Chapter V

The Visionaries of a Ṭariqa: the Uwaisī Sufis in Northern India

Not much attention has been given to the Uwaisīs in India. Albeit students of Indian Sufism have identified individual sufis as Uwaisīs, relatively little scholarly attention in this direction may be in view of academic inclination for silsila oriented studies as scholars prefer to interpret Sufism within a well marked boundary of theoretical and practicing transmission of sufi orders. In this matter, it may be observed that scholarly predeliction is affected by the nature of contemporary sources which are predominantly structured to relate the story of silsila based sufi fraternities.¹ Such trends in medieval hagiography, are most clearly expressed in the prologue or preface to the saint’s life which afford’s the author an opportunity to explain the circumstances surrounding the work’s composition, outline the main themes and chapters, cite his chief sources, or state his philosophical stance.²

A brief comment on the preface of Ḥaḍrātul quds is relevant to our discussion wherein the author, Badruddin Sirhindi, explains the relevance of a shaykh as a quintessential feature of the tariqa in the Sufism of his day.³ This hagiography is devoted to shaykhs of the Naqshbandī lineage whose biographical notices are arranged together in such a way as to form a ‘hagiographical preface’ to an individual hagiography designed to

1 See the discussion on sources in the Introduction above.
promote the case of the Naqshbandī Mujaddidiya through Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindī, his sons and khulfa (successors). It is clearly inspired by the Rashahāt 'aimu'l ḥayāt which was written in a teleological fashion, styling 'Ubaidu'llāh Ahrār as a goal of all previous developments in the order’s history by Fakhruddīn 'Alī Kashīfī in A.D. 1504.

After the hamd and na’r (praise of Allāh and Prophet), in a section called ‘sabab-i tāli‘f’ (reason for compilation), Badruddīn refers to the parallel between the role of Prophet Muhammad and the role of the shaikh in the Muslim community as intercessors; authenticating the position of the shaikh by citing a Prophetic ḥadīṣ noted by Ibn Haiyyān: “A shaikh amongst sufis is like a Prophet amongst his community”.4 In the worldview of Badruddīn it is imperative to have such a pīr who can guide the one who is inclined towards God. It is also essential for a pīr to belong to a silsila that is traced back to the Prophet Muhammad and that the pīr must be familiar with the great followers of the Prophet. Badruddīn then elaborates the relationship between the traveller of the Path (sālik) and the shaikh. He states that it is necessary for every sālik to receive knowledge about the chain (isnād) of masters and disciples who have transmitted the tradition of the silsila from Prophet Muhammad to the present pīr. It is also the rule of the tarīqa that the disciple should learn the ways of his master’s silsila: he should learn about the aqwāl (sayings), ṣubwāl (states), maqāmāt (stations) and karāmāt (miracles), which have happened due to the blessings of the Prophet and the great pīrs of the silsila. Further,

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4 Ibid., p. 19.
when in repentance before God a murid must appeal to the elders (buzurgs) of his silsila with humility and remember them by name in difficulties of esoteric or external nature asking for their intercession so that their intervention secures quick acceptance of the murid's prayers. The reason for this transmission is explained by the author in the following words, "...the nature of silsila, which means a chain, is that a motion made at one end of this chain resonates at its other end". In other words, the prevailing style of the tariqa that insisted on the sufi's spiritual pedigree, literally his chain (silsila), stating a lineal list of masters and disciples stretching back to Prophet Muhammad makes the existence of a pîr quintessential to the system of the Naqshbandiya. Badruddîn also quotes two sufi aphorisms to reiterate the position of the shaikh: "He who has no guide has no faith", and "He who has no guide, Satan is his guide". Despite this reverence for the spiritual master the Uwaisî notion played a significant role in the affairs of the Indian Naqshbandîs.

At a time when the physical identity of a shaikh was quintessential for defining a silsila, it is not surprising for the Uwaisî tradition, which is distinguished by the absence of a living shaikh, to be relegated to the fringe of the society. But, by incorporating the Uwaisî tradition within its fold the Naqshbandiya had created a certain respectability for this, apparently, aberrant form of Sufism. What is the significance of the Uwaisî connection in the history of the Naqshbandiya? Does the integration of the Uwaisî style of initiation in the Naqshbandî practice metigate the role of the shaikh in this silsila?

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5 Ibid., p.20. 6 Ibid., p.19.
The case of the Naqshbandi – Uwaists

There are examples of the Uwaist type of linkages from the earliest history of this order that have been recounted in the biographical texts and instructive manuals written in the subcontinent during the period of our study. Many of these works use Naqshbandi taqāras and rasā’l (treatises) that were compiled in Central Asian lands of which the Rashāḥāt ‘ainu’l ḥayāt of Kāshīfī, Anīs al wai’zīn wa ‘uddat as-sālikīn of Salah bin Mubarak al-Bukhārī and Khwāja Pārsā’s Risāla’i qudsiya, for tracing the antecedents of the subcontinent’s Naqshbandiya to their Central Asian origins. A special mention may be made of Jāmī’s Nafāḥātu’l uns in which a cluster of nineteen biographies, beginning with Yūsuf Hamadānī (d. A.D. 1140) and culminating with that of ‘Ubaidullāh Aḥrār (d. A.D. 1490), represent a line of succession of the Naqshbandī order, in which several Uwaist linkages were created.7

In the ‘protohistoric’ period of the Naqshbandī history,8 there are age discrepancies between transmitters that are resolved by citing the precedent of Uwaist

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7 For an analysis of the same see Jawid A. Mojaddedi, The Biographical Tradition in Sufism. The tabagāt genre from al-Sulāmi to Jāmī, Richmond: Curzon Press, 2001, pp. 151-176; also the discussion in Chapter IV, section on “The legend of Uwais Qaranī and the notion of the Uwaist sufis”.
8 From the point of view of the history of the Naqshbandiya three separate periods are identified. The first period consists of what Hamid Algar called the prehistory of the silsila, perhaps, it is more appropriate to call it the protohistory period of the order as J. Ter Haar has done. This period begins with Abū Bakr and ends with Abū ‘Alī Fārābī (d.478-479/1085-86), when the order had not yet received a distinct identity of its own. The persons who lived in this period do not exclusively belong to the Naqshbandī ancestry. The second phase is the formative period in the history of this order that gave the silsila its identity. This is the phase of the Central Asian Masters (Khwājāgān), that begins with Khwāja Yūsuf Hamadānī (d. 1140) and ends with Khwāja Amīr Saiyid Kūlāl (d. 1371). The key figure in this period is Bahā’uddīn Naqshband (d. 1389), the eponymous founder of this order. The third phase covers the history of the Naqshbandiya from Bahā’uddīn onward. This phase witnessed amongst other things the branching of the order into several
Qara'nî and the spiritual nature of his connection with the Prophet Muhammad. The three of the first six links of the Bakrî silsila are historically impossible. Qāsim bin Muhammad bin Abi Bakr (d. A.D. 725) could have met Salmān Fārsī (d. A.D. 656) as a small child. Then Abū Yazīd Bīstāmī (d. A.D. 875) is said to be initiated spiritually of Ja'far al Śādiq (d. A.D. 765).9 The other instance of spiritual connection is that of Abū'1 Ḥasan Kharqānī (d. A.D. 1029) who was nurtured by the spirituality of Abū Yazīd Bīstāmī.10 In these instances the Uwaisī motif is used to link together two people who could not have had any actual physical contact, as the death of the master was preceeded by the birth of the disciple. Why was it so important to maintain the Bakrī connection in the Naqshbandī genealogy? It was believed that sobriety of the Naqshbandiya, silent recollection of God (zikr-i dil) and strict adherence to the shari`a and to sunna were ultimately inherited from Abū Bakr. By raising their lineage to the Companion of the Prophet the Naqshbandiya ensured a transmission of the divine energy directly from Muhammad. The Naqshbandīs secured this lineage for themselves by substituting an imaginal form of connection, that is, an ‘Uwaisī connection’ (Uwaisī nisbat) between the initiate and the initiator, where a historical connection was impossible to make. In sufi practice this Uwaisī linkage is not only the model for the transmission of direct divine energy from Muhammad, but is also

9 Ibid., p. 97.
10 Ibid., p. 103; Also see the biographical notice of Kharqānī in Farīduddin’Attār’s Ṭazkīrat al auliya’ edited by Muhammad Istī’lami, Tehran: Zawwar, S. H. 1346, pp. 661-716, for his Uwaisī connection with Bāyazīd Bīstāmī.
the model for initiation by the imaginal form or the rūḥānīyat of deceased shaikhs that appears during a visionary experience. Considering the power configuration between the shaikh and his disciple, the Uwaisī connection is like having an independent use of power, while the established sufi chains represent dependence upon the relationship with a living pīr.

Another type of Uwaisī linkage from the formative period of the Naqshbandī history is related about 'Abdu'l Khāliq Ghujdawānī (d. A.D. 1220). The following is an account of Ghujdawānī's spiritual connection with Khīżr, a mythical figure in Islamic prophetology.

In his youth he (Ghujdawānī) was instructed by Khwāja Khīżr, on him be peace, in the zikr-i dil (remembrance of heart) or silent zikr, and he followed this lesson assiduously. Khwāja Khīżr accepted him into his farzandī (discipleship) and said, “Come into the tank and while submerged recite la ilaha illa ‘llah muhammadun rasūlu ‘I-Iah”. He did just that and followed the instruction and became busy in this work and many secrets were revealed to him. After this when the Shaikh of Shaikhs, and the leader of the gnostics of God, Khwāja Imām Abū Ya‘qūb Yūsuf Hamadānī came to Bukhāra, Khwāja ‘Abdu’l Khāliq desired his suḥbat (association) and inquired if he was a fellow in silent zikr. The later remained in the suḥbat of the former for the period of his stay in Bukhāra. It is said that Khwāja Khīżr was his pīr-i sabaq and Khwāja Yūsuf was his pīr-i suḥbat and khirqa.\(^{11}\)

\(^{11}\)Ishān ('Abdu'l Khāliq Ghujdawānī) rā sabaq zikr-i dil dar jawāni az Haẓrat Khwāja Khīżr 'alayhi 's salām būda, wa bar ān sabaq mużabat namūda-and. Wa Khwāja Khīżr ishān rā dar farzandī qabūl kardand, wa farmūda-and ki, "Dar hauz-i āb dar āy wa ghūsta khwurd, badil bago la ilāha illa ‘llāh muhammadun rasūlu ‘I-Iah". Chinān kardand wa in sabaq rā girāftand, wa baskār mashqīl shudand, wa kushādha yāftand... Ba’d az ān shaikh’l shiyukh, ‘alim-i ‘ārif-i rabbāni, Khwāja Imām Abū Ya‘qūb Yūsuf Hamadānī quddisa allāh ta ‘āla’ sirruhu Bukhāra āmadand, wa Khwāja ‘Abdu’l Khāliq suḥbat-i ishān dar yāftand, wa ma’līm kardand ki ishān rā ham zikr-i dil būda. Dar suḥbat-i ishān mī-būdand ta muddat ki
In other words, Ghujdawānī’s Uwaisī connection with Khīzr was of great significance for the identity of Naqshbandiyya as it was cause for espousal of the zikr-i dil that was to become a standard practice of this silsila. And, it was due to this reason Ghujdawānī was designated by Naqshbandī tradition as the sarsilsila’i khwāja gān, ‘first in the chain of masters’, even though Hamadānī had been designated before him as khwāja (master). In the spiritual career of Ghujdawānī, Yūsuf Hamadānī provides the link in the initiatic chain of spiritual descendants and bequeath’s to him the khirqa that is symbolic of the continuation of the silsila tradition.

The most significant example of Uwaisī linkage, however, is that of Bahā’uddīn Naqshband who was initially accepted into the discipleship of Bābā Sammāsī (d. A.D. 1354) and was handed over by the latter into the care of his disciple Amīr Kulāl (d. A.D. 1370). Although, outwardly Amīr Kulāl taught the conduct of the mystic path (ta’āllum-i adab-i tariqa) to Bahā’uddīn, but in the internal sense Bahā’uddīn was an Uwaisī and was nurtured by the rūḥāniyat (spiritual presence) of `Abdu’l Khāliq Ghujdawānī. (Īshān rā naẓar-i qabūl ba farzandī az Khwāja’ Muhammad Bābā Sammāsī ast wa ta’āllum-i ādab-i tariqa bāhīsb-i sīrat az Saiyīd Amīr Kulāl činānki guzāshī, ammā bāhīsb-i haqīqat Īshān Uwaisī būd-a-and wa tarbiyat az rūḥāniyat-i Khwāja ‘Abdu’l Khāliq

dar Bukhārā būdand. Gufta-and ki Khwāja Khīzr pīr-i sabāq-i Īshān and, wa Khwāja Yūsuf pīr-i suḥbat wa khirqa. Naftahātu’l uns, Lakhnaw: Munshī Nawal Kishore, 1333/1915, p. 339; For Persian text see Appendix V/1. Also see Rashāhāt ‘aimu’l hayāt, Kanpur: Munshī Nawal Kishore, 1912, p. 19, where this account is based on the Fā'il al khītāb of Muhammad Pārsā; and Ḥaẓrātu’l quds, op.cit., pp. 118-119.
Bahá’u’ddíjn considered ’Abdu’l Kháliq Ghujdawání as his real spiritual mentor and adopted his practice of zikr-i dil and abstained from the observance of zikr-i ’aláníya (manifest, public or loud rememberance of God) which was the custom of Amír Kulál. This is the classical example in the history of the Naqshbandiya of a novice who takes his first steps on the mystical path in the physical presence of a living sháikh, but who owns his real initiation to a spiritual guide he has never met. The contact between the initiate and the initiator is in the nature of a vision of waking state, and not a dream. The story of Bahá’u’ddíjn’s Uwaisí connection is recorded in several Naqshbandí sources that were written between the fourteenth and the seventeenth centuries in Central Asia and India. The following account is taken from Jámí’s Nafáḥát and Badru’ddíjn’s Ḥaẓrátu’l quds with annotations from the Aníš al wá’ízín wa ‘uddat as-sálikín of Saláh bin Muhammad Bukhárá. Jámí’s account is in the first person and the verbal ending ‘and’, a plural substantive is used to indicate respect for Bahá’u’ddíjn and other sháikhs. In translating from the original I have substituted these with the singular, or with names of the persons themselves in bracket.

He [Bahá’u’ddíjn Naqshband] was an Uwaisí and obtained his nurturing from the rūháníyat (spirituality) of Kháwája ’Abdu’l Kháliq Ghujdawání. He relates in this manner that, one evening, in the early days of his mystical states and emotional overflowings, he reached three of the [several] blessed shrines in Bukhárá. “I saw a lamp burning at each mázâr, and the lamps were full of oil and had wicks but the wick needed a small adjustment so that it came out of the oil and burns anew. In the last mázâr, I sat facing the qibla (prayer niche), and in the course of tawajjuh (concentration on the form of the sháikh, Ghujdawání in this case) fell into the state of absence from the physical world. I

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12 See Nafahátu‘l uns, op. cit., p. 345; Rashaḥát, op.cit., p. 54; Ḥaẓrátu’l quds, vol. 1, op. cit., p. 163.
witnessed that the wall of the qibla has split and a big throne was evident, a green curtain was drawn before it, and a crowd of people was surrounding that seat. I recognized Khwaja Bābā Sammadī amongst them. I knew that he had passed away. Someone from that gathering said to me: “Khwaja `Abdu’l Khāliq is [sitting] on the throne, and that assembly of people are his khulfa (spiritual successors), and he pointed at each one of them, Khwaja Ahmad Siddīq, Khwaja Auliya’ Kalān, Khwaja `Ārif Rīwgarī, Khwaja Mahmūd Abū’ 1 Khair Faghnawī, and Khwaja `Alī Rāmītanī, may their souls rest in peace!” When he reached Ḥazrat Khwaja Muhammad Bābā Sammadī, he said: “You have known him during his lifetime. He was your shaikh, and had given you a kulāh (a headgear, turban), and had done this karāmat (miracle) for you that if any problem appeared it would be removed by your grace”. Then the gathering said: “Pay attention and listen well for Ḥazrat Khwaja will speak of important things that in the way of the path of Truth God has provided for you no other remedy but for this”. I requested this assembly that I wished to greet Ḥazrat Khwaja and become a recipient of his blessed beauty. They held the curtain away from before him, I saw the illuminating pīr, I greeted him, he responded. Afterwards, he discoursed on that which is relevant for the beginning, middle, and the end of the path, he explained to me and said: “Those lamps that were shown to you in that state, were an indication and sign of your talent and ability in this way. But the wick of your aptitude should be brought into motion so that it is lighted and the secrets are manifest”. He again said and emphasized that: “In all circumstances follow the path of that which is commanded and prohibited, and follow the ordinance of God and the custom of the Prophet, instead keep away from deviation and innovation. Always keep the traditions of the Prophet, may God grant him peace and salvation, as your guide. And you must always desire and seek the traditions and signs of the Prophet and his Companions. After these words that assembly said to him, “Witness the truth of your condition, tomorrow go to that place and do that work”... and after concentration on that I left to be in the service of Amīr Kulāl in Nasf. 13

As early as the fourteenth century Bahá’u’díin Naqshband had incorporated this idea of Uwais' initiation into his mystical theory. According to this theory the ‘spiritual presence’ of a deceased shaikh is a force that can be evoked by a sufi. Bahá’u’díin defines tawajjuh (concentration) on the spiritual presence of the deceased shaikh as a maqâm (a station in the mystical path), which the sâlik (traveller of the mystic Path) can reach by his own efforts. This ‘station’ is part of that kind of mystical path which is called sulûk (progression) as opposed to jazba (attraction). In the latter the sufi is passively attracted to God. In the former he sets out for God and in this condition may be guided by the spirits of deceased masters. Constant concentration on the ‘spiritual presence’ of the shaikh

didam afrokhâta wa dar chiraghân raughân tamâm wa fatîla, ammâ fatîla râ andak harkat mî-boast dâd tâ az raughân birûn âyad wa bâlîzagi bar afrozad. Wa dar mazâr-i âhîrin mutawajjih qibla nishistam wa dar ân tawajjih gha’tihi uftad. Mûshâhada kardam ki dwîr-i qibla shaqq shuda, wa ta’khhî buzurg paidâ umaad, wa pardo’ sabz dar peshi-i wai kashilda wa gîrdâgird-i ân ta’khh jamâ’atî. Khwaja Muhammad Baba Sammâsî râ darmiyan-i ishân shanâkhâm. Dânîstam ki ishân az gugashtaganand. Az ân jamâ’at murâ gulf, ”Bar ta’khh Khwaja ’Abû’l Khâliq and wa ân jamâ’at khulî’yi ishân”, wa ba-har yakh ishâr kard, Khwaja Ahmad Siddiqa wa Khwaja Auliya’ Kâlân wa Khwaja ’Arif Riwari wa Khwaja Mahmûd Abû al Khair Faghnawî wa Khwaja ’Ali Râmînî quddîsa alâh ta’âla’ arwâhahum, wa chun ba Khwaja Muhammad Baba Sammâsî rastâ gulf, “Ishân râ khwud dar ǧîl-i hayât-i khwud daryâfta ay. Shaikh tavânâd, wa turâ kulâh dàda-and, wa turâ ân karamât karda-and ki bâlâ’i nûzul shuda az barkat-i tâ dafa’ shawad!” Ân gâh ân jamâ’at guftand, ”Gosh dâd wa nek shinav ki Hazrat Khwaja sukhânîn buzurg khwahand farmûd ki, dar sulûk-i râh-i hâqq subhânahu turâ az ân châra nabâshad. Az ân jamâ’at darkhwastam ki bar Hazrat Khwaja salâm kunam, wa bar jamâl-imubarak-i ishân mushharaf shavam. Parda az pesh bar giriftand, piri didam nûrânî, salâm kardam, javâb dâdand. Angâh sukhânâni ki hamadâl sulûk wa wasîl wa nihâyat ta’âlluq dâdad, hâ man darmiyan avurand wa guftand, “Ân chiraghân ki ba ân kaffiyat bâ tâ namûndand, ishârât wa bashârât ast turâ ba isti’dâd wa gâbiliyât-i ân râh, ammâ fatlâyî isti’dâd râ dar harkat mî bâyad âward tâ rausan shavad wa asrîr-i zûhûr kunad. Wa digar farmûndand wa muhâlougha namûndand ki dar hama atwâl qadam bar jâda’ amr u nahi wa ‘amîl ba’ azîmat wa sunnat ba-jay ârî wa az rukbahâ wa bû’thâ dûr bâshi, wa dâ mânân abâdîs Mustafwi râ ǧallâ allâh ‘alayhi wa sallam peshwâ-i khwud sâzî, wa mu tarafhas wa mu tarafjasas akhîrâr wa asrîr-i rasûl allâh lallâ allâh ‘alayhi wa sallam wa shâbâ bîrâm o razî allâh ta’âla’ ‘ânhum bâshi’. Wa ba’d az ân sukhânân ân jamâ’at murâ gulfand, “Shâhid-i sidq-i ǧîl-i tâ ân ast ki farad ala’ l subûy falân jay baravi wa falân kîr hukun”, wa tafsîl-i ân dar maqâmât-i ishân maqûr ast wa guftand ba’d az ân mutawajjih ba Nasf raftam bahûndam Amîr Sâyîd Kulâl quddisa sîrruhu rasîdam. See Naqshatu’l uns, op. cit., p. 345-346; for Persian text see Appendix V/2. A much more detailed version of this account is available in the Hazrât’ul quds vol. 1, op. cit., pp. 176-178, and this can be compared to the version in Salah bin
According to Bahā'uddīn, the station of bī-ṣafatī is beyond that of ma'rīfat (gnosis) or mahabba (love), and is an experience of the level that belongs to the Prophet Muhammad.14

The tradition of maintaining Uwaisī linkages continued after Bahā'uddīn and the memory of such affiliation is recorded in the hagiographies written in the subcontinent where the silsila established itself in the sixteenth century. A variation in this style of initiation is cited in the case of Khwāja Bāqī Billāh (d. A.D. 1604). Basing himself on Muhammad Hāshim Kishmi's Zubdatu'l maqāmāt Bāqī Billāh’s biographer has stated two proofs of the Khwāja’s ‘Uwaisīyat’ which express his relationship with Prophet Muhammad. In one instance it is related that before Bāqī Billāh left Hindūstān for Mawara’u’n-nahr, one day while he was performing the namāz in a mosque at Lāhor, those who were performing with him heard a terrifying sound from the Khwāja’s chest. The Khwāja left the mosque in great haste and never entered it again. The other proof of Khwāja’s ‘Uwaisīyat’ as related by his biographer is that once when a loyal follower was standing behind the Khwāja who was facing the qibla (prayer niche) for namāz, he saw

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Bukhari’s Anis ul wai’zin in wa ‘uddat us sālikin translated into Urdu as the Anis ut jālibin, Lāhor, A.H. 1326, pp. 18-21.

14 Bahā’uddīn initially concentrated on the rūhaniyat of Uwais Qaranī which brought about a complete detachment and disengagement from connections of visible and invisible nature (Asr tawajjuh ba rūhaniyat Uwais Qaranī...inqata’ tamm wa tajarrud kulli az ‘alai’q-i zāhir wa bāṭin būd). He then concentrated on the rūhaniyat of Khwāja Muhammad bin ‘Alī Ḥākim al Tirmīzī (d. A.D. 908) resulted in being without any attribute or characteristic feature (asr ān tawajjuh zāhīr-i bisfātī mahaz būdī); cf. Muhammad Parsā, Risāla'ī qudsiya, ed. and annotated with introduction by Malik Muhammad Iqbal, Rawalpindi: Iran Pakistan Institute of Persian Studies, 1975, pp. 139 & 140. Also see J. T. Haar, “The Importance of the
the Khwāja’s face looking towards him at the same time when he was also turned towards the gībla.15 Nevertheless, it is to be noted that by legitimating spiritual communication with the rūḥānīyat of a dead pīr, the Naqshbandiyya did not mitigate the significance of the pīr-i zahir (external/physical shāikh); the existence of the latter remained a cardinal principle of their tariqa.16

As we move towards an age when the practice of seeking initiation and imparting instructions in more than one silsila becomes common, the instance of Uwaisī style of orientation was convenient for forging connections with another silsila across the boundary of one’s own principal order. A classic example of this is Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindī who claims to have crossed the spiritual stations occupied by the shaikhs of orders other than his own. With reference to the letters of the Mujaddid, Badruddīn Sirhindī relates that during the state of nazul (the state of spiritual descent) or sair ‘ān Allāh ba Allāh, the Shaikh had overcome the stations of the mashāikh of the other silsilas with the aid of their rūḥānīyat (spirituality). First of all Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindī overcame the station of the Chishtiya and “compared to the others the rūḥānīyat of Quţbuddīn

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15 The anonymous biographer of the Hayāt-i Bāqīya goes on to match both these extraordinary features of Bāqī Billāh’s behaviour with the peculiar practice of Prophet Muhammad. According to the biographers of the Prophet a loud sound could be heard upto a distance of a mile when he was immersed in namāz; and according to Bukhari’s traditions of Muhammad, the Prophet would ask the rows of people to straighten during the namaz as he could see behind him while he was looking in the front. Cf. Urdu tr. of Hayāt-i Bāqīya, compiler and translator anonymous, Delhi: Afzal al Akhbār, A.H. 1332, pp. 7-9.

16 The author of Hayāt-i Bāqīya, relates that Khwaja Bāqī Billāh had received his tarhiyat from the rūḥānīyat of Khwaja Bahā’uddīn and Prophet Muhammad, but he was in need of a pīr-i zahir to express himself. Therefore, he left Hindūstān for Mawara’u’n-nahr in search for such a one, and after doing bai’at
Bakhtiyar Kaki was the most helpful...After this I passed the station of the Kubrawi shaikhs...and after this there was the station of the great Suhrawardia..."17

Within the Naqshbandiya, however, there seems to be an opposition to the Uwaisi phenomenon. It is said that Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (d. A.D. 1624) reformulated the genealogical interpretations of Naqshbandi authority by emphasizing the line of spiritual transmission from Abu Bakr (since he is the most laudable human being after the Prophet) which is accompanied by a marked hostility to the Shi'as, and that he was repugnant to the general phenomenon of Uwaysi initiation.18 Now an important confluence between Shi'as and sufis is the shared spiritual lineage, which in the Naqshbandi case is called the silsilat al zahab (Golden chain).19 While the earliest Naqshbandi spiritual pedigrees showed linkages with `Ali bin Abü Talib and other Shi'a Imams, Sirhindi disregarded the inclusion of spiritual lines that were issued from `Ali. In the opinion of Buehler Sirhindi’s redefinition of the Naqshbandi genealogy had an adverse impact on the status of the Uwaisi as “The Mujaddidi preoccupation with the Bakri heritage and sobriety meant a marked de-emphasis of spiritual ecstasy and Uwaysi initiations”.20 As a result of the reformist, shari'a-minded sufi lineage of the Naqshbandi-

(pledging discipleship) on the hand of Khwaja Amkanagi he received the permission to enroll into the Naqshbandiya. See ibid., pp. 7-8.

19 Baha‘uddin Naqshband while explaining his own spiritual genealogy had stressed the preeminence of the Golden Chain of the Imams of Muhammad’s family because of the distinction that they made between the inner and outer knowledge. Ibid., p. 92.
20 Ibid.

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Mujaddidiya, in the latter Indo-Pakistani biographical compendiums, no Naqshbandi-Uwaisīs are mentioned after the time of Sirhindī.\(^{21}\)

Buehler’s understanding of Sirhindī’s attitude towards the Uwaisī phenomenon seems to be guided by a reference in a letter authored by the Shaikh, in which he did not consider Uwais Qaranī to have reached the stage of the lowest Companion of the Prophet, but declared him to be the best of the tābi’īn. In denying Uwais’ suhbat with the Prophet, Buehler thinks that Sirhindī negated the general phenomenon of Uwaisī initiation and affirmed the requirement for guidance from a living Naqshbandī shaikh.\(^{22}\) The issue whether Uwais was a ṣāhiḥ or tābi’ī has been much discussed in Islamic biographical literature and a review of this discussion is also available in the Lāṭā’if-i nafiṣiyā dar fażā’il-i Uwaisiya. Nevertheless, given the understanding that the concept derives from Uwais’ supra-physical communication with the Prophet, Uwais’ status as an immediate Companion or a Follower does not have bearing on the notion of the Uwaisī as such.

Sirhindī, in fact accepts himself as an Uwaisī:

> Although I am an Uwaisī, I have my patron present before me. Even though in the Naqshbandī ūrūqa my pīr is ‘Abdu’ll Bāqī but my training has been entrusted to Allāh al-Bāqī (the Everlasting one).\(^{23}\)

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\(^{21}\) Ibid., p. 95.

\(^{22}\) Ibid., p. 93. In the course of my discussion on the Lāṭā’if-i nafiṣiyā dar fażā’il-i Uwaisiya, I have mentioned the debate concerning Uwais’ status as a ṣāhiḥ or tabī’ī.

\(^{23}\) “Har chand Uwaisīm ammā murabbbī-i hāzir o nazīr dāram. Har chand dar ūrūqa’i Naqshbandiya pīr-i man ‘Abdu’ll Bāqī ast ammā mutakaffil-i tarbiyat-i man allāh al-bāqī ast”. This is quoted from a letter written by Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindī (letter no. 87, vol. 3 of his Maktūbat) that has been cited by his disciple Badruddin Sirhindī in Ḥazrātū’l quds, vol. 2, ed. and annotated with an introduction by Maulānā Maḥbūb Illāhī, Lāhor: Mahikma’ī Auqāf Punjāb, 1971, p. 128.
Apparently, the above statement of Sirhindī was interpreted by his critics as denial of his pīr Bāqī Billāh. Ahmad Sirhindī then wrote another letter that qualified his status as an Uwaisī who also had a zāhirī pīr in the manner of Khwāja Ahrār and Khwāja Naqshband:

“Makhdūmah! An Uwaisī need not deny the existence of a zāhirī pīr, because Uwaisī is someone in whose training there is an interference of the spiritual beings. Ḥaẓrat Khwāja Ahrār in spite of having a physical guide had received help from the rūḥānīyat (spiritual presence) of Khwāja Naqshband, and was called Uwaisī. And in the same manner because Ḥaẓrat Khwāja Naqshband notwithstanding his physical guide had received help from the spirit of Khwāja ‘Abdu’l Khaliq...he was an Uwaisī. Specially, a person who notwithstanding his Uwaisīyat (Uwaisī connection) also acknowledges a pīr-i zāhir, it is unjustified to accuse him of negating the pīr.”

The above evidence is clearly in support of Sirhindī’s Uwaisī affiliation. As far as Buehler’s emphasis on non-consideration of this phenomenon for Naqshbandīs after Sirhindī is concerned, I shall only refer to Muhammad ‘Abdu’l Rahīm bin Wajīhuddīn Uwaisī Naqshbandī (d. A.D. 1720), father of Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī, who was separated by two links – Šaiḵ ‘Abdu’llāh and Šaiḵ Ādam Banūrī - in the silsila from Šaiḵ Ahmad Sirhindī, had written an instructive manual that is known as the Irshād-i

24 “Makhdūmah! Uwaisī guftan inkār az pīr-i zāhir nist, zīrā ki kāšt āst ki rūḥānīyān rā dar tarbiyat-i o mudākhiliṯti bāḥshad. Ḥaẓrat Khwāja Ahrār bawajūd pīr-i zāhir chunkī imdāḏī az rūḥānīyat-i Ḥaẓrat Khwāja Naqshband...yāfaʿ-ḥūdand, Uwaisī miguštand wa hamchīnīn Haẓrat Khwāja Naqshband bawajūd pīr-i zāhir chunkī madadhā az rūḥānīyat Ḥaẓrat Khwāja ‘Abdu’l Khaliq... yāfaʿ-ḥūdand Uwaisī ḥūdand. ‘Āla al khwāsus shakhṣī ki bawajūd-i Uwaisīyatāigner ba pīr-i zāhir ham dārad bazār-i inkār-i pīr bar sar-i o bastand “ajāb insāf ast”. Ibid., p. 132; see Appendix V/3 for Persian text.
Raḥīmiya for the followers of his ṭarīqa.\textsuperscript{25} In the first section of this treatise Shaikh ʿAbduʾl Raḥīm has provided a detailed ṣḥajaraʾi nasab (spiritual genealogy) of the Naqshbandiyya wherein he has explained several Uwaisī connections within his silsila. There is also a detailed rendering of the Naqshbandī connection with the silsilat al gahab of the Shiʿa Imāms.\textsuperscript{26} After stating the ṣḥajraʾi nasab that reveals Uwaisī linkages for several Naqshbandī Ḥkwājağān he states that:

It is evident from the silsila of these mashāikh that the shaikhs of this silsila have often been Uwaisī...and the meaning of Uwaisī is that which the shaikh-i ṭarīqat (master of the way) Shaikh Farīḍuddīn ʿAṭṭār, may his grave be hallowed, has stated, ‘there is a class from amongst the friends of God (auliyāʾ allāh) that the masters of the way and great holders of truth call Uwaisīyān. Externally they do not need a pīr, because the Prophet, may God bless and preserve him and his progeny, or, the spirit of a waI from amongst the auliyaʾ allāh, nurture them [Uwaisīyān] in the bosom of their care without the mediation of someone else, just as the Prophet, may God bless and preserve him and his progeny, did for Uwais.\textsuperscript{27}

Although, Shāh ʿAbduʾl Raḥīm states that his definition of the Uwaisīs is from ʿAṭṭār, the words “dar zāhīr” and the part about the Uwaisīs receiving instructions from

\textsuperscript{25} The treatise comprises of four sections each called a faṣl. The first faṣl defines the ṭarīqa of Shaikh Bahāʾuddīn and his successors, the genealogical tree of the Naqshbandiya, and its characteristic Uwaisī feature; the second section describes the practices of gikr, tawajjuh, muraqaba and rabita; the third section is about the qalimat-i qudsiya and wasiyat-nāma of ʿAbduʾl Khāliq Ghujdawānī; and the last faṣl is also about certain practices like tawajjuh. Irshād-i Raḥīmiya, Delhi: Matbaʾi ʿAzīzī, n.d.

\textsuperscript{26} Ibid., pp. 2-8.

\textsuperscript{27} Akṣar mashāikh-i ṭarīqa ki dar silsila maẓkūr-and Uwaisī būda-and. Wa maʾnī Uwaisī ān ast ki ḥazrat shaikh-i ṭarīqat. Shaikh Farīḍuddīn ʿAṭṭār quddisa allāh sirruhu gufta-and: qaumī az auliyaʾi allāh bāshand ki īshān rā mashāikh-i ṭarīqat wa kubrāʾi haqvāt Uwaisiyān nāmand. Wa īshān rā dar zāhīr ḥāfat ba pīrī nabūd, zirā ki īshān rā ḥazrat nubwat šallā allāh ʿalayhiʾs salām, ya rūh-i wālī az auliyaʾi
the "rūḥ-i wāli az auliyā'i allāh" are additions from the post-'Aṭṭār understanding of Uwaisī concept. Furthermore, in keeping with the understanding of his spiritual ancestor Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindī, the author of Irshād-i Raḥīmiya clearly presents the Uwaisī technique as a part of sulūk (i.e. actively setting out for God) that is subordinate to the principle of jāzba (i.e. being attracted by God towards Him) in the Naqshbandī nīsbat.\(^{28}\)

Therefore, in conclusion to this section of his treatise the Shāh observes: “In progression (along the mystic path) and attaining the divine grace and merciful theophanies pious spirits are intermediaries for an Uwaisī. But in the system of jāzba, which is a special method, there is no mediator in between [the sufi and God].”\(^{29}\)

**Shāh Walī Allāh and the Uwaisī nīsbat**

The Uwaisī concept receives, perhaps, its ultimate exposition in the writings of Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī (d. A.D. 1764), the well-known Naqshbandī sufi who is known in the history of Indian Sufism as a reviver of Islam and as the representative of the Naqshbandīs who support the idea of wahdat al wujūd. In a treatise called Hama‘at, that essentially provides a philosophical understanding of his tajdidī da’wat (call for renewal


of Islam), Shāh Wali Allāh has given a detailed expression to the ‘Uwaisī nisbat’. The Shāh comprehends nisbat as that particular condition which is placed in the heart of the mystic traveller in such a way that it becomes an essential characteristic of his essence. According to him nisbat is of two types, one is nearer to the way of ja`b and is known as nisbat-i sakina, while the second type of nisbat is nearer to the way of wazīfa and aurād, and is known as nisbat-i ‘ilmiya. Of the latter type is nisbat-i tahārat (condition of ritual purity). Now, nisbat-i Uwaisī is like a bridge (barzakh) between the aforesaid conditions. In other words, it is a spiritual condition by the mediation of which sufis transverse through the world of physical reality into the realm of the spirits. Explaining the rationale of this nisbat Shāh Wali Allāh explains that individuals possess reasoning (nafs-i nātiqā) that is like a mirror which reflects spiritual conditions and physical states. Nature has determined distinct merits for the spiritual and the physical aspects. Of the various spiritual qualities, there is one attribute due to which the traveller of the mystic

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30 It is to be kept in mind that the term “nisbat” has been defined in various ways by the shaikhs of the Naqshbandi silsila. The word is often used in the sense of jariqa i.e. method or way, or it may also be used as kaifiyat makhṣūsa (a particular condition) that is specially cultivated by this group. Sometimes the term is used to indicate sifat-i ghālib (an overpowering attribute) or malaka'i nafs kashī (angelic pull); cf. Ibid., pp. 42-43.

31 For a detailed exposition of the nisbat-i sakīna and nisbat-i ‘ilmiya and various kinds of nisbat in Shāh Wali Allāh’s system see his Hama'at, Hyderabad: Academia Shāh Wali Allāh Dihlawī, 1964, pp. 47-64; also see the Urdu translation by Muhammad Sarwar, Taṣawwuf ki ḥaqiqat aur us ka falsafa’i Ta’rikh, Lāhor: Sind Sagar Academy, 1946, pp. 86 to 117.

32 When a person purifies himself with wuzū, applies scent, wears clean clothes, he feels a special kind of joy (surūr), and when such a person comes across this condition repeatedly it becomes a permanent speciality, and this is known as nisbat-i tahārat. Such a person is capable of receiving ilḥām from angels and after death is incorporated in their group. The nisbat-i sakīna is a condition that develops when a person through ritual and supererogatory prayers develops a love for the ghā’ib, and the human intellect creates talent to receive ilḥām from angelic beings. See Ibid., 42-47; Urdu translation of the same, op. cit., pp. 96 to 107.
path leaves the world of physical forms (‘ālam-i nāsūl) and is raised to the world of angelic beings (‘ālam-i malakūt) where the impious and ignoble beliefs are completely eliminated. In this condition the soul of the sufi becomes so intoxicated with the elegance and pleasant qualities of this realm that he seems to be totally annihilated in them. At this stage the condition of the traveller, according to Shāh Wāli Allāh is like a water bag (mashshak) which is filled with air to the fullest in such a way that even if it is put in the water, it will not be submerged under it. As the sufis receive this quality, their hearts reflect the ‘colour’ (meaning spiritual degree) from above due to the blessings of which a special relationship is developed between the sufis and the spirits of the angelic realm.

From the philosophy of the concept Shāh Wāli Allāh goes on to explain the practical experience of this condition which is acquired by sufis. Sometimes, it may happen that a sālik hears about the fazā‘il (virtues) of a buzurg and develops an extraordinary love for him. In this way a wide-path (kushāda rāh) opens between the sālik and the buzurg. It is possible that the sālik develops this special association with the spirit of his murshid or with the spirit of one of his forefathers. The spirit of such a buzurg has the quality to discourse and advice those who are related to it and thus influence the sālik. Or, it is also possible that the sālik develops a special association with one of the spirits due to his natural instinct. He then sees this buzurg in a dream and benefits from his

\[33\] For details of nisbat-i Uwaisiya see ibid., pp. 56-64; Urdu translation of the same, op. cit., see pp. 118-131.
association. Since the *Uwaisī nisbat* links the *sālik* in this material world with the spirit/spirits residing in the angelic realm, it is a bridge between the two worlds.

There is, however, a qualitative difference in the nature of *Uwaisī nisbat* that is defined with reference to the character of spirits that associate with the *sālik*. The Shāh explains this feature with examples from his own experience with different groups of spirits in the *ālam-i arwāḥ* (world of spirits). He first came across the sublime assembly of angels like Mika’il and Jabra’il (*mala‘i ‘āla*) who look after the affairs of the universe. He also encountered some human spirits that were attached to these angelic spirits in such a way as if they were totally dyed in their colour. As a result of this *nisbat* the *šūrat-i ālamī* (state of the universe) is painted (*munaqqash*) on the heart of the *sālik*. Sometimes, this *nisbat* is responsible for impressing the advice and decisions of the divine mind, on the heart of the *sālik*. Another group of angels that the Shāh came across was that of the *mala‘i sāfil* (angels of a lower category). The person who attains *Uwaisī nisbat* through the mediation of this group can see angels in state of sleep and wakefulness. He also sees them performing various functions and can recognize them.

The third group in the realm of spirits is that of the *mashīikh-i ṣūfiya*. These spirits may be present collectively, or be placed in their independent capacity. The person who develops an *Uwaisī nisbat* with this class is sure to develop love for the spirits of the sufis and it is possible that he is annihilated in those shaikhs (*fanā fi’l mashāikh*). This condition then goes on to affect each and every aspect of the person’s life, just as when a

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tree is watered the freshness of its effect is evident in the branches, leaves, flowers and fruits of that tree. The effect of this condition, however, is not the same for everyone. Although, usually those afflicted by this state attend the `urūs (death anniversaries) of the shaikhs, visit their graves, distribute alms, and honour the descendents and followers of the departed shaikhs.36

Now, the Shāh has specified that the communication between the spirits of a particular group from the realm of spirits and the person, who is favoured by them, happens in dreams that are seen by the latter. Whenever the recipient of the Uwaisī nisbat is faced with any problem, these spirits appear before him and he seeks the resolution of his problems by referring these problems to the apparations. The essence of this nisbat is that the sālik sees various kinds of things and hears good tidings in true dreams. It could be that other people dream about the sālik who has the Uwaisī nisbat, and in their dreams they witness the greatness and majesty of this sālik which causes them to become his followers. In this manner wayfarers, who without the benefit of a zāhirī pīr travel rapidly on the mystic path, are also recipient of the conditions of jāzī and rāhat, and despite various impediments of indolence their concentration does not waver from the ghāʾib. These are signs that indicate that such a sālik has acquired nisbat-i Uwaisī. It is, however, not essential that the sālik is familiar with the detail of this nisbat.37

In the system of Shāh Walī Allāh this nisbat had pre-Islamic origins and the prophecy of Muhammad was also a result of this nisbat. According to him in the pre-

36 Ibid., pp. 62-63; Urdu translation ibid., pp. 121-122.
37 See Ibid., pp. 63-64; Urdu translation ibid., pp. 124-125.
Islamic times the atmosphere was full of spirits of auliya' allāh, and those people who had acquired the Uwaisī nisbat from the mala'ika-i muqarrabīn (cherubims) through the mediation of these spirits. From this station they would receive the knowledge of prophecy (nubūwat) and philosophy (ḥikmat). From amongst those who possessed this nisbat, one was sent for human beings and called ṉabī (prophet) and those who were not sent to the people were known as ḥakīm (philosopher) and muhaddīṣ (traditionist). But with the coming of the mission of Prophet Muhammad, the imaginal form of his mission in the `ālam-i miṣāl (imaginal world) acquired a physical form in the phenomenal world, and he also acquired numerous followers. With the coming of Islam the pre-Islamic attributes were hidden from the eyes of people just as with the appearance of dark clouds the sun disappears from sight.

Shāh Waīf Allāh has elaborated on the notion of the `ālam-i miṣāl and states that of the various secrets of God, those things that acquire physical form in the phenomenal world inevitably have an existence in another sphere that is known as the `ālam-i miṣāl. In other words, all things existant in the material world are connected with their symbolic forms in the `ālam-i miṣāl. So that when someone concentrates on the `ālam-i ghā'ib, the `ālam-i ghā'ib also turns towards him. But whatever is seen as a result of concentration on the `ālam-i ghā'ib is always symbolic. The model of such symbolic manifestation was the ṣāt (essence) of the Prophet.38

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38 Ibid., pp. 62; Urdu translation pp. 125-126.
The first person in the Prophet’s community to be initiated in the way of *jaʿb* was `Alī bin Abū Ṭālīb, and therefore, various *salāsil* trace their origins to him.\(^{39}\) The Naqshbandiyya, however, are proud of their ancestry which is linked to Abū Bakr and doubt the authenticity of the links traced to `Alī in case of the other *salāsil*. After `Alī bin Abū Ṭālīb the most influential person to travel the way of *jaʿb* and turn towards *nisbat*-i *Uwaisī* was Shaikh `Abduʾl Qādir Jīlānī. It is the practice of Shaikh Jīlānī’s *silīsilā* that after travelling the path of *jaʿb* the *salīk* also acquires *nisbat*-i *Uwaisī*. Thus, `Alī and `Abduʾl Qādir Jīlānī are considered as the most popular workers of *karāmat* (miracles). Therefore, if the *salīk* finds the *tawajjuh* (concentration) of the *ʿalam*-i *ghāʾib* bestowed on him, he should summon the form of either of these two before him. In the light of these features, Walī Allāh is of the opinion that if, in his day, a wayfarer creates an association with a particular spirit and is recipient of *faʿīz* (grace) from this source, the reality of this fact is that this *faʿīz* is acquired through the *nisbat* of the Prophet, or through the *nisbat*s of `Alī, or `Abduʾl Qādir Jīlānī.\(^{40}\)

Shāh Walī Allāh admits that sometimes this *nisbat* is received from various other spirits as in the case of a *salīk* who develops an extraordinary love for a particular shaikh who is dead and visits his grave often with the intention of developing a bond (*raḥṭ*) with his spirit. The ultimate nature of this relation depended on the receptive ability of the *salīk*, and the charismatic influence that the shaikh exercised on his followers during his

\(^{39}\) *jaʿb* is a condition in which a sufi concentrates on the *ʿalam*-i *ghāʾib* and is impervious to the material world around him. In this condition matters of the unseen world are revealed to him. The Naqshbandīs elaborate further on this and according to Shāh Walī Allāh in this condition the curtain that spreads from this universe up to the essence of God is lifted from before the *salīk*, and he is turned towards the beginning of the essence of mankind; cf. *ibid.*, p. 38; Urdu translation p. 87.
lifetime. For example, if the shaikh had a great degree of impact in the upbringing of the followers of his silsila, and after departing from this world his spirit retains the charisma to influence disciples, under such circumstance the murshid plays a significant role in creating this nisbat in those who seek his spirit.41

The entire matter of establishing a bond with the spirit of a dead sufi may be difficult to accept, but the Shāh himself expresses no doubt in this matter and provides an explanation. When the mashāikh-i ṣāfiya have been dead for about four or five centuries the physical virtues of their souls, which did not permit their spirits to appear in an incorporeal form, loose their impact. And during this time the souls of those mashāikh are scattered as nasma' or parts of the aerial spirits. Under such conditions if someone concentrates on the graves of these shaikhs, their spirits influence the spirit of the one who observes tawajjuh. The Shāh has described two methods of exercising tawajjuh on the spirits of the dead shaikhs. According to one method the person who desires to establish contact with the spirit of a dead shaikh must imagine of his own condition in the grave after death. He should be totally immersed in this condition so that he has the experience of receiving a special rang (attribute). The sālik must try and understand the true nature of this rang just as a person who looks in the mirror tries to recognize himself. The second technique involves concentration on the grave of a particular shaikh with whom the sālik wishes to establish a contact. The rūh (spirit) of the inhabitant of the grave will be revealed to the sālik who then concentrates on the spiritual attributes of that

40 Ibid., pp. 62; Urdu translation pp. 126-128.
shaikh. The sâlik sees the rûh of the shaikh in the same manner as a person who on opening his eyes sees something before himself and then examines it in detail. However, the Shâh points out that this vision is experienced not with physical sight but with the chishm-i bâtin (internal vision).42

The final exposition of the Uwaisî nisbat in Shâh Wali Allâh’s understanding is displayed in the tarîqa of Shaikh ‘Abdu’l Qâdir Jîlânî who on account of possession of this nisbat has been distinguished as a class by himself.43 By virtue of this nisbat he developed a deep love for the tajâllî-ye zâti (theophany of divine essence) that was first revealed to the shaiks-i akbar.44 Through the mediation of this theophany, Shaikh ‘Abdu’l Qâdir was recipient of one of the divine theophanies that bestowed on him the four basic kamâlât (wonders) i.e. ibda’, khalq, tadbîr and tadallî, that are responsible for the working of this universe. As a result of this, the possessor of this nisbat displays limitless favours that are predetermined for him and become evident without any human intention. This nisbat is responsible for the peculiar nature of the silsila of Shaikh Jîlânî that is compared to a river which flows on ground for some distance and then disappears from sight and then continues to run underground for some time before it resumes its flow

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41 Ibid., p. 63; Urdu translation p. 128.
42 Ibid., pp. 64-65; p. 130.
43 In a chapter devoted to various categories of sufis and their nisbats, Shâh Wali Allâh has defined nine classes of sufis: i. Sahâba, tâbi’in, jamhûrî salahîni who have nisbat-i ihshân; ii. Sufis mentioned in al-Sulami’s Tabaqât and Qushairî’s Risâla who had nisbats like ihsân, ‘ishq and wajd; iii. Ghausi ‘azm who had nisbat-i Uwaisî; iv. Khwaja Naqshband who possessed nisbat-i yâd-dâshht; v. Khwajagâh-i Chisht who had nisbats of tahrîrat, sakîna and ‘ishq; vi. Suhrawardî and their nisbats of tahrîrat and sakîna; vii. silsila Akbariyya and its nisbat-i tawhid; viii. Kubrawî - their nisbat has changed since the inception of their order. The Shâh has not defined it; ix. Tariqa Shâgjî; ibid., pp. 72-79; Urdu translation pp. 172-183.
over ground. Thus in the farīqa 'i Jilāniya the silsila of khirqa (robe which is symbolic of predecessor’s succession) continues without any gap. But the silsila of procuring nisbat is not continuous. It has often happened that after this farīqa was apparent, it went into obscurity, and then again surfaced in the Uwaisī manner without the mediation of a pīr, by virtue of the mediation of the spirituality of a buzurg.45

The various instance of Uwaisī linkages stated for the Naqshbandiya express the different kinds of Uwaisī connections possible between the sufi on the one hand, and the spirituality of a long dead Shaikh, Khīṭr, Prophet Muhammad or God, on the other hand. It is obvious that the function of the Uwaisī nisbat was to establish a connection with the physically absent individuals whose presence in the affairs of the farīqa was welcome. In other words, the ‘Uwaisī’ style of transmission, that happened as a visionary occurrence, conveyed the ultimate sense of the silsilas, the chains of transmission that connect sufis with the ultimate source of tradition, are not simply chronologically linked but are also connected in the ‘suprahistorical realm of the spirit’.46

44 The ʿālam-i alawi and ʿālam-i sufi together are like a person who is called shakhs-i akbar; the soul of the shakhs-i akbar is known as nafs-i kulliya. Ibid., p. 249.

45 Ibid., p. 178; In the 34th tafhīm of his Al tafhīmāt al Īlāhiya Shāh Wali Allāh has also explained the special case of the Uwaisī nisbat amongst the Qādiris. Amongst the Qādiriya, Naqshbandiya, and Chishtiya, instructions are given through a pīr-i zāhir, the Qādiriya are closest to the Uwaisiyat and rūḥāniyat which creates a laison between the shaikhs and the disciples. The reason for this is that when Shaikh ʿAbduʾl Qādir, who has a role in administrating this world died, was imbued with an angelic form and in this way a rūḥāniyat was created in his order. Cf. Shāh Wali Allāh, Al tafhīmāt al Īlāhiya, vol. 1, edited by Ghulām Mustafa al Qāsimi Hyderabad: Shāh Wali Allāh Academy, 1390/1970, p. 114. I am greatful to Mr. Wasim Ahmad, Ph. D student of the Department of Islamic Studies, Jamia Hamdard, for translating the Arabic text for me.

46 Hamid Algar has expressed the historical and the ‘suprahistorical’ implication of the silsila for practitioners of Sufism in general, see H. Algar, “A Brief History of the Naqshbandi Order” op.cit., p. 3. I have used his phrase in particular to give expression to the significance of the Uwaisī phenomenon in the discipline of sufis.
Assimilating the Uwaisī in the Shaṭṭārī and Chishtī traditions of Hindūstān

The Naqshbandiya were not unique in recognising this apparently aberrant form of spirituality in the age of silsila dominance. From the seventeenth century onwards sources indicate ‘domestication’ of the Uwaisī within the folds of other silsilas as well. Mention may be made here of the Shaṭṭārī silsila in which we find not only examples of sufis in possession of Uwaisī nisbat, but there is in fact a formal incorporation of this concept as a conventional practice of this order. The Shattāriya were introduced in the subcontinent by Shāh ‘Abdu’llāh of Bukhāra during the fifteenth century. In his own homeland the Shaṭṭārīs were a loose sufi community, like the Uwaisīs and Malāmatīs, whose designation evoke not the names of any ‘founders’, but the particular style of spiritual practice emphasized by that community. Hence, the Uwaisīs reflect initiation accessed through extra physical contact; the Malāmatīs were followers of the doctrine of blame; and the Shaṭṭārī showed extraordinary speed in spiritual progress. These designations survived into the sixteenth century, which is the age of silsila based tarīqas, when silsilas were indeed devised for them. In the earliest stages, however, in which we find these communities active in Central Asia, they evidence no particular attachment to the idea silsila as the key to their legitimacy. On the contrary, these groups appeared to have stressed the ability of their particular mode of spiritual discipline to produce results as proof of their legitimacy. But gradually with the growing influence of the silsila as basis
of organization, these independent sufi communities also started arranging themselves around principles of either hereditary or spiritual descent.

In the case of Shaṭṭārīs this development took place with the coming of Shāh 'Abdu’llāh to Hindūstān. Before his death in Māndū in A.D. 1485 he had written a treatise called the Laṭā'if-i ghaiḥiya which provided the basic guidelines for the Shaṭṭārī ṣaḥīqa in India. More than a hundred years later when Muhammad Ghaṣṣī Shaṭṭārī of Māndū compiled the Gulzār-i abrār, a taḳkira of 612 sufis, in his introduction to the fifth chaman (section) dedicated to the Shaṭṭārī silsila, he provides an explanation of the term ‘shattār’. On the basis of a reference to third fasāl of Shāh 'Abdu’llāh Shaṭṭārī’s Laṭā'if-i ghaiḥiya, according to which there are three types of wayfarers: akḥyār, abrār, and shattār. The shattār are so called because they cross the stations of the path with speed. The other explanation for the term ‘shattār’ is that instead of serving a physically present Shaikh this group receives beneficence and nurturing from the spirits of the dead auliyā’. As the sufis of this group cross the phenomenal world and reach the world of angels with spiritual haste, they are given the laqab of ‘shattār’. The method of receiving spiritual beneficence and training from the spirits of dead sufis was clearly an adaptation from the Uwaisīs prevailing in the original homeland of Shāh 'Abdu’llāh Shaṭṭārī. Eventhough, at this junction I am unable to provide the details of affiliation between the Shaṭṭārīs and the Uwaisīs, it will be interesting to point out that Shaikh

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47 C. A. Storey has accounted of 575 biographies of Indian saints in the Gulzār-i abrār, see C. A. Storey, Persian Literature, vol. 1/2, op. cit., no. 1310, pp. 984-985.
48 See Muḥammad Ghaṣṣī Shaṭṭārī Māndawī's, Gulzār-i abrār, translated into Urdu as Azkar-i abrār by Fażl Ahmad Jiwarī, Lāhor: Islamic Book Foundation, A.H. 1395, pp. 285-286; also see pp. 295-296 of the same for further explanation.
Ahmad Chenâbi, the author of a late seventeenth century text the *Lata’if-i nafigiya dar fażā’i-l-i Uwaisiya*, has provided a shajara of Uwaisi silsila in which Shaikh Muhammad Ghauş Gwâliarî Shaṭṭârî is shown as one of the links.49

There are Uwaisî sufis even amongst the Chishtis and probably the most well known examples are of Shaikh ‘Abdu’l Quddus Gangohî A.D. (1455-1537) and Shaikh ‘Abdu’l Raḥmân Chishtî. But the point which has bearing on the discussion of this chapter is derived from the *Maṭlûbu’t-tālibîn* that was compiled in A.D. 1699-1700. The work is a biography of Shaikh Nizâmuddîn Auliyyâ’ and was compiled by Muhammad Bûlāq bin Shaikh Abū Muhammad Khâlîdî Dihlawî bin Shaikh ‘Alî Akbar who was a descendant of Shaikh Nizâmuddîn Auliyyâ’, and contains several details about the principles and practice of the cult of the great Chishtî sufi.50 Muhammad Bûlâq has traced the history of his ancestor’s pedigree, birth, learning, discipleship with Bâbâ Farîduddîn Ganj-i Shakar, his miracles, pupil, etc. in detail. The fifteenth maṭlîb of the text which accounts for the prominent shaikhs of the Chishtî order, their death dates and places of burial, and the lineal and collateral chains of transmission of the Chishtî family in fourteen khânwâdahâ or families, and its fourteen khânwâdâ’i furu or branch families.51

51 The fourteen khânwâdas of the Chishtîs are named after some of the great shaikhs of this order who were the spiritual descendants of Khwâja Ḥasan Basîrî, who is in turn said to be the disciple of ‘Alî bin Abû Tâ’îbî. These are: Zaidîs, ‘Iyâzîs, Ḵazâmis, Hubairîs, Chishtîs, ‘Ajâmi, Taifûris, Kar缺点, Saqâtîs, Junâidîs, Kâzârûnîs, Tusîs, Suhrâwhardîs and Firdawîsîs. The fourteen branch-families or sub-orders that are derived from the original families are known as khânwâdâ’i furu’ and these are: Qâdirîs, Qhaushi, Yasawîs, Naqshbandîs,
One of the fourteen branch families (khānawāda'i furu) of the Chishtiya is the Uwaisiya that originates with Khwāja Uwais Qaranī. Defining the Uwaisiya the author states:

Ḥaẓrat Khwāja Uwais Qaranī (may his soul rest in peace) and Khwāja Nizamī Ganjawi are the signets of this order... And those who by virtue of purifying spirit are connected with Ḥaẓrat Rasūl or to the great shaikhs without any mediators, and have received khilāfīt, are known as Uwaisī. Shaikh Ṭāṭār has also informed us that there is a class of auliya' who are called Uwaisī who do not need any pīr in the physical sense because they are nurtured by the spirit of Prophet Muhammad without any mediators... just as the Prophet in Mecca, in physical absentia, had instructed Khwāja Uwais Qaranī in Qaran.52

III

Malfūṣāt-i Khwāja Uwais Qaranī and the silsilā'ī Uwaisiya in the Laṭā'if-i nafisiya dar faṣā'il-i Uwaisiya

Other than the mention of Uwaisī sufis in hagiographical dictionaries there are two literary works namely, the Malfūṣāt-i Khwāja Uwais Qaranī and the Laṭā'if-i nafisiya dar faṣā'il-i Uwaisiya that indicate the growing significance of the Uwaisīs in the history of Sufism of northern India. The Malfūṣāt-i Khwāja Uwais Qaranī is a collection of conversations of Uwais Qaranī with individuals that are reported in a story-like form. The text has not been published and I have studied a photocopy of its


52 Ibid., pp. 161-162.
manuscript that belongs to Islâmábád’s Ganj Bakhsh library. The manuscript does not provide any clue about its author or date of composition. The only way to identify the period of its composition is to take help from a copy of the *malfúz* placed in the Dánishgâh-i Shírânî in Lâhor which is marked by copiests for A.H.1080/A.D.1670. One can then assume that the text was most probably compiled somewhere around the seventeenth century if not earlier. Unlike other works of the *malfúz* genre that usually give record of conversations from the assemblies of a shâîkh, this work presents stories that have been worked into the legend of Uwais Qarâñî in Islamic literary tradition over a long period of time. The anecdotes in the *Malfúzât-i Khwâja Uwais Qarânî*, however, are not mere reproductions copied from earlier sources. These are adaptations that have been re-worked to suit the didactic purpose of the text. Although, at this stage it is not possible for me to identify the origin of all stories, there are two aspects in the narration of the *malfúz* that merit comment. One aspect relates to the narration of features typical to the personality of Uwais Qarânî as a sufi of the earliest creed who is characterized by his poverty, piety, pathos and asceticism; his intuitive knowledge; his intense love for the Prophet; and his fear of the Day of Judgement. The second aspect of narration, which derives from Uwais’s personality, concerns his relationship with other individuals in society as pîr. In the classical method of sufi organization the shâîkh assumes the role of

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53 The manuscript of *Malfúzât-i Khwâja Uwais Qarânî* (No. 8867) belongs to the Kitâbkhâna’ Ganj Bakhsh of Islâmábád, Pakistan and is described in Ahmad Munzawi’s *A Comprehensive Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in Pakistan*, vol. 3 (1984), no. 10962, p. 2022. The text is written in nastâliq and comprises of 47 pages, but is unfortunately incomplete towards the end. It begins from p. 2 with the usual formula of *Bismillîh...* and then “*Malfúz-i bandagî hazrat Khwâja Uwais Qarânî razi allâh ta’âla’ ‘ânhu chînîn awarda-and ki rozi bûdshûhân ’ahad râ ittisâq uftad ki mulâqât Hazrat Khwâja Uwais Qarânî razi allâh..."
an instructor who conducts his disciples on the mystic path and also acts as an admonisher for those who stray from this way. Since the shaikh is considered to be spiritual successor of the Prophet’s *walāyat* (sainthood) in the spiritual realm, his most important function is to act as intercessor for his disciples on the Day of Judgement.

The first *hikāyat* in the *malfūzāt* deals with the story about a king who comes to visit Uwais Qaranī when he hears that the Prophet has bequeathed his *khirqa* to Uwais. The king tries to win the favour of this ascetic with gifts of food and wealth, however, these are not accepted by Uwais who sends the king away after warning him about the Day of Judgement and promising to intercede for him on that day. The second *hikāyat* is a dialogue between Iblis and Uwais Qaranī. Eventhough, the *shaitān* tries to mislead Uwais by appearing before him in the disguise of a *faqīr*, Uwais knows of his true identity through his intuition. The story incorporates the well known features about Uwais’ telepathic connection with the Prophet; his intuitive knowledge about the Prophet which made him break his thirty teeth; and Uwais’ inability to meet the Prophet on account of his duty towards his mother. The story ends with God’s promise to Uwais for intercession on *qayāmat*.

The third *hikāyat* is about the meeting between Ahmad Khurasānī and Uwais. Here there is a mention of the *gallām* (blanket) and *'asa* (staff) that Uwais bequeathes to Ahmad Khurasānī as *tabarruk* (benediction). The story continues to mention a corrupt judge Qāżī Ṣadruddīn who is reformed due to Uwais’ advice, which he

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*ta'āla' ūnhu bakunad...*I am greatful to Dr. M. Khwāja Piri, Director of Noor Microfilm Centre, Iran Culture House, New Delhi, for acquiring a photocopy of this manuscript from Islāmābād for me.

*54* *Malfūzāt-i Khwāja Uwais Qaranī, op. cit.*, pp. 2-8.

receives through Ahmad Khurāsānī. Uwais grants him his musalla (prayer rug). The fourth story deals with the subject of pīrī-murādī in the course of a conversation between Qāẓī Naṣīruddīn and Uwais. The fifth story is instructive about the difference between the `ilm-i zāhir and `ilm-i bātīn, and the superiority of the latter. The lesson is imparted in a dialogue involving Qāẓī Ṣadruddīn and Jamāluddīn Abdāl, on the one hand, and Uwais Qarānī on the other hand. The sixth hikāyat is about Rabi’ā Basrī’s encounter with Īblis. The last hikāyat is descriptive about Junaid’s encounter with the Devil. Unfortunately, the manuscript is incomplete and does not provide full detail of the same.

The Laṭā‘if-i nafsiya dar fażā‘īl-i Uwaisiya was written by Ahmad bin Mahmūd Uwaisī Chenābī in 1156/1743. An edition of the Persian original was published from Delhi in 1896. Unfortunately, I did not have access to this edition and have used an Urdu translation of the Laṭā‘if-i nafsiya by Saiyid Manṣūr Ḥasan Riżvī that was published in 1940 by the title of Ḥayāt-i Uwais Qarānī. In his preface the translator informs us that he had used a copy of the Persian edition of the text, which belonged to his father and was published sixty years ago. The book was moth eaten and in a dilapidated condition, and for lack of another copy or manuscript of the work, Manṣūr Ḥasan translated the same for

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56 Ibid., pp. 12-23.  
57 Ibid., pp. 23-29.  
58 Ibid., pp. 29-35.  
59 Ibid., pp. 35-38.  
60 Ibid., pp. 38-47.  
62 An earlier Urdu translation was produced by S. M. Ishqāq Ḥusain Shāh Razzaqī in Lāhor in 1328/1918 and was known by the title of Nasīm-i Yaman fi ḥulāt-i Uwais-i Qaran. According to C. A. Storey’s
the benefit of non-Persian readers. The translator claims that he has transmitted references from the Persian original, except for a couple of traditions that were doubtful and appear to be invented by Uwaisī compilers. Instead, he admits to have incorporated certain reliable traditions that were originally missing from the Persian text. For example, the duʿāʾi mughanī which is mentioned in the twenty-third chapter of the Ḥayāt-i Uwais Qaranī has been integrated by the translator. On the whole, this work seems to be a fairly reliable translation of the Laṭāʾīf-i nafiṣiyā dar faẓāʿīl-i Uwaisiya.

We have hardly any information about the author, Ahmad bin Mahmūd Uwaisī Chenābī, from the text, except for the nisbats attached to his name, which indicate that he was an Uwaisī and lived somewhere along the river Chenāb. We can only infer on the basis of his writing that he was familiar with a few Persian texts that were fairly well known in northern India by the seventeenth century. Further, the author’s strong refutation of the criticism of ʿUmar (the third Caliph) in the Majālisuʿl muʿminīn of Nūrū’llāh Shustarī, point towards his staunch Sunnī leaning. The only other mention of the Laṭāʾīf-i nafiṣiyā and its author that I have come across is in Ghulām Sarwar Lāhori’s Khazīnātuʿl ʿasfiyyā, in which Shaikh Ahmad bin Mahmūd Uwaisī Chenābī is referred to as the author of an excellent work on the Uwaisīs called the Laṭāʾīf-i nafiṣiyā fi faẓāʿīl-i

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Persian Literature, ibid., this translation was based on the contents and meaning of the Persian original of the Laṭāʾīf-i nafiṣiyā, and therefore, it might not be an exact literal translation of the text.

63 For detail of the translator’s circumstance see ‘ʿArz-i bāl’ in Hayāt-i Uwais Qaraṇī by Saiyid Maẓūr Ḥasan Rizvī Chishtī Niẓāmī Ashrafi Dihlawī which is an Urdu translation of Maulānā Ahmad bin Mahmūd Uwaisī’s Laṭāʾīf-i nafiṣiyā dar faẓāʿīl-i Uwaisiya, Delhi: Kutābkhāna Matbaʿa-i Rizvī, 1359/1940, pp. 5 & 6.

64 Ḥayāt-i Uwais Qaraṇī, p. 8.

65 Ibid., pp. 58 to 60.
Uwaisiya in the biographical notice of Khwaja 'Abdu'l Khâliq (d. 1185/1775), an Uwaisî sufi who lived on the banks of river Satluj in Punjâb. 66

The work is not just a record of the legend of Uwais Qarâni, but it also serves as a hand book of Uwaisî sufis with details about the principles and practices observed in the silsila 'i Uwaisiya. As far as the structure is concerned the original work, according to the translator, comprises of twenty-five accounts (hayân) and each is called a latîfa. In the translation each latîfa is treated as a separate chapter with distinct headings and the chapters are further divided into sections according to its content material. In fact, each chapter deals with a particular feature concerning Uwais' legend or a specific matter related to the Uwaisî silsila. 67

The narration of Uwais Qarâni's legend in the Laţâ'if-i naﬁsiya dar faţâ'il-i Uwaisiya is primarily based on the descriptions from classics of Islamic literary tradition. In fact the author himself is conscientious about citing his sources at the beginning of each chapter and frequently refers to them in the course of his discussions while relating any tradition about Uwais. Some of the frequently cited sources are: Imâm Ghazâlî's Iḥyâ' al-'ulûm and Kîmiya'î sa'âdat, Hujwîrî's Kashf al mahjûb, 'Âţîr's Tażkiratu'l

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66 For 'Abdu'l Khâliq's mention in the Khâzînatu'l asfîyâ see below. According to the Hayât-i Uwais Qarâni Ahmad Chenâbî met Khwaja 'Abdu'l Khâliq when he (the author) was travelling to Lâhor in A.H. 1258. Shaikh Ahmad had shown a copy of the Laţâ'if to 'Abdu'l Khâliq which the latter could not read on account of his failing eyesight. Shaikh Ahmad then read a portion about Uwais Qarâni's inability to be present before the Prophet and the Khwaja gave a detailed explanation for it; ibid, pp. 29 & 30. In view of the dates given for 'Abdu'l Khâliq by Ghulâm Sarwar Lâhori, the date mentioned in the Urdu translation of the Laţâ'if-i naﬁsiya obviously needs correction.

67 According to A. Munzawi's Catalogue the manuscript of the Laţâ'if-i naﬁsiya dar faţâ'il-i Uwaisiya in the Kitâbkhâna'î Ganj Bakhsh at Islâmâbâd has a list of thirty chapters, each called a 'latîfa'. Unfortunately Munzawi has not listed the headings of all chapters, however, the few that he has mentioned match the
auliyā', Jámi’s Nafaḥātu’l uns, Jalāluddīn Rūmī’s Masnavī-i ma’navī, Sharafuddīn Yaḥyā Maneri’s Maktūbāt-i ṣadī, ‘Abdu’l-lāh Ghauṣī Ṣhaṭṭārī’s Gulzār-i abrār, ‘Abdu’r Raḥmān Chishti’s Mīrātū’l asrār, Shaikh ‘Abdu’l Ḥaq Muḥaddīs Dihlawī’s Sharh-i miskhāt, Sharh futūḥ al ghā’ib, Risāla’i siyārāma and Akhbārū’l akhyār, Nūrullāh Shustari’s Majālisu’l mu’minīn. On several occasions the author has used Naqshbandī sources like Fakhruddīn Kāshīfī’s Rashāhāt ‘ainu ‘I bayāt, Muhammad Pārsā’s Risāla’i qudsiya and Fašl al khitiib and Ya’qūb Charkhī’s Risāla’i ‘ishqiya. In view of the Naqshbandiya connection with the Uwaisī phenomenon, and the familiarity of this tradition in the eighteenth century northern India, Ahmad Chenābī’s frequent use of these sources in his Ḭaṭī’if is not unusual. Further, there are two special sources that are devoted to the Uwaisīs. These are the Risāla bāḥr al rumūz, the malfūzāt of Shāh Jalāluddīn Mahmūd Uwaisī Ja’farī, and the Gulzār-i Jalālī of Shāh Jalāluddīn, which have been specifically used by Ahmad Chenābī to define the principles and practice of the silsilā’i Uwaisiya. An interesting feature of this work is the use of proof texts from the ḥadīṣ and the Quran cited in the above sources in support of sufi claims. To some scholars, the emergence among sufis of a legalism and style of argument traditionally more characteristic of the fuqaha or legal scholars rather than mystics is indicative of reformism, which in turn is symptomatic of ‘decline’ in later Sufism.68 In the case of the

68 The idea that the content of Indian ‘Persianate’ sufi texts of this period reflects a shift towards an orientation to reformism has been explored by some scholars of Indian Islam. Recently, Arthur Buehler

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Laṭā‘īf-i nafisiya, however, the purpose of citing texts from the ḥadīṣ and the Quran is an attempt to project the ‘Uwaisi’ claims to authority in an environment where silsila was the dominant form of organizational setup.

In comparison to the portrayal of Uwais in the Tazkira ‘i Bughrā Khānī, which is replete with elements of pre-Islamic Central Asian religious traditions, his depiction in the Laṭā‘īf-i nafisiya conforms to the Uwaisī tradition that was fairly well known and accepted in the Islamic literary milieu. In the Laṭā‘īf-i nafisiya, however, there are additions to the classical legend with the deliberate design to exalt the position of Uwais Qaranī who is treated as the eponymous founder of the silsila ‘i Uwaisiya. I have already mentioned the issue of Uwais’ saḥābī status as discussed by the author.69 Another interesting aspect in the story of Uwais is his association with the nūr-i Muḥammadī (light of Muhammad). This concept has been introduced by the author in the sixth latīfa of his work that is devoted to discussion of Uwais’ inability to visit the Prophet. In this matter the opinion of several sufi scholars has been mentioned who explain Uwais’ duty towards his mother, and his intoxicated state that prevented him from visiting the Prophet. Ahmad Chenabī then goes on to give an account of his meeting with an Uwaisī sufi, Khwāja ‘Abdu’l Khāliq whom he met on his way to Lāhor in 1158/1745. On request of the Khwāja, who could not read on account of his poor eyesight, the author read a portion of his Laṭā‘īf for him. When he reached the point where Uwais’ inability to meet the Prophet on account of his mother was mentioned, the Khwāja bid him to be quiet and

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discoursed on the hidden secret (*poshida rāz*) of the real meaning of ‘mother’ in Uwais’ case.

The mention of Uwais’ ‘mother’ is not a reference to his physical mother, but it is an indication to the *nūr-i Muhammadi*. According to the Quran God was a hidden treasure and when He desired to be known He created man. The creation of this universe is a manifestation of the *nūr-i muṭlaq* (Absolute light) of God. The first thing to be created from this was the light of Muhammad and the called it *ummu’l anwār* (mother of lights). Just as children are born of a mother, similarly the lights of entire universe and existence are created from this mother of lights. A Prophetic tradition is mentioned according to which the Prophet said: I am from the Light of God, and the Believers are from my light. The *nūr-i Muhammadi* is related to the *nūr-i muṭlaq* in the same way as a bubble is related to the ocean. Sometimes the *nūr-i Muhammadi* disappears like a bubble into the ocean of *zāt-i muṭlaq* (Absolute essence) and sometimes it is evident on its surface. In the same way, when the *sālik* is free of purgation and purification (*tasfiyā wa tazkiya*) and is immersed in the *ism-i zāt* (divine invocation), and attains the degree of perfection, the light of the divine invocation spreads throughout his being. As a result the light of divine invocation purifies the *sālik* of human attributes (*bashrī-auṣāf*) and physical nature (*tabī‘a kadirat*). When the *zākir* (invocator) is immersed in this the rays of *nūr-i muṭlaq* influence him so that he himself becomes a light. He is obliterated and immersed in his goal just as the *nūr-i Muhammadi* ascends and gets immersed in the *nūr-i haqqiqī*. This is just like a drop or a particle being obliterated in the ocean or the sun.

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69 See Chapter IV, section on *The Legend of Uwais Qaranī and the notion of the Uwaisī sufis*, above.
sālik does not have the strength to bear its separation, except for in the circumstance if he is sent for purpose of discourse and perfection. To sum up, the entire discourse of ‘Abdu’l Khāliq implies that the actuality of the fact that Uwais Qaranī did not meet the Prophet because of his duty to his mother, is that the ‘mother’ refers to the ummu’l anwār and Uwais did not have the strength to bear its separation.

The author further states that soon after he heard this discourse from the Khwāja, he saw the Tamhīdāt of ‘Ainu’l Quẓāt Hamadānī in which the meaning of umm is ummu’l anwār. The only difference is that for Hamadānī ummu’l anwār is the nūr-i zāt-i muṭlaq (Absolute essence of light), and ‘Abdu’l Khāliq calls it nūr-i Muḥammadī. Although there is no difference between the two as should be evident from the aḥādīs and ʿāyāt quoted by the author. Further, the author mentions the third tamhīd of the text wherein Shaikh Hamadānī states that as Uwais Qaranī had seen the reality of the Prophet, therefore he did not try to see him in this phenomenal world. And since he had attained his goal by knowing the absolute essence of Muhammad there was no point in seeing his outward form, which in any case is a veil. Ahmad Chenābī has concluded his reference to the Tamhīdāt with a ḥadīṣ in praise of Uwais: He who has seen me (the Prophet) has seen God in reality. Now, since Uwais had witnessed the ḥaqīqa-i Muḥammadiya, he was excused from meeting him in his physical form.

70 See Hayāt-i Uwais Qaranī, pp. 30 & 31.
71 He, who has followed the Prophet, has followed God; and O Muhammad! When you flung a fistful of gravel at the non-believers, in reality, it was the action of God. Ibid., p. 31.
72 Ibid.
73 Ibid., p. 32.
In an age of silsila domination the Laṭā‘īf-i naṣīyiya is an attempt to arrange the Uwaisis on the pattern of a classical silsila, with a lineal line of spiritual decent that goes back to the Prophet. This idea of connecting the silsila directly to Prophet Muhammad stems from the doctrine of walāyat (friendship with God) as defined by Ḥakīm Tirmizi in his work Sīratu‘l auliyya‘ in the ninth century. The main impact of the book on later authors, however, is due to the fact that Ibn ‘Arabi wrote a commentary on parts of it in his Futuḥat al-Makkiya. The basic purpose of this doctrine was to legitimize the role of the auliyya‘ (friends of God), who on account of their ‘friendship with God’ (walāyat), are the true heirs of the Prophet. And by virtue of this characteristic they mind the affairs of this universe. Since nubūwat (prophethood) was superior to walāyat, in the spiritual hierarchy of the cosmos, the auliyya‘ allāh are placed in a subordinate position to the

74 Tirmizi’s theory was grounded in the Sunni dogma according to which Muhammad was the last and perfect prophet. In fact, prophethood was made perfect through Muhammad – it was sealed. Tirmizi coined the term “seal of prophethood” (khātīm al-nabīwāt) which signified the completion of prophethood. Furthermore Muhammad was entitled to be the khātīm al-nubūwat because he was the first of creation and was Ma‘sūm (protected from error and sin). He was the leader of the Muslim community through divine revelation (wāḥy). He had knowledge of the unseen (‘ilm al-ghāib) and was able to perform miracles (āyāt). Since prophethood was sealed with Muhammad, there could be no prophet after his death. This brings us to the fundamental question – who was to lead the Community after Muhammad? According to Ḥakīm Tirmizi neither the solution of Shi‘a genealogical transmission of Prophetic authority, nor the Sunni proposition favouring the ‘ulama‘ as ‘heirs to the Prophet’ was workable. The mystics’ interpretation was the most acceptable solution, and Tirmizi said that leadership was to be bestowed on the forty chosen men whom he calls Siddiqun or auliyya‘ allāh who were the true successors of the Prophetic tradition. As the second of creation these forty form a second spiritual hierarchy of the cosmos. Their characteristic is not nubūwat, but walāya ‘friendship with God’. The prophetic gift of revelation corresponds to their inspiration (ilhām). They can perform karamat, as the prophets performed āyāt. Like the prophets they too possess knowledge of the ‘ilm al-ghāib. They do not bring the shari‘a (law) to the people, because Muhammad had revealed it in totality, but they guarantee through their knowledge the perfect explanation of the revealed law. The knowledge of these friends of God is known as ‘ilm al-bātin, which is the highest level al-‘ilm billāh ‘the knowledge of God’. In the hierarchy of the forty there is also a perfect one who corresponds in rank to the Prophet Muhammad, and is known as the khātīm al-auliyā‘ ‘seal of friendship with God’ because he has perfected friendship. Although he is protected like Muhammad, but he is not sinless. Cf. B. Radtke, “The Concept of Wilaya in Early Sufism” in Classical Persian Sufism from its Origins to Rumi (700-1300), edited by L. Lewisohn, Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 1991, pp. 483-496.
Prophet. Even though our author has not categorically stated Tirmizi's doctrine in his work there are ample clues to his acquaintance with the same through works of other sufi theorists whom he repeatedly refers to.

The eighteenth chapter of the Laṭā‘if-i nafisiya is devoted to explaining the spiritual connection of walāyat between God and Uwais Qaranī. The author states on the authority of one Shaikh Muhammad Farīd Uwaisī that after God had imparted shari‘at, namāz, roza and Kalimat-i taiyibāt to Prophet Muhammad, the latter transmitted the same to his Companions. After this God taught the bātinī tarīqat (esoteric way) and ‘ulūm-i ghā‘ibi (secret knowledge) to the Prophet and the latter also transmitted this to his friends. But the method of transference of the bātinī tarīqat and ‘ulūm-i ghā‘ibi, the two components of walāyat, was different for Abū Bakr and ‘Alī. Due to his old age Abū Bakr did not physically exert for securing this walāyat. He received it as a result of ‘companionship’ (musahabat) with the Prophet. ‘Alī, who on the other hand was young and capable of doing hard work, secured the walāyat through observance of hard exercises and labour. After this God trained his Prophet in ghā‘ibi ‘ulūm (unseen knowledge) and art of makhfi tarbiyat (secret training) so that he may impart knowledge of esoteric affairs (bātinī ‘ulūm) to anyone he desired without his physical presence (huzūrī) or companionship (suhbat). By virtue of this knowledge, the Prophet instructed Uwais Qaranī about this unseen ‘friendship with God’ (ghā‘ibi walāyat) without being physically present before Uwais. And this explains why the Prophet had turned his face
towards Yemen while opening the tie of his dress and said: I find the breath of the Beneficent from the direction of the Yemen! The author concludes this section by stating that the grace continues to flow from the spiritual presence of Uwais Qaranî till date and many buzurgs have benefitted from it.

The second section of this chapter deals with the various definitions of the term ‘Uwaisi’. It is worth citing the passages from the text:

Ḥaẓrat Khwāja Muhammad Pārsā...has written in his Risāla‘i qudstiya that in the terminology of the sufis Uwaisī is one who attains the degree of walāyat from the court of God without the mediation of a pīr or his instructions. And according to some others he who attains the status of walāyat by following in the foot-steps of the Prophet...and by following his custom in word, deed and faith, is an Uwaisī. And some people are of the opinion that he who attains grace (faiz) from Ḥaẓrat Khīrī, on him be peace, is an Uwaisī. But one group is also of the opinion that if someone receives instructions in the esoteric knowledge (bāṭinī ‘ulūm) from a special elder (buzurg), who is the successor of the walāyat of the Chief of the universe, the Prophet Muhammad, God bless him and grant him salvation, he is an Uwaisī. It is also the firm faith of a group that anyone who is instructed by a perfect wali (friend of God), who has attained the degree of walāyat without any intermediary links, he is known as an Uwaisī.

Ḥaẓrat Shaikh Farīduddīn ‘Aṭṭār’s, May God have mercy on him, statement has been copied by Maulānā Ghauṣ... in Gulzār-i abrār and by Maulānā Jāmī... in Nafaḥātu‘l uns that, those friends of God (auliyā‘ allāh) whom the masters of the way call Uwaisī, they do not need a physical guide (pīr) because they are instructed without the mediation of a pīr by the Prophet, May God bless him and grant him salvation, just as Ḥaẓrat Khwāja Uwais, May God be pleased with him, has received instruction without any mediation.
Maulānā 'Abdu'l Ghafīr... has written that it is not essential that an Uwaisī is one who has received grace from the spirituality of the Prophet...but every person who receives instruction and training from a wali [his rūḥānīyat?], who is either living or dead, can be called an Uwaisī.

The above mentioned sayings prove that Uwaisī is one who has either received grace (faiz) from the spiritual presence of the Prophet without any intermediary link, in the manner of Uwais Qarānī, or has received it from some living or dead wali, and to address him by the name of Ḥāzzrat Khwāja [Uwais Qarānī] is merely to draw a likeness to him. However, it can be said that Uwaisī is one who observes discipleship (irādat) of the masters of the silsilaʿi Uwaisiya. Just as the Chishtī, Qādirī, Naqshbandī etc. by virtue of observing baiʿat (oath of allegiance) and irādat in these silsilas are known as Chishtī, Qādirī, Naqshbandī.75

The above definitions express the various manifestations of the Uwaisī notion as a form of spirituality in which the novice associates with the 'spiritual presence' (rūḥānīyat) of the instructor who may be living or dead. The author has clarified that the use of the term ‘Uwaisī’ for such sufis is merely to express a likeness between their style of spiritual practice and that of Uwais Qarānī. In other word, from the earliest reference of Farīduddīn ʿAṭṭār’s Taṣkiraʾl auliyaʾ that dates back to the thirteenth century, till the latest authority (before the author’s day) of Muhammad Ghauṣī Shaṭṭārī’s Gulzār-i ablār from the early seventeenth century, the term ‘Uwaisī’ merely indicated a type of mystical behaviour among sufis of the eastern Islamic civilizations. However, by the eighteenth century there is a definite change in the notion of the ‘Uwaisī’ from an individual style of spiritual affiliation to its development into a silsila. Ahmad Chenābī categorically states
that Uwaisī could be a sufi who has promised his hand in discipleship to a shaikh of the
Uwaisī silsila, in the same manner as a Chishti, or a Qadirī, or a Naqshbandī would do.
Immediately after this statement the author quotes from Maulānā Ibrāhīm Thattawi’s
Persian translation of Shaikh `Abdu’l Qādir Jilānī’s Ghunyat al-jālibīn that:

The fālib (one who desires knowledge of the Path) cannot get instruction without the
mashāikh-i tariqat (masters of the Way). Except for Ḥāẓrat Ibrāhīm Khalīl Allāh Ḥazrat
Muhammad Mustafā...and Ḥazrat Khwāja Uwais Qaranī...who were fortunate and
special personalities as they achieved special nurturing in the guidance of God without
the intermediation of a pīr-i tariqat.\(^{76}\)

This, according to the author, proves that Uwais Qaranī had attained the degree of
walīyat solely on account of guidance from God. The author goes on to inform us that
this quality of invisible nurturing (tarbiyat-i gha’ībāna) continues to exist in the spiritual
presence (rūhānīyat) of Uwais Qaranī till this day. Now, this rūhānīyat is like a tangible
force that was transmitted to the spiritual descendents and masters of the silsila’i
Uwaissiya, and it continues to be present amongst those who receive beneficence from this
silsila.\(^{77}\) It is the belief of the author that a sincere person can invoke the rūhānīyat of
Uwais Qaranī and it will help him to reach his desired goal.

In the final summing up of this chapter the author explains the rationale for the
existence of this silsila in his day. He states: “In this time, when it is difficult to get a
perfect guide, an easy way for the fālib-i sādiq (sincere student) is that he should turn

\(^{75}\) Hayāt-i Uwais Qaranī, op. cit., pp. 98 & 99.

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towards the **rühāniyat** of Ḥazrat Khwāja, May God be pleased with him, and he should think of it as his true guide.”

The nineteenth chapter of the *Laṭā‘if-i naflisiya* explains the perfection of Uwais Qarānī as a Prophetic exemplar in ‘humility’ (*miskīnī*) and ‘freedom from want’ (*faqr*). In the sufi worldview these qualities imbue the highest degree of excellence on a mystic, who on account of his *miskīnī* is the companion of God, and on account of his *faqr* has reached the status of *ghanā* (freedom from want). This concept has been elaborated at length on the basis of the Ya`qūb Charkhī’s *Risāla‘i ‘ishqiya* and Jāmī’s *Asḥā’at al-lama‘āt*. According to Jāmī there is a station (*maqām*) in *faqr* where the *faqīr* (sufi) is free from dependence on anything. It has been said, “Faqīr is one who does not desire from anyone but from God”. Desire is an attribute of existence but when a *faqīr* is immersed in the ocean of non-existence (*nīsīf*) he has neither physical form nor any intellectual proof. He is effaced in the Essence (*mahw fī’l zāl*) and annihilated in God (*fanā’ fī’l allāh*) and becomes obliterate from the point of view of existence. And when the *faqīr* has no existence, how can he be in need of anything? In fact he becomes indifferent to any kind of necessity and is independent of needs or becomes content (*mustaghfīn*). This is the state of *miskīnī*.

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78 The author states: *Fi’l zamāne jabki murshid-i kāmil ka milnā dushāwār hai ṭālih-i sādīq ke liye āsān aur sahl rāsta ye hai ke Ḥazrat Khwāja raśī allāh `ān hu ko rūhāniyat ki ṭaraf mutawajjuh ho aur usi ko apnā haqqi rahumā tasawwur kare. Ibid., p. 100.
According to the author of Risāla‘i ʿishqiya in the state of miskīnī the sufi becomes absolutely humble and submissive like dust (khāk) which is indifferent to affliction or relief (ranj o rāhat), rejection or acceptance (radd o qabūl), honour or abasement (ʿizzat o khwārī). Since in the state of miskīnī the sālik is without any existent form (nādiru‘l wujūd) no one knows him or recognizes him except for God. His identity is secret and is kept concealed even from the auliya‘ allāh.80 It is said that the Prophet repeatedly expressed his desire to meet them. Uwais Qarani belonged to this group and the Prophet wanted to meet him, but God had kept Uwais’ identity a secret.81 This was such an exalted status that even the Prophet desired it. According to a ḥadīth mentioned in the Risāla‘i ʿishqiya the Prophet said: O God! Let me live as a miskīn, and die as a miskīn and on the Day of Judgement lift me from the group of the miskīn.82 It is said that the Prophet had never desired to be amongst the sāliḥīn (pious), sīdīqīn (faithful ones), ʿulamā‘ (scholars) and ʿabidīn (devotees) because they are not free from pretention (daʿwa‘) which is a veil. He desired the station of miskīnī in which there is no pretention, for a miskīn is totally humble like dust (khāk).83 Lest one may think that the Prophet’s longing for the status of miskīn, which was also the rank of Uwais Qaranī, places him in a position of subordination, Ahmad Chenābī immediately provides a corrective to this and states that whatever Uwais Qaranī had secured was on account of the Prophet’s spiritual

80 Ibid., pp. 101 & 102.
81 Ibid., p. 103; It is interesting to observe that after Ahmad Chenābī has cited a considerable portion of text from the Risāla‘i ʿishqiya as explanatory to the concept of miskīnī, he repeats some definitions of Uwais that he has already written in the previous chapter, cf. p. 102.
82 Ibid., p. 101.
83 Ibid., p. 101.
nurturing and training. And in any case, the Prophet is a mine of faqr and miskin.\textsuperscript{84} Thus, preserving the excellence of nubuwat to walayat.

At the end of this chapter the author of the \textit{Lañã'if-i nafisiya} congratulates the miskinân and the followers of the silsila 'i Uwaisiya for choosing Khwaja Uwais Qaranî as their intercessor before God. He warns them against even a moment's laxity in following his footsteps. In other words, he advises them to treat this world with contempt and to adopt indifference and humility, so that on the Day of Judgement they are favoured by Uwais Qaranî's intercession in order to secure relief from the trials of that day.\textsuperscript{85}

According to the Sunnî dogma Prophet Muhammad was the sole mediator between God and human beings. He was the last and the most perfect of prophets sent to this world with the Divine Scripture, and it is through his mediation that the fate of Muslims will be decided on the Day of Judgement. From the ninth century onwards the notion of walayat created an additional channel of mediation between Divinity and human beings through the sufi shaikhs. One may enumerate four sources of authority – Prophetic exemplar, transmission of religious knowledge, spiritual experience and lineage – that characterize and legitimate the position of the shaikh as a mediator. So far, in the \textit{Lañã'if-i nafisiya} the characterization of Uwais as an ideal pîr for the Community is derived from his Prophetic exemplar conduct, his spiritual experience and the transmission of divine knowledge through his rûhaniyyat to the followers of his silsila. In fact Uwais' telepathic connection with the Prophet is of an archetypal character. It defines

\textsuperscript{84} Ibid., p. 104.
\textsuperscript{85} Ibid.
the nature of relationship between Uwais and his followers through his rūḥānīyat and in the process dispenses with the need for a typical lineage of physical masters and disciples that reaches back to the Prophet. In Ahmad Chenābī’s worldview given the difficulty of acquiring a perfect pīr in his day the easiest way to acquire a guide was to concentrate on the rūḥānīyat of Khwāja Uwais Qarānī. Our author, however, faces the dilemma of locating the Uwaisiya in a social environment where any sufi, who sought respectibility, was identified with the name of his spiritual master and that of his ṭarīqa. Ahmad Chenābī seeks to resolve this dilemma by providing for certain requisite features namely shajara-i ṭarīqat, practice of zikr and particular principles of practice, that were quintessential for identifying any silsila.

In the twentieth chapter of the Laṭā’īf-i nafisiya the author tries to establish a distinct identity for the silsila-i ṭarīqat of Uwais Qarānī. He states on the authority of Risāla baḥr al- rumūz of Shaikh Mahmūd that:

Some mashāikīh are right in their opinion that the silsila-i ṭarīqat of Ḥazrat Khwāja was distinct from the fourteen spiritual lineages (khānwādā), but some mashāikīh have said that the fourteen spiritual lineages are related to the silsila-i Uwaisiya because your (Uwais Qarānī) spiritual presence becomes manifest and reaches the fālib (seeker) to the court of God."86

The author has illustrated the above statement with two examples. In the first case he has referred to the Risāla’i siyarnāma of Ḥaqq Muḥaddīs Dīhlawī where the

86 "Ba’z mashāikh kā yeh khayāl sabīh hai ki Ḥazrat Khwāja kā silsila’i ṭarīqat chaudah khānwadon se alag thā. Lekin ba’z mashāikh ne yeh bhi fārmāyā hai ki chaudah khānwāde silsila’i Uwaisiya se ta’alq
latter mentions the case of his own master, Shaikh 'Abdu'llah, and his double affiliation with the Suhrawardī and Uwaisī silsilas. The other example is of Muhammad 'Irāqī who also had a double affiliation in the Suhrawardī and the Uwaisī silsilas.

Now the precise number of sufi lineages has been the subject of discussion among scholars since, at least, the eleventh century, if not earlier. In the eighteenth century Shāh Wali Allāh had discussed this subject at some length in his Hama‘at and said that there is no unanimity of opinion among sufis about the exact number of spiritual lineages. Some believe that there are fourteen lineages, others say that there are only twelve in number, and of the latter ten are accepted and two reprobate. However, what is interesting in Shāh Wali Allāh’s exposition is his reference to the fluctuating fortunes and numbers of these lineages on account of their historical circumstance. This explains why some lineages have disappeared over time and how some new ones created from the earlier existing khāndāns on account of the influence of certain personalities. According to the seventeenth century Chishti source, the Maṭlūbu‘t jālibīn, the Uwaisiya have been represented as one of the branch families of the Chishtiya. Therefore, Ahmad Chenābī’s idea of representing the Uwaisīs as an independent group possessing a spiritual lineage is not a novel one.

rakhnte hain kyon ki jālib ko āp ki rūhāniyat mutajallī ho kar dargāh-i izadī tak pahunchā deti hai.” Ibid., p. 105.
87 For detail ibid., p. 105.
88 For detail ibid., pp. 106 & 107.
89 The earliest reference has come to us from Hujwīrī’s Kashf al mahjūb who states that there were twelve such lineages of which ten were approved (maqūbāt) and two were reprobated (mardūd), see R. A. Nicholson’s English translation The Kashf al mahjūb, op. cit., pp. 130-131.
90 For detail see Hama‘at, op.cit, p. 45 & 46.
What is perhaps unique is the presentation of a genealogical tree of the Uwaisī silsila (shajara’i Uwaisiya) which the author claims is an effort of one of the Uwaisī elders. The first link of the main shajara, which is always linked back to the Prophet Muhammad, is associated with the Caliphs ’Umar and ’Alī. Considering that Uwais Qaranī had a strong spiritual link with the Prophet, the presentation of this intermediary link with ’Umar and ’Alī can be explained in terms of the transmission of the khirqa of the Prophet which was received by Uwais through the mediation of these two Caliphs.  

The second link in this chain is Uwais Qaranī who is also the eponymous founder of this silsila. Then is Khwāja Müsā bin Yazīd Al Ra’ī, who according to the author was one of the four direct successors of Uwais Qaranī. The main line of the shajara continues till the nineteenth link to a Shaikh Najmu’dīn. There are two sub-branches of this order, one branch comprises of six connections in which the fifth link is that of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauṣ Gwāliarī. The other branch shajara displays only five linkages.

Not much can be said about these lineages at this stage, except for the observation that according to Ahmad Chenābī, a malfūṣ of Khwāja Uwais Qaranī mentions Müsā bin Ra’ī as one of the four spiritual successors of Uwais Qaranī. The other three shaikhs who had sworn their allegiance to Uwais Qaranī were Khwāja Ḥusāmu’dīn Yamanī, Khwāja Ahmad Khurāsānī and Khwāja Ṣadrudīn Muftī. The manuscript copy of the Malfūṣāt-i Khwāja Uwais Qaranī that I have referred to relates the dialogue between Uwais Qaranī and Ahmad Khurāsānī and Ṣadrudīn Muftī. The malfūṣ also states that Uwais Qaranī

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91 Cf. Chapter IV, section on “The Legend of Uwais Qaranī and the notion of the Uwaisī sufi”, above.

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had given his `asā and galīm to Ahmad Khurāsānī, and this has been stated by Ahmad Chenābī. These inter textual reference point towards the importance of the Uwaisī silsila for the authors of these texts.

One of the principal practices of any silsila is the observance of zikr (remembrance of God). In fact the style of its performance has become the identifying feature of the silsila. In the Latā'if-i nafisiya four types of zikr are associated with the Uwaisī. The zikr pās-i anfās (breath control) is recounted for its excellence by Khwāja Mahmūd in his Risāla bahr al ramūz. The author has briefly described the technique of controlling breath while silently performing the zikr. He then mentions the zikr-i khaftī (silent zikr) which is prevalent amongst the Uwaisiya and is hence also known as the zikr-i Uwaisiya. The initiate is advised to observe pās-i anfās, while simultaneously inhaling a deep breath and holding it. When short of breath, he must start inhaling slowly in such a manner that it is not observable. This state is known as sukūn (tranquility). In the zikr-i jīlī the sufi, while controlling his breath, pulls it up to his brain and silently performs the repetition of the formula. When the Uwaisī reaches the perfection of this zikr he starts exhaling breath from his nostrils and the Divine name too is exhaled in this manner. Sometimes the exhaled breath influences the heart and the heart too gets involved in the zikr. It is significant that both types of zikr, silent and vocal were prevalent amongst the Uwaisiya. Yet another type of zikr mentioned in the Latā'if-i nafisiya is the zikr-i anf (nose). While most scholars consider this as a grave sin, for nose is the passage of dirt.

92 For detail see Hayāt-i Uwais Qarānī, pp. 108 & 109; also see Appendix V(b) for the Uwaisi shajara given in Ahmad Chenābī's book.
The author also states that some scholars are of the opinion that this ḥikr is observed in the silsila 'i maḥdawiya and is bid'at (against the law). The author clarifies that the association of ḥikr-i anf with the condemned sect of the Maḥdawīs is not correct, for the Maḥdawiya referred by him are the followers of Mahmūd Ḥrāqī who had a double affiliation with the Suhrawardī and the Uwaisī silsilas.93

The formation of the silsila identity has been associated with the delineation of distinct principles for the order, usually by the founder of the silsila. For example, the Naqshbandiyya had an eightfold set of principles by 'Abdu'l Khāliq Ghujdawānī known as 'sacred words' (Kalīmāt-i qudsiya) that with three later principles added by Bahāʾuddīn Naqshband attained permanent currency amongst all branches of this silsila. A close parallel is found in the 'ten principles' ('usūl-i 'ashra) of Najmuddīn Kubrā, the eponymous founder of the Kubrawiya in Central Asia. It may be said that the formulation of such principles was peculiar to sufi orders of that region. It may be of interest to note here that in the khātima of the Taṣkīra 'i Bughrā Khānī the author instructs the reader that in order to become a darwesh one should avoid pointless conversation, one should observe fasting, vigils, seclusion, and be in perpetual remembrance of God.94

In the twenty second chapter of the Laṭāʿif-i nafisiya the author has defined seven approved principles that are known as aʾmāl-i haftgāna on the authority of 'Abdu'l Ḥaqq Muḥaddīṣ Diḥlawī's Siyarnāma wherein these principles have been stated by his murshid, Shaikh 'Abdu'llāh Maʾshūq Allāh, in response to an inquiry. The first principle is

93 For different types of ḥikr see Ibid., pp. 109 -112.
pairawi¬ye rasūl (to follow in the footsteps of the Prophet). The author states that in the ḥarīqa of Uwais Qarānī pairawi of the Prophet was of three types that is of his a´māl or actions; of his akhlaq or conduct and of his aṭwāl or conditions. The second principle is khalwat dar anjūman or maintaining seclusion in company. The principle is expressive of the Uwais’ miskīnī. The author has obviously adapted it from the Naqshbandiya as he states that Maulānā Kāshīfī in the Rashahāt has said that Bahā’uddīn has kept the foundation of his silsila on this principle. Ahmad Chenābī has further used Jāmī’s silsilat al-zahāb to explain the different types of seclusion. The third principle of the Uwaisiya is khamoshī dar sukhan or observing silence amidst speech. This means that the tongue should refrain from talking heedlessly and the heart should be busy in the zikr of Allāh. It also means to keep the heart away from thoughts and desires of the lower soul. In other words, this means that a sufī should talk with people in the zāhir but be silent in his bāṭin because he is constantly occupied with the zikr. The fourth principle is nazār bar qadam according to which the sālik should be immersed in God and have his eyes fixed on his feet so that he does not witness things unfit for his eyes. The fifth principle is again adapted from the Naqshbandiya and is called hosh dar dam, which means that the sālik must have the consciousness of God in every breath and must be engaged in zikr constantly. The sixth principle is zahr noshī that means to bear calamities, problems, evil and oppression. Another meaning of this principle is to suppress anger and forgive sinners. The last principle of a´māl-i haftgāna is pardaposhī which means to cover/ignore blemishes of other people. The author sums up this long chapter on the note
of advise for the followers of the *silsila‘i Uwaisiya* that they should not be content simply by being *murids* in this *silsila*, but they must practice the *a‘māl-i haftgāna* so that they are called Uwaisī in the true sense of the word.⁹⁵

An earlier mention of a similar development is available in the seventeenth century *Tazkira‘i Bughrā Khānī* from East Turkistān. Although the author of the *Tazkira* has elaborated on the meaning and symbolism of Uwaisī at some length, and has tried to project Uwais as an eponymous founder of the *silsila‘i Uwaisiya*, his efforts fell short for securing an acceptibility for the same even at a literal level. This can be explained on account of three reasons. First of all the author’s attempt to link the Uwaisiya of the *Tazkira‘i Bughrā Khānī* with the mythical ancestry of the Burkhiyān, and other legends woven into the narrative to accommodate the pagan tradition of Central Asian people into the Islamic fold reveals inconsistancy in narration from the point of view of a literate audience. Secondly, the notion of the *silsila* in the *Tazkira* is based on the principal of *muṣāḥabat* that indicates companionship and not *irādat* or formal discipleship. Since the latter is the key to representing spiritual continuity between master and disciple, its absence indicates an anomaly in representation of a *silsila*. Finally, the notion of *walāyat* in the *Tazkira‘i Bughrā Khānī* does not conform to the classical understanding of the concept in which Prophethood is superior to sainthood. In contrast, the author of the *Laṭā‘if-i nafsiya* takes particular care in conforming with the principal positions on these

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⁹⁵ For a detailed discussion of these principles see Chapter 22 of *Ḥayāt-i Uwais Qarani*, pp. 120-144.
accounts and makes a conscious use of proof texts from hadīṣ literature and works on Sufism to support his argument in favour of the silsila ‘i Uwaisiya.

IV

The visionary narrative of the Uwaisiya in Ghulām Sarwar Lāhorī’s Khazīnatu’l asfiyā

The notion of the Uwaisī had undergone considerable transformation by the eighteenth century in northern India. This change is reflected in the sources. We observe that in later biographical dictionaries notices of Uwaisīs are not merely supplementary to the primary biographical notice of a silsila based sufi as an indication of a supra physical style of initiation. But, the Uwaisiya also start appearing in sections that are devoted to sufis of miscellaneous affiliation. For example, Ghulām Sarwar Lāhorī has mentioned some Uwaisī sufis in the sixth section (makhzan-i shishum) of the Khazīnatu’l asfiyā that he compiled in 1284/1864. This section is devoted to notices of miracles of sufis belonging to different families (dar bayān-i zikr karāmat-i haṣrat khānwasdahāyi mutafarriqāt). Interestingly, the first sufi to be mentioned under this section is Uwais Qaranī whose biography has been constructed on the basis of his legend preserved in the Kashf al mahjūb, Taṣkīratu’l auliyā’, Safīnatu’l āuliyya’, Rauṣat al riyāhin and Fajru’l waṣīlin.96 Although, Uwais Qaranī has been addressed as the first in class of saints, he has not been associated with any silsila as such. It is only later that Ghulām Sarwar mentions notices of certain shaikhs who are affiliated to the family of the Uwaisiya in the region of the Punjāb. Muḥkamuddīn, one of the successors of ʿAbdu’l Khāliq died on the fifth of Rabīʿau’l sānī in A.H. 1197 (A.D. 1759) and was buried in Kot Bakhsha near Bahāwalpur.97 The provincial nīsbaṣ of Muḥkamuddīn’s nine khulfa reveal that they were concentrated in the region of the Punjāb. Their mazārs are located in Koth, Samāna, Mu’,

96 For the biographical notice of Uwais Qaranī by Ghulām Sarwar see Khazīnatu’l asfiyā vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 118-121.
97 The family tradition of the Shaikh as recorded in the Laṭā ‘if-i sairya’, however, gives his date of death as the 6th of Rabīʿau’l ʿakhir A.H. 1188; see Ḥadīṣatu’l auliyya’, op. cit., p. 209, fn. 1.
Derā Ghāzī Khan, Jalālpur, Jahāngadh, Ashai and Kot Βakhsha. In the nineteenth century the Uwaisīs of this region seem to enjoy considerable popularity.\(^{98}\)

In the *Khazīnātu l' asfiyā* Khwāja Ḥāfiẓ ‘Abdu’l Khāliq Uwaisī is represented as one of the illustrious shaikhs in the *khāndān* of the Uwaisiya. He was a man of ecstatic states who had aptitude for intense emotion. He was found of *samā‘*, and was known for his asceticism. His ancestors were men of learning who knew the Quran by heart and having received these virtues of external knowledge from them, he spent his life in instructing pupil. His internal enlightenment, however, was from the *rūḥāniyat* (spirituality) of Uwais Qarānī who is addressed as the *ta‘ūs-i Yaman* (peacock of Yemen).

**Ghulām Sarwar** has described the manner of his association with Uwais in the following way:

> When the divine emotion attracted the Khwāja, he first went in the company of Saiyid Bhaḷe Shāh Qāṣūrī and Gulsher Muhammad, his younger brother, into the service of Shaikh ‘Abdu’l Ḥakīm Qādirī, who was one of the poles of his time and lived in Tambih,\(^{99}\) with the intention of pledging allegiance to him. After contemplation the Shaikh made Gulsher Muhammad his disciple. He said to Bhaḷe Shāh, “The share of your esoteric knowledge is with Shāh ‘Ināyat Qādirī [who lives] in Qāṣūr. Present [yourself] in his service”. He said to Khwāja ‘Abdu’l Khāliq, “Your fortune lies with the one whose brightness spreads from this transitory world to the world of eternity. If you are desirous

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\(^{98}\) In another biographical work, *Hadīgatu l' auliyā‘*, which is devoted to the sufis of Punjāb, Ghulām Sarwar has mentioned notices of Uwaisīs in the fifth section (*chaman*) which is concerned with sufis of miscellaneous families. See *Hadīgatu l' auliyā‘*, edited with annotations by Muhammad Iqbal Mujaddidi, Lāhor: Islamic Book Foundation, 1396/1976.

\(^{99}\) In the edition of *Khazīnātu l' asfiyā*, vol. 2, Kanpur: Munshī Nawal Kishore, 1914, p. 375, referred by me the name of the place is Tambih; however, in the two editions of the *Hadīgatu l' auliyā‘*, (Lakhān: Nawal Kishore, 1906, p. 108 and Lāhor: Islamic Book Foundation, p. 207) that I have seen the place of ‘Abdu’l Ḥakīm Qādirī is Tilna. However, neither was traceable in Irfān’s *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982.

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of divine favours go to your house and busy yourself in the worship of God and be persistent in reciting thanks to the helper. Your pîr will present himself to you”. Then the Khwâja took his leave from there and came home. When a few months had passed in this condition, one day the Khwâja was reciting the durud in isolation of his room, suddenly a luminous person with the face like that of Yûsuf, appeared from the corner of the room and came face to face [with the Khwâja] and said, “Salam wa'laik”. Khwâja responded to the greeting and in a moment that his glance fell on that person’s luminous face, he fainted and remained so for the whole day. He gained consciousness after sun set and became busy with prayer. The second day the same incidence occurred and nothing was known about that luminous person’s identity or whereabouts. On the third day when he had the honour of his visit, he held his blessed feet and asked him about his illustrious name. [Moving] from that obscurity to distinct identity, he said that, “My name is Khwâja Uwais bin ’Amir Qaraqî. And, God has ordered me that I have to reach you to the Truth”. Then he made ‘Abdu’l Khâliq to pledge to him and exalted him. And, he exerted his tawajjuh on him in such a way that ‘Abdu’l Khâliq was relieved of his senses, and for three days remained in the state of sukr (spiritual intoxication). After three days the sound of music, from the neighbour’s house, who had organised a musical gathering on the occasion of a marriage, reached the ear of the listener of truth and he stirred himself. Immediately, his followers brought in the musicians. When the music started the Shaikh passed into deep ecstasy and was overcome by this state. After raqs, he regained consciousness after a day and said to all his followers, “Congratulate me, for today I have found my beloved and my purpose”.

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In his notice of Khwaja 'Abdu'l Khāliq there is a reference to the Laṭā'īf-i naṣīfiyya fi fażā‘il-i Uwaisiya written by Shaikh Ahmad bin Mahmūd and he has recorded an account of his visit to the Khwaja who lived in Hans by the bank of the river Satluj in Punjab. Ghulām Sarwar has elaborated on the ecstatic nature of 'Abdu'l Khāliq, a characteristic feature of the sufis of this khāndān, on the basis of the account in the Laṭā'īf. The Laṭā'īf states that when the Khwaja lined up with the other nāmis and heard the Imam’s cry for takbīr (Allāh o akbar), he would be bereft of consciousness and keep standing. In this condition he could not perform the rituals of namāz. The Khwaja would regain consciousness only when he heard the sound of music from singers who sat outside the mosque. He would be overcome by a similar condition if he heard the word ‘Allāh’ or a verse from the Quran, and would regain his senses only when he heard some

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Ghulām Sarwar has recorded Hans as the place where Khwaja 'Abdu'l Khāliq lived. See the Urdu translation of the Laṭā'īf-i naṣīfiyya dar fażā‘il-i Uwaisiya called Hayāt-i Uwais Qaranī, op. cit., pp. 28, that I have referred to also states that the Khwaja lived by the bank of the river Satluj, however, the name of the place is given as Hānsī. In view of the fact that Hānsī was a well known settlement in medieval times located at 29+ N & 75+ E (now in Harayana) but not by the bank of the Satluj in Punjab, the author of the Laṭā'īf has confused it for the lesser known Hāns where the Khwaja actually lived. Irfān Habib’s An Atlas of the Mughal Empire, op. cit., nor the modern day maps of Pakistan show the location of Hāns.
music.\textsuperscript{102} The element of ecstacy is derived from the proto-Uwaisî, i.e. Uwais Qaranî, who is excused for not visiting the Prophet due to his ecstacy and duty towards his sick mother. The biographical notice ends with mention of 'Abdu'l Khâliq's three sons – Ḥâfiz Sâlih Muhammad, Walî Muhammad and Qâtbuddîn, each of them are said to be men of spiritual significance with inclination for music and rapturous states.

Khâwja 'Abdu'l Khâliq died in A.H. 1085/A.D. 1674 and was buried at Mubârakpur, in the vicinity of Bahâwalpur, which is now in Pakistan.\textsuperscript{103} He had three khulfa (successors) namely Saiyid 'Ārif, Shaikh Mahram and Khâwja Muḥkamuddîn. Now, Lahorî has recounted the biographical detail of Shaikh Muḥkamuddîn Uwaisî, who was the son of 'Abdu'l Khâliq's brother and was known by the title of šâhibu'l sair (the wanderer) on account of his extensive travelling in the various regions of earth (...\textit{wa dar aqâlim-i ruyî' zamîn sair kard wa az ghâyat-i sair o siyâhat bisyâr muhkâtâb ba-khitâb šâhibu'l sair gasht.})\textsuperscript{104} After Muḥkamuddîn had been initiated by Khâwja 'Abdu'l Khâliq, he was made to see a vision of Khâwja Khîzr at the behest of his pîr. The vision

\textsuperscript{102} See \textit{Khâzinatu l asfiyâ}, op. cit., p. 376; \textit{Hadîqatu l auliyâ'}, op. cit., p. 208; Ḥayât-i Uwais Qaranî, op. cit., pp. 28-29.
\textsuperscript{103} There is a discrepancy in the obituary of 'Abdu'l Khâliq. In the \textit{Hadîqatu l auliyâ'} Ghulâm Sarwar has given A.H. 1185 as 'Abdu'l Khâliq's date of demise, whereas in the \textit{Khâzinatu l asfiyâ} Ghulâm Sarwar has observed an alternate date, A.H. 1085. Compare Lahorî's \textit{Hadîqatu l auliyâ'}, op. cit., p. 208 and \textit{Khâzinatu l asfiyâ}, op. cit., p. 377.
\textsuperscript{104} \textit{Khâzinatu l asfiyâ}, \textit{ibid.}
is related in the notice of Muḥkamuddīn and clearly shows his subordination to his Uwaisī preceptor, ‘Abdu’l Khāliq.

When ‘Abdu’l Khāliq made Muḥkamuddīn his disciple he said to him, “Go retire in devotion to the shrine, that is full of light, of the leader of the shaikhs of Chāwaliyān who is one of the ancient saints and shaikhs on the face this earth, and whose pious tomb is the place of pilgrimage for the people of that place. Your [spiritual] opening will occur”. Then according to the order of the patron guide the Shaikh (Muḥkamuddīn) retired in devotion to the shrine of Shaikh Chāwali. He spent forty days in that place without food or sleep, and abstaining from speech in devotion to God and reached the perfection of those who possess perfections. Then he desired to come out of his retreat and break his fast. He longed for the kunnār fruit that is called ber in Hindi. Suddenly, a person dressed in white appeared from the unseen world before him and presented a few bers and said, “With this fruit break fast and go from here, you will reach your goal by yourself”. The Shaikh seized the pieces of fruit and broke his fast and left that place. He went into the service of the Khwāja [‘Abdu’l Khāliq] and he had not even reached the point of expressing himself or start conversation that the Khwāja turned towards the Shaikh (Muḥkamuddīn) and said, “When the thought of desiring ber occurred, Khūzr peace be upon him, followed God’s order and presented a handful of fruit from the lote-tree as wished by you to break the fast”.  

When ‘Abdu’l Khāliq had initiated Muḥkamuddīn into his discipleship he ordered him to observe seclusion at the tomb of Shaikh Chāwālī, probably a popular saint in west Punjāb, with the purpose of attaining an ‘opening’. In the context of this vision the ‘opening’ is a reference to some kind of divine indication of the initiate’s acceptance into the spiritual fold. Muḥkamuddīn obeyed the order of his physical preceptor and observed a spiritual retreat for forty days in which he abstained from food and sleep and busied himself in the contemplation of God. As a result of this he attained spiritual perfection.

When Muḥkamuddīn emerges from his retreat he desired the *kunnār* fruit to break his fast. Muḥkamuddīn’s desire for the *kunnār* is significant because it is the fruit of the lote tree (*drakht-i sidrat*) in the Paradise. At that moment, suddenly, a person dressed in white clothes appeared before Muḥkamuddīn and offered him a few pieces of the *kunnār* fruit, while simultaneously informing Muḥkamuddīn that his purpose had been fulfilled and that he should leave the tomb. Who is this person? And, how is Muḥkamuddīn’s craving for the *kunnār* transmitted to the apparition?

We receive the answer to these questions in the narrative as it unfolds the mystery through the medium of Muḥkamuddīn’s master, ‘Abdu’l Khāliq. Even before Muḥkamuddīn could say anything about his experience to his shaikh, the latter knew of it before hand. ‘Abdu’l Khāliq informs his disciple that when he had desired it was Khiẓr, who at the command of God, had collected a fist full of the fruit from the lote tree in the Paradise and offered it to Muḥkamuddīn for his *iftār*. The shaikh’s fore-knowledge of the

event indicates that it was his intercession, on the behalf of his *murīd*, which had secured Muḥkamuddin’s desire. Further, the gift of *kunnār* also indicates the latter’s acceptance into the spiritual fold of the sublime as the fruit provides nourishment to angelic beings residing in Paradise.

I would like to elaborate here on the significance of initiation through *Khiḍr*.\(^{106}\) In the Quran, *Khiḍr* is represented as Moses’ guide, who reveals to Moses the esoteric meaning of the Law (*shari‘at*). The irony is in the situation of Moses who as a prophet is responsible for unveiling the Law, but it is *Khiḍr* who is the repository of an inspired divine science and reveals the mystic truth that transcends the Law. This explains why the spirituality inaugurated by *Khiḍr* is free from the servitude of literal religion. In Sufism, the initiation ritual is symbolic of the transference of the shaikh’s personality and spiritual state to the *murīd*. Therefore, an initiation through *Khiḍr* would imply that the initiate has acquired the personality of the initiator and as a corollary, has assumed the rank superior to that of Moses. Further, the initiate’s identification with the person of *Khiḍr* attains for him the aptitude for theophanic vision of God through the knowledge of the esoteric Truth. It is this symbolism that explains the initiation visions of the Uwaisī sufis and the visions of those who were initiated into some other *sīla*, and yet attribute importance to initiation through *Khiḍr*.\(^{107}\) As a formal initiation into an order was indicative of an


\(^{107}\) I have referred to an example of initiation vision involving *Khiḍr* in the case of ‘Abdu’l *Khālid Ghujdawānī* in which his apparent formal initiation into the Naqṣbandī *sīla* was followed by a mysterious initiation through the vision of *Khiḍr*.
indirect relationship with God, initiation through Khizr introduced the novice to the world of divine mysteries in a direct way without the intermediation of a shaiikh.

This provides a suitable explanation for the case of 'Abdu'l Khaliq Ghujdawani who learnt the technique of the silent zikr through Khizr, even though this was in opposition to the practice of Yusuf Hamadani, who was Ghujdawani's physical preceptor. But in the case of Muhammuddin the experience of Khizr is not independent of the influence of his shaiikh but on the contrary, is made possible only through his intercession. This vision is an irony on the original concept of the Uwasii suf who was independent of any silsila control. In the age of silsila domination, where recognition and respect was defined in terms of genealogical connections, the self-reliant Uwaisis evolved a spiritual lineage for themselves and in the process conformed to a discipline they had initially rejected.

In this Chapter I have discussed the Uwaisi notion as it developed in northern India between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries. The Uwaisi tradition, which had acquired a certain prominence in the case of the Naqshbandiya in Central Asia, continued to enjoy a significant role in the case of the Indian Naqshbandis. Hagiographical evidence also indicates the assimilation of the Uwaisi technique within the fold of the Chishti and the Shattari orders. However, by the seventeenth century texts like the Malfizat-i Khwaja Uwais Qaranî and the Laṭā'if-i nafsîya dar faţā'il-i Uwaisiya, are indicators of growing idealization of Uwais Qaranî as the Prophetic exemplar. Given the historical context of Islamic revivalist movements in northern India during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, Uwais Qaranî is the perfect example of the ihya al sunna or the revival of the
Prophet's custom. The most significant role that Prophet Muhammad exercised with respect to his followers was that he mediated for them with God and on the Day of Judgement he would intercede on their behalf. The legend of Uwais Qaranî determined a similar function for Uwais.
APPENDIX V

ایشان را سبق و ذکر دل در جوازی از حضورت خواجگی خسر بوهد علیه السلام و بدان سبق مواظبت نموده‌اند و خواجگی خسر ایشان را بفرزندی قبول کرند و فرمودند که در حوض آب در آی و غوطه خور و بدل بگو لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله جانان کردن و این سبق را گرفتند و بکار مشغول شنند و کشادها یافتنند. يعد ازان شیخ الشیوخ عالم عارف ربانی خواجگی امام عقوب بسیف همدادی کدی الله سرخ بخیارا آمدن و خواجگی عدلخالق صحت ایشان در یافتن و معلوم کردن که ایشان را ذکر دل بوهد در صحت ایشان می‌بوبدند تا مدیتی که در بخیارا بوبدند کفته‌اند که خواجگی خسر بوهد سبق ایشانند و خواجگی يوسف پیپر صحبت و خرقه.

ایشان ایشان برای بودن و ترتیب از روحاً خوابی خواجگی عدلخالق عدلخالق عدلخالق خدانوین یافته‌اند. جانان که می‌فرمودند که شیب در مبادی احوال و غلبات جذبات به مزار مبیکر از مزارت بخیارا رسیدم بر مزاری چراگی دیدم افرانسیه و در چراگاند روغن تمام و فتیله‌ام فتیله‌را اندک حرکت می‌باشد داد تاز روغن بیرون آید و به نازگی برافروزد و در مزار آخرین منوطجه قبیله نشستم و درا توجه غیبتی افتاد مشاهده کردم که دیوار قلب شده و تختی بزرگ پیدا آمد چرا بذر در پیش یو نشکیده و گردگرد آن تخت جمعی خواجگی محمد بابا سامسی را در میان ایشان شناختم دانستم که ایشان از گذشته‌گاند ازان جماعت بکی مرفته بر تخت خواجگی عدلخالق اند و آن جماعت خلفای ایشان به رک اشارت کرد خواجگی احمد صدق و خواجگی اولیای کلان و خواجگی عارف ری‌گرگی و خواجگی محمرالخالق غنوست و خواجگی علی رامینی کدی الله تعالی اراوه‌هم و چون خواجگی محمد بابا سامسی رسید گفت ایشان را.
خود در حال حیات در ریاشفتی شیخ تواند و ترا کلاهی دادهاند و ترا آن کرما گردند. به یاد
ناذر شده از برکت تو دفع شود آنها، آن جمعه گفتند گوشدار و نیک شنون که حضرت
خواجه میرزگ سخنان و گردیدن فرموده که در سلوك راه حی سبیحان ترا ازان چهار بیشاذ ازان
جمعه در خواصتی که بر حضرت خواجه سلام کنم و بر جمال مبارک ایشان مشرف شوم
پرده از پیش برگفتند بیپر دیدن نورانی سلام کردم جواب دادند ایشان سخنانی که به میداء
سلوك و وسط و نهایت تعلق دارند برنمایان آوردند و گفتند آن چراگه یا که به آن کشیت با تو
نمورده اشارت و بیشتر سنت را به استعداد قابلیت این راه آماده فتحی و استعداد را در حکمت
می یابد آورد تن روشن شود و اسرار ظهور کند و دیگر فرمودند. و مبالغ نمورده که در همه
احوال قدم بر جاره امر نهی و عمل برمیزت و سنت بجای آری از رخصته و بدلنها دور
باشی و دایماً احادث مصطفی را صلی الله علیه و آلی و سلم پیشوا خداساز و تحت محفظه و
متجسس اخبار و آثار رسول صلی الله اهلی و آلی و سلم و صحبته کرام از رضی عنهم باشی
بعد از این سخنان آن جمعه مرا گفتند شاهد صدق حال تو آنست که فرد علی الصلح فلان
جای پرده و فلان کار بگذاری و تفصیل آن در مقامات ایشان مذکور است و گفتند بعد ازان
موجه نسف شو بخدمت امیر سید کلال چون بهموج فرموده ایشان به نسف رفتم و
بخدمت امیر کلال قدس سره رستم.

مختومه اویسی گفتند این کار از پیر ظاهر نیست، زیرا ایک کسی است که روحاپان را در تربیت
او مداخلتی باشد. حضرت خواجه احراز... با وجود پیر ظاهر جونکه امدادی است و روحاپان
حضرت خواجه تشکیند... یافته بودند. اویسی میگفتند و همچنان حضرت خواجه تشکیند
باوجود پیر ظاهر چون که مدها از روحاپان حضرت خواجه عبدالخلیق... یافته بودند
اویسی بودند. علی الخصوص شخصی که باوجودیهکه اویسیت اقرار با پیر ظاهر هم دارد به
زور این کار پیر برسو او بستند عجب انگص است.
اکثر مشایخ این طریقه که در سلسله مذكورند اوسی بودهاند و معنی اوسی آن است که
حضرت شیخ طریقت شیخ فردالدین عطای قدس الله سره گفتگویی از اولیاء الله باشد که
ایشان را مشایخ طریقه و کیهان حقیقت اوسیان نامند و ایشان را در ظاهر حاجت به پیری بود
زیرا اگر ایشان را حضرت نبی صلی الله علیه و سلم یاروی وی از اولیاء حق در حجر عتیت
خود بروش میدهد بپوسته جنینه اویس را داد.

جوان جذب حقیقی خواه این خود یاهوک برد اول بتفاقد سید بهلی شاه فسرو و
گلشیر مهدی برادر خود بارده بیعت به خدمت حضرت شیخ عبدالحمید قادر که از اقطاب
خود بود به مقام تمیب تشیف برد. شیخ بعد مراقبه گلشیر محمدرامیخود بهلی شاه
ارشاد نمود که حصة باطنا تو زند بفکر عتیت قادری در قصور است به خدمت وی حاضر
شد، بنویسه عبدالخالق فرموک که نصب تو زند شخصی است که از این جهان قافی به عالم
جاوادی رونق افزای و منتظر عناویت بردانی بوده در خانه خود به عبادات میبود مشغول
باش و بخوانند درود مستعقات میاومی، بیپر خود بخود نلد تو موجود خواهد شد. پس
خواهش از آنجا رخصت شده بخانه خود آمد. جوان چندماه بر ابیمه برگذاشتند روزی
خواهش به حاله تنها در حجر خود درود شریف میخوانند که ناگاه شخصی نورانی
بطریع پرس ثانی از گشته حضرت ظاهر شد و روی آهد سلام و علیکم گفت. خواهش
جواب سلام داد. بمجردی که نگاهی بر چهره پرناور آن شخص افتاد بهووس گشت و تمام
روز بهووس مانده و بعد غروب آفتاب بهووس آمد و بعدبدشت مسحور شد. روز دوم همان واقع
برخواه آمد و هیچ معلوم نکرد که آن شخص نورانی کی بود و از کجا آمد. روز سوم چون
شریام بزیر شد قدم مبارک بگرفت و نام نامی رو استفسار نمود و ازان بین نشان نشان
مفصل جز فرمود که اسم گرامی مایخواهه اویس بین عامر فریست و از حق مامورالیم که
ترا به حق رسانم. پس عبدالخالق را به بیعت خود سفریز کرد و اینچنین توجه فرموک که

3
عبدالعالی از خودی بخودی گشت و نامه روز به روز حالت سکر، بیمار بود. بعد از روز نداش سرواد، از خانه همسایه که تقریب عروسو در سرواد در رخانه و یا مربی شده بود بگویم حق یاد نش وی رسیدت و بجنبش آمد. مطابق نکست، خانه و سرواد را حاضر آورند. جون سرواد آغاز شد و جد عظیم عادی حالت خیل گشت و بعد رقص و حالت روز و شبته هم و بهمه مطابق خود فرود که شما همه مرا مبارکبند بگوئید که اوروز ما محجوب و مطلوب خود را بیافته‌ایم.

چون خوابه عبدالعالی شیخ محکم‌الدین را مرد خود کرد فرود که بر مرز پرتاب دیوان مشایخ چاولیکا که اولیاً متقدم و مشایخ‌روی زمین است و روضه مطهره وی در آن سرزمین زیارت گاه خلق است، رفته متعکف باش، کشاوشی کار نمی‌نبوه آید. پس شیء حساب الارشاد بر دستگیر بر روضه مطهره شیخ چاولی رفته متعکف شد و تا جه روزی به خورد و خواب در آن‌جا بحال رحمبود حق گذرانید و بکمالات کامل رسید، و چون از خلوت بریون آمد خواسته که روز افطار کند. خاطر فیض مائیر بیهوی کارم به‌نهاد بر گوئید رگیت کرد و مشاکل شیخ‌زیب دوش بدوش شیخ از غیب نمودار شد و چند دانه کنار حاضر ساخت و گفت که بدین میوه افطار کن و از رجا بریکه به پیکوخود رسید. شیخ دانه‌هایی بگرفت و افطار نمود و در آن‌جا روانه شده، حاضر خدمت خواجته گشته. هنوز نوت بظاهر حال و گفتگوئی نرسیده بوده، که خوابه بسوی شیخ متعاب شد و فرود که چون خاطر بکنار راغب شد خضر عليه السلام از حلق بامور گردیده که از درخت سنده‌الشته دانه کنار بصرف افطار تو حاضر کند، پس خضر تعمیم حکم کرد.
APPENDIX V (a)

The list of chapters and sections as mentioned in the Ḥayāt-i Uwais Qaranī that is an Urdu translation by Mangūr Ḥasan Rizvī of the Laṭā‘if-i nafisiya dar faṣā’il-i Uwaisiya of Shaikh Ahmad bin Maḥmūd Uwaisī Chenābī.

1. *Nasabnāma* (Genealogy of Uwais Qaranī)
   i. *Waṭan* – Qaran

2. Ḣuliyā sharīf (Uwais’ appearance)

3. *Khurāk wa libās* (Diet and dress)

4. *Tābī‘īn mein āp ka martaba* (Uwais’ rank amongst the *Tābī‘īn*)
   i. *Aḥādīs* (Traditions of the prophet in support of the above claim)
   ii. *Aqwāl-i ‘ulamā’ wa mashāikh* (Sayings of scholars and sufis)

5. *Aap ke Ṣāḥābī hune ka imkān* (The possibility of Uwais being a Companion)
   i. Note *minjānib mu’alif* (A note from the author)

6. *Ān Ḥazrat ki khidmat mein hāzrī se ma’zūrī* (Excused from being present before the Prophet)
   i. *Hikāyat – hikāyat-i ‘ajīb* (A stange story)
   ii. *Kaṭṭra*

7. *Āp ka dānum jahān mein Ḥazrat rasūl-i maqbūl sall-am se poshīda rahnā* (Uwais is hidden from the Prophet in this world and the next)

8. *Aap ki rūhāniyat*

9. (The breath of the Beneficent comes from the direction of Yemen)

10. *Sarkār-i risālat ki mulāqāt* (A meeting with the Prophet)

   i. *Muraqqa‘i gudarī* (The patched cloak)
   ii. *Kaṭṭra*
12. *Aap ki fażā'īl mein riwāyāt aur aḥādīs* (Customs and Traditions regarding Uwais’ excellence)

13. *Haẓrat Haram bin Ḥayyān se mulāqāt* (A meeting with Haram bin Ḥayyan)

14. *Haẓrat Haram ka mukhtāṣar ḥāl* (On the condition of Haram bin Ḥayyan)

15. *Āp ki fażā’īl wa Manāqib* (About Uwais’ virtues and attainments)

16. *Malfūzāt*
   
i. *Āp ke dīgar aqwāl* (various sayings of Uwais)
   
   ii. *War’- qaul*
   
   iii. *Malfūzāt*
   
   iv. *Qaul wa malfūzāt*

17. *Ba’z hikāyāt* (Some stories)

18. *Aap ki wālayat bāṭīnī aur ‘ulūm-i ghā’ibī ka bayān* (About Uwais’ concealed friendship with God and his secret knowledge)
   
i. *Uwaisī*

19. *Maskinī aur faqr ka bayān* (About poverty)

20. *Āp ka sīlsīlāʾ i, tāriqāt* (Uwais’ silsila)
   
i. *Shajāra-i Uwaisiya* (Genealogical tree of the Uwaisīs)
   
   ii. *Tafṣīl-i zikr pās anfās* (Detail of the zikr of breath control)
   
   iii. *Zikr khāfī* (Silent zikr)
   
   iv. *Zikr jālī – zikr anf (zikr through the nose)*
   
   v. *Maḥdawiya*

21. *Khīrqa aur dandān mubārak turdhe ka ḥāl* (Condition for the khīrqa and breaking of [Uwais’] blessed teeth)
   
i. *Bayān-i dandān shikāni* (About breaking teeth)
   
   ii. *Taḥqīq-i khīrqa’i mi’rajī wa radd-i kalâm munkirīn* (Verifying about the Prophet’s robe of Ascent and denouncing of the the words of deniers)
iii. Dandân shikanî kî `ajîb riwâyat (A strange story about the breaking of [Uwais'] teeth.

22. A' māl-i haftgāna (The Seven Principles)
   i. Pairawī-ye Rasūl
   ii. Khalwat dar anjūman / `Uzlät-i murīdān - `uzłat-i muĥaqiqān
   iii. Khamoshī dar sukhan
   iv. Naẓar bar qadam
   v. Hosh dar dam / ḥayāt-i dil
   vi. Zahr noshī / khashm (ghussa) kā `ilāj
   vii. Parda poshī
      a. Ḥikāyat `ajîb
      b. Du`a`ūn ka bayān
      a. Du`a`ūn ka bayān
         - Tarkīb khatm du`a`ūn ka bayānī
      b. Tarīq-i da`wat wa zaka`āt
      c. Du`a`ūn ka bayānī
      d. Du`a`ūn ka bayānī - matarjum
      e. Du`a`ūn ka bayānī - khashm (ghussa)

23. Şabūt-i khirqa – şabūt-i muşafaţa aur taḥqīq-i silsila

24. Āp kî wafāt aur shahādat
   i. Riwāyat darbar`ī shahādat

25. Taḥqīq-i mazār sharīf
   i. Āp ke muta`ddad mazārāt
   ii. Titamma (by the translator)
   iii. Nazmein (by the translator).
Amīru’l mū’minīn Hazrat ‘Umar wa Hazrat ‘Alī razī allāh ‘anhumā

Hazrat Uwais Qaranī, razī allāh ‘anhā

Hazrat Khwāja Mūsā bin Yazīd bin al Rā’ī, rahmat allāh ‘alayhi

Hazrat Ibrāhīm Adham, rahmat allāh ‘alayhi

Hazrat Shafiq Balkhi, rahmat allāh ‘alayhi

Hazrat Abū ‘Umar al Sa’ākhari, rahmat allāh ‘alayhi

Hazrat Ja far Hadād, rahmat allāh ‘alayhi

Hazrat Qasim Junaid, rahmat allāh ‘alayhi

Hazrat Qazī Rūyam Baghdādī, rahmat allāh ‘alayhi

Hazrat Abū ‘Abdu’llāh Muhammad bin Hanīf Shirāzī, rahmat allāh ‘alayhi

Hazrat Abū al ‘Abbās Nihawandī, rahmat allāh ‘alayhi

Hazrat Akhī Farkh Zanjānī, rahmat allāh ‘alayhi

Hazrat Khwaja Mumshād ‘Alī Dinwārī, rahmat allāh ‘alayhi

Hazrat Abū ‘Abdu’llāh Muhammad Tā‘īr‘ī ‘Arīfīn, rahmat allāh ‘alayhi

Hazrat Shaikh Nūruddīn, rahmat allāh ‘alayhi

Hazrat Shaikh Shu‘aib Mada’in, rahmat allāh ‘alayhi

Hazrat Shaikh Ahmad Zāhid, rahmat allāh ‘alayhi

Hazrat Jamāluddīn Yūsuf bin ‘Abdu’llāh Korānī, rahmat allāh ‘alayhi

Hazrat Shaikh Najmuddīn, rahmat allāh ‘alayhi

Hazrat Khwaja Mūsā bin Khayyām, rahmat allāh ‘alayhi

Hazrat ‘Abdu’llāh Misrī, rahmat allāh ‘alayhi

Hazrat Shaikh ‘Alī Shirāzī, rahmat allāh ‘alayhi

Hazrat Huzūr Jāmī, rahmat allāh ‘alayhi

Hazrat Shaikh Ghausī Gawālīārī, rahmat allāh ‘alayhi

Hazrat Shaikh Habīb, rahmat allāh ‘alayhi

Hazrat Ahmad Dinwārī, rahmat allāh ‘alayhi

Hazrat Muhammad Suhrāwārdī, rahmat allāh ‘alayhi

Hazrat Najībuddīn bin Ghaus al Shirāzī, rahmat allāh ‘alayhi

Hazrat Nūruddīn ‘Abdu’llāh, rahmat allāh ‘alayhi

Hazrat Māhmid Ishaḥānī, rahmat allāh ‘alayhi

Shajara’i Uwaṣiṣya
Hayāt-i Uwais Qaranī (pp. 108-109)