instance, in the matter of their belief about God the Sufis were divided into Wujudiyya and Shuhudiyya, The one holding an extreme pantheistic view, the other a modified view of it. Ahmad reconciled the two by asserting that a Sufi in the early stage of mysticism fails to see any distinction between the Creator and the creatures and he is a Wujudi, a mystist; but in the higher stages he gains the knowledge of the two as existing separately and is thus a Shuhudi, a modified pantheist.

Ahmad is credited with as many as 644 treatises on different religious subjects. His teachings are mainly embodied in a series of letters which were collected in his lifetime and are now published in three large volumes.

We shall speak again of Ahmad in the following chapter in connection with the peculiar dignity which he claimed for himself and for his three immediate successors.

CHAPTER XIX
THE Naqshbandi Order.

THE FOUR QAYYUMS.

The doctrine of Qayyumiyat, to be explained in the present chapter, is peculiar to the teachings of the Naqshbandi-Mujaddadi Order and requires separate treatment.

Ahmad Sirhindii was the first of the saints of Islam who claimed for himself and for his three immediate successors the title of Qayyum. It would seem that the Qayyum is to be considered higher in rank and dignity than the Perfect man. He is described as follows: The Qayyum is the dignitary on whom the whole order of existence depends, and under whose control are all Names, Attributes, and things actual and potential. All things, whether they belong to the past, the present or the future—men, animals, birds and plants—in fact every animate and inanimate object—the throne of God, the Preserved Tablet, the Pen, the Planets, the fixed stars, the sun, the moon, and the heavens with all their signs of the Zodiacs, are “under his shadow,” i.e. (government).

It is through his command that the heavens and their ‘Zodiacs’ move in their courses, that the waves

(1) The doctrine of the Perfect Man has been expounded by Ibn-ul-'Arabi and Jili, also see. Nicholson, Studies in Islamic Mysticism.
rise and fall in seas and oceans, that the leaves in the trees shake and rustle, that the rains fall from heaven, that fruits ripen, that birds open their beaks (to receive food), and that day succeeds night. Every event, small or great, takes place according to his command. No drop of rain falls without his knowledge. The earth remains motionless or quakes in accordance with his will, and every one of its inhabitants receives joy or sorrow, pleasure or pain according to his discretion. Not a single moment or day, week, month, or year can prove auspicious or inauspicious to the world without his order. There can be no harvest, no growth of any plant unless he wills. In fact, every conceivable event takes place as he desires and directs.

Moreover, all ascetics, worshippers, pious people and saints occupied with God's praise, remembrance and meditation, in huts and cells, on mountains and by the banks of rivers or seas, either with their tongues or with other organs of spiritual communication (latā'if) all such are engaged by the will of the Qayyūm, and unless their worship is first accepted by him it does not reach unto God.

The Qayyūm is 'the substance' of all that exists actually or potentially, and all beings, except God, are to him what 'accidents' are to 'substance'. He is the Vicar of God on earth. The Absolute bestows upon him a special essence, called mawhūb,(1) on which depends the subsistence of the universe, yet though he is the 'Substance' of all, the application of this term is not commensurate with his dignity. Even so, since the universe stands to him in the relation of 'accidents', we call him 'substance', for there is no substance without accidents, and no accidents without substance. Every Ghawth, Quṭb, Âbdāl etc. is a representative of the Qayyūm and is his servant. Verily, he is the Vicar of God, and all the Afrād(2) of the world turn to him. He is moreover the qibla of the universe and of all its inhabitants, whether they know it or not. Such is the dignity of the office of Qayyūm as bestowed upon Âhməd Sirhindī and his three immediate successors. But this office was strictly limited to these four and no other can receive this high dignity in future.

Âhməd further asserted that God fashioned his body with the substance that was left over after the creation of the body of Muhammad. The second Qayyūm, Maṣūm, a son of Âhməd, states in one of his letters that, "Âhməd said that God used the residue of the substance of the body of Muhammad to form his body and those of his three successors. "In this connection a story is told of how one night after his prayer Âhməd's whole body became so luminous that it dazzled the eyes, and at that moment he received the following 'revelation' from God: "O, Âhməd! this thy body, is made of the residue of the substance of Muhammad's body, which I had reserved for thy sake, for thou wast to be my beloved."(2)

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(1) Afrād, are those saints who are not under the Quṭb, the head of the invisible hierarchy of the saints.
It is said that when God bestowed upon Ahmad the dignity of the Qayyūm, the spirit of Muhammad appeared to him and said: "You are indeed my son, like 'Ibrāhīm and Qāsim." The honour and privilege which God has given to you, no other saint has ever received from Him. You have been raised a thousand years after me, at a time when God might raise up another Prophet to reform religion, but as there can arise no Prophet after me, you are sent forth into the world endowed with the dignity of those exalted messengers of God who were known as Ulu'l-azam. "Possessors of constancy." and all the acts of such prophets will proceed from you, and through you my religion will be reformed. Muhammad then turned to the spirit of Khadija and said, "Ahmad is your son also, for God has given him to us both, and he is brother of Qāsim and 'Ibrāhīm." Whereupon Khadija affectionately embraced him and said, "You are the best of all my sons."

Another story, illustrating his dignity in virtue of his Qayyūmiyat (the office of Qayyūm), runs as follows. Once Ahmad saw the angels, jinn, human beings and the entire creation performing their namaz and making prostration towards him. He 'concentrated his mind' to find out why he was the recipient of such higher honour. He was forthwith 'inspired' to know that the Ka'ba itself had come to visit him and that he was so completely surrounded by it that every one prostrating towards the Ka'ba was actually prostrating towards himself. At the same time he received the following "revelation": "O Ahmad! your great desire was to visit the Ka'ba, and lo! I have sent the Ka'ba to visit you. I now bestow upon the ground whereon stands your monastery, the dignity of the Ka'ba and I also deposit within it the light of the Ka'ba itself." The Ka'ba then entered the monastery of Ahmad, and the ground whereon the monastery stood itself became so intimately one with the Ka'ba, that the former was first 'annihilated' and then received its 'subsistence' in the latter, and thus all the realities of the Ka'ba came to exist in the monastery also. An angel was then heard to proclaim, "This mosque (monastery) of Ahmad Sirhindi has superiority over all the mosques of the world, and he who ever performs prayer in this mosque will acquire the same degree of merit as though he had offered prayer in all the mosques of the world." It is on the basis of this legend that the Muslims of India, more especially those of the Punjab, make a pilgrimage to this particular mosque. The tomb of this saint himself is said to be situated at a distance of about twenty yards from this ground which is now regarded as being quite as sacred as that of the Ka'ba.

The next great favour which Ahmad, as the Qayyūm, claimed to have received from God was that He

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(1) Muhammad's two sons born of Mary the Copt. and Khadija, who died in their infancy.
(2) The following nine are said to have been Ulu'l-azam Prophets: Noah, Abraham, David, Jacob, Joseph, Job, Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad.
(3) Ibid. Part I. 99-100.

bestowed upon him the title of the 'Depository of God’s Mercy', and actually made him the custodian of 'His Treasury of Mercy'. At the time when he received this favour he declared that he saw an infinite number of angels descending from heaven and standing before him, in rows, with folded hands; and that they said to him; “We are the angels of mercy, and God has commanded us to carry out your orders.” Thus Âhmad not only claimed that he was the treasury of God’s Mercy but also that its distribution was entrusted to him. He further asserted that he had given the charge of keeping the seal of the permit to enter heaven on the day of judgment to his son, Sa’id. He declared that all who receive from God a permit to enter heaven on the day of judgment must first get the impress on it of his seal. Other acts of Mercy, such as rescuing sinners from hell, and assisting people at the Bridge and at the Balances, he has entrusted to his son and successor, Ma’sûm.\(^1\)

The story is related that once Âhmad went to the graveyard in Sirhind, where one of his ancestors, Raﬁ’u’d-Din, the founder of the city, was buried. There it was revealed to him that henceforth, by virtue of his visit to that cemetery, no one buried in it will suffer the usual punishment of the grave till the day of judgment.\(^2\)

Similar sanctity is said to attach to the land situated to the north of his monastery. This is called ‘heavenly

land’ and it is believed that any one buried in it will surely go to heaven. Ma’sûm writes that his father once told him that God had graciously made his burial place ‘heavenly’ and that if a handful of earth from this ground be cast into the grave of any one, the soul of the person there buried will not suffer from any torment of hell. This particular piece of ‘Heavenly land’ measures 40 yards in length and 30 yards in breadth. On its western extremity is a well concerning which Âhmad once declared that any one drinking of its water thrice, would escape the touch of the fire of hell and most surely enter heaven.\(^3\)

The following story is yet a further illustration of the high claims which this saint made concerning his personal dignity as the Qayyum of his age. It is said that once in Sirhind plague was raging very violently. When the mortality became excessive, people hastened to Âhmad and asked him to pray that the epidemic might cease. After offering prayer Âhmad declared: “God demands one of my children on behalf of the people, and I have agreed to give one.” The same day his son Muhammam ‘Isa, eleven years old, died of the plague. His death, however, though believed to have taken place by way of relief for the people, failed to bring about any abatement of the epidemic. Consequently, the people came once again to Âhmad and entreated him to pray on their behalf. This time he was informed by a ‘revelation’ from God that yet another son of his must die on behalf of the people.


\(^{2}\) Ibid Part I. pp. 154, 155.

\(^{3}\) Ibid Part I. p. 160.
Again the saint consented to the death of his son, Farukh, then ten years old. He also was attacked by the plague and died the same day. Even this did not have the desired effect, for the epidemic continued to rage as violently as before. The devotees of the saint once again besought his prayers. Aḥmad now offered his daughter Kūltūm, and also the wife of his son Maṣūm, and in consequence of his prayer they both fell ill and died of the plague. It is said that when Kūltūm was lying on her deathbed, about to breathe her last, angels appeared to the saint and congratulated him. But this being no occasion for joy, he greatly wondered at their felicitations, whereupon God is said to have sent him the following extraordinary revelation: "O Aḥmad! rejoice, for I have chosen thy daughter, Kūltūm, for my prophet Yaḥyā (John the Baptist), and these angels and saints who stand around her bed are there to solemnize her marriage with him." On receiving Aḥmad's consent the ceremony was performed by 'the spirit of Muhammad,' and then the spirits of all the prophets and angels bore witness to it. As soon as the ceremony was over she breathed her last. The saint forbade the people to mourn over her death, for he said that he saw Yaḥyā with a great concourse of the angels and the spirits of the saints and the prophets following the bier of Kūltūm as if they were marching in a wedding procession. He also said that when her body was laid in the grave the spirit of Yaḥyā caught hold of it.¹

¹ Ibid. Part I, 157-158.

Aḥmad even declared that he had access to 'the Preserved Tablet.' The story goes that one of his disciples, Shaykh Tahir, fell in love with a Hindu girl, and in consequence renounced Islam and became a Hindu. Aḥmad prayed earnestly for him and he was guided back to Islam. Soon after he again apostatized, and again his faith was restored to him by the prayer of the saint. When this was repeated the third time, the saint studied the 'Preserved Tablet,' and discovered that it was recorded of him that he would die as a 'sinner.' The saint records that he then erased the word 'sinner' and wrote the word 'saint' in its place! Tahir then repented sincerely of his lapse into Hinduism and became a devoted disciple of Aḥmad. Soon after he received from the saint permission to make disciples in the Chishti, the Qadiri and the Naqshbandi Orders, and was also raised to the dignity of the Qutb. Aḥmad finally sent him to Lahore as his lieutenant, where he lived until his death (1630–31 A.D.)¹

The second Qutb and successor of Aḥmad was the latter's third son, Muḥammad Maṣūm Urwatul-Wuthqā, born in 1598-99 A.D. It is said that the name Maṣūm, 'sinless,' was given to him in accordance with the instruction of 'the spirit of Muhammad.' At his birth the spirit of Muhammad, in company with the spirits of all the prophets and saints, is said to have come and repeated the adhān in the ears of the child. Miraculous events are said to have marked each stage of his development.

¹ Ibid. Part I, p. 327.
The second Qayyum claimed to have learnt from his father the meanings of the mysterious letters which and found at the beginning of the certain chapters of the Quran. It is said that no one had ever known their meanings except Muhammad and his more intimate companions. It was a thousand years after the time of Muhammad that they were revealed for the first time to Ahmad, and the only person to whom he transmitted this knowledge was his son, his successor. It is related that in the period during which the father was expounding the meanings of these letters to his son, every precaution was taken against the possibility of being overheard by any man, jinn or spirit. For instance, the evil spirits and demons were imprisoned in the ocean, and the angels were made to stand in tiers with folded hands, round about Ahmad and his son. Both the Qayyums at this time had miraculously transported themselves to Mecca, and had shut themselves up inside the Ka'ba. For three days the instructions continued to be given and they are said to have been of such terrible nature that at every exposition of the mystery Ma'shum became unconscious. But at the end of the three days the saint had only completed the unfolding of the one letter, qaf. It is said that the mysteries attaching to the remaining letters were subsequently revealed to Ma'shum by God Himself. (1)

Prince Aurangzeb, who in his early youth was a devotee of Ahmad, now became a disciple of Muhammad Ma'shum. The reason given for his accepting Qayyum

II as his pir is said to be as follows. He dreamed one night that the day of judgment had come, and that sinners were being dragged down to hell. The angels of hell came to him also to drive him into the fire, but as they were about to take hold of him shouts were heard from all sides, "Here comes Imam Ma'shum! Imam Ma'shum! Imam Ma'shum! he is our deliverer!"

The Qayyum then appeared on the scene delivered the sinners from hell, and instead sent them to heaven. Finally Ma'shum turned to Aurangzeb and bade the angels release him on the ground that he was his disciple. It is said that on the following morning he went to the Qayyum and became his disciple. (1) The saint, after initiating him into his Order, predicted that he would succeed his father as Emperor of India. From that time Aurangzeb was supported in his contest against his brothers for the throne by this saint who wielded very great influence throughout the Empire. It was largely through the influence of this puritanical pir of his, Ma'shum, that he reimposed the jizya on his Hindu subjects and forbade the use of music. Even the practice of Samâ' at the shrines of the Chishti saints was put a stop to.

The third Qayyum was Khwaja Naqshband Hujjatu'llah, born in 1624-25 A.D. He was the second son of Qayyum II. The year of his birth is regarded as remarkable, and is called sâli-mu'tlaq, 'the absolute year,' for it was in this very year that Qayyum I died.

(1) Ibid. Part II p. 38.
that Qayyum II succeeded him, and that Qayyum III was born.

Like his predecessor, Hujjatu'llah also influenced very greatly the reigning Emperor, Aurangzeb, in his political career. The biographers of Qayyum III say that it was at the instigation of this saint that Aurangzeb led out his great expedition against the Shi'a kingdom of South India.

A large number of miracles are declared to have been performed by him. The most astonishing of these is that he is said to have raised to life his grand-daughter after she had been dead for three days. It is said that his grand-daughter, Taju'n-Nisab, once fell ill, and after suffering for some time died. When the news was conveyed to the Qayyum he said that she was not dead but alive. The doctors did their best to revive her but they did not find any sign of life in her. When three days had passed, and her body began to show signs of decay, the people approached the saint and requested him either to allow to make preparation for her burial or else raise her to life. Whereupon the saint approached the body and called her by name, at which she at once sat up.\(^{(1)}\)

The fourth Qayyum Zubayr, was a grandson of Qayyum III. It is related that his father, Abu'l 'Ali, took the veil, after the manner of women, when 12 years old but discarded it when Zubayr was born 12 years afterwards. Such supernatural events as are said to have taken place at the time of the birth of the

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CHAPTER XX.

Some Minor Orders.

1. THE UWAYSI ORDER.

This Order is ascribed to Uwaysu'l-Qarani, who derived his title from Qaran, a village in Yaman. He was a contemporary of Muhammad but was prevented from seeing him chiefly because of his high sense of duty to his own mother and also owing to the fact that he was subject to states of ecstasy which periodically overmastered him. He is said to have received instruction in a mysterious way from the spirit of Muhammad. Thus it is that when a Śūfi is known to have no pīr, he is said to be an ‘Uwaysi.’ The custom, to which reference has already been made (p. 190), of connecting two saints or mystics in a spiritual genealogy who could never have met because separated by a long space of time or distance, is really derived from this Uwaysi order. The one is said to have received instruction from the ṛāḥāniyat (‘spirituality,’—elsewhere we have translated this word by ‘spirit’) of the other. Such cases are common in the Naqshbandi other. (See pp. 187-190).

The following anecdote concerning Uways is related by the author of the Kashfu'l-mahjūb. The Apostle said to the Companions: ‘There is a man at Qaran, called Uways, who at the Resurrection will intercede for a multitude of my people, as many as the sheep of Rabi'a
and Muqarr. Then turning to 'Umar and 'Ali, he said: 'You will see him. He is a lowly man, of middle height, and hairy; on his left side there is a white spot, as large as a dirhem which is not from leprosy (pisti) and he has a similar spot on the palm of his hand. When you see him, give him my greetings, and bid him pray for my people.' After the Apostle's death 'Umar came to Mecca, and cried out in the course of a sermon: 'O men of Najd, are there any natives of Qaran amongst you? They answered, 'Yes'; whereupon 'Umar sent for them and asked them about Uways. They said: 'He is a mad man who dwells in solitude and associates with no one. He does not eat what men eat, and he feels no joy or sorrow. When others smile he weeps, and when others weep he smiles.' 'Umar said: 'I wish to see him.' They replied: 'He lives in a desert, far from our camels. 'Umar and 'Ali set out in quest of him. They found him praying and waited until he was finished. He saluted them and showed them the marks on his side and the palm of his hand. They asked his blessing and gave him the Apostle's greeting, and enjoined him to pray for the Moslem people. After they had stayed with him for a while, he said: 'You have taken trouble (to see me); now return, for the Resurrection is near, when we shall see each other without having to say farewell. At present I am engaged in preparing for the Resurrection.' When the men of Qaran came home, they exhibited great respect for Uways. He left his native place and came to Kufa. One day he was seen by Ḥarim b. Ḥayyān, and after that nobody saw him until the period of civil war. He fought for 'Ali, and fell a martyr at the battle of Siffin.'

D'Ossian in his work on the Ottoman Empire says that Uways formed the first order of the anchorites who practised the greatest austerity. He writes: 'This visionary pretended also to have received from the heavenly visitor the plan of his future conduct, and the rules of his institution. These consisted in a continual abstinence, in retirement from society, in an abandonment of the pleasures of innocent nature, and in the recital of an infinity of prayers day and night. Uways even added to these practices. He went so far as to draw out his teeth, in honour, it is said, of the Prophet, who had lost two of his own in the celebrated battle of Uhud. He required his disciples to make the same sacrifice. He pretended that all those who would be especially favoured by heaven, and really called to the exercises of his Order, should lose their teeth in a supernatural manner; that an angel should draw out their teeth while in the midst of a deep sleep; and that on awakening they should find them by their bedside. The experiences of such vocation was doubtless too severe to attract many proselytes to the Order; it only enjoyed a certain degree of attraction for the eyes of fanatic and credulously ignorant people during the first days of Islamism.'

Uways was regarded as the patron saint of many of the trade guilds in Turkey, especially that of the barber

(1) *Kashf al-Mahjub*, pp. 83, 84.
(2) Quoted by Ross in *The Dervishes*, pp. 266, 267.
tooth-drawers. According to Rose he is also the patron of bowmen and camel drivers.

As we have seen the place assigned to Uways in Indian hagiology is significant. There were indeed many saints who were termed ‘Uwaysi’ and some of them originated certain of the other Minor Orders. One such Order is called Madārī, and we shall now proceed to give a brief account of it.

2. THE MADĀRĪ ORDER.

This Order is ascribed to Bādī’u’d-Dīn Shāh Madār. Unfortunately there is much confusion in the various details given concerning him by different hagiographers. The following account is based on the Mir‘āt-i-Madārī, a manuscript copy of which is to be found in the Buhār Library, a section of the Imperial Library, Calcutta. The Mir‘āt-i-Madārī is said to have had for its sources the Imān-i-Maḥmūdī, a work believed to have been written by Maḥmūd Kantūrī, one of the vicegerents of Shāh Madār.

Shah Madār was a Jew, and his father, Abū Ishāq Shāmī was a direct descendant of Aaron, the brother of Moses. The birth of Shāh Madār is said to have been announced to his father in a dream by Moses himself, who named the child Bādī’u’d-Dīn (the maker of religion), and said that he would be like unto him in the dignity of sainthood. According to Moses’ prediction signs of the ‘Mosaic saintship’ showed themselves in Madār in his youth. He received his early education from a Jewish teacher, Ḥadiqa Shāmī, a man who knew all the scriptures by heart and truly followed their teachings. This Ḥadiqa is said to have performed many miracles in his life.

When Shāh Madār was still young his parents died, and he, broken hearted over his loss, went to his master Ḥadiqa and said, “I have acquired mastery over all the Scriptures and have learnt much from you about the mysteries of religion, but so far I have not entered at all into the experience of union with God. You have taught me of one Ahmad, foretold in the Torah and Injīl, who was to come after Moses and Jesus, and through whom alone one could find God. Where is he to be found?” His master replied, “Ahmad has passed away from this world, but his followers are to be found in Mecca and Medina.” Whereupon Shāh Madār renounced all his worldly possessions and went to Mecca. There he spent some time in the study of the Quran and Traditions and then mastered the Fiqh of all the four Sunni Schools of Jurisprudence. Even so his soul was not satisfied. At last, disappointed, he thought of returning to his home in Syria, but when he went to make the circuit of the Ka’ba for the last time, he heard a voice saying to him, “If thou art a seeker after God, hasten to the tomb of Muhammad in Medina.” In obedience to the voice he went to the Prophet’s tomb and as he kissed it he heard a voice saying to him, “Peace be on thee, O Bādī’u’d-Dīn Shāh Madār! God willing, thou wilt soon attain thy goal.” Shortly afterwards the spirit of Muhammad appeared and, in the presence of ‘Ali’s spirit, instructed him in the mystery
of the religion of Islam. Afterwards Muhammad com-
mended him to the care of ‘Ali and ordered him to
instruct him as one of his own sons in esoteric know-
ledge. Shāh Madār next went to Najaf Ashraf, the
sacred place of the followers of ‘Ali. There he was
introduced by ‘Ali to Imām Mahdi, the twelfth invisible
Imām, who further instructed him in the twelve heavenly
books. We learn of these books thus incidently in this
connection. They are enumerated as follows: The
four books which were revealed for the children of
Adam, viz.,
Torah, Zabūr, Injil and Furqān.
Four which were sent down to the jinn viz. Rakūrī,
Jājarī, Dashārī and Waliyān.
Four which were revealed to the Angels viz. Mir’āt,
A’īnu’r-Rab, Sīr-i-Mājir and Mazhar-i-Alī.
When Shāh Madār had been thoroughly instructed
in all esoteric and exoteric knowledge, Imām Mahdi
took him to the spirit of ‘Ali, who then appointed him
his vicegerent and ordered him to go to Medina. There
the spirit of Muhammad directed him to proceed to
India.
Another version of his life speaks of him as an Arab
of the Quraysh tribe, and traces his genealogy on his
father’s side to Abū Hurayra and on his mother’s side
to ‘Abdū’r-Raḥmān b.‘Awf, both companions of Muham-
dad. His father’s name, according to this version, is
said to be ‘Ali. In his spiritual genealogy, he is con-
ected, through ‘Abdu’llāh Makkī and Shaykhul-Jārīb
Muqaddasī with Tayfūr Shāmī. The story goes that
Tayfūr’s pīr had been a disciple and companion of Jesus
Christ, and that Jesus informed Tayfūr that he would
live to a great age and see Muhammad! Jesus is further
said to have instructed him to remain hidden in a cave
till the appearance of Muhammad, and then to accept
his religion.

Though obscurity surrounds the origin of Bādī’u’d-
Din, there is reason for believing that, on reaching
India, he first went to Ajmer where he is said to have
received instruction as to his future activities from the
spirit of Khwāja Mu’īnu’d-Dīn. Thence he went to
Makānpūr, in the neighbourhood of Cawnpore, where
he died in 1485 A. D. There is some difference of
opinion as to his age at the time of his death. Accordin
to some he lived to be 250 years old; according to
others 150.\(^1\)

His tomb in Makānpūr is visited by crowds of both
Muslims and Hindus, and is the scene of an annual
fair. Women are excluded from his shrine because it
is believed that any woman entering it is immediately
seized with violent pains, as if her whole body were
wrapped in flames of fire. On the occasion of his ‘urs
the rite of fire-walking is performed by Madārī faqīrs.
Burning coals of fire are spread on the ground and
sandalwood is sprinkled upon them. Then the faqīrs,
following their leader, jump quickly along the path of
coals, shouting meanwhile “Dam Madār; Dam Madār;”

\(^1\) See, Ghulam Sarwar, Khazinatu’l-Asfiya vol. II, (1914, Nawel-
kishot Press, Cawnpore) pp. 310-311. See also, Akbar ul Akhayar
Muqaddas’-Asfiya Mu’ariful-Wilayat.
i. e. 'By the breath of Madâr;' Their cry is believed to be a protection against injury from the hot coals, as well as a cure for the bite of a snake or the sting of a scorpion. After the performance their feet are washed and are found to have received no injury.

Sometimes devotees of the saint vow a black cow at the time of his birthday, which is supposed to have been the 17th, Jamâdiu l-Awwal. The cow is then slaughtered and the meat distributed among faqîrs. This custom is called "gâi lûtânî" i. e., plundering the cow.

3. THE SHAṬṬĀRĪ ORDER.

This order is an offshoot of the Tayfûr Khânwâda, and is attributed to Shaykh 'Abdullâh Shaṭṭârî a descendant of Shaykh Shihaâbu-d-Din Suhrâwardî. The name Shaṭṭār literally means 'speed', and is a term applied by the Sûfîs to certain mystical practices whereby they are enabled in the shortest possible time to arrive at the state of 'annihilation' (fanâ) and 'subsistence' (baqā). 'Abdullâh was the first to receive the title of Shaṭṭârî on the completion of such practices. It was given to him by his pir, Shaykh Muhammâd 'Arîf, who afterwards sent him to India. Wherever he went 'Abdullâh sought out the Sûfîs and said to them: "If you possess any spiritual gift, I request you to share it with me, otherwise I invite you to share mine". He also made this proclamation in every place through which he passed: "Let everyone who is a seeker after God come to me and I will lead him to God."

When in India he first took up his residence at Jaunpûr, the capital of the then reigning Sultan, İbrâhîm Sharqi. But soon his relations with the court became strained and he was obliged to leave for Mâlwa, which then was a small independent Muslim state. There in its capital—Mandu—he lived till he died in 1428-29 A. D.

Shâh Muhammâd Ghawth of Gwalior was a famous saint of this Order, fourth in the line of succession from 'Abdullâh Shaṭṭârî. He travelled extensively, making acquaintance wherever he went with leading saints and Sûfîs of his time. First he laboured hard to acquire the esoteric knowledge peculiar to Sûfism, which consists chiefly of the art of magic and methods of summoning jinn. Later, he turned his attention to the study of mysticism and devoted himself to the purification of his heart for the purposes of attaining to the knowledge of God. Soon he rose to be a mystic of so high an order that he held authority to make disciples in the fourteen Khânwâdas becoming at length a Quat of his age. The Emperor Humâyûn held him in very high esteem, and indeed it was in consequence of his friendly relation with Emperor that Sher Shâh, after defeating Humâyûn, regarded Muhammâd Ghawth with suspicion. A further pretext for the new ruler's persecution of the saint was found in his book Mi'râj (ascension). In this he described his experiences in the path of spiritual progress, frequently making use of pantheistic expressions. Such a book was considered sufficient reason for condemning him to death. Muhammâd Ghawth fled from Mâlwa and took shelter in Guj-
SOME MINOR ORDERS

actually existed as late as 1820-21 A. D. He lived during the reigns of successive rulers of Gujrat, and witnessed its conquest by Akbar.

He too was a notable author, and is said to have written about 300 works, but of course this is gross exaggeration. Some of his writings may still be seen in the Library of Pir Muhammad Shah in Ahmadabad. He died in 1018 A. D., and was buried in the centre of his great Madrasa. Over his tomb a beautiful shrine was built by Murad Khan, the Governor of Gujrat during the reign of Jahangir.

4. QALANDARI ORDER.

The meaning of the word qalandar has not yet been satisfactorily defined. In an article written on the subject a few years ago, an Indian Sufi claimed that it is derived from one of the names of God in Syriac. (1) Others have sought to find its derivation in the Persian Kalantar, a chief man, or Kalantar a rough, uncouth man, but both of these are rejected by Rose as highly improbable. Further, the idea has been put forward that the term is derived from the Turkish Qarinda or Qalanda, both meaning musical instruments, or again, that it is connected with the Turkish word qal, meaning pure; but all such attempts to trace it to known word in various languages are beset with difficulties.

The term, whatever its meaning, is applied to an order of faqirs, of which we have varying descriptions. According to some writers these faqirs form a class of

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(1) See Ghulam Sarwar op. cit. pp. 332-333.

(2) Asmar-i-Tasawuf., Lahore, July 1925.
begging monks, but others speak of them as a tribe of nomads who make their living by conjuring and the exhibition of performing bears, etc. Others, again, give a more honourable account of its members, depicting them as a pious people who travel about, mostly without shoes, and practise the severest acts of austerity, and at times live in a state of ecstasy. (1) But in the hagiology of Indian Islam the Qalandariyya is an order of faqirs who are so absorbed in religious reveries or overcome to such an extent by ecstatic experiences that they are unable to distinguish between things lawful and unlawful. Members of this order are distinguished by the fact that they shave their heads, eyebrows, moustaches and beards.

The first man known to have had the name Qalandar is said to have been 'Abdu'l-'Azîz Makki. It has generally been believed that he was a companion of the Prophet himself. According to Sûfi legend he is not only still alive, but is said to have been living though the ages from the time of Abraham until now! In Pâkparan, close to the tomb of Bâbâ Farid, a small mound (sardâba) is pointed out as the place inside of which he is said to be now existing through in a state of unconsciousness self-induced by the effect of Ḥabs-i Dam, the holding of the breath.

According to an account current in India, the order was found by Sayyid Khiḍr Rûmî Qalândar Khabrâdârî, a disciple of 'Abdu'l-'Azîz Makki. The word

Rûmî indicates that he belonged to Rûm, or Turkistân, while the title Khabrâdârî is connected with a cup which he called Khabrâ, and always carried with him. It is said that this cup possessed the miraculous quality of being able to supply to any one whatever was wanted.

The peculiarity of this order whereby the members shave their heads etc. is thus explained. Khiḍr Rûmî's pîr, 'Abdu'l-'Azîz owing to his very great age had lost all his hair, and his disciple in his ardent desire to imitate his master in every detail of his life and appearance, shaved off the hair of his face.

It is said that Khiḍr Rûmî once came to Delhi and there met Khwâja Qutbû'd-Dîn Bakhtiwâr Kâkî, who initiated him in the Chishti Order and gave him the authority to make disciples in it. In return Khiḍr Rûmî received Qubud-Dîn in the Qalandari order and bestowed upon him a like authority. Thus originated within the Chishtiyâ a sub-section called the Chishtiyya-Qalandariyya; and in the Qalandariyya called the Qalandariyya-Chishtiyya.

The biographers of Khiḍr Rûmî say that he was a contemporary of the following saints; 'Abdu'l-Qâdir Gilânî, Shihâbu'd-Dîn Suhrawardî, Mawlânâ Bahâ'u'd-Dîn the father of Jalâlu'd-Dîn Rûmî, Badi'u'd-Dîn Shâh Madârî, Faridu'd-Dîn 'Atţâr and Faridu'd-Dîn Shakarganj.

The Qalandari Order was introduced into India by Sayyid Najmu'd-Dîn Ghawthu'd-dahar Qalândar. The saint was at first a disciple of Nizâmû'Dîn Awliyâ of Delhi, but later at the suggestion of his pîr he went to

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(1) For a fuller discussion on the term see Rose, The Darvishes, pp. 169-70.
Rūm and became a disciple of Khādīr Rūmī, who appointed him his vicegerent and sent him back to India. Najmu’d-Dīn is said to have journeyed twice to England and China and to have made the pilgrimage to Mecca forty-two times. Among his acts of austerity it is mentioned that once he fasted for a period of forty years, breaking his fast every evening with the leaves of the plum tree; and that, further, he remained seated for thirty years on one stone. His chest, we are also told, used to give out the sound of ‘Hu’, the Ṣūfī’s abbreviated name for God (Allah). Legend tells us that he lived to the great age of 200 years, and that he died in 1432 A.D. His shrine is at Mandu in Malwa, close to the palace of Ṣultān Muḥammad Ghawri. He was succeed by Qubṭu’d-Dīn Binādāl Qalandar Sarandāz-i-Ghawthi. The title Sarandāz means one who casts away his head, and is said to have been given to him because at the time of performing Dhikr his head would become severed from his neck. He died in 1518 A.D. at the age of 145. He was the last of the Qalandari saints to have lived to over 100 years.

Another saint of this order whose name is still venerated all over North India, was Sharfu’d-Dīn Bū’Ali Qalandar of Pānipat. He at first held the office of a Mufti in Delhi and was a disciple of Shihābu’d-Dīn Chishti, fourth in the line of succession from Qubṭu’d-Dīn Bakhtyar Kākī. The story goes that once when he was delivering a lecture and parading his learning, a faqir stood at the door and said, “O Sharfu’d-Dīn, it is not for this that you were born—how long will you continue in such disputations?” This gentle rebuke sank deep into his heart, and forsaking his office and the pulpit he began to seek peace in solitude. Eventually he cast away his books into the river Gumti, and as an act of penance continued to stand knee-deep in its waters for several years. Then he heard a voice saying to him: “O Sharfu’d-Dīn, thine austerity has been accepted, ask whatsoever thou willest.” He replied, “Nothing but Thee, and Thee alone.” He was then told that his prayer had been heard, and he was ordered to come up out of the water. Sharfu’d-Dīn said, “If this is Thy desire take Thou me from this water by Thine own hand, as for myself I have no desire to leave this ‘sea of love’.” At the next moment he found that some one had lifted him up from the water and had placed him on the ground. Exasperated at the conduct of this stranger, he cried out, “Shame! thou hast spoiled my labour of many years. But a few more moments and I would have attained my goal.” The stranger replied, “I am ‘Ali, and son-in-law of the Prophet; art thou not aware that I am also known by the title of yad Allah, the hand of God?” “Saying this ‘Ali imparted to him spiritual power and disappeared. From that time he became a Qalandar. According to others he was initiated into the Qalandari Order by Najmu’d-Dīn Ghawth Qalandar.

Sharfu’d-Dīn’s teachings are contained in a series of letters addressed by him to his disciple Ikhtiyār’u’d-Dīn.
He died in 1324 A.D. and was buried at first in Karnāl, but the people of Pānīpat, claiming him to be a native of their city, disintered his body and re-buried it in their own city. There is a legend, however, which says that when the people of Pānīpat came to remove his body they were prevented from carrying out their design by some supernatural portent, and so they merely dug up a few bricks from the tomb and, placing these in a coffin, carried them away in procession. On reaching Pānīpat they opened the coffin and, to their great surprise, found his body in it! It is now supposed that he lies buried both at Pānīpat and Karnāl.

His 'urs at any rate is held at both the places from the 9th. to 12th. Ramadān, during which days both shrines are illuminated and musical festivals are held.(1)

5. THE MALAMATI ORDER.

The designation Malāmati is derived from malāmat, "blame," and signifies one who is "blameworthy." The term has been generally applied to the saints of this Order, as indicating that they stood in a special relation to God, and, in consequence, were not subject to the Divine ordinances. This however does not appear to have been the meaning which the early exponents of Şūfism attached to the word. Rather it was used by them for a mode of life sometimes adopted by the Şūfis whereby they cloaked their sanctity by affecting the manners of the libertine.

The first saint to follow the path of malāmatiyā was Dhu’n Nūn’l-Miṣrī who has been mentioned in the earlier chapter of this book (see pp. 19, 20). He was regarded by the Ulamā of Egypt as a zindiq or freethinker. It was his disciple, Hamdun’l-Qasār, who founded the Malāmati Order. ‘Alī’l-Hujwīrī speaking about him writes as follows: "He has many fine sayings on the subject. It is recorded that he said: Al-malāmat tarku s-salāmat, 'Blame is the abandonment of welfare.' If anyone purposely abandons his own welfare and girds himself to endure misfortune, and renounces his pleasures and familiar ties, in hope that the glory of God will be revealed to him, the more he is separated from mankind the more he is united to God."(1)

The order was introduced into Constantinople by Shaykh Ḥamza, a Mullā of Brusa, in the 16th century. There the malāmatīs came to be known as Ḥamzawīs, after the name of Ḥamza. They formed a secret Order, with an organization strikingly like that of the Freemasons. "Shaykh Ḥamza was executed soon after the accession of Sultan Murād (111), apparently in 1575. The ground of his condemnation was said to be his excessive reverence for the Lord Jesus, and he was sentenced to be stoned at the Hippodrome, but, out of fear of a popular outbreak, as soon as he was brought out of his prison his throat was cut. One

(1) See Qalandari see Arrar-i-Tasawwuf. Manzil-i-Naqshbandiyya, Lahore, July, 1925. The above account of the Qalandari order is chiefly derived from this Sufi Journal.

(1) Kashf ul-Mahjub, p. 66.