prophecy and thus not available to every mystic. From annihilation in the Shaikh (\( \text{الَّذِي فِي جَمْعِهُ} \)) the adept should reach annihilation in the Prophet and eventually annihilation in God. The threefold annihilation is an upward movement which leads the disciple to higher experiences of reality and culminates in resuscitation in God. Resuscitation (\( \text{الَّذِي فِي الرَّسُولِ} \)) is also however, the first stage on the way down as Mir Dard formulates it. Annihilation in God is directed towards God and resuscitation in God is directed towards creation, and one calls the most perfect way-farer him who comes down more than others and then again gets firmly established in resuscitation in the Prophet. And he who is on this descendant rank is called higher and more lofty than he who is still in ascent, for the end is the

59. 'Ilm-ul Kitab, p. 638.
60. Ibid., p. 60.
return to the beginning. And here a new interpretation begins, higher than he who has reached resuscitation in the Prophet is he who has found resuscitation in the Shaikh for he has completed the whole circle.

This new spiritual rank of resuscitation which Mir Dard developed was borne out of his own personal experience in his relation to his father, a relation which no body else could possibly imitate or experience.

Mir Dard practiced in the true Naqshbandi fashion the principle of journey in one's home (سنورة دراد), one of the eleven principles of the Order. Mir Dard added one more to it, i.e., home in the journey (ومن دراد),

The mystics journeyed in home O' Dard my home is in the journey combined with another important principle of Naqshbandi Silsilah, that is solitude in multitude (نوث راون), he analyses

61. Ibid., p. 115.
62. Khwaja 'Abdul Khaliq Ghajdwani (d. 1179) chalked out these principle, Nafahat-ul Uns, pp. 242-44.
this constant interplay of journey and being at home and says that existence is travelling, none existence is home, the heart is solitude and the eye multitude.\textsuperscript{64} If one sees correctly, travelling is home and home is travelling as the sky is constantly in travel in its home and candle when it melts, travelling towards annihilation, the adept reaches a state of selflessness where there is,\textsuperscript{65}

no thought of a journey
no reminiscence of home.

Mir Dard expatiated on the perfection of the ideal man. The belief in the realization of the divine self of man has been a dynamic principle in mystic philosophy. Mir Dard declares himself as the elect leader of the community and was in constant search of self identification.\textsuperscript{66} The ideal man is the manifestation of divine virtues and perfection. He is the centre round which the whole universe revolves.

Mir Dard conceives love as a movement towards idea of a perfect beauty after which the soul hankers. Love of him is nothing but a state some-what more comprehensive than faith, the definition of love as obedience typical of early

\textsuperscript{64} Ibid.,
\textsuperscript{65} Persian Diwan, p. 16.
\textsuperscript{66} 'Ilm-ul Kitab, p. 85.
Muslim mystic belief is maintained. He says in his inimitable style,

'I am not a sufi that I may open a new chapter on mysticism, nor am I a mulla that I may start discussion and disputation. I am a sincere follower of Muhammad, and am intoxicated with his pure wine. From one who is thus drunk you should expect to hear the tale of the beloved only. Dard is like a nightingale from whom you may hear his plaints. It is through him that the plaints of nightingale is made intelligible.'

'Love being an eternal gift of God, says Mir Dard refines and purifies the heart and detaches it from worldly impurities.' It is through love that one reaches the stage of acquiescence and submission and proximity to the Divine

Being and becomes assimilated in the object of his pursuit and yet secures abiding life for himself. The sickness and pain of the heart becomes its own treatment.  

Love which was given to us on the day of creation, 

Cannot dwell in the heart without designing a portrait of submission 

The pain becomes its own remedy, 

And the heart may be linked to a blister broken on the side. 

"The chief contribution of Khwaja Mir Dard to mystic theosophy observes Dr. Yusuf Husain, is the synthesis which he effected between the elements of legalism and love. He considered himself to be both a slave and a lover of God. He resolved the conflict of law and love by subordinating the latter to the limits of shari'at. It is to be noticed that in the controversy that raged regarding the validity of the doctrine of Ibn 'Arabi, the entire approach of the parties was scholastic and the chief motif of mystic theosophy — the love of God was ignored." 

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68. Ibid. 
69. Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture, p. 65.
A peculiar feature of Mir Dard's mystical philosophy is his thoughts regarding the expression of his experiences and feelings. More than many other mystics he is a great lover and defender of the art of speaking and writing. He considers the trust which God offered to the heaven and the mountains and which was eventually accepted by man to be the word and faculty of speech, for speech is a divine trust which he has specially granted his vice regent — the man called an animal endowed with speech (حَرَّامِي). Dard is one of the Muslims who has explicitly the importance of the word. Although every Muslim believes in the Divine origin of the Quranic word, and admits that the worlds came into existence by the Divine order 'Kun 'Be' not many among the mystics have expressed this essential faith in the word as primary Divine revelation and highest possible manifestation of Divine Power in the world is as indefatigably as did Dard, says Annemarie Schimmel. 71

Just as the creation reflects the beauty of the creator who has brought it into existence by the very word 'Be', thus the audible word in its differentiations directs the auditor towards the speaker, the Quran makes the faithful understand the infinite greatness and wisdom of the Lord and human speech indicates the character of the speaker because,

70. 'Ilm-ul Kitab, p. 518.
'Speech is the scent of man and the order of the speaker.' The mystics whom God has granted the healing speech and whom he has made 'possessor of books' have got as their slave only the proximity of the attributes. The rank of such 'possessor of book' is higher.'

'Just as children preserve the qualities of their ancestors books preserve the memory of those who have written them, for they are able to explain the divine realities, to teach the difference of the divine names and attributes as far as human-being can understand it.' Ignorant people think that only the immature mystics talk too much and open their lips to explain the divine mysteries, whereas those with mature brains are silent. This is not correct observed Mir Dard, for those who are spiritually enlightened are always proved to explain their experiences with the purpose of guiding people the right path.'

72. 'Ilm-ul Kitab, p. 517.
73. Ibid., p. 577.
74. Dard-i Dil, p. 194.
75. Nalay-i Dard, p. 194.
Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan followed more closely the normal Naqshbandi line and concentrated upon the leadership of his Silsilah Shamsiyah-Mazhariyah. This stern Naqshbandi mystic was extremely strict in following the sunnah and keeping other legally prescribed duties. He once remarked that one should pray 60 rikats during twenty-four hours that is more than three times the prescribed number. The foundation of his Silsilah was based on the observance of the tenets of shari'ah/sunnah, even in his last 'will', Mirza Mazhar reminded his disciples and followers to strive in following the sunnah till last breath.

Whenever a new entrant came to be enrolled as a disciple Mirza Mazhar first tried to discourage by telling that his Khanqah was an exceedingly poor one and by emphasizing that it was vital to observe the tenets of shari'ah down to the smallest details. If he found the new-comer determined he then gave him a week to have a second thought over the decision and to seek omen from the Quran and would ask to come after a week.

76. Naqamat-i Mazhariyah, p. 35.
78. Mamulat-i Mazhariyah, p. 72.
Discipleship, according to Mirza Mazhar, was not only the initiation and gift of shajrah and cap, a unique relationship between the Shaikh and disciple existed beyond initiation. The disciple should also gain an understanding of divine love and learn zikr in great earnest. Mirza Mazhar respected the needs of his disciples and very often recommended them to other people. He pointed out to Qazi Sanaullah Panipati that "every one from that town complained of his behaviour. If you are too brutally frank in your criticism and upheld the holy law in such a way to offend people, then you are failing to follow either the mystic path or the teachings of your saints." 

To him mysticism was not only a customary thing but a medium of the purification of self and perfection of morality, while initiating women into the Silsilah Mirza Mazhar used to take six promises:


80. Ibid., p. 64.
They will not associate anything with God. If some one seeks the intercession of powers other than God then she is polytheist and not pure monotheist.

They would not steal. Some women spend their husbands' money without permission, this too is theft and a grave sin.

They will avoid adultery, he presumed that adultery takes place only with the consent of women, therefore the promise of its negation was necessary.

They will not kill their children.

They will refrain from slandering. Though men too are involved in this, women were specifically asked to take this vow.

They will strictly follow the divine commands and dissociate themselves from sorcery, necromancy, etc.

Mirza Mazhar gave ijazat of the Silsilah to his wife and also to the wife of Qazi Sanaullah Panipati. Mirza Mazhar gave ijazat of the Silsilah to his wife and also to the wife of Qazi Sanaullah Panipati.


82. Ibid., p. 145.
Mazhar's wife initiated women into the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi Order. Later she became insane, but Mirza Mazhar lived with her in order to be polished despite the fact that she had become perfectly intolerable and advised his disciples to treat her with respect. 83

Mirza Mazhar thought it futile to discuss the relative superiority of either Shaikh 'Abdul Qadir Jilani and Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. He believed that only person with true spiritual capabilities could decide such a question, in the absence of such a personality, the best course is silence. 84

Mirza Mazhar very strictly disapproved the participation or organization of such functions as the commemoration of 'Urs. He thought that it was prudent both socially and economically. He laid following objections against such practices:

(1) Following the traditional customs and manners was contrary to the practices of the Silsilah.

(2) People are unnecessarily pained for the arrangements.


84.  Maqamat-i Mazhariyah, p. 70; Bisharat-i Mazhariyah, (text); Kalimat-i Taiyabat, p. 19.
3. Lightening and decoration is extravagancy and unnecessary expenditures.

4. Time is unnecessarily wasted in the celebrations and the value of time must not be forgotten.

5. Generally people are ignored due to over crowding and the differing status is not maintained and this creates dissatisfaction.

6. Often this is done on borrowed money which is itself unlawful.

7. Unlawful offerings are not acceptable to God for God is pure and likes pure things. Mirza Mazhar very clearly warned in his 'will' that 'unnecessary and unlawful things should be avoided in the last rites after my death and said that a shop should not be erected on my grave for I was far away from these things in my life.'

85. Kalimat-i Talvabat, p. 92; Bishat-i Mazhariyah, (text).

86. Ma'mulat-i Mazhariyah, p. 144; Bisharat-i Mazhariyah, (text); Kalimat-i Talvabat, p. 95.
meaning thereby that undue weightage should not be given to the dead and ceremonies 'Urs, etc., should be avoided.
Shah Waliullah attempted fresh interpretation of mystical thought and initiated movements which had a deep impact on Muslim religious life during the eighteenth century and after. His chief mission in the field of theoretical and practical mysticism was to acquaint the mystics with the real nature of divin knowledge and the path which leads towards it. He explained the significance of tariqah and shari'ah and the points from where they started and met again. The idea that shari'ah was no longer binding on the mystics had sufficiently gained ground during the eighteenth century and the ease loving mystics openly violated its laws.

"The unworthy sons of the mystics were giving wrong lead to the people, turning them away from the right path of shari'ah. I cannot be a party to them, says Shah Waliullah, who take ba'it just to swindle money. What a shame that the divine science is being exploited in this way. But they should bear this in mind that this world is not for those who follow the path of God." 87

Shah Waliullah heavily attacks those mystics who talk about 'what they think is truth' and seduce people by

87. Tafahimat-i Ilahiyyah, II, p. 35.
miracle mongering, are nothing but sellers of miracle. He declares them highwaymen and robbers of religion. Shah Waliullah's reformatory zeal led him even to regard mystical works which may have a wonderful effect on the elect to be deadly poison for the ordinary people and similarly he declares the concept of pilgrimage to allegedly sacred places a sin greater than murder and adultery:

"All those who go to Ajmer or to the tomb of Salar Masud or similar places for something they want from there, that is a sin greater than murder or adultery. Is he not like some one who worship hand-made things, or like those who called upon al-Lat and al-Uzza? I cannot declare them clearly infidels because there is no text from the law-giver in this peculiar case." 88

In his preachings and writings Shah Waliullah fulfilled his mission with considerable success. He referred all the controversial points in every aspect of Islam to the Prophet himself and through his spiritual contact with him who he got the clarification of them all in unequivocal terms. 89 He proved by stating that tariqah and shari'ah

88. Tafahimat-i Ilahiyah, II, p. 35.
89. Fuyuz-ul Haramain, p. 56.
start from the same point and meet again somewhere at the place of perfection, and the mystics of various orders were to be respected because they were the lovers of Almighty. Their expressions, he believed, were different because of their varied religious experiences.

The religion of Islam, believe the mystics, has two aspects exoteric and esoteric. The exoteric deals with the affairs of the world, viz, dealing of man with man, his position in the society and his relations with the supernatural powers which is responsible for his life in this world and the next. The esoteric aspect deals with man's intuitive study of the invisible and his attempt to solve the enigmas of the unknown sphere.  

This study of the invisible and man's attempts towards his inner development is not done on his own initiative rather it is prompted by the Almighty Himself, the Hadis-i Qudsi,  

\[
\text{كِنَّىٰ كَنِّىٰ مَحْمُوِدًا} \\
\text{أَحْيَىَ مَحْمُوِدًا} \\
\text{مُثْلِيَّةً عَلَيْهِ} \\
\text{لَأَلْعَبُ} 
\]

suggests that very idea, that is the Almighty wanted Himself to be known, so He created the universe. Also it has been the wish of God, believe the mystics that both aspects of re-

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90. Hamat, pp. 36-37.
ligion should be pursued with equal vigour and zeal, so he inspires from time to time some of his human-beings with the power and knowledge of both of them.

The path belonging to the exoteric is called the path of shari'ah. The founder of Islam laid greater emphasis on the particular aspect because of the existing socio-religious conditions of his time. In this path declares Shah Waliullah, approach to the Almighty (الله) is attained through purifying one's self and disciplining one's physical organs (الصيام والصلاة والعلم) by constant worship like prayer, fasting, recitation of Quran, imparting knowledge to the ignorant and doing social service.  

The esoteric path is the direct path, free from all other means and obligations, says Shah Waliullah. Progress on this path lies purely on the personal powers and innate capacity of the adept. In this the adept first awakens the reality of his ego and then through it, in course of time, he gets the knowledge of divinity (العقلانية). In the course of his progress on this path, the adept passes through several stages like annihilation, resuscitation, unconsciousness (الصبر), unity (التوحيد) and he goes as far as his personal power takes him.

93. Ibid.
The thing is, says Shah Waliullah, that if both the course are seen from one angle, one would appear superior to the other, but if they are seen from another angle the difference would altogether disappear. For instance, illustrates Shah Waliullah:

'If you see two things as they exist in 'Wujud' or (existence) and speciality of Wujud is that it has covered the creation from all its sides, the reason for the superiority of all the one over the other would become quite apparent.'

'On the other hand if you take them as the effect of the same course, for one reason the superiority of one would disappear, but for the other reason one will appear better.' 94

However, the adepts took advantage of both the paths as they suited to their individual circumstances and conditions. The followers of the second path, i.e., esoteric one got a little awakening of the self by divine light as it diverted itself to the ephemeral world, and thereby got the requisite knowledge about God. That is, the followers of the first path got the divine knowledge through their study of the Quran and the Hadith and actions in accordance with

94. Fuyuzul Haramain, p. 182.
them, while the mystics received the same by getting themselves lost in the divine being and becoming immortalised with it. 95

Shah Waliullah explains the gradual establishment of the path of tariqah in the life of the Muslims. He divides the spiritual progress into four periods which are distinct from each other for their individual special features but they form a regular continuity.

During the life time of the Prophet, his companions (ٓٔٔ) and their immediate successors (ٌٖٔٔ) the elect attained perfection by devoting themselves entirely to the obedience of the commands of shari'ah, says Shah Waliullah. Their mystic practices comprised of prayers, fasting, recitation of the Quran, pilgrimage to Ka'ba, payment of zakat and other duties laid down by the shari'ah. None of those declares Shah Waliullah, indulged ever in meditation, etc., which became a special feature of the mystic life in later times. Very few miracles or supernatural acts are ascribed to them, nor did they experienced unconsciousness (ٌٙٔٔ). In fact the spiritual state which gives effect to these miracles was not yet developed in them. They could see things of the unknown in dreams or in a state of semi-wakefulness due to their strong belief in God and their bright mental power. This was the first stage of the development

95. Ibid.

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of mysticism, for which the term was (اَمْلَانُ) and not (اَمْلَعُ).

According to Shah Waliullah the second stage of the Islamic mysticism developed with Junaid of Baghdad, who evidently is the chief of all mystic orders. The elect of the second stage detached themselves from the worldly affairs, they passed much of their time in meditation and developed a peculiar state of mind of connection with God (الْيَوْمُ الْآخِرِ) or of nisbah, which the mystics experienced and perpetuated in themselves. These mystics received divine illumination and expressed their experience in metaphysical languages which all people cannot comprehend. The people listened music, danced and tore their garments in

96. *Ham'at*, p. 47.

97. Abul Qasim bin Muhammad bin Junaid al-Khazzaz al-Qawariri al-Nihawandi, the celebrated mystic, nephew and disciple of Siri Siqti was a native of Baghdad. He studied law under Abu Saur and associated with Haris Muhasibi, with whom indeed he is said to have discussed during walks all kind of questions relating to mysticism. Muhasibi giving his replies extempore and later writing them up in the form of book. He died in 298 A.H./910 A.D. With Muhasibi he is to be accounted the greatest orthodox exponent of the 'Sober' type of mysticism. He was hailed in high esteem which is proved by titles like, Lord of the Sect (سيِّدُ الْسُّلَطَانِ) and Shaikh of the Shaikhs (سيِّدُ الْشَّاِخْشَابِ) is used for him. For details see, *Tazkirat-ul Auliya*, pp. 416-51; *Nafahat-ul Uns*, pp. 224-; A.H. Abdul Qadir, *The Life, Personality and Writings of al-Junayd*, London, 1962; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, II, p. 600.

98. *Ham'at*, p. 96.

...121
excess of ecstacy (ﷺ). They could read the secrets of hearts and understood well the dupes of the devil. Their worship was to seek God's pleasure and not for personal gains.  

A considerable number of mystics stopped at the second stage but Shaikh Abu Sa'id Abul Khair, his contemporary Abul Hasan Khirqani and others proceeded further and opened the third stage of unconsciousness and cleared the way for the relation of attention (itiesam). Shah Waliullah says that the veils of mortal things were lifted up before them and they could see that the existence of all depended on one-being, in which they lost completely and forgot altogether the formalities of worship, etc.


100. Abu Sa'id Fazlullah bin Abul Khair, Persian mystic was born at Mayhana, the present day Meeana in Khurasan in 357 A.H./967 A.D., and died there in 440 A.H./1049 A.D. He was a contemporary of Ibn Sina and Abul Hasan Khirqani. He wrote a considerable number of quatrains which were popular in mystic circles. For details see, Muhammad bin Abu Rauh Lutfullah's Halat-o Sukhanan-i Shaikh Abu Sa'id Abul Khair ed. by V. Zhukowski, St. Petersburg, 1599; Muhammad bin Al-Manawwar Asrar-ut Tauhid fi Maqamat-i Shaikh Abu Sa'id ed. by V. Zhukowski, St. Petersburg, 1899; Tazkirat-ul Auliya, pp. 800-815; Nafahat-ul Uns, pp. 800-814; R.A. Nicholson, Studies in Islamic Mysticism, pp. 1-76; Encyclopaedia of Islam, III, pp. 145-47.

101. Abul Hasan Ali bin Ahmad (d.1033) was a man of humble origin and a mystic of Silsilah-i Khwajigan, receiving the spiritual benefit directly from Bayazid Bistami (سعد ابی بیضای). A considerable number of his sayings have been preserved. For details see, Tazkirat-ul Auliya, pp. 201-265; Nafahat-ul Uns, pp. 336-38; Studies in Islamic Mysticism, pp. 42-44; Sufi Orders in Islam, pp. 32, 52, 92 and 221.

102. Ham'at, p. 50.

103. Ibid.
Mystics of this stage were not yet able to realise the doctrines of Tauhid-i Wujudi and Tauhid-i Shuhudi in their distinct forms. The object before them was to get themselves lost in the divine being and were little concerned about the relationship between the creator and the creation. They did not give thought to the explanation of how a man can be merged into divine being and what were the secrets and realities of annihilation and resuscitation, this was the third stage of the development of Islamic mysticism.

By the time of Shaikh Muhiuddin Ibn 'Arabi (d.1240) the Islamic mysticism took another turn when the mystics along with their spiritual experiences started theoretical discussions about the problems and facts of their mystical pursuits. This development in the mystic circles was partly as a result of their progress on the path and partly due to the broadening of their mystic vision into the realities. This was the fourth and the final stage where they observed that how the universe took its origin from the Necessary Being.

104. Ham'at, p. 50.
105. Ibid.
106. Ibid., p. 51.
107. Ibid.
108. Ham'at, p. 51.
The four stages in the historical development of Islamic mysticism represent four definite states of spiritual perfection which an adept is supposed to achieve in the course of his life. But the achievement in this field largely on the innate individual capacity of the adept. Some mystics just follow the path up to the end of the first stage, the others go up to the end of the second stage, or it generally happens that they get lost in the middle of the second stage. There are some, no doubt, says Shah Waliullah, who being specially gifted with the intelligence and stamina to follow on and get to the last, but such men are few and far between.

This is the reason that the expressions of the mystics differ with one another, i.e., their expression with regard to the 'truth' in whose realisation they take so much trouble varies because of their experiences which in fact determine such expressions. Their expressions are true, for they say what they realise. Reality is a limitless ocean which can be studied from different sides, so it is quite natural that the observations of the seekers after truth may differ, says Shah Waliullah.

The path of mysticism lies far extended between the perceptible and non-perceptible worlds and a mystic goes as

109. Ibid., p. 91.
far as it is in his power. Therefore, their knowledge about the ultimate reality is not quite the same. So to call a mystic imperfect is quite unfair. These mystics, declares Shah Waliullah, are really worthy of every respect, for they have realised the secrets of nature, just as clouds and humidity effect the earth, in the same way the pious of these mystics effect the world of heart. He often quotes his own verse. 111

Our signs are different but thy beauty is one, and everything points to that beauty.

Shah Waliullah considers obedience (بُلُوط) as the first stage of the path of tariqah. The mystics agree on the point that the tariqah is the basis of all mystic orders, they are unanimous that the adept should culminate faith by adopting the path of the companions of the Prophet (أصحاب), their successor (سلم), and the pious predecessors (أئمة), followed by the practice of the commandments of shari'ah. Shah Waliullah calls obedience as the very root of mysticism. 112 An adept should avoid the discussions of pantheism, etc., in the beginning of his mystical journey because they will make

111. Ibid., p. 94.
112. Ham'at, p. 55.
a harmful effect.\textsuperscript{113}

The reconciliation between the various mystic orders and the research of their origin and development and their spiritual relations is the greatest achievement of Shah Waliullah. He discovered eight spiritual relations\textsuperscript{114} which existed with the mystic orders and has examined them clearly and categorically. He refers the relations of purity (\textit{jubbat}), absorption (\textit{waliyat}), tranquility or repose (\textit{mekan}), direct\textsuperscript{115} (\textit{adl}), remembrance (\textit{mandat}), unity (\textit{khud}), love (\textit{shajid}) and ecstasy (\textit{hadir}).

Out of these eight relations discussed by Shah Waliullah, direct relation, relation of ecstasy and relation of unity constitute vital importance for the student of Islamic mysticism because they threw light on some very controversial issues and unveil the broad outlook of Shah Waliullah and are in a way contradictory to his earlier statement regarding some practices in the mystic circles.

While analysing the statement of Shah Waliullah in the \textit{Tafahimat-i Ilahiyyah}, where he scolds people in holy anger regarding their visit to Ajmer and the tomb of Salar

\textsuperscript{113} Ibid., p. 56.
\textsuperscript{114} Ibid., pp. 86-167.
\textsuperscript{115} It is a relation of annihilation in the Shaikh and is termed after the name of Uwais Qarani, who was a true lover of the Prophet and received spiritual blessings from him, though he never met the Prophet.
Mas'ud, one must bear in mind the reasons of Shah Waliullah's anger and study them in the back-ground of the decaying socio-religious conditions of the eighteenth century. In Tafahimat-i Ilahiyyah, Shah Waliullah addresses the general masses of whom majority was ignorant and these practices were poisonous for them. But the same practices may form wonder­ful effects on the elect and thus he approves it for them to get the secrets of spirituality and progress on the path of tariqah. 116

According to Shah Waliullah the direct relation is approved by all sections of the mystics and is also related with that of purity and repose. In this relation an adopt is favoured by the spirit of any one of the earlier mystics, either as a result of the extra-ordinary love of the adept for any particular mystic or by the divine mercy, but in real life they never meet. This love of the adept towards the mystic leads him to the stage of annihilation. Shah Waliullah recommends that this characteristic of annihilation in the mystic can be developed by holding the 'Urs of the mystics, continuous visits to their graves, reciting 'fatiha' there, giving charity in their names and respect of their belongings and their children. 117

117. Ham'at, pp. 118-22.
Regarding the relation of ecstasy Shah Waliullah recommends music and Sama. According to him music and Sama effect the speaking self (تَنْبَغَى) of the adept because it creates joy and bewilderment (حُمُرٌ). The mystics who possess this relation are inclined towards music and Sama.\textsuperscript{118}

Shah Waliullah also attempted the fresh interpretation of religious sources according to the space-time conditions. His religious philosophy ushered in the dawn of a new era in the intellectual history of Islam in India.\textsuperscript{119} He was, in the words of Iqbal, 'perhaps the first Muslim who felt the urge of a new spirit in him.'\textsuperscript{120} For a proper understanding of the philosophy of Shah Waliullah it is imperative to study his educational background and his intellectual calibre.\textsuperscript{121}

\textsuperscript{118} Ibid., pp. 167-71.
\textsuperscript{119} 'Shah Waliullah - Thought and Contribution', Islamic Culture, July 1980.
\textsuperscript{120} Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p.97.
\textsuperscript{121} Shah Waliullah aur Unka Falsafa, p. 17; M. Mujeeb in his work, Indian Muslims, p. 277 says, 'there is no evidence to show that Shah Waliullah aimed at a reinterpretation of the sources of religion in order to adopt law and practice to existing circumstances.' His statement appears to be untenable and unwarranted after a careful study of the thought and contribution of Shah Waliullah.

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Shah Waliullah thought that the fundamental cause of the moral decline of the Muslim society was their ignorance of Islam. The basic teachings of Islam are contained in the Quran, the authority of which has been recognized by all Muslims. An emphasis on the teachings of Quran would, therefore, tend to reduce sectarian differences and create feeling of solidarity, because the differences are mostly a matter of interpretation. Hence, it was necessary to popularise the Quran. Not many people knew Arabic sufficiently well to understand the Quran. Shah Waliullah, therefore, translated it into Persian, a language which was then widely understood by the educated classes. This was a bold step, because before this no handy translation had existed in Persian; a previous work by a learned theologian contained the translation of the various verses interspersed and incorporated into a commentary. 122

Shah Waliullah produced a translation and introduced the fashion of interlinear composition of the Arabic text and the translation. As Muslims did read the Quran in Arabic, even though they did not understand the meaning, such an arrangement would gradually give the constant reader some

122. Much before Shah Waliullah, Qazi Shihabuddin of Daulatabad, wrote his Bahr-i Mawwaj. In this commentary he included Persian translation of the verses of the Quran. His language has been criticized as florid and tending to obscure rather than explain the meaning, Akhbar-ul Akhyar, p. 175.
understanding of the Arabic text as well. It is now clear that Shah Waliullah had taken a revolutionary step, it is therefore not surprising that it was opposed in some circles at that time, but so great was his reputation that the translation succeeded and was later followed by translations into Urdu.

Shah Waliullah attempted at reconciling the four schools of Islamic jurisprudence. The Sunni Muslims follow these four schools of interpretation, all considered to be authentic; yet there grew up intolerance of interpretations that belonged to a different school. Shah Waliullah sought to soften these differences by explaining the functions of interpretation. In Islamic parlance interpretation is called ijtihad, which according to Iqbal, 'is the principle or movement in the structure of Islam.' It has a wider connotation, because in the words of Shah Waliullah, 'it is

123. *Rud-i Kausar*, p. 552. S.A.A. Rizvi in *Shah Waliullah and his Times*, pp. 229-32, has tried to undermine this revolutionary step of the great mystic-scholar. His entire study appears to be abominable. The prejudices and predilections in the writings of S.A.A. Rizvi is the result of his committed thinking and a particular ideology.

124. Shah Waliullah's two sons Shah Rafiuddin and Shah 'Abdul Qadir, translated the Quran into Urdu.

125. In his work, *Iqd-ul-jid fi Ahkam-i ijtihad wa't-taqlid*.

an exhaustive endeavour to understand the basic principles of the holy law and is not confined to an effort to understand the conclusions of the earlier scholars. Hence it may result in disagreement with the rulings of the earlier jurists and theologians, however eminent they may be. A person who has necessary qualifications and competence can probe into the law and theology and it is a mistake to argue that such men do not exist now. He then discussed the causes that lead to differences in ijtihad and reached the conclusion that often the truth lies between two extreme views; hence it is ridiculous to be stubborn and to deny whatever the opponent has to say, because there is room in Islam for such differences.

When the earlier theologians had recognized four schools of thought as being equally orthodox, they had conceded tacitly that there was room for differences of opinion in the interpretation of the sacred text; considerable rigidity, however, had crept into the thought of the later scholars, because they were afraid that the recognition of too many differences would breed anarchy of thought and encourage the rise of herecies. The prevailing opinion among the orthodox was that the later-day ijtihad should not go further than the four walls of the recognized schools;

127. 'Iqd-ul Jid fi Ahkam-i ijtihad wa't-taqlid, p. 4.
besides, the followers of one school should normally not borrow the rulings of another, unless they were forced by necessity. This was the doctrine of ijtihad-i muqaiyyad or limited scope of interpretation. This attitude had sought safety in imposing limitations which tended to make the demarcation between the four schools too rigid, besides imposing restrictions on the human intellect in understanding the truth of religion.

Shah Waliullah tried to remedy this without paving the way for licence in religious thinking by emphasizing that the doors of ijtihad had not been closed and pointing out that it needed both erudition and caution. As progress does not imply throwing over-board the work of previous generations of scholars, he recommended an attitude of respect for unanimity achieved by the thinkers of the past. This was in keeping with the general trend in Shah Waliullah's thought which was progressive without being destructively radical. This attitude was also calculated to prevent the development of fresh differences through

130. 'Iqd-ul Jid fi Ahkam-i ijtihad wa't-taqlid, p. 6.
the introduction of new interpretations out of harmony with previous thinking.\textsuperscript{131} He also laid down the principle that for those who were not qualified for ijtihad it was incumbent to follow the rulings of competent mujtahids.\textsuperscript{132} 'The necessity of ever-new 'permanent' reasoning arises because of the progress and expansion of religious and human society, which is faced with new problems in a new age and in a new milieu. His emphasis on the role of ijtihad is therefore a natural reaction to the element of growth and change in human society,'\textsuperscript{133} observes Aziz Ahmad.

\textsuperscript{131} Ibid; Hujjatullah-ul Balighah, I, pp. 706-8.

\textsuperscript{132} Al-Insaf fi Bayan-i-Sabab-i Ikhtilaf, pp. 70-71; Hujjatullah-ul Balighah, I, pp. 704-5.

\textsuperscript{133} Studies in Islamic Culture in Indian Environment, p. 204.
Chapter - III

THE CONTROVERSY REGARDING WAHDAT-UL WUJUD
AND
WAHDAT-USH SHUHUD

The doctrine of Wahdat-ul Wujud or pantheism in the Islamic thought was first of all introduced by Shaikh Muhiuddin Ibn 'Arabi (1165-1240), popularly known as Shaikh-i Akbar. It was purely a personal affair and had nothing to do with the dogmatic discussions. But in course of time it became very much popular and the ideas of all great mystics were influenced by it. Poets of Persian, Turkish, to some extent Arabic and later of Urdu, all were attracted so much thought so that any verse without pantheistic was looked down as mere prose. The Jurist and Theologians tried to refute this doctrine in their own rights, yet it survived as a supreme factor of mystic faith.

1. Muhiuddin Abu 'Abdullah Muhammad Bin 'Ali Bin Muhammad Bin Al-'Arabi al-Hatimi at-Ta'i, known as Shaikh-i Akbar was one of the greatest mystics of Islam. He was born at Murcia in 1165 and died at Damascus in 1240. Ibn 'Arabi was certainly the most prolific of all mystical writers. Brockelmann has listed no less than 239 of his works of which at least two dozen deal with mysticism. Of his mystic works the most important are:

(1) Al-Futuhat al-Makkiyya fi Asrar al-Malikiyya wa'l-Mulukiyya.
(2) Fusus al-Hikam wa Khusus al-Kilam.

For details see Ahmad Ales's article, 'Ibn al-Arabi' Encyclopaedia of Islam, III, pp. 709-13; A.A. 'A Afifi's, The Mystical Philosophy of Muhiy'd Din Ibnul 'Arabi; B.A. Faruqi's, The Mujaddid's Conception of Tauhid.

...134
Ibn 'Arabi says that only God exists and everything is His manifestation and the creation (world) and the creator (God) is identical. This identity can be comprehended on the basis of the identity of His being (being) and attributes (attributes) the world being only manifestation of His attributes. In other words, the creation of the world is a form of emanation i.e., the act of creation by the word 'Be' is nothing but the descent of the creator Himself into the being of things.

The theory of emanation as held by Ibn 'Arabi and elaborated by his followers as well as the later mystics is this:


3. The distinction of Being (being) and Attribute (attribute) is very nearly the distinction of substance and attributes. At times it looks like that of existence and essence. It can be rendered as the distinction of Being and Nature or It and Its Qualities. Asma (plural of Ism), means Divine Names with reference to particular Sifat or Zat as they occur in the Quran, e.g. Rahim (the Merciful), as they are the names of Allah in virtue of His qualities, i.e. an Ism combines Zat and Sifat. The Mujaddid's Conception of Tauhid, p. 87.

4. Manifestation (manifestation) is really shining forth. The conception underlying it is that God is Light and this Light shines forth as if bodily in many forms. Hence it may be translated as eradiation, effluence, emanation, manifestation and in philosophical terminology is equivalent to Mode, when the Light shines forth on itself it is Tajalli-bi-Nafsihi (illumination by itself). As the Light shines forth in various grades to the mystic it is Tajalli-i-Zati or Sifati, etc., with reference to the mystic it means the vision of the Light or illumination by it. If this vision is that of the attributes of God it is Tajalli-i-Sifati (illumination of attributes), if it is the vision of the Being or Zat or Zat of Allah it is Tajalli-i-Zati (illumination of Being or Zat of Allah), The Mujaddid's Conception of Tauhid, p. 87.

The being is indeterminate (ٍٓإٞٛٔٞٞٗ١), it is the stage of indeterminateness of the unity. In its descent or determination it passes through five stages. The first two are cognitive (ٍٓإٞٛٔٞٞٗ١) and the last three are existential (ٍٓإٞٛٔٞٞٗ١). In first two are descent, the unity becomes conscious of itself as pure being, and the consciousness of the attribute is only general (ٍٓإٞٛٔٞٞٗ١) — it is implicit. In the second descent, the unity becomes conscious of itself as possessing the attributes, that is the stage of attributes in detail — it is explicit. Then begins the actual descent. The third descent therefore is determination as spirit or spirits (ٍٓإٞٛٔٞٞٗ١), the unity breaks itself up into so many spirits, for example angles. The fourth descent is ideal determination (ٍٓإٞٛٔٞٞٗ١), thereby the worlds of ideas comes into being. And the fifth descent is physical determination (ٍٓإٞٛٔٞٞٗ١), it yields the phenomenal or physical beings. These stages are only gradual realisation of the capacities that were already latent in the attributes. The same identity of dividing the modes with His attributes, and of His attributes with his being, is brought in another way. Ibn 'Arabi maintains that the divine names (ٍٓإٞٛٔٞٞٗ١) are identical with the named (ٍٓإٞٛٔٞٞٗ١), and the named is very being of Allah.6

As to the relation between world and God, Ibn 'Arabi holds that it is one of identity. In bringing out this identification he proceeds either from the negation of the world or from affirmation of God. The world or multiplicity exists only as the modes of unity — as His modes, it has no existence of its own,

\[\text{الإِسْتِقْلاَلُ ماَ أَشْهَدُ مَاَ بَلَغَ مِنَ الْوُجُورِ} \]

the essence which is existent nature of things have not the slightest touch of reality about them. 7 Proceeding from the side of God, Ibn 'Arabi maintains that the world is God, it is the mode in which the unity has differentiated itself, these modes exhaust the unity wholly, the unity has no existence over and above them,

\[\text{سَيْبَرُ هَذَا لِلْإِنْتَدَابِ إِلَّاً} \]

there is absolute nothingness beyond these modes, and mystics should not take the trouble of seeking God beyond this world. 8

Ibn 'Arabi denies transcendence and immanence, because these conceptions imply duality of existence. He puts it thus, if God is posited either as transcendent or as immanent His infinitude would be lost. Hence tauhid should be affirmed with transcendence and immanence both. 9

7. Ibid., p. 63.
8. Ibid., p. 33.
9. Ibid., p. 91.
Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (1564-1624) also known as Mujaddid Alf-i Sani, however refuted pantheism in his own way. He was a great mystic and a renowned theologian and was well-acquainted with the secrets of both the sciences. On the basis of his personal knowledge and mystic experience Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi propounded his own theory of Wahdat-ush Shuhud or apparentism vis-a-vis Ibn 'Arabi's Wahdat-ul Wujud or pantheism.

Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi divided his mystic progress into three stages,¹⁰ i.e., pantheism (عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَٰنِ), adumberation (عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَٰنِ) and servitude (عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَٰنِ). At the first stage a mystic experiences pantheism, he finds God immanent in man and world. This stage lasts for a long interval. The second stage is of adumberation where he finds that the world is the shadow or semblance of reality, this stage is transitional yet duality of creator and creation does not become clear. In course of time the mystic comes up of this stage and enters the final stage of servitude and finds that God and world are two. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi emphasises that at this stage the mystic realizes that all his previous experiences were subjective and unreliable and they did not correspond to the objective reality and that God is far beyond the human faculty of reason and intuition,

God is beyond the beyond and again beyond the beyond.  

Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi argues that the pantheists were wrong because they had not yet reached the stage of perfection as he himself had, their opinion with regard to the reality was therefore immature and not wholly true. This clear and unequivocal refutation of the common faith of the mystics by Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi aroused a confusion and conflict in the mystic circles and resulted into division of various orders into opposite camps each claiming his version to be true. Since the time of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi this conflict of opinion prevailed in the mystic circles, so much so that during the last decades of seventeenth century French Philosopher-Physician, Bernier, had noticed that in India a great conflict was going on between those who believed in Wahdat-ul Wujud and those who disagreed with this doctrine.

The ideas of Ibn 'Arabi received a great exponent during the seventeenth century in the personality of Shah Muhibullah of Allahabad. He was a great protopanist of the doctrine of Wahdat-ul Wujud, which earned him the title of Muhiyuddin Ibn 'Arabi Sani. He wrote thirteen books on the subject and a commentary of the Quran in Arabic called Tarjumat-ul Kitab, an interpretation of the verses in support

12. Travels in Mughal Empire, pp. 345-47.
of Wahdat-ul Wujud. His ideas could not get sufficient popularity due to banning of his works by Aurangzeb and the overwhelming influence of Sirhind family. Shah Muhibullah wrote a dozen work to popularize the ideas of Ibn Arabi.¹³

The Chishti mystics believed in Wahdat-ul Wujud, Shah Kalimullah Jahanabadi made a detailed analysis of this doctrine in his work, Sawa-us Sabil, and refuted the objections of the followers of Wahdat-ush Shuhud. This work of Shah Kalimullah is a useful summary of Ibn Arabi's teachings and witnesses his mastery over Fusus-ul Hikam and its important commentaries.¹⁴ But Shah Kalimullah always kept in mind the growing controversy over these doctrines and asked his Khalifas to avoid discussions regarding these issues. He very clearly wrote in a letter that the doctrine of Wahdat-ul Wujud may not be discussed publicly, it should be discussed only to the learned disciples through the use of symbolic language provided that they comprehend it otherwise the subject should be dropped.¹⁵

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According to Shah Fakhruddin, if a saint did not believe in Wahdat-ul Wujud he did not deserve to be known as a saint or pir. To him the disputes about everything is He (١٠٠٠) and everything is from Him (١٠٠٠٠٠٠) were meaningless, as nothing besides God existed. He insisted that adherence to the shari'ah was necessary for all seekers of the tariqah.\(^{16}\)

The controversy over these doctrines continued during the eighteenth century too unless "Shah Waliullah's powerful pen resolved that controversy and created and amicable atmosphere between the various Silsilahs."\(^{17}\)

In his reconciliation between the two theories Shah Waliullah maintains that God created the universal self (١٠٠٠٠٠) from mere nothing and the universe is the differentiation of the universal self. Or in other words, the universal self differentiated itself by gradual descent into heavens, elements, gems, species and individuals. If the mystic finds unity in diversity it is nothing but the unity of the universal self and not of the divine beings. It is really difficult to explain the distinction between divine being and universal self. Indeed, there is a unity in the 'Creator from nothing' and 'the creation from nothing'. But

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17. 'Shah Waliullah, Though and Contribution', Islamic Culture, July 1980.
that is not true unity, as one cannot be truly identical with other. The real fact is that the human reason is not capable of understanding the idea of distinction between the universal self and the divine being, and this is due to this that most of the mystics have been misled by taking one for the other.\textsuperscript{18}

Explaining the relation between the divine being and the universal self Shah Waliullah argues that the same relation exists between digit 4 and digit 2. If we look to digit 4 as it exists by itself, we find nothing there except 4. But as we look a step below it, although in its present capacity nothing would be concerned with it, we find 4 as the sum total of two 2's. Thus we see that 4 has two positions: one as 4 and the other as two 2's. In this way, if I say 2 plus 2 is 4, I shall be right, or if 2 plus 2 is given name 4, I would be again correct. Here we can call 4 as the creator or maker and 2 and 2 as the created or made, thus if we call 4 as general and independent and 2 as particular and dependent and take no notice of mutual contradiction or clash, 2 will be a mode or manifestation of 4. In the same way we understand and explain the relation between the divine being (God) and universal self.\textsuperscript{19}

Those who believe in Wahdat-ul Wujud would be correct if by unity they mean the unity of universal self. The mys-

\textsuperscript{18} Ham'at, p. 156.
\textsuperscript{19} Ham'at, pp. 156-57.
tics must bear in mind that the relation of God and universal self is not confused with the relation existing between universal self and its modes. Otherwise their particular belief would resemble the impression of one who looks through red or green glasses and finds everything red or green. A real mystic who looks by his real insight or intuition, having his reasoning power left behind, will see the unity of universal self clearly in the diverse form of the universe. But if he looks to divine being with the insight of deep calibre the universe will altogether disappear. Again, if his insight is accompanied by the comprehensive sight (٠٠٠٠٠٠) he will find his universal self and divine being two separate entities. But this stage is achieved by a perfect mystic alone. 20

Shah Waliullah withholds his approval of the doctrine of Wahdat-ul Wujud in his first vision of the Fuyuz-ul Hara-main. According to him the followers of this doctrine failed to grasp the real nature of God owing to their immature faculties of self. The doctrine is indeed based on facts considerable importance, he observes, but the mystics allowing themselves to wander into the valley of nature of divine manifestation let the string of respect for the Lord, love for Him and His transcendent and independent nature slip away from their hands of reason. Of course that is the string by

20. Ibid.
which the angels have acquired their divine knowledge. In reality, the secrets of pantheism is understood by them alone whose faculties of reason and wisdom are fresh and fruitful, not darkened by the veils lying fold upon fold, of modes and forms of the world of matter.²¹

Shah Waliullah unlike the common pantheists believed in the transcendent nature of divinity but at the same time he believed in His immanence. Explaining the identity of the doctrines of Wahdat-ul Wujud and Wahdat-ush Shuhud, Shah Waliullah writes in his letter to Afandi Ismail bin Abdullah of Medina:²²

'Wahdat-ul Wujud and Wahdat-ush Shuhud are two relative terms used at two different places in an argument about the divine being. Wahdat-ul Wujud implies scrutiny of the encompassing truth which has filled the universe by unfolding itself with various values on which is based the knowledge of good and evil, and is ratified by scriptures and the reason. This is a stage of spiritual attainment where some mystics halted until they were relieved of it by God. Wahdat-ush Shuhud is to bring together the value of similar and contradictory nature.

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²¹. Fuyuz-ul Haramain, pp. 56-57.

²². The letter has been reproduced in Tafahimat-i Ilahiyah, II, pp. 261-71.
'One should know that the created things are one in one respect and different in another. This can only be perceived by mystics who are really perfect. This stage of Wahdat-ush Shuhud is definitely higher than the former one. The term actually was used by the disciples of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi in the sense of knowledge of truth about things as they exist.'

'Some of the mystics saw the contingent or the accidental connected with the eternal, also they perceived the forms of the universe connected with the true reality. Shah Waliullah explains it by the example of wax forms of man, horse, etc., in which wax is common though in shape they are different. This is the belief of the pantheists. But the other group maintains that the universe is a reflection of names and attributes ($\text{attributes}$) of the necessary being reflected in their opposite non-being ($\text{non-beings}$). As these names and attributes which are power ($\text{power}$) are reflected in the mirror of non-being which is powerless, the later also becomes power contingent. In the same manner one can imagine the appearance of each of the names and attributes and the being. The first one is the Wahdat-ul Wujud and the second Wahdat-ush Shuhud, to me both are based on revelation. Wahdat-ush Shuhud of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi does not in any way contradict, but on the other hand confirms, Ibn 'Arabi's Wahdat-ul Wujud.
If the real facts are taken into account and are studied with their garb of similies and metaphors, both the doctrines will appear almost the same, if there is any difference at all, it is so insignificant that a human reason or intuition cannot perceive it.23

Shah Waliullah's reconciliation of the doctrines of Wahdat-ul Wujud and Wahdat-ush Shuhud was however not accepted by the eminent mystics of his time and the controversy continued. Mystics like Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan, Khwaja Muhammad Nasir 'Andalib and his son, Mir Dard, explained these doctrines in their own way. Mirza Mazhar's disciple, Maulavi Ghulam Yahya, wrote an answer to Shah Waliullah's synthesis, in a book, Kalimat-ul Haq, on which Mirza Mazhar wrote a preface, but in turn Shah Waliullah's son, Shah Rafiuddin, gave them a convincing reply in his famous work, Damaqh-ul Batil.

The greatest achievement of Shah Waliullah is this, writes B.A. Faruqi, "that all the discussions which followed his synthesis of the doctrines were carried in sober and subdued manner and the controversy gradually died down and the later generations kept quiet over it and never revived the controversy."24

Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan repeatedly advised his disciples to study all three volumes of the letters of Shaikh

23. Tafahimat-i Ilahiyyah, pp. 56-57.
24. The Mujaddid's Conception of Tauhid, p. 144.
Ahmad Sirhindi in order to understand the true nature of his ideas. According to him the term being (بَن) has been used by the mystics in three different senses. Firstly, it meant becoming or attaining. Secondly, it was used in the sense of extension or overflow. This factor of understanding being to mean emanation proved controversial, says Mirza Mazhar. To him neither becoming nor emanation are identical with being. According to the third explanation being is the 'first of all firsts' the 'origin of all origins' and the pure essence. Mirza Mazhar states quoting Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi that the essence of God is the source of His creation. In so far as being and essence in reality are identical, the creation and existence may be ascribe to either being or essence. There is no basic difference between the two expression but the theory of emanation is totally unacceptable says Mirza Mazhar.

In his explanation of the mystic interpretation of relation (رَاب) Mirza Mazhar gave further difference between the doctrines of Wahdat-ul Wujud and Wahdat-ush Shuhud. According to him the Arabic word (رَاب) meant relationship between two parties. The mystics used it to represent the relationship between God and man, to theologians it meant a relation-

25. *Kalimat-i Taiyabat*, p. 27.
ship between the creator and the creation like that of a pot­
ter to his pot. The pantheists explained it as the manifes­
tation of unity in multiplicity and used as examples the re­
relationship of wave with water. The main aim of the pan­
theists was to prove through religious analogies and rational 
arguments that the world was the essence (سُوْى) of the crea­
tor. Contrary to it, the followers of apparentism used the 
analogy of the relationship between sun and its rays to ex­
plain that of reality and shadow (أَنْ) . The multiple aspect 
of the shadow could never interfere with the true unity of 
the sun. They implied that followers of pantheism did not 
admit any reality of the shadow besides reality itself and 
insisted that the truth about the relationship between the 
river and the wave was that the one was quite remote from the 
other.27

Khwaja Nasir 'Andalib vehemently attacks the group 
of mystics representing the pantheistic doctrine. According 
to him speaking objectively Wahdat-ul Wujud is invalid, it is 
not the truth about the reality. Objectively Wahdat-ush 
Shuhud or apparentism alone is valid. But speaking subjec­
tively, i.e., in their bearing on the mystic and his spiri­
tual growth, both the doctrines are directed to the same, that

is to dissociate him from things other than Allah.\textsuperscript{28} It is important to note that the discussions of Nasir 'Andalib and later of his son, Mir Dard, are based on their experience.

Khwaja Mir Dard criticized the doctrine of Wahdat-ul Wujud in the light of his inner experience. Subjectively speaking, he justified it as it helped to dissociate the adept from the phenomenal existence.\textsuperscript{29} In the last analysis both the doctrines of pantheism and apparentism have one and the same object in view, in that both, the devotee is required to detach his heart from the affiliation of the phenomenal world. According to him the doctrine of Wahdat-ul Wujud is expounded by those who are in a state of ecstatic intoxication. It is highly injudicious for the masses to give expression to such thoughts. Mir Dard further adds that those who maintain the doctrine of Wahdat-ush Shuhud are devoid of the knowledge of reality.

Mir Dard expounded his own mystic theory which he calls knowledge of God based on the teachings of Muhammad.\textsuperscript{30} He draws inspiration for his esoteric ideas from the Quran. According to him those who follow this path will

\textsuperscript{28} Nalay-i 'Andalib, I, pp. 622, 797, 808.

\textsuperscript{29} 'Ilm-ul Kitab, pp. 184-85.

\textsuperscript{30} 'Ilm-ul Kitab, p. 188.
get self realization as well as God realization. These men should be called genuine unitarians as in spite of their divine vision they remain slaves of God. It is slavery of God that results in nearness to Him which is the height of bliss. For a slave there can be no higher privilege than to witness his master face to face.  

The greatness of man lies in the fact that, in spite of being a slave of God, He is light (نور) created from all light. Instead of the word being (بَيْنَ), which has not been employed in the Quran in the same sense in which it was used later, Mir Dard gives preference to the word light (نور) mean one and the same thing, and imply self manifestation without the help of another.  

Evidently Mir Dard had taken his cue from the Quranic verse:

31. Ibid.  
32. Ibid., pp. 101-102.
"Allah is the light of the heaven and of the earth. His light is like a niche in which is a lamp encased in a glass — the glass is an shining star, lit from a blessed olive tree, neither eastern nor western, the oil whereof almost gives light, though fire touched it not. Light upon light, Allah guides to his light whom he pleases and Allah sets forth parable for men and Allah is cognizant of all things." (24 : 35)

Mir Dard argues that God is eternal and self-existent; He is other than the world of objects. He is not like natural universal (خان) inside it. The truth is that God exists by Himself with all His attributes which are His qualities of perfection; and the existence of contingent beings makes no addition in His being, nor does their annihilation take away any thing from it;

ُكُلُّ اثْنَيْنَ (لا إِلَٰهَ إِمَّا مَرْحَبٌ)

God existed and nothing existed along with Him, and;

ُلَّهِ أَيُّهَمَا لَا كَإِنَّ

He is even today as he was before, therefore Mir Dard urges that, we should revert to the Unitarianism of Muhammad (وَحْيُهُ). 33

33. 'Ilm-ul Kitab, p. 186.
Maulavi Ghulam Yahya wrote his Risalah Kalimat-ul-Haq on the instance of his spiritual master, Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan, to which Mirza Mazhar wrote a preface. Ghulam Yahya vehemently criticized Shah Waliullah and maintained that Shah Waliullah is absolutely wrong in his views that both the doctrines are same and there is no difference between the two. He very categorically ruled out the synthesis of the two doctrines made by Shah Waliullah, and says that a world of difference exists between the doctrines of Wahdat-ul Wujud and Wahdat-ush Shuhud and the two doctrines.

34. Maulavi Ghulam Yahya was a native of Bihar and a scholar of great eminence in religious and philosophical sciences. He is the author of many commentaries on philosophical works. Ghulam Yahya taught at Lucknow. Towards the end of life he gave up philosophy and was attracted to mysticism under the influence of Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan; Bihsarat-i Mazhariyah (text); Magamat-i Mazhariyah, p. 165; Tazkirah Ulema-i Hind, pp. 119-20.

35. Mirza Mazhar writes:

Bisharat-i Mazhariyah (text); Kalimat-i Taiyabat, pp. 69-70.
can in no ways be reconciled.\footnote{Kalimat-ul Haq, ff. 25b, 26b.}

"In the first place, according to Wahdat-ul Wujud the essence of the contingent being are the determination of the names and attributes of God, but from the viewpoint of Wahdat-ush Shuhud the essence of the contingent beings are the adumberation of the names and attributes casted in their opposite non-being.\footnote{Ibid., f. 28b.} Thus their exists a world of difference between the two.

Secondly Shah Waliullah is totally wrong in his statement that Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi made a mere oversight in his opposition of the two doctrines,\footnote{Ibid., ff. 28b, 29a.} where as the Shaikh never did it by the way rather he was absolutely clear and insisted on the difference between the contingent being and necessary being and declared it is heresy/make the identification of the two.

Thirdly, according to Wahdat-ul Wujud, change enters in the being of God itself, for it is he who modifies Himself and becomes the contingent world,\footnote{Kalimat-ul Haq, ff. 25b, 26b.} while according to

\footnote{Kalimat-ul Haq, ff. 25b, 26b.}
Wahdat-ush Shuhud the creation of world brought no change in the being of God.

Ghulam Yahya says that a careful study of the two doctrines reveal a world of difference and neither of the two can be reduced or reconciled, he argues that Shah Waliullah has no right to speak on the issue or deny Wahdat-ush Shuhud or identify it with Wahdat-ul Wujud because he has not based his contention on mystic experience or ( Kitab ).

Shah Rafiuddin (d. 1833), younger son of Shah Waliullah, one of the very first translators of Quran into Urdu and a well-known scholar, wrote *Damagh-ul Batil* in reply of Maulavi Ghulam Yahya's arguments. Shah Rafiudddin supports the synthesis of the theories of Wahdat-ul Wujud and Wahdat-ush Shuhud made by his father. According to him, Wahdat-ul Wujud is a true doctrine and is the truth of Islam and had been a cherished doctrine of all eminent mystics of Islam. On the other hand Wahdat-ush Shuhud is a new doctrine, put forward by Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, who had not grasped the arguments

40. Ibid., ff. 24b, 29a.
41. Ibid., f. 29b.
42. *Damagh-ul Batil*, ff. 8b-10a.
of Ibn 'Arabi and believed that Wahdat-ul Wujud is altogether different from Wahdat-ush Shuhud. Shah Rafiuddin, therefore, points out that in these circumstances, the best course is to take Wahdat-ul Wujud as basic doctrine and interpret Wahdat-ush Shuhud in its light. 43

Shah Rafiuddin stops his argument here and does not go any further. Moreover, in his entire argumentation Shah Rafiuddin is apologetic in favour of his father. The discussions in Shah Rafiuddin's work and the literature produced later became moderate and sober in style. This credit goes to Shah Waliullah that his reconciliation of the two doctrines closed the door of most heated controversy of the period.

Ibn 'Arabi's mission was to create mystic literature and cause it to be studied in order that people might thus enter into the spirit of mysticism and discover the mystics through their being and expression, whatever their cultural background might be. He is rightly credited with effecting the best intellects throughout the Islamic world. 44 Although a complete conspectus of his ideas is yet to be given as most of his works are still in manuscripts, 45 nevertheless, he

43. Ibid., f. 4a.
44. Tarikh-i Mashaikh-i Chisht, I, p. 432.
45. Encyclopaedia of Islam, III, p. 710.
provided a comprehensive system for generations to come. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, too, had to admit: "the Sufis who preceded him, if they spoke about these matters at all, only hinted at them and did not elaborate. Most of those who came after him chose to follow in his foot-steps and used his terms. We late-comers have also benefited from the blessings of that great man and learned a great deal from his mystical insights. May God give him for this the best reward."  

The mission of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi was to build up an alternative system, never before in India had mysticism been brought so close to the religious core of Islam. It is not surprising, therefore, that Shaikh Ahmad's doctrine of Wahdat-ush Shuhud had such a revolutionary impact on Indian Islam. It re-diverted its various streams, orthodox and esoteric into a single channel, it relaxed the tension between the religious law and mystical experience. He re-integrated the formalistic dynamics of religion and the inner vitality of deep mysticism.

The controversy of Wahdat-ul Wujud and Wahdat-ush Shuhud as propounded and understood by Ibn 'Arabi and Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi will probably never end as long as there are two different approaches to the mystical goal - by activity and confrimity of will, or by contemplation and gnosis.

46. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi;An Outline of His Thought and a Study of His Image in the Eyes of Posterity, p. 172.  
47. Mystical Dimensions of Islam, p. 274.
Chapter - IV

MYSTICAL PRACTICES

(a) Popular Level - Sama' and Futuh:

The Muslim mystics evolved different practices for building up healthy and integrated personalities of their disciples. The disciples were constantly asked to develop self-reliance and evolve the inner richness of their personalities. "They cultivated the emotions and tutored the intellect of their disciples. They believed that intellect, uninspired by love and uncontrolled by faith in moral and spiritual values, acts as a force of dis-integration in human life. They familiarised their disciples with the higher religious thought by teaching standard mystic works to them and disciplined their inner lives by a careful control of their emotions. The Chishti saints did not believe in spinning fine ideas; they expressed in their lives the accumulated wisdom of the mystic creed and thus prepared their disciples both emotionally and intelectually for the difficult task of guiding the destinees of the Silsilah."¹

The institution of Sama' has been a matter of controversy between the Ulema and the Mystics during the

1. Religion and Politics in India during the 13th Century, p. 215.
medieval period. In the early years of the establishment of Muslim rule in India Qazi Minhaj-us Siraj gave a legal sanction to this institution.\textsuperscript{2} But the issue remained controversial and we are told of two 'Mahzars' in this connection during the Sultanate period. One in the time of Iltutmish\textsuperscript{3} and another during the reign of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq.\textsuperscript{4} Despite stiff opposition of the Ulema, Sama' remained one of the most cherished mystical practice, specially among the Chishti saints.

The Chishti mystics considered Sama' as a spiritual diet (صمت) but at the same time they maintained the conditions laid down by the early saints of the Silsilah about the Sama-gathering. The early Chishti saints laid three conditions which should be strictly followed, they are:

1. There should be a particular time (نور) for the gathering.
2. A particular place (كنو) for this purpose.
3. Particular persons (آئشان) to attend the gathering.

\textsuperscript{2} Fawa'id-ul Fuad, p. 239; Akhbar-ul Akhyar, p. 79.
\textsuperscript{3} Futuh-us Salatin, pp. 117-19, as quoted in Religion and Politics in India, pp. 302-3.
\textsuperscript{4} Siyar-ul Auliya, pp. 324-28.
During the eighteenth century like other religious and spiritual institutions, Sama' was also effected under the increasing influence of the false-mystics. Shah Kalimullah is right in his observation that, 'in those days the real spirit of Sama' was lost and only hue and cry remained.\(^5\) Although he was fond of music and Sama' but due to the prevailing conditions he did not encourage it and maintained the view that the mystics of the day did not understand the real significance of music neither they maintain the conditions laid down by the early saints. He advised his disciples to avoid regular Sama' gatherings which was also discouraged by early mystics.\(^6\)

Shah Kalimullah recommended Sama' to his learned and elect disciples but subject to the strict maintenance of the conditions of time, place and persons. In general cases he recommended meditation (سُجْدَت) instead of listening to music in order to gain perfect spiritual enlightenment.\(^7\)

Shah Kalimullah had great respect for the mystics of other Orders which is reflected in his approach to Sama' and music. During the seventeenth century and after the influ-

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6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., p. 78.
ence of the Sirhidi family had considerably increased and as the Naqshbandi mystic do not approve Sama' Shah Kalimullah discouraged it. Once some of the Naqshbandi mystics were staying in the Deccan on their way back from Haj pilgrimage. Shah Kalimullah wrote to Shah Nizamuddin to refrain from Sama' so long as the Naqshbandi mystics were staying there.  

Shah Nizamuddin Aurangabadi was also fond of Sama' but he was very much careful in his adherence to the traditional rules about Sama', set up by his master, Shah Kalimullah, and the early Chishti saints. Shah Fakhruddin strictly followed the traditions of Sama' as laid down by his predecessors and never allowed any unlawful act in this regard. He was of the opinion that the early mystics legalized Sama' after a long and hard labour, therefore, one must maintain it.

Khwaja Nasir 'Andalib was fond of music, which reflects his knowledge and understanding of music through the

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words of his heroes. Mir Dard, therefore, arranged for the memory of his father a Sama-gathering on every 2nd and 26th day of each month.\textsuperscript{11}

It is said that Mir Dard had studied books on classical Indian music and had an amazing voice and an enchanting way of singing Indian rag and ragnis.\textsuperscript{12}

We do not have many explicit statements by Mir Dard about his attitude towards music, his book, \textit{Hurmat-ul Ghina}, is extremely rare. A few notes in 'Ilm-ul Kitab and Nalay-i Dard allude to the fact that the contemporary mystics did not approve his inclination towards music. He candidly admits that musical sessions were frequently held in his house.

\begin{quote}
مايکن دارد، صفحه 45.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
علامت-الغنا، صفحه 147.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{11} Maikhana-i Dard, p. 46.

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., p. 147.
"My Sama' is from God, and God is everytime witness that the singers come from themselves and sing whenever they want, not that I would call them as others do. But I do not refuse such an act. However, I do not do it myself and my creed is that of my masters. But since I am imprisoned in this affliction according to the divine ascent what can I do, God may forgive me for I have not given a fatwa that this should be lawful, and I have not built the mystical path upon Sama', so that other masters of that path, who have absolutely no idea of the way of music, should have become dissonant and sing about me all that songs which one should not sing, and open the lip of sarcasm in my absence."¹³

Mir Dard maintains that his listening to music was not like the evil doers who do it to satisfy their passion and lust and not even of the kind of mystics and adepts who listen with delight and love as a sign of overcoming by the mode of unity. He logicises his argument in a scholarly manner and considers the study of music as the study of other natural, mathematical and theological sciences.¹⁴ He continues,

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"But it is the same way as scholars and virtuous people study other mathematical sciences. For although the Muslims have no belief in accordance with the philosophers, yet they study all the natural, mathematical and theological sciences and understand their real character and their subtleties well. Verily science of music is most subtle and belongs among the mathematical sciences and influences the soul. However, I am not so enthusiastic about these things as others who are completely absorbed in them, and I do not consider this whole act to be good, as the Sama'-people among the mystics think. But I do not consider it as bad as the Mullas suppose it to be. In any case, God knows that I do not call the musicians and do not give relish to them, and if they would not come during my whole life I would never think of listening to them. And further one does not know which wisdom God has put into my listening to them, that he sends all the perfect artists of this art to me without my will and makes me hear to them as long as it is destined."  

In the beginning of his mystical career, Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan was inclined towards Sama' and used to attend Sama'-gathering. He is reported to have said that "whenever the Chishti-influence increases in me I am attracted towards Sama'." Later on he gave up this practice.  

15. Ibid.  
But he did not reject it outrightly rather he declared:

Sama' creates weeping and weeping brings compassion thus Sama' also results into compassion and a thing liable to compassion can never be unlawful.  

Mirza Mazhar never involved himself into the controversy over Sama'. When asked about this issue, he clearly replied that one group of the mystics forbade this practice and say that it produces impiety and discord, while others consider it lawful because of the positive effects of ecstasy.  

Mirza Mazhar categorized Sama' into two types. In the first type of Sama' which is lawful a person sings beautiful verses with an amazing voice at a particular place which results into sorrow or joy. The second category of Sama' had been started by later extremists with the addition of unnecessary acts, this is unlawful. If people do not practice the allowable Sama', it is a matter of interest not due to the commandments of the shari'ah.

Shah Waliullah allowed Sama' to cultivate the ecstatic relation, for the elect of the Silsilah. From

18. Ibid., p. 71.
20. Ibid., p. 35.
an anecdote of Malfuzat-i Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz it appears that he did not allow music in the Sama'. Shah Fakhruddin used to visit Shah Waliullah's seminary where he was allowed to hold Sama' without music. Once Shah Fakhruddin wished to hold Sama' with music but Shah Waliullah refused it in his seminary and made arrangement in the neighbouring house of a relative."

Since the medieval period futuh of unasked for charity has been the only source of income for the Muslim-mystics. Shah Kalimullah led a life of tawakkul and contentment. His only source of livelihood was a meagre income from the rent of a house which he owned. Often he faced financial strains, due to the expenses of his family and the visitors of the Khanqah. Slowly and gradually his income was supplemented by the futuh, but Shah Kalimullah was contented with his little income. He felt great pleasure in starvation and was never attracted by the huge income, about futuh he declared that:

'It should be immediately distributed among fellow faqirs and the day futuh does not come should be considered fortunate for starvation has greater spiritual advantages'.

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Shah Kalimullah strictly followed the Chishti principles of the rejection of jagir from the government. Farrukh Siyar, the Mughal Emperor, offered some money from the state treasury and requested to accept at least one of the houses but Shah Kalimullah rejected the offer. Later, under the pressure of his disciples, Shah Kalimullah accepted a house from the Emperor in Bazar-i Khanam. It is said that towards the end of his life Shah Kalimullah was a recipient of extensive futuh and left one lakh rupees and other estates. But this statement is not corroborated by any other source. Rather it seems that financial burden had increased in the last days of Shah Kalimullah for the weddings of his daughters was postponed due to lack of funds.

In the beginning Shah Nizamuddin did not accept futuh but later on he started accepting on the advice of his master that it was wrong to reject sincere offerings, it could also be used to help others. Shah Nizamuddin used to distribute it among needy people. On Fridays all was distributed. He financially helped the people of noble families who had fallen at the hands of destiny. The common people can beg while these people will starve but would not beg, observed Shah Nizamuddin.

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Shah Fakhruddin strictly adhered to the principles of the Chishti mystics regarding the acceptance of futuh. On many occasions he was persuaded to accept jagir but Shah Fakhruddin refused. Once the Emperor came to his Khanqah and requested to visit the palace, although he went and had a few mouthful of the food but to compensate it Shah Fakhruddin rushed to the huts of poor people and had grub over there.29

A large number of higher nobles and a few emperors were Shah Fakhruddin's disciples and hailed him in high esteem.30 Shah 'Alam's sister, Nawab Khair-un Nisa, was Shah Fakhruddin's disciple and used to send huge amounts as offerings but he never paid attention towards these things. Often the mediators ate-up every thing. The Emperor's mother once presented a chariot to Shah Fakhruddin.31

The author of Manaqib-i Fakhriyah informs that even the Subedar of Kashmir used to send offerings but Shah Fakhruddin was least interested in it. He had a well-developed sense of contentment and was never attracted by the worldly things. Nawab Majd-ud Daulah once invited Shah Fakhruddin and sent meal for three consequent days in the

29. Manaqib-i Fakhriyah, p. 33.
Khanqah, when on fourth day too the Nawab sent meal Shah Fakhruddin returned it saying that invitation can be for three days only.  

The famous Rohila Chief, Nawab Zabita Khan, was a follower of Shah Fakhruddin. He received Shah Fakhruddin with warmth during the visit of Ghayasgarh and offered some villages as jagir but the offer was rejected. Zabita Khan fell in his feet and requested to accept the jagir for the expenses of the seminary, even then it was not accepted and said that the income of this jagir should be distributed in the shrines of Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti at Ajmer, Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya at Delhi and among other mystics of Delhi. Shah Fakhruddin's personal life was very simple and un-ostentitious, he led his life in a single cloth and preferred this for his

32. Manaqib-i Fakhriyah, p. 41.

33. Zabita Khan was the son of Najib-ud Daulah and succeeded to him in the office of Amir-ul Umara the imperial Mir Bakhshi. Shah 'Alam wanted him to continue in the office, but at the same time demanded the customary tribute or peshkash and get the accounts of his jagir income audited by the government officers. Moreover, Zabita Khan did not respond to the imperial summons to attend the court at Allahabad and failed even to escort the Emperor on his return journey to Delhi. The Emperor, with the help of the Marathas, invaded his stronghold Ghayasgarh and inflicted defeat on his forces. The Rohila leader, however, gained the confidence of the Emperor through the Marathas. Zabita Khan died in 1785. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp. 867-68; Siyar-ul Mutaakhkhirin, IV, pp. 92-112.

34. Ibid.
friends too. 35

The ancestors of Khwaja Muhammad Nasir 'Andalib belonged to the Mughal nobility and were connected with the royal family by matrimony. His great grand-father, Khwaja Muhammad Tahir, who came in India during the seventeenth century, was granted a high office by Aurangzeb. He had three sons, two of whom were married to the daughters of Aurangzeb's brother, Murad Bakhsh. The third was Khwaja Fatahullah, who married Nawab Sarbuland Khan, Mir Bakhshi's daughter. Fatahullah's son was Nawab Raushan-ud Daulah Zafarullah Khan, father of Khwaja Muhammad Nasir 'Andalib. 36

Nasir 'Andalib for some time served in the imperial army and left the military service in the time of Emperor Muhammad Shah to lead a religious life. 37 These connections stand as a testimony that his family must be having some jagir. Mir Dard talks about his jagir in the 'Ilm-ul Kitab. 38 This family lived in Barrada Ka Nala in Delhi but after the sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah, Aurangzeb's daughter Mehr Parwar Begum offered them a house in a relatively safer place.

35. Ibid., p. 34.
37. Ibid., p. 23.
38. 'Ilm-ul Kitab, p. 473.
initially they refused it but eventually accepted. This house was made in Kucha-i Chilan. In the mystical philosophy of Mir Dard love of family constitutes an outstanding feature. His attitude towards his family is very loving and tender, time and again he mentions his brother Mir Asar and son Zia-un Nasir. His relation to his son reflects in a way his own relation to his father Nasir 'Andalib. He says that a special relation of love exists between them. The father is for son the manifestation of divine mercy and the son is for his father a divine gift.

Mir Dard speaks proudly of his poverty and considers it equivalent of annihilation and permanent remaining in God and says that it is a rank of proximity. His poverty is not bankruptcy but rather the kingdom of absolute peace or mind. In his early youth he is reported to have asked Muhammad Shah, not to disturb him by his visits. Mir Dard considered greed as an evil and asked his disciples to forget everything in recollecting God.

41. 'Ilm-ul Kitab, pp. 540 and 639.
42. Ibid., p. 556.
43. Maikhana-i Dard, p. 121.
44. Dard-i Dil, p. 70.

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Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan was a mystic of great eminence and had a greater sense of Tawakkul and contentment. He seldom accepted futuh and had no longing for the worldly gains. His distrust in the worldly things is obvious from the fact that he lived in a rented house and never constructed his own and despite the continuous calamities over the city of Delhi he never changed the place, though there was an insistence on the part of his disciples.\(^45\)

Most of the princes and the leading nobles of the time offered the construction of mosque and khanqah but he did not agree.\(^46\) Some of the nobles sought matrimonial relations with Mirza Mazhar but he declined to accept.\(^47\) Persons like Intizam-ud Daulah,\(^48\) Nawab 'Imad-ul Mulk,\(^49\) and Najib-

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46. Ibid., p. 34.
47. Ibid., p. 146.
48. Intizam-ud Daulah Khan-i Khanan was the eldest son of I'timad-ud Daulah Qamruddin Khan. His name was Mir Nizam-ud Din Khan. After his accession to the throne the Emperor Ahmad Shah appointed him second Bakhshi but Intizam-ud Daulah believing that he was the real successor to his father's post of wazir, succeeded in driving Safdar Jung out of Delhi with the help of his kinsmen and Rohila support. From March 1753 to May 1754 he acted as wazir but was ousted by Imad-ul Mulk, *Siyar-ul Mutaakhkhirin*, III, pp. 44-46; *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, pp. 179-83.
49. He was the son of Ghaziuddin Khan Firoz Jung. His name was Shihabuddin and his titles were, 'Imad-ul Mulk Ghaziuddin Khan Bahadur Firoz Jung, Amir-ul Umara, Nizam-ul Mulk Asaf Jah, and finally in June 1754, he became the Wazir of the Empire. He mastered several

(Footnote continued ...)

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ud Daulah, etc., were his devotees, and were always keen to help Mirza Mazhar. But Mirza Mazhar avoided their company and asked his disciples to do the same, he even made cautions in corresponding with them.  

Nawab 'Imad-ul Mulk wanted to meet him, Mirza Mazhar laid the condition that on his way back to Delhi he will stay at Mathura, the Nawab may come and meet provided that he will not insist Mirza Mazhar to visit the Jat forts and the Nawab will receive him on the river bank. This shows how he treated the worldly people and in a sense it is a refusal but people like Imad-ul Mulk and others considered it an honour to meet Mirza Mazhar.

Once Nizam-ul Mulk Asaf Jah I offered 30,000 rupees to Mirza Mazhar, on the latter's refusal to accept, the Nawab suggested that it should be distributed among the needy. Mirza Mazhar promptly replied that he was not the Nawab's steward and if he wished to distribute it from outside his khanqah and by the time he reaches home the Nawab would see

(Previous Footnote continued)

languages including Turkish and learned to write with neatness the seven styles of Arabic penmanship. He also composed verses. He compiled Shah Fakhruddin's biography, Manaqib-i Fakhriyah, in 1786. He was brave and enterprising but ruthless and revengeful. He died in 1800, Siyar-ul Mutaakhkirin, III, p. 46; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, pp. 211-12; Fall of the Mughal Empire, III, p. 446.

50. Makatib-i Mirza Mazhar, p. 160.
51. Kalimat-i Taiyabat, pp. 81-82.
that it is finished.\textsuperscript{52}

Mirza Mazhar gave a very prompt reply to Muhammad Shah on a similar occasion. The emperor communicated to Mirza Mazhar through Qamaruddin Khan, the Wazir, 'that God almighty has given me the empire, you may take whatever you wish'. Mirza Mazhar replied quoting the Quranic verse that the provisions of world is scant (\textsuperscript{53}) and since the entire world is scant you are given only the seventh part of it, what remains with you that you want to give me.\textsuperscript{53}

Mirza Mazhar made strict rules regarding the acceptance of futuh and followed them and asked his disciples to follow these rules. About the person who offers futuh must be,\textsuperscript{54}

1. Gentle and noble by birth.
2. Not be connected with worldly people.
3. Be gentle and pious.
4. Be knowing difference between lawful and unlawful.
5. Be a new-comer from a newly conquered territory.
6. Be giving out of love and devotion.

\textsuperscript{52} Maqamat-i Mazhariya, p. 34.
\textsuperscript{53} Mamulat-i Mazhariyah, p. 128; Maqamat-i Mazhariyah, p. 34.
\textsuperscript{54} Kalimat-i Taiyabat, p. 86.
However, Mirza Mazhar used to accept the invitation of Nawab Ghaziuddin Khan Firoz Jung, who was a devoted disciple of him. The Nawab and his wife used to serve Mirza Mazhar personally and maintained the conditions laid by him.\(^5\)

Perhaps it was the result of his dis-interest in the worldly things that Mirza Mazhar never constructed his house, this is clear from his last 'will' that Mirza Mazhar's wife had purchased a house without his permission but he did not like it rather he was furious and refused to be buried in that house.\(^6\)

Shah Mujibullah Qadri led a very simple and unostentatious life and never turned towards worldly gains. Mir Qasim Ali Khan\(^7\) sent a Parwana in 1750 that an amount of 30,000 rupees may be accepted towards daily maintenance of the khan-

\(^{55}\) Bisharat-i Mazhariyah, f. 9a.

\(^{56}\) M'amulat-i Mazhariyah, p. 145; Kalimat-i Taiyabat, p. 96.

\(^{57}\) Mir Qasim Ali Khan, the son of Mir Murtaza Husain, was the son-in-law of Mir Ja'far. In the year 1761 after the removal of Mir Ja'far, he became the Nawab of Bengal and gave the districts of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong to the English. Mir Qasim was an able administrator but the English always troubled him. In order to get rid of the English he shifted his headquarters from Murshidabad to Mongyr. The enmity resulted into a battle. In 1763, the Nawab with the help of his German servant, Samru, killed 200 Englishmen which is known as Patna General massacre. After that the Nawab went to Awadh and Mir Ja'far was reinstalled. Mir Qasim along with Shuja-ud Daulah and Shah 'Alam fought against the English but received a crushing defeat at Buxar in October, 1764. He died in 1777, Siyar-ul Mutakhkhirin, II, p. 279; Bihar Through the Ages, pp. 578-85.
qah. Shah Mujibullah wrote on the back of that Parwana that, 58

"the generous on whose threshold I am sitting has not stopped my livelihood and has not broken my begging bowl that I should go to other's door."

(b) Specialized Level - Zikr, Meditation, Breath Control, etc.

In general cases normal spiritual practices were prescribed by the mystics but for the elect few and for those whom they wished to give khilafat hard spiritual practices and stiff penitences were essential. Early saints were quite strict in giving spiritual training to their disciples. However, besides normal five-time prayers, recitation from the Quran and regular readings from famous mystical works like 'Awarif-ul Maarif, Fusus-ul Hikam, Fawa'id-ul Fuad, and Masnawi Rumi, etc., was necessary.

The Chishti mystics were strict about the spiritual training of their disciples. Shah Kalimullah often chalked out the round the clock programme for his disciples and was anxious to hear regularly their spiritual progress.59 His work Kashkol contains his instructions on meditation zikr, spiritual favour, breath control and breath below the normal rate. According to him breath control is of two types:

(a) Breath suspension (چنل نری), and

(b) Breath below the normal rate (چنل خری)

In the practice of breath suspension, the breath is drawn from the stomach and the navel to the chest, or according to some to the brain, the stomach and the navel moving closer to the spine during the movement. Closing the nostrils, ears and eyes with the fingers is not essential in this position, although it was generally done as a precautionary measure against unsteady movements. According to Shah Kalimullah, this technique is most effective and generates intense heat. 60

Breathing below the normal rate is done by breath control. The breath is controlled in the chest through expanding a section of the stomach most remote from the spine, a movement which is a great boon to the digestive system. This process generates less heat in the body than breath suspension. 61

Shah Kalimullah acknowledges that the breath suspension and other similar practices has been borrowed by the Muslim saints from yogis, who were experts of these arts. 62 Shah Kalimullah liked yogic practices and recommended some of

60. Kashkol, p. 9.
61. Ibid., pp. 9-10.
62. Ibid., p. 111.
them to his disciples. 63 To him the principal aim of zikr was to remind a mystic of the mortification of the self into the Almighty. The mere repetition of Kalma is itself hardly effective believed Shah Kalimullah. The marvel of zikr is contained in the fact that the seeker hears the name of Almighty coming out of every thing that exists. At this stage names and attributes become insignificant for the seeker who becomes overwhelmed by the perpetual sound \( \text{Ghun呿} \) or eternal sound \( \text{Am呿} \) which is identified by Shah Kalimullah as anahat of the yogis. 64

To Shah Nizamuddin loud zikr (\( \text{لاذ} \)) and regulating the breath (\( \text{لاذ} \)) form the basis of spiritual discipline. He is reported to have performed loud zikr in the Jami Mosque of Delhi with 200 to 300 disciples. 65 Even children were trained to perform loud zikr by Shah Nizamuddin but Shah Kalimullah disapproved this practice keeping in view the risk of children's lives. 66

Khwaja Nasir 'Andalib gives most interesting descriptions of zikr and meditation which is worth quoting:

63. Ibid., p. 30.
64. Kashkol, pp. 34-40.
The adept sees the blessed figure 'Allah' in the colour of light written on the tablet of his heart and the mirror of his imagination. Then he will understand himself opposite this form or beneath it or its right or left side, and he should strive to bring himself towards this light. And whenever he finds himself in the middle of the rank of alif (א) and lam (ל), he must proceed and take his place between the two lams, and then walk from there, and bring himself between the lam and the ha (ה), and with high ambition he leaves this place too and sees himself in the middle of the ringlet of the ha. At the beginning of his journey he will find his head in this ringlet, but eventually he will find that his whole self has found repose in this house in this house and will find God as the surrounding and himself as the surrounded one.67

This is a perfect interpretation of the highest goal of the Naqshbandi mystic, that is to be surrounded by the eternal light but not lost in it, just as the pearl is in the ocean and yet distinct from it. This is the stage of true confession of unity as it is practiced by the followers of the Tariqah-i Muhammadi.

Khwaja Mir Dard inherited the inclination towards light mysticism, as it is expressed in the idea of being sur-

rounded by the light of the ha, from his father who extended
the imagery, in harmony with the great mystics, to the
Prophet, the first manifestation of the Divine Light.\(^{68}\)

Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan declared that a unique
relationship exists between the spiritual master and his dis­
ciple beyond initiation in the silsilah, the gift of Shajrah
and Kulah. The disciple should also gain an understanding of
divine love and learn to perform zikr in great earnest.\(^ {69}\)

Being staunch Naqshbandi Mirza Mazhar laid emphasis
on regulating the breath and spiritual transmission
\(\text{ضوجب} \). Two to three hundred persons are reported to have
been spiritually benifited by him in a day.\(^ {70}\)

Shah Waliullah gave a summary of the leading Indian
mystic orders of the time in his famous work, \textit{Al-Qaul-ul}
Jameel. He gave a lucid understanding of zikr and meditation
as practiced by the saints and discussed at great length the
breath control of the Naqshbandi Silsilah and its spiritual
advantages. He declared that this practice is intensely dif­
ferent from the breath control of the yogis. Shah Waliullah
mentioned that regulating the breath as practiced by the
Naqshbandis is not habs-i dam but hars-i nafs, or restriction

\(^{68}\) Ibid., I, p. 104.
\(^{69}\) \textit{Kalimat-i Taiyabat}, p. 77.
\(^{70}\) \textit{Mamulat-i Mazhariyah}, p. 6; \textit{Kalimat-i Taiyabat}, p. 11.
of the breath. 71

Shah Waliullah enthusiastically advocated the practice of reciting verses from the Quran for the cure of all ills and deliverance from all errors. Keeping in mind a famous Prophetic tradition Shah Waliullah considered recitation of Quran as refurbisher of heart. 72

Concentration on the mental image of the Shaikh or preceptor (لا) in the early stage of the adept's spiritual training has been very common among the Muslim-mystics, particularly the Naqshbandis. 73 Shah Waliullah has suggested this practice. 74 Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan found an analogy between the idol worship and the concentration on the image of the spiritual preceptor. In one of his famous letters he writes: 75

71. Al-Qaul-ul Jameel, p. 49.
72. Ibid., pp. 78-98.
73. Discussing this practice Aziz Ahmad opines that it seems to have been a borrowing from Buddhism, traceable ultimately to post-Vedic substitution-meditation in the early Hinduism. Balkh, which had been a Buddhist monastic centre in Central Asia, later became the home of a number of eminent sufis, Studies in Islamic Culture in Indian Environment, p. 126.
75. Bisharat-i Mazhariyah (text); Kalimat-i Taiyabat, p. 27.
The secret of idol worship is this that, there were certain angels who by divine decree directed the affairs of the phenomenal world. Similarly there were certain perfect souls who even abandoned their bodies to continue to exercise power over the world. And also, according to the Hindus, there were personalities who like Khizir, were immortal. While carving human forms, Hindus meditated on these and after sometime developed a spiritual relationship with the person about whom they were meditating upon. Owing to this special aspect of the relationship, they prayed to these idols for fulfilment of their needs in this world and the next. This practice resembles the mystic practice of meditation, i.e. concentration on the mental image...
of the Shaikh. The only difference being that the mystics did not make a physical representation."

Shah Ghulam 'Ali states that the repetition of the divine name, i.e., zikr was effective, even though the devotee might be a Hindu. Each word the Hindu repeats stimulates devotion to the Almighty. However, the repetition of the beautiful names of God as taught in the shari'ah was more effective. Once a Hindu requested Shah Ghulam 'Ali to teach him something to enable him to meditate on God. Shah Ghulam 'Ali suggested him to repeat the name 'Allah' two thousand times early in the morning. The Hindu declined to do so. Thereupon Shah Ghulam 'Ali asked him to repeat 'only thee' to the same number, by freeing heart from other thoughts. After few days repetition his heart was directed to 'Allah' and he was converted to Islam.76 This proves Shah Kalimullah's statement about the Hindus that the zikr itself can attract them to the fold of Islam.77

76. Durr-ul Ma'arif, pp. 155-56.
77. Maktubat-i Kalimi, p. 74.
(c) Impact of the Practices and Controversies:

After the break-up of the central structure of the Chishti Silsilah large number of regional Khanqahs developed. All these Khanqahs were granted jagirs and hence the successors of these saints sunked into the worldly affairs. During the eighteenth century these Khanqahs became great centres of innovations (سنن) and misled people. The false-mystics were busy in the hue and cry of Sama', as Shah Kalimullah puts them. The space-time condition was laid by Shah Kalimullah who strictly followed the principle and asked his disciples for the same.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the influence of Sirhind family had considerably increased and as the Naqshbandi saints do not approve Sama', Shah Kalimullah discouraged it. He wrote Shah Nizamuddin to abstain from Sama'-gathering so long as the Naqshbandi saints stayed in the Deccan. 78

The Chishti-mystics of the period approved zikr and other spiritual practices. Shah Nizamuddin's interest in this practice is proved by the fact that he even trained children, which was later disapproved by Shah Kalimullah.

78. Maktubat-i Kalimi, p. 45.
About 200 to 300 disciples of Shah Nizamuddin is reported to have performed zikr in the Jami Mosque and continued even after Prince Azam Shah forbade to do so. To his illiterate and Hindu disciples Shah Kalimullah recommended zikr and other teachings in their own dialect.

Khwaja Nasir 'Andalib and Mir Dard's attitude towards music and Sama' is not clearly known to us. A few notes in Mir Dard's works allude to the fact that the contemporary mystics did not approve his inclination towards music and Sama'. However, Mir Dard candidly admits that musical sessions were regularly held in his house. He maintains that his listening to music was not like the evil doers. He logicises his argument in scholarly manner and considers the study of music as the study of other natural, mathematical and theological sciences.

Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan never involved himself in the controversy of Sama', when asked about the issue, he very clearly replied that, 'one group of saints disapproves it, and

79. Ibid., p. 10.
80. Ibid., p. 41.
82. Ah-i Sard, p. 77.
says that it produces impiety and discord, while others consider it lawful because of the positive effects of ecstasy.  

Shah Waliullah approved Sama' to cultivate ecstatic relationship but he did not allow music in the Sama'.

According to Shah Waliullah the breath control as practiced by the Naqshbandis is not habs-i dam but hars-i nafs that is breath restriction. He composed a quatrain asking how eminent Muslim spiritualists should reject the yogic practices.

86. Al-Qaul-ul Jameel, p. 49. The quatrain of Shah Waliullah is this:

Haqeeqat-e-kabiyr ki roza
ein akeel e-rajab kisi
ebbe-nahi dhumfani harozi
beho mih tani ranozi biloo
Chapter - V

NATURE OF SHIA-SUNNI CONTROVERSY

A peculiar feature of the eighteenth century socio-religious life was the growing Shia-Sunni controversy. Under the successors of Aurangzeb the political influence of the Shi'as gained strength. His immediate successor Bahadur Shah had converted to Shi'ism and in Friday sermons he added Wasi-i Mustafa, i.e., executor of Muhammad's will, in the titles of the fourth Caliph 'Ali and added 'Syed' to the list of his own titles. This led to a provocation among the people and riots broke out at Ahmadabad and Lahore.

Under the political hegemony of the Syed brothers, the Shia' influence continued to grow, as a result this group

1. Tarikh-i Mashaikh-i Chisht, V, p. 68.

2. Siyar-ul Mutaakhirin, I, p. 7. When this khutba was read in the Jami' Mosque of Lahore, the general populace became furious and assassinated the khatib. The Emperor invited Sunni Ulema for discussion which was led by Haji Yar Muhammad. He said many strong words to the Emperor. The Emperor warned him of grave consequences upon which Haji Yar Mohammad replied, 'I have four ambitions in life: attainment of 'ilm, getting Qur'an by heart, Haj and martyrdom. By the grace of God the former three I have got and long for the last.' The Emperor issued orders to recite khutba from the pulpit of Badshahi Mosque on Friday, 2nd October 1711, according to new process but later on gave up the idea seeing the popular resentment, Rud-i Kausar, p. 617; Tarikh-i Mashaikh-i Chisht, V, p. 63.
became vindictive and arrogant. The differences of the Irani and the Turani nobility was not only political but religious bigotry and fanaticism played a considerable role.

The Shia community often used violent means in order to counter the religious oppositions, most of the leading Sunni Ulema of the period were prosecuted and physically assaulted. Whereas the later countered the religious prejudices of the Shi'as on vigorous intellectual grounds and refuted their arguments on the basis of Kitab-o Sunnah. The Chishti-mystics followed their traditional method of winning the hearts by means of love, sympathy and hospitality. Shah Kalimullah is reported to have compiled a work, Radd-i Rawafiz, in refutation of the Shia' beliefs. According to the Shia' beliefs, saintship (†) was confined to their twelve Imams; hence Shah Kalimullah argued that sufism and discipleship was not possible in this community. But he stressed that amicable relations should be maintained with them and discussion on the religious and controversial

3. Tarikh-i Mashaikh-i Chisht, V, p. 100. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindī first wrote a book in refutation of Shia' beliefs under the caption of Radd-i Rawafiz. A part from the brief introduction, the book consists of three parts, in the first part he describes various Shi'ite sects, in the second part the Shaikh describes the Shi'ite Takfir of the companions of the Prophet and then launches his bitter attack upon the doctrine of the Shi'as, the third and the last part of the book contains traditions praising the members of the Prophet's family. For further details, see Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindī : An Outline of his Thought and a Study of his Image in the eyes of Posterity.
issues should be avoided with them.  

Shah Kalimullah in a letter to Shah Nizamuddin expressed his deep concern over the growth of Shia' beliefs in the military camp at the Deccan. Here he re-affirmed the previous statement that as the Shia's believe that saint-ship is limited only to the twelve Imams, they regard Sunnis worse than unbelievers and heretics, hence their enrolment in the Silsilah was meaningless.  

Shah Fakhruddin's attitude towards the Shia's was that of friendly relations. He adopted the policy of appeasement and enrolled them into the Silsilah and often joined them in their functions. He is reported to have visited the Imambaras, offered gift there and distributed sharbat. Under his influence many Shia's converted to Sunnism. Once Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz enquired from him, 'as to how he accepts Shia's as disciples'; 'they give up reviling the first three Caliphs', replied Shah Fakhruddin.  

Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan was a staunch Sunni and Naqshbandi. A large number of Shia's converted to Sunnism

5. Ibid., p. 13.

...189
under his influence which led him to be regarded as Sunni
taker (الدوام) in the contemporary circles. Mirza Mazhar
adopted the Ash'ari interpretation of the Shia'-Sunni con-
troversy over the companions of the Prophet and his family
members (الصحابه). According to him such controversies and
disputes had no relevance to the basic and fundamental
issues of the faith. The salvation of a true Muslim, said
Mirza Mazhar, depended on his belief in the unity of God,
in the Prophethood of Muhammad and in the confession of the
faith. As both the Prophet's family members and companions
enjoyed his company it was imperative for a Muslim to see
them all in a favourable light. The Shi'as rated only the
Prophet's impeccable (الصفر) and considered the family mem-
ers and the twelve Imams as immaculate (الصوفية) and the
three Caliphs were excluded from this group. Whereas, the
Sunnis accepted Ismat of the Prophet but excluded from this
elite group the companions of the Prophet and the twelve
Imams; obviously, there must have been some occasional dis-
putes between them. But these were swiftly reconciled, be-
cause of their individual purity. The Shia's judged the
companions and the family members of the Prophet as sinners
as they themselves were, and consequently they became guilty
of denying the significance of the Prophet's mission. 8

8. Tanbihat-i Khamsah, printed in the Appendix of Makatib-
i Mirza Mazhar, edited by 'Abdur Razzaq Quraishi,
Bombay 1966.
...190
It is reported that the mass conversion of the Shia's to Sunnism under Mirza Mazhar's influence led to the opposition of the Shia elites of Delhi, which eventually resulted into the assassination of Mirza Mazhar in the hands of some Shia fanatics. It is claimed by the disciples and followers of Mirza Mazhar that his assassination was politically motivated.9

Khwaja Nasir 'Andalib and Mir Dard gave a challenge to the bigotry of both the Shia's and the Sunnis. According to Mir Dard a true Muhammadi should never give precedence to the companions of the Prophet over his family members or vice-versa. He says that the love of the Muhammadis for 'Ali and the Prophet's family never failed to influence the anger of the Sunni bigots, but the Muhammadis were bound to express the truth. Under these circumstances the only alternative left to them was to exhibit regret for the failure of the bigoted Sunnis and Shia's to understand the truth. He urged the Muslims to try to realize the importance of the Prophet's declaration of 'Ali as the 'gate of knowledge' (باب العلم). Mir Dard stated that the blind and ignorant love of the Shia's for the Prophet's family forced them into error and claimed that he and his family were the real lovers of Prophet's family. He invit-

ed all Muslims to follow the Tariqah-i Muhammadi and love the progeny of the Prophet.¹⁰

Mir Dard found resemblance between the Muhammadi concept of Imamah and the Shia' belief rather than that of the orthodox Sunnis. He argued that people, who refused to accept that the Imam was very close to God, were ignorant of the true dignity of that position. Mir Dard ridicules them by declaring blind bats unable to see the sun-shine. The Shia's, argued Mir Dard, considered that the Imamah had ended with the twelve Imams as the Prophethood ended with the Prophet. The Shia's are ignorant of the eternal favour of the Almighty upon the mankind, who chooses His favourites to help bring His slaves to Him. He declared that the blind love of the Shia's for the twelve Imams prevented them to understand this fact.¹¹ Mir Dard solved this controversy by grading the Imamah some where between the Prophethood and Sainthood that is between the highest and the lowest scales. Muhammad was bestowed both the offices but with him Prophethood ended. After his death the twelve Imams became the perfect custodians of both the Imamah and sainthood. The blessings emanating from the Imamah and sainthood as from Prophethood would last for ever. The sainthood is awarded by the God to select few of the Pro-

¹⁰ 'Ilm-ul Kitab, pp. 257-58.
¹¹ Ibid., p. 259.
phet's Ummah, while the Imamat is reserved for the Syeds that is the descendants of the Prophet. 12

Shah Waliullah had quite a different approach to this controversy. He never declared the Shia's as infidels. Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz gives an anecdote which proves the liberal attitude of Shah Waliullah. "Some one enquired from him whether the Shia's were heretics. He reiterated the different views of the Hanafi jurist. The man was not satisfied by his answer and sought Shah Waliullah's ruling. On getting the same reply he went away filled with rage and declared Shah Waliullah as a Shia." 13

However, Shah Waliullah says that the Mu'tazilites, Isma'ilis and the Imamis are outside the pale of Islam. Shah Waliullah advocated that the family of the Prophet should be respected. He also declared in his last work that the spirit of the Prophet had advised him that the religion of the Shia's was false (عَلَيْهَا) and this is confirmed by the way they interpreted the word Imam. They considered that their Imam was immaculate and received esoteric revelations,

12. Ibid., p. 260.

13. Malfuzat-i Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz, p. 76. Even Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz was quite liberal in his attitudes. Once he was explaining the praise of 'Ali, a Pathan student became furious over his over-emphasizing of 'Ali and stopped attending his lectures, Rud-i Kausar, p. 579; Tazkirah-i Hazrat Shah Waliullah, pp. 198-99.
although they believed that Prophethood ended with Muhammad.\textsuperscript{14} Regarding the religious practices of the Iranis, he wrote that they were more like Zoaroastarians than Muslims with the only difference they performed Namaz and recited Kalma.\textsuperscript{15}

Shah Waliullah wrote \textit{Izalat-ul Khifa-an-Khilafat-ul Khulafa} and \textit{Qurrat-ul 'Ainain-fi-tafzil-ush Shaikhain} to patch up the Shia'-Sunni differences and to remove the controversies and misconception of the Shia's with regard to the first three Caliphs of Islam.\textsuperscript{16} Hujjatullah-ul Balighah is also held us part of the same mission. These works of Shah Waliullah came out as a result of a Prophetic command given to him during his stay at Hejaz to give superiority to the first two Caliphs.\textsuperscript{17}

Shah Waliullah writes in the introduction of \textit{Izalat-ul Khifa} that due to the sinful innovations of the Shia's common people have been confused and misguided. By raising doubts the Shia's have given rise to the innovation which resulted into the misgivings about the Caliphat of the pious Caliphs.\textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{14} \textit{Tafhimat}, II, pp. 244-50; \textit{Wasiyat Nama}, pp. 5-6.
\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Izalat-ul Khifa}, I, p. 610.
\textsuperscript{16} \textit{Muslim Community of Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent}, p. 209.
\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Fuyuz-ul Haramain}, p. 228.
\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Izalat-ul Khifa}, p. 8.
"The light of divine assistance has confirmed the theory in my heart that the affirmation of the pious Caliphate is true and is a part of the principle of faith. Without a firm belief of this idea, the shari'ah cannot be strengthened." 19

Shah Waliullah's thought finds a detailed expression in Izalat-ul Khifa. "The warp and woof of his political thought was supplied by the Khilafat-i Rashidah. He had studied it both as the basis of the Islamic Shari'at as well as the exponent of the Islamic political ideals," opines Professor K.A. Nizami. 20

Shah Waliullah divided the Caliphate into two categories:

1. Special Viceregency (خالیت خاص), and
2. Common Viceregency (خالیت عارف).

According to Shah Waliullah, those who were sent to fulfil the functions of a messenger, Prophets belonged to

19. Ibid.
the first category which is neither innate nor it can be acquired through effort. It must be viewed as a desire which God puts into the heart of the Caliph or vice-regent to fulfil the Prophetic mission.\textsuperscript{21} The external aspect of the special viceregency devoted to the implementation of laws are revealed to the Prophet, but the inner aspect of the viceregent's life is filled with the strong-will because of his association with the Prophet which is firmly rooted in the heart of the viceregent. The real nature of the special viceregency is identical to the nature of the Prophet. The discretionary power of the special viceregency resembles that of the Prophet Muhammad who received divine revelation. The practical power of the special viceregency are akin to the immunity from sin and are known as faithful witness to the truth (مِنْبِيْت). His sanctity and power are so great that even devil dare to approach him. He is divinely appointed and universally acknowledged.\textsuperscript{22}

Special viceregency, says Shah Waliullah, was confined to that of the Caliphate of the pious Caliphs. According to a Prophetic tradition the duration of the Caliphate was fixed as thirty years after the death of the Prophet. Another makes it thirty-five. Accepting the

\textsuperscript{21} Izalat-ul Khifa, p. 45.
\textsuperscript{22} Izalat-ul Khifa, pp. 46-64.
genuineness of the two traditions, Shah Waliullah includes 'Ali's Caliphate into the special viceregency.\textsuperscript{23}

The period of Umayyid and Abbasid Caliphs witnessed Khilafat-i 'Amma or ordinary viceregency. Since the territories of Islam expanded far and wide they were required to possess large resources and organized military system. They were also required to quell territorial attacks and subside the rebellious elements. According to Shah Waliullah, the terms of ordinary Caliphs were inter-changeable.\textsuperscript{24}

According to Shah Waliullah the Prophetic tradition that, 'he to whom I am a patron of him 'Ali is also a patron' \( 	ext{سِنَّتُ مَسَّ مَلَأَهُ مَسَّ مَلَأَهُ} \) does not mean 'Ali's nomination as a Caliph as it is claimed by the Shia's. To Shah Waliullah the word, 'Mawla', means a friend and the statement of the Prophet was a suggestion to the Muslims to be friendly with 'Ali and his family.\textsuperscript{25}

Shah Waliullah's one of the most important achievements is this, that he reconciled the hostile opinions of

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{23} Ibid., pp. 113-14.
\item \textsuperscript{24} \textit{Hujjatullah-ul Balighah}, I, p. 96.
\item \textsuperscript{25} \textit{Izalat-ul Khifa}, pp. 453-54. Shah Waliullah adds here that the Prophet gave similar advice on the friendship of Prophet's uncle, 'Abbas (d. 32 A.H./653 A.D.), his wives and progeny.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
the Shia's and the Sunnis after a careful study of the two different views. He made a detailed study of the chief characteristics of the pious Caliphate and came to the conclusion that their respective terms of Caliphate and their sequence was natural and was in accordance with the Prophet's instance. His Izalat-ul Khifa was prepared to reconcile the views of Shia's and the Sunnis and is well appreciated by the moderates of both these sects.

Maulana Fazle Haq of Khairabad (1797-1861) is reported to have appreciated this work of Shah Waliullah saying that the author of this work, 'seems to be an unlimited ocean whose limits are difficult to determine.' One of the students of the Maulana, Mohsin Bihari gives this information. He says that when the Maulana got a copy of Izalat-ul Khifa, he was day and night busy in its study and in the last gave the above remark.26

26. Al-yani' as quoted by Monazir Ahsan Gilani in Tazkirah Hazrat Shah Waliullah, pp. 193-94. The original words of Mohsin Behari's Al-yani', p. 93, is as follows:

Maulana Fazle Haq, son of Maulana Fazle Imam, was a great 'alim and a student of Shah Waliullah's son.
While evaluating Shah Waliullah's contribution regarding the Shia'-Sunni controversy, Maulana Monazir Ahsan Gilani remarks:

"After a hard labour of studying thousands of pages he wrote Izalat-ul Khifa about the original history of the four Caliphs in such a way that its study removes many misconceptions about the Shia's and recedes the extreme Sunni views such as declaration of Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz and Shah Waliullah as Shia's because the former praised only Hazrat 'Ali and the latter did not declare them infidels. Shah Waliullah instead of going for any verbal discussion or confrontation chose a way which closed the doors of many controversies." 27

(Previous Footnote continued)

Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz. His father's seminary was a parallel institution of Madarsa-i Rahimi and was famous for studies of logic and philosophy. Fazle Haq served in different places in different capacities. He was a revolutionary and was deported to Andaman by the British Government. For his life and works see. Al-yani'-ul Jani fi Asanid-i Shah 'Abdul Ghani, Delhi, 1349 A.H.; Hada'iq-ul Hanafiyyah, p. 480; Tazkirah 'Ulema-i Hind, pp. 164-65; Asar-us Sanadid, pp. 86-96; Nuzhat-ul Khawatir, VII, pp. 373-74; Encyclopaedia of Islam, II, pp. 735-36.

27. Tazkirah Hazrat Shah Waliullah, pp. 260-61. He is of the opinion that Shibli Nomani's biography of the second Caliph, Al-Faruq is borrowed from Shah Waliullah's Izalat-ul Khifa.
Shah Waliullah propounded the concept of universal Khilafat. He divided the history of the growth of human society into four stages. The first of these stages (النادي) is that of primitive society which has a minimal code of social behaviour; the second stage is marked by the growth of urban life which is first led as a good state by its philosophers, but later degenerates into factions and needs centralized control; this necessitates the third stage, that of monarchy to establish order in the place of chaos; and the final stage is that of the universal state which requires a Khalifa, with effective authority to hold down various rulers of the decadent states. According to Shah Waliullah the right to universal Khilafat is confined to Quraish but not exclusively to Banu Hashim, a view which accepts as legal by the Umayyid Caliphate but leads to the negation of the Ottoman claim.

The duties of the Caliph is two-fold:
1. To protect the Dar-ul Islam from external aggression, and
2. To be an over-lord over-Muslim monarchs with effective concentration of power in his hands to see that they administer justice according to the tenets of Islam and

do not indulge in civil strife. The responsibilities of the Caliph involve an ideal role, and his character and government has to be exemplary.\textsuperscript{30} But if a Caliph does not combine in himself the qualities necessary for the universal Khilafat, the Ummah should not revolt against him and plunge the Dar-ul Islam into civil strife.\textsuperscript{31} Revolt against a Khalifa is justified only when he violates the basic tenets of Islam.\textsuperscript{32} Shah Waliullah gave a novel idea by putting foreword the concept of universal Khilafat which seems to be a distinct departure from the tradition of Indo-Muslim religious scholarship.

Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz wrote his magnum opus \textit{Tuhfa-i Athna 'Ashri} in refutation of Shia' beliefs in 1785. This work of Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz is considered to be an encyclopaedia of Shia'-Sunni controversies.\textsuperscript{33} Although earlier his father Shah Waliullah wrote two works but none of them is comparable with \textit{Tuhfa-i Athna 'Ashri}. Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz has taken care to depend solely on reliable Shia' works.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{30} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{31} \textit{Hujjatullah-ul Balighah}, II, p. 427.
\item \textsuperscript{32} Ibid., p. 426.
\item \textsuperscript{33} \textit{Rud-i Kausar}, p. 593.
\end{itemize}
such as Shia' traditions, principle and criticism of the Sunnis. The Sunni answers to the accusations against them are based on Sunni works. Regarding historical and exegesis of the Qura'n Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz has chosen only those materials which are accepted by both the sects. The book is divided into twelve chapters:

1. The first chapter deals with the origin and development of Shia' sect and rise of its sub-sects.

2. The second chapter is relatively longer dealing with the strategum of the Shia's to bring people to their fold.

3. The third chapter of the book deals with the ancestor 'Ulema of the Shia's and their works.

4. The fourth chapter gives information of the Shia' history and traditions.

5. The fifth chapter covers the divinity of the Shia's.

6. The sixth chapter is related to the Shia' view of Prophethood.

7. The seventh chapter gives a detailed study of the Shia' concept of Imamat.

8. The eighth chapter of the book deals with the refutation of the Shia' view of bodily resurrection.

9. The ninth chapter criticizes the Shia' principles of fiqh.
10. The tenth chapter refutes the Shia' indictment against Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Usman, the Prophet's companions and Prophet's wife 'A'isha.

11. The eleventh chapter gives information about the characteristics of the Shia' sect.

12. The twelfth and the last chapter deals with the love and vilification of the Shia's.

Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz has taken the entire discussion in his book in sober and disciplined way. Large number of Shia' polemical literature was produced to refute Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz's views. But it proved to be a big means to counter the development of Shia' belief during the eighteenth century and after.
Chapter - VI

RELATIONS OF THE MYSTICS WITH THE HINDUS

Islamic-mysticism brought about a great social-revolution on the Indian soil. Much before the establishment of Muslim-rule, saints of various mystic orders established their khanqahs in different parts of the country. The Hindu society at that time was caste-ridden, over-emphasizing idea of physical contamination was prevalent, non-caste people were denied the amenities of civic life and they were not allowed to stay inside the city after sun-set.

The Muslim-mystics with their catholicity of thought received all types of people with equal love and affection. There was no social discrimination and distinction in their khanqahs; all people lived, ate and slept together. For them, being on good terms with the Hindus was a moral need rather than a social or political consideration. Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti is reported to have declared that the qualities necessary for endearing a man to God following attributes are essential: 1

1. Siyar-ul Auliya, p. 46.
"First, river-like generosity; secondly, sun-like affection; and thirdly, earth-like hospitality."

A Hindu was introduced to Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya by a Muslim as "this Hindu is my brother."  

The Indo-Muslim-mystics of all periods retained the great traditions of sympathy and understanding towards all cults and creeds. Shah Muhibullah of Allahabad (1557-1648) was a Chishti saint of great intellectual calibre and is famous for his erudition and monotheistic ideology. He was considered as Muhibuddin Ibn Arabi. Second. Prince Dara Shikoh was greatly attached to him for his broad and unbiased outlook. Once Dara Shikoh asked Shah Muhibullah whether in the administrative affairs of the state discrimination between Hindus and Muslims was permissible. Shah Muhibullah replied:

2. Fawa'id-ul Fuad, p. 182.  
3. He is called: 
4. Maktubat-i Muhibullah Allahabadi (Ms): f. 204.
"The Faqir is not in a position to give exhortion. The truth is this that the thought of well-being of people must always remain in the heart of the rulers without any discrimination of believer or infidel because all human being are creation of God; and the Prophet, who is the leader of this world and hereafter, shows mercy to everyone without making discrimination among the pious, sinner, believer and non-believer, as it is described in the Quran: "We sent thee not save as mercy to all human beings."^5

Shah Muhibullah, held that all the human beings are united like a family descending from a common stock:^6

"Father of every one of us is Adam, so every one deserves mercy and kindness"

Shah Kalimullah Jahanabadi and his successors fully agreed with their spiritual ancestors to be on good relations with the Hindus. In the epistles of Shah Kali-

mullah we repeatedly hear of his Hindu disciples. The leading Hindu disciple of Shah Nizamuddin was Daya Ram, who directly corresponded with Shah Kalimullah. In one of the letters Shah Kalimullah suggested Shah Nizamuddin that Daya Ram and others must conceal their conversion to Islam from their relations. But he wished that slowly and gradually it must be made public lest they are treated like the Hindus after death. In another letter Shah Kalimullah informs us that the Islamic name of Daya Ram was Shaikh Faizullah, he writes:

جا ہوا واپسی پر ہے ہوئے اور ہماوگا ہوئے ہماوگا ۔

'To Daya Ram i.e., Shaikh Faizullah, if he writes me letters I will certainly reply.'

Shah Kalimullah always persuaded Daya Ram through Shah Nizamuddin to be regular in the recitation of Darood on the Prophet and suggested readings from books like Nafahat-ul Uns, Tazkirat-ul Auliya, Lam'at and Lawdih with their commentaries:

9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., p. 41.
11. Ibid., pp. 11-12.
Shah PakhrudcJin’s attitude towards Hindus was similar to that of Shah Kalimullah. He taught zikr to the Hindus and never waited their conversion to Islam, nor he asked any one for this. Under his influence large number of Hindus converted to Islam. It is said that conversion of a Hindu lady to Islam provoked a riot in Delhi, although it was short lived.

In the preceding centuries the Naqshbandi saints dominated the spiritual scene in India. We are well aware of the views of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi about the Hindus. It is said that the religious policy of Aurangzeb was largely influenced by the Sirhind family. But during the eighteenth century we find a marked departure in the views and attitude of the Naqshbandi saints in their approach towards

12. Fakhut Talebin, p. 35; Shah Fakhruddin is reported to have declared:

society and religion.

In the mystical philosophy of Khwaja Nasir 'Andalib and Mir Dard a matter of special interest for the historian of religion is their allusion to Hindu philosophy and Yoga. Nasir 'Andalib discusses Yoga practices in detail, which he considers to be a remarkable achievement but they are of course much inferior to the experiences the pious-Muslims can reach through meditation and by attaching himself completely to the Prophet. Still he maintains that:

"Love of the idol is only a symbol of being caught by the love of the lightful and shapeful manifestation of the Lord", because if for instance, some one calls a brave man in praising him a lion, no one will look for claws and tail in him."

Nasir 'Andalib and Mir Dard were fond of music; Nasir 'Andalib's love for music is obvious from the numerous allusions in the Nalay-i 'Andalib which reflects his knowledge and understanding of music through the words of his heroes. Mir Dard therefore arranged a Sama'-gatherings twice a month in the memory of his father. Large number of Bhant, Kalawant and other singers used to come and recite poems with their enchanting voices.

The understanding of music in Nalay-i 'Andalib gives the impression that Nasir 'Andalib must have studied works on classical Indian music. Nasir Nazir Firaq states

15. Ibid., II, p. 902.
16. Ibid., II, p. 901.
17. Maikhana-i Dard, p. 146.

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that Mir Dard had studied Sanskrit books on classical Indian music and had amazing voice and enchanting way of singing Indian rag and ragnis.  

Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan stood forth as a champion of Hindu-Muslim unity with his catholic ideas during the eighteenth century. Never before any Indo-Muslim mystic so clearly and categorically enunciated his views. He had a particular understanding about Hindus and Hinduism. He lived in a house built by his friend, Lala Kewal Ram. Bindra Ban Das Khushgu was his close friend and Mirza Mazhar often dropped in his house and asked for delicious meals.

Mirza Mazhar very often recommended his friends and disciples to the nobles and people at the whelm of affairs for favours and sympathetic considerations. He strongly recommended Lala Baraj Lal to a leading noble for an employment, which proves that he was always ready to help his Hindu friends.

18. Ibid., p. 147.
Basawan Lal Bedar and Kishan Chand Majruh, the famous Urdu poets were his disciples.\textsuperscript{22}

The author of \textit{Bisharat-i Mazhariyah} records an anecdote which is the best example of Mirza Mazhar's love for humanity and liberality of his thought. The anecdote is the following:

"Once Najib-ud Daulah came to see Mirza Mazhar, a Hindu disciple was also present. The people’s of Najib-ud Daulah asked that disciple to quiet the place, when this was brought to the notice of Mirza Mazhar, he snubbed the Nawab and said, "who ever comes to my place, even if he is a Hindu, is instead of me." Najib-ud Daulah sought apology."\textsuperscript{23}

The classical works on Hindu religion were translated under the patronage of Emperor Akbar and during the

\textsuperscript{22} \textit{Maqamat-i Mazhari}, p. 27.
\textsuperscript{23} \textit{Bisharat-i Mazhariyah}, f. 9a; the original text is like this:

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اے جاں کا ارمز راں اے اندگم ارزوم پہب ام ان کا نہ ہیں۔
دست راںے ضیفر اور
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seventeenth century Dara Shikoh's patronage gave it further impetus. By the eighteenth century study of these works became quite prevalent among the Muslim intelligentsia. Mirza Mazhar also seems to have studied these works as he has a reconciliatory view about the abrogation of religions.

Mirza Mazhar was asked to explain whether the infidels of India like the pagan Arabs followed a religion without basis or at any stage it incorporated truth which were later abrogated. Mirza Mazhar explained the query as follows:

'The ancient Indian books reveal the fact that at the beginning of humankind, God sent a book, Vedas, in four volumes, through an agent Brahma, in order to guide the people of India regarding their duties in this world and the next one. The Vedas contained Divine Orders and prohibitions, didactic stories about the past and prophecies about the future. On the basis of the Vedas, Indian jurists formulated six systems consisting the basic principles of their religious beliefs. This came to be known as Dharm Shastra or the science of religious beliefs or (Kalimat-i Taiyabat). The humankind were divided into four classes

who took from the Vedas their individual rules of conduct and social ethics, this came to be known as Karma Shastra similar to that of (ज्योतिष) or jurisprudence.'

'The Muslim law prescribed it essential that there should be different laws for different times but the Hindus did not believe in the abrogation of Divine Law. Accordingly, they divided time into four periods, called yugas for each of which they derived a code of conduct from the Vedas. Later interpolations by scholars are unreliable. All sections of Hindus believe in its ultimate destruction and in the Day of Resurrection; they also accept accountability for the worldly deeds, the meeting out of rewards and punishments. They are expert in all the rational and traditional sciences, ascetic practices, the study of gnosis (ग्रन्थि) and intuitive knowledge.'

'The Hindu saints and sages divided the human life span into four parts; the first being devoted to the acquisition of knowledge, the second to attending to worldly duties and the begetting of children, the third spent to self-purification and spiritual improvement and the fourth involving the severance of all relations with the world and the living of a secluded life. The last, the highest ideal of life, was necessary for complete emancipation. The rules and regulations of Hinduism are well established and this
indicates that the religion was originally commendable but that it has now been abrogated. Although several religions have been obliterated and changed, the Islamic law mentions only the abrogation of Jewish and Christian faiths. The following verses as well as others in the Qur'an, confirm the existence of the Prophets and the revealed books in India:

وَلِلْأَمْثَالِ سُورَةُ (and for every nation there is a messenger), 26

The sacred books of the Hindus give an account of their Prophets, and their traditions indicate that the Prophets were both perfect and great. Therefore, the universal Divine Mercy did not ignore the interests of the people of such a vast country. Before the advent of the last of the Prophets i.e., Muhammad, all nations were sent 'warners', each one being expected to obey only the teachings of his own respective Prophet. After the advent of our Prophet, who was sent to all mankind, his religion i.e., Islam superseded all previous ones, from the east to the west. Until the day of


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judgement no one had any alternative but to obey him. And any one who did not believe in this religion were infidels; of course, those who preceded Prophet Muhammad were excluded.

'Therefore in view of these Qur'anic injunctions it is preferable not to talk too loosely about the Prophets of India. We should neither confidently accuse them and their followers of dis-belief and relegate them to perdition, nor should we affirm a belief in their salvation. Had the question been dispassionately examined, our judgement about the Hindus would have been proved to be right. Identical would be our attitude to the religion of the people of Persia and all other countries who were part of the pre-Islamic age about which the Islamic law had nothing positive to say. The code of conduct and tradition of the old religion were moderate.'

'No one should be called infidel unless there is some convincing evidence', declared Mirza Mazhar. To him the secrets of idol worship is the fact that: there were certain angels who by Divine Decree directed the affairs of the phemenonal world. Similarly, there were certain perfect souls who even abandoned their bodies to continue to exercise power over the world. And also, according to the Hindus, there were personalities who were immortal like Khizr. While carving human forms, Hindus meditated on these and after sometime developed a spiritual relationship with the person about whom
they were meditating on. Owing to the spiritual aspect of this relationship, they prayed to them for fulfilment of their needs in this world and the next. This practice resembled mystic-meditation (\( \text{\textbullet} \)) with the focus of his spiritual master (\( \text{\textbullet} \)) in the mind, the only difference being that the mystics did not make a physical representation. This practice differed, however, from the pagon Arab belief that idols themselves were powerful, potent and effective. The Arabs had considered their idols as the lords of heaven and earth, which were sheer polytheism. The Hindu custom of prostration was a form of greeting and was not intended as an act of idol worship; it was identical to the traditional prostration made to parents or teachers by the Muslims in the place of greeting. The Hindus called it salutation (Dandot). Moreover, a belief in transmigration of the soul was not itself infidelity or polytheism.27

Mirza Mazhar had shown the same feeling in the presence of Haji Muhammad Afzal Siyalkoti, the spiritual master of Mirza Mazhar. The story is as follows:

'A disciple of Haji Muhammad Afzal told in the presence of Mirza Mazhar that he saw in his dream a field full of fire. In the mid of that fire he saw Krishna while Rama Chandra was standing at the edge. The dream was explained by some one to understand that the two leading infi—

dels were punished by the hell-fire, hence they were seen in it. Mirza Mazhar's explanation was this:

'that the ancient sages may not be accused of infidelity unless it was supported by the religious law (Shari'ah). According to Qur'anic injunction warners had been sent to every part of the world. It is possible that Rama Chandra and Krishna were Prophets. Mirza Mazhar claimed that Rama Chandra flourished at a time when people possessed incredible physical power and longer span of life and hence Rama Chandra was able to guide people on the path of ascetic exercises (まず). Krishna was born long after Rama Chandra when people were short statured and possessed less physical power and therefore Krishna chose to lead the people along the path of love and ecstasy (طرب). Krishna's excessive indulgence in music and dance is a proof that he preferred ecstasy to ascetic exercises. The fire, which came in the dream was fire of love and as Krishna sanked into it, himself being in the middle of fire indicated his excessive involvement with ecstasy. On the other hand Rama Chandra followed the path of escetic exercises, was therefore at the edge of the fire.²⁸

Haji Muhammad Afzal became extremely pleased by Mirza Mazhar's interpretation and endorsed his views.²⁹

²⁸ Bisharat-i Mazhariyah, ff. 96a-97b; Maqamat-i Mazhariyah, pp. 23-24.
²⁹ Ibid.
There is paucity of information that how Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan's interpretation of Vedas and Hindu religion was received in the contemporary circles and what was the reaction among the Muslim intelligentsia. However, it is interesting to note that Mirza Mazhar's disciple and successor Shah Ghulam 'Ali criticized him regarding his interpretation of the Vedas; although he admitted that it was exceedingly disrespectful to criticize his own spiritual master. Shah Ghulam 'Ali pointed out that there is no spiritual truth recorded in the Hindu religious works. Although Shah Ghulam 'Ali criticized Mirza Mazhar but he could not refrain himself from praising Hindu devotion and asceticism. He was puzzled by the prostration of the Hindus at each step on the ground during their pilgrimages. This reminded him that how the great mystic Ibrahim Adhana (d.161 A.H./778 A.D.) offered two rik'at prayer at every stop on his way to pilgrimage to Mecca and how Adam Banuri acted similarly in Medina on his way from the Masjid-i Qaba to the Masjid-i Nabawi i.e. from Qaba mosque to the Prophet's mosque. Hence, it is proved that Mirza Mazhar's interpretation had some impact during this period. Moreover, the entire socio-religious milieu of the period stand

31. Ibid., p. 196.

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as a testimony.

Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz's views regarding the religious leaders of the Hindus are also sympathetic. We hear in his malfuz that a Hindu, Uttam Chand, had converted to Islam and was his disciple.\textsuperscript{32} He considered Krishna a protege of God (الله).\textsuperscript{33}

The reception of Mirza Mazhar's views in the later generations was admirable. The mystics and scholars of nineteenth and the twentieth centuries had been largely influenced by Mirza Mazhar.

Maulana Fazle Rahman of Ganj Moradabad (1793-1895), a student of Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz and disciple and Khalifa of Shah Muhammad Afaq and Shah Ghulam Ali, was a great Naqshbandi saint, during the nineteenth century. He was famous for his broad outlook and sympathetic consideration towards people of all creed. Maulana Fazle Rahman was a great admirer of Mirza Mazhar's interpretation of Hindu religious books and constantly asked to study this letter of Mirza Mazhar.\textsuperscript{34}

\textsuperscript{32} Malfuzat-i Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz, p. 11.

\textsuperscript{33} Ibid., p. 88.

\textsuperscript{34} Kamalat-i Rahmani, the Malfuz Collection of Maulana Fazle Rahman of Ganj Moradabad contains the whole text of Mirza Mazhar's letter, pp. 192-95.
Maulana Manazir Ahsan Gilani (1892-1956) of Bihar, was a great 'alim, theologian and thinker of Islam in India. He was highly influenced by Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi and Mirza Mazhar regarding the Vedas, though he nowhere mentioned Mirza Mazhar's name. Maulana Gilani was of the opinion that the Prince of Kapilwastu, i.e., Gautam Buddha was none than the Zulkifl, a Prophet, mentioned in the Qur'an. According to him as there is difference of opinion among the commentators of Qur'an regarding the nomenclature of Zulkifl, it can be said that 'kifl' is the Arabicised form of 'kapil'. Zulkifl or Zulkapil means the one who hails from 'kifl'. Hence it can be deduced that Gautam Buddha was the Prophet Zulkifl.

Among the modern scholars of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, Shaikh Muhammad Ikram, Professor K.A. Nizami and Aziz Ahmad have come under the influence of Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janein's views.

35. According to Ruh-ul Ma'ani, as quoted by Manazir Ahsan Gilani in An-Nabi-ul Khatim, p. 3.
36. An-Nabi-ul Khatim, p. 3.
37. Rud-i Kausar, pp. 645-49.
38. Tarikh-i Mashaikh-i Chisht, V, p. 58.
Chapter - VII

POLITICAL ROLE OF THE MYSTICS OF THE PERIOD

For centuries the Indo-Muslim mystics abstained from the state and politics and devoted their energies towards building up a morally autonomous society. They suffered from the hands of the rulers but refused any involvement in political affairs. After the establishment of Mughal Empire this situation changed. The Timurids had their relations with the Naqshbandi saints and this, to some extent, affected the Chishtis too. Babar had cordial relations with Shaikh Abdul Quddus of Gangoh. Akbar's son, Jahangir, was born by the blessings of Shaikh Salim Chishti, whose descendants employed considerable influence during Akbar's reign and after.

With the accession of Jahangir to the Mughal throne, some of the eminent mystics of the period became actively involved in politics. Akbar's policies had greatly perturbed the religious and intellectual-cum-military elite of the period because the political and ideological factors contributed largely to the nature of state in the Mughal empire. The religious and intellectual-cum-military elite supported Jahangir's accession to power rather than of his son, Khusrau, whom Akbar favoured because of his promise to his supporters that he would restore the Islamic traditions.
discarded by his father. Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddith of Delhi, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi and Nawab Murtaza Khan Shaikh Farid, were main figures for whom the Emperor showed great respect. It is Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi whom posterity has credited with reversal of the eclectic and liberal policies of Akbar which found their culmination with the ascendancy of Aurangzeb to the throne.

Aurangzeb's death in 1707 witnessed the visibility of the internal weaknesses of the mighty Mughal Empire and the different national and religious groups found an opportunity to revolt against the Mughal rule. The nobility was immersed in constant struggles and intrigues; the weak rulers became puppets in the hands of shrewd politicians. Taking advantage of the situation foreign powers invaded Delhi. Nadir Shah's invasion in 1739 gave a severe jolt to Delhi, killing a greater part of its population. Ahmad Shah Abdali allegedly came as a helper and gained a decisive victory over the growing Maratha power, he did not stay long in India. The internal feuds and misrule of the country impoverished it totally and the one time greatest empire of Islamic world became phantom of a forgotten glory.

The Muslim-mystics of this period were endowed with great powers of head and heart. They analysed the existing socio-political conditions with deep insight and
read each and every weakness of the decaying Mughal Empire and suggested every possible remedies. They chose the most dynamic and able personalities of the period to fulfil the task with practical measures which, if applied properly, could have sustained the Mughal Empire for some more period.

Shah Kalimullah following the traditional Chishti-mystic ideology abstained from the court politics and refused to accept an offering from the Mughal Emperor, Farrukh Siyar. He also refused to give an audience to the Emperor and conveyed this message:

"You are shadow of God and I always pray for this shadow's welfare. Your Majesty's visit is of great inconvenience for me."¹

Shah Kalimullah and the Emperor came face to face during Friday congregational prayer but the Emperor never dared to speak to the leading saint of the period.²

2. Majalis-i Kalimi, p. 6, as quoted in Tarikh-i Mashaikh-i Chisht, V, p. 98.
Shah Nizamuddin strictly adhered to the principles of Shah Kalimullah. He outrightly rejected Aurangzeb's invitation to visit his court and adopted same attitude towards Prince Azam Shah, refusing to accept gifts which he could have distributed amongst other mystics.  

Ghaziuddin Khan, the father of Nizam-ul Mulk made repeated requests to Shah Nizamuddin to visit him. Shah Kalimullah heartily approved the rejection of the invitation by his favourite disciple.

After the repeated refusal of Shah Nizamuddin, it appears that Ghaziuddin Khan personally visited his Khanqah. His son Nizam-ul Mulk Asaf Jah was a disciple of Shah Nizamuddin and is reported to have written a biographical account of his spiritual master.

Although many of the leading political figures of the period like 'Imad-ul Mulk Ghaziuddin Khan and Nawab Zabita Khan were regular visitors of his Khanqah, Shah Fakhruddin never took any interest in the political activities. But after the Sikh depredations of the region around Delhi,  

4. Ibid., p. 36. 
5. Ibid., p. 37. 
he was deeply shocked and immediately sent the following message to the Emperor:

"There is no hope of improvement in the affairs of the state unless the Emperor personally pays attention to the military and administrative affairs and himself takes to hard labour. If the Emperor appoints a deputy as his sole administrator, the other nobles get angry and do not support him. The Sultan himself becomes involved in intrigues and his prestige is reduced. The imperial army remains loyal to the noble under whom it serves and its relation with the Emperor is therefore severed. The nobles becomes vain and power corrupt and sometimes raises the banner of revolt. Therefore, the most important thing is this that the Emperor should work prodigiously and should personally lead military campaigns.

Secondly, the Muslim nobles of the Emperor should neither sin nor intrigue against each other. Any attack on Muslim undermines Islam as a whole. Wretched infidels have occupied large tract of Hindustan, especially some Sikh tribes who are not even submissive to the Muslim rule and have most successfully corroded Islamic power. They have given up issuing coins and reciting khutba in the name of the Emperor. Therefore, it is imperative that the Emperor reconcile the nobles and personally lead the army which will prove beneficial to both Islam and the current politi-
Khwaja Nasir 'Andalib and his son, Mir Dard, never entered active politics nor they gave any alternative to the state to overcome the contemporary political chaos. But being ancestral inhabitants of Delhi they very much felt the afflictions which this town faced. We do not come across any reference about these afflictions in the Nalay-i 'Andalib. Nevertheless, fragmentary references are available in the works of Mir Dard.

"The blessed town of Delhi, in which is the burial garden of the 'Qibla of worlds' and which God may keep cultivated until resurrection, was a wonderful rose-garden, but has now been tamped down by the autumn of events of time. It had lovely rivulets and trees and inhabited places of people of all kinds, and has now become the plunder of the blow of fate. It was in every respect on the surface of earth alike to the face of moonlike beloved and charming like the freshness of mole. O'God keep it from all the afflictions and calamities and make it a safe place and nourish its peo-

ple from fruits and grant that those who enter it be safe." "

It seems that Mir Dard was troubled by the unlucky inhabitants of Delhi, who sought shelter and help with him. The relevant sentence may have been written about 1782 when the whole of Delhi territory was afflicted by a famine which 'swept away something like a third to a half of the rural population. May we perhaps date to this period his strange Persian quatrain about the swarms of thronging locusts which, however, disappear because they have no true leader. Mir Dard complains that the confused thoughts of the sons of time make him pensive, perplexed and grieved, and that from all the four sides strange whirl-storms of their minds rise:

From four sides the dust of heart rose so much,
That is brought me, while still alive under dust.

He prays that God may preserve the unhappy population and not allow foreign armies to enter the town, and keep the inhabitant free from afflictions and pillage and from difficulties in earning their times.

Mir Dard's pre-occupation with the people was not only theoretical although he never entered active poli-

tics as did his other contemporary friends. Late in his work he once again speaks of the destruction and how people sought shelter and tells that he, for about a year, used to spend all day, from before the morning prayer till after the night prayer at his father's tomb.  

Yet these are only a few scattered remarks. In general, the afflictions that came over Delhi did not disturb him too much, they rather proved to him that real life is found only in the Divine Presence.  

Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan was conscious of the contemporary political milieu and endeavoured to reform the deteriorating Mughal polity through his followers. Large number of Rohila Afghan were Mirza Mazhar's followers including some Turani nobles. He had cordial relations with Intizam-ud Daulah Khan-i Khanan, 'Imad-ul Mulk and Sahibzada Ghulam 'Askari Khan and had regular correspondence with them. He often recommended his friends and relatives to them for favour in getting jobs and jagirs etc. In one of the letters he wrote to Intizam-ud Daulah that the nobles must be respectful to the mystics and a submission to them should be politely made. In a further letter Mirza Mazhar recommend—

11. Ibid., D.No. 33.
ed his nephew to Intizam-ud Daulah for a jagir and added that care of such relations of a saint amounted to favour the mystic himself. 13

Mirza Mazhar advised 'Imad-ul Mulk that the goodwill of mystics was essential for the benefit of both the worlds, and that it depends on the recipients showing devotion and attachment to the people. 14 Mirza Mazhar warned 'Imad-ul Mulk against listening to the advice of the selfish and of paying attention to intrigues, telling him not to neglect equity and justice. He said that he was aware that the Princes were involved in political plotting to overthrow the Emperor, and that 'Imad-ul Mulk did not seem to be making any attempt to put down such intrigues. Neither did Mirza Mazhar approve 'Imad-ul Mulk submitting so blindly to the orders of Alamgir II who, influenced by some mean persons, had broken all his promises. Mirza Mazhar added that only two types of people could surrender so abjectly to such a master. One was the type of person who had no self-respect and who was a slave to his own animal passion, having adopted servitude for worldly gains. In those circumstances, if 'Imad-ul Mulk took some action and tried to suppress the intrigues, such faults would be over-looked.

13. Ibid., L.No. 60, p. 79.
Secondly, such obsequiousness as 'Imad-ul Mulk was showing could exhibited only a person who was neither wise nor honest. Mirza Mazhar concluded his letter with the remark that he prayed God would give the people sufficient wisdom to understand 'Imad-ul Mulk's importance, and to cooperate with him in helping to improve socio-economic conditions considering it a form of Divine Mission and a source of Divine Grace in its own right. He also wrote that although he was disinterested in politics, he was aware of every one in the government.  

In yet another letter Mirza Mazhar urged Imad-ul Mulk to act diplomatically in making peace with his rivals in order to obtain success in his schemes. He should also strictly guard secret matters discussed in their correspondence with each other, or else his rivals would be angry and their enemity would increase. He also advised Imad-ul Mulk to write him a detailed account of his plans so that he might offer useful suggestions.  

In 1760, while Mirza Mazhar was returning to Delhi from Rohilkhand and intended to pass through Mathura, he received Ghulam 'Askari Khan's invitation to visit his master 'Imad-ul Mulk, Mirza Mazhar wrote in reply that he was pre-  

16. Ibid., L.No. 62, pp. 82-83.
pared to do so, but he was not prepared to enter the Jat forts, neither would he accept any feast offered by 'Imad-ul Mulk and that he would receive Mirza Mazhar on the bank of Jamuna. Moreover, he wrote that 'Imad-ul Mulk and his followers had been reduced to their present miserable condition mainly because of having forsaken their religion for worldly considerations, and urged him to be steadfast in his faith.\(^{17}\)

Mirza Mazhar considered the removal of misunderstanding between 'Imad-ul Mulk and Raja Suraj Mal as a great gift of God. He advised 'Imad-ul Mulk through Ghulam 'Askari Khan that he should use Raja Suraj Mal for none better than he was available. He should not displease the Raja and should not destroy his interests by paying heed to those liars, selfish and loquacious people who sought to estrange him from the Raja. So long as 'Imad-ul Mulk did not keep his agreements and stick to his words, and did not adequately reward his supporters, it was impossible for him to succeed.\(^{18}\) 'Imad-ul Mulk was severely criticized by Mirza Mazhar for his treacherous behaviour and political miscalculations which caused him difficulties.\(^{19}\)

\(^{17}\) Kalimat-i Taiyabat, L.No. 66, p. 85.
\(^{18}\) Kalimat-i Taiyabat, L.No. 67, p. 86.
\(^{19}\) Ibid., L.No. 80, pp. 88-89.
Ahmad Shah Abdali's invasion was considered as a calamity by Mirza Mazhar, he prayed that his activities be confined to the re-establishment of Order in Punjab. He wrote Ghulam 'Askari Khan that the transfer of his family to the friendly Jats in Bharatpur was a temporary solution, as Abdali's invasion was likely to affect that region too. His letters mention the panic in Delhi which, due to rumours of a second attack of Abdali, even extended to evacuation.20

The political upheavals of Delhi (1769-70) forced Mirza Mazhar to migrate to Rohilkhand, a stronghold of his disciples and comparatively a peaceful town. On his way he visited Sambhal, Moradabad and Amroha and in each place he was greeted by crowds of people.22

21. Ibid., L.No. 50, p. 46.
22. Ibid., L.Nos. 40, 46, 52-53.
The regency of Mirza Najaf Khan was marked by miserable conditions for the Delhi population including the Emperor Shah 'Alam II. Najaf Khan was a Shi'a and an ineffectual administrator. He prosecuted the leading Sunni 'Ulama and mystics of Delhi, few of them were physically assaulted. Attempts on the life of the religious leaders became rampant. The city in those days was swarming with Irani Shi'as, who were highly prejudiced towards the Sunni-mystics and specially with Mirza Mazhar. On the evening of 7th Muharram 1195/3rd January 1781, a Shi'a fanatic from

23. Najaf was born at Isfahan in 1737 and as a boy migrated to India with his sister who was married to Mirza Muhasan, the eldest brother of Safdar Jung. He first served under Muhammad Quli Khan, but after the fall of the latter, proceeded to Bengal, where Nawab Qasim employed him as commander of his army. He distinguished himself in the fighting between the Nawab and the English forces and made a deep impression on the English Generals. He followed the defeated Qasim 'Ali to Bundelkhand, where he remained till October 1764, the English Generals sent him tempting offers; he joined them and served in the English army. At the treaty of Allahabad, 16 August 1765, Lord Clive guaranteed Najaf Khan an annual pension of lakhs of rupees out of 28 lakhs promised to the Emperor in return of the grant of Diwani of Bengal. At English recommendation he was appointed Faujdar of Kara in 1766, which excited the jealousy of Muin-ud Daulah, who got him dismissed on false charges in February 1770. When the Emperor sent out on his march to Delhi, Najaf was given rupees 50,000 for equipping his contingent and followed the Emperor on his march. He soon justified his choice and proved himself the fittest man for the supreme command of the Empire's forces. For further details see, Ma'asir-ul Umara, III; Siyar-ul Mutaakhkhirin, II; Fall of the Mughal Empire, I, pp. 31-163.

Iran, accompanied by two others went to Mirza Mazhar's house and shot him with a pistol. Early the next morning a European Surgeon was sent by the Emperor, and he mentioned to Mirza Mazhar that the assassins would be executed when found. Mirza Mazhar refused to accept any medical aid and told the Surgeon to inform the Emperor that he had forgiven the assassins and he should also do likewise; he expired third day.25

The assassination of Mirza Mazhar was certainly politically motivated. This is borne out by the fact that the Shi'a populace of Delhi was annoyed with him as a large number of Shi'a converted to Sunnism under his influence. So much so was his impact that he was known as a Sunni-maker in the contemporary circles. Hence the plot of his assassination was pre-planned. The contemporary biographers and the works of the disciples of Mirza Mazhar contain extreme hatred for Najaf Khan and his commander Mirza Shaf'i.26

25. Bisharat-i Mazhariyah, ff. 103-04; Maqamat-i Mazhariyah, p. 61.
26. Both Bisharat-i Mazhariyah and Maqamat-i Mazhariyah contain the following quatrain:

بُنْجَمَ نَاظِرُ خَالِدَنَا
مَا زَيْنِي غَزُرُ نُشَائِي
لَعَ في مَا نَزَوْتُ رَبِّي
بُنْجَمَ نَاظِرُ خَالِدَنَا

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Among all the leading Muslim-mystics of eighteenth century Shah Waliullah seems to be a great political realist, a keen visionary and a true leader of masses, who categorically diagnosed the ills of the decaying Mughal Empire which in the words of Tawney was suffering from the 'schism of body-politic and schism of body-soul'. He put forward many alternatives for the reformation of the Empire, streamlining its administration and military system and approached the Emperor, ministers, nobles and even the foreign power. After a careful study of the causes of political chaos and economic ruin, he gave suggestions to bring about efficiency in administration and stability in the state.

According to Shah Waliullah the causes of political decay were economic disbalance and weakness of the state. In his magnum opus *Hujjatullah-ul Balighah*, he assigns two causes:

The first cause is the pressure on public treasury which is because of obtaining money from the exchequer without rendering any corresponding duty, which diminishes the sources of other people's income. These type of people are burden on the country.\(^{27}\) Secondly, heavy taxation on the peasants, merchants and workers and cruel dealings with them is the reason of wide-spread desolation. As a result people

\(^{27}\) *Hujjatullah-ul Balighah*, I, p. 285.
become disloyal to the state and go on the path of destruction. The prosperity of a country depends upon light taxation and reasonable and necessary appointments in the army and other departments. To be good members of society, they must cultivate habits of hard-work, honesty and efficiency. He considered it of the greatest importance that every one should do productive work to earn his livelihood. He laid the utmost importance upon the principle of 'adl and tawazun, justice and equilibrium without which society cannot endure.

What Shah Waliullah wanted to resuscitate and preserve was not in fact the Mughal Empire, but the social harmony and economic stability of the good old days. With that purpose in mind he declared that a just Amir should be appointed at a distance of every three or four days' journey. He must be in a position to protect the rights of the oppressed, and should be able to enforce law and order and check rebellion and disturbances. The Amir of every town should have so much force so that he may be able to reform the town with its help. He must not have so much power as to rebel against the Emperor. In every province there should be an Amir-i Kabir, entrusted with the duties of war. He must have twelve thousand brave soldiers, ready to fight against rebels. After doing all these things, matters relating to

28. Ibid.
29. Ibid., p. 308.
economic affairs should be taken into consideration.\(^3^0\)

Shah Waliullah's political ideology evolved out of his sociological and moral concepts, remarks Professor K.A. Nizami, he did not propound abstract ideas but played an important role in contemporary politics.\(^3^1\) Shah Waliullah's political letters reveal that he had studied with deep insight the factors behind political disintegration and causes of the anarchy.\(^3^2\) He issued a letter addressed to the 'Emperor', the 'nobles' and the 'ministers', wherein he discussed the causes of the chaos and gave practical suggestions to overcome the difficulties. These were:

1. The Jat forts must be brought under control and the enemies must be crushed so that the miscreants dare not rebel.

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32. J.M.S. Baljon in the 'Preface' of his recent study, *Religion and Thought of Shah Wali Allah Dihlawi*, Leiden, 1986, remarks about these letters that their 'authenticity is open to considerable doubt'. Perhaps, Dr Baljon is not ready to acknowledge the political contribution of a mystic-scholar, otherwise, Shah Waliullah's political letters are now open secret for the historians of religion and politics, especially, after the discovery of Shah Waliullah's biography, *Al-Qaul-ul Jali*, by the compiler of his political letters. A second copy of *Al-Qaul-ul Jali*, first part missing, was discovered by the present writer in the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library. The author of *Al-Qaul-ul Jali*, Shaikh Muhammad 'Ashiq says that he started compiling the letters of Shah Waliullah. Dr Baljon's doubt is, however, baseless.
2. The reason behind the administrative weakness is decreased in the crown land (مَال) and deficit in the treasury. The crown land should be extended up to Akbarabad on one side and Sirhind on the other.

3. Only important Amirs should be assigned jagirs, petty mansabdars should be paid in cash as they were generally unable to control the jagir and farm out their jagirs to contractors. Poor financial resources and lack of administrative experiences prevented them from devoting themselves to imperial duties.

4. Those found secretly assisting the enemies should be deprived of their jagirs so that others might get a lesson.

5. Armies should be trained and organized:
   (i) Disloyal soldiers and those who betrayed should be dismissed.
   (ii) The Daroghas should be of noble character, brave and loyal to the Emperor.
   (iii) The salary of the soldiers may be paid regularly if delayed they borrow money on interest which ruins them.

6. Revenue farming in the crown lands should be stopped, because it ruins the land and brings distress to the peasants.
7. The Qazis and Muhtasibs should be honest and sincere. This should be noted that they must be incorruptible.

8. The Emperor and nobles should refrain from luxury and pleasure-seeking. They should repent for the past mis-deeds and become sincere.\(^{33}\)

At the end of the letter Shah Waliullah assured the Emperor the benefit and success if the advices were followed.\(^{34}\) But unfortunately the Mughal Emperor had lost all his vigour and was utterly incapable of checking the forces of disruption. Now some other power had to be approached to take up the task. In his quest of such a person Shah Waliullah wrote letters to Nizam-ul Mulk and tried to persuade him to come forward for checking the forces of disintegration. In one of his letters Shah Waliullah requested him to "make all efforts that lies in your power to remove the rising cost of grains, the plundering raids and depredations."\(^{35}\) He persuaded Nizam-ul Mulk to ensure that he will check the elements of chaos and see that people in his area were not oppressed in any way and virtuous customs prevail.\(^{36}\) But Nizam-ul Mulk was deeply engrossed in

\(^{33}\) Shah Waliullah Dehlawi Ke Siyasi Maktubat, pp. 3-5.
\(^{34}\) Ibid., p. 5.
\(^{35}\) Siyasi Maktubat, L.No. 30, p. 59.
\(^{36}\) Ibid.

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the Deccan politics. It was in this situation that Shah Waliullah took a decisive step and chose two persons for his political plan. These two persons were Rohila Chief, Najib-ud Daulah\textsuperscript{37} and the Afghan ruler Ahmad Shah Abdali.\textsuperscript{38}

37. Najib Khan was born in a village of Peshawar in 1707. He had no education but was a man of intellect and wisdom. In 1743, in the search of livelihood, he reached Anwla and became a servant of 'Ali Muhammad Khan. In the beginning, he had only 12 sawar under him but soon he was promoted. He married the daughter of Dundey Khan who granted him the towns of Chandpur, Nagina and Bijnor. In the struggle between the Emperor Ahmad Shah and Safdar Jang he supported the imperial cause for which he was appointed commander of 1,000 horse and given the title of Najib-ud Daulah.

From 1761 to 1770, he was the main political figure in Delhi. Najib became the official head of the army of the Empire (Mr Bakhshi), Governor, (Faujdar) of the metropolitan city, and the regent (Mukhtar of the imperial administration. He played a leading role in the third Battle of Panipat, and afterwards inflicted a crushing defeat on the Jats.

"He possessed marvellous diplomatic tact, political insight, masterly handling of his resources, and power of seizing every opportunity with unfailing skill and provision."


38. Ahmad Khan, son of Zaman Khan, belonged to the Sadozai Klan of the Ahadis. He was born in 1722 at Multan where he had settled after migrating from Herat. He invaded India in 1748 but was defeated and driven out by the imperial armies under the command of Safdar Jang. However, he invaded the country several times again, and in the fifth invasion, 1761, inflicted a crushing defeat to the Marathas at Panipat. He occupied the whole province of Punjab and took away immense spoils from Delhi, Mathura and other places. He died in 1773.
Shah Waliullah had great admiration for Najib-ud Daulah and always addressed him in letters as Ras-ul Mujahidin and Ra'is-ul Ghazat. Jadunath Sarkar says that Najib-ud Daulah had no equal in that age except Ahmad Shah Abdali. It was in itself no mean achievement that Shah Waliullah chose such men for his plan who are said to be the greatest personalities of the age by a twentieth century historian. Shah Waliullah wrote to Najib-ud Daulah that, "I clearly see that the regeneration of 'Millat' depends upon you." This was a very sensible and wise step on the part of Shah Waliullah, because the military superiority of the Rohilas was an established fact. They had kept themselves abreast of the new techniques of warfare and were free from the afflictions of the Mughal army. Shah Waliullah's letters to Najib-ud Daulah show that how at every step he encouraged, guided, blessed and inspired him.

39. Fall of the Mughal Empire, I, p. 51.

40. 'Shah Waliullah and Indian Politics during the 18th Century', Islamic Culture, Jubilee Number, 1951.

41. Siyasi Maktubat, L.No. 8, pp. 24-25.

42. 'Shah Waliullah and Indian Politics during the 18th Century', Islamic Culture, Jubilee Number, 1951.
Shah Waliullah wrote to Najib-ud Daulah that in India three groups are known for their harsh and severe attitudes. Unless these three groups are not checked, neither the Emperor nor the nobles and people will have peace. He always tried to keep the morale of the Rohila Chief high and consoled him not to be disheartened by the temporary rebuffs and to be assiduous and persistent in his attempts. Moreover, he should keep Shah Waliullah informed of his movements so that he should pray to God for success. In almost every letter Shah Waliullah predicted the ultimate success of the Rohilas subject to the condition that the Muslim prepare themselves to meet the challenge of life.

Najib-ud Daulah became disheartened and pessimistic due to the betrayal of the Muslims who joined the Jat Camp. In this situation Shah Waliullah encouraged him by writing that:

"If a group of Muslims has joined the Jat Camp, you need not worry for this. In my opinion no harm will be done to you, though the number of enemies is larger."

44. *Siyasi Maktubat*, L.No. 8, pp. 24-25.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
Najib-ud Daulah tried his best to check the disruptive forces but the nobles at the Mughal court were at dagger drawn, their mutual jealousies and high ambitions had sacrificed the interests of the Empire. The Maratha pressure increased in the north. After a careful study of the situation, Shah Waliullah decided to invite Ahmad Shah Abdali to India to break the Maratha domination.

Shah Waliullah wrote a long and detailed letter to Ahmad Shah Abdali which covers about fourteen foolscap pages and is considered as "one of the most important historical document of eighteenth century."\(^{47}\) In the beginning of the letter, he apprised Ahmad Shah Abdali of the political set-up of northern India and analysed the factors that helped the rise of Marathas, the Sikhs and the Jats.

"What strikes a student of history most in this letter, observes Professor K.A. Nizami, is the great scholar's grasp of the action and reaction of the political forces working in India in the eighteenth century. If the use of the modern term be allowed with regard to him, he appears to be a very thorough geo-politician. While discussing political events of great significance, he does not

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47. 'Shah Waliullah and Indian Politics during the 18th Century', *Islamic Culture, Jubilee Number*, 1951.
forget the influence that geography exercised at every stage. 48

While giving the reasons as to why the Mughal Emperors had two seats of government Delhi and Agra, Shah Waliullah wrote that the Timurids ruled for sometime from Akbarabad (Agra) so that they keep an eye over Rajputana and for sometime they run the government from Delhi in order to maintain their control over Sirhind and the adjacent provinces. 49 Shah Waliullah gave all details about the strength of Jats and the Marathas to Ahmad Shah Abdali and mentioned the tricks to dislodge them from their strongholds. 50 He also described at length the political and economic chaos of the country. 51 After apprising Ahmad Shah of the political and economic conditions, Shah Waliullah urged him to come to India and dislodge the Maratha forces. 52

Shah Waliullah was conscious of the misfortunes which befell the people of Delhi in the course of Nadir Shah's invasion. Hence he warned Ahmad Shah Abdali against the repetition of the same. 53 He wrote to Ahmad Shah Abdali to ensure that no damages were done to the people

48. 'Shah Waliullah and Indian Politics during the 18th Century', *Islamic Culture*, Jubilee Number, 1951.
50. Ibid., pp. 10-11.
51. Ibid., L.No. 2, p. 11.
52. Ibid., L.No. 2, p. 12.
53. Ibid.
when the invasion takes place. He also tried to inform some of his disciples about the expected invasion.

Shah Waliullah took all measures to save Delhi from chaos. His heart was deeply touched at the miseries of its populace. Earlier he has written to Najib-ud Daulah, ‘when the march of the Royal army takes place through Delhi, you should make all possible arrangements to protect and save the people of Delhi from any cruelty. The people have been plundered many a time and their honour has suffered. It was only for this reason that the imperial objectives could not be realized. The sigh of the oppressed has at least some effect. If you want easy success in your task, you see to it that no one from amongst the Muslims and the Hindus of Delhi is molested.’

As per programme Ahmad Shah Abdali came to India occupied Punjab and after a few successes met the Maratha forces in the battle-field of Panipat. The Marathas were badly defeated in January 1761, which for sometime sealed the fate of Maratha movement.

It has been wrongly pointed out that the political movement of Shah Waliullah was aimed for the betterment of

54. Ibid.,
55. Ibid., L.No. 14, p. 33.
56. Ibid., L.No. 6, p. 21.
a particular community. If all aspects of his thoughts and contributions are examined in a proper perspective, then it becomes clear that his political plan did not emanate from any sectarian outlook. His was an all pervading movement which sought the social and economic betterment of all sections through political means.

Shah Waliullah's son, Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz affirmed in a fatwa that India under the English was a land where Islam had been deprived of its authority, a Dar-ul Harb and was no longer an area where the Islamic faith could consider itself in power or even free that is a Dar-ul Islam. Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz was asked that, the areas where the English or the non-Muslims ruled were Dar-ul Harb?, Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz replied:

'the opinion that a dar-ul Islam could never become a Dar-ul Harb is not very sound. The correct opinion is that a dar-ul Islam could

57. S.A.A. Rizvi is Shah Waliullah and His Times, Canberra, 1980, holds the view that the movement of Shah Waliullah was aimed at the rival of Sunni Muslim power and has tried to paint Shah Waliullah as a leader of Sunni Muslims in India during the eighteenth century. Where as Shah Waliullah himself wrote to Najib-ud Daulah that he should ensure that, 'no one from amongst the Muslims and Hindus of Delhi is molested.' This is rather an example of Shah Waliullah's broader outlook, which resembles the modern 'secular process' because Islam ensures protection to all who is under an Islamic government. Shah Waliullah has warned to protect the Hindus of Delhi along with the Muslims since there is no alternative in the Islamic political concept.
become a Dar-ul Harb. A section of the 'ulema believes that if a single Islamic rule such as calling Azan or circumcision is forcibly prohibited in the Dar-ul Islam, it is transformed into a Dar-ul Harb. A different section of the 'ulema considers that this change does not depend on abolishing Islamic rules but on fearlessly and openly introducing infidel rules into a Dar-ul Islam. It does not matter if all the Islamic laws are followed there. A third group of the 'ulema has gone even further and asserts that Dar-ul Harb is a territory in which no Muslims or Zimmis can live peacefully on the basis of former protection rights. It does not matter if only few Islamic rules have been abolished there or the infidel's rules are openly followed. The leading scholars have given preference to the third opinion. On the basis of that, land under English rule or that under other non-Muslims is undoubtedly a Dar-ul Harb.'

Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz issued the fatwa irrespective of the fact that some of the territories were nominally ruled

58. Fatawa-i 'Azizi, I, p. 115.
by the Mughal Emperor. According to Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz nomi-
nal government of the King of Delhi could not make the
country Dar-ul Islam. 59 'Declaring all land under British
occupation as Dar-ul Harb meant religious sanction to carry
on the struggle against the establishment of foreign rule
in India', observes Professor K.A. Nizami. 60

"The militant movement of the rehabilitation of
Islam in India, categorized as 'Wahhabi' by the British in
the nineteenth century because of its resemblances with the
Wahhabi movement of Nejd, and that of the 'mujahidin' (holy
warriors) in modern Muslim Indo-Pakistan, marks the practi-
cal culmination of the religio-political thought of Shah
Waliullah", declares 'Aziz Ahmad. 61

Discussing the response of Shah 'Abdul Aziz to the
movement of Shah Waliullah, Maulana 'Ubaidullah Sindhi ob-
serves:

'Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz is in fact the first Imam
of the Waliullahi movement who, in principles
of Hakim-ul Hind Shah Waliullah, laid the
foundation of a national government.' 62

59. Ibid.
60. 'Socio-Religious Movement in Indian Islam', article in India and Contemporary Islam, p. 103.
Commenting on the programmes of Shah 'Abdul Aziz, he remarks:

'The first step which Imam 'Abdul Aziz undertook was to eradicate the misunderstanding of the Muslim about their beliefs and morals. The practical side of the programme was to make the common people forsake other spiritual leaders and 'ulema and to make them rally round him so that the rival groups should be rendered in effective. The second stage of his plan was to establish a centre for the revolutionary mission. The members of the mission were Isma'il Shahid, Syed Ahmad Shahid and Maulana Abdul Hai. Shah Ishaq was nominated his successor by Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz. We believe that the leader of the new party was Shah Ishaq and Syed Ahmad Shahid was the leader of the revolutionary or missionary propaganda ( التجارة ) and the Holy War ( الجهاد ). Imam Shah Abdul Aziz intended that in future this group should overcome the weaknesses of the Kingdom of Delhi. In other words this was a provincial government. It is obvious that the political climate of Delhi was not favourable for
the successes of this plan. Since a Syed's leadership can be very soon established among the Afghans, Syed Ahmad Shahid was, therefore, chosen the leader of the party and Maulana Isma'il Shahid and Maulana 'Abdul Hai were appointed his wazirs.63

Syed Ahmad Shahid made Naushera his headquarter in December 1826 and after issuing an ultimatum started his operations which was rewarded with success in the beginning. But soon difficulties began to arise and nearly six hundred mujahidin including Syed Ahmad Shahid and his Chief Lieutenant Shah Isma'il Shahid lost their lives in the beginning of May 1831 at Balakot.64 "Thus Balakot was, for all practical purposes, a translation into space-time forces of the abstract ideas of reform and regeneration propounded by Shah Waliullah in his Hujjatullah-ul Balighah and Izalat-ul Khifa and a sincere attempt to implement the fatwa issued by Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz."65

63. Shah Waliullah aur unki Siyasi Tahrik, p. 63.


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APPENDIX - A

Some important documents of the eighteenth century

(i) A letter of Shah Kalimullah Jahanabadi
(ii) A letter of Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan
(iii) Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan's interpretation of a dream
(iv) A page from Nalay-i 'Andalib
(v) Revelation of Tariqah-i Muhammadiyah — (i)
(vi) Revelation of Tariqah-i Muhammadiyah — (ii)
(vii) Letter of Shah Waliullah to the King, the minister and the nobles.
This letter, written by Shah Kalimullah Jahanabadi, is considered as a manual of his teachings. (Maktubat-i Kalimi, Letter No. 96, pp. 73-74):

A LETTER OF SHAH KALIMULLAH JAHANABADI

The following letter was written by Shah Kalimullah Jahanabadi to Shah Nizamuddin Aurangabadi and considered as a manual of his teachings. (Maktubat-i Kalimi, Letter No. 96, pp. 73-74):
حاجة أو كونها نمط لاكيت كتريك مولبدت ومحلة في طول
رسالة درة ظراه إس ودي بارك مست أورام خلال نازخ للعهد. بابت نوراء رفعت... 
مساء ابتدأ قرر سجاء اجتذب جاما أحررى جندها نابيرا وكوكبة
بقسمها لنكا وقالت ودرب بأن فرعم بها فرعت فمسرة وروزت راس أق
บน نبات ستيركات دروم وذلك. فين أص تمس مث. كان
مساء أكمل مسألته وحيد عند الباب. وقعت على بيضاء. كجاوده
بزران أعدد كل شيء سكان كا استعدادا لدمع ردابي. استعداد نوارا. أبدقت أبوب
كما أعيد كاين كرلا. أان أدنت ولاء يّفنيت واللد لبادر زاده. 
عايا أكر سلتي إيندو وسما وان ساند وكرم خنز دود كرة استعداد. 
دانت إصدار ذكر وراح. ثلاث فل اوتيدي. كا ناهت خرووا. بنة اسلا ماودية. وما ضر
عمر تورس. بس لاهنكن. فراكر كراكي وففما ساند. إذا أعدت
ني تنورت. ما لمعت ما أكيلة. بالنون كا أدنا. إناء أغلب. 
ب uwagę ملعب. نكلا ما بني. ونا. لرذج هان كم جلد. انتس مسيلة
مستقل ملعب. كا مت من ملعب مشت أن كلغ. كصغرة. نبت مث. دوكر
نود لد نبت. لده برضة. ندر. كصغرة. نبت. دوكر كم علما
كما كارت. ملعب. ملعب. الناجين. لد. كصغرة. ملعب. كم لد
دومين أب الثقة ما من المرسيد للمحميد. لقدر دم. كا راز. كر
ذكرا. ملعب. ملعب. الناجين. لد. كصغرة. ملعب. كم لد
دومين أب الثقة ما من المرسيد للمحميد. لقدر دم. كا راز. كر
A LETTER OF MIRZA MAZHAR JAN-I JANAN

This letter was written by Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan in reply of a query whether Hindu religion at some stage incorporated truth or the infidels of India is like the pagan Arabs, (Kalimat-i Taiyabat, Letter No. 14, pp. 25-27):
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي من الصورة.
A person narrated his dream in the gathering of Haji Afzal Siyalkoti; Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan interpreted the dream as follows, (Bihsarat-i Mazhariyah, ff. 98b-99a):
A PAGE FROM NALAY-I 'ANDALIB

In the following passages Khwaja Mohammad Nasir 'Andalib narrates the circumstances that led to the compilation of Nalay-i 'Andalib, (Nalay-i 'Andalib, I, p. 3):

In the following passages Khwaja Mohammad Nasir 'Andalib narrates the circumstances that led to the compilation of Nalay-i 'Andalib, (Nalay-i 'Andalib, I, p. 3):
و در عصر امانت‌های این افراط، راهیانی جنگی در دوست سپاه به سختی ناگهان گرفت. و در روزهای وقت از این ترسانت این سرباری از امانان یک مرد گردید که رازهایی در آن زمان بود.

نیازی نداشت که دوستان و دوست‌ها در این رهبری در این جهان در بهترین ماهیب حالات و در روزیستی نیز داده‌هایی از جمله آن چگونه در عصر هرچه این خاصیت واقع شده‌اند، در زمان‌هایی خود در بازی‌های شیرخان و به‌طور مشخص گردیدند. در زمان‌های خود فرهنگی که گرفتار در هنرهای رسمی و رسالت‌های درمانی و در زمان‌های خود، به‌طور اختصاصی به‌طور اختصاصی.

کرده‌ی هرکدام از این جامان در در حالی طول‌های تاریخی...
REVELATION OF TARIQAH-I MUHAMMADIYAH - (1)

In the following passages Khwaja Mir Dard gives an account of the revelation of Tariqah-i Muhammadiyah to his father Khwaja Mohammad Nasir 'Andalib, ('Ilm-ul Kitab, p. 85):

...
النهاية الملاطية السادسة والنهاية السابعة، وبلا ريب.

أولهم رأى مايأ رسمت خالصًا واحتراب كلامه، إلا ما تعود إلى نفعه زاراً سماً.

الأم حسن ألمج محسب دليلًا لميربل زرود، ليس لها تفرقة، فأنجبت من جائز عم، فأصبحت وردًا

النبي خلص كرد زغوراً، في زرعت نعات سببان، وبدأت برسائل واتفالا، الملاطية.

في نبت كاردال سعد، درعت صبر الرائد، مكراً، ممكناً، فيدلها وردًا، قابل الفجر.

هذا نشرناه، نزوى هم، وجدب مضا في الأمرك، في النهاية، كراً زاً.

كحل عمود ذهبت، ورددت الله، مدرك رازع، أمست، حفزت المراكب، باكرًا، بوذاً.

مرة من جهة، نسيت معذب، أدرك سلك، انصرفت إلى عم، أكرهت الارادة، أحسد.

مرفت خدري فرع، إلى رداء، بفرسه، متزوج، جلوك ومعه، مام زرداً، ورؤيت,

كالف، وحصين كر عمار، فارغة، لم تفز، دانتان، بهم، مونت، مبرع، محيت، مسمت,

دوشة، أدعوتها، مرقبًا، إلى النهض، أمزية، مرثرًا، كراً العز، كر، تفرقت، تفرقت,

طلبت السامي، واصل الرحب، إلى نقي، وحده، في سبيل، ما نذكر، متداولة، ودليلاً.

هذا نبت كاردال سعد، احتضنت حرب الرائد، مكراً، ممكناً، فيدلها وردًا، قابل الفجر.
In the following masnawi, Mir Muhammad Asar, younger brother of Khwaja Mir Dard, gives an account of the revelation of Tariqah-i Muhammadiyah. This is taken from his Masnawi Bayan-i Waqe'y, which is rare, (Maikhana-i Dard, pp. 19-20):

REVELATION OF TARIQAH-I MUHAMMADIYAH - (ii)

...280
Shah Waliullah addressed a letter to the King, the minister and the nobles and dealt at length with the causes of political chaos and economic ruins. He gave his suggestions and assured them that if implemented properly these suggestions may bring success, (Siyasi Maktubat, pp. 3-5):

LETTER OF SHAH WALIULLAH TO THE KING, THE MINISTER AND THE NOBLES

Shah Waliullah addressed a letter to the King, the minister and the nobles and dealt at length with the causes of political chaos and economic ruins. He gave his suggestions and assured them that if implemented properly these suggestions may bring success, (Siyasi Maktubat, pp. 3-5):
در كلا دوار على ضفاص، يوجد لانسان يبدأ ما زالا نوره.

كل دارثر قيمة دم في لسانه، غير أن فعله في نوره.

لا يعلم ما في نوره، لأن لانسان محب وروح.

وكل دارثر نوره في نفسه، لأنه نفسه في نوره.

وما تكون الا بات.randة على ما زالا نوره، فالمية الدنيا.
APPENDIX - B

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

(i) THE TARIQAH-I MUHAMMADIYAH

Khwaja Muhammad Nasir 'Andalib (d.1759)
---
Khwaja Muhammad Mahfuz Khwaja Mir Dard Muhammad Mir Asar (d.1784) (d.1794)

Khwaja Ziya-un Nasir Alam (d.1800)

Mir Muhammad Bakhsh Amani Begum

Zinat-un Nisa Begum Barati Begum (Married to Mir Kallu) (Married to Maulavi 'Abdul Hai)

Shah Muhammad Naseer Ranj (d. 1845)

Nasira Begum Khwaja Nasir Jan Mahzun (Married to Mir Hashim 'Ali) (d. 1846)

Khwaja Nasir Amir (d.1854)

Khwaja Nasir Wazir (d.1880)

Mir Mohsin 'Ali (.1911)

Nasir Nazir Firaq (d.1933)

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(ii) **REVIVAL OF THE CHISHTI SILSILAH**

- Shah Kalimullah Jahanabadi  
  - Shah Nizamuddin Aurangabadi  
    - Shah Fakhruddin Dihlawi

- Shah Noor Muhammad  
  - Shaikh Muhammad 'Aqil  
    - Khwaja Gul Muhammad
  - Khuda Bakhsh

- Khwaja Allah Bakhsh  
  - Hafiz Musa
  - Hafiz Muhammad 'Ali

- Haji Najmuddin

- Mehr 'Ali Shah
- Ghulam Haidar Ali Shah

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(iii) SHAMSIYAH-MAZHARIYAH BRANCH OF NAQSHBANDI SILSILAH

Shamsuddin Habibullah Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan (d. 1781)

Shah Ghulam 'Ali (d. 1825)  Na'imullah Bahra'ichi (d. 1804)  Ghulam Yahya Panipati (d. 1810)

Shah Abdur Rahman  Shah Ra'uf Ahmad  Shah Abu Sa'id (d. 1835)

Shah Ahmad Sa'id (d. 1860)

Shah Muhammad 'Umar (d. 1923)

Shah Abul Khair (d. 1923)

Shah Abul Hasan Zaid Faruqi (b. 1906)
(iv) THE FAMILY OF SHAH WALIULLAH

Shah Waliullah (d. 1762)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Shah Muhammad (d. 1793)</th>
<th>Shah Abdul 'Aziz (d. 1824)</th>
<th>Shah Rafi'uddin Qadir (d. 1818)</th>
<th>Shah Abdul Aziz (d. 1814)</th>
<th>Shah Ummat- ul Aziz Abdul Ghani (d. 1812)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shah Makhsusullah (d. 1856)</td>
<td>Shah Isma'il Shahid (d. 1830)</td>
<td>Shah Muhammad 'Umar (d. 1851)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>'Abdul Ha'i (d. 1827)</td>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>Muhammad Afzal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shah 'Abdul Qayyum (d. 1882)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shah Muhammad Ya'qub (d. 1865)</td>
<td>Shah Muhammad Ishaq (d. 1846)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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## APPENDIX - C

### THE CONTEMPORARY MUGHAL EMPERORS

During the eighteenth century the following Mughal Emperors ruled:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Emperor Name</th>
<th>Reign Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Aurangzeb 'Alamgir</td>
<td>(1658-1707)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Bahadur Shah I</td>
<td>(1707-1712)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Mu'izuddin Jahander Shah</td>
<td>(1712-1713)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Farrukh Siyar</td>
<td>(1713-1719)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Niko Siyar</td>
<td>(1719)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Rafi'uddarajat</td>
<td>(1719)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Muhammad Shah</td>
<td>(1719-1748)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Muhammad Ibrahim (1720)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Ahmad Shahh</td>
<td>(1748-1754)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>'Alamgir II</td>
<td>(1754-1759)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Shah 'Alam</td>
<td>(1759-1806)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>