Chapter III

_Dreams and Visions in North Indian Sufic Traditions_

The dream, or the observation that everyone dreams in sleep, is apparently a subject that could be approached from many different angles. In the previous chapters I have tried to explain this by the fact that the different approaches are based on the supposition of various dream types, or that they are focussing only on one or several phases of the dream phenomenon, that is, the formation of the dream, dreaming itself, along with the experiences the dreamer seems to have while dreaming, the dream narrative, reactions to the dream, and, of course, dream interpretation (the last depending on the dream's assumed origin). These complimentary approaches when taken together, seemingly, offer a complete picture of the dream in the Islamic cultural tradition. In fact, advocates of the different concepts of dream interpretation rarely disputed each other's legitimacy. For the real gap, rather than being located between the complementary models of explanation, lies between the assumption of interpretibility and non-interpretibility of the dream. Formulated more generally: it is between, on the one hand, the presumption of a seamless continuum between the waking world and the dreamworld, so that the activities and the perceptions of the waking state are simply carried forward to another level of consciousness; and, on the other hand, the presumption that dreams can be connected with another or higher truth hidden to those awake (hence the discontinuity of dreaming and waking). In textual references to sufi dreams, however, there is a third kind
of possibility where the visionary perceives events that belong to another world, which is otherwise hidden, in a state of semi-consciousness or waking. Even though, the technical language of sufis draws a distinction between the visions of sleep and waking, the categorization and interpretation of the latter are, to a large extent, inspired within the classical framework of the dream tradition in Islam.

In order to organize the received lore of dreams and visions in Sufism and Islam, sufı authors took different approaches. Regarding the logical content of the dream sufıs concede to the Quran and hadıṣ as the pivotal points of reference for causation and typology of dreams and visions of waking state. Within this general consensus there are peculiarities of form that are associated with particular silsilas. For example, the Kubrawiya attach tremendous importance to figural apparitions as well as to photisms of colours and lights. As far as the philosophical aspect of visionary experience that defines the nature of relationship between sleep/vision and the material reality is concerned, other than the basic notion of the ālam-i mişāl or the imaginal world in which visions happen, there is no single ‘sufi doctrine’ accepted by all sufı teachers. What we usually see in our sources is that a given author will conceptualize the received wisdom in his own personal terms, on occasion idiosyncratically, and then offer his theory to his students and readers as a guide to the true nature of things.

Some of the earliest treatises on Sufism, like 'Ali bin Uṣmān Hujwīrī’s *Kashf al mahjūb*, have significant things to say about visionary experience, but often this information was of a fragmentary nature, mostly in the form of reports about dreams and visions of individual sufis. Since the thirteenth century writings on Sufism, especially those compiled in the Central Asian lands, provide a systematic theory concerning this subject matter. Mention must be made here of the *Mīrṣād al ‘ibād min al mabda‘ ila‘l ma‘ād* compiled by Najmuddīn Rāzī A.D. (1177-1256), a Kubrawī shaykh and disciple of the eponymous founder of his *silsila* Najmuddīn Kubrā. Rāzī observes that in view of the sufis the difference between visions and dreams have two aspects, namely, ‘form’ and ‘meaning’. With respect to ‘form’ the vision is that which is seen between sleep and waking, or in a state of complete wakefulness. With respect to ‘meaning’, the vision emerges from behind the veil of imagination and is derived entirely from the unseen. In the *Mīrṣād* the term used for such a visionary experience is *waqi‘āt* (singular *waqi‘a*).²

² In a section devoted to the culture (adab) of the sufis Hujwīrī has a chapter concerning their rules of sleeping in travel and at home, wherein he refers to the debate between ‘Ali bin ʿIṣfahānī and Junāid Baghdādī on the issue of sleep and wakefulness. The former preferred wakefulness to sleep because apostles had received revelations and saints their miracles while they were awake. Junāid preferred sleep to wakefulness because visions of saints and apostles occurred during this state. In either case, the concern centres around the nature of visionary experiences during the state of sleep and waking; see ‘Ali bin Uṣmān Hujwīrī’s *Kashf al mahjūb*, translated into English by Reynold A. Nicholson as *The Kashf al Mahjūb: The Oldest Persian Treatise on Sufism* by al-Hujwīrī, new edition, London: Luzac & Co., reprint 1967, pp. 351-353.

³ The treatise was compiled about A.D. 1221 in Anatolia and became popular in Iran, Turkey, India and Central Asia. Ziyā’uddīn Baranī, the well-known historian of the Delhi Sultanate, has referred to it as a popular work in Delhi in the fourteenth century. For biographical details of Rāzī see the English introduction to the *Mīrṣād al ‘ibād min al mabda‘ ila‘l ma‘ād*, translated from the Persian by Hamid Algar as *The Path Of God’s Bondsmen From Origin To Return*, Delmar: Caravan Books, 1982.

⁴ According to the translator of the *Mīrṣād* the term “waqi‘a” seems to have originated in the period when Kubrawī order crystallized. It has been used by Najmuddīn Kubrā although Rāzī has used it more consistently, for the former sometimes employs the word “ghā‘iba” (absence) to designate visions, a usage
Rāzī’s understanding of the dream phenomena: its causation as a function of imagination in sleep, classification into *akhām* and *azghāṣu`l aḥlām* and dream interpretation, is entirely based on the classical tradition in Islam. In a separate section of this chapter Najmuddīn Rāzī has also explained the benefits of visions for the travellers of the Path as these are instructive about their spiritual states and provide their souls with nourishment from the unseen realm.⁵

About a century after the *Mirṣād*, a Persian manual on sufi practice, the *Miṣbāḥal ḥidāya wa miftāḥ al kifāya* by ʿIzzuddīn Kāshānī (d. A.D. 1335) summarized the standard viewpoint on the nature of dreams (*manāmāt*) and waking visions (*wāqiʿāt*) in relation to spiritual and psychological states of consciousness. Kāshānī’s differentiation between dreams and visions is not as stringent as that of Rāzī. In fact the former emphasizes on similarity between the two types of visions. According to Kāshānī, sometimes those who perform the *zikr* in spiritual isolation (*khalwat*) are removed or become absent from the world of sensory perceptions, just as someone who is asleep is impervious to his surroundings. In this state he has access to matters that are otherwise hidden from human perception. Like dreams, *wāqiʿāt* also fall into three different categories. The first category of visions is of the *kashf-i mujarrad* or ‘pure unveiling’ that are true and require no interpretation. These are akin to *ruʿyā* or true dreams. The second kind of visions are

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⁵ See Chapter 16, “Concerning certain visions derived from the unseen and the difference between dreams and visions”, *ibid.*, pp. 286-295.
those which are symbolic and thus require interpretation. These are known as *kashf-i mutakhaiyyal* or ‘unveiling of the imaginary’ as these occur on account of some interference of the *nafs* (lower soul). In this case the *nafs*, through the power of imagination, cloaks the truths that is revealed to the sufi in state of sleep or waking. When such visions are subject to interpretation they convey true meanings, although there is some possibility of falsehood in them. For example, if a *murid* sees that he is contesting with a lion, wild beasts or infidels, the shaikh knows that these visions indicate the current circumstance of the *murid*’s lower soul that is at violence or in defiance of God. Then there are visions that are patently false (*wāqi`a-i kāżib*) and akin to the false dreams that are known as *azghāsu`l ahlām*. Other than the dreams and visions, Kāshānī has described another mystical experience that is known as *mukashafa*. Unlike the dreams and the visions that occur when the sufi is ‘absent’ to the world of physical sensibilities, *mukashafa* happens when the sufi is consciously present in the material world. As in ‘pure unveiling’ there is no possibility of deception to occur in *mukashafa*.⁶

Basically, texts such as the *Mirṣād* and the *Miṣbāḥ* were taught as part of the curriculum set for novices in the shaikh’s khānaqah. The important thing to be observed is that in contrast to the parallel texts written by philosophers and *mu`abbirs* who were dealing with pure theory of visionary experience, the sufi texts deal with the practical applications of the subject in explicit terms or implied it in the context of the writings, which are not aimed at ‘thinkers’, but at practitioners and adepts of their system.

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Nevertheless, as the purpose of compiling such manuals was instructive and even didactic, one gets the feeling that visionary narrative is highly stylized and thus lacks spontaneity of genuine experience. Here I may mention the *Khwāb u khayāl*, a manual on dreams that was compiled by Pir Muhammad in the eighteenth century in Lakhnau. The author observes that if a dream is laudable and good the inquirer has to consult dream collections of sufis, orators, and philosophers for its interpretation. And in this treatise, that he has named *Khwāb u khayāl*, he has presented these dreams along with their examples in three chapters, each of which is dedicated to a discussion of dreams according to the sufis, the philosophers, and the scholars of Islam. This work cannot be classified as one of *ta'bir* because it does not deal with the usual dream symbols. Nevertheless, Pir Muhammad’s explanation of dreams is principally based on the oneirocritical rules that were defined within the classical dream tradition. It may also be mentioned here that the chapter concerning the dreams of the sufis is evidently based on the *Misbāhu l hidāya* of Kāshānī.

The other style of transmission of visionary experience in Sufism, that was more spontaneous, is available in correspondence between the sufi master and disciple, especially from the post classical period after Qushayrī, when letters form a part of a novice’s training contain explanations about the visionary experiences of the disciples.  

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7 See Chapter 1, fn. 63.

8 From Najmuddīn Kubrā’s school several letters between teachers and students concerning visions and auditory experiences have been preserved. One such case is of correspondence between Sharafuddīn Muhammad Balkhī and his Shaikh Majuddīn Baghdādī (d. A.D. 1161) that have been published in part by Fritz Meier in “An Exchange of Letters Between Sharaf Al-Din-I Balkhi And Majd Al-Din-I Baghdadi” in
Similarly, written records of discourses of what transpired in shaikh's assembly, and biographical accounts of sufis frequently refer to dreams and visions. The visionary narrative in these genres has functions, other than didactic or instructive, that are informative about contemporary circumstance. With respect to either style of transmission of sufi lore, I am not trying to say that 'visualism' in sufi treatises is purely fabricated to convey spiritual messages; neither am I treating visionary narrative as stated facts of history. The legitimation of the usage of dreams created a situation in which various groups in Islam could easily record dreams in order to justify their own ways of behaviour. Whether the authorization given to dreams initiated extensive forgeries in sufi texts or whether dreams were 'dreamt up' first, and only later glorified in textual narratives is, therefore, a minor issue. Consequently, whenever I came across a dream I did not inquire about its authenticity, but rather about the place and time in which it was told. I have tried to understand each dream as a historical piece of evidence and concentrate on the conditions and ideas it reflects. At several places the description of dream/vision is accompanied by interpretive passages that provide a glimpse of what the dreamer, the interpreter, or the author himself thought of the experience and the circumstance that had inspired the dream in the first place. But in some cases I had to elaborate on reading the given symbolism. The sufis considered the theory of dreams and waking visions as important, for it legitimized their experience, but they always

understood theory as a means to an end, not an end in itself. Hence, on several occasions the application of theory is constantly modified to fit the practical circumstance.

Certain common patterns are identified in relating dreams. In sufi texts the visionary narrative, specially the autobiographical reporting of such experience, is usually preceded by a few comments to clarify the circumstance that lead to the act of dreaming. The narrative then begins with the phrase ‘man didam’ (I saw), and this is followed by a description of the experience itself. Sometimes, the author of the text is more particular and uses the phrase ‘man dar khwāb didam’ or ‘man dar wāqi’a didam’, that may be translated as ‘I saw in sleep/dream’ and ‘I saw in a vision’ respectively. In some other cases the instance of seeing a vision is introduced with a sense of suddenness that is conveyed through ‘nagāh didam’ or ‘suddenly I saw’. These phrases are not simply used for the sake of stylistic variation in language but are indicative of different type of visionary experience that are correspondingly known in the istilāh (vocabulary) of the sufis as – khwāb or manām, wāqi’a and mukāshafa. By and large, however, the distinction between manām and wāqi’a is often blurred.

I

*Dreams of transpersonal nature*

The cultural tradition in Islam treats the dream vision as a kind of a supernatural perception. This notion attributes a transpersonal symbolism to certain dreams that the oneiric tradition in Islam calls good or true dreams. Such dreams fulfill the function of a means of communication between the dreamer in the corporeal world and the extra
physical world that is perceived through the mind. Generally, in these dreams the message is clear for the dreamer and the dream requires no interpretation. Sometimes, however, the dreamer needs to interpret the vision in order to understand the message that is conveyed to him in an oblique way. In other words, the true or good dreams may be literal or symbolic. In either case, the veracity of the dream as such is never challenged as Prophet Muhammad set the precedent for their interpretation and belief. Other than audition from the unseen, the most common motifs occurring in transpersonal dreams comprise of figures from the Islamic cosmology, appearance of the dead and visions of paradise and hell. In the case of sufis the functional value of transpersonal dreams is diverse, for example such narratives convey: initiation and spiritual advancement of the sufi, the role of sufi as an intercessor for his disciples, predetermination of events, and display elements of eschatological belief.

For the Muslims in general, and sufis in particular, tremendous significance is attached to dreams in which the Prophet appears to the dreamer. Here is a dream of an eminent medieval scholar, Shâh `A?zuddîn from Amroha who lived during the latter part of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In the early years of his life `A?zuddîn was attracted towards philosophical subjects until he saw the Prophet in a dream who mocked him about his scholarship. When `A?zuddîn woke up from his dream he experienced a change of heart and later authored the Maqāṣidu 'l `ārifîn that is claimed as the only work of its kind to be written towards end of Awrangzeb’s reign as it revived the
debate on the issue of *waḥdat al wujūd*. 'Aẓduddīn has written this dream in the introduction to the *Maqāṣid* in the following manner:

In the days of my studentship one night I saw the Prophet, may God grant him peace and salvation, in a dream that he is sitting in a garden and he has been staying there for six months. After this long gap of time I went to see him, and kissed his feet and sat on one side and because I had not visited for this space of time I was overcome with shame and contrition. At last when I was the centre of embarrassment, the blessed face was caused to turn in my direction, [and] said that, “You have become a *mulla* (scholar), for this reason you did not come for kissing my feet (saluting me)”. I was very ashamed and begged pardon. When I woke up I found myself in another condition afterwards my heart was terrified of collecting knowledge. I also contemplated in myself that each time I studied a book with the intention of repeating a lesson, nothing was opened for me.\(^9\)

Dreams of transpersonal type are often related in the context of a certain mystical condition experienced by the dreamer. In a section devoted exclusively to dreams (*manāmāt*) of Mīrzā Mażhar Jān-i jānān, Shāh Ghulām ‘Alī has made a note of seven dreams of his Shaikh. A peculiar category of visionary experience is one in which the dreamer sees himself as dead. In Mīrzā’s understanding when the attributes of *fanā* (annihilation) and *nīsīḥ* (nothingness) become apparent in the heart of the wayfarer of the mystic path he by virtue of *bi-khwudi* (one of the degrees of *fanā*) sees himself as dead in

wāqi‘āt (Waqtī ki fanā wa nisti bar nisbat-i bājin zuhūr mī-yābad wa sālik ba-wasf-i bi-khwudī wa istighrāq mausūf mī-girdad khwud rā dar wāqi‘āt murda mī-binad). In other words when the mystic dissociates himself from the plane of physicality and is annihilated in the sphere of nothingness, he gets access to the plane of suspended animations or the imaginal world (‘ālam-i miṣāl) where events of the future are prefigured in a symbolic manner. The knowledge of such events is revealed to the sufi in a visionary experience that occurs either in state of wakefulness or in sleep. The technical terms used for defining these experiences are mukāshafat and manām respectively. Mīrzā Mażhar has used a common term – wāqi‘āt – to identify both types of visionary experience. Unless the narrative specifically defines it is difficult to identify the exact nature of the vision.

There are three autobiographical accounts of Mīrzā Mażhar’s dreams that relate his experience of death. Most probably they belong to the period when the Mīrzā was under the tutelage of Shaikh Nūr Muḥammad Badāyūnī (d. A.D. 1723) who initiated him into the Naqshbandī silsilā. The Mīrzā recounted that in the days when he experienced the fanā‘i qalbī (annihilation of the heart) due to the attention (tawajjuh) of Ḥaẓrat Saiyid Nūr Muḥammad, he felt absolutely dissociated with worldly connections and desires. In this condition he experienced certain visions in which he saw himself as dead. One of

Farooqi, Tonk: Arabic and Persian Research Institute, 1974, p. 50-51; also see Appendix III/I for the Persian text.


Ibid, p. 46.
these visions provides the graphic detail about the circumstance immediately following death.

I [Mīrzā Maţhar] saw as if I am a corpse and people are busy in readying me for burial. Then they lifted the bier and took it towards the grave of Ḥazrat Qutbuddīn, may God be pleased with him, for burial. And my rūḥ (spirit) walked along with them until they lowered the bier into the grave. They filled the grave with mud and I was sitting on the top of a wall. Munkir and Nakīr, in the manner that is proved in the ḥadīths, came and dug their teeth in the ground and entered the grave, and there was a connection established between my spirit and corpse. They interrogated and left. And I went to sleep in the grave in full comfort.12

As true dreams are predictive by nature, the post death circumstance of the Mīrzā reveals that he will be saved from the tortures in the grave. The two emissaries of death, Munkir and Nakīr interrogate the Mīrzā and then leave him to sleep in peace.

II

Dreams of interpersonal nature

Dreams that reflect on the relational aspect of the sufi personality may be categorized as dreams of interpersonal nature. Within this category there are two subtypes that I have identified in the sources, namely: dreams reflecting relationship between

12 Seven dreams of Mīrzā Maţhar Jān-i jānān are recorded in the fourteenth section of the Maqāmāt-i Māţhari. Of these three dreams are about the appearance of the Prophet, one dream is about the appearance of the Naqshbandī elders, and the last three are about death. The dream that is cited above was related to Ghulām ‘Alī as follows: Didam goya man murda-am wa mardum taqīhī wa takfīn-i man mi-numāyand. Pas jānāza bardāshta ba-ṭaraf-i mażār-i Ḥazrat Khwāja Qutbuddīn rahmatu’llāh ‘alayhi barāī dafan barawand wa rūḥ-i man ham-rūḥ ‘i ishān ast tā ki jānāza rā dar qabr nihāda. Qabr rā ba-ḵāk ampāshand wa man dar sa-yi dīvārī nishista-am. Munkir wa Nakīr ba-waz ‘ikī dar ḥadīṣ gābīt ast āmada, dandān bar zamīn zada, darīn-i qabr āmada, wa jān mu rā ba ‘alāqa’ pāidā shud, jāwāb u sunwāl karda raftand. Wa man dar qabr ba-ārūm-i tamām ba-ḵhwāb raftam. Maqāmāt-i Māţhari, op. cit., p. 46; for the Persian text see Appendix III/2. For other dreams of the Mīrzā in this section see idem, pp. 44-46.
the shaikh and his disciple/s belonging to the same silsila; and dreams that reflect on the nature of relationship between sufis of different silsilas. There is another dimension to this aspect of the sufi personality that is the sufi’s response to people outside their community, such as displayed in the dream narrative dealing with the appearance of a spiritual divine of another community in the dream of a Muslim. The following illustrations are not absolute definitions of all possible kinds of behavioural interactions among sufis, or for that matter, between the sufi and people from another community. Nevertheless, when these narratives are analyzed within a historical context, these dreams hold tremendous significance in reconstructing aspects of social life in medieval India.

Khwāja Muhammad Sa‘īd, the second son of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindī, had a disciple by the name of Khwāja Muhammad Zāhid. The latter related a dream to Badruddin Sirhindī in the following manner:

In the last ten days of the blessed month of Ramzān in the year 1050, after performing the namāz-i ishrāq (morning prayer) I went to sleep. I saw a garden of extreme purity that has flower beds and a reservoir [measuring] ten by ten spans. In the corner of that garden there is a carpetted takht (seat) and on the top of that takht Ḥaẓrat Ḥaẓrat Khwāja Muhammad Sa‘īd and Muhammad Ma’sūm are sitting. The records of deeds of people, big and small, are presented before these Ḥaẓrāt. A group of people have gathered and are standing with solicitude near them, awaiting their command. When I looked attentively, I found that garden was the mosque in which they would retire for prayers. By the side of the tank of this mosque, towards the north, were steps of light that could be extended from the earth to the sky and could be put at any place where desired. And the person who was the chief supervisor wrote the name on papers and gets the Ḥaẓrat to sign on them. Those who are enlisted among the people who would be forgiven, climb up, get it [the paper] stamped, and come back to the group of pious ones.
And whosoever the exalted Ḥaẓrāt do not perceive to be suitable for forgiveness, they are prevented from climbing up. At that moment the faqīr [Muhammad Zāhid] also arrived and conveyed his appeal to the Ḥaẓrāt that they may also include this slave among the forgiven ones. Ḥaẓrāt and the ahl-i iḥtimām (those who were supervising) said that, “You and Muhammad Hanif and Shaikh Faiz in the same manner your families are pardoned”. This slave petitioned that, “What is the order in the matter of the sons of the exalted Ḥaẓrāt?” The ahl-i iḥtimām said that, “Their sons alongwith their followers have been forgiven”. The second and the third day the same companions appeared in a vision, but the ahl-i iḥtimām disclosed in this matter that, “In the service of the exalted Ḥaẓrāt you say [on our behalf] that we have served in this manner and not a single benediction is bestowed on us”. I reported this to Ḥaẓrāt pīr dastagar. He said, “That [thing] which is good for them is the fāṭiḥa” and he read the fāṭiḥa. The second day I was sitting in the halqa’ of the Baḥrāt [Shaikh Muhammad Sa’īd] in contemplation, when that group of the ahl-i iḥtimām appeared and said that, “We have received our right”.

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Muhammad Zāhid experienced this dream in the last ten days of the month of Ramzan that are traditionally devoted to special prayers and supplication. The narrative is self-explanatory with the apparent message of the intercessionary role of two Shaikhs, Muhammad Sa‘īd and Muhammad Ma‘ṣūm for the dreamer. In the dream the Shaikhs are sitting on a carpeted takht which is placed at some height by the side of a flowered garden which has a reservoir. The Shaikhs are sitting with the registers of deeds of men and are busy in deciding the future of men on the basis of these records. Those men who are chosen by the Shaikhs would be granted forgiveness on the Day of Judgement. The names of such chosen ones are recorded on paper by a supervisor, and then signed by the Shaikhs. However, those who were not selected by the Shaikhs, their names were not recorded among the forgiven ones. Whoever was chosen for forgiveness, was taken up to the heavenly abode through steps of light, his paper was stamped, and then he was brought back and included among the pious ones.

In the dream Muhammad Zāhid approached the Shaikhs for their intercession. He was informed by the attendants that he, along with Muhammad Hanif and Shaikh Faiz and their families, has been granted forgiveness. When Muhammad Zāhid inquired about the sons of the Shaikhs, he was informed by the attendants of the Shaikhs, that they too, along with their disciples had been granted the intercession of the Shaikhs. However, the attendants themselves appear to Muhammad Zāhid in a vision and seek his intervention in their affairs. When Muhammad Zāhid appealed to his Shaikh about the attendants, the Shaikh advised them to read the fātiha. Badruddīn informs us that one day when Muhammad Zāhid was sitting in contemplation, along with a group of followers of
Shaikh Muhammad Sa‘īd, the attendants appeared to him in a vision and informed him that they had received their ‘right’. In other words, they too had been granted the benefit of the intercession of the Shaikhs.

The entire narrative, with its successive accounts of visions, is expressive of the medieval society’s belief in the intercessionary powers of the sufi shaikhs. An immediate disciple of the shaikh would receive his intervention directly, but those who were outside the sphere of discipleship, as is the case of the ahl-i ihtimām in the above narrative, they could request for the shaikh’s intercession through the mediation of an immediate disciple like Muhammad Zāhid. The narrative clearly states that those who were not chosen by the Shaikhs would not be granted forgiveness. This is extremely significant because it conveys the absolute authority of the two Shaikhs in the matter of the Muslims who desire to attain Paradise on the Day of Judgement. From the point of view of the Naqshbandī-Mujaddidiya, Muhammad Sa‘īd and Muhammad Ma‘sūm, are the perfect successors to assume the mediating function between the Community and its Prophet after the death of their father Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindī, the mujaddid-i alf-i sânī.

Sometimes, hagiographers convey messages and meaning to their readers only by way of dream narratives. The subject of such narratives does not necessarily concern matters of high spiritual content, mundane happenings relating to organizational aspects of a silsila’s community existence are also subject of dreams. Such is the case of a series of visions described by Badruddīn Sirhindī in the third hazrat of his Ḥagrātu’l quds. The main theme of these dreams and visions concerns the establishment of Shaikh Ahmad...
Sirhindī’s claim to succession over the other three senior disciples of Khwāja Bāqī Billāh, namely, Shaikh Tājuddīn Sambhalī, Shaikh Ilāhadād and Khwāja Ḥusāmuddīn. Since the author of the Ḥaẓrātu’l quds was a disciple of Shaikh Ahmad he has obviously tried to demonstrate his pīr’s supernatural achievements and, therefore, his natural superiority over others. The descriptions, however, reveal that Shaikh Ahmad did not have an easy victory in his claim to succeed his pīr in the wilāyat of Firozābād.

According to Badruddīn after the demise of Ḥaẓrat Khwāja Bāqī Billāh, Shaikh Ahmad came to Delhi with the intention to condole. According to the custom, the murīds of Bāqī Billāh welcomed him and even participated in the collective zikr, and did baiʿat at his hand. But some became suspicious of his motive and this made Shaikh Ahmad return back to Sirhind. Even Shaikh Tāj of Sambhal nurtured doubt about him due to the influence of the opposing group at Firozābād. Later he wrote to Maulānā Muhammad Qilīch, the brother in law of Bāqī Billāh, requesting his intercession in the matter of securing his pardon from Shaikh Ahmad stating that, “He [Shaikh Ahmad] has passed by my fault in a vision, in reality also [ask him to] pass by my fault” (...dar waqī’ā az jurima’ī man dar gužāsht-ānd, dar waqī’ nīz az gunāh-i man dar guzarand). In this letter he also asks Qilīch Khān to convey to friends (yārān) in Delhi that whoever does not have faith and is rebelling against Shaikh Ahmad is an apostate of the Way [Naqshbandī] (murtadd-i farīqat). Because to deny the perfect one amongst the auliya’ is to enter into apostasy, and that it is easy to pass this short life, but he who remains

14 It was Khwāja Bāqī Billāh’s custom to address his disciples as yārān, literally “friends”. For the contents of the letter see Ḥaẓrātu’l quds, vol. 2, op. cit., p. 51.
adamant on this refutation, in his last breath, will be bereft of his faith (zirā ki inkār-i [a]kamal-i auliya’ ākhil-i irtadād ast. Ammā har ki bar humān inhirāf mānaq, dam-i ākehr īmān-i o maslūb khwāhad shud).15 What is this vision that has not only forced Khwāja Tājuddīn to change his opinion of Shaikh Ahmad, but has also compelled him to advise the opposing faction at Firozābād to accept Shaikh Ahmad? Badruddīn’s readers are informed that sometime after this letter was sent, Shaikh Tāj visited Delhi. He lived in the chamber of Hājī Sālih and other murīds of Bāqī Billāh like Ja’far Beg Sānī, Ahkwund Mullā Ḥasan and Khwāja Muhammad Siddīq, requested him to explain the contents of the above letter for them. At this point in conversation with them, Shaikh Tāj explains that when he had refused to be in the service of Shaikh Ahmad, he was knocked down by the latter, and afterwards he became his follower. In this matter of submission to Shaikh Ahmad Shaikh Tāj had sought direction from the disciples of Bāqī Billāh in Delhi, but howsoever much he tried he could not get the right direction from them, until one night in utmost supplication he appeared at the dargāh of his dead Shaikh Khwāja Bāqī Billāh, and in that very condition he was carried away into ghā’ībat (invisible world).

I saw that there is a sublime assembly that the collection of most perfect auliya’ in that eminent congregation have gathered, and I also creep myself in a corner of that pure assembly. After some time one of the great ones addressed me and said, “You have refused to accept the perfect one of the times but you do not know the meaning of this that to appear discourteous and gross with the perfect one of the time is reason for spoilation of religion and negation of faith? Turn back from this denial and be sorry and repent! When this elder became silent, another one from amongst those elders (buzurgān) addressed me and rebuked me for this very thought.

15 Ibid.
To sum up, all the elders in that assembly one by one, in this manner, expressed their displeasure. I was perturbed [and thought] Lord! For who among the great ones of faith, who is the most perfect one of times, will desire animosity for me, and that I have become cause for all this criticism? Suddenly, I see that at the head of this pious assembly Miyan Shaikh Ahmad is sitting and the congregation of these elders is facing in his direction and that he is the head of this sublime assembly. What is the matter? Consequently, I got up from my place and hurriedly presented myself in his service and I fell at his feet. When he saw this I turned myself around and embraced me and bore me with great compassion. I said that, "When I was sitting amongst the friends who were slander mongers (yārān-i ghaiyab [ghā'ibatī]), I too spoke evil about you, I hope that you will forgive me". He said, "I am surprised at you, I am surprised at you, I am surprised at you, three times". With supplication and lamentation I reported that this has happened in consequence of human nature. He said, "I have pardoned". When I woke up I was repentant and appeared very humble "... And when Ḥāẓrat Ishān (Shaikh Ahmad) came to Delhi on the occasion of the death anniversary of Khwāja Bāqī Billāh, may his grave be hallowed, Shaikh Tāj... also arrived in Delhi. He welcomed Ishān (Shaikh Ahmad), met him face to face, and requested for his pardon."

Shaikh Taj experienced the vision at the dargah of his deceased Master, Khwaja Baqi Billah and, therefore, the message received in this vision carried tremendous meaning for the dissenters of Shaikh Ahmad at Sambhal and Firozabad. The narrative does not disclose the cause of disagreement between Tajuddin and Ahmad Sirhindī but in the light of the Naqshbandī hagiographical sources one can surmise that the cause was the issue of succession to the wilāyat of Baqi Billah at Firozabad which was looked after by Khwaja Husamuddin who was the jān-nishīn and tutor to the two posthumous sons of the Khwaja. In the vision the assembly of the auliya’ admonishes Shaikh Tajuddin for refusing to submit to the most perfect one of the time. They warn him that denial of such a one is cause for spoilation of faith. In the vision Tajuddin experienced great anxiety about the identity of the person who could bear him such enmity as to denude him of his faith. As Tajuddin recognizes Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindī at the head of this assembly of elders, he immediately repents for his earlier refusal to submit to him. He begs for Shaikh Ahmad’s forgiveness and goes on to blame the Firozabādis for exciting dissent and the Shaikh forgives him. The veracity of this vision is realized on the occasion of the conventional `urs gathering at the dargah of Khwaja Baqi Billah at Firozabad where Shaikh Taj comes face to face with Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindī and begs his pardon. But before the actualization of his vision, Shaikh Taj had already written a letter of its detail to Qilich Khān requesting his intercession in this matter and also warning the Firozabādis their actions were apostasy of the fariqa and will be cause for loosing their faith if they


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denied the authority of Shaikh Ahmad. When the SambHALI and the Firozabadis got together at this 'urs, Shaikh TAJ justified the contents of his letter to the Delhi branch of the Khwaja's followers by narrating the above vision to them. The vision, as it emanates from the dargah of their deceased Shaikh, had tremendous significance since its contents expressed the will of the interned.

Immediately after this narrative, Badruddin reports two visions of Shaikh Husamuddin that serve the purpose of establishing Shaikh Ahmad's hegemonic position in the affairs of the Naqshbandiya of Hindustan.17 Even the author of the Hayat-i Bajjya notes that there was some resentment that occurred between Khwaja Husamuddin and Shaikh Ahmad. But after a few days this resentment was washed away and understanding between them reached to such an extent that Khwaja Husamuddin sent his eldest son to Sirhind for bai'at and ta'lim. Badruddin accounts for the tension created at Firozabad after the arrival of Shaikh Ahmad from Sirhind in the following vision:

At the time when Hazrat Ishan [Shaikh Ahmad], may his grave be hallowed, after the death of Hazrat Khwaja [Baqi Billah], may his grave be hallowed, came to Delhi, some of the followers of Khwaja after that started repudiating discipleship. And Hazrat [Shaikh Ahmad] counselled and admonished them at length for [removing] their suspicion and doubts. When this did not have any effect, he deprived some of these of their nisbat. Again they did not pay attention and instead they flocked together and left for the illuminated grave of the Khwaja and sought the favour and protection in that place. One

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17 In the first vision Khwaja Husamuddin sees that the Prophet Muhammad is standing on a pulpit and sumonising about the qualities of Shaikh Ahmad; in another vision he saw that the disciples of Baqi Billah in Firozabad are headed for a severe crisis, and whoever drinks the water with which Shaikh Ahmad had done his wasf is relieved of that crisis. See ibid, p. 54.
who was a šāhib-i kashf in that gathering saw a vision as if each one of these darweshes has lighted a lamp. Suddenly, a dazzling flash of lightening arrived and extinguished all their lamps. And in this matter it may be understood that, do you know what are these lamps? These are the attentions of the darweshes of Fīrozābād. And who was the dazzling flash of lightening? It is the excellent attention of Ḥāzrat ʻIshān [Shaikh Ahmad]. Despite that witnessing of terrible power and high rank of Shaikh Ahmad, in this manner they probably did not pay attention to Shaikh Ahmad for any [spiritual] gain. 18

Badruddin goes on to relate that after some time when Shaikh Ţāj recommended that Shaikh Ahmad excuse that jamaʻat of their sin, then Shaikh Ahmad by virtue of his generosity forgave them. After this the Fīrozābādīs submitted to Shaikh Ahmad and sought his suhbat and faiz. As Badruddin interprets the vision the reader is not left in doubt about the purpose of this recital. One significant feature that provides legitimacy to the above visions is their occurrence at the tomb shrine of Khwāja Bāqī Bīllāh. Amongst sufis, in general, and the Naqshbandīs in particular great importance is attached to the practice of seeking guidance from the spirits of the deceased by visiting their tombs. Eventhough, in either vision the deceased does not appear himself, the message delivered

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is clear, as both visions display the superiority of Shaikh Ahmad. In the first vision, however, admonition of Shaikh Tāj by the assembled auliya’ was sufficient for securing his submission to Sirhindī. In the second vision the stubborn resistance of the Firozābādīs to Sirhindī could not be overcome through a display of latter’s attribute of power, it was the intercession of Shaikh Tāj, the first renegade, that finally resolved the issue.

The waking reality of this crisis was was, somewhat, different from the resolution offered in the world of sleep. The author of the Ḥayāt-i Bāqiya informs us that after the death of Khwāja Bāqī Billāh Shaikh Tāj left Delhi and wandered through Hindūstān and Kashmir. In the 1037/1628 one pious person (sālih) had seen him in Ḍa‘rāfāt where he was “wandering in a strange way”.

Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindī had been initiated into the Chishtī silsila by his father Shaikh `Abdu’l Ahad, a prominent scholar of the wahdat al wujūd and disciple of Shaikh Ruknuddīn the son of Shaikh `Abdu’l Quddūs of Gangoh. Shaikh Ahad had established himself a khānqah at Sirhind by the 1560s where he became engrossed in the teachings of his order. Shaikh Ahmad, despite his initiation into the Chishtiya and several visits to the Ajmer shrine of Khwāja Mu‘īnuddīn Chishti, was averse to the doctrine of wahdat al wujūd and the Chishti observance of the samā’. In fact a certain dream related by one of the Shaikh’s disciple to Badruddīn Sirhindī implicitly reveals the Naqshbandiya jealousy of the founder of the Chishtiya in Hindūstān. A devotee who was a Saiyid and known as Sālih Khudāparast told of his dream to Badruddīn Sirhindī:

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One night I saw Ḥaẓrat Khwāja Muʿīnuddīn Chishti in a vision, as if he is walking by and royal standard bearers are walking before him, and there is also an army behind him and he is walking with prestige, splendour and magnificence like kings. And I went close to him. In this moment someone said to me that, “Your forefathers were devoted to the Chishti silsila, why did you go to the Naqshbandī silsila and become a murīd of Ḥaẓrat Iṣhān [Shaikh Ahmad]? I said that, “Every place from where the dog gets a peace of bread, he sits there, [and] does not go to any other place”. That person said that, “What difference do you see between the tariqa of Ḥaẓrat Khwāja Muʿīnuddīn and Ẓaḥrater Iṣhān that you have chosen [to be in] service of Iṣhān and have averted from the pīrs of your forefathers?” I said that, “The difference between Ḥaẓrat Iṣhān and the shaikhs of the forefathers is like the difference between Ḥābiṭu’l-lāh and Kalimu’llāh, on them be peace:

*Moses was bereft of senses with a single pure ray
You beheld the Divine Essence with a smile.

Ḥaẓrat Khwāja Muʿīnuddīn, may God sanctify his secret, rebuked that person [and] said that, “Do not say anything to him because his pīr is skilled in law and for the most part keeps stability and firmness.”

The description of Khwāja Muʿīnuddīn’s regal procession is befitting his *laqab* of the ‘Ṣuṭṭānu’l Hind’ or the King of Hindūstān. As the dreamer approaches Khwāja

Musa zi hosh raft ba-yak partū’i sīffāt Tū ‘ain-i zāl mī-nigarī dar tabassumī

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Mu’inuddin a person appears and questions the dreamer about his loyalty to his forefathers who were devoted to the pīrs of Chisht. He is also curious to know the reason as to why the dreamer abandoned the Chishtī for the Naqshbandī order. The analogy cited by the dreamer as answer conveys an implicit message: just as a dog is loyal to the place (hand) that feeds it, the dreamer had chosen the Naqshbandiya and become murīd of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindī because he had acquired spiritual gain from them and not from the Chishtiya. Finally, the difference between the methods of the two tarīqas is explained in terms of contrast between the personalities of Moses and Muhammad. Although, in the Islamic prophetology Moses is one of the prophet’s who was incharge of unveiling the Law, he was denied the vision of God and could communicate with Him only through speech. When God became manifest to him in a flash of lightening he could not bear the sight of it and became unconscious. In contrast to Moses’ experience, Muhammad beheld the Divine vision in his mystical ascent and the Quran was revealed to him because he was the friend (habīb) of God. The dreamer, thus alludes to this difference between Kalīmu’llāh and Ḥabību’llāh as a point of reference to explain the contrast between the Chishtiya and the Naqshbandiya ways respectively. While the Chishtiya may communicate through speech with God, it was only the Naqshbandiya who could experience His vision. To this extent the Naqshbandiya were the true heirs to the Prophet.

The final admonition of the dreamer’s interrogator by Khwāja Mu’inuddin Chishti

*Hagrat Khwāja Mu’inuddin quddisa sirrhu ba-ān shakhs khūtah ba’itāb kardā farrānd dī kū “O rū hīch ma-go kī pīr-i wai bīyār muttashari’ ast wā ba-ghayyātu’l ghāyat rasūkh wā istiqāmat dārad”. See ibid, p. 65; Appendix III/6 for Persian text.*
supports this claim as the Khwāja warns him about the firmness of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindī in matter of the shari‘. From this vision that dates from the first quarter of the seventeenth century, may one conjecture that it represents the Naqshbandī takeover of the Chishtī ascendance of Hindūstān which was predominant in the days of the dreamer’s ancestors?

III

Istikhāra

The practice of istikhāra had a specific significance for the sufis and in the case of the Naqshbandiya it forms a part of their spiritual training process. It has also been observed that an istikhāra is not necessarily performed for the purpose of dreaming a cure. Often the intention to seek divine guidance is sought in matters where the dreamer doubts the efficacy of his action, or has to make a choice between alternate solutions to a problem.

In the Laṭā‘îf-i Quddūsī there is a dream narrative recorded by an Indo-Afghān soldier, Dattū Sarvānī, a murīd of the Chishtī Shaikh ‘Abdu’l Quddūs Gangohī (d. A. D. 1537), that nears the practice of incubation as defined in the Mediterranean world. In the language of anthropologists this dream may be classified as a variant of the ‘pathogenic dream’, that is a dream that causes an illness. More specifically, in this case as the illness of the dreamer precedes the dream, therefore, it will be identified as ‘symptomatic’ or
Nevertheless, there are various features about this dream that reveal significance other than the pathogenic one. The narrative is rather long but is an interesting description of Dattū’s faith in his pīr and the latter’s influence over Dattū. Dattū records his dream as follows:

By God’s will there was a sore on the leg of this servant [writer] the size of a hand from a disease that is called bahṛṭ.21 I did not know how to stick a needle and the pain did not avert, and to relieve me of this affliction, the physicians gave me hartāl, which they prepared, to eat for twenty one days. When I had taken it for eight or nine days, by the grace of God improvement was apparent and the sore was healed.

I went to the mosque and performed the mid-day prayers with the congregation, and after completing the afternoon prayers, the pious were relating stories among themselves. I was also sitting there with my eyes shut and listening to their stories. Suddenly, I lost consciousness, and he to whom I am devoted, my pīr and helper appeared with two other men. Pīr and helper said, “Dattū, you have eaten enough hartāl and it has benefitted you, do not eat more for it will harm you, and a great difficulty will befall you.” It occurred to me that the hartāl had done me good, what harm could it do to me? Then those two men said to Ḥaẓrat, the pole of the time, [my] pīr and helper “This person is going to take the hartāl. He will not refrain from taking the hartāl and will regret it. At that time he will know the value of our words.” After that I opened my eyes and thought, “What was this vision? Although it has done me good I will not eat more.”

By the will of God, I was so negligent that I forgot what Ḥaẓrat Qutḥ bī had said. When fate comes, the eyes are blinded. I forgot and again in the morning I took hartāl. When fifteen days had passed stiffness and heaviness appeared in my hands and feet. When twenty days had passed it was difficult to move my hands and feet, and various kinds of pain occurred and I suffered agony and was near death. Then I remembered the

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20 For pathogenic dream see George Devereux, “Pathogenic Dreams in Non-Western Societies” in The Dream and Human Societies, pp. 213-228.

21 The text has “bahṛṭ” and this according to Simon Digby should be read as naharwa or guinea worm according to Platt’s Urdu Dictionary. In Dattū’s anecdote the worm is drawn out by being wound by a needle, a little everyday. The word used for sore is ‘sun’ in Hindi.
words of Ḥaẓrat Ḥuṭbī that during this time had not come to [my mind] for a single moment. I was very feeble, to the extent that for three years I could not drink water or feed myself with my own hands, and all my limbs lost their co-ordination. I became like a corpse.

One night, I lost consciousness, and people were making a noise and shaking me, yet I knew nothing. Suddenly I saw that someone was carrying me away, and the path ahead was narrow and dark and frightening. I was very scared. There was a white haired old woman sitting in that place. That woman asked me “Why have you come to this place?” I said, “Where is this place?” She said, “This is the road to the invisible world. Dattū turn back from here. Go!”

Then with great difficulty I went back a few paces. Suddenly two terrible men appeared. On the sight of them my turban fell off my head on the ground. They ran to seize the turban, and the turban started dancing round and round me. I stood there bare headed and astonished. I looked at the turban and I looked at those men. Suddenly, in that place Ḥaẓrat Ḥuṭbī appeared and said that “Dattū, seize your turban, and do not let them have it”. I said, “The turban is whirling around faster and they are also running faster after the turban. How will it come into my hand?” He said, “When the turban comes before you, attack it and seize it”. I did so. The turban came into my hand and they also sprang on it and the turban did not come into their hand. Then Ḥaẓrat Ḥuṭbī said, “Put the turban on your head”. I put it on, and I collected my scattered wits. He again said, “Do not be concerned, it has become well”. And he indicated a direction that I should go. I went that way. Suddenly I saw that the ground was level and in this place there were several encampments. I asked, “Whose army and camp are these?” They said, “This is the world”.

After this unconsciousness I returned to consciousness. I saw women and men were weeping. I said, “Why are you weeping? With the help and intercession of Ḥaẓrat Ḥuṭbī, God has spared me”. After this, when the illness had lasted for five years and I was very feeble, Ḥaẓrat Ḥuṭbī suddenly appeared in a dream and said, “I had forbidden you to eat hartāl, and you did not obey me”. I said, “When Fate comes, the eyes are blinded”. My condition changed and I was very sorry. He again said, “Do not worry. You
ساخته‌ی ایل از میزان کربن خورده باشد و به طرف دانسته کنند که در جهانی نیستند و در دادن

۲۲ بقا‌وا: ایل از میزان کربن خورده باشد و به طرف دانسته کنند که در جهانی نیستند و در دادن

لیفت ویل ایل ویل خواهد شد و با کمش مشکی پخش خواهد شد. دار خانم، گرفتم‌ها و

ساخته‌ی ایل از میزان کربن خورده باشد و به طرف دانسته کنند که در جهانی نیستند و در دادن

با بعد قرار گرفت و در نکته‌ی شعم، این تازه خواهد شد. دار خانم، گرفتم‌ها و

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در این مورد، گرفتم‌ها و
In the narrative, the circumstance of the vision is caused by Dattū Sarvānī’s ailment, and as the vision occurs in a mosque after Dattū performed the noonday prayers, it appears to be somewhat similar to the practice of incubation. However, in this case the visionary does not seek an oracle of any deity as such, but as was customary with him he received the guidance of his pīr in physical absentia through dream-visions. Thus, Dattū is instructed by his pīr `Abdu’l Quddūs Gangohī to stop taking orpiment as further usage of it would harm him. In this episode Dattū’s fate is predicted in dream by the two men who accompany Ḥaẓrat Quṭbī. And as stated by them Dattū’s negligence of his pīr’s advice brings him close to death. The vision is interspersed by waking consciousness of the dreamer when he analyzes the consequence of disregarding the instruction of his pīr.

The second dream in this narrative is a corollary to the first vision. As a repercussion of Dattū’s disregard of his Shaikh’s advice, he is shown the vision of his own death. This is an example of lucid dreaming as the dreamer is clearly aware of the fact that he is dreaming and this is expressed in the following phrases: I saw that someone is carrying me away, and the way ahead was narrow, and dark and frightening; the old woman in dream told Dattū “This is the road to the unseen world”; and finally the two men of terrible appearance who represent, Munkir and Nakīr, the angels of death. The appearance of Ḥaẓrat Quṭbī in this dream as Dattū’s intercessor who saves him from death, displays the benevolence exercised by medieval pīrs in the affairs of their murīds. The final denouement of the narrative is marked by the occurrence of a third dream in

See Shaikh Ruknuddin’s Laṭā’if-i Quddusi, Delhi: Matbu’ Mujtaba’i, A. H. 1311, latifa 102, pp. 84-85;
which ʿAbduʾl Quddūs Gangohī admonishes Dattū for disobeying his instruction in the matter of his health.

Mīr Muhammad Hāshim Sirhindī, the compiler of the Malfūqāt-i Saiyid Ḥasan Rasūlnumā reports that it was the practice of his Shaikh, Saiyid Ḥasan, an Uwaisī sufi whose dreams and visions have been discussed in the Chapter VI below, to give instruction in istikhāra to those who were in doubt about undertaking some work. Initially, Muhammad Hāshim does not describe the method of istikhāra, or the specific prayer that was customary to his Shaikh in this affair, but informs us that his Shaikh was instructed to recite a special name of God that may be used as an invocation (duʿāʾ). The number of times this invocation was to be repeated differed in case of each person. The Shaikh recommended sixty, or one hundred and sixty, or three hundred and sixty, but often three hundred repetitions of this invocation. Hāshim refrains from disclosing this secret name but confesses to have witnessed its effect several times, and submits only an atom of this secret in writing when he goes on to relate the following episode.

One of my sons, Amīruddīn, was afflicted with a severe illness. No treatment worked on him. One night a thought came to this faqīr [Muhammad Hāshim] that for investigating this illness he should recite the istikhāra. He recited it a few times and went off to sleep (bakhwāb raft). He saw that he is standing in a lane and one elder (buzurgī) who was sitting on a stringbed (chahārpaṭā) came flying through the air in that lane where the faqīr was standing. That chahārpaṭā came down. The faqīr paid his respect and appealed about the condition of that son. He alighted from that chahārpaṭā and said, “Come with me.” When we had walked a little another friend came forward who was built like Ḥazrat Murshid [Saiyid Ḥasan]. Moreover, he resembled him. He was wearing a linen cloth that

Appendix III/7 for Persian text.
covered him from navel till below his knees. That friend, the flying man (sāhib-i tayarān) said to this faqīr “Pay your respect to him [the second figure who resembled Ḥaḍrat Murshid]”. This faqīr saluted him and extended both his hands for a handshake and they reached his right knee. He too extended his hand. That friend who sat on the chahārpāya presented himself in service [of the second buzurg who is addressed with honour as “Īshān” lit. them] and said “This man petitions for that child”. He said, “I will represent it”. That same friend, the flying man, again said to this jaqfr, “He (Īshān) is from amongst the abdāls (singular badal, lit. substitute; a group amongst the auliya’ allāh) and his name is Muhammad Ḥāzīr”. When I woke up I felt sorry for not having desired the ultimate goal from that buzurg. In the morning I related the entire incident in the revered presence and sublime company [of Saiyid Ḥasan] and also expressed my lament. He said, “It is cause for regret that on seeing such a person one does not desire for ultimate goal”. From that very day that child recovered. That du’ā is Bismillāh al rahmān al rahīm.\(^{23}\)

\(^{23}\) The above dream narrative has been translated from a copy of the Persian original manuscript of the Malfīżat-i Saiyyid Ḥasan Rasūlnamā compiled by Mīr Muhammad Ḥāshim. I have consulted the microfilm (IllS No. 52 preserved in the Jamia Hamdard Library, New Delhi) of a copy of this manuscript which is dated 28 Rabī’u‘l Sānī A.H. 1300 by its copyist Saiyid Muḥammad Niẓāmuddīn Ḥanafī Naqshbandī Hāpurī. The text of the Malfīżat comprises of two volumes containing 333 pages, primarily 14 lines a page, segmented into 15 chapters — each called a fā’īlh. This dream is recorded at the end of the fourth fā’īlh that relates the litanies and prayers of Saiyid Ḥasan, cf. idem vol. I/45-46; and the Urdu translation of Muhammad ‘Umar called Manāqib al Saiyid Ḥasan Rasūlnamā (henceforth Manāqib), Karachi: Mīr Muḥammad Ḥāshim relates:
Mîr Muhammad Hâshim recited the formula taught to him by his Shaikh and went of to sleep and in this state of absence from the waking world he saw a dream. Throughout the dream he is preoccupied with the thought of his ailing son Amîruddîn. The first person the dreamer encounters in his vision is an angelic being, a šâhib-i tayarân or a flying man, to whom the dreamer petitions for his son's health. The šâhib-i tayarân then takes Mîr Muhammad to someone who resembles his Shaikh. Here the dreamer reflects consciousness of the fact that he is dreaming and in his state of sleep he compares and acknowledges the physical resemblance between the visionary apparition and his pîr Saiyid Ḥasan. The šâhib-i tayarân informs the dreamer about status of the second apparition as one amongst the abdâls in the spiritual hierarchy of auliyâ' allâh and mentions his name as “Muhammad Ḥâzir”. This name is significant as it means someone who is present before the Prophet Muhammad. As the šâhib-i tayarân presents the dreamer’s supplication to ‘Muhammad Ḥâzir’ the latter’s response is “I will represent it”, in other words he will act as intercessor before the Prophet for securing an answer to the supplication of Mîr Muhammad. When this dream is viewed within the context of the biographical notice of Saiyid Ḥasan ‘Rasûlnumâ’, who experienced the vision of the Prophet at will, his dream name ‘Muhammad Ḥâzir’ acquires a special significance. The dreamer witnesses the intercessory function of his pîr in his sleep, the affect of which is felt in the recovery of his son.

*shud. Ān  du ā’ inast – Bismillâh al rahmân al rahîm. Malfûzât 1/45-46; Manâqib, pp. 116-117; see Appendix III/8 for the Persian text.*

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Further, Mîr Muhammad’s regret over missing an opportunity in his dream for securing the highest spiritual goal through the intercession of his apparition and the reprimand of Saiyid Ḥasan is an indication of a strain in relationship between the pîr and murîd as is detailed elsewhere in the malfûḏät. Despite his long association of over thirteen years with his Shaikh, Muhammad Hāshim had failed to secure the ultimate spiritual goal from his pîr.24 The reason for this was Muhammad Hāshim’s engrossment in worldly matters, an attitude that is contrary to material detachment desired for spiritual training. In the above mentioned dream Hāshim once again misses the opportunity for acquiring spiritual gain on account of his preoccupation with family ties.

The cause for istikhāra and the dream was Amīrūddīn’s illness. In the final sequence of the narrative the Muhammad Hāshim on waking visits his Shaikh and relates his vision to him. From that very day, the dreamer informs us, his son recovers. To the reader or the listener of this narrative it is evident that in the dream ‘Muhammad Ḥāẓir’ petitioned with the Prophet on behalf of Muhammad Hāshim; and in reality it is Saiyid Ḥasan ‘Rasūlumnâ’ who has affected the cure of Amīrūddīn in a dream which was seen after a special prayer, formulated by him, but which was recited by the dreamer with the intention of securing an answer to his problem.

Although the narrator had initially refused disclosure of this special formulaic prayer, at the end of his dream he states the procedure for istikhāra.

24 Ibid, pp. 82 & 83. There is a reference here to Muhammad Hāshim’s attempt to secure a position with Ṭālbul Mulk the sūbahdâr of Delhi. The Shaikh’s miraculous intervention is responsible for Hāshim’s inappropriate behaviour before a gathering. This ensures Hāshim’s dismissal from the favour of the sūbahdâr.
After the namāz-i ʿishā (evening prayer) keep the head in the north direction and the face turned in the direction of the Kaʿba, and the right hand under the head, with waqū go to sleep. After this do not talk to anyone. And it is better to sleep on the floor. And if before the attainment of the desired goal, if you are engaged in some other work, then again go to sleep in this manner for three days before that which is desired becomes apparent [in sleep], and God knows best.²⁵

Unfortunately, for the researcher, detailed information on spiritual practices of the Indian Naqshbandiya is scant. This could be on account of non-extant records, or due to the fact that such practices were not disseminated in written form but passed from master to the disciple as part of an initiatory tradition. And even if these were written, information about them lies scattered in the malfūz or maktūbāt of the shaikhs. I have found some mention of the Naqshbandiya use of istīkhāra in the notices of Khwāja Bāqī Billāh, the earliest being the Kalimāt-i tāyiʿībāt, a collection of his discourses, where it is mentioned that istīkhāra was used in the initial stage of training students by the Khwāja.²⁶

In fact, at several points in his spiritual career Bāqī Billāh recoursed to istīkhāra for

²⁵ The method has been described as such: Baʿd az namāz-i ʿishā sar-i khwād rā bājānīb-i shumāl namūda wa rā rā muḥājī ʿi kāba karda wa dast-i rāst rā dar zīr shaqīq...rāst nīhāda, ba-waqū baḥkhwāb rawād. Baʿd az ān kālām nakunad wa awal ānast ki bar zamīn baḥkhwābad. Wa agar basabāb-i ʿithāyāqī qabī az ānki maʿal kār rā bābīnād bākārī mashghūl shawād, baʿd az sar-i nau baḥkhwānd ghālib ānast ki az sīh roz pesh anjam narawād ki ānchi maqṣūd bāshad banumāyand wa Allāh aʿlam biʿl sawāb. Ibid, p. 46; see Appendix III/9 for Persian text.

²⁶ For details see Kalimāt-i tāyiʿībāt a collection of Khwāja Bāqī Billāh’s discourses by an anonymous attendant of his assemblies. Initially the Khwāja denied permission to the compiler for recording these, but later on the recommendation of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindī, who was visiting the Khwāja in the month of Ramzan in A.H. 1009, he conceded on the condition that whatever concerns the ṭarīqa must be written about but the stories (hakāyāt) and practices (maʿālāt) that the mashāikh mention must not be incorporated and it should not look like dukāndārī (flattering). The compilation records discourses from 1⁴ Safar A.H. 1009 to 2⁵th Jamadi al ʿakhir A.H. 1012. The compiler has then written two sections (faṣl) one about the conduct of the Khwāja in matters of personal religion and his interaction with the society; the second faṣl is about the ʿalābāt-i tarīqa or his students. To occupy the student in the beginning Khwāja Bāqī Billāh ordered an istīkhāra, then he would summon them into khalwat (isolation) and instruct them into one of the several ashghūl (spiritual practices) of the Naqshbandiya, see Kalimāt-i tāyiʿībāt, Delhi: Afzal al Mutabaʾ, A.H. 1332, pp. 86-88.
seeking divine guidance. After the Khwāja had secured bai‘at and musāfaha with Maulānā Amkanagī (d. A.H. 1600 in Bukhāra), the latter instructed him to go to Hindūstān to nurture the sappling of the Naqshbandiya in that land. Bāqī Billāh was reluctant to leave his teacher but even the istikhāra matched the advice of the Maulānā. I have found the mention of this episode in two Naqshbandī sources, one is the anonymous biography of the Khwāja called the Ḥayāt-i Bāqiya27 and the other work is Badrūddin Sirhindī’s Ḥaẓratū’l quds. The following narrative is cited from the latter source and is mentioned in the biographical notice of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindī. The plural noun and verbal ending in the Persian original text is respectful form of address for individual shaikhs.

The Pole of Mystics Khwāja Bāqī Billāh, May his grave be hallowed, said our dignified master Maulānā Khwajagī Amkanagī instructed me, “Go to Hind so that this noble silsila acquires custom from you”. I did not see the suitability of submission to this circumstance. He ordered an istikhāra [and] I did the istikhāra, in the istikhāra I saw that a singing she parrot is sitting on top of a branch and I wished that if this she parrot flies from that branch and sits on my hand then I will be successful in this journey. At the mere occurrence of this thought that parrot took flight and sat on my hand and I took its beak into my mouth and [sucked] I tasted its saliva, it sang. The second time I took its beak into my mouth it scattered sugar in my mouth. I interpreted this vision thus that because the parrot is from the birds of Hindīstān, a dear one from Hind will join me and speak of gnosis, reality and secrets and I shall also arrive at gain from him. I presented this vision and its interpretation in the service of the Maulānā. The Maulānā said the interpretation of this vision is that it has found a way for you. For long the elders have awaited the arrival of that dear one, make haste and find him. Know that elder will take flight from your skirt. Ḥaẓrat Khwāja [Bāqī Billāh], may his secret be sanctified, after

completing this speech addressed himself to the *Qutb al aqtab* [Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi] and said that I understand this vision to be an indication and prediction of association with you. Finally the auspicious interpretation of Ḥaẓrat Khwāja has come to pass. 28

Unlike the other *istikhāra* type dreams where the purpose was to secure relief from ailment, this *istikhāra* was meant for receiving a divine indication for appropriate action in the affair of Bāqī Billāh. This is a coded message dream that has been decoded with reference to the contextual features, relating in particular to the identity and the existential situation of the dreamer. The dream vision of Bāqī Billāh clearly foretells about his destiny in Hindūstān and his association with Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindī. In the text this dream is related by Bāqī Billāh before Shaikh Ahmad and he admits that the interpretation of his vision is actualized in their meeting. Clearly there is continuity between the sleeping and waking states. The dreamer discovered the subject of his dream in the world of waking reality. Here significance is also attached to the placement of the

dream. Since the dream dreamt by the master, whose notice is available in the first “
'hazrat’ of Badruddin’s taqkira, is related in the notice of the disciple, in the third
“hazrat”, it acquires an ‘objectified’ nature. The compiler, therefore, presents it as part of
data that contains pronouncements of spiritual ascendance of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhind\ before his birth and afterwards.

Finally, the imagery of the parrot messenger has tremendous significance for
understanding the cultural ethos of the late sixteenth century Muslim society in Northern
India. Some of the earliest records of dreams and visions from the Central Asian lands
have reference to animals, which are interpreted as representations of human beings
moral qualities. Such representations are frequently referred to in the case of the
Kubrawiya in Central Asia and in its Indian counterpart of the Firdausiya.29 Even
amongst the Naqshbandiya of this region one often comes across metaphoric
representation of master-disciple relationship in visionary experience where bird or
animal figures are symbolically interpreted.30 These interpretations are typical of the
method of Muslim oneirocritics as has been mentioned in the previous Chapter. To this
extent appearance of the parrot in Bāqī Billāh’s dream is not a unique feature; what is
peculiar is its changed symbolic meaning. In the Muslim oneiric tradition a parrot would

29 Cf. Fritz Meier, “An Exchange of Letters Between Sharaf Al-Din-I-Balkhi And Majd Al-
Din-I Baghdadi”, op. cit; For the Firdawsiya see Zain Badr ‘Arabi, Khwān-i pur ni’mat, translated into English
by paul Jackson as Khwān-i Pur Ni’mat (A Table Laden with Good Things), Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i
Delli, 1986, pp. 53 & 54.
30 For example Khwāja Mahmūd Anjīr Fagh nawī is represented as a big white hen in a vision that is
witnessed by Khwāja ‘Ali Rāmītanī and his disciples in a gikr session in the village of Anjīr Fagh nawī near
Bukhāra, see Rashāhār, p. 34.
be identified with the qualities attributed to him in popular belief. Thus it represents an unlucky and lying man; philosopher; servant; or orphan. But at the same time the use of the 'fīfi as a messenger is an adaptation from the Indian imagery of the parrot as messenger in the classical tradition of “messenger poems” (sandēśa kāvyā). In the Khwāja's dream the parrot is a singing/speaking bird (goya 'fīfī) that is capable of speech and it sings to convey to the dreamer that he must leave for Hindūstān where he will meet a dear one ('azīzi). The second time when the Khwāja took its beak in his mouth, the parrot put sugar in his mouth, the sugar being symbolic of sweetness of gnosis that he will receive from the Hindi friend. An appropriate Persian verse describing this situation has been cited in the notice of the Khwāja in the first (daftar) of the Ḥāẓrāt'u l quds and is also repeated by the author of the Ḥayāt-i Bāqīya.

Even if the early texts of the Naqshbandiya are silent about details of how the īstikhāra was actually practiced, we get a detailed description of it from a nineteenth century work compiled by a khalīfā of Mīrzā Maẓhar Jān-i jānān (assassinated

31 While the parrot is not a reliable bird, it is the pigeon that acts as faithful messenger, friend and companion in the Islamic oneric tradition. See Joseph De Somogyi, “The Interpretation of Dreams in Ad-Damiri’s Ḥayāt Al-Hayawān” in JRAS, vol. 1/11 (1940), pp. 4 & 6.
32 The “messenger poems” or sandāśa-kāvyā in which the protagonist/speaker sends someone or something with a message of love to his distant beloved. The classical prototype for the entire class is Kalidasa's Megha-duta (“The Cloud Messenger”), in which, as the name indicates, the likely envoy is a cloud. Other candidates for such mission include birds, bees, the moon, the wind, and so on. In the Sūka-sandesā (“The Parrot Messenger”) of Laksmidasa, a Sanskrit poem of 164 ornate verses composed in Kerala, apparently in the thirteenth century, the messenger is a parrot and the mission is framed by a dream. Cf. David Shulman, “Dreaming the Self in South India” in Dream Cultures. Explorations in the Comparative History of Dreaming eds David Shulman and Guy G. Stroumsa, New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 67-71.
33 Ḥāẓrāt'u l quds (Urdu text), vol. I, p. 271.
34 The verse is as follows: Shakar shikan shawand hama 'fīfān-i Hind; zin qand pārsī ki ba-Bangāla mīrrawad. (Melodious will be the birds of Hind; with the candy of Persia going to Bengal). This is a
1195/1781). The *Ma‘mulat-i Ma‘zhariya* of Na‘imu’llah Bahra‘ichi (b. 1153/1740, d. 1218/1803-4), is a Naqshbandi treatise, which is unique in its hagiographical treatment of Mirzā Ma‘zhār and the inclusion of his letters to prominent disciples. Na‘imu’llah Bahra‘ichi instructs the reader about the purpose and scope of *istikhāra* in a special section entitled “Zikr tariqa kaifiyat-i salāt al-istikhāra” (“On mention of the method of supplication for *istikhāra*”). The sufi begins with a warning that by no means should any work be undertaken without *istikhāra* whether in journey or in station, in fact *istikhāra* should be performed at every station of travel. It is said that the seeker of the mystic path should perform *istikhāra* before he undertakes any action. If it is not convenient to perform two rak‘at of namāz-i *istikhāra* then one should be content with *du‘a*.  

IV

**Environment specific dreams and conversion**

In the previous chapter I have mentioned about one of the basic features of Islamic dream tradition according to which the dream phenomena is responsive to change in the

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36 The *Ma‘mulat-i Ma‘zhariya* is said to have initiated the *ma‘mulat* genre of Naqshbandi sufi literature explicating both reformist notions of sufi practice and traditional Naqshbandi practices. The name of the genre is related to the words ‘*amāliyat* and ‘*imāl* both having the meaning of “causing to act” or “making something work”, which technically covers a variety of “spiritual prescriptions” often containing Quranic verses used by Muslims to solve problems such as averting evil and curing diseases. For a specialist study of the *ma‘mulat* texts as works of Muslim reformist tradition in India cf. Arthur F. Buehler, *Sufi Heirs Of The Prophet. The Indian Naqshbandiyya and the Rise of the Mediating Sufi Shaykh*, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998, pp. 234-240.

environment of the dreamer. Modern day anthropological and sociological studies of the dream treat the dream as a screen on which the events of daily life of the dreamer are projected.\(^{38}\) Eventhough the epistemological basis of this study is essentially cultural, it derives from these social sciences their analysis that is helpful in understanding certain types of sufi dream narratives that one comes across in the medieval texts. A particular type of sufi dream from the subcontinent is in which figures of Hindū gods and goddesses appear in the visions of sufis. At an initial glance it may be said that such dreams represent Muslim-Hindū rapprochement for which the sufis had always been striving. But such an interpretation, to my mind, is symptomatic of projecting contemporary concerns of Indian society into the past.\(^{39}\) Keeping in mind that a dream has to be interpreted within the given context of its narrative the happy idea of rapprochement may actually be reductive of the complexities of the narrative itself.

Prince Dārā Shukoh (A.D. 1024/1613-1069/1659) the heir apparent of Shāhjahān was a disciple of the Qādirī sufis Miyān Mīr and Mullā Shāh Badakhšī. Dārā’s eclectic bent of mind had inspired him to undertake Persian translations of several Sanskrit texts of religious and philosophical nature. One such work was the *Yogavasishtha* that has been regarded with the *Upanisads* and the *Bhagavad-gītā* as an equally authoritative

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\(^{39}\) Carl Ernst has well illustrated, three competing historiographical schools – the British, the Muslim, and the Hindū – with three distinct agendas, has provided us with a diversity of interpretations for the significance of India’s past in terms of modern social and political concerns. See his *Eternal Garden: Mysticism, History, and Politics at a Sufi Center*, Albany: SUNY Press, 1992, Chapter 2.
exposition of the *Vedānta* doctrine. Although Nizām Pānīpatī with the help of Sanskrit-knowing pandits had translated an abridged version of this text into Persian at the instance of Jahāngīr, but it did not meet the approval of Dārā Shukoh and he ordered a fresh translation of the same.\(^{40}\) In the medieval Muslim world a dream was often the cause for literary compilations, and to this extent, Dārā’s experience is not unique.\(^{41}\) Some of his own writings like the *Sakīnatu’l auliya’* (A. H. 1052), and *Risāla’i Ḥaqnumā* (A. H. 1056) were also inspired by dreams.\(^{42}\) In each of these cases the dreamer experienced an audition or vision expressive of a motif from the Islamic cosmology.

What is novel to Dārā’s dream in this particular case is the appearance of figures from Hindū mythology, and his interpretation of the dream that indicates Muslim acceptance of

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\(^{40}\) The original *Yogavasistha* comprised of sixty thousand verses that were divided into six books (*prākarans*) that deal with various aspects of philosophy. The work was abridged by Abhinanda, a Gauda Brahman pandit of Kashmīr somewhere around the ninth century and called it *Laghu Yogavasistha*, or the short *Yogavasistha* which comprised of six thousand stanzas. The earliest Persian translation of the work was based on this abridged version and Dārā produced a revised version of this translation.

\(^{41}\) In the case of Medieval India the following examples may be referred to: i. The famous Persian poet Nizami exhorts Isami (A. H. 1349-50) to compile his historical work later known as the *Futūḥ us salātīn*, see Peter Hardy, *The Historians of Medieval India*, London: Luzac and Company, 1960, p. 95; Ilāhdīyah, the compiler of a Chishtī *taḳīra* the *Sīyār al-aqūb* wrote a fair version of his *taḳīra* after Shaikh Mu’īnuddin Chishti appeared to him in a vision when he was on his way to Kabul, see *idem*, *Lahīnā*; Munshī Nawāl Khishore, 1913, pp. 251; Shāh Ghūlām ‘All, compiler of the *Maqāmāt-i Mazhārī* had a doubt in his mind regarding the approval of his compilation by Mīrza Mażhar Jān-i jānān. Shāh Ghūlām ‘All’s anxiety was put to rest when the Mīrza appeared to him in a vision, in which Maulwī Na‘īmulāḥ Bahar’a’ichi was also present, and granted him permission for the same and read the *fāṭīha* for him. See *Maqāmāt-i Mazhārī*, p. 3.

\(^{42}\) Dārā has explicitly recorded his dreams in introductions to these works. In the *Sakīnatu’l ārifīn* he records: On a Thursday when I was twenty five years of age, I was sleeping and heard the voice from the unseen which repeated four times that “None of the kings on the face of this earth possess that thing which God most exalted has granted to you.” When I woke up I said to myself that this is undoubtedly a fortune from the heaven. {Roz-i panjshamba dar sīn-i bīst u panji sālagī dar khwāb būdām ki hātīfī āviz dād wa chahār bā-takrār gūf ki ānchi ba-hīch az pādshāh ruy’ī zamīn muvassar nashuda, ān rā khwādy ta’alā bā-tū dād. Ba’īd az hīdār shudan ba-khwud guftam ki in chiniī sā’ādat al-battā ‘īrfān khwāhād būd.} See *idem* edited by Ṭārā Chand and S. M. J. Na’īnī, Tehran: Mu’assasah Matbu’at-i Ḥilmī, 1965, pp. 5-6; For Dārā’s dream in which he was inspired that the path of reaching God is through the Qādirī discipline and he was commanded to write a pamphlet to help those in search of god. See his *Risāla’i*
Hindu motifs as auspicious symbols. In the introduction to his revised translation, Dārā records a dream in which Vasishta and Ramchandra appear to him. He notes that:

I had studied translation of selected passages of this book (Jogabasishta) by Shaikh Sufi, one night I saw two elders of the same appearance in a vision, one was tall in height and the other was a little less in height and behind him. Know that he who stood higher is Bashist and the other Ram Chandar. The difference that I saw in the appearance of these two elders was in this measure that Bashist had grey hair and Ram Chandar did not have white hair. As I had profitted in abundance from the study of the excellent book, I was drawn to Basishta and with respect and humility brought them to that place. Bashist showed extreme kindness, patted my back and said that, “O Ram Chandar, this one [Dārā Shukoh] is a remarkable seeker of truth, embrace him”. Ram Chandar in exuberance of love took me in his arms. After that Bashist gave sweets in Ram Chandar’s hand so that he feeds me. I ate those sweets. After seeing this vision the desire to renew the translation was intensified.43

The circumstance of the dream is inspired by the dreamer’s involvement with the study of a Persian translation of the Yogavasishtha. This familiarity with the text enables Dārā Shukoh to identify the two figures in his vision as the principal protagonists in the text - Vasishta and Ramchandra. The manner of their appearance in this vision is descriptive of the nature of their


relationship. Vasishtha as the teacher of Ramchandra,\textsuperscript{44} is seen standing at a higher level than his
disciple, Ram, who is at a lower level and is placed behind him. Dərə’s desire to re-translate the
text is endorsed by the actions of Vasishtha who pats him on the back, introduces him as “a
sincere seeker of truth” to Ramchandra, and asks the latter to embrace the visionary. The final
ratification of Dərə’s intention is symbolically expressed in his consuming sweets passed to him
by Vasishtha through Ramchandra. The vision strengthened Dərə’s desire to undertake a fresh
translation of the \textit{Yogavasishtha}. At a glance this dream is a perfect representation of Dərə’s
eclectic attitude towards religions other than Islam, and his genuine desire for translating the
Sanskrit version of the \textit{Yogvasishtha}.

Mīrzā Maẓhar Jān-i jānān displayed a different attitude from the established norm
of his \textit{ṣaḥīqa} in interpreting a dream. One of the Mujaddidī Shaikhs from whose
companionship (\textit{ṣuḥbat}) he had benifitted was Hājī Muhammad Afāl. In one of the
assemblies of this Shaikh a person came to him and related a dream that has been noted
by Shāh Ghulām ʿAlī in his \textit{Maqāmāt-i Maẓhari}. Although the dream itself is brief, what
elaborates the narrative is the response of those attendants of Hājī Afāl’s assembly who
attempt an interpretation of this dream. Interestingly, two diametrically opposing
interpretations are given for the same dream that reflect on the complexity of situation
arrising from the encounter between two cultural traditions in the eighteenth century
India. Shāh Ghulām ʿAlī reports:

One day a person presented himself before Ḳishān (Ḥaẓrat Muhammad Hājī Afāl) and
said, “I have seen a forest in a dream that is full of fire. Kishan (Krishan) is in the fire

\textsuperscript{44} In the text he is referred to as one amongst the perfect knowers of that time and teacher of Ramchandra
and Ram Chandar is outside this fire.” One person interpreted that dream and said, “Kishan and Ram Chandar, who are amongst the great men of the infidels (kuffar), are tormented in the fire of Hell.” I [Mirzā Mażhar] said, “This dream has another interpretation. It is not lawful to give a pronouncement of infidelity for a person, from amongst the past appointed ones, about whom the shari’ is silent. The Book and the sunnat (custom of the Prophet) are silent about the circumstance of these two [Krishan and Râmchandra]. And according to the Quranic verse “In every community there has been someone to create fear of God”, it is evident that even in this group [of Hindus] there has been a messenger and admonisher. In this condition it is conjectured that they may be wali (friend of God) or nabī (prophet). In the beginning of creation Ram Chandar was born as a jin (angel, demon, spirit). In that time there was longevity and much strength, and he trained the people according to the attribute of sulāk. And Kishan is the last amongst these elders. And in that time, in comparison to before, life span was short and strength was weak. He instructed the people of his day according to the attribute of jażb. Song and music that is recounted from him is proof that its pleasure and desire is for the attribute of jażb. Then the overflowings of the attributes of ishq and muḥabbat appear in the form of jungle fire. Kishan who was immersed in the quality of muḥabbat was shown inside the fire. And Ram Chandar, who had the way of sulāk, was shown by its side.” And God knows best.45

The first interpretation given by one of the members of Hajī Afżal’s assembly declared Rām and Krishan as infidels and justified their being burnt in the fire of Hell as an appropriate punishment for their infidelity. The second interpretation offered by Mīrzā Mażhar has often been cited as an example of his sympathetic response to Hindūism.46 But, in the opinion of a Pakistani scholar Iqbāl Mujaddidī, Mīrzā’s Mażhar’s interpretation of Hindūism has been stretched a bit too far along the Hindū-Muslim concord and unity track which is based on an erroneous and incomplete understanding of the Mīrzā’s writings.47 My own understanding of the given interpretations of this dream is different from the assessment of modern scholarship that has been guided by contemporary concerns.

Unfortunately, the compiler of the Maqāmāt-i Mażhari has not defined the identity of the dreamer. Given the context of Hajī Afżal’s assembly, one can only conjecture that the dreamer is a Muslim, most probably a recent convert to Islam who is

46 Scholars have interpreted Mīrzā Mażhar’s response to Hindū religion on the basis of his letter (No. 14) which states his understanding of this religion. Muhammad Umar in an article “Hindū tāhzib aur Musalmān”, Burhān, June 1968, p. 381, has compared Mīrzā Mażhar’s ideas to those of Dārā Shukoh as expressed by the latter in his introduction to the Sīr-i akbar; One may also make note of M. Mujeeb in The Indian Muslims, London, 1969, p. 281, who observed about Shāikh Ahmad Sirhindī, “He does not try to bring the Indian Muslims and non-Muslims ideologically closer together as, for instance, his contemporary Mīrzā Mażhar Jān-i jānān did.”; S. A. A Rizvi has also quoted the above letter of Mīrzā Mażhar that clearing refrains from addressing the Hindū gods as infidels because as the Mīrzā had written in a letter, “Without convincing evidence no one should be called an infidel”, see Rizvi’s, A History of Sufism in India, vol. 2, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1983, p. 402; also idem, Shāh Wali Allāh and His Times (A Study of Eighteenth Century Islam, Politics and Society in India), Canberra: Ma’arifat Publishing House, 1980, p. 332.

47 Iqbāl Mujaddidī feels that scholars have relied exclusively on one letter of Mīrzā Mażhar (No. 14 mentioned in the 18th fasl of the Maqāmāt-i Mażhari) for reconstructing his ideas on Hindūism. This scholar has collaborated other evidence from the writings of Mīrzā Mażhar that reveals his intolerance of the Hindūs and their practices. For example, the Mīrzā criticized the Muslim women’s observance of Hindū practices like worship of Sītalā devī, celebration of Diwālī, and female infanticide as shirk (idolatry). For Iqbāl Mujaddidī’s criticism see his introduction to the Urdu translation of Shāh Ghulām ‘All’s Maqāmāt-i Mażhari, especially pp. 128-135.
concerned about getting an interpretation for his dream in which he has witnessed the two most popular gods of the Hindu pantheon in a burning jungle. In the classical Islamic oneiric tradition this dream would be called *azghāsu‘l ahlām* or a false dream because it appears to be the residue of waking experience of the dreamer, or the dream would be explained as a result of Satanic insinuation. In the narrative, however, the dream has a symbolic significance. The first interpretation, which is given by one of the members of Hājī Afzal’s assembly, is a simple explanation of the dream’s imagery in terms of Islamic belief wherein infidels are subject to torments of Hell fire. Mīrzā Mażhar’s authoritative intervention with an assertion for an alternate *ta‘bir* is significant. In the beginning of his commentary he secures a legitimate stand for Rām and Krishna by declaring that the Quran and *sunnat* are silent about these two figures and therefore to address them as infidels is unlawful. Mīrzā Mażhar thus nullifies the initial interpretation offered for this dream. He goes on to state a Quranic injunction that every community has an admonisher in the way of God, and then offers a possibility that these gods could be wali (saint) or nabi (prophet) in the Hindu tradition. His own rendition of the dream can be translated as an exposition of the sufi experience of *jazb*, i.e. being attracted by God toward Him and *sulūk*, i.e. actively setting out for God, in terms of symbolic figures derived from the Hindu mythology. Thus, the element of asceticism and penance associated with Rām in Hindu mythology is translated in terms of severity of spiritual conduct in the method of *sulūk*. In the spiritual system of Mīrzā Mażhar *sulūk* is a process of purifying one’s soul, which involves passing through various stages known as *maqāmāt*, starting with “repentance” and ending with “contentment”. Each of these stages is accompanied with
observance of spiritual exercises. The path of attraction or tariq-i jazb shortcuts the much longer way of traversing the path (tariq-i suluk). This state is often accompanied with tremendous emotional states that can overpower the bodily movement of the sālik. Thus the ecstasy and love, song and music, corresponding to Krishna is rendered into the sufi way of jazb. The jazb is chastening of the heart, which means that the heart of the sufi is free from attachment to anything except God. The fire in the dream is symbolic of the intensity of love that is all consuming the person of Krishna, while the sobriety of Rām keeps him to the side of this fire. It seems that the Mīrzā’s expression is a discourse on the two alternate methods of seeking the mystic goal to the dreamer, who is a Hindū convert to Islam. In the system of the Naqshbandī-Mujaddidiya jazb and suluk are integrated, but priority is given to the former. This does not mean that the sālik can do without suluk. On the contrary suluk is indispensable for it controls the elements of ecstasy, as suluk monitors adherence to sunnat. Since the symbolic imagery of the dream has been interpreted in terms that are specific to the practice of the sufis, it will be a gross mis-understanding to project Mīrzā Mażhar’s interpretation as an example of Hindū-Muslim rapprochement. On the contrary, the interpretation has a didactic purpose as it uses symbols of traditional Hindū mythology to communicate complex sufi ideas to the dreamer. At the end of the narrative the compiler uses the standard formula, “And God knows best”. In other words, the compiler does not commit to responsibility for proving

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the authenticity of his statement, and he leaves it to the readers to determine what they may.

The didactic purpose of Mīrzā Mażhar’s interpretation is further strengthened by a subsequent vision that is related by Shāh Ghulām ‘Alī in the Maqāmāt-i Mażharī in the following manner:

Abū Sālih Khān, who is one of the successors (khulfa) of Ḥaḍrat Hājī, May God be pleased with him, had gone to Mathura. He had a requirement that could be fulfilled with seven rupees. One evening he was performing the namāz-i tahājjud (prayer performed during the night) a person that the Hindūs describe as Kishan appeared... He said salam and produced the required sum of money. He [Abū Sālih Khān] said, “Wait! Till I am over with my namāz.” After performing the namāz I [Abū Sālih Khān] asked him, “What is your name?” He said, “Kishan, and this seven rupees is for your hospitality for you have come to my territory.” He [Abū Sālih Khān] said, “I am Muhammadī (Muslim) and Muhammad Mustafa, May God grant him peace and salvation, is my Prophet. He is sufficient for affecting my intercession and needs. I do not take presents from a stranger.” He [Krishna] cried and said, that “I had heard about the qualities of the last Prophet of the times [Muhammad], and sincerity of his followers, May God grant him peace and salvation, [but] I witness them to be much more.”

As the main theme of this narrative concentrates on the appearance of a Hindū deity in the vision of a Muslim, a simplistic way of looking at it would be, as Rizvi has, to...
present it as an example of sufi benevolent spirit of co-existence as reflected in the members of Hājjī Afżal’s assembly. But the framework of environment and language of narrative brings forth an explanation that is quite novel. Shāh Ghulām ‘Alī tells his readers that one of the appointed successors of Hājjī Afżal Khān, Abū Sālih Khān, went to Mathura and there he came by a need for a sum of seven rupees to attend to his affairs. Now, as Abū Sālih was performing the namāz-i tahjjud, a supererogatory prayer that is usually performed around mid-night, a figure appeared before him. It is evident from the visionary recital of Abū Sālih that in his vision he reflected on the appearance of the apparition he obviously could not identify in the first instance. He then recalled descriptions of Krishna that he had heard from the Hindūs, and was able to ascertain the identity of the man in his vision as Krishna. What is amazing in this episode is that a Hindū deity appears in response to Abū Sālih’s invocation during the namāz-i tahjjud. This can be explained in terms of the immediate surroundings of the visionary, which is the locale of Mathura – the spiritual and territorial domain of Krishna. The narrative indicates that supplications made to any deity in this territory shall not evoke response from any deity other than Krishna. Therefore, in response to the supererogatory prayers of Abū Sālih it is Krishna and not a figure from the Islamic mythology who attends to the need of Abū Sālih.

Abū Sālih’s response to Krishna is self-righteous as he orders the apparition to wait till such time as he is through with the namāz. Afterwards the two men in the vision

\[\text{athā'-i o sallā allāh 'alayhi wa sallam shanīda-būdām ziyāda az ān mushāhīda kardām. See Maqāmāt-i Mażhari, op. cit., pp. 23-24; Appendix III/13 for Persian text.}\]

\[\text{50 S. A. A. Rizvi, A History of Sufism in India, vol. ii, p. 403.}\]
exchange introductions. Krishna introduces himself and offers the money to Abū Sāliḥ informing him that the money was Krishna’s hospitality to Abū Sāliḥ since the latter was a visitor to his domain. Abū Sāliḥ introduced himself as “Muhammadī” i.e. a Muslim, and states that his Prophet looks after his intercessory and other needs. Therefore, he does not accept presents from any strangers. Abū Sāliḥ’s tone that is evident from the language used by Shāh Ghulām ʿAlī, instead of the plural nouns and verbal ending that are used for an individual as a mark of respect in the Persian language, the compiler has used the singular noun and verbal ending for Krishna.

There is no unanimity of opinion among the scholars regarding the conversion activities of sufis. 51 In the context of the subcontinent, some scholars have associated sufi attitude towards proselytization with general outlook of the silsilas to which the sufis were affiliated. 52 Others have sought to trace the difference to ideological position maintained by particular shaikhs. 53 Yet, some other scholars tend to emphasize that

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52 The historians of the early centuries of Muslim rule in India have over emphasized the contrast between the Chishtī and the Suhrawardī attitude towards conversion of native Hindu population. The instance of Nawāhun, a Hindū darogha of Uchch, and attempts to forcibly convert him at the hands of a Suhrawardī Shaikh Jālāluddīn Bukhārī and his brother, Ṣadruddīn Raju ʿAntā, has been often cited as an example in this case. The incidence, in K. A. Nizāmī’s opinion “damped the prospects of Suhrawardī expansion” in India. In contrast, the attitude of Chishtī shaikhs like Niẓāmuddīn Auliya, was noble in matters of conversion. Nizāmī based his premise on two examples from the Fawāʿīd al muʿād. On one occasion Shaikh Miṣrānuddīn refused to pronounce any verdict against a Hindū who recited the kalāma in secret, but refused to recite it in the presence of a Muslim. On another occasion, the Shaikh implied that conversion was possible, but only through moral inducement. See K. A. Nizāmī, Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century, Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1961, pp. 179-180.
53 According to this point of view the sufis who propounded wahdat al wujūd were promoters of Hindū-Muslim unity. While those advocating wahdat ush shuhud were intolerant of Hindūs. Foremost among such scholars is S. A. Rizvi. In his book Muslim Revivalist Movements in North India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Agra: Agra University, 1965, he gives the impression that the great Chishtī Shaikh of the Deccan, Muḥammad Ghūṣūdarāz was propounder of wahdat ush shuhud, and was therefore orthodox and intolerant towards Hindūs, see idem, pp. 54-56.
instances of conversion relate exclusively to individuals who are attracted by the exemplary behaviour of individual sufis. The actual historical process through which non-Muslim populations were converted to Islam, undoubtedly, involves a complexity of factors that must have evolved and matured over a period of time. In sufi literature and in popular memory, however, the shaikh is imaged as the main agent for spread of Islam. This is evident from several anecdotes that represent display of miraculous intervention of sufi shaikhs resulting in conversions of non-Muslim populations. It would not be possible to provide a single explanation for the occurrence of such material in texts, as each case is to be accounted for according to the merit of its narrative. Nevertheless, it has been observed that these anecdotes are generally preserved by indigenous populations who converted to Islam and claimed legitimacy for themselves and their descendants by creating spiritual, and even physical lineages, with the shaikh. The same argument could be used to explain some of the dream anecdotes that display conversion motifs in sufi biographies.

Considering the long standing and profound significance of dreams in Islam, and the very wide-spread importance attached to dreams in many indigenous religious

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54 Bruce B. Lawrence in his article, “Early Indo-Muslim Saints and Conversion” in Islam in South Asia, vol. 1, edited by Yohanan Friedmann, Jerusalem: the University of Jerusalem, 1984, on the basis of early Malāfat states that the few instances of conversion relate to individuals who are “attracted by the examples of Muslim saints”, see idem, p. 110.


56 For a treatment of such conversion anecdotes see my M. Phil Dessertation “Kashf, Manam and Karama: Aspects of Sufi Experience and Sufi Source of Authority” submitted to the Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 1994, Chapter III.
traditions, especially Hindu and Buddhist, has meant that dreams are an excellent point of contact, providing good opportunities for syncretism and religious mixing that has often been the beginning of religious conversion. This feature has been observed in the larger civilizational context of Islam, especially in parts of South East Asia and Africa. But within the given context of specific narratives cited above, it must be made note of that none of their contexts are populist in nature. Rather than popular syncretism designed to reach the masses, as Asim Roy would have it, these dreams were the concern of gatherings at the sufi khānaqah where the presiding shaikh could shape the response by determining the play of interpretation.

What is the process through which the dreams of the sufis acquired legitimation? The most evident application of such modification is available in sufi exposition of predictive dreams. In the Islamic oneiric tradition ru’ā is a true dream that is delivered as

57 I have in mind stories of conversion myths from the South East Asia and Africa that have been written about by Russell Jones in an article “Ten Conversion Myths from Indonesia”; and Humphrey J. Fisher, “Dreams and Conversion in Black Africa” in N. Levzion ed. Conversions to Islam, New York: Holmes and Meier, 1979, pp. 129-158 and 217-235 respectively. Considering the remoteness of the region from the Islamic heartlands in West Asia Islam arrived very late, around A.D. 1300, as a state religion in Indonesia. The indigenous Malay chronicles associate coming of Islam directly with the ruler of the state, and yet there was no military force to propagate faith. Islamization is then explained in terms of mythic dreams. For example, one conversion myth recorded in the Hikîyat Râjah Pasai tells us about the Prophet’s instructions that after his death the city of Semudara must be introduced to Islam and that a ship with regalia of royalty and a faqîr from Mengiri must be sent there. After the death of Prophet, the khalîfâ took a ship to Mengiri collected the Sultan Muhammad (dressed as faqîr) on way to Semudara. The king of Semudara, Merah Silau dreamt of the Prophet who made him recite the profession of faith; the Prophet spit into his mouth; gave him the title of Sultan Malikul Saleh; instructed him to eat ritual meat; and told him about the ship which was to arrive from Mecca in forty days. In the dream Merah Silau recited thirty sections of the Quran by heart and was circumcised, and at that very moment he awoke. The ship of Shaikh Ismî’îl arrived. The king Malikul Saleh recited the kalama, the faqîr on board gave him the Quran which he recited. The Shaikh then asked all the people of Semudara to recite the kalama, they did. The city of Semudara was hence called Darul Salam. Sultan Saleh was gifted robes from Mecca and installed by the beat of the drum, and his chiefs paid homage to him as “the shadow of God on earth”. For this and similar other conversion dreams see the above article.

is experienced, or if the dream needs to be interpreted it follows its exposition. The causation for such dreams is explained in terms of revelations from the *laugh-i mahfuẓ* that are brought to the sleeping man by the angel of dream. For the sufis divinatory dreams are explained in terms of *karāmahat* or the *khāwariq-i āsdat* that are bestowed by God. The great traditionist and sūfī of eighteenth century Delhi, Shāh Wali Allāh has explained this phenomenon in his *Hama'at*.59

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59 For Shāh Wali Allāh’s view see Chapter II, above.
APPENDIX III

1. در هنگام طالب علمی باید از شیوا رسول خدا صلی الله علیه وآله و سلم خوب دیده کند. در
باغ تشیف فرموه و تامدات شش ماه در آن مقام استقامت داشته. بعد مدت به زیارت رفته و
پایه بوس کرده، در باد ماه یازدهم و آزاده که در مدت شش ماه زیارت نکرده در خجالت و ندامت
در دل مسئولیت گستت، پس در هر خجالت به ودود که روی مبارک به جانب گردانده، فرموه که
می‌گویند ازین سبب به فرموه ایماده، بسیار شیبان مثل و عذر خواستم بردار.
شدم حالی دیگر در خود یافته بعد از آن از تحقیل علم متوحش گشته و نیز برخود معاینه
می‌کرد و هر وقت که بینت تکرار سبق کتاب را مطالعه می‌نموده هیچ بر من نمی‌کشد پس عنان عزم
از تحقیق علم به جرم بازگردانیدم.

2. دیدم گویا من مردم مدرم تجهیز و تکفین می‌نمایند بس جنابه برداشته بطرف مزار
حضرت خواجه قطب‌الدین رحمه الله علیه برای دفن بردن و روح من همراه ایشانست تاکه
جنابه را در قبر نهاده قبر را بیخاک ایبایش‌نگرد و من بر سر دیوانی نشستام منکر و نکر بوضعی
که در حیث ستاد را ام‌تنایه بر زمین زده درون قبر درآمده و جان مرا بتش علاقه
بدیا شد جواب و سوال کرده رفته و من در قبر به آرام تمامی از ایام.

3. عشرت اخیره ماه مبارک رمضان مهربان قبیه‌زار و پنجه‌ای بعد از آن هزارا بخواه رفتم.
دیده که باغی ست در غایب نظفت، خیابان‌هاهای گل و حوضه می‌راره در هاد رود و در گوشای ازان
عذای مفرش است و بر بالای آن عرش حضرت پیر دستگیر اعیان حضرت خواجه
محمد سعی و حضرت مهد معصوم نشسته‌اند. سجولات خلق الله از خورشود و برگ در بخش
حضرات ایشان نهادن و جمعی با هم‌هم ترهد ایشان ایستاده‌اند. انتظار امیر ایشان دارند. چون
نیک ملاحظه کردم آن باع را عین مسجد ایشان یافتم که حضرات درمان مختلف‌که نشسته‌بودند.
در کناره حوض مسجد جانب شمال زینه‌ها از نور از زمین تا آسمان تا هرجاکه خواهستند نهاده‌اند، و آن مردم که صاحب اهمیت‌اند کاغذ‌ها را نام نویسی کرده. دست‌خط حضرات برآن نویسنده‌ها هر کرا داخل اهل مغرف‌های کردان، بالا و مردن و مرده‌ها باید می‌آردند و در زمره خاصان می‌در آند و هر کرا آنحضرات عالیان مغرف‌نامه‌های می‌یابند موقوف می‌دارند، دست‌خط نمی‌کنند. در این علت فیز و بعید حضرات رسانید که بنده را هم داخل مغرف‌نامه تست بخشیدند. بنده عرض کرد که در باب فرزندان حضرات عالیت چه حکم شده است؟ ارباب اهمیت گفتند که فرزندان ایشان را با معلقان بخشیدند. روز دوم و سوم همین صحبت در واقعی نمودار شده بود اهل اهمیت ابن معنی را نیز اظهار کردند که تو ببینند حضرات عالیات گر که مابین قادر خدمت گاری کردیم، هنگام تبرک باعاشت نشتبه حضرت پیر دستگیر خود موضع داشت، فرمودند آنچه با ایشان ناقص بود فانیاها است و فانیا، خواندنی، روز دیگر در حلقه آنحضرات مرادب نشسته بودم که آن جمع‌آوری اصحاب اهمیت حاضر شدند و گفتند که حق بعا رسیده.

می‌بینم که مجلس عالی است که جمعی اکمل آریا در آن مجمع علی عمراند. من نیز خود را در گوشه‌های شرکات قدسی خوانستم. چون ساعتی که‌گذشته یکی از اکمال مفاخر صاحب‌ساخته شرموده‌که تو با اکمال عصر انکار داری مگر این‌قدر ندانی که باکمل وقت در مقام بی‌ادبی بودن و غفلت نمودن باعث خرابی دین و موجب سلب ایمان است. از این انکار بگردد و نامد و تائید شود چون این پرگز ساکت شد، یزگرگی دیگر از آن پرگزان مرا مخاطب ساخته به‌همین صرافت نه تراشان کشید.

الغرض جمعی کرداری آن مجلس فرد یا فردی به‌هیمن طریق خطاب و عبادت می‌فرمودند. من حیران گشته که خداوند بکدام یکی از اکمار دین که اکمال وقت باشد، مرا غفلت خواهد بود.
که مستحکم این همه اعتراض گشتم، ناگاه می‌بینم که در صدر این مجلس مقدس بندگی مبانی شیخ احمد نشسته است و جمعی این بزرگان را روی توجه بجانب ایشان است و رأس و رئیس این محقق عالی ایشانند. این زمان معلم شد چه معامله چیست؟ لازم از چاپ خود برخاسته در کنار کشیده و کمال مرحمت بجا آورند، عرض کردم که چون من در دِمین باران غیاب نشسته بودم، از من نیز نسبت باشیان غیبت سر بر زده است، امید که عفو فرمایند. فرمودند که از مثل توئی عجب و از مثل توئی عجب، از مثل توئی عجب، سه بار تکرار نمودند. بپذیرم، چون ما خواهان یکشتم تانب شدم و نپذیر در نغمه و چون حضرت ایشان به تقرب عرش حضرت خواجه قدس سزه به دهلی تشیف بردن... شیخ تاج نیز به دهلی آمد به بودن. استقبال نموده بالعالویه طلب عفو کردن...
شیب حضرت خواجہ معین الدین چشتی (رح) را در واقعه دیدم که گویا برای می روند. در
پیش ایشان فوج ست و علمهائی پادشاهان پیش ایشان می ہرند و عقاب ایشان نیز فوجی
است و مانند پادشاهان بجھا و جالو و حکمت می روند و من نزدیک ایشان می روم. درین انثا
شخصیت یا من گفت کہ پدران تو در سلسلہ چشتی ارادت دارند، تو چرا در سلسلہ تقسیم‌بردار
رفتی و مرید حضرت ایشان شدی؟ گفت کہ سگ از هر جا که پارچه نانی بیاند همان جا
آسانی، به جانی گذب نرود. آن شخصیت گفت کہ در طریق حضرت خواجہ معین الدین و
حضرت ایشان چہ تفاوت دیدی کہ ملازمت ایشان گریزیدی و از پیران اجحد خود ریمیدی؟
گفت که فرق در میان حضرت ایشان و مشایخ آقا و اجحد مثل فرق حیب‌الله و کلیم‌الله علیهما
السلام است:

موسی ز هوش رفت بیک بر تو صفات
تو عین ذات می نگری در تبسمی
حضرت خواجہ معین الدین قدش سرہ بہ آن شخصیت خطاب با عتاب کرد فرمودنکا او را
ہیچ مگو کہ پر وی بسیار متشوع است و به غایت اغلاب رسوخ و استقامت دارد.

بپیداء اللہ تعالی در پای این بندھ مقدار یک بدست سن شدکا انرا زحمت بھری گویند بیسوان
خلابندن خبر نمی شد و درد نمیکرد، بجھت دفع این زحمت طبیبان هر تال راست کرده
خوردن پیک روز را داندند. چون هشت بانه روز خوردم بکرم اللہ تعالی نفع ظاهر شد و
آن سن دفع شد، در مسجد رفیق و نماز ظهر با جمعاء گذاردم. و بعد از فراز نماز ظهر
مصیبان میان خوان حکایات می کرندند، ما نیز نشنت بیوند چشم بوشید حکایات می شنیدم.
ناعاک بیہوئی آمد بنگی حضرت پر دستگیر و دو کسان دیر چرک حضرت شدند، پری دستگیر
فرمودنکا نو آنچہ هر تال خورو ہم یا سست و ترا فائده شدست، پیشر مخور کہ ترا
زیان خواهاد شد و ساخت مشکل پیش خواهاد آمد. در خاطر گذشته که از خوردن این هر تال
نفع شده است زیان چه خواهاد شد. بعده آن دوکسان دیگر بحضرت قطب عالم پیر دستگیر
گفتند این کس هر تال خواهاد خورد و باز نخواهاد آمد و پشیمان خواهان شد آنگاه قدر سخن
مايان خواهاد دانست.
بعده جستنامه ماکشاده شدند. در خاطر فکر شده که این چه معاينة شد اگرچه مرا نفع است
نخورید، پاراده الله تعالى چنان غفلت درکار شد که فروموده حضرت قطبی یاد نمایند. اذا یافج
القضاء عمیب البصر فراموشی پیش آمد بای وقت صحیح هر تال خوردویم چون پانزده روز
گذشته در دسته و پایها سختی و گرانی پیدا شد چون بست روز گذشته دست و پای
جنابیدن مشکل شد و در بانویان جنس بیدا شد و طریق بیان کدنده فرد مدرن روز شد.
بعده سخن حضرت قطبی یاد آمد و در بین مدت هیچ وقتی یاد نیامده نهایت درمانده شدید
بحدی که سه سال آب و طعام بست خود نخوریدم و تمام اعضا و باند از بند چند گذشته
طريق مره گشتیدم و یک بخش بی هوشی شد و مردن آواز می کردند و می جنابیدند، ما را
هیچ خبر نبود، ناگاه دیدم که ما راکسی می برد و راه نگ و تاریک و سهمانک پیش آمدست.
خطر سخت گرفته شد. دران مقام یک عورت سپید موزی ضعیفه نشسته است. آن عورت ما
را پرسته تو ابینجا چگونه آمدی؟ ما گفتیم که «ابین کلا مقام ست؟» گفت «ابین راه آخرت
ست و تو ابینجا بازگرد و برود» بعده ما چند قدم بکل این پس یابی شدید، ناگاه دو کس مردم
سهمانک بیدا شدند. بیدن ابیان دستار ماز سر بر زمین افتاد، ابیان بستند دستار دویدند و
دستار گرد بگردما رقص کنار می گردید و مس رنگه متحرک شده، استاده مانستید، طرف
دستار و طرف آن مردان می دیدم.
ناگاه دران محل بندگی حضرت قطبی حاضر شدند و فرومودند که تو دستار خود بگیر و
ابیان را مده عرض کردیم. دستار تیزتر می گردید و ابیان نیز بدنال دستار تیزتر ماگرند،
بدست ما چگونه خواهاد آمد؟ فرومودند که چون دستار مقابله تو بیاید حمله کردی درگیر.
همچنان کردیم دستار بدست ما آمد، ابیان نیز حمله کردند دستار بدست ابیان نیامد. بعده
حضرت فاطمی فرمودند که دستار بر سر خود بنه، بر سر نهادیم. خاطر که پیروشان بود جمع شد. باز فرمودند که مملکت خیریت شده است و طرف فرمودند که دران طرف بر اموجان طرف رفتن. ناگاه دیدیم که زمین نشیب ست و در نینجا دیگرها انتهاشان. پرسردیم که این لشکر و داریا کیست؟ گفتند که این دنباس. بعده ازان بی هوشی بهوش آمد، دیدم که عورات و مردمان در گریه اند. ایشان گفتن که گر به مکیندن که حق تعالی بمدد و شفاعت حضرت فاطمی را بخشیده است.

بعده چون مقدار پنجه دریخوری گذشت و سخت درمانده شدیم ناگاه باز حضرت فاطمی در خواب حاضر شدند و فرمودند که ما تراز خوردن هر تال منکر بودیم و تو عمل نکرده. عرض کردیم "اذا جاء القضاء عمی البصر" گفتند درکار شد احوال مبدل گشت و شرمندگی بیشتر شد. باز فرمودند که مملکت مکیندن که حق تعالی بمدد، اما تاریخ چند مدت خواهد ماند و سبق唇 و تعالی صحت بخشیدند بفضله و کرمه.

امیرالدین نام طفیل را از اطلاع فقیر بالفعل به کررم علیم حقيقی در تحصیل علم متوحه است آزاری صعب ع撵ش شده بود هرچند هدایت داد نفهم کرده شوی فقیر را با خاطر آمد که برای کشف حقيقة مرض استخاره خوانهد شوید متی خوانهد ببخواه رفت. دیدن که در گچ به ایستاده است بزرگی بر چهار پایه نشسته در هوا حیرت فرموده می آید در کچه که فقیر ایستاده بود انجام بایه فرد آمد فقیر ملازمت کرد و حال آن طالب التماس نمود از آنجاه بایه فرد آمد فرمودن همراه با چون قدری رفتند عریزی دیگر پیا شد به قصد فرمات حضرت مشرد اما همچنین یاد بنه که در صورت مشابهه نه عریان از ناف تازی تازیانو الغرض صاحب طرف فقیر را فرموده ملازمت کن ایشانارا فقیر سلام کرد و برا مصاحبه هر دو دست ردا دراز کرد و پزائدن را تود ایشان رسد. ایشان پس دست دراز کردنانانزور چهار پایه نشین بخدمت ایشان عرض کرد که ابتدارد برای آن طالب التماس میکنند. فرمودند
عرض خواهان کرده پاز همان عزیز صاحب طیران بقیه فریاد فریاد که یا همان ادلان اند مسمی

بمحمدرضا چراغی، دیوان شهنشاه آمر چرا مقصود اعلی را از آن یزدگر طلب نکرد.

صبح آن تمام ماجرا را یکی سهی یکی صحیب عرض نمود و کيفیت تاسف نیت

ظهور نمودن فریادن فریادن چن تاسف است که کسی همچنین شخصی را به بین و مقصود اعظم

طلب تنماید. از همان روز آن طلل صحبت شد. آنذاک ابتنست بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم.

بعد از نماز عشاء سر خود را بجانب شمال می‌نمود و روی را محاکه کرده و دست را در

زیر شقیقه راست نهاده با وضع بخواب خود. بعد از آن کلام نکنید ولی آنست که بر زمین

بخواب و اگر بر بایت احتیاجی قبل از اکتساب میل کار را ببیند بکاری مشغول شد باز از سر نو

بخوابید آنست که از سه روز پیش...که آنجی مقصود باشد بیان می‌باشد. و الله علم بالاصواب.

قطب المحققین حضرت خواهان باقی فقس سر به فریادن که حضرت مدام ما مولانا

خواجگی امکانی مای را اکثر فریادن که بهبود بیابد از بابتی شمله می‌ریزد رواجی را روی از شما پیدا

شده، اکثر را باید این منع نیستی نواصع نموده‌یم. اسلام امر باستخاره فریادن استخاره

کردن، در آن استخاره دیدیم که گوناگون طوطی برسر شاعری نشسته است و مادر دل خود نیت

کردن که اگر این طوطی از از این منع بپید بر است ما نشند پس ماه دریب سفر کشاندیما

خواهان بود. بی‌بند سرعت این خاطر آن طوطی پراز نموده بر است ماننست و ما متقار وی

را در این خود گرفتم و چون لعاب خود بیوی این مانند دیگر. به بی‌بند سفارش در

دهان خود گرفتم در دهان ما شکر ریخت. تبییر این و این قنن کردن که طوطی چون از

طور هندهستان است عزیزی از هنده متوسل شود به معارف و حقائق و اسرار گویاکرد

و مارا نیز از وی فناده برسد، و این واقع را با تبییر آن در خدمت مولاونا گذریندیم. مولانا
فرمود که تعبیر این واقعه چنین است که بخاطر شما راه یافته. درگاه است که بزرگان منتظر قدم آن عزیزاند بنشتابند و آن عزیز را در پایه. معلوم شده که آن بزرگ از دامن شما پراز خواهد کرد. حضور خواجه قدس سره بعد اتمام این کلام خطاب به قطب الاقطاب کرد. فرمودند که ما این واقعه را اشارت و بشارت نسبت به حال شما می‌دانیم. آخر کار موافقت تعبیر حضور خواجه بوقوه آمد.

ترجمه منتبخ این کتاب که به‌شیخ صوفی منسوب است مطالعه کردم، شیب در واقع دیدم که
دو شخص بزرگ بیک صورت، یکی بر بلندی و دیگری اندکی پیستار از استاده. معلوم شده که آن که بلندتر ایستاده بستگاند و دیگری را مچندیر. تفاوتی که در صورت این دو بزرگ مشاهده شد همین مقدار بوده که در محسن بست چند موارد هوی و محسس رام‌چند در مروی سفید نداشت. چون از مطالعه کتاب مستند به هر واقعیت درد، پی انتخاب نزد بست رفت ایشان‌ها در بافت و آداب و توافقت بجا آوردم. بستگانی هر چه پیاده نموده دست بر پشت من گذاشتند و فرمودند که رام‌چند، این عجب طالب صادقی است، با او بغله‌گیری کن. رام‌چند از رؤی کمال محبت مرا با برگ گرفتند. بعد از بستگانی شیرینی بستگ رام‌چند داده که بمن بخورانند. من آن شیرینی خوردم. بعد از دیدن این واقعه خواهش نجذب ترجمه زیاده کشت.

روزی شخصی در حضور ایشان گفت «در خوایی دیده که صحرای پراز آتش و کشید درون آتش ست و رام‌چند در کنار آن آتش شخصی در تعبیر آنخواب گفت «که کشن و رام‌چند از کبرای کفارانده در آتش دوزخ معدبانده فقیر گفت اینخواب را تعبیری دیگرست بر شخصی معین از کذتشگان یی آنکه کفر ای کش بس حکم بکفر جان نیست از احوال
ابن هر دو کتاب و سنت ساكت ست و بعث‌ات تا آيه شريفه و ان من قريه الا خلا فيها نذير

ظاهر ست كه درین جمعه نيز بهري و نذير گذشته باشد دريصورت محتمل ست كه اينها
ولی پا نيي باشد راميندكر كه در ابتدائي خلفت جن بيدا شد درانوقت عمرها دراز و فوتها
بسبار بود اهل زمانه را به سکبت سلوكی تمرت ميكرد و كش انرين بزرگان اينهاست و
درانوقت سکبت سابيق عمرها كوتاه و قوتها ضعيف گرديد پس اهل زمانه خود را به سکبت
جذبي هدايت ميكرد و كثرت غنا و سماع كه از وي منتقل است دلیل ست در يافذ و شوق
سکبت جذبي پس حرارنهای سکبت عشق و محبت بصورت صحرای آتش نمودار شد كش
كه مستغرق كيفيتیهای محبت بود درون آتش ظاهر گرديده و راميندكر كه راه سلوك داشت در
كتاره آن پدينار شده و الله اعلم.

ابوصالح خان از خلفای حضرت حايي صاحب رحمة الله عليه در زمين مثيلا رفته بود.
حضرتي داشت که بهت روبه سرآنجام مي شد. شبي نمای تهجد ميكرد. شخصی بهشت كش
كه هنود بيان كردنند ظاهر شده نجيه سلام گفت و مبلغ ييش نهاد و گفت «بايش انا تا يا نمای
فارغ شوم»، بعد از اداي نمای پرسيم كه «نايم نو چيست؟» گفت. كش، و اين هفت روبه
ضيفان شما ست که در زمين ما آمده آيد. گفت: «من محمد می و محمد مصطفی صلی الله عليه
و سلم پیغمبر ما و سیله برآمد حجاجات ماکافی ست، ما هدیه بهگانه نگیرم». وی بگریست كه
با وصف نبي آخر زمان و اخلاص اتباع او صلی الله عليه و سلم شنيده بودم و زياده ازان
مشاهده كرديم.