Chapter IV

The Legend of Uwais Qaranf
and the Evolution of the Notion of Uwaisî Sufis

In the following Chapters I shall relate the story of, hitherto, ignored class of sufis who lacked the privilege of an organized silsila and existed as a loose community, consequently, finding only incidental mention in the contemporary sources that were primarily structured to relate collective notices of a particular silsila. The sufis of this group represented the Uwaisî notion - an extraordinary spiritual attainment outside the more normal patterns of direct transmission of doctrine and practice from teacher to pupil. This style of spiritual actualization is essentially based on visionary experience of an individual. According to the more conventional formulation of sufi organizational pattern this notion leaves the individual, however exalted his spiritual status, essentially unable to guide and teach others. But the sufis who are described in the following pages prove themselves to be capable instructors of their discipline. There is, in fact, a considerable development in the Uwaisî concept since the earliest theoreticians defined it. There are two features of the Uwaisî phenomenon that direct the course of discussion here: one feature explores the evolving notion of the concept from its existence as an individual attribute (nisbat) to its contouring as a distinct order (silsila) in Uwaisî sources; and the second feature relates the significance of visionary experience in the practice of Uwaisî sufis. The former aspect requires some clarification since the authenticity of such a silsila is debated by scholars who challenge the existence of any
continuous physical lineage of discipleship among the Uwaisīs. In view of an eighteenth century Persian text called the *Laṭā‘if-i nafisiya dar faṣā‘īl-i Uwaisiya*,¹ a treatise devoted exclusively to the study of Uwais Qaranī and the Uwaisī *silsila*, the possibility of such an organization with its distinct set of practices and doctrine does not appear to be improbable. As far as the question of lineage is concerned, it is the spiritual genealogy traced to the Prophet Muhammad, rather than physical pedigree, which is used to legitimate the claim of the Uwaisiya.

**Scholarship on Uwais Qaranī and the Uwaisī sufis**

In order to locate the issues surveyed in this Chapter beside the existing scholarship on the Uwaisīs, it would be appropriate to provide a survey of available researches on this theme. Until recently, when a couple of scholars have shown an interest in the Uwaisī phenomenon in Central Asia, the subject suffered from scholarly neglect.² It

¹ The *Laṭā‘if-i nafisiya dar faṣā‘īl-i Uwaisiya* (henceforth referred to as *Laṭā‘if-i nafisiya* in the text) is written by Shaikh Ahmad bin Mahmūd Uwais who lived in the region of the river Chenāb in Punjāb in the latter half of the 17th century. I could not get any copy of the Persian edition that was published in 1896. Perhaps, the only available manuscripts of the text are in Pakistan. I have used an Urdu translation of the same by Saiyid Manzūr Ḥasan Rizvī, which is known as *Ḥayā‘ī Uwais Qaranī*, and was printed in Delhi by the Wālī Press in 1940. Ghulām Sarwar Lāhori has referred to this text in the biographical notice of an Uwaisī sufi, Khwāja ‘Abdu’ll Khāliq, in his *Khāzinatu‘l asfīyā*, vol. 2, Kanpur: Nawal Kishore, 1312/1894, p. 376, and I have discussed this in the following Chapter; also see C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature*, 1/2, no. 1358, p. 1023, London: Luzac & Co, 1974 (1953), who has given 1156/1743 as the date of composition of this text.

² The first edition of *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* did not include any article on Uwais Qaranī or the Uwaisī sufis. It is only recently that the new edition of *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, has two articles by J. Baldick, “Uways al Karānī” and “Uwaisiyya”, see *EF*, vol. 10 (1998), p. 958. Some mention of the Uwaisī notion is found in Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975, pp. 28-29, 89 & 105; J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971, pp. 12-13; S. A. A. Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. 1, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1978, pp. 25, 350 & 374. One of the earliest references to the existence of an Uwaisī *silṣila* is available in John A. Subhan’s *Sufism. Its Saints and Shrines*, Lucknow: Lucknow Publishing House, 1938, pp. 299-302. Subhan had noticed many saints in the Indian hagiology with the term ‘Uwaysi’ attached to their name and they were the founders of several minor orders in India like that of the Madāris. But the antecedents of this order were traced to D’Ohsson’s description of the Uwaisī sufis of Turkey as mentioned in J. P.
was mentioned only in passing by several scholars of Sufism, and has been the theme of one serious article by a Pakistani scholar A.S. Hussaini more than three decades ago. Hussaini has discussed the Islamic biographical, traditionist and sufi positions on Uwais Qaranî and the Uwaisî sufis, concluding his article with an understanding that no significant development has been made to the Uwaisî theory of “direct inspiration” since the death of eminent sufi writer ʿAbduʾr Raḥmān Jāmī in A.D. 1492/3. Hussaini, however, was ignorant of the fact, suggested in the genesis of the sources examined by him, that the Uwaisî phenomenon seems to have undergone particularly full development in the eastern Islamic world.

A quarter century after Hussaini, two American scholars - Julian Baldick and Devin DeWeese have explored the concept of the Uwaisî sufis in Central Asia where discussion of the Uwaisî spiritual type is supplemented by frequent identification of particular figures as Uwaisî saints. Baldick has analyzed a Persian hagiographical text, the Taʾzīraʾi Uwaisiya that is also known as the Taʾzīraʾi Bughrā Khānî, which according to him was compiled by Ahmad Uzganî of Kirghizia around A.D. 1600. This work accounts for an “imaginary history of Uwaisî brotherhood” that flourished between the seventh and the fourteenth centuries in East Turkistān. On the basis of this text, which Baldick believes to be a collective hagiography of Uwaisî sufis of East Turkistān who, according to one point of view, were organised into a silsila by Khwāja Muhammad Sharīf during

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the sixteenth century, Baldick has argued for a strong Uwaisī presence in this region. Although he denies the existence of an ‘Uwaysi brotherhood’ in East Turkestān in the sixteenth century, Baldick has argued for an ‘Uwaysi movement’ which was centered around Yārkand and enjoyed the support of two Mongol rulers of East Turkestān, namely, ‘Abdu’l Rashīd and his son ‘Abdu’l Latīf.

Devin DeWeese’s interest in the Uwaysfs, however, is more discerning as he probes his source material, primarily the Hasht ḥadiqa, a biography of an Uwaisī saint Saiyid Ahmad Bashīrī (d. A.D.1463/4) to explore the social roles of a “charismatic, influential, but unaffiliated Shaikh” in the Timurid Māwarā’u’n-nahr. The core of DeWeese’s study concentrates on exposing the Hasht ḥadiqa as an “alternate perspective” on this period’s religious history to counter the view, derived from primarily Naqshbandī hagiographical sources, of an “apparently orderly and implicitly inevitable development of the Naqshbandiyah” into the predominant sufi order of Central Asia. DeWeese is also severely critical of the Soviet scholarship that argues for the existence of an Uwaisī order on the basis of a hagiographical text the Tagkira’i Uwaisiya or the Tagkira’i Bughrā Khānī. His criticism starts with the problem of identification of this work that is available in two forms. In its earliest form, the work recounts the lives of

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6 Ibid., pp. 21-26.

7 The authorship, variants, and textological problems of this text have been discussed in some detail by DeWeese, ibid., pp. 5-13. DeWeese categorically states that this hagiography is not an account of any real ‘order’ or silsila, but is an account of saints lives which exhibit Uwaisī features, and that the ‘Uvaysi farīqah’ represented not an actual organization but a spiritual ‘type’; and that this particular ‘type’ most
saints classed as belonging to the Uwaisī ṭariqa and on this basis the work has been described as a collective hagiography of the Uwaisī ‘order’. There are also available several shorter works bearing the same titles, which, though clearly based on the earlier work represent reworked accounts of legendary cycles associated with the Islamization of East Turkistan. In both forms the focus is Satūq Bughrā Khān, the Qarakhānid ruler who converted to Islam in the middle of the tenth century, who was enrolled as an Uwaisī sufi in the hagiographical work. There is, however, a difference of style and import in the two groups of works, and the shorter work reflects late legendary cycles. Further, it is erroneously assumed that Khwāja Muhammad Sharīf authored the Tagkira and was an organizer of the Uwaisī silsila. This identification, in DeWeese’s understanding, is based on a Turkic translation of the Persian original, and does not match the historical personality of the Khwāja Muhammad Sharīf described in the Tagkira’ī Khwāja Muhammad Sharīf, who served the Chaghtai ruler ‘Abdu’l Rashīd Khān in the first half of the sixteenth century. On the basis of these two assumptions, the Soviet scholars have pitted Khwāja Muhammad Sharīf against the Naqshbandī Shaikh Khwāja Iṣḥāq (founder of the theocratic Khwāja lineages), and have made the court of ‘Abdu’l Rashīd and his son as the battleground of rivalry between the two ‘orders’.

Despite disagreement with the above assumptions, DeWeese’s commitment to the Uwaisī sufis is unabated as he follows the complexity of the phenomenon, on the one
hand, through the solitary figure of an unaffiliated sufi - Saiyid Ahmad Bashīrī who stood outside the pale of an established silsila “to reflect a purer undomesticated articulation of the Uvaysi ideal”.⁹ And, on the other hand, he cites Khwāja Baha’uddīn Naqshband (d. A.D. 1389) who was ‘assimilated’ or ‘domesticated’ within the established fold of the Central Asian Khwajagān to such an extent that his Uwaisī personality was made subordinate to his ṭarīqa identity.

In view of the majority of scholars on Sufism, the Uwaisī notion experienced its fullest growth by the time ‘Abdu’l Raḥmān Jāmī wrote his Nafahātu’l uns in the latter part of the fifteenth century. Over the past one decade scholars of Central Asia have drawn our attention to the possibility of growth of the Uwaisī concept in the post-Jāmī period. In the following section I shall examine the legend of Uwais Qaranī and the notion of the Uwaisī sufis as it evolved from the beginning upto Jāmī. Writing at a time when ṭarīqa was the basis of sufi organizational set-up, Jāmī had made an attempt to incorporate the unaffiliated sufis by allocating respectable silsila lineages for them. In another section I shall examine the Uwaisī concept as described in the Taḵīra’i Bughrā Khānī and its author’s attempt to define a doctrine for the Uwaisī.

The Central Asia was not the only area where the notion of the Uwaisī was undergoing a transformation. In the Indian subcontinent we witness various applications of the Uwaisī notion and an attempt at creating a silsila-i Uwaisiya by the seventeenth century. In the following Chapter, on the basis of two Uwaisī sources, namely, the

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between the Uwaisīs and the Naqshbandīs is a common feature of the fifteenth and sixteenth century religious history of East Turkistan, see ibid., pp. 6-13.
Latāʿif-i nafsiyya dar fażāʿ il-i Uwaisiya of Shaikh Ahmad bin Mahmūd Uwaisī Chenābī and the Malfūzāt-i Khwāja Uwais Qaranī, an anonymous collection of didactic stories about Uwais Qaranī, I shall try to highlight the significance of this tradition in the history of Indian Sufism.

I

The legend of Uwais Qaranī and the notion of the Uwaisī sufis

The article on Uwais Qaranī in the new edition of The Encyclopaedia of Islam explains the derivation of his name in the following manner. 'Uwais' means 'wolf' in Arabic and the nisba al-Qaranī links him with the Qaran sub-group of the Yemeni tribe of Murād.10 Other explanations for this name are available in the Latāʿif-i nafsiyya dar fażāʿ il-i Uwaisiya wherein the author, Shaikh Ahmad bin Mahmūd, provides different traditions regarding the nasab-nāma (genealogy) of Uwais. Thus, according to 'Abdu'llāh Mutari's Kitāb Nūr-i Ahmadi his kunyat (patronymic) is Abū 'Umru, and since he belonged to the tribe of Uwais he is known as Abū 'Umru Uwais. Another tradition from the Sharḥ-i mishkāt of Mullā 'Alī Qārī states that Uwais is the diminutive of the word 'aus'. Although no further explanation has been given, we may safely assume that 'aus' refers to the name of a tribe in Arabia. In view of these definitions it is unlikely that the name Uwais refers to the literal meaning of the word as suggested by Julian Baldick.11 It

10 For the derivation of his name see J. Baldick, “Uways al-Karani”, op. cit.
11 For these definitions see the Latāʿif-i nafsiyya, Urdu translation by Manzūr Ḥasan Risvī, Ḥayāt-i Uwais Qaranī, op. cit., p. 9. Henceforth all references to the Latāʿif-i nafsiyya are cited from this Urdu translation.
is further mentioned that his father’s name was ‘Āmir and mother was called Bidar.\textsuperscript{12} The \textit{Laṭā‘if} also gives various traditions about Uwais’ second name. Uwais was known as Qaranī because he belonged to the village of Qaran in Yemen. This place is said to be the halting place of the pilgrims of Najd. For an etymological derivation of the word Shaikh Ahmad has referred to the \textit{Qamus}, a celebrated Arabic dictionary compiled by Muhammad bin Ya’qūb Fīrozābādī in the fourteenth century, ‘Qaran’ was a \textit{muhalla} (quarter) in the city of Yemen. It was named so because when the foundations were dug a cow horn was discovered, and since in the Arabic language a horn is known as ‘qarn’ therefore, this quarter became famous as such, and Uwais came to be known as Qaranī after he started living there.\textsuperscript{13} However, most scholars are inclined to agree by the view that Qaran was the name of the tribe to which Uwais belonged. His genealogy is traced back to al-Qaran bin Rūmān bin Fājiya bin Murād. He was therefore sometimes called Murādī as well as Qaranī.\textsuperscript{14}

Literary sources about Uwais Qaranī usually contain anecdotes (\textit{laṭā‘if}), sayings (\textit{malfūz}), or Traditions (\textit{aḥādīs}), provided with pedigrees of transmitters, in the form of ‘I was informed by A, who was informed by B, etc’. Such pedigrees have often been severely criticized by Muslim scholars who made apocryphal transmission as ground for rejecting not only the many stories that surround Uwais, but also make it the basis for

\textsuperscript{12} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 9. There is not much substance in establishing Uwais’ parentage as this is merely and exercise of the author’s imagination. A similar case may be cited from the \textit{Taqkira ‘i Bughrā Khami}, where Uwais’ parents are Suhail and Na’ima, see \textit{Taqkira ‘i Bughrā Khami}, ed. by Muhammad Munir ‘Alam, Islāmābād: Pakistan Institute of Persian Studies, 1998, p. 249.

\textsuperscript{13} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 9 & 10.

\textsuperscript{14} See A. S. Hussaini, “Uways al-Qaranī and the Uwaysi Sufis”, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 103.
denying his existence. Nevertheless, on the basis of certain reliable aḥādīṣ (Prophetic Traditions) Uwais is said to be the best of the tābiʾīn. Amongst the earliest muḥaddīṣūn (traditionists), Muslim (d. 261/875) has recorded the following tradition from ʿUmar who reported that the Prophet had said the best of the tābiʾīn was a person called Uwais, who had a mother whom he served, and who had a white spot on his body. If he took an oath before God that something would happen then God would make his oath effective. The Prophet instructed ʿUmar that when he met Uwais, he should request him to pray to God for his (ʿUmar’s) forgiveness. Since tabiʾ is a person who has not seen the Prophet but has accepted Islam through any of his Companions, it is maintained that Uwais was a contemporary of the Prophet but had never met him in person, therefore, any instance of direct communication between them was of a telepathic nature. Later traditionists like Bayhaqi have related that the Prophet had said that one person in his community, whose name was Uwais, would be responsible for the entry of several people into Paradise, numbering more than the total inhabitants of the Rabiʿa and Muṣar tribes. Both traditions define Uwais Qaraniʾs role as an intercessor for the Community.

The author of the Layāʾiʾ-i nafisiya has cited an interesting reference from the Sharh-i mishkāt of Shaikh ʿAbduʾl Ḥaq Muḥaddīṣ Dihalwī that further qualifies the excellance of Uwais Qaraniʾs status vis a vis that of the other tābiʾīn. According to Shaikh ʿAbduʾl Ḥaqq, Saʿīd bin al Musayyib is reputed to be the foremost tābiʾī (afzaluʾl tābiʾī) on account of his knowledge and learning (ʿilm u faṣl). But this does not affect the

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15 See ibid., p. 106.
16 The same has been cited in the Hayāt-i Uwais Qarani, op. cit., p. 18; also ibid., pp. 104 & 105.
greatness of Uwais Qaranī in any way because the latter’s excellence was received as multitude of rewards (kasrat-i sawāb) from God.¹⁸ The author of the Lqta’if-i naftisiya also states on the authority of Maulānā Saiyid Mahmūd bin Muhammad bin ‘Alī Shaikhānī Qādirī Madani’s Ḥayāta’l zakirīn that Saiyid ‘Abdu’l Wahhāb Sha’rānī cites a tradition that Uwais Qaranī had been present in the service of the Prophet several times, and he had also come to the Prophet in the battle of Uḥud. This tradition is further strengthened by a saying attributed to Uwais Qaranī who himself states that in the battle of Uḥud he was behind the Prophet. When the Prophet lost his four front teeth, Uwais also broke his teeth; and when the prophet injured his face, Uwais too suffered the same. In order to establish a direct physical contact between the Prophet and Uwais later sources cite traditions that claim him to be a ṣaḥābī [a Companion of the Prophet]. The latter two traditions are obviously designed to establish Uwais’ physical companionship with the Prophet. Although, Shaikh Ahmad Chenābī was doubtful about these traditions he does not reject them. At the end of this latīfa (literally anecdote, here it is used as a chapter heading) he states: “It is possible that those who do not agree with the view of Uwais Qaranī being a ṣaḥābī have not been able to locate the tradition that cites its proof and they are not aware of it. Divine knowledge is infinite and no one can claim to know it entirely or be in sole possession of it.”¹⁹ Apocryphal traditions have always been used to legitimate a claim by citing the Prophet’s approval. In the case of the first generation Muslims piety of an individual is measured by the degree of proximity to Muhammad. In

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 19 & 20.
¹⁸ Ibid., p. 20.
¹⁹ Ibid., p. 24.
the *Laṭā‘if-i nafisiya* these traditions have been used to annoint the status of *ṣahābī* on Uwais Qarani, who has traditionally been placed as *ta‘bi*, with the same purpose.

The earliest source for the legend of Uwais is a collection of biographies by Ibn Sa‘d of Basra in southern Iraq, who died in A.D. 845. According to these stories, Uwais lived in Kufah, in western Iraq, around the early seventh century of our era. He is depicted as either naked or ill dressed, on account of his poverty, and therefore could not go to the mosque.20 Once he recited a passage from the Quran and fainted. People used to make fun of him, but he was honoured by the Caliph ‘Umar (reigned A.D. 633-644) for whose forgiveness Uwais had prayed at the behest of the Prophet. Uwais tried to keep this a secret, but his fame spread, and he left Kufah because he desired solitude. He died fighting by the side of ‘Alī bin Abū Tālib in the battle of Siffin in A.D. 657. These accounts of Ibn Sa‘d contain the germ of future development of Uwais’ legend in the Islamic tradition.21 Also in the ninth century, the ‘Irāqī theologian Muḥāsibī (d. 857), while writing about the early mystics’ unwillingness to live on funds provided by unjust rulers, and their consequent tendency to eat what others had thrown away, states that Uwais would pick up things from dunghills. This feature is also mentioned in the *Laṭā‘if-i nafisiya* in a chapter that deals with the food and attire of Khwaja Uwais Qarani.22

20 On the authority of Ibn Sa‘d Shaikh Ahmad Chenābī has related the following story in 10th *latifā* of his book.
22 Ahmad bin Mahmūd states the tradition of Nazr bin Isma‘īl where he says that Uwais Qarani would pick grain from dunghills and wash them. He would give some away in alms and eat some, and lament before God that he undertook hardship and fasted for Him; see *Hayāt-i Uwais Qarani*, op. cit., pp. 14 & 15. However, A. S. Hussaini in his pioneering article has categorically stated that Muḥāsibī does not mention Uwais Qarani, see his “Uways al-Qarani and the Uwaysi Sufis”, *op.cit.*, p. 106.
Much of Uwais' popularity was built on the basis of his biographical notices in accounts of the *auliyā’ allāh* (friends of God) preserved in sufi *taṣkiras*. These sources elaborate on the tradition that Uwais Qaranī accepted Islam without meeting Muhammad and was guided through spiritual communication with him. This feature became a model for the spiritual type represented by Uwais, thus giving credence to the notion of ‘Uwaisī’ sufis. There is, however, a difference in the portrayal of characteristic traits favoured by the authors of the western and eastern sufi traditions. While Uwais Qaranī’s status as an intercessor is named by more westerly sufi authors, his solitude, indifference towards the world, and direct inspiration are emphasized by Fuzail bin `Iyāz of Balkh, al-Kalābāzī of Bukhāra, and `Alī bin Uṣmān Hujwīrī of Ghazna.

Fuzail bin `Iyāz (d. A.D. 803) is said to be the first mystic traditionist to mention Uwais. He mentions that `Umar asked the people of Qaran whether they knew a person by the name of Uwais. One of them said that Uwais was a madman. `Umar, however, ignored this reply and requested them to greet Uwais on his behalf and that of the Prophet.23 The Iranian mystic Ḥakīm al-Tirmīzī who was born and died in Tirmīz (d. A.D. 905/910) in Uzbekistan, provides some information about Uwais in his *Siratu’l auliya’*. According to Tirmīzī the Prophet referred to people who could not come to the mosque on account of their nakedness: one of these was Uwais. He also relates a story in which Uwais met someone for the first time and already knows his name, explaining.

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“My spirit recognized your spirit”. Abū Nasr Sarrāj (d. 988) also mentioned Uwais’ piety and powers of intercession in his Kitāb al-luma’. He cites a hadīṣ that the Prophet said, “As many people of my community as the number of the people of Rabī’ and Muṣar tribes will go to Paradise through the intercession of Uwais.”

Kalābāzī (d. A.D. 990/1000) in his Kitāb at-ta`arruf li mazhab ahl at-taṣawwuf included Uwais in a particular category of sufis called the “insane-wise” (ʼuqalā’-i majānīn) who after reaching the state of passing away (fanā), were annihilated, so that they were not commissioned by God to preach the true path to his creatures. Such a creature, Kalābāzī explains later, may be one of the two kinds. He may be such as cannot be taken as leader or a model, because his passing away consists of being absent from his own attributes so that he appears to be really mad. He loses his reason and no longer seeks his own pleasure, but he is preserved in performing his duties to God. There have been many such people in the Community like Uwais Qaranī whom the Prophet had mentioned to ʻUmar and ʻAlī. This aspect of Uwais’ character was a restraint that barred taking of disciples in case of later sufis who followed in his footsteps. Another feature that was highlighted by Kalābāzī was regarding the intuition (fīrāsa) of Uwais who addressed Harim bin Haiyyān by his name although Uwais had never seen him before, explaining, “My spirit recognized thy spirit”.  

The sufi biographer Abū Nu‘aym (d. A.H. 1038-9) of Isfahān in his *Hilyatu‘l auliyā‘* gives full details about the appearance, character, and teachings of Uwais Qarañī. According to Abū Nu‘aym in a ḥadīṣ cited by Abū Huraira, the Prophet told ‘Umar and ‘Alī about those creatures whom God loves. Such creatures are pious and hidden from eyes of people, they have a dishevelled appearance, and eat only lawfully acquired food. Society shuns them and they die in obscurity. Muhammad then gave a detailed physical description of Uwais Qarañī as such a person. He also informed them that Uwais would intercede for as large a number as people of Rabī‘a and Mużar tribes, and that they should seek Uwais and ask him to pray for them. After twenty years of search when ‘Umar and ‘Alī went to Mecca in the season of ḥajj ‘Umar discovered the whereabouts of Uwais from the people of Yemen. He was told that Uwais herded camels and was unworthy of any status. ‘Umar and ‘Alī found him in a desert absorbed in prayers. After verifying Uwais’ identity with a white spot under his shoulder, they requested for his prayers. Uwais refused acceptance of ‘Umar’s offerings and warned him of the difficult path before them that could be travelled only without material encumbrance.²⁷

Abū Nu‘aym also elaborates on Uwais’ ecstatic nature and illustrates it through a story. Uwais was in the habit of giving away his clothes to the needy, and would remain naked until he was given another garment. Abū Nu‘aym mentions the story of a muḥaddīṣ who lectured in Kūfah. After the crowd dispersed a small group would stay back for discussions. In this group there was a man who spoke strangely. One day he did not turn

²⁷ For a complete translation of the same from the *Hilyatu‘l auliyā‘* see A. S. Hussaini, “Uways al-Qarañī and the Uwaisī Sufis”, *op. cit*, pp. 107 & 108.
up for the lecture and on making enquiries the traditionist was told that he was Uwais Qaranî. They went in search of him to his house and found him naked. On being questioned about his absence Uwais answered, "Because of nakedness". When they offered Uwais a sheet he refused it for he feared that other Kufans would mock him and even injure him. This was probably because they considered him mad.28 This aspect of Uwais' character has already been mentioned by Fuzail bin 'Iyaz and Kalabâzî.

The earliest extant Persian treatise on Sufism was compiled by 'Ali bin Usmân, a native of Ghazna in Afghânistân. Born somewhere in the last decades of the tenth or early eleventh century A.D, he stayed for considerable time of his life in Jullâb and Hujwîrî, the two suburbs of Ghazna, and thus acquired the nisbat al-Ghaznavî al-Jullâbî al-Hujwîrî. The treatise Kashf al mahjûb was compiled in reply to certain questions posed to him by a fellow townsman Abû Sa'id al Hujwîrî. The treatise bears evidence of long travels of the author, which encompass areas from Syria to Turkistân and from Indus to the Caspian Sea. This itinerary of 'Ali Hujwîrî is significant as it accounts for his rich personal experience and knowledge of traditions about saḥâbiîn, tâbi'in, mystics and saints as preserved in written and oral memory of his times.29 The author's account of Uwais Qaranî in fact is an assimilation of various traditions that contribute to the legend of Uwais as it evolved about A.D 1060's when Kashf al mahjûb was compiled. He notes that Uwais Qaranî belonged to the tâbi'in. He lived in the time of Prophet Muhammad,

29 For an analysis of the text see Jawid A. Mojaddedi, The Biographical Tradition in Sufism; The tabaqât genre from al-Sulamî to Jâmi', Richmond: Curzon Press, 2001, Chapter 5, "Hujwîrî's Kashf al-mahjûb".
but was prevented from seeing him, firstly by the ecstasy which overwhelmed him, and secondly by duty to his mother. This is a significant addition to Uwais’ legend.

The tradition relating the intercession of Uwais is elaborated and ‘Alî Hujwîrî states the Prophet had said to his 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 Rabî‘a and Mużar. The Prophet then described him as a lowly man of middle height, and hairy, who had two white spots as large as a dirham one on his left side and one on the palm of his hand, which were not from leprosy (pistî). He then asked ‘Umar and ‘Alî to convey his greetings to Uwais, along with the instruction for him to pray for the Muslim community. After the death of the Prophet ‘Umar went to Mecca and inquired of the people of Najd if there were any natives of Qaran amongst them and asked them about Uwais. They said, “He is a madman 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”.30 He was also informed that Uwais lived far from the people in the desert. When ‘Umar and ‘Alî met Uwais he showed them his marks and, they asked his blessings and enjoined him to pray for the Muslim people. After they had stayed with him for a while he told them that he was engaged in preparing for Resurrection and asked them to leave. When the men of Qaran returned home they demonstrated great respect for Uwais Qaranî. At this point, ‘Alî Hujwîrî tells us that,

Uwais believed that safety lies in solitude and he left for Kūfah and later died fighting for Ḥābind in the battle of Šifin.\(^{31}\)

`Alī Hujwīrī further relates the tradition of Uwais in reference to Harim bin Haiyyān. The latter went to visit Uwais Qarānī but did not find him at Qaran, and returned to Mecca where he learnt that Uwais was at Kūfah. After a long time, Harim bin Haiyyān on his way to Basra saw Uwais dressed in a patched frock (\textit{muraqqa}’) on the banks of the Euphrates. Harim bin Haiyyān saluted him and Uwais Qarānī cried out: “Peace be with thee, O Harim b. Haiyyān!” Harim cried: “How did you know that I am Harim?” Uwais Qarānī answered: “My spirit knew thy spirit”.\(^{32}\) Uwais then instructed Harim to guard his heart against the thought of anything other than God.\(^{32}\)

There is another brief mention of Uwais in the \textit{Kashf al mahjūb} in the fourth chapter of the first section where the author explores the practice of wearing \textit{muraqqa}’āt (patched frocks) by the sufis. He relates that Ṭūmar, Ḥābind, and Harim b. Haiyyān, related that they saw Uwais Qarānī with a woollen garment on which patches were stitched.\(^{33}\) In the later traditions this \textit{muraqqa}’ acquires tremendous significance as it represents tangible proof of Uwais’ association with Muḥammad. There is, however, no mention of Uwaisī sufis as such in the \textit{Kashf al mahjūb}.\(^{33}\)

The legend of Uwais finds a significant expansion in the \textit{Tažkira’t auliya’}, a collection of sufi biographies attributed to Farīduddīn Ḵᵛājour (d. A.H. 1230). ᴴᵛājur’s biography of Uwais is derived from the account in the \textit{Kashf al mahjūb}. It begins by

\(^{31}\) \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 83 & 84.

\(^{32}\) \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 84 & 85.

\(^{33}\) \textit{Ibid.}, p. 45.
evoking a few sayings ascribed to Muhammad like, “Uwais al-Qaranī khairu’l tābi‘īn” that is Uwais Qaranī is the best of the tābi‘īn. Sometimes the Prophet would turn towards Yemen and say, “I find the breath of the beneficent from the direction of the Yemen”. 'Attār connects this hadīs with Uwais. This motif has been dominant in the legend of Uwais ever since and needs some explanation. Although 'Attār himself does not explain the tradition, later sources provide interpretations that affirm the relationship established by him. Shaikh Ahmad bin Mahmūd Chenābī has discussed the relevance of this tradition in a separate chapter of his Lajīf-i nafisiya. The various interpretations exalt the person of Uwais Qaranī as the phrase ‘nafs al-rahmān’ (literally, breath of the beneficent) points to him.34 Modern day scholars have interpreted this tradition differently and Julian Baldick is of the opinion that the name Raḥmān (“Beneficent”, often translated as “Merciful”) was the South Arabian name for God before Islam.35 'Attār also credits Muhammad with the statement that on the Day of Judgement God will create seventy thousand angels in the form of Uwais, so as to camouflage his entry into paradise.36

34 Of the several authorities mentioned by the author in this context I shall refer to two. Shaikh Ahmad states from a letter of Shaikh Sharafuddīn Yaḥyā Manerī that once a beneficent breeze blew from the burning heart of a shepherd that made angels lose their consciousness. On regaining their senses they inquired about this breeze from Gabriel (Jibra’il). The latter asked the Prophet about it and he identified the breeze as flowing from the heart of a Yemeni shepherd i.e Uwais; another tradition from Maulānā Jalāluddīn Siyūṭī’s Kitāb sharḥ al-ṣudūr states that Uwais Qaranī was the qūb-i abdāl (pole of the substitutes) in the day of the Prophet and therefore kept himself hidden from people. This tradition was for Uwais. For these and other traditions given by Shaikh Ahmad bin Mahmūd see Hayāt-i Uwais Qaranī, op. cit., pp. 41-44.

35 Julian Baldick, Imaginary Muslims. The Uwaysi Sufis of Central Asia, op. cit., p. 19. I assume, that this may then imply, that 'Attār was consciously assimilating the Arab pre-Islamic past into the Islamic mainstream through Uwais who represented conversion to Islam through extra-physical association with the Prophet. This motif is repeated in the derivation of the notion of the “Uwaisī” from “Burkh” - a pre-Islamic figure in Central Asia. This has been discussed below.

Further, anonymous reports repeated by the biographer relate that in heaven Muhammad will try to visit Uwais, but God will stop him. Just as they did not meet in this world they will not meet in the next. Besides, God will say to Muhammad, "[if] a person has seen Me, why should he see you?" (Farmān rasad ki "kasī ki mā ā binad, turā chirā binad?"). In other words, Uwais’ vision of God will render seeing Muhammad unnecessary.

In 'Attār’s narration Hujwīrī’s tradition about Uwais’ intercession is elaborated and the number of Muslims for whom he shall intercede is now increased to the number of hairs of the sheep of Rabī’a and Mużar tribes. This intercession is now treated as a beneficence derived from the muraqqa’ of the Prophet. 'Attār relates that when Muhammad was dying and was asked about his muraqqa’, he told ‘Umar and ‘Alī that he will give it to Uwais. After the Prophet died ‘Umar and ‘Alī took his mantle to Uwais. The latter did not wear it unless God acceded to his prayer to pardon the entire community of Muslims. In 'Attār’s narrative the dialogue between Uwais and God indicates that God may have granted Uwais’ prayers, but Uwais’ pursuance was interrupted by the untimely arrival of ‘Umar and ‘Alī. At their insistance Uwais doned the Prophet’s muraqqa’ and prayed to God for the pardoning of as many people of Muhammad’s community as the hairs of the sheep of Rabī’a and Mużar (Pas Uwais muraqqa’ dar poshīd wa gufī ki ‘adad-i muyī gūsfandān-i Rabī’a wa Mużar az ummat-i Muhammad bakhshīdand, az barakat-i īn muraqqa’). The intensity of connection

37 Ibid., pp. 19 & 20.
38 Ibid., p. 21.
between Uwais Qaranī and the Prophet is enhanced tremendously by `Āṭṭār. This is expressed through the knowledge of certain physical peculiarities by either of them despite their lack of meeting. Such was the state of Uwais’ awareness and devotion to Muhammad that when the latter broke a tooth Uwais plucked out all his teeth in empathy.

This elaborate legend of Uwais is a prelude to an introduction of the notion of Uwaisī sufi. Towards the end of this notice Farīduddīn `Āṭṭār also mentions that Shaikh Abū’l Qāsim Gurgānī (d. A.D. 1076) used to recite “Uwais! Uwais!” as his zikr formula.

And finally the author sums up this notice by presenting Uwais as the prototype of Uwaisī sufis. He informs his readers:

Know that there is a class of people who are known as the Uwaisiyān. They do not need a pir, because they are trained in the bosom of Prophethood without the mediation of anyone, just as Uwais was given [training]. Even if he did not see the Chief of the Prophets, may God grant him peace and salvation, he received his upbringing from him. The Prophethood fostered him, and in reality it was his companion. And this is an esteemed and sublime rank.39

In the twenty-second chapter of the Taqīratu ’lauliya’, `Āṭṭār presents the biography of Abū’l Ḥasan Kharqānī (d. A.D. 1033) who belonged to the village of Kharqān in the north-eastern Iran. Later sources present him as a model Uwaisī pupil who had learnt from the spirit of an earlier mystic Abū Yazīd (d. A.D. ca. 875) of the nearby town of Biṣṭām. The section on Kharqānī begins by presenting Abū Yazīd as prophesying

39 Bidān ki qaumī bāshand ki īshān rā Uwaisiyān goyand, ki īshān rā ba pir hājat nabīwad, ki īshān rā mubāwat dar huji-ī khwūd parwarish dahad, bi wāṣita’i ghairī, chinān ki Uwais rā dād. Agar chi ba zāhir khwāja’i ambiyā rā - alayhi’l ṣaltā’ wa’l salām nadīd, ammā parwarish az wai mi-yāfī. Az mubāwat mī-
Kharqānī’s greatness. 'Attār relates that Bāyazīd would go annually for the visitation of the graves of the martyrs and would stop at Kharqān and inhale deeply. When his murīds inquired, he replied that he inhaled the fragrance of a man of God from Kharqān whose name will be 'Alī and patronym Abū’l Ḥasan, and that he would be ahead of him by three ranks. It continues to tell us that Kharqānī performed the morning namāz with the people of Kharqān, and then he would leave for Bištām to pray at the grave of Bāyazīd, and he would return back for the morning namāz to Kharqān. This continued for twelve years and then he finally heard a voice from Bištāmī’s grave that instructed him to sit, that is, to settle down. Kharqānī had pleaded before that voice that he was illiterate. Bāyazīd blessed him and after this instance when he came back to Kharqān he read the Quran in twenty-four days.40

The intercessory role that was emphasized in the legend of Uwais has significant ramification on the followers of his method. Kharqānī promises his followers to relieve them of the torture in the grave. Such is his influence that on the Day of Judgement his followers would intercede for others. The biographical notice also incorporates certain extraordinary sayings of Kharqānī that are apparently pronouncements in self-glorification of the mystic. These are known as shāṭbihāt, derived from shāṭh, which means inaberrated speech, that is uttered by the sufi when he is overcome by a certain mystical state. For example 'Attār notes: a sufi came down from the air and refers to three

\*parward wa bā haqīqat ham nafs būd. Wa in maqām ‘azīm wa ‘āla ast. Ibid., pp. 28-29; For Persian text see Appendix IV/1.

40 Ibid., pp. 261-262.
great mystics of the past, saying, “I am the Junaid, Shiblî and Abû Yazîd of the age!” Kharqânî replied, “I am the Muhammad and the God of the age!” I would like to sum up discussion of the Uwaisî sufis of ’Âttâr by referring to a dream of Abû’l Hasan Kharqânî. According to the Shaikh “I saw in a dream that I and Bâyazîd and Uwais Qaranî are in the same shroud” (”Ba khwâb didam ki: man wa Bâyazîd wa Uwais Qaranî dar yak kafan bûdîm”). This saying is significant as it confirms amongst these three an affinity of a common spiritual type.

Nearly two centuries after ’Âttâr, the followers of Khwâja Baha’uddîn Naqshband (d. A.D. 1389) maintained that their master was in fact an Uwaisî. Baha’uddîn’s Uwaisî connection is a well-known feature of his biography and is often repeated in the Naqshbandî sources. Its development, however, has received little attention by modern scholars until recently when Devin DeWeese proposed to locate Baha’uddîn’s Uwaisî tradition in Central Asia where the Uwaisî concept had acquired a considerable development. Although, DeWeese himself has not explored the implication of Baha’uddîn Naqshband’s Uwaisî association, he has, however, drawn our attention to the development of the Uwaisî concept in Central Asia. In this context he has used the Hasht hadîqa, a fifteenth century hagiography of an Uwaisî sufi, Saiyid Ahmad of the town of Bashir in the Mâwarâ’u’n-nahr. The work’s introduction deals theoretically with the Uwaisî doctrine, recounting the life of Uwais Qaranî as the prototype of Uwaisî sufis. It also follows the well-known accounts of the Uwaisî phenomenon, mentioning Hujwîrî and ’Âttâr. But, it adds one very interesting statement about Uwaisîs who are said to have

41 For both the traditions see ibid., pp. 272 and 285 respectively.
pre-Islamic ancestors as the followers of Bābā Burkh, and hence they were known as Burkhīyān.42

The other source that refers to this Bābā Burkh as the origin of the Uwaisī spiritual type is the Rashāhāt 'ainu’l hayāt, a well-known Central Asian hagiography of the Naqshbandīs from the beginning of the sixteenth century. In the Rashāhāt Khwāja Muhammad Pārsā is recorded as reporting his Shaikh Baha’uddīn Naqshband’s description of a certain sufi who had the “quality of Burkh”:

That sincere one had the quality of Burkh... Burkh-i aswad was the black slave of the age of Moses who had attained the status of God’s beloved. They say that Burkh was analogous among the children of Israel to Uwais Qarānī within this community. And Ḥaẓrat Ishān [Baha’uddīn Naqshband] has said, “they call that group among the eminent ones of the previous times who without the medium of speech make known matters of the Truth to one another in assemblies, Burkhīyān. And those who are described in this manner after the appearance of the religion of Muhammad they call Uwaisīyān.”

These descriptions certainly attest to the familiarity, in the fifteenth century Central Asia, of the notion that the Burkhīyān represent the pre-Islamic version of a type

42 The following is a translation from the Persian text of the Ḥashī ḥadīqa as cited by DeWeese: “The notables of this tarīqah . . . have affirmed that this group (tā’īyah) [i.e. the Uvaysi Sufis] existed before the time of the Prophet . . . and their chief was Bābā Burkh; and at that time they called that group (jamā’at) “Burkhīyān.” And in unseen ways they would derive benefit from the interior beings of the prophet of their own time. Similarly, after the appearance of the Holy Prophet Muhammad..., that spirit was transferred to Uvais Qarānī, and they called this group (jamā’at) ‘Uvaysīyān.’” See DeWeese’s “An ‘Uvaysi’ Sufi in Timurid Mawarannahr: Notes on Hagiography and the Taxonomy of Sanctity in the Religious History of Central Asia”, op. cit., p. 27.

of spirituality that in Islamic times is symbolized by the Uwaisiyān, according to which Divine knowledge is transmitted in unseen ways, that is without the medium of speech or physical contact. Eventhough, in the Hasht hadīqa the identity of Bābā Burkh is undisclosed, in the Rashahāt he is incorporated within the Abrahamic tradition. But the explanation given in the Rashahāt for who this Burkh was is entirely a work of Kāshifī’s imagination, since no such figure appears in Islamic tales of the Prophet, or in discussions about the Uwaisī notion. De Weese is right in presuming that the association of Uwaisī concept with Khwāja Muhammad Pārsā – the great Naqshbandī synthesizer of the sufi doctrine – suggests that this figure of Burkh had his image “cleaned up” for more orthodox consumption. This suspicion is reinforced by the widespread popularity in Central Asian oral and popular literature of the story of Burq diwāna or Burkh-i sarmast (i.e. the “mad” or “intoxicated” Burq/Burkh), in which Burkh is cast as an ascetic and a “holy fool” whose devotion is such that God promises him anything he asks. In the folkloric tradition of this region Burkh is one of the saints who is invoked during shamanic performance. In view of the seemingly non-Islamic origins of the tradition of Bābā Burkh, and keeping in mind the continuing vitality of Buddhism in Central Asia in the wake of Mongol rule, De Weese also explores possibility of tracing the origin of Burkh to the standard Central Asian Turkic term for buddha, burkhan. The term burkhan was understood in Islamic environments not only as a name of “spiritual” buddhas, but for individuals who attained a high level of mystical realization. In practical terms, this is

_Uwaisiyān migoyand. See Fakhruddin Kāshifī’s Rashahāt ’ainu’l ḥayāt, Kanpur: Munshi Nawal Kishore, 1912, p. 58; For Persian text see Appendix IV/2._

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close to the Islamic understanding of the Uwaisī concept, that individual effort may lead to attainments normally achieved only at the hands of a living shaikh. The existence of a tradition equating the Uwaisī and Burkhī spiritual styles thus attests to the Central Asian provenance of “domestication” of the Uwaisī concept.

The understanding of the Uwaisī saints demonstrated in Jāmī’s Naфāḥāt u’l uns is a considerable expansion of the concept since Ḥaṭṭār first defined it in his Taṣkīra. Such is the intensity of Ḥaṭṭār’s association with this concept that later tradition identifies him as an Uwaisī. In the biographical notice of Shaikh Farīduddīn Ḥaṭṭār Nīshāpurī mentioned in the Naфāḥāt u’l uns, on the authority of the preface to the Taṣkīrat u’l auliya’, Jāmī relates that Ḥaṭṭār was a disciple of Shaikh Majduddīn Baghdādī. Jāmī then describes Ḥaṭṭār on the basis of a particular tradition as an Uwaisī and adds a report of Maulānā Jalāluddīn Rūmī that Hallāj’s light revealed itself to Ḥaṭṭār after one hundred and fifty years and trained him. (“Wa ba’zī gufia-and ki wai [Farīduddīn Ḥaṭṭār] Uwaisī būda-ast. Sukhunān-i Maulānā Jalāluddīn Rūmī quddisa sirruhu, mażkūr ast ki nūr-i Mansūr ba’d az șad o panjāh sāl bar-rūh-i Farīduddīn ’Ḥaṭṭār tajallī kard wa murabbī o shud.”). Ḥaṭṭār had defined Uwaisīs as a class of auliya’ allāh who did not need a pūr because they obtain

44 For elaboration of the concept of ‘Burkh’, its derivation and application to the notion of the Uwaisī in Central Asia see DeWeese’s “An ‘Uvaysī Sufi in Timurid Mawarannahr. Notes on Hagiography and the Taxonomy of Sanctity in the Religious History of Central Asia”, op. cit., pp. 27-33. I may mention that about a century and a half after Fakhruddīn Kāshīfī had written the Rashaḥāt, Badruddīn Sirhindī a disciple of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindī compiled the Ḥaḍrat u’l quds, a comprehensive history of the Naqshbandī Khwājagān from the beginning to his day. Since Badruddīn’s chief source of information of the early Khwājagān was the Rashaḥāt it is not surprising to find the Burkh-Uwaisī story dittored in his text. The only change in Badruddīn’s description is that the recipient of the “quality of Burkh is identified as Khwāja Muhammad Pārsī. See Ḥaḍrat u’l quds, vol. 1, translated into Urdu by Muhammad Ashraf, Sialkot: Maktaba Nu’maniya, 1981, p. 224.
45 See Jāmī’s Naфāḥāt u’l uns, Lakhnau: Munshī Nawal Kishore, 1333/1885, p. 540.
their spiritual nurturing directly from the Prophet, as Uwais Qaranî had, although he had never met Muhammad. Jâmî states:

In the same way some of the auliyyâ‘ allâh who have followed in the footsteps of the Prophet..., have trained some of their disciples through their spirits, so that they are in no need for a physical pîr, this class is also included in the Uwaisîs. And several sufi masters have, as initial conduct, concentrated on this station. For example, the senior most shaikh, Shaikh Abû’l Qâsim Gurgânî Tûsî was joined to the Master of the silsila, the honourable, Abû’l Janâb Najmuddîn Kûbrâ, and with the generation of Shaikh Abû’l Sa’îd Abû’l Khair and Shaikh Abû’l Hasan Kharqânî, may their souls rest in peace, in the beginning continually repeated the of zîkr, “Uwais! Uwais!” 46

By the time Jâmî (d. A.D. 1492) started writing in the latter part of the fifteenth century formation of silsilas was the established norm of sufi organizational practice in Central Asian lands. In fact, the influence of silsila was so diffuse that it pervaded the style of Jâmî’s Nafâ’lû’tul uns – a text containing biographical notices of more than six hundred sufis - that was traditionally compiled in the tabaqât genre of Islamic literary tradition. 47 This is clearly reflected in Jâmî’s categorization of his notices into three broad

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46 After citing Farîduddîn ‘Aţâr’s definition of Uwaisî sufis Jâmî elaborates on it in the following words: Hâmchunîn ba’î az auliyyâ‘ allâh ki mutab’a’ in ânhâzrat and šallâ‘ allâh ‘alayhi’ wa sallâm, ba ’zi az šâlîbân râ bahash-i rûhâniyat tarbiyat karda-and bi ânki o râ dar zîhir pîrî bâshad, wa in jama‘at niz dâkhîl Uwaisîyân-and. Wa bîsâyîr az mashâîkh-i târiqat râ dar awval sulûk tawajjûh bân maqâm bûda-ast, Chunûnki shaikh-i bûzurgwôr, Shaikh Abû’l Qâsim Gurgânî Tûsî râ ki az silsila‘i mashâîkh-i hâzrat Abû’l Janâb Najmuddîn Kûbrâ bâshân mi-paiwand, wa az tâbaqa‘i Shaikh Abû Sa’îd Abû’l Khair, wa Shaikh Abû’l Hasan Kharqânî quds allâh ta ‘ala‘ arwâhân, dar ibtadâ‘î zîkr in bûda ki ‘ala ‘d-dawââm gufti, Uwais! Uwais!” See Jâmî’s Nafâ’lû’tul uns, op. cit., p. 18; For Persian text see Appendix IV/3.

47 Tabaqât writing is compiled on the basis of chronological principles of organization and using generic criteria for selection, these works take the form of collections of biographies. These writings invariably depict the past of a particular tradition of religious affiliation or scholarship, the chronological parameters of which conventionally stretch from an authoritative starting point to the generation (tabaqa) immediately preceding the assumed author. In the introduction of the Nafâ’lû’tul uns, Jâmî presents the work as a continuation of a literary tradition which originated with Sulâmî’s Arabic Tabaqât al-sûfiya, and was introduced into the Persian tradition in the form of its namesake which is traditionally ascribed to ‘Abdu’llâh Anşârî of Herat.
chronological groups namely, the early members \textit{(mutaqaddimān)} comprising of three hundred and twenty two sufis covering a period from the eight to the eleventh centuries; Anšārī and his contemporaries \textit{(muʿāṣirān)} who lived between the eleventh and twelfth centuries; and the later members \textit{(mutaʿākhkhirān)} who lived between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. This framework depicts a continuous transmission of tradition, from the first generations to the contemporaries of Jāmī. The cohesiveness of the pattern of succession that is structured is further enhanced by means of attribution of specific links between the individual members of the three sections. For example, Yūṣuf Hamadānī (d. A.D. 1141), who is the first member of the Naqshbandī \textit{silīla} is said to have a “well-known” link with Abū ʿAlī Fārmaḍī (d. A.D. 1084), who is one of the final members of the \textit{muʿāṣirān}.\textsuperscript{48} Fārmaḍī derives his authority in Sufism from two individuals, namely, Abū ʿl Ḥasan Ḥarqānī (d. A.D. 1034) and Abū ʿl Qāsim Gurgānī (d. A.D. 1076), who are both amongst the first members of the \textit{muʿāṣirān}.\textsuperscript{49} Both Ḥarqānī and Gurgānī have been attributed distinct sufi lineages that link them back to the \textit{mutaqaddamān}. While Gurgānī’s lineage (\textit{nisbat}), reaches through three intermediaries (\textit{wāṣṭa}), whose lives appropriately overlapped, namely Shaikhs Abū ʿUṣmān Maqhrībī, Abū ʿAlī Khāṭīb and Abū ʿAlī Rūdbārī, back to Junāid Bābdādī.\textsuperscript{50} Ḥarqānī is linked directly to Abū Yazīd of Biṣṭām (d. A.D. 875) through the latter’s “spirituality” (\textit{rūḥānīyat}) that refers to his

\textsuperscript{48} For detail cf. \textit{Nafadbū’l uns}, op. cit., p. 337 regarding Yūṣuf Hamadānī’s connection with Abū ʿAlī Fārmaḍī.
\textsuperscript{49} Ibid., p. 331.
influence beyond the grave.\textsuperscript{51} Herein lies the significance of the Uwaisī formulation that is used to establish a continuous genealogical connection, a requisite for legitimation of any silsila in Jāmī’s day, between different generations of sufis. In the following Chapter an attempt has been made to illustrate the various styles of Uwaisī linkages in the Naqshbandī silsila and the evolving notion of the concept within the Naqshbandī tradition of Hindūstān.

It is not just the functionality but the expansion of the Uwaisī concept that is evidenced in Jāmī’s formulation to include figures trained spiritually by eminent Muslim saints as well as by pre-Islamic prophets.\textsuperscript{52} In Jāmī’s day, charismatic figures had been dispensing with direct, individual doctrinal and disciplinary transmission, in some cases claiming spiritual training from the souls of deceased saints. Jāmī broadened the notion of Uwaisīs, formerly limited to those initiated by a spiritual contact with the Prophet Muhammad or those conversant with the “personalities” of pre-Islamic prophets, to include in theory those who had visions and dreams of the great saints of Sufism.\textsuperscript{53} On the practical level, however, pre-Islamic figures like that of Bābā Burkh were treated as proto-type of the Islamic Uwaisī. By widening the definition of the Uwaisī, theoriticians

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., p. 282.
\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., p. 275.
\textsuperscript{52} For an instance of initiation through Khīż (one of the prophets who precedes Muhammad in the Islamic prophetology) see the case of ‘Abdu’l Khāliq Ghujdawānī cited below.
\textsuperscript{53} Here an example may be quoted of Maulānā Zainuddīn Abū Bakr Tāyābādī who was the disciple of Maulānā Nizāmuddīn Harawī, but in reality was an Uwaisī who was fostered by the spirituality of Shaikh Ahmad of Jām. It is said that Maulānā Zainuddīn was devoted to the service of the tomb of Shaikh Ahmad, and after he had been busy in spiritual exercises and prayers for a considerable time, the Shaikh appeared before him and told him that God had placed the remedy for Zainuddīn’s pain in the shifo’ khāna (cure centre) of Shaikh Ahmad Fārmādī. Thereafter, for seven years the Maulānā remained busy with pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaikh Ahmad’s tomb and would recite the Quran before it. For details of this account see the biographical notice of Maulānā Zainuddīn in the Nafahātu ‘l uns, op. cit., pp. 447-449.
such as Jāmī actually made a place in Islam not only for a wider circle of saints but for their followings as well. Given the historical circumstance of Jāmī his formulation of the Uwaisīs undoubtedly works as a strategy of Islamization in Central Asia during the Mongol and Tīmūrid eras.

II

The notion of the Uwaisī in the Taṣkira‘i Bughrā Khānī or Taṣkira‘i Uwaisiya: A reflection of the Central Asian variant

It is generally accepted that Jāmī had set the seal on the notion of the Uwaisī and since then there has been no addition to the concept as such. Usually there are only isolated references to Uwaisī sufis in Islamic literature, but around the seventeenth century in Central Asia a self proclaimed disciple of Uwais Qaranī compiled a hagiographical work bearing the title of Taṣkira‘i Bughrā Khānī or Taṣkira‘i Uwaisiya.54 The remarkable thing about the Taṣkira‘i Bughrā Khānī is that it is the earliest known, and perhaps the only of its kind, taṣkira that is devoted exclusively to the lives of Uwaisī sufis. It has been stated above that the Taṣkira has been an issue of much debate between scholars who, on the one hand, propose the text as proof of silsila formation amongst the Uwaisiya and, on the other hand, those who challenge the basis of any such organizational setup as antithetical to the fundamental spiritual behaviour of Uwaisīs that was free from dependence on instructing masters.

54 The availability of several Persian manuscripts and later Turkic versions of the Taṣkira‘i Bughrā Khānī attest to the popularity of this work. There exist later, shorter works bearing similar titles which, though clearly based in part on the earlier work, represent several re-worked accounts of legendary cycles associated with the Islamization of East Turkistān found in the earlier work; for details see DeWeese, "An
My concern here is not to argue merits for or against the existence of such an order in sixteenth century East Turkistan, but my interest is in understanding the Uwaisī phenomenon through the expression of a self proclaimed Uwaisī who, in this case, is the anonymous author of our text. He has tried to locate the Uwaisiya in an environment where the dominant form of sufi organization is the silsila. This is indicated in the preface of the text where he explains the reason for compiling the Tażkira. After the usual hamd and na‘at and evoking the creation of Adam, the author states the circumstances of saints have been written about and their biographies have been compiled in texts like the Tażkira of Shaikh ʿAttār, the Futūḥāt of Ibn ʿArabī and the Nafahāt of Jāmī.

However, there exists no collection of biographies of Uwaisī shaikhs, and their circumstances are concealed from men, due to this reason a darwesh [the author], from amongst the darweshes of the silsila of Ḥaẓrat Sulṭān Satūq Bughrā Khān, for years had thought of writing a biography of this silsila so that the blessed names of some of the elders of the class of Uwaisiya are written, and he causes to establish their circumstance, and some of their stations and miracles are summed up and known, so that they do not remain hidden.55

Elaborating on the circumstance of compilation of this work, the author relates his own vision that revealed for him the secret identity of some of the shaikhs of his silsila. It

55 Amma az mashāikh-i Uwaisiya raḥmat allāh ṣalāhajma ‘in tażkira (ay) ba‘īn alnās mashahūr nabūd va ahlwāl-i Ishān maṣṭūr būd, az in jahat darweshī az darweshān-i silsilat al raḥma’ haẓrat muqaddas, haẓrat Sulṭān Satūq Bughrā Khān quddisa allāh sirrūhu al-azīz rā sāḥā dar dil khattur mi kard ki tażkira (ay) darin silsila navishta shawad ki asāmi mu‘tabarāk ki ba‘īzī az buzzurgwārān-i tabaqa’i Uwaisiya musahat girdad, wa az ahlwāl-i Ishān min wajhī mu‘bīn girdad wa ba‘īzī az maqāmāt wa karāmat Ishān fi ‘l jumla ma‘līm shawad, tā min kull ‘l wajha poshūda namānad. See Tażkira ye Bughrā Khāni, op. cit., p. 3; see Appendix IV/4 for Persian text.
so happened that after a long wait the curtain over his heart was lifted, he chose to be in
isolation and concentrated on the blessed spirits of the mashāikh of the Uwaisī class, so
that he may inquire about their conditions and afterwards compose their biography. They
arrived in groups and the author stated his original purpose and requested their
permission, they did not oblige him. Thereafter, he requested for the intercession of the
spirit of Prophet Muhammad, (bī 'z-zarūra rukhsat dādand ba shart ānki az ākwāl ba 'zī
min wajhī nawishta shawad, tā bi 'l-kulliyat poshīda namānad) and they were forced to
grant permission on the condition that the author will not relate the entire circumstance of
the Uwaisīs and that only some would be written so that they do not remain absolutely
obscure. The Uwaisī elders chose to relate an extract equal to only one thousandth of the
whole in Persian, the language of the author’s contemporaries. Thereafter, by the grace of
God, assistance of the Prophet, the favour of king of saints (ṣūltān al auliā) Satūq
Bughrā Khān and with the help of the shaikhs of the Uwaisiya, the contents descended
into the author’s heart and from there to his tongue, which dictated to his hand as he
moved the pen. The point, explains the author, is that he did not intervene, and named
this work Tazkira 'i Bughrā Khānī.

This text comprises of a muqaddima (introduction), three maqāsid (intent), forty
chapters (bāb), thirty sections (fāṣl) and a conclusion (khatima). The preface leads to a
special introduction that defines the meaning of the term Uwaisiya; the symbolic meaning
of letters that form the word; and finally describes three categories of Uwaisīs. The author
instructs the reader of his book:

56 Ibid., p. 5.
Know that Uwaisiya is that class in which each one of them is nurtured by one of the pure spirits, from amongst the consecrated spirits of the great prophets, peace be upon them, or [is nurtured] by their interior. They are occupied in being nurtured in the visible world, by a holy spirit or the interior of the noble friends of God in an invisible manner, just as Prophet Muhammad... with the light of his prophecy, in an invisible way, had nurtured Ḥaẓrat Khwāja Uwais Qarānī... and had reached him to his goal.\(^{57}\)

Jāmī had acknowledged Uwaisī association between seers of Islamic prophetology and spirits of deceased sufis. His ensampling of the same in the Ṣafāḥāt, however, was limited to examples of extra-physical connections with the Prophet Muhammad and Khīḍr. The nature of linkages between the Uwaisīs of the Ṭazkīrā 'i Bughrā Khānī and the Islamic prophetology is elaborated in a fascinating manner. If we analyse the forty chapters relating to the male sufis along with the seventeen sections which are appendices to them, and the thirteen sections that deal with the women sufis, there is hardly any notice that is independent of association with any prophet. Strangely enough these mystics were placed on the ‘hearts’ or the ‘backs’ of the prophets. This is a strange aspect of the sufi doctrine that had been theorized by Ibn ʿArabī. The sufis are often said to be “on the heart” (Arabic ṣāla qalb) of a prophet. Ibn ʿArabī has also used the expression ṣāla qadam (literally, on the foot of) in practice meaning ‘on the steps of’, for the sufi understudy’s relationship with any of the prophets. The author of the Ṭazkīrā ‘i Bughrā

\(^{57}\) Badānki Uwaisiya jamāʿatī ra goyand ki har yak az ʾishān rā ṭūḥ-i mutharī az arwāḥ-i muqaddasa’ az anbiyā’ azām ṣaḥāḥam ʾs-salām, ya ṣāṭīn-i ʾishān ṣaḥāyat karda bāshad. Wa yā ṭūḥ-i muqaddas az arwāḥ-i auliya’ kirmā ya ṣāṭīn-i ʾishān dar ṣāla-i shahādat ghaybāna mashghūl ba ṣaḥāyat bāshad, chunānki Ḥaẓrat Rasūl ʿallāh al-lāh al-salāh wa ṣāla wa aṣḥāba wa salām ba nūr-i nubuwart ghaybāna, Ḥaẓrat Khwāja Uwais Qarānī ṭūḥmat allāh taʿala alayhi dar ṣālah-i shahādat ṣaḥāyat karda ast wa ba maqṣūd rasānīda. Ibid., p. 4; For Persian text see Appendix IV/5.
Khānī is unusual in referring to the sufis who are on the ‘back’ (zahr) of a prophet. The word also signifies the exterior as opposed to the inner meaning. Thus, for example, 'Abdu’l-Lāh Yamanī the first Uwaisī to be described in the Tazkīra was under the training of Moses and he was also upon his back, but externally he had acquired some excellent accomplishments from the company of Ḥaẓrat Khwāja Uwais Qaraṇī (Wa dar taht-i tarbiyat-i Ḥaẓrat Mūsā...būd. Wa bar zahr-i ān Ḥaẓrat nīz būd ammā zāhirān kash-i kamāl az muṣāḥabat-i Ḥaẓrat Khwāja Uwais Qaraṇī...karda-būd). It is evident from the notice of 'Abdu’l-Lāh that he externally resembled Moses. Like Moses he too was instructed by God to teach and he also performed the same miracles like him.

By definition the association between the instructor and the novice in the case of the Uwaisī is of an ‘invisible’ nature. In view of this definition 'Abdu’l-Lāh Yamanī’s association with the physical presence of Uwais Qaraṇī seems to be paradoxical. The author has consciously illustrated this contrariness between the standard ‘invisible’ type of relationship prescribed for the Uwaisī and its ‘physical’ aberrant form in his notice of 'Abdu’l-Lāh. After 'Abdu’l-Lāh had indulged in self-mortification and received certain indescribable instructions from Moses, the latter told him to go to Uwais.

O 'Abdu’l-Lāh! Further you should go and attend to Uwais, and should serve him till the end of the life of that buzurgwār, who on account of his age is in the station of decay and

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58 See Julian Baldick, The Imaginary Muslims. The Uwaysi Sufis of Central Asia, op. cit., p. 62.
59 Taẓkīra i Bughrā Khānī, op. cit., p. 10.
60 For God’s instruction to 'Abdu’l-Lāh to train Uwaisīs see ibid., p. 13; On one occasion 'Abdu’l-Lāh set off for the oasis where he lived before with some darweshes. After twelve days they found that the oasis had dried up. 'Abdu’l-Lāh wept and prayed. Then he struck his staff (‘asa) to the ground and water gushed forth. At his prayer a withered tree became green and bore fruit again. For detail see ibid., pp. 14 & 15.
you should acquire perfection from him. Although you have benefitted from my training but I have lifted myself from the material world, it appears necessary that you receive training from a living pīr who is also an Uwaisī. Although the Uwaisiyān do not need an external pīr, but it apppears necessary that you should be guided to the path of the Uwaisiya, so that the method and style of their work is known. [‘Abdu’l-lāh followed the instructions of Moses and presented himself before Uwais Qarānī and related to him about his condition and the words of Moses.] Uwais responded: O son! You have said well but in my manner that which you desire is not possible, except for companionship. If you desire I accept your companionship merely for the sake of the pious spirit of Hazrat Moses... 61

‘Abdu’l-lāh’s relation with Uwais was that of ‘companionship’ (muṣāḥabat) as opposed to the formal elder-disciple relationship. He served Uwais for twenty-five years and after his death was instructed by his spirit to go to Mecca. In Mecca a voice told him to stay and instruct Uwaisī disciples. ‘Abdu’l-lāh instructed eighty people, who were also instructed by eighty prophets in the world of spirits. ‘Abdu’l-lāh gave them instruction in the visible world (‘ālam-i shahādat), and they reached perfection. But, this was not by formal ‘discipleship’ (irādat) between them, they reached this station by virtue of

'companionship' (Ammā nisbat-i irādat darmiyān-i īshān nabūd, wa lekin bar wajah musālājabat ba in martaba rasīdand). 62

In the subsequent sections on the notices of two disciples of 'Abdu'llāh, Mu'izzuddīn Ḥusain of Herat and Ahmad Sābūnī of Damascus, the Uwaisī paradox is given further development, for the mystic to take disciples appears antithetical to the Uwaisī norm, but is nonetheless advisable. Mu'izzuddīn was a contemporary of 'Abdu'llāh but did not meet him and was spiritually trained by him. Like his master, Mu'izzuddīn also trained five hundred disciples in the visible world and nine disciples in the world of spirits. 63 Ahmad Sābūnī was also trained in an invisible manner by 'Abdu'llāh. The people of Damascus flocked to Ahmad but there was no formal tie of discipleship (ahl-i shahr [Damascus] ... mulāzamat-i shaikh rā ikhtiyār kardand ... ammā irādat darmiyān nabūd). 64 Once when Shaikh Ahmad was circumabulating the Ka'ba he was asked by a voice why he did not accept people as his disciples. He replied that he did not want to leave the Uwaisīs. The voice replied that to accept disciples would not take him out from among the Uwaisīs, and henceforth he should accept as a disciple anyone who repented (Dar asnā'i tawāf āwāzī ba gosh-i shaikh āmad ki: Ay Khwāja Ahmad chirā irādat banda-hay khud-ay ta'āla' rā qabūl nadārī? Shaikh guft: az barāy ānki az silk' Uwaisiyān bīrūn ni-āyam. Duwam bār āwāz āmad: Murīd giriftan sabab-i kharūj namīshawad. Min ba'd agar har ki inābat qabūl kunad tū irādat o rā qabūl kun). 65 A few

63 Ibid., p. 25.
64 Ibid., p. 34.
65 Ibid., pp. 35 & 36.
days later Sābūnī was granted the status of a quṭb (Pole) and he had several disciples. Another interesting detail from this notice is the dream conversation between the King of Damascus and Sābūnī after the latter died. In his dream the King asked the Shaikh: “O Shaikh! What has God done with you?” He said: “O Pādshāh! He has done what he did with Ḥaẓrat Khwāja Uwais Qaranī”. (“Ay Shaikh! Khud-ay ba tū chi kard?” Guft: “Ay Pādshāh! Ān kard ki ba Ḥaẓrat Khwāja Uwais Qaranī kard”). In other words, a reader may infer that Ahmad Sābūnī followed Uwais Qarani even in death and was treated by God in the same manner.

Given the larger concern of the author of the Taẓkira ‘i Bughrā Khānī for writing a history of the silsila ‘i Uwaisiya, he sought to present Uwais Qaranī as the eponymous founder of the silsila and has introduced ‘Abdu’llāh Yamani, the subject of the very first notice of this Taẓkira, as his immediate disciple. Hitherto, the legend of Uwais consciously emulated the pattern set by early traditionists like Kalābāzī who emphasized the ecstatic nature of Uwais that set restriction on his ability to enrol disciples. Therefore, sufi authors did not link the notion of Uwaisī with the physical person of Uwais Qaranī. The efforts of the author of Taẓkira ‘i Bughrā Khānī are unique for establishing a physical association between Uwais Qaranī and his disciple ‘Abdu’llāh Yamani. And through ‘Abdu’llāh Yamani the silsila is carried forward by his disciples. In the maqṣad siwum (third point) the author has repeated the definition of the Uwaisī with a significant addition. He states:

66 Ibid., p. 36.
Know that those people are called Uwaisīs who have an affinity with Uwais Qarānī... and work according to his method. And they call that group Uwaisī which is nurtured in a hidden manner by the prophets from the esoteric office of the prophets in the phenomenal world, or, [this class] keeps hold of their pious spirits in the unseen world, or, the interior of a wālī, from amongst the various friends of God..., is occupied in nurturing [the Uwaisī] in the phenomenal world in a hidden way, or his spirit in the unseen world.67

Given the historical context of well established silsilas in Central Asian lands, which existed as powerful organizations with branches spreading to as far as South Asia and that were known through the literary efforts of their members, it was natural for the author of Tazkira ‘i Bughrā Khānī to try and establish the identity of the Uwaisiya within this historical framework. The author has used the legendary figure of Şūltān Satūq Bughrā Khān whom he addresses as ʿulūmu’l aulīyā’ (king of the friends of God), as the founder of this order (sāhib-i silsila) who is said to be initiated into Islam by the spirit of Muhammad after three hundred and thirty three years of Prophet’s demise. This initiation took place in an “invisible” manner just as it happened in the case of Uwais Qarānī.68

There is, however, no indication of a successive chain of teacher-disciple relationship that is the defining characteristic of silsila in the practical sense of the term in the Tazkira ‘i Uwaisiya. From the twentieth chapter onwards instance of hereditary khilāfat (succession) and transmission of insignia of khilāfat to other disciples have been cited,

67 “Bādānki Uwaisiyyān ān kāsān rā boyand ki nisbat ba Ḥāfrat Uwais Qarānī ṭafṣāt allāh ta’āla ’alayhi dāshtā bāshad wa dar tariqa’ ān Ḥāfrat kār kunand. Wa Uwaisī ān jamā’at rā boyand ki bātin-i paighāmbarī az paighāmbarīn ẓalāt allāh wa’salāma dar ‘ālam-i shahādat ghā’ibāna tarbiyat kunad, wa bā arwāh-i muthar ʾishān dar ‘ālam-i ghā’ib dar taṣārruf khvud dārad, wa yā bātin-i wālī az aulīyā’ khudā risāwān allāh ‘alaiham ajma’ān dar ‘ālam-i shahādat ghā’ibāna mashghūl ba tarbiyat-i o bāshad, wa yā arwāh-i o dar ‘ālam-i ghā’ib. Ibid., p. 494; For Persian text see Appendix IV/7.
but this is not sufficient for constructing a genealogical or spiritual tree of succession for the Uwaisī silsila as such. Nevertheless, in an attempt to actualize the reality of his imaginary silsila the author has graded the existing salāsil in the region and placed the Uwaisiya at the head of this hierarchy. Thus, the Kubrawiya are placed second in this hierarchy, followed by the Naqshbandiya at the third position, and then the Hamadāniya in the descending order of their significance vis-à-vis the Uwaisiya.69 The Uwaisī tarīqa has precedence over the others, because Muhammad instructed Uwais in this world with the light of Prophethood (nūr-i nubūwat), bringing him to his goal. Besides, many Uwaisīs are covered by the saying, “My friends are beneath my robe”, and this tarīqa has the highest number of Poles (singular, qūṭb; plural, aqtāb). In fact, the very first qūṭb, 'Abdu'l Samad who lived in the Caliphate of Abū Bakr, was an Uwaisī.70

The sufi doctrine of walāyat (friendship with God) was fairly well established in Central Asian lands by this time. The author’s attempt to incorporate the doctrine within the system of the Uwaisiyān, can be treated as an effort towards stream-lining the Uwaisīs, who were ordinarily placed on the fringe of mystic societies, within the respectable fold of sufi organizational setup. In the third maqṣad the author explains that there are three different ranks (darjāt): those of prophethood (nubūwat), friendship with God (walāyat), knowledge (‘ilm) and others. Although prophethood is the highest rank, but some have said that friendship to God is higher. When both the ranks are combined into a single individual the latter is higher, since it consists of being occupied with God, while the

68 See the biographical notice of Satīq Bughrā Khan in the Taʾkīra, ibid., p. 93.
69 Consult maqṣad sīwum ibid., pp. 494 & 495.
former means busying oneself with people.\textsuperscript{71} This point is extremely controversial and has been condemned since the beginning when Tirmizi first formulated the doctrine of \textit{walayat}. As for the relative merits of \textit{walayat} and \textit{ilm}, the Uwaisis hold the former to be superior, since the \textit{auliyā} have exalted ranks denied to scholars. For example, some of the \textit{auliyā} have had the privilege of the ascension, and some of them shall also intercede for Muslims on the Day of Judgement.\textsuperscript{72}

What is interesting in the elucidation of the Uwaisī definition is the symbolic derivation of the word (\textit{kalma}) \textquote{Uwaisī} that is composed of four letters, and each of these letters is chosen from a word (\textit{ma'lūm bāshad ki kalma} Uwaisī martab az chahār harf ast, wa har yak azīn chahār harf muntakhab az kalmayi ast).\textsuperscript{73} Each of the four letters – \textit{alif}, \textit{wāv}, \textit{yā} and \textit{sīn} – the last adjectival termination (\textit{yāyi' nisbatī}) does not count, has a special symbolism that identifies particular characteristics of the Uwaisī sufis that qualify the nature of their relationship to God. As the author goes on to explain, \textquote{It is evident that the first letter of the word Uwaisī is from the word Allāh, the name of God's essence. In other words, every friend of God who is an Uwaisī, God who is the creator of the degree of \textit{walayat} (friendship with Himself) in the essence of mankind, creates more of this friendship in the essence of this class} (\textit{Ammā poshīda namānad ki hamzah Uwaisī muntakhab az kalma-i āllāh ast ki ism-i zāt ast, ya'ni har wali ki Uwaisī bāshad, ḥazrat āllāh ki afrīdgār martaba-i walayat ast dar zāt-i banī ādam, waqt-i walayat dar zāt-i īn}

\textsuperscript{70}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 495.\textsuperscript{71}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 490.\textsuperscript{72}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 491.\textsuperscript{73}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 4.
Further, He displays his attributes of power (qahhāriyat) and magnificence ('azmat), and makes evident the various kinds of theophany oftener to the Uwaisīs. And sometimes varieties of tajallyāt may descend on someone in such a way that he is said to have the degree of ‘consent’ (ijma’). The Uwaisīs do not neglect God even for a moment, and are consequently well disciplined and do not do anything against the law of the Prophet. Due to this reason, they are quick to reach their goal and attain union with their objective.

The letter ‘wāv’ in ‘Uwaisī’ is taken from walāyat, because every wali who is an Uwaisī is promised the friendship with God according to this saying: My friends are in the fold of my qaba, no one knows them except me (wa “wāv” in kalma muntakhab az walāyat ast, zirā ki har wali ki Uwaisī bāshad wa’dasi walāyat maulā ki: Auliya-‘yi la taḥat qababī la ya’r faḥm ghairí ast, mar u rā bāshad).

The vision of theophany increases each day for the Uwaisīs since they do not bring anything else into their sight. The yai’ in this word is chosen from yagāna, that is ‘unique’, and unique is that in which there is no possibility of the second. Every wali who is Uwaisī, seeks concord (ittiāḥād) with the Lord in such manner that he does not find the path of duality. In other words, the veil of corporeality and foulness that comes from the lower soul, comes in between the right path and prohibits the concord, that veil is lifted by several prayers and self-mortification and is made to disappear. Then the drop of water that comes from the bottomless, extensive ocean, that is the origin of the Uwaisī, disappears into that ocean.

74 Ibid., p. 4-5.
75 Ibid., p. 5.
This is the degree of *ittiḥād*, that is also known as the degree of ‘togetherness of togetherness’ (*jamʿ al-jamʿ*), wherein the duality is entirely removed.\(^76\)

The letter ‘ṣīn’ is taken from the ‘*siyāsati ṣultān*’ (discipline of the king), and the king is said to be someone whose discipline the common people fear and dread. Thus the Uwaisī shaikhs are disciplined servants of God, and their discipline is due to the attribute of power (*qahhāriyat*) that God perpetually shows to them, since the attribute of power is requisite for discipline.\(^77\) But several kindnesses are concealed in this *qahr*, and the Uwaisī knows the meaning of this. The *darwesh* should not fear this discipline, and should throw himself into the arena of mystical elite so that he watches their *raqs* (dance) and *samāʾ* (music), imitates them, tastes God’s purifying wine and joins them. The author thus completes the analysis of the four letters of ‘Uwaisī’.

In his introduction the author informs us that there are twelve types of Uwaisīs but since his book is an abridged exposition of the subject, he has described only three of them. These are known as *rusūmiya*, *uluhīya* and ‘*ulūwiya*. The ‘*rusumīya*’ is a group that have lived according to the custom (*rasm*) of the external friends of God in the external world and work in the workshop of the phenomenal world, taking disciples and training...
them. But they receive their training from another place. Some of them become enraptured (*majzūb*) in the course of the Path, and some return from rapture to the Path.\(^7^8\)

The second type of Uwaisīs are called ‘*ulūhiya*’ because they immerse themselves in the bottomless ocean of God’s kindness in such a manner that they see nothing but Him (Wa “*ulūhiya*” ān jamā`ati rā goyand ki dar baḥr bi-pāyān alṭāf ulūhiya gharq shawand, bar nahji ki ghair az allāh dar najr-i īshān hīch chīz maṭjūd nabāšhad).\(^7^9\) They observe the *zikr* of ‘Allāh’ and the numerical value of each of the letters that make the word have a distinct significance for the Uwaisīs. The value of the first letter ‘*alif*’ is one and it points to the oneness of the Creator and the belief of the Uwaisīs is that there is no otherness in the essence of God.\(^8^0\) The double ‘*lām*’ has a numerical value of sixty that represents sixty dangerous seas, representing sixty stations in the way of the Uwaisīs. The Uwaisīs must cross these stations in order to reach the highest degree, which is that of God’s hidden friends.\(^8^1\) The letter ‘*hā*’ has the value of five. In the beginning the Uwaisīs of this group recite the *zikr* of ‘Allāh’ five times in the same breath and progress to repeat it five thousand times.\(^8^2\)

\(^7^8\) *Ammā rusūmiya tājfa-i rā goyand ki ba rasm-i auliya` zāhīr dar `ālam-i malak wa shahādat būbasbāshand wa kār kunand dar karkhāna` `ālamī zāhīr, wa murid girand wa parwarand...wa lekin tarbiyat az jay digar yaband wa ba `zi az īshān dar asna` suluk majzūb shawand wa ba `zi digar az jazba ba suluk avand. Ibid., pp. 6-7; For Persian text see Appendix IV/10.

\(^7^9\) Ibid., p. 8.

\(^8^0\) For detail see *ibid.*, p. 7.

\(^8^1\) For detail see *ibid.*, p. 8.

\(^8^2\) Some details of the performance of the Uwaisī *zikr* are mentioned in the introduction of the *Taṣkira`i Bughrā Khānī*, but a much detailed description is given by the author in its *Khātima*, see *ibid.*, p. 509.
goyand ki adnā martaba-i īshān dar sulūk, maqām-i aʿzam ast. Wa martaba 'a la'i īshān rā kas nadānad ba juz martaba dahanda' īshān). 

Even though in the external world they appear to be of humble disposition, in the world of internal meaning they have the perfect degree of being sublime (ʿulūw).

The above discussions based on the Tagkira'i Bughrā Khānī reveal that the Uwaisī concept had undergone considerable development in the Central Asian lands by the end of the sixteenth century. One feature, which is intrinsic to the Uwaisī phenomena, and occurs with great frequency in the Tagkira'i Bughrā Khānī is the notice of numerous dreams and visions in the biographical notices of the Uwaisī sufis. By definition the need for physical association between the initiator and the disciple is overcome by alternate form of communication. While in the case of Uwais Qaranī, the prototype of Uwaisī, this communication was of a telepathic nature, in the case of other Uwaisī sufis the interaction between the instructor and initiate is mostly of a visionary nature. The latter may be further qualified into two types, namely, the visions experienced in wakefulness and those seen in sleep. In sufī literature references to either type are found, nevertheless, dreams occur with greater frequency. The reason for this may be understood with reference to the significance of the dream in Islamic civilization, and the gravity of the experience in the sufī worldview that has been discussed in the preceding Chapters.

\[83 \text{ Ibid., p. 8.}\]
APPENDIX IV

بدان كه فوقى باشندد كه ايشان را او پسان گوینند، كه ايشان را به پير حاجت نبود، كه ايشان را
نبوت در حجر خود پرورش مديد، يى واسطه غيرى، جانى كه اوپس را داد. اگرچه به ظاهر
خواجاء انبى را علیه الصلوة والسلام ندید، اما پرورش از او مى بافت. از نبى مى پرورده و با
حقیقت هم نفس بود، اين مقام عظیم و عالی است.

آن مخلص را صفت برخ بنظر مواهب كرست كردن و برخ اسود بنداء درم خریده سیاه جرده
بودامست در زمین موسى عليه السلام كه بر درگاه حق سیاحان درجه محبوبی داشته است.
گفتند كه برخ در بني اسرائيل فریق اي اوپس مسئول بودمست درميان اين امت و حضرت ايشان
مي فرودانند كه جماعتى از كيابر متقدمين كه بيه واسطه زبان اسور حقیقه از يکديگر
بمجالست معلوم مي كردهاند ايشان را برخیال مي جمعيت كه بعد از ظهور دين
محمدى صلى الله عليه و سلم بين وصفاند ايشان را اوپسان مي گويند.

همچنین بعضى از اولىاء الله كه متابعين انحضرت انى صلى الله عليه و سلم بعضى از طالبان را
بحس روحانين تربيت كردهناد بي انكى او دا در ظاهر پيرى باشد و اين جماعت نيز داخل
وپيساند ای بسیارى از مشایخ طریقت را در اول سلوك نوعه به اين مقام بوده است. چنانكه
شيخ برگوار شيخ ابوالفاسم كرگانی طوسي را كه از سلسله مشایخ حضرت اپووالجبان
نجم اللدن الكبرى به ايشان مى پرودند و از طبقة شيخ ابوسعید ابوالخبر و شيخ ابوالحسن
خرقانى قدس الله تعالى ارواحه در ابتداء ذکر اين بوده كه على الدوام گفتى اوپس اوپس.
اما من مشايخ اوبيسه رحمة الله عليهم اجمعين تذكروه (أي) بين الناس مشهور نبوود واحوال
ايشان مستور بود ازين جهت درويشی از درويشان سلسلة الرحمه نضجت مقدسه، حضرت
سلطان سبوق بیغاخان قدس الله سره العزیز راسالها در دل خطر می کرد که تذکروه (أي) دری
سلسلـه نوشته شود که اساسي مبتکر بعضی از بزرگواران طبیعت او بیسی مبتکر گرد و از احوال
ايشان من وجهی میبن گردد و بعضی از مقامات وکرامات ايشان فی الجملة معلوم شود تا من
كل الوجه پوشیده نماند.

بداکه اوبيسه جماعة را گوئند که هریک از ايشان را روح مطهری از ارواح مقدسه یکی از
انساب عندم عليهم السلام، با باطن ايشان تربیت کرده باشد. و یا روح مقدس از ارواح اولیاء
کرام با باطن ايشان در عالی شاهدات غابانه مشغول به تربیت باشد، جانشنه حضرت رسول
صلى الله عليه و علی آلہ و اصحابہ و سلم به نور نبوت غابانه، حضرت خواجه اویس فرئی را
رحمة الله تعالى علىه در عالم شهدات تربیت کرده است و به مقصود رسیده.

ای عبدالله دیگر ترا به ملازمت اوپس باید رفت و در خدمت او باید بود تا آخر عمر آن
بزرکواری که بپایه علم در مقام نزل است وکسب کمال بیت او باید کرد. اگرچه تو از تربیت
من بهره منهذ و لیکن من از عالم رخت برداشتیم، لابدی می نماید از پی پی یاهی که او نیز
اوپس باشد. اگرچه اوپسیان را به پیپ یاهی احتیاج نیست، اما لازم می نماید که طریق اوپسیه
را راهنمایی بوده باشد، تا طریق سلوك و روش کار او را معلوم گردد اوپس گفت ای فرزند!
نیک میگونی و لیکن در طور ما آنکه تو می خواهی مسیر نمی شود، مگر از مصاحبه. اگر
خواهی قبول دارم مصاحبات ترا محض از برای خشنودی روح مقدس حضرت موسی
صلوات الله علیه و سلام.
بسیاری از کلمه‌های مناسب از یک‌گانه است و یک‌گانه از آن است که اثبات‌شده در یک منصور
ناشتاد...هیچ‌که اویسی باشند، به مولی چنان اتحاد جویده که دوپر راه نیاورد. پسین حجاب
جسمنی و کدورات نفسانی که در میان آید بر نهگی که اتحاد را مانع گردد آن حجاب تقسیم است
مجاهده بسیار و ریاضت بی شعار از میان بدراد و معدوم ساده...انگاه قطعه‌ی خود مدیر
از بحر پی‌پان عمقی که اصل آن انجام‌شده در آن بحر بچک و گم گردیده راه مرتبه اتحاد
است، که جمع الّالّه بنی گویند بیدا شود و اثنینی به تمامه مرتفع گردد.

و حرف سین منتخب از کلمه سیاست سلطان است و سلطان کسی را گویند که خلق از
سیاست وی ترسان و هراسان باشند، از آن است که مشایخ اویسی رضوان الله تعالی به
سیاست باشند...و سیاست ایشان از آن جهت است که مولی بر ایشان لحظه به صفت
فهایت نجلی کند، که صفت فهر موجب سیاست است.

اما رسومه‌ی طابعه (ای) را گویند که به اسم اولیاء ظاهر در عالم ملک و شهادت بوته باشند و
کار کندن در کارخانه عالم ظاهر، و مرید گریبد و برکو...و لیکن تربیت از جای دیگر یابند و
بعضی از ایشان در اشیاء سلوق مجدد بیشود و بعضی دیگر از جذبه به سلوق یابند.