

Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī-i Gīlūdīrāz: On Sufism

SAYYID MUHAMMAD AL-HUSAYNĪ-I GĪSŪDIRĀZ (721/1321 - 825/1422):

ON SUFISM

by

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ABSTRACT

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Sayyid Muhammad al-Husaynī-i Gīśūdīrāz (721/1321 - 825/1422) was a famous Indian sufi of the Chishtī order, an order which is still popular in India to this day. He was also the first Chishtī sufi to have been a prolific writer. Since there is inadequate primary source material on the earlier Chishtīs, only a study of Gīśūdīrāz may cast some light on the doctrinal system of his order. Two very controversial topics - "Saintship" (walāyah) and "Audition of Music" (samāʿ) have been chosen for the present study. The concept of Saintship is discussed from two angles: in comparison to Prophethood (nubuwwah), and insofar as it is qualified by Gīśūdīrāz's world-view in general. Audition of Music is also discussed from two points of view: the rules and conditions attached to this institution (exoteric aspect), and as a mystical path leading to God (esoteric aspect). The chapters walāyah and samāʿ contain also introductions to these controversies in classical sufism.

RÉSUMÉ

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Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī-i Gīṣūdirāz (721/1321 - 825/1422) était un célèbre soufi indien de l'ordre Chishtī, un ordre qui compte encore aujourd'hui beaucoup de sympathisants en Inde. Gīṣūdirāz est le premier soufi Chishtī qui ait laissé une oeuvre écrite considérable. Comme il n'y a pas de documentation satisfaisante sur les Chishtīs antérieurs, c'est seulement une étude de Gīṣūdirāz qui permet d'éclaircir les doctrines de cet ordre. Deux thèmes de controverse, la "Sainteté" (walāyah) et "l'Audition de Musique" (samāʿ) ont été choisis pour cette étude. L'idée de sainteté est traitée de deux points de vue; par rapport à l'idée de prophétie (nubuwwah) et en tant que modifiée par les pensées de Gīṣūdirāz sur le monde en général. L'Audition de Musique est traitée de deux points de vue également: exotérique et ésotérique; c'est-à-dire les règles et les conditions attachées à cette institution et l'audition comme voie mystique menant à Dieu. Les chapitres sur walāyah et samāʿ contiennent aussi des introductions à ces controverses dans le soufisme classique.

To the Memory of 'Gisūdirāz.

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NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

In Chapter III, I have used often certain technical terms like tawājud, waḥid, etc. in their transliterated forms instead of their English equivalents for the sake of convenience and to avoid confusion. The equivalents are mentioned, though, wherever necessary. Some other words such as sufism, sufi, etc. are anglicized. In particular, the word samāʿ is partly anglicized due to its frequent usage. Modern forms of the names of towns and cities are retained. The following is the transliteration system generally applied in the thesis.

Initial; unexpressed; medial and final:

ب b
پ p
ت t
ث th
ج j
چ ch
ه h
خ kh
د d
ذ dh
ر r
ز z
ژ zh
س s
ش sh

س s
د d
ر r
ز z
ح gh
ف f
ق q
ك k
گ g
ل l
م m
ن n
ه h
و w
ي y

Short vowels: ا a; إ i; ؤ u.

Long vowels: آ ā; ؤ ū; ي ī.

alif maqṣūrah: ا a.

diphthongs: او aw; اي ay; With Tashdīd: ياء Iya;
ؤ uwwa.

tā' marbūtah: آ ah; in idāfah: at.

The آ is usually rendered ت in Persian. When transliterating a word ending with tā' marbūtah in a general context or from an Arabic source the Arabic form: ah is retained; if quoting from a Persian text it is changed to: at. Thus, for example, for saintship is walāyah in Arabic but walāyat in Persian.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

India has been a land of sufis ever since the Muslim conquest, or even before. Among the first sufis known to have travelled to India was the celebrated Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj (d.309/921)¹ but it was during the 11th century that India attracted the attention of many itinerant sufis, generally known as dervishes, of Bukhara, Samargand, Iran, Khurasān, Turkistan and, probably, Arabia and Syria.² The most eminent of these was, perhaps, Maḥdūn Sayyid ^ḤAlī al-Jullābī al-Hujwiri (ca.465/1072), the author of the well-known Persian sufi manual Kashf al-Mahjūb, who came to India in the latter part of his life and settled in Lahore where he was buried. The history of Sufism in India, in fact, begins with the establishment of the Chishtī and the Suhrawardī monasteries, the two earliest sufi orders of India; the former founded in Ajmer by Shaykh Mu^ḥīn al-Dīn Ḥasan Sijsī Chishtī (d.634/1236), and the latter in Multan by Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyā' (d.661/1262), a disciple of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn ^ḤUmar al-Suhrawardī (d.632/1234). The other two sufi orders which gained popularity and fame during the 15th and 16th centuries, after the disorganization of the Chishtī and Suhrawardī orders, were the Qādirī and the Naqshbandī silsilahs. The Qādirī order was first introduced to India by Muḥammad Ghawth in 887/1482, and the Naqshbandī

order owes its organization to Muḥammad Bāqī Bī-Allāh (d.1012/1603). All the four orders are regarded as orthodox because of their emphasis on sharīʿah.

The scope of our study, however, limits us to the Chishtī order in general and to Gīṣūdirāz in particular. The Chishtī order was the most popular in India even during the days of Shaykh Muḥsin al-Dīn Ḥasan, and is still one of the most popular orders today. It exercised its influence all over the country, and its monasteries were loci of social, cultural and religious activities. This order has been studied elaborately by modern scholars only from the historical perspective, but no one has really devoted a systematic study to the thought of the Chishtīs. This may be due to a lack of adequate source material. It is, indeed, unfortunate that the early Chishtī shaykhs of India (till Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd) never relished the art of writing. The only authentic sources concerning them are the malfūz (discourses) literature.³ The first of these is the malfūz of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ (d.726/1325), collected by his disciple Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī between 1307 and 1322 A.D. under the title Fawā'id al-Fu'ūd.⁴ The next such malfūz is the collection of the discourses of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd (d.757/1356), compiled by Ḥamīd Qalandar (a disciple of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ) during the last years of the shaykh, under the title Khayr al-Maʿālīs.⁵ Another work worth mentioning is a biographical account of the Chishtīs, compiled by Amīr Khurd (a disciple of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ)

in the 8th/14th century, entitled Siyar al-Awliya'.⁶ These three compilations, besides some other fabricated works,⁷ form the sources of all the later hagiographical or historical works on the Chishtis.

It was only during the latter part of the 14th century that the Chishti sufis thought of expressing themselves in writing. Gisu-diras was one of them. K.A. Nizami observes, "no Indo-Muslim Chishti saint has so many literary works to his credit" as Gisu-diras.⁸ Since he served the khānqah of his spiritual perceptor Shaykh Naqir al-Din Mahmud as the rightful successor⁹ for 44 years, it is felt that a systematic study of Gisu-diras' thought is necessary to enlighten the Chishti doctrines in general; moreover, because he was a prolific writer.

Chapter I of our Introduction has two sections: the first deals with a brief account of the Chishti order. We have discussed the important Chishti khānqahs before Gisu-diras and analyzed a few significant aspects of their ideology. The second section is devoted to the life and works of Gisu-diras. We have tried to be very brief as innumerable works have been written on his life.¹⁰ An attempt has been made to see which works he studied and what sources may have exercised influence on him. Chapter II focusses on the concept of "sainthood" (walayah) viewed alongside "prophethood" (nubuwwah). Section A deals with this controversial matter as discussed by the

earlier sufis, to give a general picture of its nature. Section B is devoted to GIsūdirāz' views on the problem. Besides, it also discusses the world-view of GIsūdirāz in so far as the concept of saintship is linked with it. Chapter III comprises another controversial aspect of sufism, namely, samā^C or listening to music. Again, section A of this chapter analyzes the classical controversy, regarding the legality of music, as discussed by the sufis themselves prior to GIsūdirāz. Section B depicts the nature of the problem as tackled in India by the Qulāmī'. GIsūdirāz' views are discussed fully in Section C. He was an ardent lover of samā^C which, for him, was a special form of worship and a specific sufi path leading to God.

A) CHISHTI ORDER

Chisht is the name of a village near Harat in medieval Khurāsān. A group of ascetics founded a center for spiritual education and training in Chisht, which gained popularity and fame. Those persons connected with this organization came to be known as Chishtī.¹¹ Khwājah Abū Ishāq-i Shāmī (d.329/940), however, was the first to have acquired the epithet Chishtī¹² and is regarded as the founder of the order.¹³ The seeds of the Chishtī order were sown in the Indian soil by the "outstanding figure in the annals of Islamic mysticism", Shaykh Mu^Cin al-Dīn Ḥasan Sijzī in the year 1193A.D., when he arrived in Ajmer after a brief stay in Lahore.¹⁴

Tradition has it that Shaykh Mu^cIn al-Dīn initiated the order in India under the instruction of either his preceptor ^cUthmān-i Hārūnī (d.617/1220) or the Prophet Muhammad who is said to have asked him in a vision to proceed to India, as a representative and to propagate Islam.¹⁵ In any case, he immigrated to India and lived in Ajmer under the most unfortunate conditions created by the Chawhān power. His stay was utterly detested by the ruler Prithvirāj.¹⁶ In spite of the unwelcome reception, the shaykh persevered in his aim single-handed and organized an efficient group of sufis. Ajmer was not only a locus of political activities but was also a religious center where pilgrims from all over used to gather.¹⁷ It was this seat of social, cultural, and political activities that Shaykh Mu^cIn al-Dīn chose to work in and, subsequently, gained immense popularity. The Shaykh died in the year 633/1236 at the age of 93. His shrine is venerated to this day by all classes of people irrespective of caste or creed.

Primarily, the Chishtis had established their monasteries (ḥaṣṣat khanaḥ) in modern day Rajputana, Uttar Pradesh and the Panjab. Shaykh Mu^cIn al-Dīn worked in Ajmer, Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār-i Kākī (d.633/1236) settled in Delhi, Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn Sūfī-i Nāgūrī¹⁸ (d.642/1244) propagated in the rural areas (in Rajasthān), while some others lived in small towns and villages.¹⁹ In the initial stages, the activities of the Chishtis were restricted

to the north, but their influence extended practically to the whole of India with the succession of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i Shakar (d. 644/1265) and his disciple Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'. People from all over the country used to congregate at their monasteries in Pakpattan (Panjab) and Ghyathpūr (Delhi) respectively. Shaykh Naṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd "Chirāgh-i Delhi" later continued the work in Delhi, and the Chishtis had somewhat a centrally organized system. It was Sultan Muḥammad bin Tughlaq (725/1325-752/1351) who forced the populace of Delhi to move to Dawlatabad when he unsuccessfully attempted to change the capital in 728/1327. Consequently, innumerable sufis were compelled to emigrate to the Deccan, even though Shaykh Naṣir al-Dīn refused to leave Delhi under any circumstances. Nevertheless, the central organisation of the Chishtis disintegrated thus into a number of provincial monasteries. This impractical venture on the part of the Sultan may have been a blessing in disguise because the newly created monasteries gave an impetus to the popularity of the Chishtī order in South India. Some of the Chishtī shaykhs even moved eastward to Bihar and Bengal. Subsequently, monasteries were constructed in the Deccan, Gujarat, and Malwa.²⁰ Although, Gīshūrīs continued to work in Delhi in his capacity as Shaykh Naṣir al-Dīn's successor for 44 years, he too eventually moved to Gulbarga (Deccan).

1) Chishtī monastery (jamā'at khānah)

The main purpose of the establishment of monasteries was to inculcate "community spirit among the mystics" and to build up the moral and spiritual culture of the people.²¹ Thus, these monasteries were also centers of social and cultural activities, besides being a place for sufi practices. The Awārif al-Ma'ārif of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn ^{Umar al-Suhrawardī} was taken as the guide book for the organisation of the Chishtī monasteries,²² probably because the early Chishtīs of Khurāsān never took to writing at all.

Hospitality was one of the most important aspects of the life of a Chishtī sufi. Their monasteries had an "open kitchen" in the sense that anyone could be fed irrespective of his being a disciple. The shaykhs seem to have quoted the following tradition in this regard: "if someone visits a living man and gets nothing from him to eat, it is as if he had visited the dead".²³ If nothing at all was available, the shaykh would at least offer water to the visitor. The expenses of these monasteries were met from futūḥ or unasked-for-charity. Any other means of livelihood was looked down upon, with the exception of the cultivation of a piece of wasteland just large enough to sustain the family.²⁴

The monasteries were open to all, irrespective of high or low,

caste, creed, or religion. Everyone, from a king to a beggar, was welcomed and was treated as an equal. There are instances of kings visiting the Chishtī shaykhs and being treated as any other ordinary man. Gīsūdirāz relates that Sultan Firūz Shāh Tughlaq (752/1351-790/1388) once visited Shaykh Naṣīr-al-Dīn Maḥmūd who was, incidentally, taking a nap. One of the residents of his monastery informed the shaykh who got up and performed ablution and prayers. In the meantime, while the Sultan was waiting outside, it started raining. Addressing his officer, Tatār Khan, the Sultan is reported to have sadly said, "I am not a king, he (the shaykh) is a king really".²⁵

Besides the Muslims, Hindus were also allowed to enter the Chishtī monasteries without any inhibition or fear. Due to the social discrimination on the part of the Hindu Rājās and caste Hindus, the illiterate classes were kept away from their forts and temples, and were discarded from society. When these untouchables saw that there was no discrimination whatsoever among these sufis, they flocked to the Chishtī monasteries. We also find references, on the other hand, of well-known yogīs holding arguments and discussions with the shaykhs.²⁶ Thus, it was in their monasteries that the shaykhs and their disciples came into close contact with different kinds and classes of people. Therefore, cases of "competitive spirituality with Hindu Yogis" are recorded in sufi hagiographical traditions, such as flying in the air in competition with a Hindu yogi was attributed to a mystic.

On the other hand, as missionaries of Islam and as liberal leaders of its spirituality, the sufis were the first among the Muslim intellectual elite to come into contact with the Hindu masses and thus indirectly with individual features of Hindu mysticism especially the Yoga.²⁷

It was, perhaps, because of this social contact with the Hindus that we find the Chishti shaykhs narrating stories from Hinduism to explain the essentials of their own tarīqah and religion to the uneducated and illiterate classes of the Hindus. This was one of the most significant features of the flexibility and liberality in the outlook of the Chishtis. They tried and, subsequently, succeeded in making their religion and creed comprehensible and accessible even to a lay man. Their monasteries, thus, became centers of attraction. K. A. Nizami remarks, "as their khānqahs were the only places where people of different shades of opinions, professing different religions and speaking different languages met, these khanqas became veritable centres of cultural synthesis where ideas were freely exchanged and a common medium for this exchange was evolved".²⁸

2) Chishti ideology

Shaykh Mu^cin al-Dīn Ḥasan chose for himself a life of "piety, esoteric exercises and zealous propagation of Islam."²⁹ For him, religion was human service. He always insisted his disciples "to develop river-like generosity, sun-like affection and earth-like hospitality. The highest form of devotion (tā^cat),

according to him, was to redress the misery of those in distress; to fulfill the needs of the helpless and to feed the hungry."³⁰ The shaykh defined sufism as "neither a knowledge nor a form (rasm)" but "a particular ethical discipline (akhlāq) of the mystics".³¹ Thus, the ethical discipline came to be emphasized by all the later Chishtis; an aspect which played an important role in achieving the aim of this order. Gīṣūdirās, for instance, relates an incident to emphasize that one should not be disrespectful to any one regardless of his religion.³²

Besides, the Chishtis insisted on the adherence to sharīʿah, strict conformity to which was a necessity.³³ The first oath taken from a person initiated into the order was to adhere to Islamic ordinances.³⁴ It is reported that Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār and Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn used to be unconscious for days in ecstasy during samāʿ, but at the hour of prayers they would get up and perform their prayers regularly.³⁵

a) Chishtis and the State

No matter what the circumstances, the Chishtī sufis avoided collaboration with the State. The influence of political authority was like evil company to them. Perhaps this was one of the major differences between the Chishtis and the Suhrawardīs who, on the contrary, accepted governmental posts and lived in close association

with the State.³⁶ Shaykh Mu^cin al-Dīn Ḥasan initiated the preference of a life of poverty and dissociation from the government or State. Thus, the later Chishtīs tried their best to shun the company of royalty. They built their monasteries outside the city walls probably for the same reason, and always warned their disciples to keep themselves away from such influences. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn is reported to have said to his disciples, "if you desire to attain the position of great saints do not pay any attention to the princes".³⁷ Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā's succession certificate contained, "do not accept any village or stipend or favour from kings and officials. It is not permitted to a dervish".³⁸ Gīṣūdirāz himself is reported to have rejected the offer of villages and gifts from Sultan Firūz Shāh Bahmanī (800/1397-825/1422), saying that to accept them was something contrary to the Chishtī ideology.³⁹

It may be said that the Chishtīs could not always reject the world. Shaykh Mu^cin al-Dīn's sons owned land which may have been granted to him.⁴⁰ Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār chose the capital as the center of the Chishtī order at the request of Sultan Iltūtaish (607/1211-633/1236) and the people of Delhi.⁴¹ It is related that Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn during his last days summoned Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' and said, "you should have something from this world too", and gave him a silver coin.⁴² Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' accepted a large sum of cash from Khusrāw Khan, though he spent it in charity.⁴³

Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd accompanied Sultan Muḥammad bin Tughlaq reluctantly on his last expedition and administered the oath of office to the next Sultan, Firūz Shāh Tughlaq. Gīṣūdīrāz himself had very cordial relations with the Bahmani Sultans, Firūz Shāh and Aḥmad Shāh (825/1422-839/1436).

b) Unity of Being (waḥdat al-wujūd)?

Perhaps this is the most important and, in our opinion, controversial aspect of Chishtī ideology which calls for a detailed study. It is generally accepted today that the Chishtī sufis of India believed in "unity of being" (waḥdat al-wujūd). K.A. Nizami writes that Shaykh Muḥīn al-Dīn's "firm faith in waḥdat al-wujūd (unity of being) provided the necessary ideological support to his mystic mission to bring about emotional integration of the people amongst whom he lived". In a more general context, he writes, "the cornerstone of Chishtī ideology was the concept of waḥdat al-wujūd (Unity of Being)".⁴⁴ Azis Ahmad says, "the sheet-anchor of the Chishtī order was the doctrine of ontological monism (waḥdat al-wujūd) which explains the influence on it of Ibn al-ʿArabī's almost pantheistic ideas".⁴⁵ S.A.A. Rizvi terms the Chishtī discipline wujūdī. He writes, "the devotional approach of Nizām ud-Dīn Auliya regarding the doctrine of wujūd was not basically different from the speculative one of Ibn ʿArabī".⁴⁶ The above interpretations of the scholars regarding the Chishtīs, especially in the case of Shaykh Muḥīn al-Dīn, seem to

have been based on his sayings such as, "We see the lover, the beloved and the love to be one; i.e. in the world of unity (tawhīd) all is one".⁴⁷ Such statements, no doubt, may point towards pantheistic tendencies, but one cannot conclude from them that the Chishtis believed in wahdat al-wujūd of Ibn 'Arabi. Muhammad Noor Nabi, as a matter of fact, attempted to prove that the early Chishtis may not have been all that wujūdi. He concludes that the Chishtis tried to present their doctrines in purely Islamic form.⁴⁸ The scope of our study does not allow to go into the details of this problem, but we might as well point out certain significant aspects.

K.A. Nizami says that the malfūzāt of Gīśūdirās "give a fairly accurate idea of the Chishtī mystic ideology",⁴⁹ and that Gīśūdirās "expounded the Chishtī mystic principles in the Deccan".⁵⁰ S.M. Haq writes that the teachings of Gīśūdirās "are basically the same as those of his predecessors in the Chishtī silsilah".⁵¹ Mīr Walī al-Dīn observes that Gīśūdirās believed in wahdat al-wujūd.⁵² The above scholars have, probably, overlooked the fact that Gīśūdirās did not expound the doctrine of wahdat al-wujūd; rather, he has, as observed by S.A.A. Rizvi, "anti-wujūdi tendencies".⁵³ As the present study suggests,⁵⁴ Gīśūdirās was more inclined towards that type of sufism which is referred to as "unity of witnessing" (wahdat al-shuhūd). Now there are only two possibilities: either Gīśūdirās was not giving a "fairly accurate" account of Chishtī ideology or the Chishtis themselves believed in "unity of witnessing".

If we look at the problem from another angle, the doctrines of Ibn 'Arabi, who was a contemporary of Shaykh Mu^cin al-Din Hasan, came to be known in India a long time after the establishment of the Chishti order. K.A. Nizami himself argues that the ideas of Ibn 'Arabi may have infiltrated into India through Fakhr al-Din-i 'Iraqi (d.688/1289), but that there is no evidence of his works having reached that early.⁵⁵

Neither the Fawa'id al-Fu'ad (discourses of Nizam al-Din Awliya') nor the Khayr al-Ma'ali (discourses of Nasir al-Din Mahmud) has a mention of Ibn 'Arabi or his works; this would be surprising, if the Chishtis believed in the same doctrines. Nevertheless, Ibn 'Arabi's works must have reached India before the reign of Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq (752/1351-790/1388) because by that period they already had become very popular. Many commentaries were written on Fusus al-Hikam during the last fifty years of the 14th century.⁵⁶ As a matter of fact, by this time, Ibn 'Arabi's works and his doctrines seem to have taken possession of the sufis, jurists, common people, the orthodox and the unorthodox, and kept them all occupied. In K.A. Nizami's own words, "there was a stir in Muslim religious thought"⁵⁷ of the period. Indeed, it produced diverse effects. On the one hand, there were proclamations of "I am the Truth", and the Sultan had to take severe action to end such utterances;⁵⁸ while, on the other, it gave rise to religious debates. This period marks a milestone in the history

of Muslim religious thought in India, for enormous literature on jurisprudence was produced.⁵⁹ The fact that an eminent Chishtī sufi like Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd was regarded as the "second Abū Ḥanīfah"⁶⁰ because of his overemphasis on sharīʿah, is in itself very significant. In short, the wujūdī doctrines of Ibn ʿArabī perhaps brought about a change in the religious trends of the period. As H. Mujeesh remarks, the sufis in India avoided metaphysics and restricted themselves to

personal instruction of their murīds within the framework of the sharīʿah.... Later, the tendency towards metaphysics became stronger, and the doctrine of Immanence -- wahdah al-wujūd -- based on the teachings of Muḥiyuddīn ibn ʿArabī, became so popular among sufis as to be identified with sufism.⁶¹

This is particularly true of the Tughlaq period.

To go back to the Chishtī ideology, a question might now be posed: if the Chishtī thought, right from its inception in India, was basically wahdat al-wujūd, what could possibly have been the reason for this turmoil in the religious thought, so late in the 14th century India? The ʿulamāʾ and the people should have been at least acquainted with their ideas. After all, the ʿulamāʾ of India were not so ignorant and they had sources through which they knew about all that happened in the Chishtī monasteries. In any event, this study does not permit us to answer the above question. Our intention presently is not to prove whether or not the Chishtīs believed in wujūdī doctrines, but only to point out that they cannot be labelled as the propagators of

wujūdī doctrines (at least till Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd), until a systematic study of their thought is made. Moreover, if we hesitate in applying such a label to the Chishtīs, this is not to deny any similarity between their way of thinking and that of Ibn ʿArabī. Rather, we feel that the problem is presented in too simplistic terms if such labels as wahdat al-wujūd and wahdat al-shuhūd are applied without further qualification on sufi thought.

Besides, even the ideas expounded by ʿAlī al-Dawlah al-Sinnānī (d.736/1336), Gīṣudirās (d.825/1422) and Aḥmad Sirhindī (d.1034/1624) et.al., though accepted as orthodox, have striking similarities with the wujūdī doctrines.

B) LIFE AND WORKS OF GĪSUDIRĀZ

1) Life

Born on the 4th of Rajab 721/30th July 1321⁶² in Delhi, Gīṣudirās came from a sayyid family of Khurāsān.⁶³ His ancestors were popularly known there as the "sayyids with long-locks" (sāḍāt-i dirās gīṣū) from which he got his surname of Gīṣudirās.⁶⁴ His name was Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī,⁶⁵ and he was the son of, Sayyid Yūsuf al-Ḥusaynī (popularly known as RĪJŪ Qattāl) a disciple of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā'.

At the age of seven, in the year 728/1327 Gīṣūdirāz along with his parents left for Dawlatabad (Deccan), when Muḥammad bin Tughlaq (725/1325-752/1351) "embarked upon the Deccan experiment" by changing the capital.⁶⁶ They reached the new capital on the 17th of Muḥarram 729/21st November 1328. Not long after, when Gīṣūdirāz was ten years old, his father, Sayyid Yūsuf died in 731/1330 and was buried in Dawlatabad.⁶⁷ Five years later, however, in the beginning of 736/1335 along with his mother and brother, Gīṣūdirāz returned to Delhi⁶⁸ where they finally settled down, at least for the next 64 years.

It is reported that while he was still a young boy a strong desire had developed in Gīṣūdirāz to join the circle of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' about whom he had heard a lot from his father.⁶⁹ Unfortunately, the Shaykh was already dead (in 726/1325), even before their immigration to Dawlatabad. Nevertheless, when Gīṣūdirāz reached Delhi, Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd (popularly known as Chirāgh-i Dihlī, d.757/1356) was acting as the spiritual vicegerent of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn. On the 16th of Rajab 736/1st March 1336, Gīṣūdirāz and his brother⁷⁰ Chandān Ḥusaynī joined the circle of the disciples of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn.

Gīṣūdirāz then served his preceptor with such unswerving devotion that Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn is reported to have said, "after

seventy years of age, I am reminded of past experiences by a small child (kūḍakī).⁷² It is an unprecedented privilege for a disciple to be thus respected by his spiritual preceptor. The Shaykh is said to have paid a visit once to Gīṣūdirāz, and offered him a few coins as nadhṛ. Sāmānī relates that since then Gīṣūdirāz gained immense popularity. He further adds that Gīṣūdirāz had become known among the sufis as having attained the highest stage of a shaykh in his youth (javānī).⁷³ In the year 757/1356, at the age of 36, Gīṣūdirāz was granted by Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn permission to make his own disciples (khilāfah).⁷⁴ In the same year the Shaykh fell seriously ill. When requested by his disciples to nominate one of them as his successor, Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn is reported to have appointed Gīṣūdirāz to take his place after his death.⁷⁵ On the 18th of Ramaḍān 757/14th September 1356, Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn expired, and Sāmānī reports that three days later Gīṣūdirāz took charge of the khānqah as the vicegerent of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn.⁷⁶ Thereafter, very little is known of the life of Gīṣūdirāz in Delhi, where he worked for the next 44 years. Sāmānī writes that he married at the age of 40, and had two sons and three daughters.⁷⁷ Gīṣūdirāz became extremely popular and all kinds of people gathered around him.⁷⁸

Having predicted the fate of Delhi (Timūr invaded Delhi and was the cause of great devastation) three years prior to his departure, Gīṣūdirāz, at the age of 80, left Delhi with his family and disciples for Dawlatabad on the 1st of Rabī^c al-Awwal 801/11th November 1398.⁷⁹

Via Bahadurpur, Gwaligar, Bhandar, Chanderi, Baroda and Khanbayat, being given a warm welcome at each place, Gīṣūdirāz eventually reached Dawlatabad where he paid homage at the shrine of his father. On hearing of the arrival of Gīṣūdirāz in the Deccan, Sultan Fīrūz Shāh (800/1397-825/1422), the Bahmanī King, invited him to Aḥsanābād (Gulbarga) which was then the Bahmanī capital.⁸⁰ Gīṣūdirāz accepted the invitation and moved to Gulbarga where he arrived in 803/1400.⁸¹ Sāmīnī writes that the Sultan came out of Gulbarga and offered a warm welcome to Gīṣūdirāz, and requested him to stay on in his capital.⁸² It is reported that the Sultan had great respect for the shaykh,⁸³ but later on withdrew his favours.⁸⁴ Then, after a period of 22 years, during which time Gīṣūdirāz was mainly engaged in preaching and compiling works, he died at the age of 105 lunar years on the 16th of Dhū al-Qa^odah 825/1st November 1422.⁸⁵

2) Spiritual training

Gīṣūdirāz had a natural inclination towards sufism. Since his youth he had developed a taste for a sufi way of life. It is reported that children used to gather around him when he was eight years old in Dawlatabad, and they used to respect him and treat him as a sufi shaykh. It is said that the children used to fetch water for Gīṣūdirāz to perform ablution. Gīṣūdirāz, in turn, would treat them as a shaykh treats his disciples.⁸⁶ Sāmīnī adds that Gīṣūdirāz was religiously minded since his boyhood and had performed his prayers

regularly ever since.⁸⁷

Gisūdirāz received his spiritual training from his preceptor shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd. The shaykh is reported to have trained him gradually in the religious practices, with emphasis on the performance of prayers and fasting. Gisūdirāz was asked gradually to perform all the morning prayers with the same ablution which he performed at dawn. Along with the number of prayers, Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn asked Gisūdirāz to increase the days of fasting. Eventually, Gisūdirāz himself says that he became habituated to fasting the whole year round.⁸⁸ At the same time, he was studying the relevant works of sharīʿah. Unable to concentrate fully on the ascetic practices at home, writes Sāmānī, Gisūdirāz rented a room where he lived for ten years.⁸⁹ During this period he completed his studies and Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn trained him in the spiritual field. Sāmānī has it that Gisūdirāz achieved high mystical stages of revelations (mukāshafāt) and manifestations (taʿalliyāt) about which he always kept his preceptor informed. Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn was very happy about the progress made by Gisūdirāz.⁹⁰

At the age of 30, however, Gisūdirāz is reported to have spent most of his time in jungles, where he accomplished successfully all the spiritual stages.⁹¹ Thus, Gisūdirāz was spiritually and psychologically prepared for the succession (khilāfat) which he received

in 757/1356 from Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn. Sāmānī says that this auspicious occasion took place when Gīṣūdirāz reported to Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn a vision which he had seen during his illness. In that vision, some persons made him wear the following seven robes (ḡamah) one after another; (a) the robe of saintship (walāyat), (b) the robe of prophethood (nubuwwat), (c) the robe of apostleship (risālat), (d) the robe of unity (ittihād), (e) the robe of lordship (rubūbiyat), (f) the robe of divinity (ulūhiyat), (g) the robe of he-ness (humīyat).⁹² This vision is significant for the robes presumably symbolise different stages, and it also reveals the psychological state of Gīṣūdirāz. Sāmānī implies that he was now a full-fledged shaykh capable of having his own circle of disciples. This vision also gives us an indication of the importance of the stage of "he-ness".⁹³

Moreover, Gīṣūdirāz claims to have met the spirits (arwāḥ) of the Prophet Muḥammad, ^cAlī-i Murtaḍā, and of eminent sufis like Abū Yaṣīd al-Bastāmī, al-Junayd al-Baghdādī, Aḥmad al-Ghazālī, and ^cAyn al-Quḍāh al-Hamadhānī.⁹⁴

3) As a master

Gīṣūdirāz was a Sunnī Muslim and followed the Ḥanafī school of jurisprudence.⁹⁵ He is reported to have said that very few persons are found to be jurists, sayyids, and sunnis together, which qualifications are all found in him.⁹⁶ Gīṣūdirāz was a profound scholar

and an author of innumerable works. He was also well-versed in the sciences of the Qur'ān, tradition, jurisprudence, theology, and sufism. In his monastery, Gīṣūdirāz is reported to have conducted lessons in Arabic grammar (ṣarf wa-naḥw), exegesis (tafsīr), tradition (ḥadīth), theology (kalām), and jurisprudence (fiqh), besides sufism.⁹⁷ It is difficult to say how deep his knowledge of philosophy was, but, it is clear from his works that he was acquainted with the technical terms of philosophy and logic. He was critical towards philosophical tendencies, as was the case with the majority of sufis, and it is stated that he wanted to write a critique of Ibn Sīnā's (Avicenna) Ishārāt wa-Taḥḥāt.⁹⁸

Gīṣūdirāz knew several languages which included Arabic, Persian, Hindawī, Deccanī (which later developed into Urdu) and Sanskrit. He says that he had read "the Sanskrit book" and knew Hindu mythology.⁹⁹ The following is a list of works concerning the external sciences which are reported by the biographers,¹⁰⁰ as having been studied by Gīṣūdirāz:

- a) Tafsīr al-Kashshāf of Maḥmūd al-Zamakhsharī (d.539/1144)
on the Qur'ān;
- b) Mashārīq al-Anwār of Raḡī al-Dīn al-Saghānī (d.650/1252)
on the prophetic traditions (ḥadīth);
- c) al-Hidāyah of Burhān al-Dīn al-Marghinānī (d.593/1197)
on jurisprudence;

- d) Kanz al-Wuṣūl ilā Maʿrifat al-Uṣūl, known as Uṣūl al-Bazdawī of ʿAlī bin Muḥammad al-Bazdawī (d.482/1089) on jurisprudence;
- e) Mukhtaṣar al-Qudūrī of Aḥmad bin Muḥammad al-Qudūrī (d.428/1036) on jurisprudence;
- f) Miftāḥ al-ʿUlūm of Sirāj al-Dīn al-Sakkākī (d.626/1229) on philology;¹⁰¹
- g) Kitāb al-Miṣbāḥ fī al-Nahw of Abū al-Faṭḥ Nāṣir al-Mutarriṣī (d.610/1213) on philology;¹⁰²
- h) al-Kifīyah of Ibn Ḥājib (d.647/1249) a poem on Arabic syntax;
- i) al-Risālah al-Shamsīyah fī al-Qawāʿid al-Manṭiqīyah of Najm al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī al-Katībī (d.675/1276 or 693/1294) on logic.¹⁰³

The above list may be incomplete in view of the innumerable works popular in medieval India.¹⁰⁴ As regards the sufi literature, we might point out that almost all the major contributions to this field were available in India,¹⁰⁵ and it may not be far-fetched to presume that Giṣūdirāz had studied most of them. Besides, we will presently be discussing the possible sufi sources of inspiration to Giṣūdirāz.

4) Sufi sources of inspiration

We shall be very brief here because we will mention and refer to the possible sources of inspiration to Giṣūdirāz in the notes to

our chapters on his thought².

Mention may be made here of al-Junayd (d.297/909) of Baghdād who seems to have been the model sufi for Gīṣūdirāz, as he was for many other eminent sufis. Junayd is referred to in a number of places in his works, especially when Gīṣūdirāz wants to substantiate his own arguments. At times, Junayd is interpreted in a way that would support his own opinion, because on the one hand, Gīṣūdirāz does not want to disagree with him, while, on the other hand, he wants to adhere to his own argument.¹⁰⁶ Besides Junayd, Gīṣūdirāz refers to many other sufis, including Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā¹⁰⁷ (d.618/1221), but it is difficult to say which work of his was available. Among others, we also find references to Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d.672/1273), ^oAsīs al-Dīn al-Nasafī¹⁰⁸ (ca.7th/13th century), Farīd al-Dīn-i ^oAttār (ca.514/1120), Sanā'ī (d.526/1131) and others.

The major sources used are mainly the classical works on which Gīṣūdirāz himself has compiled commentaries.¹⁰⁹ To mention a few, works like Qūt al-Qulūb of Abū Ṭalīb al-Makkī (d.386/996), al-Ta^oarruf li Madhhab ahl al-Tagawwuf of Abū Bakr al-Kalābādhi (d.390/1000), al-Risālah of Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (d.465/1072), Kashf al-Mahjūb of al-Hujwiri¹¹⁰ (d. ca.465/1072), Ihyā' ^oulūm al-Dīn of Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d.505/1111), Sawāniḥ fi al-^oIshq¹¹¹ of Aḥmad al-Ghazālī (ca. 520/1126), Tashdīāt of ^oAyn al-Qudās al-Hamadī (d.525/1130), Adāb

al-Murīdīn of Ḍiyyā' al-Dīn Abū al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī (d.563/1168),
ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif of Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d.632/1234)
et.al. are referred to. It may be noted that Ḡisūdirāz does not agree
 with them always. He criticizes some of them, especially when he
 feels that they are possibly crossing the boundaries of orthodox
 Islam and, at times, he extracts more meanings than probably was in-
 tended.¹¹² Besides, he writes that works such as Tamhīdāt of ʿAyn
 al-Qudāh, Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam and other treatises of Ibn ʿArabī (d.638/
 1240) must not be studied by novices, rather they should prefer basic
 books like Kashf al-Mahjūb of al-Hujwīrī, Minhāj al-ʿAbidīn and Iḥyā'
 of Muḥammad al-Ghazālī.¹¹³

Another major source is the Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam of Ibn ʿArabī.¹¹⁴
 Although Ḡisūdirāz had a critical attitude towards Ibn ʿArabī, he
 seems to be immensely influenced by his doctrines. We will point
 out certain significant similarities in Chapter II of our present
 study. His influence is discerned mainly in the ontological philosophy
 of Ḡisūdirāz, which is based on the idea of theophany (taʿallīf) as
 is the whole system of the Spanish Arab. Nevertheless, Ḡisūdirāz
 states,

if he (Ibn ʿArabī) were alive during my age, I would have made
 him 'conscious' of 'beyond the beyond', by taking him up (into
 the spiritual realm), and would have revived his belief (īmān)
 and converted him into a Muslim.¹¹⁵

Among the classical commentators on the Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam, we find references to ^CAbd al-Razzāq al-Kāshānī (d.736/1335), Dāwūd b. Maḥmūd al-Qaysarī (d.751/1350), Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī (d.672/1273), and Fakhr al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī (d.688/1289).¹¹⁶

We would like to discuss here briefly the possible influence of the famous Kubrawī sufi of Irān, ^CAlā' al-Dawlah al-Simnānī (d.736/1336) who was the disciple of Nūr al-Dīn al-Isfarā'īnī (d.717/1317). Dr. S.A.A. Rizvi writes that Gīṣūdirās may have been influenced by Simnānī through his works like al-ʿUrwah li-ahl al-Khalwah wa-al-Jalwah and Chihil Maʿjilis, and through his disciples who had visited Gīṣūdirās at Gulbarga.¹¹⁷ As we have pointed out below,¹¹⁸ Simnānī lived about 85 years prior to Gīṣūdirās. Both are critical towards Ibn ^CArabī, and have tried to refute the same idea. Besides, doctrinally, they have a striking similarity, but at the same time, are themselves under the influence of Ibn ^CArabī. The sufism of Simnānī falls under that special type of Islamic mysticism which is often labelled as "unity of witnessing" (wahdat al-shuhūd),¹¹⁹ as opposed to "unity of being" (wahdat al-wujūd) of Ibn ^CArabī, and we think that Gīṣūdirās is not any different from Simnānī.

Naturally, the first question which comes to mind is, was Gīṣūdirās influenced by Simnānī? The possible means of influence could have been two: through the works or through the disciples. The

first means is most improbable, since there is no evidence to show that any of Simnānī's works had reached India during the time of Gīṣūdirāz. Moreover, nowhere does Gīṣūdirāz himself refer to Simnānī or to his works. Gīṣūdirāz has a habit of citing or referring to works or authors, irrespective of whether he agrees with them or not. It is felt that he would have mentioned Simnānī if any of his works were studied by him. This leaves us with the alternative means of influence, that is, through Simnānī's disciples. We know that Ashraf Jahāngīr-i Simnānī (d. after 825/1422), who initially took spiritual training from 'Alī al-Dawlah al-Simnānī, had migrated to India where he died.¹²⁰ Ashraf Jahāngīr had visited the monastery of Gīṣūdirāz at Gulbarga two times.¹²¹ Elsewhere in the discourses of the shaykh, Latā'if-i Ashrafī, it is stated that some disciples of Ashraf Jahāngīr had also paid a visit to Gulbarga, but it is most probable that this visit took place after the death of the Chishtī sufi.¹²² As far as the two visits of Ashraf Jahāngīr are concerned, the shaykh himself implies in one of his letter that in his second visit Gīṣūdirāz had already passed away.¹²³ In short, the only occasion on which Ashraf Jahāngīr could have influenced Gīṣūdirāz was in his first visit to Gulbarga, which seems to us a very remote possibility for the following reasons:

a) Latā'if Ashrafī reports that Ashraf Jahāngīr himself gained spiritual knowledge from Gīṣūdirāz, more than he could have achieved from any other shaykh;¹²⁴ b) from the letter of Ashraf Jahāngīr it is apparent that he was in favour of Ibn 'Arabī and he seems to have argued with

Gisūdirāz in support of his doctrines.¹²⁵ This implies that he was not a supporter of Simnānī's philosophy. c) It may be said that Gisūdirāz tried to refute Ibn ʿArabī even in Delhi, before he met Ashraf Jahāngīr, and propounded the same doctrines both in Delhi and in Gulbarga. We do not find in him any major change doctrinally, throughout his whole career.¹²⁶

We, therefore, feel that Rizvi's assumptions of a possible influence of Simnānī on Gisūdirāz is rather far-fetched. On the contrary, we think that the sufism of both Simnānī and Gisūdirāz was a natural consequence in respect of their times. That is to say, that the concept of "unity of being" (wahdat al-wuḥūd) of Ibn ʿArabī had such a sweeping influence on the religious thought of the 13th and 14th centuries that it produced diverse effects. In a way, this doctrine went against the Islamic concept of "unity" (tawḥīd) of God. This aroused the Muslim theologians and jurists to criticise Ibn ʿArabī severely. But the issue raised by a sufi could only be tackled by those who understood its very nature. In other words, only a sufi could solve the problems created by another sufi. This would also simplify the other aspect of the problem, in case of no apparent influence, that is the striking similarities in Simnānī and Gisūdirāz. It signifies similar psychological experiences of both these sufis, one in Iran and the other in India.

Thus we find in Simnānī and Gīṣūdirāz attempts to reconcile sharī'ah and ṭarīqah by propounding the doctrines referred to as "unity of witnessing" (wahdat al-shuhūd). Whether wahdat al-shuhūd is something different or opposed to wahdat al-wujūd or not, is another question.

5) As an author

Wā'izī states that Gīṣūdirāz used to compare himself with Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d.505/1111) in his capacity as an erudite scholar who used to dictate four or five works at a time.¹²⁸ Nevertheless, Gīṣūdirāz himself writes, "everyone who traverses on the path to God is bestowed with a particular thing; God has bestowed me with the gift of explaining His secrets".¹²⁹ It is not certain, however, the number of works actually written by him. According to a tradition, he is supposed to have compiled 105 works.¹³⁰ The Tabqirat al-khawāriqāt mentions the number as 125.¹³¹ Siyar-i Muḥammadi lists about 36 works,¹³² while Tārīkh-i Ḥabībī quotes 47 treatises which include four collections of Gīṣūdirāz' discourses (malfūzāt).¹³³ It can be said, though, that Gīṣūdirāz may have compiled more than the works listed by his biographers because a number of treatises (besides those listed in his biographies) attributed to him, are found in various libraries of India. The Tārīkh-i Ḥabībī divided his works chronologically into two periods, those compiled in Delhi (between 736/1335 and 801/1398) which include those written on his way to Gulbarga (between 801/1398 and 803/1400), and those written

in Gulbarga (803/1400-825/1422). We will, however, divide them according to the relevant subjects. The following is a list of the important works of Gīṣūdirāz.

a) Exegesis

i) Hawāshī-i Kashshāf: this was a marginal commentary of the commentary Kashshāf of Zamakhsharī. It was compiled in Delhi (lost work). It is reported that Gīṣūdirāz wrote another commentary on the Qur'ān with an approach similar to that of Kashshāf, but it was not completed as he had to leave Delhi.¹³⁴ It was, presumably, written sometime between 800/1397 and 801/1398, in which year he left Delhi.

ii) Tafsīr-i Multaqat: this commentary on the Qur'ān was written in Arabic during Gīṣūdirāz' stay in Delhi (736/1335-801/1398). Sāmānī writes that it was compiled from the sufi point of view.¹³⁵ It is reported that this commentary was one of the works which Gīṣūdirāz taught to his disciples.¹³⁶ It was also one of his three works that Gīṣūdirāz was himself jealous (ghayrat) of.¹³⁷ The first part of this commentary up to the end of Sūrah 18 is preserved in the Nāgīriyah Library, Lucknow.¹³⁸ A copy of the Tafsīr in two volumes (complete commentary) is also preserved in the India Office.¹³⁹ M. Saīd Qidwā'ī, in an article on the Lucknow manuscript, quotes parts of the text and remarks that the commentary has little to say about sufism; it is rather more useful from the literary point of view.¹⁴⁰

b) Tradition

Sharḥ-i Mashāriq al-Anwār: Mashāriq al-Anwār is a well-known work on the prophetic tradition compiled by Raḍī al-Dīn Ḥasan al-Saghānī.¹⁴¹ Gīsūdīrāz wrote a commentary on this work of al-Saghānī in Delhi. Wāḥiḍī mentions its name as Ishārāt al-Mashāriq.¹⁴² When Gīsūdīrāz moved to Gulbarga, he is said to have made a translation of the same Mashāriq in 810/1407.¹⁴³ Both these works are lost.

c) Biography

Siyar al-Nabī: this biography of the Prophet Muḥammad was written in Gulbarga. Wāḥiḍī writes that Gīsūdīrāz dictated this work to one of his disciples, Shaykh Sirāj al-Dīn.¹⁴⁴ The work is referred to by Shaykh Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī in one of his letters, where he states that it was one of the last works Gīsūdīrāz was engaged in, when he visited the khānqah in Gulbarga.¹⁴⁵ This biography is not known to have survived.

d) Jurisprudence

Sharḥ al-Fiqh al-Akbar:¹⁴⁶ al-Fiqh al-Akbar is a well-known work of Abū Ḥanīfah al-Khūfī (d.150/767). The biographers of Gīsūdīrāz state that he wrote a commentary on this treatise of Abū Ḥanīfah, both in Arabic and Persian, during his stay in Gulbarga.¹⁴⁷ In the introduction to the Persian commentary, Gīsūdīrāz states that he had started out by compiling it in Arabic, but he received inspiration to comment in Persian instead. Therefore, he left the Arabic commentary incomplete.¹⁴⁸

e) Sufism

1) Asmār al-Asrār: this is a very important work because it deals with almost all the aspects of sufism. Gīṣūdirāz himself seems to have been proud of it.¹⁴⁹ Wā'izī writes that Gīṣūdirāz was always reluctant to teach this work of his to anyone although he did teach it to a select few. Nevertheless, he avoided explaining to anyone those chapters (74 and 75) which dealt with the interpretation of the 14 mystical letters (muqatta'āt) of the Qur'ān. Asmār al-Asrār was the second work that Gīṣūdirāz was jealous of.¹⁵⁰ Gīṣūdirāz divided the work into 114 chapters according to the number of sūrahs in the Qur'ān.¹⁵¹ Each chapter deals with a mystical interpretation of either a Qur'ānic verse, or a prophetic tradition, or a controversial topic. On the whole, however, it is a mine of information regarding his own thought, but at the same time extremely difficult to understand. Another significant aspect of the Asmār is that it shows the importance of mystical visions in the thought of Gīṣūdirāz, who devoted a number of chapters to his visions. It, therefore, requires a very careful reading of the text. Gīṣūdirāz is consistent throughout the work, but at times incomprehensible and confusing, especially when he intends to be so. It may be said that Asmār presupposes knowledge of Ibn 'Arabī's doctrines, and, no doubt, Gīṣūdirāz himself compiled the work with Ibn 'Arabī in mind. We find innumerable places where he openly criticizes the Shaykh al-Akbar and his ideas, while at many other instances he just alludes to some.

Wā'izī states that the Asmār was written in Gulbarga, but the date of its compilation is not stated.¹⁵² On the basis of internal evidence, however, we may be able to determine the year of its compilation. In chapter 80 of the Asmār, Gīṣūdīrāz states that he is already 90 years old.¹⁵³ Having been born on the 4th Rajab 721/30th July 1321, it would add up to the 4th of Rajab 811/23rd November 1408 to make Gīṣūdīrāz 90 years old. His son S. Akbar Ḥusaynī wrote a commentary on some chapters of the Asmār, and quotes also from chapter 114,¹⁵⁴ which implies that the whole Asmār was completed when he began his commentary. S.A. Ḥusaynī died on the 15th Jumāda al-Ākhīr 812/25th October 1409.¹⁵⁵ This leaves us with 10 months (between 4th Rajab 811 and 15th Jumāda al-Ākhīr 812) during which period Gīṣūdīrāz must have completed this work. It would determine also that the commentary of S.A. Ḥusaynī was written during the same period.

We will mention here two commentaries on the Asmār al-Asrār of Gīṣūdīrāz. Tabqirat al-Istīlāḥāt al-Sūfiyah is a work written by his eldest son, S.A. Ḥusaynī, whom we have just mentioned above. It was compiled, as observed, sometime between 811/1408 and 812/1409.¹⁵⁶ S.A. Ḥusaynī writes that he compiled the work so as to explain certain technical terms, especially of the Asmār al-Asrār, which are extremely difficult to understand.¹⁵⁷ This work contains a commentary on the following chapters of the Asmār al-Asrār, numbers 49, 73, 76, 78, 81, and 83. Chapter 9 of the commentary contains interpretations of certain

technical terms often used in mystical poetry. In chapter 5, S.A. Husayn¹ discusses at length G¹asūdīrāz' objections to Ibn ^oArabī. The work is very interesting and illuminating especially in regard to certain difficult parts of Asmār.

The second commentary is the Asrār al-Asmār¹⁵⁸ written in the year 877/1472.¹⁵⁹ It is an anonymous work, since the author does not reveal his name. S.^oAtī' Husayn, the editor of Asmār al-Asrār, writes that it was probably compiled by one of the disciples of the grandson of G¹asūdīrāz.¹⁶⁰ The title Asrār al-Asmār Sharḥ-i Asmār al-Asrār is mentioned at a number of places in the commentary itself.¹⁶¹ The author avoided commenting on the chapters 74 and 75 of the Asmār al-Asrār dealing with the mysterious letters of the Qur'ān. He then begins from the middle of chapter 76 (from waqt ṭashud, Asmār, line 4, p.236). It is evident that the commentator was aware of and, perhaps, studied the Tabṣīrat al-Istīlāḥāt al-Sūfiyah of S.A. Husayn¹. His commentary on a couple of chapters is not much different from that of S.A. Husayn¹.¹⁶² However, the Asrār al-Asmār is also an interesting commentary, but at times, it is felt that its author extracted too much meaning from the text of the Asmār.

There is a third commentary on a section of Asmār al-Asrār by Sh^h Rafī^o al-Dīn, the son of Sh^h Walī^o Allāh.¹⁶³

ii) Hawāshī-i Qūt al-Qulūb: a commentary on the margin of Qūt al-Qulūb of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī written in Gulbarga.¹⁶⁴ The Qūt al-Qulūb was in the curriculum of the khānqah of Gīṣūdīrāz.¹⁶⁵ The commentary is lost.

iii) Hazā'ir al-Quds:¹⁶⁶ this work, also known as Ḡishq Nāmāh, is focused on the idea of mystical love. It was compiled on his way to the Deccan in Khambhayat (Cambay).¹⁶⁷ As Gīṣūdīrāz himself states, he completed this treatise on the 15th of Jumādā al-Ākhīr 803/31st January 1401.¹⁶⁸ Wāḡiḡī writes that the Hazā'ir al-Quds was the third work which Gīṣūdīrāz was jealous of. He further reports that the shaykh used to compare this work of his with Sawānīḡ fī al-Ḡishq of Ahmad al-Ghasālī.¹⁶⁹

iv) Khāṭimah:¹⁷⁰ Gīṣūdīrāz compiled this work in Gulbarga in the year 807/1404,¹⁷¹ as a supplement to one of his commentaries on the Adāb al-Murīdīn of Dīyā' al-Dīn Abū al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī.¹⁷² That is the reason why he calls it the Khāṭimah or Khāṭimah-i Adāb al-Murīdīn.

v) Majmū'ah-i Yāzdah Rasā'il:¹⁷³ this is a collection of ten treatises of Gīṣūdīrāz,¹⁷⁴ edited by S. Ḡatā' Ḥusayn. It also contains 7 commentaries on one of his treatises, Burhān al-Ḡashīqīn. The following is the list of the ten treatises:

1) Tafsīr-i Sūrah Fāṭīhah;

2) Risālah dar Mas'alah-i Rūyat-i Bārī Ta'ālā wa Karāmāt-i

Awliyā';

3) Istiqāmat al-Sharī'at ba-Tarīq al-Haqīqat, written in the year 792/1389,¹⁷⁵

- 4) Ḥadā'iq al-Uns, written in Gulbarga,¹⁷⁶
- 5) Wujūd al-^CAshiqīn; a very interesting short treatise on love;
- 6) Risālah-i Manzūm dar adhkār;
- 7) Risālah dar Murāqabah;
- 8) Risālah-i Adhkār-i Chishtīyah;¹⁷⁷
- 9) Sharḥ-i Bayt-i Ḥadrat-i Amīr Khusrāw Dihlawī;
- 10) Burhān al-^CAshiqīn, it is also known as Shikār Nāmah.

vi) Sharḥ-i ^CAwārif al-Ma^Cārif: Gīṣūdīrās compiled two commentaries on the ^CAwārif al-Ma^Cārif of Shihāb al-Dīn ^CUmar al-Suhrawardī. The first one he wrote in Arabic during his stay in Delhi, and called it Ma^Cārif Sharḥ-i ^CAwārif.¹⁷⁸ The second commentary was written in Persian after he immigrated to Gulbarga. The year of the compilation of the Persian version is given as 810/1407.¹⁷⁹

vii) Sharḥ-i Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam: this work of Ibn ^CArabī was one of those which Gīṣūdīrās taught to some of his disciples.¹⁸⁰ Wāṣi writes that the commentary was written with a critical approach in Sultanpur (Province of Gujarat) on the way to Gulbarga¹⁸¹ (between 801/1398 and 803/1400). It is unfortunate that this work is not extant today.

viii) Sharḥ-i Risālah-i Qushayrīyah:¹⁸² this commentary is incomplete as it ends with the chapter on tawakkul for no obvious reason as also observed by its editor S. ^CAtā' Husayn.¹⁸³ The introduction to the commentary was not written by Gīṣūdīrās but by a disciple of his who

was asked to write it.¹⁸⁴ The commentary was written in Gulbarga in the year 807/1404.¹⁸⁵ Wāḥid¹⁸⁶ mentions a second commentary on the Risālah compiled by G^hsūdīrāz earlier in Delhī but it is not known to exist.¹⁸⁶

ix) Sharḥ-i Tamhīdāt:¹⁸⁷ this commentary on the Tamhīdāt of °Ayn al-Quḍāh al-Hamadhānī is also one of the important works of G^hsūdīrāz. It was written in Delhī.¹⁸⁸ It is a very interesting commentary; the more so because G^hsūdīrāz liked the Tamhīdāt a lot. At times he disagrees with °Ayn al-Quḍāh, but he criticizes him in a peculiar style of his own by making an excuse for any excesses of the author. Sometimes he writes, "our Qāḍī is mad" (qāḍī-i mā dīwānah ast).¹⁸⁹ It is also evident that the Persian style of G^hsūdīrāz was influenced by the Tamhīdāt.

x) Tarjamah-i Adāb al-Murīdīn:¹⁹⁰ this is a Persian translation of the Adāb al-Murīdīn of Abū al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī, compiled in Gulbarga in the year 813/1410.¹⁹¹ Besides the translation, it also contains some interesting comments by him. It is reported that G^hsūdīrāz wrote three other commentaries on the Adāb al-Murīdīn (one in Arabic and two in Persian). The Tarjamah was the fourth time he commented on the work.¹⁹²

f) Miscellaneous

1) Anīs al-°Ushshāq:¹⁹³ it is a collection of the poetry composed by G^hsūdīrāz. The poems were collected by one of his disciples on the request of S. Asghar Husaynī, the second son of G^hsūdīrāz.¹⁹⁴

ii) Maktūbāt:¹⁹⁵ these letters were collected by a Abū al-Fath 'Alī' al-Dīn Qurayshī in the year 852/1448.¹⁹⁶ The edition contains 66 letters of Gīṣūdīrāz written to his disciples et. al. It also contains letters written by his sons, a disciple of his and another Chishtī sufi.

iii) Malfūzāt (Discourses): there is mention of 4 collections of the discourses of Gīṣūdīrāz. Two of them were compiled by his eldest son S. Akbar Ḥusaynī, the third by a Qāḍī 'Ilm al-Dīn Bahrūch, a disciple of Gīṣūdīrāz, and the compiler of the fourth collection is not mentioned.¹⁹⁷ One of the two malfūzāt collected by S.A. Ḥusaynī was compiled in Delhi, while the other he collected at Gujarat on the way to Gulbarga. The third collection by Qāḍī 'Ilm al-Dīn contained the discourses of the Shaykh in Gulbarga. None of the malfūzāt are known to exist today, except the one compiled on the way to the Deccan by S.A. Ḥusaynī under the title Jawāmi' al-Kalim. The work is very well organised and is chronologically arranged. It begins from the 1st of Rajab 802/27th February 1400 and ends on 22nd of Rabi' al-Thānī 803/10th December 1400. S.A. Ḥusaynī states that he had the whole work read out to Gīṣūdīrāz who corrected it word by word. Gīṣūdīrāz is reported to have praised it.¹⁹⁸ The Jawāmi' contains a mine of information on almost all aspects of Islam and is an important source on the life of Gīṣūdīrāz. Recently this work has been analysed to show its historical value in a series of articles by M. Aslan.¹⁹⁹

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

- 1 Cf. L. Massignon & L. Gardet, "al-Hallāj", Encyclopaedia of Islam, new ed., Vol.III, Leiden 1971, p.100.
- 2 Cf. J.A. Subhan, Sufism: Its Saints and Shrines, Lucknow, 1960, pp.121-122; Enamul Haq, "Sufi Movement in Bengal", Indo-Iranica, Vol.III (1948), p.10; Aziz Ahmad, An Intellectual History of Islam in India, Islamic Surveys 7, Edinburgh, 1969, p.34; M. Mujeeb, The Indian Muslims, London, 1967, p.116.
- 3 The mafiḡāt attributed to the shaykhs Mu^cin al-Dīn, Qutb al-Dīn, Farīd al-Dīn and Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' are regarded as apocryphal. Cf. M. Habib, "Chishtī Mystic Records of the Sultanate Period", Medieval India Quarterly, Vol.I (1950), pp.20-37. This article has recently been reprinted in the collected works of Prof. M. Habib, entitled, Politics and Society during the Early Medieval Period, Vol.I, edited by K.A. Nizami, N. Delhi, 1974, pp.385-433; M. Noor Nabi, Development of Muslim Religious Thought in India from 1200A.D. to 1450A.D., Aligarh, 1962, pp.131-146; S. Nurul Hasan, The Chishtī and Suhrawardī Movements in Medieval India; to the middle of the sixteenth century, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation Oxford University, May 1948, pp.413-416.
- 4 Printed from Lucknow, 1312A.H. There are other editions but the above is the one we have used in the present study.
- 5 Edited by K.A. Nizami, and printed from Aligarh, 1959.
- 6 Printed from Delhi, 1885A.D.
- 7 See supra, note 3.
- 8 K.A. Nizami, "Gisḡirā", Encyclopaedia of Islam, new ed., Vol.II, Leiden, 1965, p.1115.
- 9 Cf. infra, n. 75.
- 10 See Appendix D.
- 11 K.A. Nizami, Tārīkh-i Mashā'ikh-i Chisht, Delhi, 1953, p.135.
- 12 Ibid., p.136.

- 13 Idem., "Chishtiyya", Encyclopaedia of Islam, new ed., Vol.II, Leiden, 1965, p.50; Idem., Tārīkh, p.137; A. Ahmad, Intellectual, p.37; see Appendix A for a list of the early Chishtī shaykhs. It is a pity that very little is known about the early Chishtīs of Khurasan. The following two are the earliest works in which short notices of some are found. Amīr Khurd, Siyar, pp.40-44; Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī, Nafahāt al-Uns, ed. M. Tawhīdīpūr, Tehran, 1336A.H., pp.322-324, 340-342.
- 14 K.A. Nizami, "Chishtī", Encyclopaedia of Islam, new ed., Vol.II, Leiden, 1965, p.49; Idem., Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the thirteenth century, Aligarh, 1961, p.184. It is reported that two other Chishtīs had come to India even before Shaykh Mu'īn al-Dīn. Jāmī writes that Shaykh Muḥammad Chishtī (see Appendix A) had accompanied Sultan Maḥmūd Ghaznawī to India, Nafahāt, p.324. Another Chishtī Sayyid Ahmad, known as Sakhi Sarwar (d.577/1181), a disciple of Shaykh Mawḍūd Chishtī (see Appendix A) lived in Multan. Cf. S. Moinul Haq, "Early Sufi Shaykhs of the Subcontinent", Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society, Vol.XXII (1974), pp.14-15; Idem., "Rise and Expansion of the Chishtīs in the Subcontinent", Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society, Vol.XXII (1974), pp.163-164; K.A. Nizami, Tārīkh, p.142.
- 15 J.A. Subhan, Sufism, p.197.
- 16 Amīr Khurd, Siyar, p.46.
- 17 K.A. Nizami, Some Aspects, p.184.
- 18 See Appendix B.
- 19 For details see K.A. Nizami, E.I., p.50ff; Idem., Some Aspects, p.185ff.
- 20 Cf. K.A. Nizami, E.I., pp.51-55.
- 21 Idem., "Some Aspects of Khanqah Life in Medieval India", Studia Islamica, Vol.VIII (1957), p.51.
- 22 Ibid., p.55.
- 23 Ibid., p.59.
- 24 Azis Ahmad, "The Sufi and the Sultan in pre-Mughal Muslim India", Der Islam, Vol.XXXVIII (1962), p.143.

- 25 S.A. Husaynī, Jawāmi^c al-Kalim, ed. S. 'Atā' Husayn, Kanpur, 1356 A.H., p.219.
- 26 K.A. Nizami, The Life and Times of Shaykh Farīduddīn Ganj-i Shakar, Aligarh, 1955, p.105; M. Mujeeb, Indian, p.165ff.
- 27 Aziz Ahmad, Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment, Oxford, 1966, pp.134-135.
- 28 K.A. Nizami, Life and Times, p.105.
- 29 A. Ahmad, Der Islam, p.142.
- 30 K.A. Nizami, E.I., p.50; cf. M. Mujeeb, Indian, p.146; M.N. Nabi, Religious Thought, pp.14, 22.
- 31 A. Ahmad, Indian Environment, pp.132-133.
- 32 S.A. Husaynī, Jawāmi^c, p.172; cf. S.A.A. Rizvi, Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Agra, 1963, p.55.
- 33 S. Šabāh al-Dīn^c Abd al-Rahmān, Bazm-i Šūfiyah, Azangarh, 1949, pp.55-56, 82, 150, 518; cf. M. Mujeeb, Indian, p.137; A. Ahmad, Intellectual, p.34ff.
- 34 Cf. M. 'Alī Šāmānī, Siyar-i Muḥammadi, ed. and trans. S.S. Nadhīr Ahmad Qādrī, Hyderabad, 1969, p.92.
- 35 Šabāh al-Dīn, Bazm, pp.78, 133.
- 36 For details of the Suhrawardī attitude towards the State see K.A. Nizami, Some Aspects, pp.248-256; idem., "The Suhrawardī Silsilah and its influence on Medieval Indian Politics", Medieval India Quarterly, Vol.III (1957), pp.109-149; idem., "Early Indo-Muslim Mystics and their attitude towards the State", Islamic Culture, Vols.XXII (1948), pp.387-398; XXIII (1949), pp.13-21, 162-170, 312-321; XXIV (1950), pp.60-71; A. Ahmad, Der Islam, p. 144.
- 37 K.A. Nizami, Islamic Culture, Vol.XXII, p.391; also see A. Ahmad, Der Islam, pp.142-143.
- 38 Ibid., Vol.XXIII, p.15.
- 39 'Abd al-'Asīs M. Wā'izī, Tārīkh-i Ḥabībī, translated into Urdu by Ma. shūq Yār Jang, Hyderabad, 1368 A.H., pp.91-92.

- 40 M. Mujeeb, Indian, p.140.
- 41 A. Ahmad, Der Islam, pp.142-143.
- 42 Wa^Cizī, Habībī, p.76.
- 43 A. Ahmad, Der Islam, p.148.
- 44 K.A. Nizami, E.I., pp.50, 55; cf. idem., Some Aspects, p.184; idem., "Hadrat Shaykh-i Akbar Muhyi al-Dīn Bin 'Arabī awr Hindustān", Burhān, Vol.XXIV (1950), p.20. The article was later printed in Tārīkhī Maqālāt, Delhi, 1966, p.31; S.M. Haq, J.P.H.S., p.172.
- 45 A. Ahmad, Intellectual, p.38.
- 46 S.A.A. Rizvi, Revivalist, pp.54, 43.
- 47 Amīr Khurd, Siyar, p.45; cf. K.A. Nizami, Some Aspects, p.184; S.M. Haq, J.P.H.S., p.172.
- 48 M.N. Nabl, Religious Thought, pp.80, 89-90, 122-124.
- 49 K.A. Nizami, E.I., p.55.
- 50 Ibid., p.1115.
- 51 S.M. Haq, J.P.H.S., p.247.
- 52 Mir Walī al-Dīn, Khwājah Bandah nawāz ka Tasawwuf awr Sulūk, Delhi, 1966, p.58ff.
- 53 S.A.A. Rizvi, Revivalist, p.54.
- 54 See the world-view of Gīśūdirāz, infra., CH.II, section B; it is because of this reason that we have called Gīśūdirāz' sufism as a type of wabdat al-wujūd, infra., Ch.III, section C. pp. 193-194.
- 55 K.A. Nizami, Burhān, pp.19-22. Elsewhere Nizami feels that the works of Ibn 'Arabī reached India through Fakhr al-Dīn 'Irāqī, although in the above article he writes that only the name and doctrines of Ibn 'Arabī were exposed by 'Irāqī. Cf. Some Aspects, p.56; cf. A. Ahmad, Der Islam, p.145.
- 56 For a list of the commentaries, see K.A. Nizami, Burhān, pp.15-17; idem., Maqālāt, pp.22-26; cf. idem., Salātīn-i Delhi ka Madhhabī Ruḥānāt, Delhi, 1958, pp.388-389, 412-414; idem., "Some Religious and Cultural Trends of the Tughlaq Period", Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society, Vol.I (1953), p.240.

- 57 K.A. Nizami, "Hind: v. - Islam", Encyclopaedia of Islam, New edition, Vol.III, Leiden, 1971, p.429.
- 58 Cf. idem., Salātīn, pp.389, 425-428; idem., Burhān, pp.22-23; idem., Maqālāt, pp.33-35.
- 59 Idem., E.I., Vol.III, p.429; idem., Salātīn, pp.389, 396-398; idem., J.P.H.S., pp.237, 239.
- 60 Idem., E.I., Vol.III, p.429.
- 61 M. Mujeeb, Indian, p.117.
- 62 M. ^CAlī Sāmānī, Muhammadi, pp.3-4. There is a difference of opinion regarding the date of birth. Wā'izī has it as 723/1323; Habībī, p.7. The discourses of S. Ashraf Jahāngīr Sāmānī mention it as 720/1320. N. Yamanī, Lat'if-i Ashrafi, Delhi, 1295 A.H., p.367; Min Allāh Husaynī agrees with Wā'izī, Taba'irat al-Khawāriqāt, ed. and trans. by S.M. Raf'at, Hyderabad, 1966. We accept the date mentioned by Sāmānī because he puts forth an argument in support of the date 721 A.H. and we think he is correct. Cf. A. Idrīs Qadrī who also makes an argument and concludes with 721/1321 as the right year; see Hayāt-i Bandah-nawāz, Karachi, 1965, pp.15-22; cf. K.A. Nizami, E.I., p.1114; I. Ahmad thinks the year to be 720/1320, probably following Wā'izī, Tadhkirah-i Khwājah Gīśūdirāz, Karachi, 1966, pp.28-29.
- 63 Wā'izī states, on the authority of Gīśūdirāz, that Sayyid Abū al-Hasan-i Jandī (12th ancestor of Gīśūdirāz) came from Khurāsān to Delhi where he was killed. He was buried in the compound of a mosque called masjid-i anār; see Habībī, pp.7-8; cf. Abū al-Fayḍ Min Allāh, Shawā'il al-Jumal dar Shawā'il al-Kumal, Xerox copy of the manuscript, 'Alī' al-Dīn Junaydī Collection, Gulbarga, f.155a.
- 64 This clarification made by Ashraf Jahāngīr Sāmānī seems reliable. Maktūbāt, Mss. Dargah Library, Gulbarga, Letter no.32, f.117. There are two other versions to explain the surname Gīśūdirāz. Cf. Min Allāh, Taba'irat, pp.6-7; Abd al-Haqq, Akhbār al-Akhyār, Urdu translation by A. Nizami, Delhi (n.d.), p.237; A.I. Qadrī, Hayāt, p.15, n.4; I. Ahmad, Tadhkirah, pp.44-45; S.N. Hasan, The Chishtī, p.156, n.1.
- 65 His Kunya was Abū al-Faḥḥ and, besides Gīśūdirāz, he was also known as Bandah-nawāz, Ṣadr al-Dīn, Walī al-Akbar, al-Ṣādiq. For an explanation of these surnames, see Sāmānī, Muhammadi, p.46; =

=Min Allah, Tabṣirat, pp.4-5; cf. A.I. Qādrī, Ḥayāt, p.15, n.1, 2, 3, 4. Besides, Gīṣūdirāz had 99 names too. Cf. Min Allāh, Tabṣirat, pp.99-100. For Gīṣūdirāz' ancestral genealogy, see Sāmānī, Muḥammadi, p.8; Min Allāh, Tabṣirat, pp.102-103; A.I. Qādrī, Ḥayāt, pp.22-23; Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn, Baḥr, p.483. For his spiritual genealogy (silsilah), see Appendices A and B.

- 66 Wā'izī, Ḥabībī, p.8; Sāmānī, Muḥammadi, p.9; cf. K.A. Nizami, E.I., p.1114.
- 67 Sāmānī, Muḥammadi, p.7; Wā'izī, Ḥabībī, p.10; cf. A.I. Qādrī, Ḥayāt, p.29; K.A. Nizami, E.I., pp.1114.
- 68 Ibid., p.12; Wā'izī, Ḥabībī, p.10.
- 69 Ibid., p.10.
- 70 Gīṣūdirāz had three brothers and a sister: (1) Sayyid Ḥusayn, known as Shah Chandān Ḥusaynī; (2) Sayyid Aḥmad Ṣaghīr who died in infancy; (3) Sayyid 'Alī Ḥusaynī; (4) Bībī Rānī. Cf. J. Alī Shāh 'Alawī, Kayfiyat-i Khāndān-i Muḥammad, Hyderabad, 1318A.H., p.10.
- 71 Sāmānī, Muḥammadi, p.13; Wā'izī, Ḥabībī, pp.10-11.
- 72 Ibid., p.17; Wā'izī, Ḥabībī, p.11; Abū al-Fayḍ, Shawāmil, f.61b.
- 73 Ibid., pp.17-18.
- 74 Ibid., pp.23-24; Wā'izī, Ḥabībī, p.15.
- 75 Ibid., pp.24-25; Wā'izī, Ḥabībī, pp.16-17. According to a supplement found attached to the Khayr al-Majālis (compiled by H. Qalandar), which deals with the life of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, the shaykh did not nominate anyone as his successor. It adds that on the death of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn, Gīṣūdirāz washed his body and took out the ropes from the cot on which the Shaykh was washed. He put the ropes around his neck and said, "this is sufficient as a khirqah for me". Khayr, p.287. K.A. Nizami is of the opinion that this supplement is authentic and was written by H. Qalandar himself. Cf., Khayr, introd., p.8. On the basis of the supplement most of the modern scholars, especially of North India, believe that no one succeeded Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn. They ignore the contradictory statements of Sāmānī and Wā'izī. Cf. K.A. Nizami, Tārīkh, pp.187-188; H. Qalandar, Khayr, editor's introd., p.67, n.2; S.N. Hasan, The Chishtī, p.156; M. Ḥabīb, Politics and Society, p.384; A. Aḥmad, Der Islam, p.152; M. Mujeeb-

=Indian, p.161. The north Indian bias is evident from the following statement of K.A. Nizami: "great as an organizer, erudite as a scholar, Gīśūdirāz did not, however, succeed in maintaining the pan-Indian character of the Īḡhtī sadjdjāda which he occupied. The era of the great Cishtī shaykhs of the first cycle ended with his master, Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Īrāgh of Delhi", E.I., p.115. On the other hand, there are some others who at least make a reference to the biographies of Gīśūdirāz. Cf. M. Ikram who refers to the contradictory statements regarding the nomination of Gīśūdirāz, found in the biographies of Gīśūdirāz and Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn; see his Ab-i Kawthar, Lahore, 1966, p.367 and n.1; Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn also refers to the contradiction between H. Qalandar and Sāmānī; see Bazm, pp.341-342 and p.490. Gīśūdirāz makes a reference to the maḥfūz Khayr al-Majālis as an inaccurate and untrustworthy compilation. He adds that Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn once read a few parts of the discourses and threw them away saying that they contained sayings which he never said. Cf. S.A. Ḥusaynī, Jawāmi, p.134. Wā'izī mentions that the disciples of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn had a grudge against Gīśūdirāz because he was the favourite of the Shaykh; Habībī, pp.16-17. No wonder, the Khayr al-Majālis never mentions Gīśūdirāz anywhere except towards the end of its supplement when a reference is made to the incident connected with the death of the Shaykh. Nevertheless, it is difficult for us to decide which statement (either of Sāmānī and Wā'izī or of Qalandar) is trustworthy. It may be said, however, that Gīśūdirāz' serving the khānqah in Delhi as the rightful successor of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn for 44 years may be taken as a proof of his being nominated. This also shows that Gīśūdirāz was accepted in Delhi as the successor.

- 76 Sāmānī, Muḥammadi, p.26; Wā'izī writes that Gīśūdirāz took charge of the khānqah 14 days after the death of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn; see Habībī, p.18.
- 77 Ibid., pp.26, 127ff; Wā'izī, Habībī, p.14.
- 78 Ibid., p.26.
- 79 Ibid., pp.26 & 67; Min Allāh, Tabṣīrat, pp.31-32; A. Ahmad, following Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn, writes that Gīśūdirāz was sent to the Deccan by his preceptor; Der Islam, p.152; cf. Bazm, p.349. Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn had died 44 years prior to Gīśūdirāz' emigration.
- 80 Sāmānī, Muḥammadi, p.33.

- 81 There is again a difference of opinion regarding the year of Gīṣūdirāz' arrival at Gulbarga. Sāmānī mentions only the year 801/1398 when Gīṣūdirāz left Delhi; Muhammadi, p.26. Wā'izī gives the year of arrival as 804/1401; Habībī, p.91. Min Allāh writes that Gīṣūdirāz spent 22 years in Gulbarga; Tabṣirat, p.102. This implies that the year of arrival was 803/1400, because Gīṣūdirāz died in 825/1422. Sayyid 'Alī Ṭabāṭabā states his arrival under the events of the year 802/1399; Burhān-i Ma'āthir, Hyderabad, 1936, p.43. M. Qāsim Firishtah gives the year as 815/1412; Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī, known as Tārīkh-i Firishtah, trans. by J. Briggs under the title, History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India, Calcutta, 1958, Vol.II, Part I, p.64. The year 815/1412 is incorrect as Gīṣūdirāz' son Ḥusaynī died in Gulbarga in the year 812/1409. H.K. Sherwani gives the year as 805/1402; The Bahmanis of the Deccan, Hyderabad, 1953, p.151. In his recent publication, however, Sherwani seems to have changed his opinion as he gives the year as 803/1400-1; "The Bahmanis", in History of Medieval Deccan (1295-1724), Vol.I, ed. H.K. Sherwani, Hyderabad, 1973, p.163. I. Ahmad, probably following Firishtah, mentions the year as 815/1412, but he states his source as Sāmānī; Tadhkirah, p.63. S.N. Hasan also gives the year as 815/1412; The Chishtī, p.157. A.I. Qādrī argues for 803/1400 and substantiates it with satisfactory evidence, which we accept; Hayāt, pp.60-62.
- 82 Sāmānī, Muhammadi, pp.33-34. Firishtah states that the Sultan was away on an expedition when Gīṣūdirāz arrived at Gulbarga. On hearing about the arrival the Sultan returned to Gulbarga, and along with his nobles paid a visit to Gīṣūdirāz; Tārīkh-i Firishtah, p.64; cf. H.K. Sherwānī, Bahmanis, pp.151-152.
- 83 See S.A. Ṭabāṭabā, Burhān, p.44.
- 84 Firishtah writes that Sultan Firūz Shāh withdrew his favours as the Shaykh was deficient in learning. The historian immediately after states that the Sultan, having nominated his son as the heir apparent to the throne, sent him to Gīṣūdirāz for blessings. Gīṣūdirāz is reported to have said that God had already selected the Sultan's brother, Ahmad Shāh as the next king. This alarmed Firūz Shah who then requested Gīṣūdirāz to move to another place away from the palace; Tārīkh-i Firishtah, pp.64-65. We think that Gīṣūdirāz' refusal to bless the Sultan's son may have been the reason for Firūz Shāh's annoyance. See also S.A. Ṭabāṭabā, Burhān, p.46; H.K. Sherwani, Bahmanis, p.152; K.A. Nizami, E.I. p.1115; A.I. Qādrī, Hayāt, pp.65-71; S.M. Haq, J.P.H.S., p.246.
- 85 Sāmānī, Muhammadi, p.35; Wā'izī, Habībī, p.111; Min Allāh, Tabṣirat, p.102.

- 86 Ibid., p.10.
- 87 Ibid.
- 88 S.A. Husaynī, Jawāmi^c, p.38.
- 89 Sāmānī, Muhammadi, p.16.
- 90 Ibid., pp.16-17.
- 91 Ibid., pp.17-18.
- 92 Ibid., pp.22-23.
- 93 See infra., Ch. II, section B, pp.113f; Ch.III, section B, p. 184.
- 94 See Sāmānī, Muhammadi, pp.52-54, 58, 61; Min Allāh, Tabṣirat, p.30; cf. Gīṣūdirāz, Asnār al-Asrār, ed. by S. 'Atā' Husayn, Hyderabad, 1350A.H., pp.142-143.
- 95 Wā'izī, Habībī, pp.19, 34-38, 62.. Wā'izī emphasizes that Gīṣūdirāz was a sunnī.
- 96 Ibid., p.36. It is reported that, during a discussion on the opposition of jurists, Gīṣūdirāz said that the only way sufis could get rid of them and their opposition was by living like and among the jurists themselves; see 'Abd al-Haqq, Akhbār, p.241.
- 97 Sāmānī, Muhammadi, pp.91 and 95; Wā'izī, Habībī, pp.85, 86, and 124.
- 98 Wā'izī, Habībī, pp.67-68. S.N. Hasan writes, "The Saiyid was a typical sufi, with a narrow outlook and no proficiency in the sciences.... Saiyid Muhammad Gīṣūdirāz was not a philosopher nor a man of wide culture, but was well-versed in theology and sufism"; The Chishti, pp.157 and 158. S.N. Hasan evidently did not study Gīṣūdirāz. His source seems to have been M.Q. Firishtah. Cf. Tārīkh-i Firishtah, p.64; Sir W. Haig, Cambridge History of India, Vol.III, Delhi, 1965, p.393. It would be interesting to see S.N. Hasan's definitions of "typical sufi", "narrow outlook" and "sciences".
- 99 S.A. Husaynī, Jawāmi^c, pp.118-119; Min Allāh, Tabṣirat, pp.9-14; cf. K.A. Nizami, E.I., p.1115; A. Ahmad, Intellectual, pp.68 and 94; M. Mujeeb writes that the Sanskrit book probably was the Mahābhārata; Indian, pp.165-166.
- 100 Sāmānī, Muhammadi, pp.11 and 16; Wā'izī, Habībī, pp.10-11.

- 101 Cf. Breckelman, Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur, Vol.I, Leiden, 1943, p.352, Supplement I, Leiden, 1937, p.515. Sāmānī (Muḥammadi, p.16) does not give the full name of the work, but just mentions Miftāḥ. We, therefore, presume that he means Miftāḥ al-Ulūm which is a well-known work on rhetoric.
- 102 Cf. ibid., Vol.I, p.351, Supplement I, p.514. Again, Wāḥidī (Ḥabībī, p.11) only mentions the name of the work as Miṣbāḥ al-Nahw and we presume he meant Miṣbāḥ fī al-Nahw.
- 103 Ibid., Vol.I, p.612.
- 104 For a list of works referred to by S.A. Ḥusaynī, the son of Gīṣūdirāz, see Kitāb al-Aqā'id, ed. by S. Atī Ḥusayn, Hyderabad, 1366 A.H., editor's introduction, pp.2-3. For a more general list of works popular during medieval India, see K.A. Nizami, Some Aspects, pp.265-280.
- 105 Cf. K.A. Nizami, Some Aspects, pp.273-276.
- 106 For instance, see infra, Ch.III, section C, p. 168.
- 107 Cf. Gīṣūdirāz, Ḥaṣṣ'ir al-Quds, ed. S.A. Ḥusayn, Hyderabad, 1359 A.H., pp.39, 174.
- 108 Naṣafī's Tanzīl al-Arwāḥ is specifically quoted by Gīṣūdirāz in Asmār, p.265.
- 109 See infra, p. 29ff.
- 110 We mention this source since it was one of the basic texts studied by the Indian sufis. Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' is reported to have said, "for the one who has no spiritual guide, the Kashf al-Mahjūb is enough." Cf. K.A. Nizami, E.I., p.55.
- 111 It is reported that Gīṣūdirāz taught the work in Delhi. He also refers to it. Sāmānī, Muḥammadi, p.54; Gīṣūdirāz, Ḥaṣṣ'ir, pp.106-107; S.A. Ḥusaynī, the son of Gīṣūdirāz wrote a commentary on Sawānīh. Cf. Sāmānī, Muḥammadi, p.131.
- 112 See infra., Ch.III, section C, p. 196.
- 113 Gīṣūdirāz, Khāṭimah, p.148, para.273.
- 114 Probably Ibn 'Arabī's major work, Futūḥāt al-Makkiyah, and other treatises were available to Gīṣūdirāz. In one of the biographies, the Futūḥāt is mentioned. Cf. Wāḥidī, Ḥabībī, p.56; S.A. Ḥusaynī, Jawāmi, pp.211-212, 215.

- 115 Gīśūdirāz, Khātimah, pp.18-19, para.34; cf. S.A. Ḥusaynī, Tabṣīrat al-Isṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfīyah, ed. by S.A. Ḥusayn, Hyderabad, 1365 A.H., pp.71, 73, 79.
- 116 For instance, idem., Ḥazā'ir, p.166; idem., Asmār, p.31; S.A. Ḥusaynī, Isṭilāḥāt, p.72.
- 117 S.A.A. Rizvi, Revivalist, p.55.
- 118 Infra., Ch. II, section B, pp. 87-88.
- 119 Cf. L. Massignon, Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane, Paris, 1954, p.103; H. Landolt, "Persian Mysticism", paper presented during Iran Cultural Week at McGill University, 27th October 1967, p.6.
- 120 Cf. A.S.B. Ansārī, "Ashraf Djahangir", Encyclopaedia of Islam, new ed., Vol.I, p.702.
- 121 N. Yamanī, Latā'if, p.367; Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī, Maktūbāt, Letter no.32, f.117.
- 122 N. Yamanī, Latā'if, p.297; We assumed that this visit was after the death of Gīśūdirāz, because it is stated that the disciples camped in the khānqah of Gīśūdirāz by the courtesy of his son. Rizvi writes that "disciples" of Simnānī had visited Gīśūdirāz, Revivalist, p.55. But the Latā'if clearly says that they were the disciples of Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī (fuqarā'-i ashrafi), p.297.
- 123 Simnānī, Maktūbāt, f.117.
- 124 Yamanī, Latā'if, Vol.I, p.367.
- 125 Simnānī, Maktūbāt, f.117.
- 126 Shaykh ^oAbd al-Ḥaqq writes that he used to criticize Fuṣūṣ al-Hikam in Delhi itself; Akhbār, pp.244-245.
- 127 Cf. H. Landolt, "Simnānī on waḥdat al-wujūd", Collected Papers on Islamic Philosophy and Mysticism, ed. by M. Mohaghegh and H. Landolt, Tehran, 1971, p.99.
- 128 Wā'isī, Habībī, pp.63-64.
- 129 Gīśūdirāz, Asmār, editor's introduction, pp.1-2.
- 130 K.A. Nizami, E.I., p.1115; A.I. Qadri, Ḥayāt, p.81.

- 131 Min Allāh, Tabṣirat, pp.39 and 102.
- 132 Sāmānī, Muhammadi, pp.114-116.
- 133 Wā'izī, Habībī, pp.64-67.
- 134 Ibid., p.64.
- 135 Sāmānī, Muhammadi, p.114; Wā'izī, Habībī, p.64.
- 136 Ibid., p.95; Wā'izī, Habībī, p.68.
- 137 The other two works were Asnār al-Asrār and Ḥazā'ir al-Quds; of. Wā'izī, Habībī, pp.68-69.
- 138 A microfilm copy of the Lucknow manuscript is preserved in the Dargah Library, Gulbarga.
- 139 Cf. Otto Loth, A Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office, London, 1877, p.24, nos. 109, 110 and 111. Cf. M.S. Qidwā'ī, "Sayyid Muḥammad Giṣūdirās awr unki Tafsīr-i Multaqa", Burhān, Vol.LVI (1966), 173-174.
- 140 M.S. Qidwā'ī, Burhān, pp.174-176.
- 141 For details about the Mashrīq al-Anwār, see Z. Ahmad, The Contribution of Indo-Pakistan to Arabic Literature, Lahore reprint, 1968, pp.48-49; K.A. Nizami, Some Aspects, pp.267-268; A. Schimmel, Islamic Literature of India, Wiesbaden, 1973, p.3.
- 142 Wā'izī, Habībī, p.64.
- 143 Ibid., p.65; Sāmānī, Muhammadi, p.115.
- 144 Ibid.; Sāmānī, Muhammadi, p.115.
- 145 A. Jahāngīr Sāmānī, Maktūbāt, Letter no.32, f.117.
- 146 Edited by S. 'Atā' Ḥusayn, Hyderabad, 1367 A.H.
- 147 Wā'izī, Habībī, p.66; Sāmānī, Muhammadi, p.115.
- 148 Giṣūdirās, Sharḥ al-Fiqh al-Akbar, p.2.
- 149 Cf. idem., Asnār, pp.1 and 3.
- 150 Wā'izī, Habībī, pp.66 and 69.

- 151 Gisūdirāz, Asmār, pp.1-2. The manuscripts that the editor found had 115 chapters and, therefore, the printed text also contains 115 chapters. The editor feels that probably chapters 74 and 75 belong to one chapter; editor's introduction, p.6.
- 152 Wā'izī, Habībī, p.66.
- 153 Gisūdirāz, Asmār, p.246.
- 154 S.A. Husaynī, Tabṣirat al-Istīlāḥāt al-Sūfiyah, ed. by S. 'Atā' Husayn, Hyderabad, 1365 A.H., pp.121-122.
- 155 Sāmānī, Muḥammādī, p.130; Wā'izī, Habībī, p.56.
- 156 In the author's introduction, the date of compilation is given as 780/1378 during the reign of Firūz Shāh Tughlaq of Delhi; Istīlāḥāt, p.4. The editor observes that this may be an error on the part of the scribe, and he suggests that the correct date might be 807/1404; editor's introduction, p.11. We agree that it may be the scribe's mistake, but the correct date cannot be either 780/1378 or 807/1404 because it has been discussed above that the Asmār itself was written between 811/1408 and 812/1409. Instead of Firūz Shāh Bahmanī (800/1397-825/1422) the scribe could have ignorantly written Firūz Shāh Tughlaq. Besides, there are other inconsistencies which point towards later additions in the text. As the editor observes (editor's introduction, p.12), in the 5th chapter (p.93) of the text there are quotations from Jāmī's famous work, Lawā'ih (1ḥ'ibah 5) beginning from amā as (line 1, p.93 of Istīlāḥāt) to the end of the second quatrain, ḡayyad chih kunī (line 7). Then Jāmī is mentioned on the same page and another quatrain is quoted from Lawā'ih (1ḥ'ibah 6). Jāmī died in 898/1492 and he could not have written Lawā'ih before 812/1409 when he must have been 14 years old. Therefore, it is felt that the year 780/1378 mentioned in the introduction of the Istīlāḥāt is incorrect. The alternative year suggested by the editor is also not acceptable.
- 157 S.A. Husaynī, Istīlāḥāt, p.5.
- 158 The manuscript is preserved in the Āṣifiyah Library, Hyderabad, under Ṭaḡawwuf, no.1464.
- 159 Anonymous, Asrār, Vol.II, f.514b.
- 160 Gisūdirāz, Asmār, editor's introduction, p.4.
- 161 Anonymous, Asrār, Vol.II, ff.368b, 493a, 514a etc.

- 162 For example, ibid., ff.366a-368a; commentary on chapter 78 of Asmār; cf. S.A. Husaynī, Istīlāhāt, pp.81-94.
- 163 K.A. Nizami writes that it is printed in Majmū'at Rasā'il, Delhi, 1314 A.H.; Cf. E.I., p.1115.
- 164 Wā'izī, Habībī, p.66; Sāmānī, Muhammadi, p.115.
- 165 Sāmānī, Muhammadi, p.95.
- 166 Edited by S. 'Atā' Husayn, Hyderabad, 1359 A.H.
- 167 Wā'izī, Habībī, p.65.
- 168 Gīṣūdirāz, Ḥazā'ir, p.185.
- 169 Wā'izī, Habībī, p.65.
- 170 Edited by S. 'Atā' Husayn, Hyderabad, 1356 A.H.
- 171 Gīṣūdirāz, Khātimah, p. 113, para.194.
- 172 Wā'izī, Habībī, p.67.
- 173 Edited by S. 'Atā' Husayn, Hyderabad, 1360 A.H.
- 174 The edition contains 11 treatises, but one of them, Risālah-i Tawhīd-i Khawās has wrongly been included as a work of Gīṣūdirāz. It was written by Husayn Balkhī; cf. A.I. Qadrī, Ḥayāt, p.105; K.A. Nizami, E.I., p.1115.
- 175 Gīṣūdirāz, Istiqāmat, p.2.
- 176 Wā'izī, Habībī, p.67.
- 177 This treatise was not written by Gīṣūdirāz but, probably, by one of his disciples since it contains statements such as "Miyān Bاده, son of Sayyid Muḥammad Gīṣūdirāz said" etc., pp.3, 4, 5, 6, etc.; cf. editor's introduction, pp.12-13.
- 178 A manuscript copy of the text is preserved in the Dargah Library, Gulbarga.
- 179 Wā'izī, Habībī, pp.65 and 66; Sāmānī, Muhammadi, p.115. A rare manuscript of this Persian version is preserved in the Sālār Jang Library, Hyderabad, Tagawwuf, no.101.

- 180 Sāmānī, Muhammadi, pp.54 and 143.
- 181 Wā'izī, Habībī, p.65; Sāmānī, Muhammadi, p.115.
- 182 Edited by S. 'Atā' Husayn, Hyderabad, 1361 A.H.
- 183 Gīśūdirāz, Sharh, editor's introduction, p.32.
- 184 Idem., Sharh, p.7.
- 185 Ibid., p.19.
- 186 Wā'izī, Habībī, p.65.
- 187 Edited by S. 'Atā' Husayn, Hyderabad, 1364 A.H.
- 188 Wā'izī, Habībī, p.65.
- 189 Gīśūdirāz, Sharh-i Tashfīdāt, p.293; of. idem., Asmār, pp.49, 55.
- 190 Edited by S. 'Atā' Husayn, Hyderabad, 1358 A.H. The edition contains the text of Adab al-Murīdīn also.
- 191 Gīśūdirāz, Tarjamah, p.3. On p.372, Gīśūdirāz refers to his Khātimah.
- 192 Ibid., p.3; Wā'izī, Habībī, p.66. Sāmānī mentions only two commentaries, one in Arabic and the other in Persian; see Muhammadi p.115.
- 193 Edited by S. 'Atā' Husayn, Hyderabad, 1360 A.H.; see also A. Schimmel, Islamic Literatures, p.20. For a critical analysis of the work, see T.N. Devare, A Short History of Persian Literature, Poona, 1961, pp.29-32.
- 194 Gīśūdirāz, Anīs, compiler's introduction, pp.3-4.
- 195 Edited by S. 'Atā' Husayn, Hyderabad, 1362 A.H.
- 196 Gīśūdirāz, Maktūbāt, compiler's introduction, pp.2-3.
- 197 Sāmānī, Muhammadi, pp.7 and 131.
- 198 S.A. Husaynī, Jawāmi, p.271.
- 199 M. Aslam, "Malfūzāt-i Khwājah Bandahnawāz Gīśūdirāz", al-Ma'ārif, Vol.VIII (1975), no.3, pp.10-24; no.4; pp.23-34; no.5, pp.29-36; no.6, pp.10-20.

Chapter II

Prophethood (nubuwwah) and Saintship (walāyah)

A) BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

Islam delineates a completely transcendental God from the point of view of His creation. On the other hand, God is omnipresent in His very oneness (tawhīd); "And it cannot be for any man that God speaks to him, except through revelation or from behind a veil or by sending a messenger." (Qur'ān XLII:51). This is where the prophets (anbiyā') or the chosen ones come in, whom God has selected to convey His message to the rest of mankind. In the course of time, it was accepted by the scholars that the prophets, though from among the people, hold a status higher than any other man, by virtue of their prophethood (nubuwwah) which signifies their being in communion with God by means of revelation, and acting on earth on behalf of God. The prophets are, therefore, those who could act as intercessors for their people. They are regarded as infallible ('iṣmah), and they are attributed with miraculous powers (mu'jizah).

Sufism, which is believed to have stemmed basically from asceticism (zuhd) as a reaction or protest against the materialistic attitude which seems to have become a predominant factor in the Muslim life, developed into a very systematic science. It came to exercise immense influence on almost all the aspects of life, especially in the medieval period of Muslim history. Sufism was the name given to the struggle of man to overcome materialism (mu'āḥadat al-nafs), and to emphasize the spiritual significance of Islam in one's own life. In short, it comprised man's

endeavour to come into communion with God. The sufis did this by trying to combine sharī'ah (external aspect, ẓāhir) with ṭarīqah (internal aspect, bāṭin). The ultimate result they called ḥaqīqah (reality).¹ It was natural, therefore, to claim for themselves a high status on the basis of their spiritual experiences (dhawq). Thus, they came out with ideas like "closeness" (qurb) to God, "annihilation" (fanā') in God, "subsistence" (baqā') through God and such. They proclaimed to possess a very special knowledge or gnosis (ma'rifah) of God. Explaining these concepts, they talked of spiritual inspiration (ilhām) as one of the means to achieve gnosis, which idea became comparable immediately to revelation (wahy) of the prophets. More surprising to the orthodox was the sufi theory regarding inspiration. The prophets communicated with God through an intermediary, but the sufis seem to have claimed to be in communion without any such means, i.e. a direct contact with God.²

"Saintship" (walāyah) covered all these concepts and it may be said to have been the very basis of the whole structure of sufism. Rightly so, Hujwiri (d. 465 A.H/1072 A.D.) says, "the principle and foundation of sufism and knowledge of God rests on saintship".³ The possessor of this esoteric knowledge of God was called a "friend" or "saint" (walī). He was attributed with a special type of infallibility (hiḍḡ) in the sense that he was "specially under divine protection".⁴ He was also attributed with possessing miraculous powers, "wonder-work" (karāmah) comparable to the miracles (mu'jizah) of prophets. But these

powers were regarded as special gifts of God.⁵

These sufi ideas and concepts became provocative at once because only the prophets were regarded as possessing such qualities. To put it in another way, the sufis began to equate themselves with prophets, perhaps unaware of what they were driving at really, at least during the early stages of development. Later, however, some of them claimed a higher status to themselves than that of the prophets.⁶ The problem of saintship, therefore, raised many issues which basically involved prophethood, and the sufis expounded defensive theories, such as saintship was the inner aspect of prophethood, and that a prophet qua saint was higher than prophet qua prophet.⁷ Others, who wanted to remain within Islamic boundaries, argued that prophets were superior to saints,⁸ and prophet qua prophet was also higher than prophet qua saint.

It took no time, however, for the theologians and jurists to conclude that the concept of saintship in sufism was in fact a result of the influence of the Shi^ci idea of "guidance" (imāmah) which was also called walāyah.⁹ Ibn Khaldūn, for instance, clearly states that the sufis were influenced by the Shi^ci dogmas related to imāmah, and their doctrines were thus "saturated with Shi^cah theories".¹⁰ Nevertheless, it is not possible to determine who influenced whom, but this parallelism which exists between the sufis and the Shi^cis is in itself a very interesting aspect of the problem to ponder about. Moreover,

the Sunni doctrines concerning successorship (khilāfah)¹¹ or the religio-political leader of Islam may also be considered as another concept somewhat similar to walāyah and imāmah.

The term walāyah (or wilāyah) is the verbal noun of the Arabic root waliya which means "to be close", "to be a friend", "to administer", "to govern" and so on. In pre-Islamic Arabia, the active participle wali was taken to mean "helper, friend" etc.¹² In the Qur'ān, wali has been used at innumerable instances, for both God and man, meaning "protector" or "friend" etc.¹³ This term, however, became very important in the Shī'ī sect as it formed the basis of their imāmah doctrines, and later on, it came to be applied in Sufism.

As an introduction to our section of Gisūdirāz we will study the concept of walāyah as presented by a few important sufis, so that it would give us a very general idea of the nature and development of the problem. For the present purpose we have selected al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (d.3rd century A.H./9th century A.D.) who is regarded as the first sufi to have elaborately dealt with this problem in one of his classical works, Khatm al-Awliyā',¹⁴ which was the source of inspiration to the later sufis; Muḥyi al-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī (d.638/1240); and 'Alī' al-Dawlah al-Simnānī (d.736/1336).

1. al-Hakīm al-Tirmidhī (d. 3rd century A.H./9th century A.D.)

Saintship (walāyah), for Tirmidhī, is of two kinds, general (al-ʿammah) and special (al-khāṣṣah). The former is termed also saintship of the rights of God (walāyat ḥuqūq Allāh), and the latter saintship of God (walāyat Allāh).¹⁵ On the basis of this division, he again divides the saints into two types: saints of the rights of God (awliyāʾ ḥaqq Allāh), and saints of God in reality (awliyāʾ Allāh ḥaqiqan).¹⁶ The first type of saints are those who engage themselves in a struggle against carnal desires till they overcome their materialism. As Tirmidhī says, it is the struggle to take control of the limbs till they are, eventually, guided and the soul becomes tranquil.¹⁷ According to Tirmidhī, this is a long procedure but ultimately, by the grace of God, the saint is guided and thus drawn near to God.¹⁸ The awliyāʾ ḥaqq Allāh signify the stage of beginners, for Tirmidhī gives a very general explanation to describe their state. The second group of saints, namely awliyāʾ Allāh ḥaqq, are the ones who hold a higher position. The dividing line between the two groups of saints, as pointed out by Geyoushī, seems to be the degree of nearness to God.¹⁹ Once the saints are guided, and are drawn near, they achieve the position of awliyāʾ Allāh. But then, there are ten levels of ascension, which Tirmidhī identifies as ten qualities²⁰ (al-khaṣāʾil al-ʿaṣhar) necessary to be achieved by the saints so that the saintship is completed. A saint is fully qualified to be saint of God when he possesses all the

ten qualities.²¹ The final level or the tenth quality, however, is that of "isolation" (fardāniyah), when the saint is isolated with God. In any event, the significance of saintship lies in the achievement of this high stage of "isolation" which implies "oneness". It is here, according to Tirmidhī, that God becomes the mystics' hearing, sight, hand etc. Thus, the saints have an insight into the future (ghayb) also.²²

Prophethood and Saintship

The most controversial side of Tirmidhī's thought was his implication that saints might be superior to prophets. He was accused of such unorthodox views and exiled from his native town Tirmidh.²³ Tirmidhī tried to defend himself against such charges in his autobiography Buduw Shā'n. He writes that he was accused "of all that had never occurred" to his mind.²⁴

The concept of saintship was, indeed, as pointed out by Hujwīrī, the basis of Tirmidhī's sufism,²⁵ and, of course, following him it became the foundation of sufism itself. Tirmidhī writes that saintship is the initial stage of prophethood, meaning that a prophet first realizes saintship and is then bestowed with prophethood. Therefore, all prophets are necessarily saints;²⁶ a theory which was later accepted by the majority of sufis. Geyoushī states that if the saint-

ship of a prophet "rates higher than his prophethood, he ranks higher than as a prophet".²⁷ It is possible that Tirmidhī means what Geyoushī has stated but it would be more logical without any condition; i.e. the saintship of a prophet is higher than his prophethood.

Regarding the saints other than the prophets, Tirmidhī clearly states that no one can even conceive of their being superior to the prophets.²⁸ It is, no doubt, a paradox that the saints are still envied by the prophets and martyrs.²⁹ Although Tirmidhī himself tries to justify this prophetic tradition by saying that the saints are envied because of their proximity to and place with God - and approvingly quoted by Geyoushī who is trying to refute 'Afīfī³⁰ - we might point out here that the prophets themselves had been given the same proximity bestowed on saints. Nevertheless, it is not so easy to decide what Tirmidhī actually believed in. From the external point of view, he seems to have emphasized the superiority of the prophets but that was what many other sufis attempted to do too. On the other hand, the superiority of the saints can also be discerned in Tirmidhī's thought. The important point for the present purpose, however, is that Tirmidhī was the first to have dealt with the subject in extenso, and he was the source of influence for the later sufis.

2. Muhyi al-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī (d.638 A.H./1240 A.D.)

Saintship (walāyah), for Ibn 'Arabī as was the case with the

majority of sufis, is the highest stage of the mystic. It is the attainment of "a perfect knowledge of the ultimate truth concerning the Absolute, the world, and the relation between the Absolute and the world".³¹ It signifies the achievement of the states of self-annihilation (fanā') and subsistence (baqā') when a mystic eventually realizes oneness in multiplicity and multiplicity in oneness. In short, it is the "consciousness of the ultimate and essential Oneness of Being (wahdat al-wujūd)".³² The importance here is in the fact that a mystic with all his attributes as a servant of God, annihilates himself in the ultimate Reality. That is to say that he transcends the level of servitude ('ubūdiyyah) and "puts himself in the position of Lordship (rubūbiyyah)" and in so doing he becomes unconscious of his own servitude,³³ but conscious of the "oneness of being". Therefore, saintship forms the basis of Ibn 'Arabī's doctrine of wahdat al-wujūd. As 'Aḥīyī puts it, "the distinguishing mark of wilāyah... is gnosis (ma'rifah) and gnosis of a strictly pantheistic character too."³⁴ The mystic who achieves such a gnosis is called saint (walī).

Prophethood³⁵ and Saintship

Ibn 'Arabī divides prophethood into two, general (al-ḥamāh) and special (al-ikhtisās). The general prophethood is something which is without any institution of law, and this is implied to be saintship. The special prophethood is something which is particular only to the prophets.³⁶ It is what he calls general prophethood that God has not

closed, in contrast to the special prophethood which ceased to exist after the Prophet Muhammad. This is so, Ibn 'Arabi feels, because the name "saint" (wali) is one of the divine names of God, shared also by man, whereas the name "prophet" (nabi) belongs exclusively to man.³⁷ The special prophethood concerns this material world and is related to it, in the sense that the prophets introduce laws and set a code of conduct for their people, whereas general prophethood or saintship has nothing to do with the present world.³⁸ Saintship, on the contrary, is related to the spiritual world, and is a special type of gnosis of God. Therefore, saintship forms a basis for prophethood. Ibn 'Arabi writes that a prophet as a saint is more perfect than himself as a prophet. This, he says, is the meaning of the saying that saintship is higher than prophethood.³⁹ Indeed, for Ibn 'Arabi, saintship was the esoteric aspect while prophethood was the exoteric,⁴⁰ and the former was definitely higher than the latter. But it should be noted that this is the case only as far as saintship of a prophet is concerned. It does not mean that any saint, by virtue of his saintship, is higher than a prophet.⁴¹ There is an aspect, however, by which any saint could be regarded as superior to a prophet. The saint also possessing the esoteric knowledge ('ilm al-batin) is at the same time conscious of that knowledge but the prophet is not aware of that knowledge which he himself achieves.⁴² In this way, the superiority of a saint over a prophet is implied.

Nevertheless, the saints and prophets belong to the same group because of their saintship which is a common factor among them.⁴³ The

prophets initially realize in themselves saintship, after which they are chosen for their mission. In this way, saintship when it is qualified by another special quality, becomes prophethood. This quality is perhaps, the institution of law. But the saints (other than prophets) also have a right to abrogate Islamic laws other than those mentioned in the Qur'ān and the prophetic traditions. The criterion for the abrogation or alteration, according to Ibn 'Arabī, is the mystical revelation (kashf) to the walī.⁴⁴ Ibn 'Arabī is giving here a very high status to the saints because he is equating them with the prophets. Moreover, he regards such saints as prophets.⁴⁵

3. 'Alī al-Dawlah al-Simnānī (d.736 A.H./1336 A.D.)

Simnānī was basically critical towards Ibn 'Arabī and will, therefore, be interesting to analyze briefly his view regarding this problem. Saintship is no doubt, again a very high stage for him too, but not pantheistic in nature. It is the achievement of what Simnānī calls secret of unity (sirr al-tawhīd) which is man's being righteous (ṣāliḥ) in carrying the trust (amānah).⁴⁶ All this is actualized on the last of the 100 stages which is the stage of servitude ('ubūdah);⁴⁷ the return of the servant to the beginning of his state. Here, Simnānī writes, the sufi achieves the "pearl of the crown of need", and he becomes a trustee (amīn) in the real sense; thus, he is qualified as the rightful successor of the Prophet Muḥammad and is capable of being called a preceptor (shaykh), pole of guidance (qutb al-irshād) or saint (walī).⁴⁸ The importance of the stage of servitude is that the walī

or shaykh sees the "one colourness" (yak rangī) of the pre-eternal world, through the eye of oneness (chashm-i waḥdat) and finds the "rememberer" (dhākir) to be the "remembered" (madhkūr) and the "observer" (nāẓir) to be the "observed" (manẓūr).⁴⁹ It is here that he finds his "spirit" to be similar to the eye of the Prophet Muḥammad.⁵⁰ This is what, presumably, Sannānī means by "achieving the pearl", because the existence of the Prophet Muḥammad is termed "unique pearl" (dmurr yatī).⁵¹ Therefore, for Sannānī, the idea of walāyah constitutes all the above mentioned facts.

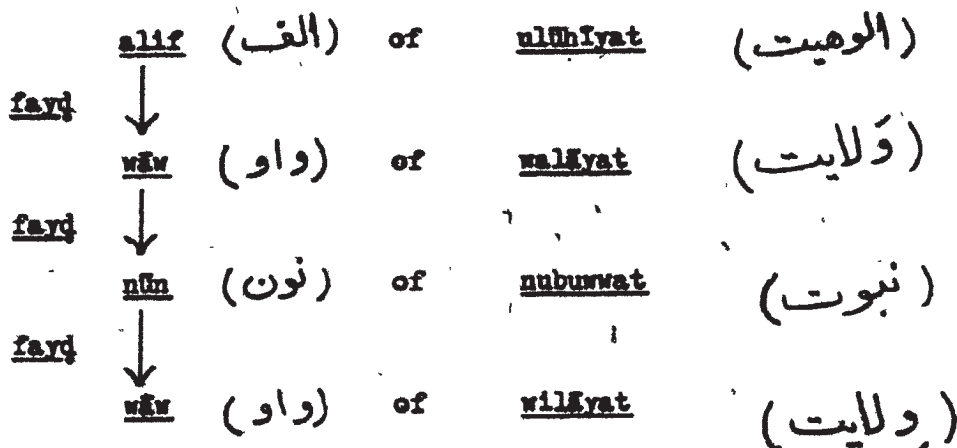
We might point out here the basic difference at least outwardly, between Ibn 'Arabī and Sannānī regarding the actualisation of saintship. We have seen above that, according to Ibn 'Arabī, saintship is a stage when the mystic becomes unconscious of his servitude (ʿubūdiyyah) and places himself in the position of Lordship; thus views oneness of being. On the contrary, according to Sannānī, the sufi becomes conscious of his servitude (ʿubūdah); the beginning and the end of his spiritual journey. This is the reason why he emphasizes that one achieves on this stage the "pearl of the crown of need". However, the problem is that Sannānī, most probably, means by the term ʿubūdah something other than the ʿubūdiyyah of Ibn 'Arabī, and, furthermore, that the latter too, makes a distinction between these two terms. As observed by Professor H. Landolt, there are indeed reasons to think that Sannānī's esoteric concept of "saintship" (walāyah, not wilāyah) qua ʿubūdah is the point where his view meets that of Ibn 'Arabī, in spite of his fervent criticism of the

Shaykh al-Akbar.⁵²

Walāyah and wilāyah

Simnānī speculates over the letters of nubuwwah and walāyah; thus makes a distinction between walāyah and wilāyah.⁵³ It may be said that this distinction is presumably based on the speculation of Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā (d.618/1258) over the letters "ā" (alif), "ī" (yā') of the words al-raḥmān al-raḥīm. Kubrā writes that alif signifies skies, yā' signifies earth, while "ū" (wāw) signifies that which is in between them.⁵⁴

Simnānī insists that the term wilāyat should be used in case of saints because walāyat represents the prophets. The common denominator, however, is emanation (fayḍ) of Divinity (ulūhiyat) which first reflects in prophets and then is passed on to the people (ummah). He writes that emanation is passed from the alif of ulūhiyat, to the wāw of walāyat. It is then received by the nūn of nubuwwat and on it goes to the wāw of wilāyat.



Simnānī explains that through the nūn of nubuwwah a prophet offers guidance to the creation. Through the wāw of the nūn of nubuwwah the followers receive emanation. Thus walāyah represents prophets, and wilāyah represents saints.

Simnānī is actually trying here to prove that prophethood is higher than saintship. That is the reason why he brings in this distinction between walāyah and wilāyah. Simnānī's speculation is in criticism to Sa^cd al-Dīn Ḥamīyah (d.650/1252) who seems to have said that saintship is higher than prophethood because it is closer to ulūhiyat. Sa^cd al-Dīn did not have wilāyat, though, in his speculative scheme.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, walāyat and wilāyat are the same emanation, even for Simnānī, although he distinguishes between them. Moreover, his distinction lies only in the application of these terms.

Prophethood and Saintship

Simnānī's speculation on the letters of walāyah and nubuwwah, obviously and logically too, gives the impression that walāyat, if not wilāyat is higher than nubuwwat. He, therefore, felt the need to emphasize that it is wrong to derive such a conclusion. He says, "although nūn of nubuwwat subsists (qā'īn) through the wāw of walāyat, it must not be thought that the walāyat of a prophet is higher than his nubuwwat."⁵⁷ This clarification was aimed at Sa^cd al-Dīn Ḥamīyah but Simnānī evidently had also Ibn ^cArabī in mind, whom he criticizes almost immediately. In

his Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam, Ibn ^CArabī compares saintship to gold and prophethood to silver, implying that the former is superior to the latter. Sīmānī reacts severely to this comparison, "for the sufis (ahl-i ma^Cnī) silver is purer and stronger than gold; it is only for the externalists (ahl-i zāhir) that gold is superior".⁵⁹

Sīmānī agrees with his master Nūr al-Dīn al-Isfahānī (d.717/1317) that from the point of view of sharī^Cat one might say that saintship is higher than prophethood. In other words, it is only after a person masters the laws (sharī^Cat) laid down by prophets that he is initiated on the mystic path (ṭarīqat). From the point of view of ṭarīqat, however, prophethood is higher because when one reaches the last stage of the path, his spirit resembles the eye of the prophet. Thus, the saying -- the end of saints is the beginning of prophets -- rightly applies here.⁶⁰

Sīmānī's approach to this problem is very orthodox; at least he desperately tries to be as orthodox as possible. For him too, saintship is the common ground for all prophets and saints. Every prophet is necessarily a saint but not vice versa.⁶¹ Therefore, saintship is the hidden or internal aspect of all prophets.⁶² It may be said though, that with all his attempts to be in line with orthodoxy, Sīmānī could not avoid comparing the saints to the prophets.⁶³ Perhaps he considers the saints even higher than the prophets of Israel, though he does not say so specifically. It should be noted that the Prophet Muhammad

holds the highest position in comparison to earlier prophets, and it is only through the blessing (barakah) showered because of following him that a person becomes a saint.⁶⁴ Paradoxically enough, a shaykh is compared to the Prophet Muhammad also.⁶⁵ But he can never be considered higher than the Prophet of Islam.

B) GISUDIRAZ ON PROPHETHOOD AND SAINTSHIP

1) PROPHET AND MYSTIC MAN (SAINT)

The problem of walāyah, as we have seen above, was one of the basic and important concepts developed by sufis. It has to be viewed alongside the idea of nubuwwah, for it was mainly because of the equation of saintship (walāyah) with prophethood (nubuwwah) that the doctrine of saintship was looked upon with suspicious eyes by the theological and legal schools of Islam.

This concept has also been discussed, therefore, by the Indian Sufis. It may be noted that it was not as controversial a topic of discussion among the early sufis of the sub-continent, as it became later on in the fourteenth century A.D. For instance, Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' (d.726/1325) has discussed the concept of saintship, but in a very general way ignoring the concept of prophethood.⁶⁶ Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd (d.777/1356) discussed it, but he deals also, though superficially, the crux of the problem, from the point of view of Prophethood.⁶⁷ Then comes Gīṣūdirāz (d.825/1422) with a more elaborate discussion of the problem, seeing it from almost every angle. This development was the result of a major change in the religious trends of the period under study; and this change was probably due to the infiltration of the doctrines of Ibn 'Arabī into India.⁶⁸

How far the ideas of Ibn 'Arabī were accepted in the Indian Sufi circles, and eventually spread in the community, is discerned presently as far as the doctrine of saintship is concerned, when one analyses a letter of Gīṣūdirāz, written to another eminent Chishti Maṣ'ūd Bak⁶⁹ (d.800/1397-98),

clarifying his own stand on the problem of prophethood and sainthood. The reply of Mas'ūd Bak is also significant in this regard. As we shall go into details of the views of Gīṣūdirāz later, we will point out here only that he clearly maintains in this letter to Mas'ūd Bak that sainthood conceptually is superior to prophethood, even though the mystical stage of saints is lower than that of prophets, or rather, of the Prophet Muhammad. He also states that a saint (walī) may be regarded as superior to a prophet (nabī) who preceded the Prophet Muhammad, but only if considered relatively (ba-dimn), that is, by virtue of being the follower of the Prophet. But paradoxically enough Gīṣūdirāz calls these interpretations mere fantasy (wahn), because this is not so in reality (asālat),⁷⁰ at least in the second case. The real point seems to be: a) sainthood is superior from the point of view of "God", that is, the eternal uncreated origin of everything (or Perfect Man, Light of Muhammad, macrocosm etc.); b) from the point of view of "creation", that is man-in-the-world, prophethood is superior, since it is the ultimate aim of the creative process which is the mystical experience of both God and man.

Mas'ūd Bak agrees with Gīṣūdirāz only as far as prophethood is given the higher stage. Then he goes on to criticise Gīṣūdirāz severely. He writes that considering a saint higher in position to a Prophet, because he is not far (bu'd) from God, as the latter is, due to his indulgence with the creation (khalq), is blasphemy (kuf) according to the unanimous agreement of the mashā'ikh and ulamā.⁷¹ Holding that the Prophet Muhammad and the saints from his people are superior to the prophets is a belief which is contrary to the creed of the Sunnites.⁷² Mas'ūd Bak is implying here that it is the belief

and influence of the Shi^cites. He further adds that, it is heresy to consider saintship higher than prophethood even conceptually.⁷³ He compares saintship to animality (haywāniyat) and argues that to think saintship in a prophet to be higher than his prophethood is like saying his animality is superior to his humanity (insāniyat).⁷⁴ Mas^cūd Bak further implies that such beliefs are actually the influence of ideas expounded by Ibn ^cArabī, which are only fantasy (wahm). He writes that these ideas are "claimed in the words of Fusūs al-Hikam which is based on the beliefs of philosophers (hukamā') who deny the principle of prophethood (asl-i nubuwwat)".⁷⁵

We will now go on to our discussion on Gīṣūdirāz, and analyse his views on saintship (walāyah). In this section of our chapter we will try to discuss all the significant details of the problem which were controversial. For the sake of clarity we will first deal with prophethood and saintship under two headings, as concepts and as stages, then compare saints with prophets. Subsequently, we will proceed with the discussion of the doctrine of walāyah itself which will reveal the world-view of Gīṣūdirāz. The influence of Ibn ^cArabī will be discerned clearly throughout in spite of Gīṣūdirāz's being critical of him. We may point out here that we may have to repeat certain ideas now and again, which is unavoidable if one is to be clear.

a) Prophethood (nubuwwah) and Saintship (walāyah) as concepts.

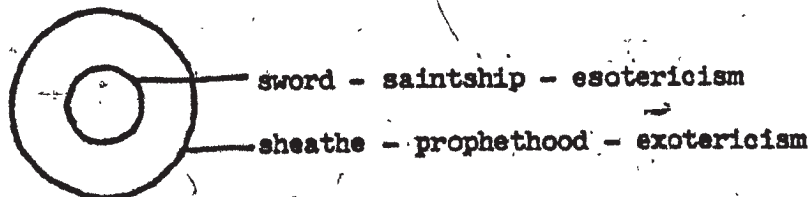
For Gīṣūdirāz, saintship is definitely higher than prophethood.

Even logically speaking, his explanation seems to be feasible. He says that saintship is nearness to Truth (haqq), gnosis and realization (ittilā^c) of the secrets of Oneness (wahdat); while prophethood means invitation (da^cwat) and mission (risālat) from God.⁷⁶ He further explains prophethood as the propagation, among the people, of the knowledge (cilmī), actions (amālī), realities (haqīqatī) and gnosis (ma^crifat) which the propagator has himself learnt from God, either directly or through a mediator.⁷⁷ Therefore, a prophet is the one who has first realized in himself saintship from God. It is only then that he is given prophethood. Saintship is the foundation, whereas prophethood is its building.⁷⁸ Gīṣūdirāz explains this in another way, elsewhere, by saying that prophethood is like someone "at the door" (bar dar), while saintship is like a person "inside" (dar bar; literally, "in the bosom" of the friend).⁷⁹ Although Gīṣūdirāz does not specifically state here the superiority of saintship, he very clearly implies it. He feels that it is the origin of the affair (asl-i kār).⁸⁰ Moreover, his son Sayyid Akbar Husaynī quoting from Asmār al-Asrār explains the implication of "at the door" (bar dar) and "inside" (dar bar) as being the superiority (afdal) of saintship over prophethood.⁸¹ It should be kept in mind that Gīṣūdirāz is writing in a period which was immediately preceded by a turmoil in the religious thought under the influence of Ibn ^cArabī, and he had, therefore, to remain within the boundaries of Islamic law. One of the criterion of testing a sufi seems to have been to have him explain certain ideas of Fusūs al-Hikam, which were thought to be contrary to the tenets of Islam.⁸² Gīṣūdirāz is, as a result, quite

ambiguous in his approach to certain problems like the present one. On the contrary, he argues and he seems very enthusiastic when he mentions that prophethood is superior to and higher than saintship as a stage.

Explaining these concepts from a different angle, Gīṣūdirāz writes that the relationship of prophethood with saintship is like that of sheathe (niyām) with sword.⁸³

This brings us to the understanding of the relationship between prophethood and saintship in more general terms. The anonymous commentator of Asmār al-Asrār states that the relationship between them is that of the exoteric (zāhir) with esoteric (bātin).⁸⁴ Therefore, exotericism (zāhir parastī) is prophethood and esotericism (bātin parastī) is saintship. The manifestation of esoteric (bātin) is through exoteric (zāhir), while the subsistence of exoteric is through esoteric. "Both are one (yakī). He is the first (al-awwal), He is the last (al-ākhir), He is the exoteric (al-zāhir), He is the esoteric (al-bātin)".⁸⁵



Elsewhere, the commentator implies that, to Gīṣūdirāz, prophethood was superior to saintship. He writes that if prophethood were exclusively busying oneself with the creation (khalq), then saintship would necessarily

have been higher. "But prophethood means "unity of unity" (jam^c al-jam^c) in the very robe of multiplicity (dar^c ayn-i libās-i kathrat), and busying oneself with the creation is not something detached from the Truth (haqq), and (therefore) this multiplicity is not harmful to him (prophet). (In reality) this is the aim (matlūb) of creation (khilqat), that is to see "oneness" (wahdat) in the "very multiplicity" (dar^c ayn-i kathrat wahdat bīnad)".⁸⁶

In other words, prophethood is higher only if considered as a mystical stage.

Dealing with these concepts from the point of view of love, Gīṣūdirāz writes that saintship is purely Godworship (khudā parastī), but prophethood is an effort-to-please-God (ridā' jū'ī). "If one finds that the beloved is pleased with his being far away, then the distance is better suited than his presence (hudūr; with the beloved)". The Prophets have given themselves in to please God.⁸⁷

The commentator of Asmār further elaborates that God-worship precedes effort-to-please which is the end of the journey.⁸⁸ "Saintship is God-worship and it consists of the "drink of soul" (sharb-i nafs) which is the act of the servant (abd). Prophethood is "pleasing" God and the soul is "completely conquered" (nafs kullī maqhūr) in it".⁸⁹ The former is related to the finite world (ālam-i nisbat wa idāfat), while the latter is connected to the infinite world (warā' al-warā'). "God encompasses them all from behind".⁹⁰

There are two things we might conclude here with. If Gīṣūdirāz insists that prophethood is superior to saintship, he really means a peculiar

mystical stage given exclusively to the prophet as "Perfect Man" (insān-i kāmīl), as shall be explained later.⁹¹ Secondly that saintship as a mystical experience is superior to prophethood as a law-giving institution.

b) Prophethood (nubuwwah) and Saintship (walāyah) as mystical stages.

In this section of our chapter we will discuss prophethood and saintship purely from the point of view of mystical stages. We will see presently that these are two stages reached by both a mystic and a Prophet. That is to say, the mystical stage of prophethood is, of course, peculiar to prophets; but it has, nevertheless, an analogy in the highest stage reached by a sufi, namely the stage called "unity of unity" (jam^c al-jam^c).

Explaining the saying of Abū Yazīd al-Bastāmī (d.234 or 261/848 or 874) -the end of the stage of saintship is the beginning of the stage of prophethood- Gīṣūdirāz writes that a prophet (nabī) first becomes a saint (walī) necessarily, following which he is chosen for the mission of prophethood. On this basis, every prophet is a saint. Thus prophethood becomes the highest stage, which immediately follows the stage of saintship.⁹² Generally speaking, saintship is a stage which is reached by all the saints, which include among them the prophets who are not yet designated as such. Then God selects from among the saints a few as His prophets and sends them on missions to the world. In other words, saintship is the highest stage of ascension of the saints including prophets,⁹³ and is comparable to the stage of "annihilation" (fanā') or "unity" (jam^c); while prophethood is the only stage which necessarily follows

and is comparable to the stage of "subsistence" (baqā') or "unity of unity" (jam^c al-jam^c).⁹⁴ This is very clear from how S.A. Ḥusaynī puts it, "saintship is going from here to there, whereas prophethood is coming back from there to here".⁹⁵ The same thing is implied by Gīṣūdirāz himself but in a different way. One way of putting it was his definition of prophethood and saintship as the former being "at-the-door", and the latter "inside".⁹⁶ That is to say the stage of being "inside" precedes that of being "outside". Again, he explains that the Prophet Muḥammad wished that God had not created him because by doing so, God sent the Prophet from His companionship (ḥam nashīnī) to accept the office of a portor (darbānī). There are two kinds of afflictions (balā') in this act of God. Firstly, the prophet has to invite the people towards his "beloved" (mahbūb), and thus by doing so the lover (ʿāshiq; i.e. the prophet) has to look at others against his own will in spite of the jealousy (ghayrat) borne by his eyes. Secondly, it indicates that "oneness" (yagānagī) is completed, and points towards unfamiliarity (bīgānagī).⁹⁷ This is the significance of "pleasing" (ridā' jū'ī) God. In short, Gīṣūdirāz is connoting that "oneness" and "companionship" with God is the stage of saintship, whereas "portorship" and "unfamiliarity" fall under prophethood. Therefore, if we speak of only the stage of ascension, saintship becomes the highest stage, while if we talk in general terms, that is of the mystic journey as a whole, prophethood is the highest because it implies "separation" (farrq) after "unity" (jam^c); but Gīṣūdirāz prefers to discuss it from the general point of view, although he mentions once that saintship is a stage beyond which there is no other rank (darajati) or place (makānati),⁹⁸ meaning that it is the closest

one could get to God and, subsequently, he has to come back to himself. It must be noted, though, that these two stages of saintship and prophethood are inseparable, like the ones of annihilation (fanā') and subsistence (baqā'). That is the reason why prophethood is considered a stage higher or rather the last stage.⁹⁹

Gīsūdirāz prefers prophethood as a stage to saintship. Why he does so is quite clear through his explanation of these concepts from the point of view of love, as we have seen previously.¹⁰⁰ His preference goes to prophethood because it is a stage which demands from the "lover" an effort-to-please the "beloved".

Related stages.

Prophethood and saintship are not the only stages for Gīsūdirāz. There are three other stages which precede these two. Gīsūdirāz likes the number five and therefore, he has five stages.¹⁰¹ But these stages are derived from the point of view of prophethood and saintship.

Gīsūdirāz says, "there is prophethood (nubuwwat), there is saintship (walāyat), there is wisdom (hikmat), there is affair (kār) and there is burden (bār)".¹⁰² We have already discussed the two higher stages of prophethood and saintship, which leaves us with the three lower stages of "wisdom", "affair" and "burden". The problem here is that Gīsūdirāz explains

what he means by "wisdom" but he does not bother to elaborate the other two terms "affair" and "burden". His commentator tries to give an explanation which is rather insufficient, and in our present discussion we will see that the commentator is perhaps misleading.

It may be pointed out here, before discussing their interpretations, that prophethood, saintship and wisdom as three distinct stages had already been discussed by ^cAzīz al-Dīn al-Nasafī who was not a stranger to Gīsūdirāz.¹⁰³ Nasafī explains these concepts at length both in his Tanzīl al-Arwāh and his Kashf al-Haqā'iq.¹⁰⁴ Evidently, Gīsūdirāz may have been inspired through these works but goes beyond Nasafī by adding two more lower stages to the above.

Though "wisdom", according to Gīsūdirāz, is a stage lower than saintship, it holds a significant position at least as far as its meaning goes. It points towards the secret of that which is actualized in a prophet and a saint. In fact, it reveals the secret. For instance, a prophet calls his people towards God through prayers and fasting, while the wise man (hakīm) explains why prayer leads one to God. Wisdom is in reality the unity (jam) of knowledge (cilm) and actions (amal).¹⁰⁵ By knowledge and action Gīsūdirāz means that knowledge and action which have been taught by God to prophets.¹⁰⁶

"Wisdom" means the clarification (bayān) of the link existing between the lower (suffī) and the higher (ulwī), the beginning (mabdā') and the end (ma'ād). It indicates the composition of man (tarkīb-i insān), in whom the spiritual (malakūt), transconscience (jabarūt) and the divine (lāhūt)

are united (jam^c).¹⁰⁷ Gīṣūdirāz writes, "prophethood is like the illumination of the sun, saintship is like the light of the moon, while wisdom is (that which points out) the emanation (fayḍ) of one to the other".¹⁰⁸ The relationship between them is in reality the same (vakī). It is like joining the two ends of a string, which would turn them into one attribute (sifat) and centre (markaz).¹⁰⁹ This metaphor is significant for it gives a general impression of Gīṣūdirāz' sufism. It may be pointed out here that wisdom, while being a lower stage, is actualized in the depths of its meaning, only when a mystic has reached "some parts of" (qismatī az) prophethood through "unity of unity" (jam^c al-jam^c). That is to say, while it is true that prophethood, saintship and wisdom point to "unity of unity" (jam^c al-jam^c), "unity" (jam^c) and "separation" (tafriqah) respectively, the "separation" of such a "wise" (mystic) is (in reality) the "plunging" (ghawwāsī) into the reality (haqīqat) of prophethood and saintship.¹¹⁰

As already observed, Gīṣūdirāz does not elucidate the other two terms "affair" and "burden", we will see what his commentator has to say about them. The anonymous author states that prophethood is "essence" (dhāt; of God), saintship is "attributes" (sifāt; of God) and wisdom is "acts" (af^cāl; of God) which are three stages from the point of view of the "total Truth" (haqq-i kullī). These are also termed "reality" (haqīqat), "path" (tarīqat) and "law" (sharī^cat), or "love" (mahabbat), "gnosis" (ma^crifat) and "dealing" (mi^cāmalat).¹¹¹ He further explains that "affair" (kār) means the busying of oneself with the essence, and "burden" (bār) is busying in the attributes and acts.¹¹²

The above interpretation of the commentator implies that "affair" and "burden" are not really stages, but terms used for a particular experience of a sufi. Moreover, he is clear that the lowest stage of sharī^cat corresponds to "wisdom". The following chart will clarify his interpretation:

Essence	=	Prophethood	=	Reality	=	Love	:	affair
Attributes	=	Saintship	=	Path	=	Gnosis	:	} burden
Acts	=	Wisdom	=	Law	=	Dealing:		

However, the commentator here seems to overlook the fact that Gīṣūdirāz has five stages in all: Law (sharī^cat), Path (tarīqat), Reality (haqīqat), Truth of Reality (haqq al-haqīqat) and Reality of Truth (haqīqat al-haqq) ¹¹³ in the ascending order, and "veiled" essence, "veiling" essence, attributes, acts and effects in the descending order as will be pointed out later.

We, therefore, think that since Gīṣūdirāz needed two more stages to be lower than "wisdom" to complete his number five, which would then correspond to his other five stages, he mentioned "affair" and "burden". Our illustration would be thus, in contrast to the commentators:

(veiled) Essence	¹¹⁴	=	Prophethood	=	Reality of Truth
(veiling) Essence		=	Saintship	=	Truth of Reality
Attributes		=	Wisdom	=	Reality
Acts		=	Affair	=	Path
Effects		=	Burden	=	Law

The point here is that all these stages are one and the same thing in reality.¹¹⁵ Therefore, its importance lies in their being found united (jam^c) in a single person. We find Gīśūdirāz mentioning that prophethood, saintship and wisdom are united in the case of the resolute Prophets (ūlū al-^cazm).¹¹⁶ His commentator writes that the resolute prophets are five namely, Adam, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and the Prophet Muḥammad, each one being in himself a workshop (kār khānah) of God. He further implies that each stage corresponds to one of them, that is, Adam to Law, Abraham to Path, Moses to Reality, Jesus to Truth of Reality and the Prophet Muḥammad to Reality of Truth.¹¹⁷

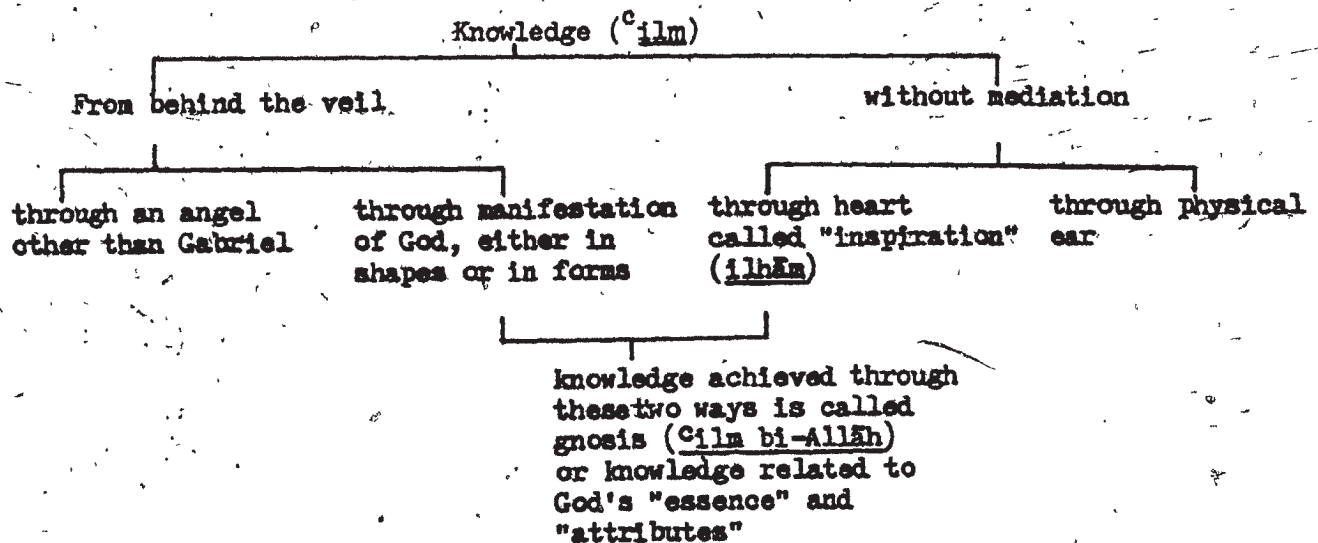
We might as well ask a question here: can these five stages be found united in a sufi or a saint also? Before we try to answer the question we might mention that for Gīśūdirāz, prophethood is the highest stage, and only after reaching it does one comprehend saintship.¹¹⁸ He implies that it is on that particular stage that all the stages are found to be united into one. Besides, prophethood conceptually is particular to the prophets, but as a stage corresponding to "unity of unity" is common to both the prophets and saints, as we have already seen. Although he does not say it specifically, Gīśūdirāz implies that this unity of stages is found in saints or sufis who have reached the highest stage. Moreover, he implies that he himself is talking from that stage.¹¹⁹ In one of his statements, nevertheless, Gīśūdirāz says that however sharp the insight of a saint might be, it can never perceive the rank of the prophets.¹²⁰

c). Prophet (nabī) and Saint (walī).¹²¹

In this section we will discuss another controversial aspect of the topic, whether saints are either equal or superior to the prophets, as presented by Gīṣūdirāz. Now that proper grounds have been laid, we will find it easier to understand this side of the problem which becomes very interesting because we have seen that saintship is conceptually superior to prophethood, but the prophet (at least the Prophet Muhammad) is higher than the saint. Yet a saint or sufi reaches an equivalent stage to that of prophethood. Here we will mainly be discussing two prophetic traditions quoted in the sufi literature; a) the learned (ʿulamāʾ) among my people are similar to the prophets of the people of Israel;¹²² b) the learned among my people are superior to the prophets of the people of Israel.¹²³

There are two important points in the above traditions, which Gīṣūdirāz clarifies, the learned (ʿulamāʾ), and knowledge (ʿilm). By the word "learned" is meant the gnostics (ʿulamāʾ bi-Allāh) or saints (awliyāʾ) and by knowledge is meant gnosis (ʿilm bi-Allāh).¹²⁴ The knowledge of the gnostics or saints is mainly divided into two types: a) that which is gained from behind the veil (warāʾ-i hijāb); b) that which is gained without any mediation (bi-ghayr-i wāsitah). The first type is further divided into two: through manifestation of God in various shapes (tamaththul) or forms (tashakkul), or through an angel other than Gabriel. The second type is also divided into two: knowledge of God man achieves through his heart (dil), or his hearing somethings from the unseen through his physical ear.

Gnosis (ʿilm bi-Allāh) is knowledge essentially related to the "essence" and "attributes" of God, which is achieved either through the manifestation of God in shapes or in forms, or through the heart, which is also called "inspiration" (ilhām).¹²⁵



According to the above analysis the learned are those gnostics (ʿulamāʾ bi-Allāh) who are the possessors of the knowledge of God's "essence" and "attributes" or gnosis (ʿilm bi-Allāh). These gnostics are called saints (awliyāʾ).

1) The learned among my people are similar to the Prophets of the People of Israel.

Ḡisūdirāz writes that outwardly the saints are similar to the prophets because they too are counsellors and advisors like the prophets. Moreover, the saints are also harassed and tormented by the people, as the prophets were tortured by their people.¹²⁶ In other words, the saints share

in the experience of the prophets as advisors or leaders in this world.

More important is the inward equality of the saints to the prophets. This likeness is based on two aspects: wonder-working (karāmat), and the power to give life and death. Breaking of a firm habit (khāriq-i ʿādat-i mustamarrah)¹²⁷ is called wonder-working. If it is performed by a prophet, it is termed miracle (muʿjizah), while it is called wonder-work when it occurs through a saint (walī). The only other difference is that it is an obligation (fard) to a prophet as an evidence of his prophethood and a challenge to an unbeliever (waqt-i tahaddi), whereas it is necessary (wājib) for a saint to hide such powers.¹²⁸ The commentator writes that both the prophet and the saint are regarded as sinful otherwise.¹²⁹

From the point of view of giving life and death, Gīśūdirāz writes that the prophets of Israel are attributed of possessing such powers which are also possessed by the saints. This power has two implications, external (gūri) and internal (maʿnī). The external aspect is the power to restore life to the dead, like the one possessed by Jesus. The internal aspect means that they live through knowledge (ʿilm), and are free from ignorance (jahl). Gīśūdirāz cites three incidents, including one attributed to his own preceptor Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, when life was restored to persons.¹³⁰

Elsewhere, Gīśūdirāz says that he has himself not made any distinction between the saints (buzurgān) who preceded him and the prophets. This equality is also implied in another tradition which says, "the shaykh in

his circle of followers is like a prophet among his people".¹³¹ Besides, Gīsūdirāz believes that from among the saints one could find an example of each of the prophets. In other words, the saints are representatives of each prophet in his peculiarities, which idea, he writes, is clearly discerned from another tradition, "there is no prophet whose example (nazīr) is not found among my people".¹³²

Gīsūdirāz is very clear that the saints have an equal status to that of the prophets who preceded the Prophet Muhammad. This is also apparent from our earlier discussion on prophethood and saintship as stages.¹³³ But it should be noted that saints are not equal to the Prophet Muhammad because here the question of followers (tābi^c) and the followed (matbū^c) is involved.

ii) The learned of my people are superior to the Prophets of the people of Israel.

For Gīsūdirāz, saints hold at least an equal status, but as for their superiority to the prophets is concerned, he tries not to commit himself. He calls those who impart such theories, "theosophist sufis" (gūfiyān-i muta'allihah), and these ideas, he writes, are due to two fantasies (wahm). The first is due to the reason that saintship means nearness, gnosis and revelation of realities, while prophethood is an affair (kārī) between someone, chosen by God, and His creation (khalq). The second reason for purporting such an idea is that the saints are the followers of the Prophet Muhammad. In other words, saints are referred to as superior to the prophets only relatively, that is by virtue of the Prophet Muhammad. This is so because the Prophet holds an unique position and is attributed with special qualities

(khassā'is), which are peculiar only to him in comparison to the preceding prophets. Therefore, his followers who also share with him some of those "specialities" are thought to be superior to the other prophets.¹³⁴

Thenon-committal attitude of Gīsūdirāz to this aspect of the problem is quite clear from the stand that he takes. On one hand, he calls the above interpretation "fantasy", while on the other, he says that superiority of the saints is possible (shāyad) but only relatively.¹³⁵ One thing is evident that the superiority of saints on the basis of saintship qua saintship is not possible. That is the reason why he says that "originally" (asālat) it cannot be affirmed, but relatively or by virtue of (ba-dimm) the Prophet Muḥammad it is possible to say so.¹³⁶ The Prophet Muḥammad held a position which was envied by all the preceding prophets, the reason why Moses wished that he were born among the people of the last Prophet.¹³⁷

Besides, Gīsūdirāz thinks that the word prophets (anbiyā') in the tradition under discussion, could also mean those propagators (munabbiyān) of Israel, who were pure believers (mūminān-i mukhlis) but they did not receive revelations (wahī) or messengership (risālat). They acted for the prophets in absentia.¹³⁸ Probably he is implying that if this were the case, then the saints are superior to them.

2) GOD'S MYSTICAL EXPERIENCE: CREATION

We have studied saintship from the point of view of prophethood in

the previous section, and will now discuss the concept from a slightly different angle. In its reality, we know that saintship is gnosis (ma^crifat) of God and revelation of realities (haqā'iq). It is to Gīṣūdirāz the farthest a sufi can go towards God, beyond which there is no other rank but to return to oneself. What does a sufi achieve at this point? What does he realize on this stage? What are the truths or realities revealed to him, and what is the gnosis of God? In the answer to these questions is the significance of saintship. It is only after all the secrets are revealed to a person, that saintship is realized in him, and he becomes worthy of being called a "friend" or "saint" (walī) of God, or a sufi in the real sense of the word.

To Gīṣūdirāz, saintship is the realization of how and why creation first came into existence and what the relationship of God is with His creatures. We will, therefore, discuss here the world-view of Gīṣūdirāz, who specifically mentions at the end of chapter 47 (which deals with the process of creation) of Asmār al-Asrār, that the very "process of creation", is a full explanation of saintship (walāyat).¹³⁹ The significance of saintship, therefore, seems to be in the fact that God first manifested Himself into a "perfect form" from which man emerged as a "Perfect Man" (in potentiality), and to which he returns ultimately. Thus, this becomes a two-fold experience: self-manifestation of God in man, and His recognition of His own individuality through that man who, as a result, becomes transformed into "Perfect Man" (in actuality) or a saint (walī).¹⁴⁰

Simultaneously, we will point out certain similarities in the thought

of Gīṣūdirāz and 'Alā' al-Dawlah Simnānī (d. 736/1336), the former living first in Delhi and then in Gulbarga, India, while the latter lived in Simnān, Iran, about 85 years before. We have already discussed the possibility of Simnānī's influence on Gīṣūdirāz, which seems remote.¹⁴¹ The most interesting aspect is that both were severely critical towards Ibn 'Arabī, criticising him on his identification of "Absolute Existence" (al-wujūd al-mutlaq) as God.¹⁴² Nevertheless, it is apparent that Gīṣūdirāz himself was immensely influenced by Ibn 'Arabī.

The following discussion on Gīṣūdirāz's world-view falls into two major parts; first from the point of view of God, that is say how the creation came into being, and secondly from the point of view of saint or sufi. In other words, the journey back to the point from where he was created. We will return to this aspect in our discussion of the Perfect Man.

a) Saintship (walāyah) in the Creative Process.

The secret of creation lies in the most widely quoted divine tradition (ḥadīth qudsī) by the sufis. It was the Prophet David who asked God why He created the cosmos or creation (khalq). God replied, "I was a hidden treasure, and I loved that I be known".¹⁴³ Thus the whole scheme of Gīṣūdirāz is based on the concept of theophany (taḥallī), which was the case with both Ibn 'Arabī and Simnānī.¹⁴⁴

Gīṣūdirāz says that by "treasure" (ḡanī) God meant His essence (dhāt) with its variety of attributes (ṣifāt) which include attributes of beauty (jamāl)

majesty (jalāl), power (qudrat), knowledge (ilm), hearing (sam), sight (basar) and such. These attributes are present in potentia (bi-al-quwwah) in God, who wanted these to come out into the plane of "act" (ba-sahrā-i fi'l). His "wanting" was like the longing (khwāstan) of a lover (muhibb) for his beloved (mahbub).¹⁴⁵ This in itself is important because Gīṣūdirāz feels that the origin (asl) and ultimate meaning (hikmat) of creation (khilqat) was "love" (mahabbah) and "gnosis" (ma^c rifat); the reason why God said, "I loved to be known".¹⁴⁶

There are two phases of creation. In the first phase, God created the different species (anwā^c) of entities (dhawāt; wujūdāt); for example, sun, moon, stars, mountains, trees, animals and such, with the exclusion of man; in short, the universe. Another important point here is that through each entity was manifested an "attribute" of God.¹⁴⁷

The first phase was not enough for it did not fulfil what God really "wanted": "it still needed that person (ān kas) who would be able to fully recognize My manifestations in direct vision" (ba-^cavn al-^ciyān).¹⁴⁸ Thus begins the second phase of His creation which is the emergence of man (insān). Therefore, God is reported to have said, "I sat for a thousand years with My head between My knees, My eyes closed thinking and investigating for a form (sūrah) and a manifestation (bayinah) which could know Me and perceive Me through the manifestation (mazāhir) and openings (manāfidh). I could not think of anything but the form of man (sūrat al-insān). For this reason (maṣlahat) and purpose (hikmat) I fermented the clay of Adam with My own two hands for forty days, (so that) he becomes a representative (khalīfah) on My earth and

a marrow (khulāṣah) in My heaven. Necessarily, that form had to comprise in itself all the manifestations or had to be comprehensive of all the categories (asnāf) of entities (wujūdāt) and species (anwāʿ) of the universe (kāvināt) so as to know Me (ʿarīfunī) in himself (fī nāfsihī) and perceive Me (yadrīkunī) in his own individual being (shakhsihī).¹⁴⁹

By introducing this Arabic quotation in this form of an (otherwise unknown) variant of the famous ḥadīth qudsī mentioned above, Gīṣūdirāz wants to stress a point which is central to his world-view. The "purpose" of creation is not only manifestation of God's attributes in the multiplicity of things (dhawāt, wujūdāt), but also recognition of his own individuality, possible only through self-cognition of (another) individual being, that is, the (perfect) human person (shakhs; or according to the commentator, the "light of Muhammad" which is man's walāyah) summing up the totality of things. That is why Gīṣūdirāz adds (in Persian): "As long as the person does not perceive a thing in himself and taste it such as it is, he will not really perceive it".¹⁵⁰ In other words, it may be interpreted as the meaning of the saying attributed by Gīṣūdirāz, to ʿAlī, "he who knows himself (nafsaḥu) knows his Lord (rabbahu)."¹⁵¹

The commentator of Asmār, thinks that the "individual" (shakhs) is the "light of Muhammad" (nūr-i Muḥammadi) which was and will always be the "beloved" of the Truth (ḥaqq). It comprehends every existing thing, and every other light is from it. It is the first and the last, the external and the internal, for it is the manifestation of the "essence" (mazhar-i dhāt).¹⁵²

Further explaining the term direct vision (ʿayn al-ʿiyān), the commentator claims, "it means God's placing (taʿayyunāh) His own eye and essence (ʿayn wa dhāt-i khud) in the eye and essence of Muḥammad (dar ʿayn wa dhāt-i Muḥammad)".¹⁵³ This is what probably Gīṣūdirāz too is implying.

Thus the "light of Muḥammad" would further explain the importance of "emanation" (fayd) in his system.¹⁵⁴

To go back to where we had left our discussion, the form of man (insān) whom God perceived as the one who could in return perceive God in himself, was given a comprehensive shape. All the entities (hamah-i mawjūdāt) were composed in the framework of man (banīyah-i insān murakkab bāshad) meaning that all the attributes found in potentia in God were and are manifested in actu (bi-al-fiʿl) through man, with his heart (dil) being the receptacle. This is emanation (fayd) which is actually the reflection of God's shadow (ʿaks-i partaw-i Ū). Gīṣūdirāz insists that this means more than a mere philosophical recognition (chunānkih hukamā' gūyand) that man as microcosm (ʿālam-i saghīr) reflects the universe (insān-i kabīr). God cannot be known through the world. Rather, for the "real scholars" (muhāqqiqān, i.e. the sufis) it is the other way round. They, therefore, say (īn suḥṭān rā jamʿ ārand), "travel while staying at home !" and "search solitude while in community!". That is, the universe is found in the very essence of man's being. (dar ʿayn-i wujūd-i Ū). "Travel in yourself (not in the world) and everything will be present (mushāhadah) to you".¹⁵⁵

Again, Gīsūdirāz's anti-"philosophic" and pro-"religious" stand comes out quite clearly in the following discussion where he wants to stress the point that although "man" as such is the sum-total of the universe, this does not mean that "any" man is the sum-total. Thus, he argues: if we may interpret the word "creation" (al-khalq) in the divine tradition under discussion as to mean "man" (al-insān), this can only mean the "Perfect Man" (insān-i kāmīl), because al-insān, just like al-khalq (with the definite article), is to be understood in the "absolute" sense (mutlaq; i.e. the idea of "man"), and "absolute" turns into "perfect". Now, the "most perfect" of all perfect ones is evidently Muḥammad, "the seal of prophets". Therefore, "I created the creation" means really "I created Muḥammad, the seal of messengers".¹⁵⁶

This may further be substantiated from the commentary on Asmār, which states, "all there is in total existents in actu (bi-al-fi^cl) is present in potentia (bi-al-quwwah) in the noble essence (dhāt-i sharīf) and the subtle element (‘unṣur-i latīf) of the Prophet Muḥammad (ḥadrat-i Muḥammadi, perhaps the spiritual reality of the Perfect Man), as a complete tree exists in a seed he is the first and the last, the external and the internal".¹⁵⁷

The commentator further elaborates on the subtle distinction between "creation" (khalq) in an indefinite sense and "the creation" (al-khalq) with the definite article, as implied in Gīsūdirāz' text. He writes that "the creation" means the "light of Muḥammad", where as "creation" (without the article) applies to its manifestation (zuhūr-i ū). The article "the" (al) indicates the contract (‘uḥdah), and the resolved one (ma^chūd) is the Prophet Muḥammad (meaning the "light"), who is the reality of creation

(haqīqat-i khalq) and the quiddity of universe (māhīyat-i kawn).¹⁵⁸ If we put it in another way, "the creation" or "light of Muhammad" probably contains the Macrocosm. Gīṣūdirāz himself uses the image of fine sugar (nabāt) which is the result of sugar cane (nay shakar) after it (i.e. sugar cane) goes through a lengthy procedure of sifting.¹⁵⁹ Thus, he signifies the creation of the Prophet Muhammad (the primordial side of the Prophet) who, along with ^cAlī, was created from the same light about four thousand years prior to the creation of Adam.¹⁶⁰ Gīṣūdirāz writes that prophethood and successorship (khilāfat; meaning, saintship) are rooted in the same "light".¹⁶¹

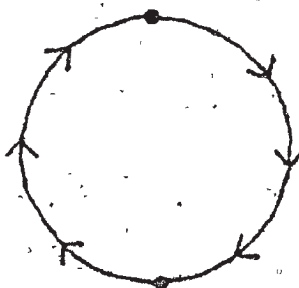
A very interesting aspect of the divine tradition -I was a hidden treasure, I loved that I be known (u^craf), and therefore, I created the creation- is Gīṣūdirāz's analysis of the imperfect form of the verb "to know". For, this form is to be understood, he writes, not only in the passive but also in the active voice, so that the tradition means also: "I created the creation in order to know myself" (khalq rā āfarīdam tā khud rā shīnāsam).

That is to say, Gīṣūdirāz explains, while God was "all-knowing" (^calīm) of the things prior to their existence, He became "all-informed" (khābīr) of the things after their existence.¹⁶² We may understand this to mean that God's knowledge, from being potentially universal "before" the creation, became particular experiential knowledge "after" the creation, i.e. the type of knowledge which Gīṣūdirāz also terms "direct vision" (^cayn al-^ciyān) in the context of mystical experience. As the commentator puts it, "God's being a gnostic (^cārīf) in potentia (bi-al-quwwah) is all-knowing, whereas His becoming a gnostic in actu (bi-al-fi^cl) is all-informed."¹⁶³ As a matter of

fact, Gīśūdirāz himself explains it by adducing the image, taken from human experience, of self-perception through a mirror. "One cannot by oneself perceive oneself. You have to create a mirror so that your reflection appears in that mirror. So, look at your individuality (shakhs-i khud), and you will see your (tū; own) beauty". He adds that it is like Laylā addressing her own beauty as Majnūn while looking in a mirror. "He (God) is in everything, with everything, (but) everything is from Him and (subsists) through Him. He Himself sees Himself and plays with Himself, not that He polishes (pardāzad) something other than Himself". The inner meaning and purpose of the creation, however, Gīśūdirāz feels is "love" (mahabbat) and gnosis (ma^crifat) by virtue of "I loved that I be known". If there had not been "love" (^cishq), he adds, "the heaven would not turn, the sea would not boil (nashūrīdah), the rain would not fall, the vegetation would not grow, the animals would not give birth (nazā'īdah), the man would not grow into maturity, God would not be worshipped by anyone, and God's beauty would not be seen by anyone."¹⁶⁴

The above interpretation regarding alīm and khābīr is very important for us, because it enlightens the two aspects of Gīśūdirāz's world-view, first from the top, meaning the creation of everything; and second from the bottom, that is from the sufi stand point. In short, God's being "all knowing" comprises of the whole process of creation, and His becoming "all-informed", signifies the return journey. Thus the whole cycle is completed and God has seen himself in the mirror.

Return journey
of the sufi:
khābīr aspect.



Process of
creation: alīm
aspect.

Grammatical levels.

Now we shall turn to the process of creation from the angle of the five "grammatical" levels laid down by Gīṣūdirāz. In other words, the cosmic self-manifestation of God on the "grammatical" levels related to God Himself, who is considered as the agent or "subject" of the creative process. Basically, this is a fourfold structure, but as we shall see later, there are two aspects of macrocosm, both of which are termed "essence" (dhāt) by Gīṣūdirāz; we have, therefore, a fifth level which in fact appears only from the point of view of mystical experience. Otherwise, he is very similar to Simnānī, who offers four levels, essence (dhāt), attributes (ṣifāt), acts (af'āl) and effects (āthār).¹⁶⁵

We face here a problem regarding the names (asmā') of God. The question is whether "names" are also assigned a level or not. For instance, Simnānī does not give it a specific level, but he thinks that "names" are related to both the "essence" and the "attributes". Which place does it have in the scheme of Gīṣūdirāz? We do not want to go into this problem in details but it is felt that a mention must be made of certain inconsistencies. Although Gīṣūdirāz does not mention "names" as one of the levels anywhere in his work,¹⁶⁶ both his commentator and his son include it as a level between

"acts" and "attributes".¹⁶⁷ This is where our confusion lies, because Gīṣūdirāz neither mentions it as a level, nor does he state the relationship of it to either one of the levels. It is probable that the commentator included "names" in the scheme as there had to be five levels to correspond with the five stages of Gīṣūdirāz.¹⁶⁸ Otherwise, whenever the anonymous author talks of three levels, he mentions only "essence", "attributes", and "acts" to go with ḥaqīqat, ṭarīqat and sharīʿat.¹⁶⁹ On the other hand, once he writes that "acts" are included in "names",¹⁷⁰ while elsewhere he implies that "names" are related to "attributes".¹⁷¹ Yet he assigns one level to "names", when he wants to talk of five stages. The following charts would probably clarify our point.

a) When talking of five levels to correspond to five stages, the commentator has the following:

"Essence"	(<u>dhāt</u>)	= Reality of Truth (<u>ḥaqīqat al-ḥaq</u>)	= Occult (<u>khafī</u>)
"Attributes"	(<u>sifāt</u>)	= Truth of Reality (<u>ḥaq al-ḥaqīqat</u>)	= Secret (<u>sirr</u>)
"Names"	(<u>asmāʾ</u>)	= Reality (<u>ḥaqīqat</u>)	= Spirit (<u>rūḥ</u>)
"Acts"	(<u>afʿāl</u>)	= Path (<u>ṭarīqat</u>)	= Heart (<u>dil</u>)
"Effects"	(<u>maʿāʾil</u>)	= Law (<u>sharīʿat</u>)	= Soul (<u>nafs</u>)

b) When he wants to mention only three of them to correspond with Law, Path and Reality, he has:

"Essence"	= Reality	= Spirit
"Attributes"	= Path	= Heart
"Acts"	= Law	= Soul

Obviously the commentator himself is confused because Gīṣūdirāz is not clear on this aspect. On the other hand, Gīṣūdirāz indicates what the fifth level from below is, when he talks of the highest levels of theophany. The fifth "grammatical" level is actually another aspect of "essence" which faces "beyond the beyond" (warā' al-warā') and which he calls "essence" too, as shall be explained later.¹⁷²

Gīṣūdirāz writes that the "effects" (ma'fūlāt) are a veil over the "acts" (af'āl).¹⁷³ The "acts" veil the "attributes" (ṣifāt), which in turn hide the "essence" (dhāt). The "essence" (itself) is a veil over the "essence". This last veil is never lifted, even for a prophet or saint.¹⁷⁴

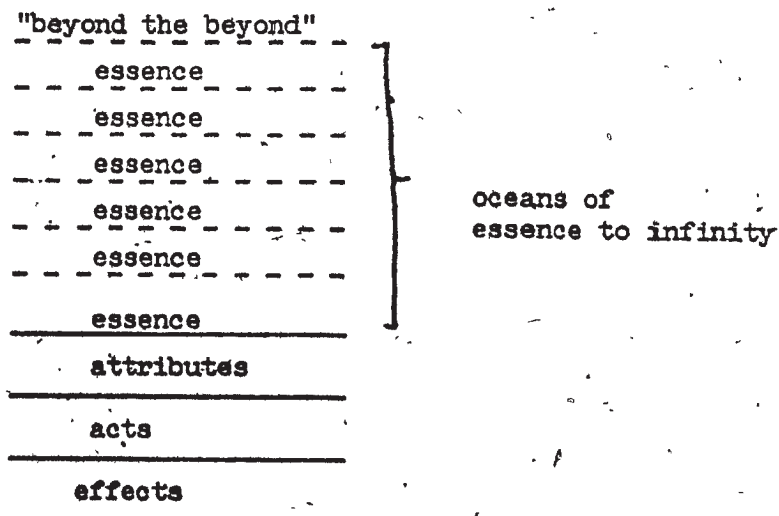
Nevertheless, the importance of this fourfold structure is in the gradual manifestation of God through each level. In the words of Gīṣūdirāz, "God was an essence with a variety of attributes. He wanted these attributes which were in Him in potentia, to come out into the plain of 'act'. Thus the creation came into being".¹⁷⁵ "Essence", "attributes", "acts" and "effects" are actually four levels of the manifestation of God, with the fourth being the emergence of creation. In other words, "veils" and "manifestations" are one and the same thing.¹⁷⁶

b) Deus Absconditus: Beyond the Beyond (warā' al-warā').

The concept of "beyond the beyond" (warā' al-warā') signifies God (or God's essence) in His (or its) absolute remoteness. Most probably,

Gīsūdirāz coins this term borrowing the concept from the Quranic verse, "and God encompasseth them all from behind".¹⁷⁷ His main purpose for using it is to indicate his own stand as a critic of Ibn ^cArabī, whom he criticises for identifying God as "Absolute Existence" (al-wujūd al-mutlaq). His objections to Ibn ^cArabī are found throughout his works. He writes that Ibn ^cArabī identified God as being in all the forms (suwar) and shapes (ashkāl), and was not conscious (shu^cūr) of "beyond the beyond", for Truth (al-haqq) is "beyond the beyond". By this identification Ibn ^cArabī has "limited" (muqayyad) God.¹⁷⁸ These forms and shapes, for Gīsūdirāz, are actually the manifestations of God's "emanation" (fayd), not He.¹⁷⁹

For Gīsūdirāz, the essence of God is something which does not have an end, Thus God, who is "beyond the beyond" can never be identified. Essence is an endless line of oceans. When one reaches the end of one ocean, he thinks that he has attained his goal, but he sees another ocean and so on. Even if he goes on diving from one ocean into another for 100,000 years, he will never reach its end. This stage of "beyond the beyond" can only be described by saying, "he who knows God (‘arafa Allāh) becomes dumb (kalla lisānuhu)."¹⁸⁰ It is only astonishment (hayrat) in astonishment.¹⁸¹



Gisūdirāz writes that the last veil of essence is not raised to anyone, be it a saint or a prophet, for no one sees the real "essence" of God . "It is only God who sees Himself and knows Himself, and no one is (in the real sense) with Him but Himself".¹⁸² This is the meaning of one's being acquainted with "beyond the beyond", for Gisūdirāz. It is the realization of one's endless journey from ocean to ocean to infinity. It is the inability to describe something that "takes a new grandeur every day",¹⁸³ with the result that one is dumbfounded.¹⁸⁴ Elsewhere Gisūdirāz writes to the effect that searching for God is like looking for pulp (maghz) in onions.¹⁸⁵ This naturally gives the impression of a transcendental God. It should be noted that this acquaintance of "beyond the beyond" is achieved only when the sufi goes beyond the 4th stage, "Truth of Reality" (corresponding to the lower level of or "veiling" essence, in the present scheme). In other words, when the theopheny of essence (tajallī-i dhāt, or the positive aspect of macrocosm) is manifested to him.¹⁸⁶ A sufi does experience the "essence" (dhāt) of

God, but is unable to identify Him.¹⁸⁷ This "consciousness" is termed "beyond the beyond" which is realized on the stage of "Reality of Truth".¹⁸⁸ We might put it in another way by saying that the consciousness of "beyond the beyond" is a secret revealed when the sufi annihilates himself in the higher level of or "veiled" essence.

c) Deus Revelatus: Emanation (fayd).

Thus far, we have seen that theophany (ta.jallī) plays the major role in the world-view of Gīṣūdirāz. We have also noted his concept of "beyond the beyond". Now, we will see that "emanation" (fayd) of God is behind the whole creation. The concept of emanation, for Gīṣūdirāz, is actually the self-manifestation or theophany (ta.jallī) of God, as is the case with Ibn ʿArabi.¹⁸⁹ It is this concept of emanation which he also calls "divine emanation" (fayd-i qudsī), that is present with all the entities. In this regard too, Gīṣūdirāz is very similar to Simnānī, for whom emanation is the link between God and man.¹⁹⁰

Gīṣūdirāz writes that there are two aspects of all existents, one facing itself and the other towards its creator. The second aspect is called the divine emanation (al-fayd al-quddūsī),¹⁹¹ and the "glorious light" (al-nūr al-subbūnī), which is connected with the total things. This he calls "emanation",¹⁹² The divine emanation is eternal (qadīm) and he, therefore, calls it sometimes the "eternal emanation" (fayd-i qadīm).¹⁹³ By virtue of this emanation, everything is connected with and subsists through God. It is because of this reason that Muḥammad ibn Wāsi^c (cd. 120/737) said, "I do not see anything but I witness God in it". Gīṣūdirāz feels that ibn Wāsi^c

uttered the above statement because he experienced it through "direct vision" (ba-^cayn al-^civān). But he clarifies, probably with Ibn ^cArabī in mind, that the statement of ibn Wāsi^c does not mean that God exists in everything. On the contrary, it simply means that it is the "emanation" of God which is found in them.¹⁹⁴ In this context, Gīṣūdirāz criticises Ibn ^cArabī at innumerable places in his works. He writes, "He (God) is in and with all things which (in turn) are from and through Him (az ū wa-badū)",¹⁹⁵ but not He. Elsewhere, he states that a sufi is the one who perceives the "essence of the sun" (^cayn-i shams) through its emanation (fayd-i shams)".¹⁹⁶ As for the relationship of emanation with God, Gīṣūdirāz maintains that it is neither Himself (^caynuhu) nor something other than Him (ghayrahu).¹⁹⁷

The significance of emanation is also discerned if we see it from another angle, that is from the point of view of its synonymous terms, such as rūh-i a^czam, rūh-i Muḥammadī, used to indicate the same concept. This aspect is more revealing because it will enlighten the reality of emanation. We have seen that "divine emanation" is eternal. Its relationship to man, according to Gīṣūdirāz, is like that of a "beloved" with the "lover". It is neither attached to man nor detached, nor is it internal (dākhil) or external (khārij) to him, because it is pure (munazzah) from the idea of nearness (qurb), distance (bu^cd), unity (ittisāl) and separation (infisāl). Yet it is nearer to man than his own jugular vein or his pupil (siyāhī-i chashm).¹⁹⁸ The most interesting aspect of emanation is that it has almost the same relationship with both God and man.

Gīsūdirāz states that divine emanation is also termed, at times, the "spirit of spirit" (rūh al-rūh) and the "greatest spirit" (rūh-i a^czam).¹⁹⁹ It is paradoxical enough that though divine emanation is eternal, the "greatest spirit" which is one of the names of emanation, is something created (az makhluqāt)²⁰⁰ and accidental (hudūth), because it emerged from in between God's attributes of beauty (jamāl) and majesty (jalāl).²⁰¹ Nevertheless, it is very interesting to note that this divine emanation is also addressed at times, as God (khudā), and as creator of everything (khāliq kull shay) when it is not advisable to reveal its nature (which signifies the Creative force). From another angle emanation is termed saint (walī;²⁰² which, incidentally, is also one of the names of God. c f. e.g. Quran 2: 257). Gīsūdirāz' interpretation is very important here because by applying the term "emanation" to both the terms God and saint, he has defined the "meeting place" of both. Divine emanation as "saint" is, no doubt, the sum-total of the universe taken as that "Perfect Man" in whom God recognises His own individuality (shakhs) or the place where God and man unite. In short, that is the place from where man emerged and that is where he returns eventually. This, then is the significance of saintship (walāyah).²⁰³

Nevertheless, the problem of terminology is tackled in a more explicit manner by Gīsūdirāz' son S.A. Husaynī in the 11th chapter of his work Tabsirat al-Istīlāḥāt al-Sūfiyah. According to Husaynī, macrocosm (ālam-i kabīr) is the first substance (jawhar-i awal) which was the initial creation of God. It is also called "relative spirit" (rūh-i idāfi)

coming into being when the essence of God (dhāt-i khudā) manifested itself (tajallī kard). The relative spirit has many names, first intellect (ʿaql-i awwal), first pen (qalam-i awwal), greatest spirit (rūh-i aʿzam), spirit of Muhammad (rūh-i Muḥammadī) and so on.²⁰⁴ Another important term mentioned in this context is "reality of being Muhammad" (ḥaqīqat-i Muḥammadīyat) which is actually the origin of the universe (ʿālam-i ʿālam).²⁰⁵ On the contrary, man (insān; considered as such, i.e. without the perfection of "saintship" in actu) is the microcosm (ʿālam-i saghīr), or the second substance (jawhar-i duwām).²⁰⁶

The obvious application of philosophical terminology and concepts, in general, and those of Ibn ʿArabī in particular, is significant. This, in fact, assists in understanding the problem in a better way. In any event, there are a couple of things which are brought to light. The first is that Gīṣūdirāz's son identifies the "divine emanation" with macroscosm or first substance, and this with the "spirit of Muhammad" or the "reality of being Muhammad", obviously following Ibn ʿArabī. This poses a problem with regard to the concrete human figure of the Prophet of Islam. Is his place relegated to the "second substance" or microcosm? Before we go into that question we might point out that there is again a subtle difference with regard to "emanation". The terms like "relative spirit", "greatest spirit" and such are names given to the manifestations of divine emanation from different points of view. For example, S.A. Ḥusaynī refers to the symbolism of ocean which is often quoted by Gīṣūdirāz himself.²⁰⁷ The ocean takes different

names like waves, vapours, clouds, rain, stream, etc. on different levels. So also divine emanation is called by a variety of names on each degree of its manifestations.²⁰⁸ It is in this sense that Gīśūdirāz attributes "eternity" to emanation. "It does not perish (fānī) but transforms itself from one form into another and from one shape into another".²⁰⁹ The significance here is the innumerable forms and shapes in which it manifests itself. Thus, Gīśūdirāz emphasizes that the forms and shapes are the emanation of God, not Himself.

We will analyse the whole system of distinction from a slightly different angle, that is from the point of view of "beyond the beyond"; i.e. Transcendental God. We have pointed out earlier²¹⁰ that divine emanation itself is the manifestation of God and His first creation. On the other hand, God is "beyond the beyond" and utterly uncomprehensible. He can never be pointed out or identified.²¹¹ He is unapproachable except from the side of divine emanation or Macrocosm which is the end of the mystic journey. It is here that one realizes that God is "beyond the beyond", and that everything is from Him, but not He.²¹² This is the reason why Gīśūdirāz writes that twoness (du'ī) remains for ever.²¹³

From the illuministic aspect of the problem divine emanation is to be understood as the "absolute light" (nūr-i mutlaq).²¹⁴ It is the light of God which is attached to everything.²¹⁵ The "absolute light" is probably the "light of Muhammad" which is the first creation.²¹⁶ This is the stand the anonymous commentator of Asmār al-Asrār takes, because, to him, the "light of Muhammad" is the origin of creation (asl-i khilqat), and is

therefore, the macrocosm.²¹⁷

We have reached a very interesting point now in regard to the various terms used to express the same idea. Gīṣūdirāz personally prefers "divine emanation", and clearly implies the concept of the Perfect Man as being that emanation, though he also mentions other terms, as already observed. His son S.A. Ḥusaynī prefers to stick to Ibn 'Arabī's terminology, "reality of being Muḥammad" and "spirit of Muḥammad", which Gīṣūdirāz himself has tried to avoid. On the other hand, the anonymous commentator adheres to "light of Muḥammad" as his macrocosm.

d) The Perfect Man (insān-i kāmīl).

We have seen above²¹⁸ that the term "creation" (khalq) in the divine tradition -I was a hidden treasure...- connotes to the appearance of the "Perfect Man", who is the first creation. The Perfect Man is "absolute" (mutlaq) in the sense that the totality of existences (jumlaḥ-i wujūdāt) are comprehended by him. In other words, the attributes of God which are each manifested through an entity, are all together manifested in the concept of the Perfect Man. In reality, the idea of the Perfect Man is the first and the perfect manifestation of God with all His "attributes" and "names", which takes place within His own consciousness. Thus, in this idea lies the concept of macrocosm as elaborated by the commentaries. In the preceding section on "emanation", we have dealt with the synonymous terms like "reality of being Muḥammad", "light of Muḥammad", "greatest spirit" and such, applied to express the idea of macrocosm or the Perfect Man. We have tackled the

problem briefly from one side, that is from the angle of God, and concluded that macrocosm is in reality the "divine emanation". Here we will analyse it from the point of view of man. In short, if macrocosm is the Perfect Man, who then is the Perfect Man concretely? Then we will see how this concept becomes the symbol for the microcosm in its return journey.

Gīsūdirāz expounds that the Perfect Man is the Prophet Muḥammad, because he is the most perfect, and is superior to all the other messengers. Therefore, he was created as their "seal" (khātim al-rusul).²¹⁹ He is the manifestation (maẓhar) of all existences, and it was for the sake of him that God created Adam and the universe (ʿālam).²²⁰ Thus, Gīsūdirāz does not at first distinguish between the "macrocosmic" "spirit of Muḥammad" and the "microcosmic" "seal of the messengers"; rather he tends to emphasize the identity of the two levels in his case. He does, however, distinguish between Aḥmad and Muḥammad.²²¹ Here, he only alludes to the relationship between the primordial Perfect Man and the final outcome by an image used by Najm al-Dīn al-Rāzī to illustrate the descent of "spirit" to "body".

The creation of the Prophet Muḥammad was the result of a lengthy procedure, very similar to that of the finest sugar (maḥāt) which is the final outcome of sugar-cane (nay shakar). Gīsūdirāz writes that the total creatures (jumlah-i makhlūqāt) were sifted and the result was Adam and all the Prophets. Again these Prophets were sifted and the result was the Prophet Muḥammad. This is the reason, he says, why the Prophet Muḥammad possesses in "cash" (naqd)²²² all the perfections found in Adam, Noah, Moses, Abraham, Jesus and the rest respectively.²²³ Thus, he is envied by others.²²⁴ He adds the Shīʿī

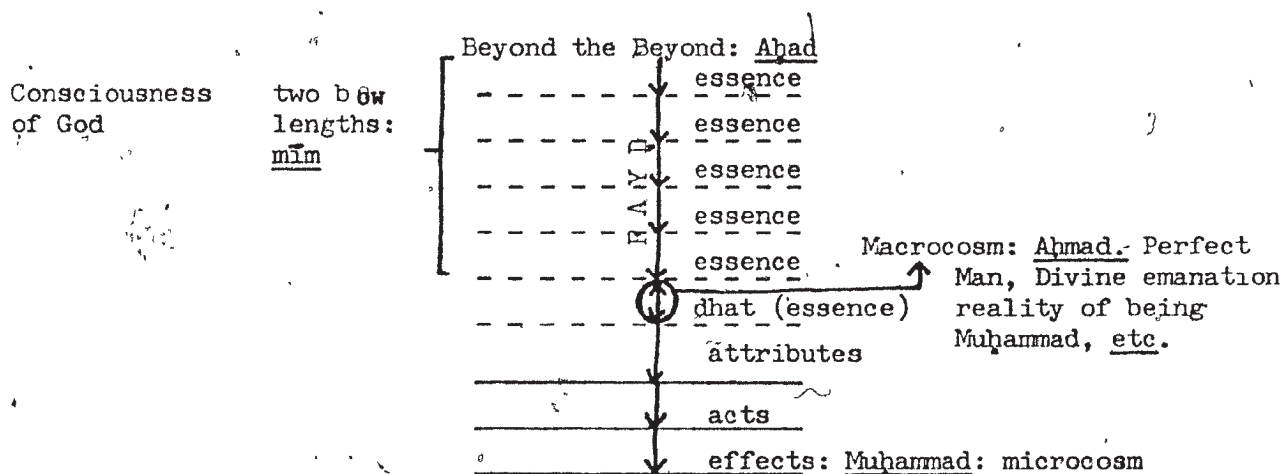
tradition which says, "I and ^cAlī were created from one light four thousand years before the creation of Adam".²²⁵ We may point out here that it is by virtue of this quality of perfection in the Prophet Muḥammad that Gīṣūdirāz probably wants to show the equality of the saints to the Prophets of Israel, when he mentions that each one of them is represented by a saint.²²⁶ Simultaneously, the quotation of the tradition indicates the superiority of walāyah.

Besides, from the aspect of the Perfect Man, the Prophet Muḥammad is totally one with God (Muḥammad wa khudā-i Muḥammad sar ba-sar).²²⁷ It signifies the "divine emanation" which is the initial manifestation of the essence of God which S.A. Ḥusaynī terms the "second sea" (daryā-i duwum), the first sea being God's essence itself.²²⁸ The emanation comes directly from "beyond the beyond".²²⁹ The Prophet Muḥammad is the manifestation (mazhar) of God's essence.²³⁰ Moreover, we shall see below that the two "essences" in the ontological scheme mentioned above²³¹ may indicate the two aspects of the Perfect Man, positive and negative, which we will discuss again below.²³² It may, therefore, not be improper to state that the first creation by or manifestation of God in the form of the "Perfect Man" or "divine emanation" or "reality of being Muḥammad" etc. took place in His essence itself. In short, this manifestation appeared in the consciousness of God. Gīṣūdirāz quotes the Quranic verse²³³ "whom so ever obeys the Prophet, obeys God", to enlighten this unique, and paradoxical nature of relationship that exists between the Prophet and God.²³⁴

From another angle, there is a very interesting interpretation of

the same idea, by Gīṣūdirāz. God manifested Himself on three degrees. From "One" (ahad) He revealed Himself to the "most praiseworthy" (ahmad) and then to the "praised one" (Muhammad). The letter "m" (mīm) in Ahmad is a veil over Ahad.²³⁵ This explanation may in itself be very significant because it presumably shows us the three aspects of the problem. Ahad, then, according to our interpretation, points to the Transcendental God, Ahmad indicates the "Perfect Man" or "divine emanation" as Macrocosm, and Muhammad enlightens the Prophet Muhammad as the microcosm. It also maintains the distance between the Perfect Man and God, as signified in the Quranic verse, "a distance of two bow lengths or nearer",²³⁶ which Gīṣūdirāz calls mīm of Ahmad.

The following illustration seems to be Gīṣūdirāz's ontological process of creation, which will also give a general impression of the position of macrocosm in the scheme.



We have just discussed the two aspects of the Prophet Muhammad, one as macrocosm and the other as microcosm. If we put it in another way,

esoterically he is macrocosm and exoterically he is microcosm. Thus, macrocosmic aspect signifies saintship, whereas microcosmic qualifies prophethood. Nevertheless, due to the superiority of the Prophet Muhammad to all beings both exoterically and esoterically, he is taken as the archetype. He is to be followed in both respects. Thus, externally, the sufi has to abide by the laws and code of conduct laid down by him, and internally he, being the Perfect Man, is the farthest one could ascend in the mystic journey. This signifies the second aspect of the theophany of God which is His manifestation to man (insān). It is from this angle that we have referred to God's becoming "all-informed" (khābīr), earlier in this chapter.²³⁷

As observed previously,²³⁸ the number 5 is very important for Gīṣūdirāz; he has five stages (maqāmāt) of mystic progression: (1) Law (sharīʿat); (2) Path (tarīqat), (3) Reality (ḥaqīqat), (4) Truth of Reality (ḥaqq al-ḥaqīqat), (5) Reality of Truth (ḥaqīqat al-ḥaqq). These stages he explains as such: "law (sharīʿat)²³⁹ means the saying (guft) of the Perfect Man; Path (tarīqat) is the action (kard) of the Perfect Man; Reality (ḥaqīqat) is the sight (dīd) of the Perfect Man; Truth of Reality (ḥaqq al-ḥaqīqat) is the being (būd) of the Perfect Man; and Reality of Truth (ḥaqīqat al-ḥaqq) is the being of non-being (būd-i nā-būd) of the Perfect Man."²⁴⁰

We might point out that Gīṣūdirāz mentions a 6th stage elsewhere.

Once he refers to it as "the Truth" (al-haqq) and explains it as "being of being and being of non-being" (būd-i būd wa būd-i nā būd).²⁴¹ In another work he uses the term "Truth of Truth" (haqq-i haqq) and elaborates it as "being for being" (būd rā būd).²⁴² We think that these two are synonymous terms indicating transcendental God who is "beyond the beyond", a stage which affirms "two-ness".²⁴³ Let us not confuse this stage with the other five we have referred to above. The final stage of a mystic is "Reality of Truth"; where he becomes conscious of God being "beyond the beyond". This seems to be the explanation of "Truth" or "Truth of Truth". In short, they signify Transcendental God.

Ḡisḡdirā's elaborates the three higher stages, Reality, Truth of Reality, and Reality of Truth. He feels that innumerable works have been compiled on the other two, "Law" and "Path", and, therefore, it does not necessitate their explanation.²⁴⁴ Nevertheless, he explains them elsewhere. Generally speaking, law (sharī'at) is the requisites (iltizām) of servitude ('ubūdiyyat), that is to follow the religious ordinances. Then Ḡisḡdirā's divides these requisites into two kinds: to serve (bandagī) God; for example, by praying, abstaining from indecencies, not depriving others of their rights, being just, and in short, by remaining within the boundaries of religion. The second kind is to remain always in servitude (ba-sifat-i bandagī). In other words, one must adhere firmly and adapt oneself to all that is worthy

(lā'iq) of a servant (bandah) and servitude (bandagī). It is the first kind which pertains to law (sharī'at) or the saying of the Perfect Man, and the second kind is implied to be path (tarīqat) or the action (kard) of the Perfect Man.²⁴⁵

Giṣūdirāz cites examples in trying to explain the 3rd and 4th stages, Reality or "sight" of the Perfect Man, and Truth of Reality or "being" of the Perfect Man. One of the instances he cites is that of Moses and the "burning bush",²⁴⁶ which he says is similar to experiencing the 3rd stage called Reality.²⁴⁷ The "burning bush" and the voice that spoke from behind, says Giṣūdirāz, are the revelations of God, which are from Him but not He. This distinction between the manifestation of God and God signifies this 3rd stage of "sight" of the Perfect Man. The mystic progress from the stage of "sight" to the 4th stage, namely "being" of the Perfect Man or from Reality to Truth of Reality is, according to him, a very difficult task.²⁴⁸ The 4th stage, Truth of Reality, is also explained through another instance of Moses when he wished to witness God.²⁴⁹ Giṣūdirāz writes that actually Moses wanted to progress from the stage of "sight" to that of "being". He adds that it is impossible to explain the changing state (istihlātī) which is the result of this "wanting" (khvāst) to become "being" of the Perfect Man. This is so because on this 4th stage, "you are yourself, but the Truth of Reality (haqq al-haqīqat) turns into your attribute (ṣifat-i tū gardad). It is

possible that you become unconscious (bī khud) of yourself (az khud) and turn into non-being (nā būd) in the being of reality (dar būd-i haqiqat) which turns into your epithet (na^ct)."²⁵⁰ Therefore, Gīṣūdirāz feels that the experience of this stage of Truth of Reality cannot be described except through examples. All the ecstatic utterances of sufis were the consequence of this particular experience, and the "Imaginations of unity" (gumān-i ittihād) discerned through such utterances are related to this stage.²⁵¹

Gīṣūdirāz himself has very little to say about the final or 5th stage of the sufi journey, namely Reality of Truth (haqiqat al-haq), because no one can really comprehend it (lā yuhtī; the text has yuhtī), be it a prophet or a saint or an angel,²⁵² except the Perfect Man. It may be noted that here he does not mean that this stage is inaccessible to a sufi. On the contrary, a sufi reaches this stage of Reality of Truth or "being of non-being" of the Perfect Man, because it is the final stage for him. Moreover, anything beyond this stage cannot be understood, which is implied by the concept of "beyond the beyond".²⁵³ The idea of comprehension pre-supposes the progress of a sufi to a stage higher. As long as he remains on one stage, he cannot really understand it. Besides, there exists a very close relationship between the last two stages, Truth of Reality (4th) and Reality of Truth (5th) on the basis of theophany, which will further clarify our point.

There are two levels of theophany (ta'allīf) each corresponding to the two stages under discussion. The lower level is manifested on the stage of Truth of Reality (4th stage). The higher level is manifested on the stage of Reality of Truth (5th stage). The former describes the state of intoxication (sukr) while the latter indicates "sobriety" (ṣabw). The lower level of theophany, on the 4th stage, Truth of Reality, is the manifestation of "divine emanation" (fayd-i qudsī).²⁵⁴ In other words, it is the theophany of all the "attributes" (ta'allīf-i ṣifāt) and "names" (asmā') of God.²⁵⁵ Gīṣūdirāz states that by virtue of this manifestation all the 99 names of God become the attribute of the mystic traveller.²⁵⁶ S.A. Ḥusaynī puts it in another way by saying that the traveller is then described (nawṣīf) by the attribute of the "reality of being Muḥammad", and he repeats whatever it says, after which, he gives in to ecstatic utterances (kalāmāt-i mastānāh);²⁵⁷ because he sees himself as God.²⁵⁸ Gīṣūdirāz feels that it is here that the traveller definitely needs his spiritual preceptor (pir).²⁵⁹ Both Gīṣūdirāz and his son attribute this stage to the intoxicated sufis like al-Ḥallāj (d.309/922), Abū Yaṣīd al-Bastāmī, etc.²⁶⁰ Therefore, the utterance at this stage is, "I am the Truth" and "Glory be to me".

The highest level of theophany is that of the "essence" (ta'allīf-i dhāt) itself. This high theophany is manifested on the 5th stage, Reality of Truth. It signifies the state of "sobriety" of the traveller

after his intoxication.²⁶¹ The most interesting aspect of this manifestation, which is said to be pure and clear, is that the traveller says, "Glory be to Allāh" and "He is the Truth"; in contrast to his earlier utterances, "I am the Truth", and "Glory be to me" related to the 4th stage, Truth of Reality.²⁶²

The importance of these two stages is the change that takes place in the mystic. It is that the "I" (anā) which is prevalent in him on the 4th stage of Truth of Reality, disappears completely on the 5th stage of Reality of Truth. This is the "I-ness" (anniyah) of al-Hallāj, to which Gīṣūdirāz alludes;²⁶³ "My I-ness crowds between you and me". But, according to S.A. Ḥusaynī, the two states of "sobriety" (sahw) and "obliteration" (mahw) are both working on the 5th stage of Reality of Truth. The theophany of "essence" obliterates the "I-ness" of the mystic and, thus, he says, "He is the Truth".²⁶⁴

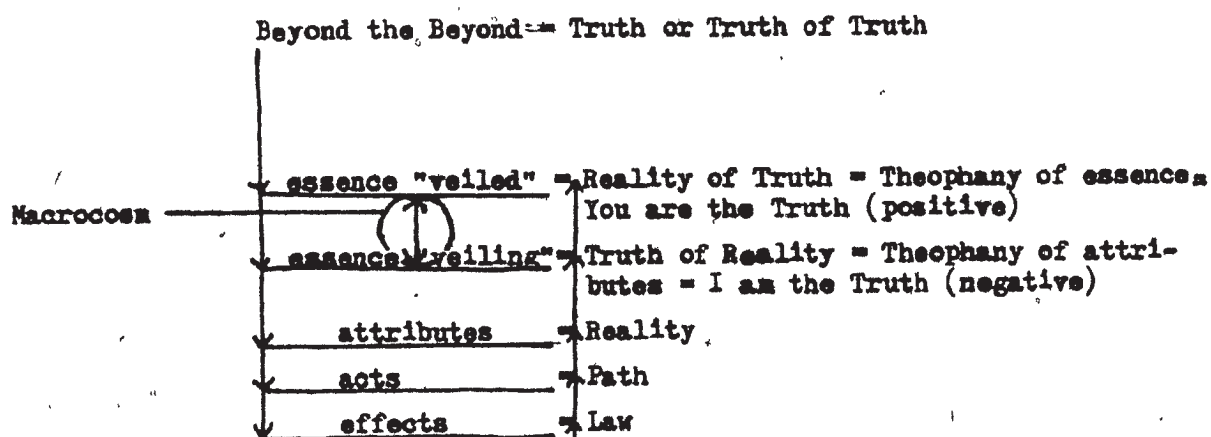
The subtle distinction between the two stages on the basis of theophany clarifies the two aspects of Macrocosm. The "veiling" aspect, which we might term the negative aspect, is where the "I-ness" still prevails and the mystic utters, "I am the Truth". The "veiled" aspect, which we will call the positive aspect, implies sobriety or "realisation" (shu'ūr),²⁶⁵ where the "I-ness" is completely obliterated and the mystics say, "He is the Truth". It may be noted that the "veiled" aspect indicates the concept of "beyond the beyond". This

is what Gīṣūdirās implies when he writes, "two things are verified (mutahaqqiq) to the traveller who has united (ittiṣāf) with the names (ba-asmā') and has acquired character par excellence (takhalluq ba-akhlāq wa-ṣifāt), first, endless pain (dardī bī nihāyatī), and second, witnessing (mushāhadah) of infinite sea (daryā'-i bī pāyān). Here he quotes Abū al-Ḥasan Nūrī (d.286 or 295/899 or 907) as pointing out the same things when he said, "If I am He is not and if He is I am not (agar manam ū nist wa-agar ūst man nah an)."²⁶⁶ The "endless pain" speaks of "I am the Truth", and the "infinite sea" points to "He is the Truth", which for Gīṣūdirās is the highest stage of the mystic journey. This is what he means by "he-ness" (huwīyat).²⁶⁷

The 5th stage of Reality of Truth, where the "essence" is manifested to the mystic traveller is, for Gīṣūdirās, the realisation of the fact that God is transcendental, and is "beyond the beyond". This is the reason why he explains "union" (wuṣūl) as a "special consciousness" (shu'ūr-i khāṣṣ) and certitude of "you are not, He is".²⁶⁸ Moreover, he defines the term "discovery" (wuḥūd) also as "consciousness" (shu'ūr) and a state of being informed (ittiḥāṣ).²⁶⁹ It is this realisation that he terms "direct vision" (ḡayn al-ḡiyān).²⁷⁰ The significance of it is in witnessing "one-ness" (wahdat) in "multiplicity" (kathrat) and "multiplicity" in "one-ness".²⁷¹ But this, according to Gīṣūdirās, does not mean that God exists in everything. Rather, it is His "emanation" (ḡayl) which is with one and all.²⁷² On this basis,

the sufi says, "I realize you in whatever I see".²⁷³

The following is a comparative chart showing the two aspects of Gīṣḍirāz' world-view: from the point of view of creation, and from the standpoint of the mystic's journey:



From the point of view of prophethood, the corresponding stages would be, in the ascending order, "burden" (bār), "affair" (kār), "wisdom" (hikmat), "saintship" (walāyat) and "prophethood" (nubuwat).²⁷⁴ The technical terms used for these stages, in connection with "audition" (samīʿ), are "resolution" (qusūd), arriving (wurūd), "witnessing" (shuhūd), "discovery" (wujūd), and "extinction" (khumūd).²⁷⁵

In terms of "sufi psychology", the subtle substances (latāʾif) corresponding to the above stages are "soul" (nafs), "heart" (qalb), "spirit" (rūh), "secret" (sirr), and "occult" (khafī).²⁷⁶

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

- 1 See the explanation of the terms by Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā, Fawā'id al-Jamāl wa-Fawā'id al-Jalāl, ed. Fritz Meier, Wiesbaden, 1957, p.282; cf. Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Jullābī al-Hujwīrī, Kashf al-Mahjūb, translation by R.A. Nicholson, London, 1911, p.383ff.; Omar Jah, Sufism and Nineteenth Century Jihād Movement in West Africa: A Case Study of al-Hajj 'Umar al-Fūtī's Philosophy of Jihād and its sufi Bases, Ph.D. thesis, Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, August 1973, pp.96-97. It may be said that Omar Jah deals with the problem of walāyah exclusively from the view point of his topic where he had to emphasize this exoteric aspect of leadership (shaykhūkhah). But the most basic of this external side is the internal aspect of walāyah. It is only when the sufi actualizes the esoteric aspect of walāyah in himself that he becomes a shaykh or leader.
- 2 Although Hujwīrī believes that gnosis cannot, necessarily and exclusively, depend on inspiration (Kashf, p.271), he certainly implies elsewhere a direct contact with God, when he writes, "In reality, Man's only guide and enlightener is God", and when he quotes 'Alī, "I know God, by God, and I know that which is not God by the light of God" (*ibid.*, pp.268 & 264, cf.275). What is significant for us now is the difference between wahy and ilhām. Cf. D.B. Macdonald, "Ilhām", Encyclopaedia of Islam, new edition, Vol.III, Leiden, 1971, pp.1119-1120.
- 3 Hujwīrī, Kashf, p.210.
- 4 R.A. Nicholson, The Mystics of Islam, London 1963, p.62; cf. M.I. Geyoushi, "Al-Tirmidhi's Theory of Saints and Sainthood", Islamic Quarterly, vol.XV:1 (1971), p.35; Hujwīrī writes, "the saints are not preserved from sin (ma'gūm), for sinlessness belongs to the Prophets, but they are protected (maḥfūḍ) from any evil that involves the denial of their sainthood", Kashf, p.225; Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī, al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah, Miqr, 1390 A.H., p.117ff.
- 5 Cf. Hujwīrī, Kashf, pp.212-213, also p.218ff. for a discussion on Karāmat; cf. M.J. Geyoushi, Islamic Quarterly, p.32ff.
- 6 Hujwīrī, Kashf, p.236; cf. R.A. Nicholson, Studies in Islamic Mysticism, Cambridge, 1967, p.141; Ibn Khaldūn, Muqaddimah, translation by Franz Rosenthal, New York, 1958, Vol.II, p.189.

- 7 R.A. Nicholson, Studies, p.141; cf. Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj, Kitāb al-Luma, ed. R.A. Nicholson, London, 1914, p.422ff; Hujwiri also implies as much. Kashf, p.236.

- 8 al-Sarrāj, for instance, writes that it is wrong to think that saintship is superior to prophethood. He feels that a saint who actually is a follower of a prophet cannot be superior to his leader, Luma, pp.422-424; Hujwiri also states that saints can never be regarded as surpassing prophets; "The ascension of Prophets takes place outwardly and in body, whereas that of saints takes place inwardly and in the spirit; the body of an apostle resembles the heart and spirit of a saint in purity and nearness to God. This is a manifest superiority." At the same time, Hujwiri claims special privileges for saints "...if a saint is not specially privileged neither is a prophet specially privileged". Kashf, pp.212, 235, 238-239.

- 9 For details about the Shī'ī theory, see W. Madelung, "Ismā", Encyclopaedia of Islam, new ed., Leiden, 1971, vol.III, pp.1166ff; idem, "Ismā'iliyya", Encyclopaedia of Islam, new ed., vol.IV, fascicule 63-64, Leiden, 1973, pp.198-206; J.S. Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, paper back, U.S.A., 1973, p.133ff; M. Ayoub, Redemptive Suffering in Islam: A Study of the Devotional Aspect of 'Ashūrā' in Twelver Shi'ism in the Middle Ages, Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, March 1975, Ch.II, pp.91-118; Azīz al-Dīn al-Nasafī, Kitāb al-Insān al-Kāmil, ed. M. Mole, Tehran, 1962, editor's introduction, p.15ff; M. Shabistari, Be ḡī az tā'wīlāt-i Gulshan-i Rās, ed. H. Corbin, under the title, Trilogie Ismaélienne Tehran, 1961, editor's introduction, p.63ff; M. Mole, "Les Kubrawiyya entre Sunnisme et Shiisme aux Huitième et Neuvième siècles de l'Hégire", Revue des Etudes Islamiques (1961), pp.61-142.

- 10 Ibn Khaldūn, Muqaddimah, Vol.II, p.186ff; cf. Ibn Taymiyyah's views on the subject. M.I. Geyoushi, Islamic Quarterly, p.52ff.

- 11 Cf. T.W. Arnold, "Khalifah", Encyclopaedia of Islam, old edition, Leiden, 1934, vol.II:2, pp.881-885.

- 12 For details see M.I. Geyoushi, Islamic Quarterly, p.17; B. Carra de Vaux, "Wālī", Encyclopaedia of Islam, old edition, Leiden, 1934, Vol.IV:2, p.1109; these terms, i.e. wālīyah and wilāyah may convey different meanings at times, but they have also been used to convey the same meanings even grammatically. Cf. Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān al-Arab, Beirut, 1956, Vol.15, pp.406 & 407. Trimingham, for instance, uses wālīyah for Shī'ī doctrines, and wilāyah when talking of sufis, Sufi Orders, p.133; see also S. Hussein Nasr, Sufi Essays, London, 1972, pp.107-109. For the sake of convenience, we will use the term wālīyah in our study, "

-although later we will show the distinction between them according to the sufis themselves. It is difficult to find an equivalent of the term walāyah in English, because it has different connotations like leadership, jurisdiction, authority, etc. in different contexts. In the mystical sense, it could also mean saintship, which aspect we are directly concerned with now. Thus, we will translate walāyah and walī as saintship and saint respectively.

- 13 Ibid.
- 14 The work was edited by ^cUthmān Yahyā, and printed in Beirut, 1965.
- 15 Tirmidhī, Khatm, editor's introduction, p.105.
- 16 Ibid., pp.117, 139; cf. editor's introduction, p.106; Geyoushi states that the two types of saints are subdivision of the special saintship, Islamic Quarterly, p.18. In our reading, ^cUthmān Yahyā's interpretation seems to be the correct one.
- 17 Ibid., pp.118-119, 120, 130; cf. Geyoushi, Islamic Quarterly, pp.18-19.
- 18 Ibid., 134.
- 19 M.I. Geyoushi, Islamic Quarterly, p.21.
- 20 The ten qualities, as translated by Geyoushi, are: (i) made ready (yugawwam), (ii) retouched (yuhaddhab), (iii) disciplined (yu'addab), (iv) purged (yunagga), (v) cleansed (yutahhar), (vi) purified (yuzakka), (vii) endowed with courtesy (yuwassa), refined (yurabbā), (ix) endowed with goodness (yutayyab), (x) isolated (yufarrad). Tirmidhī, Khatm, pp.333-334. The last two qualities are mentioned as confirmed (shajja) and divinely protected (awwadh) by Tirmidhī elsewhere. Cf. Khatm, p.331; cf. Geyoushi, Islamic Quarterly, XV, pp.20, 22.
- 21 Tirmidhī, Khatm, p.331.
- 22 Ibid., pp.332, 391ff; cf. M.I. Geyoushi, Islamic Quarterly, p.31. God's becoming the hearing, sight...etc. of a mystic is a very popular hadith qudsī among the sufis. Cf. ^cAyn al-Qudāh al-Hamadhānī, Tamhīdāt (for details see n. 76), p.271, para.354. The significance of this divine tradition is that it is cited to show the sufi state of "subsistence" (baqā'). For the full version of it see Khatm, p.332; cf. L. Massignon, Essai, pp.256-257. The transmitter of the tradition seems to be either Muḥāsibī or Ibrāhīm ibn Adham (d.160/777).

- 23 See M. K. Mas^cūd, "Al-Hakīm al-Tirmidhī's Buduw Sha'n", Islamic Studies, Vol.IV;3 (1965), pp.316-317; Geyoushi, Islamic Quarterly, pp.25-26.
- 24 Ibid., p.317. M.K. Mas^cūd argues in favour of Tirmidhī and brings evidences from his other works. See ibid., p.327, n.13; Geyoushi also thinks that the charges are baseless and were a result of misunderstandings, Islamic Quarterly, pp.26-27.
- 25 Hujwīrī, Kashf, p.210.
- 26 M.I. Geyoushi, Islamic Quarterly, p.26; cf. Hujwīrī, Kashf, p.236.
- 27 Ibid., p.26. This is probably his own interpretation and he does not substantiate his statement. Who can really judge the saintship or prophethood of a prophet.
- 28 Tirmidhī, Khatm, p.394.
- 29 Ibid. It is a prophetic tradition (ḥadīth ghibṭah), quoted by sufis. Cf. B.Firōzānfar, Abḥādīth-i Mathnawī, Tehran, 1375 A.H., 2nd edition, p.105; L. Massignon, Essai, p.127; cf. Supra n.22.
- 30 Ibid.; cf. Geyoushi, Islamic Quarterly, p.27.
- 31 T. Izutsu, A Comparative Study of the key philosophical Concepts in Sufism and Taoism: Ibn Arabī and Lao-tzū, Chuang-tzū, Tokyo, 1966-67, Vol.One: The Ontology of Ibn Arabī, p.255. However, Ibn Arabī has similar implications when he talks of siddiqiyah and malāmah. Cf. Tirmidhī, Khatm, p.480; Abū al-ULĀ^c Afīfī, The Mystical Philosophy of Muhyid Din Ibnul Arabi, Lahore, 1964, reprint, pp.93-94.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Ibid., p.254.
- 34 Abū al-ULĀ^c Afīfī, The Mystical, p.93.
- 35 Ibn Arabī makes a distinction between prophethood and apostleship; the former being more general than the latter, i.e. prophethood includes apostleship but not vice versa. For details, see T. Izutsu, Comparative Study, pp.253, 256-258; Afīfī, The Mystical, p.92ff. For the present purpose, we shall use the term prophethood only.

- 36 ^CAfifi, The Mystical, p.97; T. Izutsu, Comparative Study, p.254.
- 37 T. Izutsu, Comparative Study, p.254.
- 38 Ibid., p.256.
- 39 Ibid., p.257; cf. ^CAfifi, The Mystical, p.95. S. Haydar Āmūlī, a Shī'ī disciple of Ibn 'Arabī, agrees with his master here. Cf. Jāmi^C al-Asrār, ed. H. Corbin & 'Uthmān Yahyā, Tehran, 1969, pp.386-387.
- 40 See Izutsu, Comparative Study, p.263.
- 41 Ibid. Āmūlī, being a Shī'ī, believes that a saint or imām qua his saintship is superior to a prophet qua saint. But imām qua imām is lower than prophet qua prophet because he is always dependent on the prophets for laws; Jāmi^C, p.387.
- 42 Izutsu, Comparative Study, p.263.
- 43 See ^CAfifi, The Mystical, pp.94-96.
- 44 Ibid., pp.96-97.
- 45 Ibid., p.97.
- 46 The term amānah in Sufism is a reference to the Qur'anic verse, "We offered the trust to the skies, the earth and the mountains, who refused to accept it out of fear, but man accepted the offer, for indeed he was unjust and ignorant" S.33:72. The term very often is implied to mean the Qur'anic concept of the covenant (mithāq, cf. infra, Ch.III, section A, p.150). Nevertheless, with Sīmānī, it has a number of implications. By amānah, he means (a) the natural religion (dīn fitrī; i.e. Islam, upon which every man is born). Cf. al-Urwah li-ahl al-khalwah wa-al-jalwah, Xerox copy of the manuscript no.1583, As'ad Afandī Library, Istanbul, ff.84b-85a; (b) the achievement of the "pearl" (dur; actually, the existence of the prophet Muhammad is a "unique pearl" according to Sīmānī, cf. ibid. f.84b) so as to become the rightful successor of the Prophet of Islam, ibid. f.114a; (c) the attainment of the "pearl of the crown of need" (dur tāj al-iftiqār) which is the result of the glory of serving God. It is actualized on the last stage of servitude (ubūdah), ibid., f.114a.

- 47 Jāmi, who quotes Simnānī's letter to Kāshānī, has, according to the current editions, ubūdiyyah as the 100th stage, instead of ubūdah or tawhīd; Nafahāt al-Uns, edited M. Tawhīdī Pūr, Tehran, 1337, pp.490-491. Probably, following Jāmi, F. Meier also mentions ubūdiyyah as the last stage and not ubūdah or tawhīd; cf. "Alā' al-Dawlah al-Simnānī", Encyclopaedia of Islam, new ed., Leiden, 1960, Vol.I, p.347. It should be noted that in his Urwah (at least in the manuscript presently being used), Simnānī specifically mentions ubūdah as the 100th stage which he also terms "secret of unity" (sirr al-tawhīd), cf. f.114a. It is possible that he makes a distinction between ubūdah and ubūdiyyah since his predecessor Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā also does so, for whom ubūdah was a stage higher than ubūdiyyah, cf. Fawā'id, p.86, para. 174. Dr. H. Landolt, who translated Simnānī's letter into German, prefers ubūdah, and has reasons for doing so. Cf. "Der Briefwechsel zwischen Kāshānī und Simnānī über Waḥdat al-Wujūd", Der Islam, Band 50:1 (1973), p.80, n.147. Moreover, even with Ibn 'Arabī, there seems to be a distinction between these two terms, depending on the context they were applied, cf. infra, n.52.
- 48 Simnānī, Urwah, f.114a. We have included the term walī because a shaykh necessarily is a walī. Ibid., f.86b.
- 49 Idem. Correspondance spirituelle échangée entre Nūroddin Esfarayenī et son disciple 'Alā oddawleh Semnānī, ed. H. Landolt, Tehran, 1972, pp.72-73, para.43.
- 50 Simnānī, Chihil Majlis (Discourses), collected by Amīr I. al-Sijistānī, Xerox copy of Bodleian Library manuscript, no.1446, Oxford, f.89b; cf. Simnānī, Urwah, ff.86b-87a, 116b-117a.
- 51 Cf. Idem, Urwah, f.84b.
- 52 Cf. H. Landolt, Der Islam, p.80, n.147. Uūdah, for Ibn 'Arabī is the relationship of the "permanent archetypes" (al-a'yān al-thābitah) to "existence", a primordial stage of all existents, somewhere between existence (wujūd) and non-existence (adam). It signifies the idea of the Perfect Man. Once these permanent archetypes begin to acquire concrete forms they become qualified with ubūdiyyah. Cf. Tirmidhī, Khatm, p.243, p.118. Thus, for Ibn 'Arabī, ubūdah signifies macrocosm and ubūdiyyah indicates the microcosmic aspects. It may be said that ubūdah, for Simnānī too, as the 100th stage, implies the unification of microcosm and macrocosm. Therefore, Simnānī seems, indeed, to be very close to Ibn 'Arabī.

- 53 The distinction between walāyah and wilāyah was earlier made by Hujwiri but with different implications. "Walāyat means, etymologically, 'power to dispose' (taṣarruf), and wilāyat means 'possession of command' (imārat). Walāyat also means 'lordship' (rubūbiyyat).... Wilāyat also means 'love' (mahabbat); Kashf, pp.210-211. Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' also differentiates between these two terms. "A sufi shaykh possesses both walāyat and wilāyat. Walāyat is the guidance and training that he gives to his disciples. Generally, all those aspects related to a shaykh and the people fall under walāyat. On the contrary, wilāyat constitutes the relationship of the shaykh with God (ḥaqq), which signifies love. Eventually, when the shaykh dies, he bestows his walāyat on one (of his disciples) but takes his wilāyat along with him". Cf. A.H. Sijzi, Fawā'id, p.14; Amīr Khurd, Siyar, p.351. Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' is implying that walāyat constitutes the institution of mastership (shaykhūkhah), whereas wilāyat consists of the mystical aspect of the term.
- 54 For details see Kubrā, Fawā'id, pp.52-53, paras. 108 & 109.
- 55 Simnānī, Chihil, ff.86a-87b; Urwah, f.88b. M. Molé translates the speculation in French, though with a number of variations probably because he uses a manuscript different from ours; cf. Revue des Études Islamiques, pp.100-102. For an anonymous saying with the same implication, cf. M. Maḥmūd Shirāzi, Tarā'iq al-Ḥaqā'iq, ed. M.J. Mahjūb, Tehran, 1318A.H., Vol.II, p.257.
- 56 Ibid., Chihil, f.86b.
- 57 Ibid., f.87a.
- 58 Ibn 'Arabī, Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam, ed. 'A. 'Afīfī, Beirut, 1946, p.63; cf. T. Izutsu, Comparative Study, pp.262-263; 'Afīfī, The Mystical, p.101.
- 59 Simnānī, Chihil, ff.89b-90a.
- 60 Ibid., ff.89a-89b. Simnānī quotes the whole interpretation as he heard it from his master. Isfarā'nī himself refers to it in his work Kāshif al-Asrār, where he is interpreting Sa'd al-Dīn Hamūyah. He relates that Sa'd al-Dīn was attributed with the saying that the beginning of saints was the end of prophets. Isfarā'nī writes that he was shocked to hear it at first, but then it was revealed to him later that the saying was true as far as Sharī'at was concerned. Cf. Kāshif al-Asrār, ed. and translated into French by Dr. H. Landolt, para.90. The work is soon to appear from Iran, Vol.V, Wisdom of Persia Series.

- 61 Ibid., ff.87a-87b; ^cUrwah, f.88b.
- 62 Idem., ^cUrwah, f.84b.
- 63 Ibid., ff.84b, 86b, &117a etc.
- 64 Idem.; Chihil, f.90a.
- 65 Simnānī writes, "his (shaykh's) heart is similar to that of the Prophet Muhammad", ^cUrwah, f.116b; "His spirit becomes similar to the eye of the Prophet Muhammad", Chihil, f.89b.
- 66 A.H. Sijsi, Fawā'id, pp.14, 93 and 253; Amīr Khurd, Siyar al-Awliyā', Delhi, 1302 A.H., p.350ff.; M.J. Qiwan, Qiwām al-Aqā'id, Mas. Osmania University Library, Hyderabad, India, Xerox copy of chapter 6, f.37bff.
- 67 H. Qalandar, Khayr al-Ma'ālīs, Aligarh, 1959, pp.134-135.
- 68 See supra, Chapter I, p. 12ff.
- 69 Ahmad b. Mahmūd Nakhshabī Sher Khān, popularly known as Mas^cūd Bak, was another Chishtī contemporary of Gīśūdirās. For details about him, see Shaykh Abd al-Hāqq, Akhbār al-Akhyār, Urdu translation by A. Nizāmī, Anwār-i Sūfiyah, Delhi, n.d., pp.298-299; also see S.A.A. Rizvi, Revivalist, p.47ff.
- 70 Gīśūdirās, Maktūbāt, ed. S. ^cA. Husayn, Hyderabad, 1362 A.H., pp.124-125.
- 71 Ibid., p.129.
- 72 Ibid., p.131.
- 73 Ibid., p.133.
- 74 Ibid., pp.127 and 128.
- 75 Ibid., pp.133-134. We do not know whether this is "intoxicated" Mas^cūd Bak or "sober" Mas^cūd Bak who is talking, because from Abd al-Hāqq's version of him, we get an impression that he was a highly intoxicated sufi and a propagator of Ibn Arabī's doctrines; Akhbār, p.298. Cf. S.A.A. Rizvi, Revivalist, p.47ff.
- 76 Gīśūdirās, Asmār, pp.181, 209; cf. ^cA. Nasafi, Kashf al-Haqā'iq, ed. A.M. Dāghānī, Tehran, 1965, p.79. Gīśūdirās agrees with Ayn al-Qudāt when he implied in Tamhīdāt that sainthood was higher than prophet, Sharh-i Tamhīdāt, p.93-94. Ayn al-Qudāt himself-

-is inconsistent. In his other works, prophethood is superior; cf. Tamhidāt, pp.45-46, para. 62 and 63, para.65; Zubdat al-Haqā'iq pp.30-31; and Shakwat al-Gharīb, pp.44-45. These works are edited by 'A. 'Usayrān, under the title Musannafāt Ayn al-Qudāh Hamadhānī, Tehran, 1962. See also A.J. Arberry, A Sufi Martyr, London, 1969, p.87

77 Ibid., p.209.

78 Gisūdirāz, Maktūbāt, p.124.

79 Idem., Asmār, p.181. The difference between dar bar and bar dar goes back to Sa'dī, which could have been the inspiration here for Gisūdirāz. See Gulistān, ed. K.K. Rahbar, Tehran, 1348 A.H. Ch. I, story 7, p.74.

80 Idem., Maktūbāt, p.125.

81 S.A. Husaynī, Tabṣirat al-Isṭilāḥāt al-Sūfiyah, ed. S.^cA. Husayn Hyderabad, 1365 A.H., p.11.

82 See Sāmānī, Muhammadi, p.143.

83 Gisūdirāz, Asmār, p.162. He adds that prophethood has concealed saintship but saintship has manifested prophethood. That is to say that prophethood comprehends saintship (as its foundation and its first stage). The text quoted in the commentary has exactly the opposite reading; see Asrār, Vol.I, f.254a.

84 Anonymous, Asrār, Vol.I, f.254a. See also ^cA. Nasafi, Inṣān, pp.315-316.

85 Ibid., Vol.II, ff.282b, 360a.

86 Ibid., f.334a; cf. infra, n.206.

87 Idem., Asmār, p.183; cf. Ahmad al-Ghazālī, Sawānib fī al-Ḥishq, ed. I. Afshār, Maj. Danishkadeh, Supp. 5, 6; year 14, pp. 31, 37.

88 Anonymous, Asrār, Vol.II, f.362a; 'God worship' and 'effort to please' are comparable to esotericism and exotericism. Supra, p. 73.

89 Ibid., Vol.II, f.281b, f.286a.

90 Ibid., ff.281b-282a; cf. f.362a.

- 91 See infra, pp. 86, 92-93, 106.
- 92 Gīṣūdirās, Asmār, p.181; idem., Maktūbāt, p.124; cf. ^cA. Nasafi, Ḥaqā'iq, p.80. Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn explains the saying as, the prophet receives ḥaq of prophethood after he reaches maturity, but the saint becomes perfect only after receiving ḥaq by virtue of following the prophet. H. Qalandar, Khayr, p.134.
- 93 Idem., Maktūbāt, p.124.
- 94 See infra, p.79. Generally in Sufism, the stage of 'unity of unity' (jam al-jam) is considered as a synonymous term for "subsistence" (baqā'). The terms used for conveying the same idea are "separation after unity" (farq ba'd al-jam), "second separation" (farq thānī), etc. This stage is considered to be the highest. For details and explanations of these in general Sufism and Philosophy, see T. Isutsu, "The Structure of Metaphysical Thinking in Islam", Collected Papers on Islamic Philosophy and Mysticism, ed. M. Mohaghegh and H. Landolt, Tehran 1971, p.53ff; likewise Gīṣūdirās, interpreting Qushayrī, states that "unity of unity" is the stage higher than "unity" (jam), rather it comprises of both stages of "unity" and "separation" (jam wa tafriq). See Gīṣūdirās, Sharḥ, p.297.
- 95 S.A. Ḥusaynī, Istīlāḥāt, p.11.
- 96 See supra, p.72.
- 97 Gīṣūdirās, Asmār, p.181.
- 98 Idem., Maktūbāt, p.124.
- 99 Anonymous, Asrār, Vol.II, f.282a.
- 100 Supra, p.74.
- 101 See also infra, 109f; infra, Ch.III, section C, p.187ff.
- 102 Gīṣūdirās, Asmār, p.209.
- 103 See supra, Ch. I, section B, p.23ff.
- 104 'A. Nasafi's Tanzīl al-Arwāḥ is still in manuscript form but relevant quotation from it as well as from Kashf al-Ḥaqā'iq have been translated into German in an article by F. Meier, "Die Schriften des Asīs-i Nasafi", Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 52, nos.1 and 2 (1953), p.130ff; cf. Nasafi, Ḥaqā'iq pp.59, 95, 102-103, 105, 115-116. Gīṣūdirās quotes Nasafi also =

-though without revealing his name. "It is said that a prophet has the knowledge of the properties (khawās) of things, a saint possesses the knowledge of realities (haqā'iq) of things, and a 'wise man' (hakīm) has the information of the nature (ṭabā'ī^c) of things", Asmār, p.210. Cf. Nasafi, Haqā'iq, pp.59 and 102; F. Meier, Z.K.D.M., p.134 for quotations from Tanzil.

- 105 Gisūdirās, Asmār, pp.209-210.
- 106 Supra, p. 72.
- 107 Gisūdirās, Asmār, p.210.
- 108 Ibid.; cf. Nasafi, Haqā'iq, p.81. Instead of hikmat, Nasafi has īmān here.
- 109 Ibid., p.211; cf. Anonymous, Asrār, Vol.II, f.334a.
- 110 Ibid., p.210.
- 111 Anonymous, Asrār, Vol.II, f.330b; see infra., 'Grammatical levels', p. 95.
- 112 Ibid., ff.330b-331a.
- 113 See infra, p. 109ff.
- 114 See infra, p. 97.
- 115 Cf. Anonymous, Asrār, Vol.II, f.335a, f.468a.
- 116 Gisūdirās, Asmār, p.210. For the significance of 'unity' (ian^c) cf. ibid., pp.10-11, p.28, p.100; infra, Ch.III, section C, on ian, p. 185.
- 117 Anonymous, Asrār, Vol.II, f.333a.
- 118 See supra, p. 73.
- 119 Gisūdirās, Asmār, p.183; cf. pp.162, 210.
- 120 Ibid., p.183. It was probably due to this that S.A.A. Rizvi feels that a prophet was higher than a saint to Gisūdirās, which seems unlikely to us; cf. Revivalist, p.54.
- 121 It should be kept in mind that whenever we speak of saints and prophets, we mean the saints among the Muslims and the prophets who preceded the Prophet Muhammad.

- 122 Cf. ^cAyn al-Qudāh al-Hamadhānī, Tamhīdāt, p.5, para.7.
- 123 We were unable to locate this tradition.
- 124 Gīṣūdirāz, Asmār, pp.173, 174. Elsewhere, he explains the scholars who are referred to as 'established in knowledge' (al-rāsikhūn fī al-ilm) in the Qur'ān, as meaning those who receive direct knowledge from God. They are also called gnostics ('ulamā' bi-Allāh) and 'divine scholars' ('ulamā' -i rabbānī). Ibid., pp.47-48.
- 125 Ibid., pp.173-174; cf. ibid., pp.47-49.
- 126 Ibid., p.173.
- 127 In a different treatise of his, Gīṣūdirāz explains khāriq-i 'adat-i mustamarrah. He states that 'breaking a firm habit' does not mean to accomplish something impossible (muḥāl). It simply means to do something which cannot usually be done by others. 'Wonder-working' (karāmat) is something like reading the whole Qur'ān several times in one day. He gives another example that it is an affirmed fact that anything heavier than water drowns in it. 'Breaking a firm habit' is, therefore, one's walking on water, etc. Cf. Risālah dar Mas'alah-i Ru'yat-i Bārī ta 'Alā wa Karāmat-i Awliyā', printed in Majmū'ah-i Yāzdah Fāṣṣ'ih, pp.8-9.
- 128 Idem., Asmār, p.174.
- 129 Anonymous, Asrār, Vol.II, f.272b.
- 130 Gīṣūdirāz, Asmār, pp.174-175.
- 131 Idem., Khātimah, Hyderabad, 1356 A.H., p.78, para.116. For the prophetic tradition, cf. B. Ferozānfar, Ab'adith-i Mathnawī, Tehran, 1375 A.H., p.82; cf. Hujwiri, Kashf, p.55.
- 132 Idem., Asmār, p.175; cf. idem., Khātimah, p.78, para.116. For the tradition, cf. ^cAyn al-Qudāh, Tamhīdāt, p.187, para.245. He quotes it, though, differently.
- 133 See supra, p. 75ff.
- 134 Gīṣūdirāz, Maktūbāt, pp.124-125; idem., Asmār, p.175.
- 135 Idem., Khātimah, p.78, para.116; idem., Maktūbāt, p.125; idem., Asmār, p.175.

- 136 Idem., Asmār, p.175; idem., Maktūbāt, p.125.
- 137 Ibid. For the tradition, see [°]Ayn al-Qudāh, Tamhīdāt, p.2, para.3; p.46, para.64; p.133, para.184.
- 138 Ibid. This interpretation of the term 'prophet' (nabī) is the same as the one expounded by Sa'd al-Dīn Hamūyah. Cf. [°]A. Nasafi, Insān-i Kāmil, ed. M. Molé, Tehran, 1962, pp.320-321.
- 139 Ḡisūdirāz, Asmār, p.162.
- 140 See also infra, p. 102.
- 141 See supra., Ch.I, section B, pp. 26-28.
- 142 For the criticism by Simnānī, cf. H. Landolt, "Simnānī on Waḥdat al-Wujūd", Collected Papers on Islamic Philosophy and Mysticism, p.100ff. For the relationship of God with His creation, according to Ibn [°]Arabī, see S.A.Q. Hussaini, The Pantheistic Monism of Ibn [°]Arabī, Lahore, 1970, pp.175-180; also A.E. Ḥarfī, The Mystical p.54ff.
- 143 See Ferozānfār, Abādīth, p.29; cf. H. Landolt, ed. Correspondence spirituelle échangée entre Nuroddin Esfarayeni (ob.717/1317) et son disciple [°]Alaoddaulah Semnānī (ob.736/1336), Tehran, 1972, p.123.
- 144 See H. Landolt, Collected Papers, pp.105-106; cf. T. Izutsu, Comparative Study, Part I; H. Corbin, Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn [°]Arabī, translation by R. Manheim, Princeton, 1969, p.114.
- 145 Ḡisūdirāz, Asmār, p.158.
- 146 Ibid., p.161; cf. M. Walī al-Dīn, Khawājah Bandah Nawāz kā Tagawwuf awr Sulūk, Delhi, 1966, pp.43-44; see also Ibn [°]Arabī's views. H. Corbin, Creative, pp.152ff., and 84.
- 147 Ibid., p.158. The two phases of creation are discerned in Ibn [°]Arabī also. He further states that through each entity of the universe an attribute of God is manifested. With Ibn [°]Arabī, too, man's creation takes place in the second phase; see T. Izutsu, Comparative Study, p.210ff.
- 148 Ibid.
- 149 Ibid., pp.158-159; cf. p.31.

- 150 Ibid., p.159.
- 151 See his explanation of the saying in ibid., p.30ff.
- 152 Anonymous, Asrār, Vol.I, f.248a. See Ibn ^CArabī's views in T. Izutsu, Comparative Study, p.229.
- 153 Ibid., f.249a. See similar implications of the term ta^Cavyun with Ibn ^CArabī; see T. Izutsu, Comparative Study, pp.143, 229.
- 154 See infra., p.100ff, for the significance of ḥayd.
- 155 Gīṣūdirāz, Asmār, p.159. For Ibn ^CArabī's concept of man as a "small universe" (ʿālam ṣaghīr), see T. Izutsu, Comparative Study, pp.208ff., 214ff.
- 156 Ibid., p.160. According to Ibn ^CArabī, the Perfect Man possesses two characteristic features. He "synthesises in himself" all the existents of the universe, and he is in a way the "Absolute itself"; see T. Izutsu, Comparative Study, p.218.
- 157 Anonymous, Asrār, Vol.I, f.252b. For Ibn ^CArabī, the macrocosm is the universe (al-insān al-kabīr) whereas the Perfect Man is the microcosm. T. Izutsu, Comparative Study, pp.208, 210. But Ibn ^CArabī, at the same time, implies the Perfect Man is the macrocosm; see Fuṣūṣ, p.50.
- 158 Anonymous, Asrār, Vol.I, f.248b.
- 159 Infra., pp. 106-107.
- 160 Gīṣūdirāz, Asmār, p.160. It is a famous Shi^CI tradition often quoted by the sufis too.
- 161 Ibid., p.240. S.A. Ḥusaynī explaining it writes that prophethood is in the Prophet Muḥammad; successorship (khilāfat) is in ^CAlī, because the relationship between them is like that of the external (ḡāhīr) with the internal (bāṭin) and the exoteric (ḡūrī) with the esoteric (ma^Cnī). In reality they are one; cf. Istīlāḥāt, p.150. The affinity of all this with Shi^CI ideas concerning the "light" of prophethood" is evident, even as far as Gīṣūdirāz himself is concerned, since he quotes the ḥadīth, "I and ^CAlī were one light 4,000 years before God created Adam".
- 162 Ibid., p.161; S.A. Ḥusaynī, Jawāmi^C al-Kalīm, ed. M.H. Siddīqī, Hyderabad, 1356 A.H., pp.66-67; cf. Anonymous, Asrār, Vol.I, f.248b, f.253a.

- 163 Anonymous, Asrār, Vol.I, f.248b.
- 164 Gīśūdirāz, Asmār, p.161; cf. p.338. This dynamism of 'love' is the reminiscent of similar idea conveyed through a rubāʿī, quoted by S. Yahyā Suhrawardī. It goes thus,
 گر عشق نبودی و غم عشق نبودی چندین سخن نغز که گفتی که شنودی؟
 و ر باد نبودی که سر زلف ر بودی ز خساره معشوق بهاشق که نمودی؟
 (gar ʿishq nabūdī wa gham-i ʿishq nabūdī
chandīn suḡhan-i naḡhz kah guftī kah shanūdī?
war bād nabūdī kah sar-i zulf rabūdī
rukhsārah-i maʿshūq baʿāshiq kah namūdī?)
 Cf. Muʿnis al-ʿUshshāq or Fī Haqīqat al-ʿIshq, ed. H. Corbin and S.H. Nasr, Tehran, 1970, p.268. This quatrain is quoted by A. Nasāfī, Insān, p.360.
- 165 A. Simnānī, ʿUrwah, ff.12a-12b; cf. H. Landolt, Collected Papers, p.106.
- 166 Gīśūdirāz, Asmār, pp.5, 42, 128, 130, 158.
- 167 For instance, see anonymous, Asrār, Vol.I, f.11a; Vol.II, ff.333b; 490b-491a; S.A. Ḥusaynī, Istīlāḥāt, pp.62, 72, 79.
- 168 Cf. ibid., Vol.II, ff.333b, 490b-491a.
- 169 Ibid., ff.330b-331a, 333a, 468a.
- 170 Ibid., f.335a.
- 171 Ibid., f.362a. The commentator seems to have borrowed this from the son of Gīśūdirāz, because the whole commentary is almost identical with that of S.A. Ḥusaynī; cf. Istīlāḥāt, p.139.
- 172 See infra., p.113ff.
- 173 The printed text of Asmār has 'actor' (fāʿil), p.42. But it is clear from the commentary, Asrār, that it is 'acts' (afʿāl) and not 'actor'. Vol.I, f.72b.
- 174 Gīśūdirāz, Asmār, pp.42, 130; cf. p.23.
- 175 Gīśūdirāz, Asmār, p.158; Gīśūdirāz uses the terms khālq and maʿfūlāt (effects), pp.42, 158. His commentator once used maʿfūlāt, and at another instance used maʿfūl (both are plural forms of maʿfūl) to mean 'effects'. It is the same concept of-

=Simmānī who prefers the term āthār for it. Cf. ^cUrwah, ff.12a-12b; cf. H. Landolt, Collected Papers, p.106.

- 176 For example, see Gīṣūdirāz, Asmār, p.128.
- 177 Qur'ān, 85:20; cf. Gīṣūdirāz, Asmār, p.12. The concept of 'beyond the beyond' is comparable to Ibn ^cArabi's idea of the 'Absolute Absolute' which "transcends all qualifications and relations that are humanly conceivable". He calls this aspect of God "abysmal darkness" (camā'). For details, see T. Izutsu, Comparative Study, pp.17-32; S.A.Q. Hussaini, Pantheistic, p.67; H. Corbin, Creative, p.197.
- 178 Gīṣūdirāz, Khātimah, pp.18-19, para.34.
- 179 Cf. idem., Asmār, pp.31-32; S.A.A. Rizvi, Revivalist, p.54. See infra., note 192.
- 180 Ibid., p.264; Cf. pp.14-15, 97, 206; idem., Istiqāmat al-Sharī'at ba-Tarīq al-Haqīqat, printed in Ma jamū'ah Yāzdah Rasā'il, p.14; S.A. Ḥusaynī, Istīlāḥāt, p.28, states that the 'essence' of God has no end.
- 181 Idem., Istiqāmat, p.16.
- 182 Ibid., p.42; cf. pp.12-13.
- 183 Qur'ān, 55:29. It is comparable to Ibn ^cArabi's statement, "the knowledge of God has no limit at which the gnostic may stop, ... it feeds on the theophanic forms of being which are in perpetual metamorphosis...", H. Corbin, Creative, p.200, also p.207.
- 184 See Gīṣūdirāz, Asmār, p.14.
- 185 Ibid., p.240.
- 186 Infra., pp. 113-116.
- 187 This is why Gīṣūdirāz criticises Ibn ^cArabi's identification of 'Absolute Existence' as God.
- 188 See infra., p.113ff for the theophany of 'essence'.
- 189 Cf. T. Izutsu, Comparative Study, pp.37, 145; S.A. Ḥusaynī also states that ḥayd means theophany in sufi terminology; see Istīlāḥāt p.72.

- 190 Simnānī, ^cUrwah, f.3a, 7b,9a etc for the significance of fayḍ.
- 191 Gīṣūdirāz uses three terms to mean 'divine', quddūsī, ḡadās, and qudsī. See Asmār, pp.62, 156, 241; Istiqāmat, p.11. Cf. also M. Ghazālī, Mishkāṭ al-Anwār, ed. Abū al-Ḥalā' Ḥaffī, Cairo, 1964, p.56; S.A.Q. Husainī, Pantheistic, pp.103-104.
- 192 Idem., Asmār, pp.24, 62, 111; idem., Istiqāmat, pp.11, 15. Gīṣūdirāz further states that Greek philosophers call this fayḍ, the 'particular soul' (al-naḥs al-juz'ī). Here he criticises Ibn Ḥarabī because Gīṣūdirāz feels that he believed only in it and called it 'Absolute' (muṭlaq) and 'limited' (muqayyad). In other words, Gīṣūdirāz implies that Ibn Ḥarabī identified this fayḍ as God. For details about Gīṣūdirāz' criticism of Ibn Ḥarabī, see Asmār, pp.20, 32, 64-65, 161, etc.; Istiqāmat, p.22ff.; S.A. Husaynī, Istīlāḥāt, Ch.5, pp.67-81, which deals exclusively with the criticism.
- 193 Gīṣūdirāz, Asmār, pp.5, 111; idem., Istiqāmat, pp.11, 15. For details regarding the concept of fayḍ, see Istiqāmat, p.10ff.
- 194 Ibid., p.25; idem., Ḥaḡā'ir al-Quds, Hyderabad, 1359 A.H., p.20.
- 195 Ibid., p.161; also see pp.20, 32, 64-65, 263, 267, 272; idem., Istiqāmat, pp.22-23; idem., Khātimah, pp.18-19, para.34. See also S.A. Husaynī, Istīlāḥāt, p.67ff., p.97.
- 196 Ibid., p.267, also p.49. However, elsewhere, Gīṣūdirāz says no veil remains between the "sun" and a pure heart in which the "sun qua sun" is reflected; ibid., p.128.
- 197 Idem., Ḥaḡā'ir, p.134.
- 198 Idem., Istiqāmat, p.11. Ibn Ḥarabī writes that man is called man because of his relationship with God: "he is to God as the pupil (insān) is to the eye as the instrument of vision"; see T. Izutsu, Comparative Study, p.218.
- 199 Idem., Asmār, p.241. See also the different kinds of "spirits" enumerated by Gīṣūdirāz, pp.26-27, 58-61. See the terms used by Ibn Ḥarabī himself to convey the idea of Perfect Man. See H. Corbin, Creative, p.317, note 77; Ḥaffī lists as many as 18 terms, The Mystical, p.66.
- 200 Elsewhere, Gīṣūdirāz says that it is ḡadīm, but has the sign of ḥudūṭh on its forehead; Asmār, p.27.

- 201 Ibid., p.59; cf. S.A. Husaynī, Istīlāḥāt, p.19. It is a saying of Abū Bakr al-Wāṣitī (ca.320/932) quoted, for instance, by al-Kubrā but hardly with the connotation of ḥudūth; see Fawā'id, p.31, para.65.
- 202 Idem, Ḥazā'ir, p.20.
- 203 See chart infra., p.116. ^CAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī views the Perfect Man as being the place where God and man become one. R.A. Nicholson, Studies, p.84; see also H. Corbin, Creative, pp.188-189, for Ibn ^CArabi.
- 204 S.A. Husaynī, Istīlāḥāt, p.140. Also see pp.19, 54, 60, 86, 98.
- 205 Ibid., pp.54, 98. al-Ḥaqīqah al-Muḥammadiyah is the most important concept in Ibn ^CArabi's thought. It is relative in a sense to the concept of "permanent archetypes" (al-ḥayāt al-thābitah) which is the intermediary stage between God and man; "the level of Being which is neither existent nor non-existent". It is also identified as the idea of the Perfect Man. See T. Izutsu, Comparative, p.228ff; also ^CAffī, Mystical, pp.66-81; 'Reality of Muḥammad' is compared by the modern scholars to the Christian concept of logos. For a discussion of the Islamic idea of logos and the logos in Christianity see A. Jeffery, "Ibn ^CArabi's Shajarat al-Kawn", Studia Islamica, Vol.X (1959), pp.45-62; ^CAffī, The Mystical, pp.85-92.
- 206 S.A. Husaynī, Istīlāḥāt, p.140.
- 207 See infra., Ch. III, section C, p. 194.
- 208 S.A. Husaynī, Istīlāḥāt, pp.54, 86, 98.
- 209 Ḡisḍirāz, Asnār, pp.5, 242; idem., Istiqāmat, p.15; idem., Ḥazā'ir, pp.19-20; cf. S.A. Husaynī, Istīlāḥāt, p.86.
- 210 Supra, p.102ff.
- 211 Supra, p. 97ff.
- 212 The distinction is the same as that of Simnānī who is very particular that the manifestations of God should be perceived as being from Him, but should not be taken to be Him; Ḥurwah, ff.15b-16a.
- 213 Ḡisḍirāz, Asnār, pp.2, 13, 23, 37, 297 etc.; idem., Istiqāmat, pp.15, 17, 19; idem., Ḥazā'ir, pp.9, 112.

- 214 Ibid., p.5.
- 215 Ibid., p.20.
- 216 Ibid., p.95, also p.96. For different kinds of 'light', see p.335.
- 217 Anonymous, Asrār, Vol.I, ff.248a-248b; supra, pp. 90, 92-93.
- 218 Supra, p.92. The term al-insān al-kāmil seems to have been first used by Ibn ʿArabī, although, as Nicholson points out, "the notion underlying it is as old as Sufism itself". Nicholson defines this term in a general way as describing "a man who has fully realized his essential oneness with the Divine Being in whose likeness he is made"; Studies, pp.77, 78. This definition gives us a picture of the Perfect Man from the point of view of man, i.e. the microcosm. But it should be noted that there is more to it than just its microcosmic aspect. Perfect Man to Ibn ʿArabī, and also to Gīṣūdirāz, has another, more significant aspect, i.e. macrocosmic. It is the initial self-manifestation of God to Himself, which was in the form of the Perfect Man. It is only with this macrocosmic aspect that the microcosmic side of it becomes clearly understood. Nevertheless, the term al-insān al-kāmil was accepted in Sufi circles, after Ibn ʿArabī, and works like those of ʿAzīz al-Dīn al-Nasafī's Insān and ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī's al-Insān al-Kāmil (Miṣr, 1915) were compiled on the subject. For Jīlī's view (d.832/1428), see Nicholson, Studies, p.77ff. For a more general idea of the term see R. Arnaldez, "al-Insān al-Kāmil", E.I., new ed., Vol.III, Leiden, 1971, pp.1239-1241.
- 219 Gīṣūdirāz, Asmār, p.160.
- 220 Ibid., p.161. Ibn ʿArabī also says that the Perfect Man is the cause of the universe; ʿAḥīfī, The Mystical, p.82ff.
- 221 Infra., pp. 107-108.
- 222 Gīṣūdirāz probably means "in actu" by "cash" here.
- 223 Gīṣūdirāz, Asmār, pp.160-161. It is comparable to what Nasafī says, "men are the gist of the whole universe, and the Perfect Man is the gist of total mankind"; Insān, p.5. For the image of sugar used by Najm al-Dīn al-Rāzī, see Mīrād al-ʿIbād, ed. M.A. Riyāhī, Tehran, 1973, p.40.
- 224 Gīṣūdirāz, Asmār, pp.161, 175; idem., Maktūbāt, p.125; anonymous, Asrār, Vol.II, f.471a.

- 225 Ibid., p.160.
- 226 Supra., pp. 84-85.
- 227 Gisūdirāz, Asmār, p.237.
- 228 S.A. Husaynī, Istīlāhāt, p.140.
- 229 Gisūdirāz, Asmār, p.20.
- 230 S.A. Husaynī, Istīlāhāt, pp.128, 134; cf. anonymous, Asrār, Vol.I, ff.248a-249a, Vol.II, f.283b.
- 231 Supra., p. 97.
- 232 Infra., p. 112ff.
- 233 Qur'ān, 4:80.
- 234 Gisūdirāz, Asmār, p.161, also pp.2, 96.
- 235 Ibid., p.2; see pp.95-96; idem. Hazā'ir, pp.9, 112; cf. S.A. Husaynī, Istīlāhāt, pp.21-22, 63.
- 236 Qur'ān, 53:9.
- 237 Supra, p. 93.
- 238 Supra, p. 77.
- 239 Under Sharī'at, Gisūdirāz includes all the 'sayings', 'actions' (qawl wa fi'āl) and states (ḥāl) of the Prophet Muhammad. Generally speaking, he means the whole life of the Prophet to be taken as a perfect example for oneself to follow. See Asmār, p.28; cf. idem.; Hadā'iq al-Uns, printed in Majma'ah Yāzdah Rasā'il, Ḥadīqah, no.4, pp.13-14.
- 240 Ibid., p.28; idem., Sharḥ Risālah, p.287; idem., Hadā'iq, pp.13-14; idem., Hazā'ir, pp.137-138; idem., Istiqāmat, pp.23ff. In another short treatise, Wujūd al-Ashiqīn, on 'divine love', Gisūdirāz mentions five stages of 'love'. These are the same as the above five with the exception of 'gnosis' (ma'rīfat) which takes the place of 'Truth of Reality', and 'oneness' (wahdat) which replaces the highest stage of 'Reality of Truth'. The other difference is in the explanation of the terms which is done under the topic of 'love'. Printed in Majma'ah Yāzdah Rasā'il, pp.2-11, Gisūdirāz seems to have based his stages on the supposed prophetic tradition, "Sharī'at

is my sayings (aqwālī), Tarīqat is my doings (af^cālī), and Haqīqat is my states (ahwālī). Cf. H. Amūlī, Jāmi^c al-Asrār, ed. H. Corbin and C.U.I. Yahyā, Tehran, 1961, pp. 346, 359. H. Amūlī explains these as, Sharīcat is confirming (tasdīq) of the doings of the Prophets (anbiyā'), Tarīqat is verification (taḥqīq) of their doings and code of conduct (akhlāq), and Haqīqat is witnessing of their states by experience. See Jāmi^c, p. 345; C.A. Nasafi has the same explanation for the terms under discussion, as of Gīṣūdirāz, with the exception that he also has Prophets (anbiyā') instead of the Perfect Man (insān-i kāmīl) of Gīṣūdirāz, cf. Insān, p. 3.

- 241 Gīṣūdirāz, Istiqāmat, p. 24.
- 242 Idem, Hazā'ir, p. 138.
- 243 Ibid.; see supra, p. 104.
- 244 Idem., Istiqāmat, p. 24.
- 245 Idem., Sharh Risālah, p. 361; cf. pp. 362-364.
- 246 Qur'ān, 20:9-14; 27:7-14; 28:29-35.
- 247 Gīṣūdirāz, Istiqāmat, p. 26-27; cf. pp. 27-29 for other examples explaining dīd and būd.
- 248 Cf. ibid., pp. 29-30.
- 249 Qur'ān, 7:142-144.
- 250 Gīṣūdirāz, Istiqāmat, p. 27.
- 251 Ibid., p. 30.
- 252 Ibid. Perhaps it is an allusion to a very popular supposed Prophetic tradition which says, "There is a moment (waqt) for me with God, which moment neither an intimate angel (malak muqarrab), nor a messenger-prophet (nabī mursal) can share with me." Cf. Ferozānfar, Abādīth, p. 39.
- 253 Cf. ibid., pp. 30-31.
- 254 S.A. Ḥusyanī, Istīlāḥat, p. 21; cf. Gīṣūdirāz, Istiqāmat, p. 11.
- 255 Ibid., pp. 62, 72; Gīṣūdirāz, Istiqāmat, p. 11.

- 256 Gisūdirāz, Istiqāmat, p.12.
- 257 S.A. Ḥusaynī, Istilāḥāt, pp.98-99, p.54.
- 258 Ibid., p.21.
- 259 Gisūdirāz, Asmār, pp.59-60. Cf. S.A. Ḥusaynī, Istilāḥāt, pp.72-73.
- 260 Idem., Istiqāmat, p.30; idem., Asmār, pp.26, 59-60. Gisūdirāz says that/on this stage the traveller is already a khālifāh (or wālī) of God on earth. Cf. Asmār, p.26.
- 261 S.A. Ḥusaynī, Istilāḥāt, p.21, 61.
- 262 Ibid., p.21.
- 263 Cf. al-Ḥallāj, Le Diwān d'al-Ḥallāj, ed. L. Massignon, Paris, 1955, p.90; idem., Quatre textes, ed. L. Massignon, Paris, 1914, p.81; Cf. Gisūdirāz, Asmār, p.112. See Ch.III, section C., p. 184.
- 264 Cf. S.A. Ḥusaynī, Istilāḥāt, pp.69, 72. This stage is comparable to the stage of 'discovery' (wuḥūd, no.2) which is achieved through 'audition' (samāʿ). See infra, Ch.III, section C, p. 195ff.
- 265 Cf. Gisūdirāz, Istiqāmat, p.16.
- 266 Ibid., p.14.
- 267 See infra., Ch.III, section C, p. 184.
- 268 Gisūdirāz, Istiqāmat, p.16.
- 269 Idem., Asmār, p.296.
- 270 Supra, p. 89.
- 271 Supra, p. 73. Cf. Gisūdirāz, Asmār, pp.49, 52-53; S.A. Ḥusaynī, Istilāḥāt, p.88. According to Ibn ʿArabī, a sufi who attains this stage is referred as the "possessor of intellect and insight" (dhū al-ʿaql wa al-ʿayn). The significance of it is that nothing remains veiled to him, for he sees the "Truth (al-haqq) in the creation (al-khalq) and the creation in the Truth". For details, and for the explanation of the other two related terms, "possessor of intellect (dhū al-ʿaql)" and "possessor of insight" (dhū al-ʿayn) see ʿAbd al-Rasāq al-Kāshānī, Istilāḥāt al-Sūfiyah, ed. M. Wālī al-Dīn al-Fārūqī, Hyderabad, n.d., pp.100-101.

272 Supra., pp. 100, 101.

273 Gisūdirāz, Asmār, p.17.

274 See supra., p. 77ff.

275 See infra., Ch.III, section C, p.187ff.

276 For the relationship of the latā'if with the five stages, see Gisūdirāz, Asmār, pp.28-29. For the relationship between the latā'if themselves, see ibid., pp.92-95. For a comparative chart of all the stages, see Appendix C.

CHAPTER III

AUDITION OF MUSIC (SAMA^c)

A) THE SUFI CONTROVERSY

Sama^c (derived from the Arabic verb Sami^ca) means a "hearing" or "audition". The word does not occur in the Qur'ān, but in classical Arabic it seems to have meant "a singing or musical performance".¹

We find a professional class of musicians even in pre-Islamic times. This class was greatly respected under the Caliphate, in spite of the strict ruling against music in Orthodox Islam. Moreover, singers were patronized at the royal courts of the Caliphs.²

The lawfulness of music has been the subject of long controversy in Islam. Importance was attached to this question when sama^c was adopted in Sufi circles in the late second or the early third century Hijrah³ (9th or 10th century A.D.) as a spiritual exercise and "as a means of revelation attained through ecstasy".⁴ Thus, it was in Sufism that sama^c acquired its technical meaning of "listening to music, singing, chanting and measured recitation in order to produce religious emotions and ecstasy (waḥd) and also such performance by voice or instrument".⁵

Sama^c became very popular among the sufis as a ritual, with the result that there were diverse opinions as to its lawfulness.⁶ Consequently, various topics regarding sama^c were discussed: rending of garments in ecstasy, ecstasy (waḥd) itself, musical instruments, dancing (raqs) and the like.

The root of the dispute, as suggested by Robson, seems to lie in the fact that music was generally associated with wine, immorality, neglect of religious ordinances and other vices.⁷ An eminent sufi like Hujwiri (d.465/1072) who felt that it was sama^c which made the religion obligatory,⁸ also refers to it as an amusement which is the root of all immorality.⁹

It is apparent from the early sources that to some of the sufis sama^c had become more an entertainment than a sufi discipline. It is not possible to mention names of such sufis due to lack of information, but we do find objections to and warnings against them by the orthodox sufis. Hujwiri, for instance, calls them "foolish aspirants" and elsewhere he accuses some of them of having made sama^c their religion.¹⁰ Mention may be made here of Abū Bakr al-Kalābādhī (d.385/995) who does not seem to take sama^c seriously; "audition is a resting after the fatigue of the (spiritual) moment, and a recreation for those who experience (spiritual) states, as well as a means of awakening the consciences of those who busy themselves with other things".¹¹

Above all, common people also indulged in such gatherings, inspite of the frequent warnings of the legists as well as sufis themselves, as to its dangers.¹² Consequently, the legists and jurists turned towards the sufis, in whom they found a perfect target. It is true that the sufis may have been partially responsible for the people's interest in music, but it should be remembered that music was already one of the most developed arts

among the Arabs themselves.

Nevertheless, as Robson points out, the sufis took an intermediate position between the absolute condemners, on the one hand, and those who practised sama^c as an entertainment or an art, on the other. The sufis "are not interested in it for its own sake and are inclined to condemn it when employed for more sensual enjoyment. But they contest ardently with those who declare all music unlawful, for they recognize that it has a power to stir the heart which, if rightly directed, may lead to great spiritual exaltation".¹³ The position of the sufis was in a way justifiable. They were in a dilemma: they had to defend themselves for conducting sama^c which was not Qur'anic in origin; yet, its spiritual value to sufis was such that it could not be abandoned. Nevertheless, they had also to discourage the common people and often novices from indulging in it.

Thus began the tussle between the legal and the sufi circles as to the lawfulness or permissibility of sama^c. Obviously, both the parties had to fall back on the Qur'an, Traditions and Sunnah to support its arguments.¹⁴ The Qur'an has nothing directly to say against music, while the traditions contain statements supporting both sides. An interesting aspect of the controversy is that often the concerned parties interpret the same Qur'anic verse or tradition in their own different way. Ibn al-Jawzi (d.597/1200), for instance, lists a few traditions frequently quoted by the sufis in support of sama^c, and reinterprets them to refute the sufi claims.¹⁵ Ahmad al-Ghazali (d.518/1124 or 520/1126) in Bawāriq al-Ilm^c rebuts the attacks of the jurists

by using the same verses and traditions quoted by them.¹⁶ At the same time, he severely criticises the jurists of his age.¹⁷

Besides the evidences produced from the Qur'ān and traditions, the parties also refer to dreams in which they were either permitted or forbidden, by the Prophet Muḥammad, to conduct sama^c. The Prophet had approved of listening to music in a dream of Mīmshad al-Dīnawarī (d.299/912), but he had also asked al-Dīnawarī to recite the Qur'ān before and after.¹⁸ Gīṣūdirāz himself is believed to have sought and obtained permission of the Prophet in a mystical trance.¹⁹ On the contrary, Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (d.467/1074) relates the dream of a sufi in which the Prophet seems to have disapproved of sama^c.²⁰

Often sama^c was associated with Satan (Iblīs). Hujwīrī quotes an incident when Abū al-Ḥārith al-Bunānī²¹ (d.297/909) was invited by Iblīs to attend his assembly which consisted of singing and dancing. Eventually, Iblīs is reported to have told al-Bunānī, "I lead holy men astray and cast them into error". After that al-Bunānī never attended sama^c.²² A similar anecdote is reported by Shihāb al-Dīn Umar al-Suhrawardī (d.632/1234) regarding a dream of al-Junayd al-Baghdādī (d.298/910), where Iblīs says that he enters the sufis on two occasions: at the moment of sama^c (waqt al-samā^c) and at the time of sight (ind al-naẓar).²³

We also come across some sufis who did not want to indulge in audition. They held a neutral position between the condemners and the supporters. Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj (d.378/988) gives reasons for their position.²⁴

Abū al-Ḥasan bīn Salīm was asked why he rejected sama^c when al-Junayd, Sarī al-Saqatī (d.253/867) and Dhū al-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d.245/860) participated. He replied, "How can I disapprove of it".²⁵ Muḥyi al-Dīn Ibn al-^cArabī (d.638/1240) did not look upon music with favour, although he did not condemn it absolutely.²⁶

We will now discuss some of the important aspects concerning the institution of sama^c which were discussed by the sufis themselves. For the present purpose, we will divide our study into two sections "exoteric" and "esoteric".

1) EXOTERIC ASPECT

a) Sama^c of common people and Novices.

The sufis were aware of the effects music could produce.²⁷ They also knew that it might, therefore, be very dangerous for persons who lacked spiritual training and discipline.²⁸ The legists had attacked the sufis for practising a ritual non-Qur'anic in origin, and permitting the common people to indulge in it. The sufis felt, therefore, the need to discourage it generally among the populace. Thus, sama^c was discussed from the legal point of view.

Generally, sama^c was divided into three types. Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, for example, classifies it into prohibited (ḥarām), lawful (ḥalāl) and

doubtful (shubhah). For one who participated in sama^c with his carnal soul through its lust (shahwah) and desire (hawa'), it is "prohibited". It is "permitted" for one who seeks spiritual enlightenment; it is "doubtful" if one listens to one's wife or a slave girl, because an element of amusement is included.²⁹

According to Abū 'Alī al-Dāqqāq (d.406/1015) sama^c is prohibited for the common people (al-^cawām) because of the existence of their carnal souls (li-baqā' nufūsihim); allowable to the ascetics on account of the actualization of their spiritual struggle (li-huṣūl mujaḥadātihim), and lawful for sufis because of their live hearts (li-hayāt qulūbihim).³⁰

In addition, conditions and rules were laid down under which sama^c was regarded as permissible. Junayd observes three conditions under which sama^c should be conducted: time (zamān), place (makān), and brethren (ikhwān).³¹ Both Aḥmad al-Ghazālī³² and his brother Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d.505/1111) agree with him.

Muḥammad al-Ghazālī elaborates on the terms: Time: sama^c should not be held at the time of meals, prayers or when one is busy with other affairs; Place: It should not be held in an unpleasant or in a dark place, in the house of an unjust person, or in a street (rah gudhar); Brethren: It is necessary that the persons participating be worthy of audition (ahl-i sama^c). The gathering should be free from the presence of worldly people, women and those who want to criticize the practice rather than to experience it.³³

Another significant problem which confronted the sufis was whether to allow novices to attend. This question was raised due to the fact that the novices, though they were initiated into the sufi circles, were inexperienced and may still have possessed worldly desires. We find different opinions in this regard.

Junayd is believed to have said, "When you see a novice fond of sama^c, know that there is still a remnant of idleness in him".³⁴ Qushayrī prefers it to be the practice of adepts rather than novices.³⁵ Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī³⁶ agrees with Hujwīrī who thinks that "it is more desirable that beginners should not be allowed to attend musical concerts (sama^cha).... These concerts are extremely dangerous and corrupting...."³⁷ According to Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, a disciple who has not attained the states of "heart" (ahwāl-i dil) must not be permitted to attend sama^c.³⁸ Shihāb al-Dīn^c Umar al-Suhrawardī also rejects the practice of sama^c by the newly initiated.³⁹

On the other hand, we find some sufis who allow the novice to indulge in audition. Abū Sa^cīd ibn Abī al-Khayr (d.440/1049) was one of them, and he was objected to by another shaykh because of his excesses.⁴⁰ al-Sarraj had certain conditions under which he allowed the sama^c of novices. He felt that the presence of a shaykh was essential for the control of the novices.⁴¹ Ahmad al-Ghazālī was also very liberal in this matter, and wanted sama^c to be encouraged in novices.⁴²

Nevertheless, it may be said that even though the sufis were fond of sama^c, they issued warnings and objections to those who were taking this ritual lightly or for sheer purpose of entertainment.

b) Musical Instruments

The playing of musical instruments has always been a controversial topic. Generally, all instruments are forbidden, according to the jurists of Islam, except perhaps tambourine, which is also controversial.

Nevertheless, tambourine (daff) was widely used in sama^c gatherings. Ahmad al-Ghazālī, for instance, forbids all the instruments of diversion, with the exception of the tambourine.⁴³ Elsewhere, he says that a tambourine without metal plates is explicitly permitted, but since there was no evidence against or for the metal plates, that too remained allowable. He allows the Persian flute also to be played.⁴⁴ Ibn al-Dunyā (d.281/894) condemns all instruments including the tambourine.⁴⁵ Hujwīrī writes that the theologians agree on the permissibility of musical instruments if they are not used for amusement.⁴⁶ In India, Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' did not allow any instrument. He believed that instruments were no means of delight for a man of "taste" and "pain" (saḥib-i dhawq wa dardī).⁴⁷

c) Poetry

Another controversial topic was the chanting of poetry in sama^c:

was the recitation of the Qur'ān better than poetry? Poetry was one of the first few things forbidden by Islam. Yet poetry had its own merits when blended with melody for the sufis. Pure music was not looked upon with favour. Interpretation of verses was, therefore, essential and it had to be either the Qur'ān or poetry or both.

Hujwīrī propounds, "the most beneficial audition to the mind and the most delightful to the ear is that of the word of God."⁴⁸ He also regards poetry as permissible: He adds, "whatever is lawful in prose like morality and exhortations and inferences drawn from the signs of God and contemplation of the evidences of the Truth, is no less lawful in verse".⁴⁹ al-Sarrāj sees no objection to the recitation of poetry with musical notes and melodies.⁵⁰ Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī classifies listening to odes of a religious nature under "doubtful". An anecdote is often cited of how Yūsuf ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Rāzī (d.304/916), was moved and wept on hearing a verse recited by Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Darrāj (d.320/932), although he was less excited when he recited Qur'ān for hours.⁵¹ Moreover, the advice of the Prophet Muḥammad to Mīmshad al-Dīnawarī⁵² implies that the Qur'ān was not recited previously, in sama^o.

Aḥmad al-Ghazālī says that if the singer (gawwāl) utters poetry describing cheek, mole and stature, it should be applied to the cheek, mole and stature of the Prophet.⁵³ Umar al-Suhrawardī rejects such poetry as a medium for sama^o.⁵⁴

In any case, poetry was recognized as one of the media for sama^c and was probably "the most popular one. Consequently, both the Qur'ān and poetry came to be recited.

2) ESOTERIC ASPECT

a) Significance of Sama^c

Sama^c was not an entertainment for ufis, it had a serious purpose behind it. As Trimingham says, "it played a great role in the worship of Sufis".⁵⁵ It was a spiritual discipline which tended to attune the sufi, in totality to the Infinite.

Hujwīrī relates, "audition is a faculty appertaining to presence (with God), because love demands all; until the whole of the lover is absorbed in the whole of the Beloved, he is deficient in love."⁵⁶ Sama^c, in other words, was a form of devotion, which stimulated an emotional approach and attachment to God. Muḥammad al-Ghazālī feels, "for him whose heart is overpowered with the love of God, Sama^c is momentous (muḥimm), because that fire (of love) is increased by it."⁵⁷ When asked about sama^c, Abū 'Alī al-Rudhbārī (d.322/933) said; "Sama^c is the unveiling (mukāshafah) of secrets in order to see (mushāhadah) the Beloved."⁵⁸ Gīṣūdirāz states, "Sama^c is a form of love-making (ḡurat-i 'ishq bāzī); if you have loved anyone, and various dealings have taken place between you (both), then sama^c is your affair ... for only that person enters a garden, who seeks to behold the

pageant of nature or to perceive its fragrance."⁵⁹

b) Object of Sama^c

The object of sama^c seems to have been the attainment of "ecstasy" (waḥd). Nicholson observes, "the sufis soon discovered that ecstasy might be induced artificially, not only by concentration of thought, recollection (dhikr) and other innocent methods of autohypnosis, but also by music, singing and dancing."⁶⁰ It should be noted though, that this ecstasy was induced concomitant with visions or revelations during sama^c.⁶¹

c) Sama^c and the Covenant (Mithāq).

Mithāq plays a significant role in Sufism. It refers to the primordial event when God made mankind testify concerning themselves by asking them, "Am I not your Lord". They answered "Yes".⁶² The mystical significance of mīthāq is in the realization of oneness (tawḥīd) of God in its true sense. In other words, it is a stage where there is no third person involved in this experience between the worshipper and the worshipped. It signifies the return of the mystic to his "first state that he is as he was before he existed (an yakūna kamā kāna idh kāna qabl an yakūn)".⁶³

This event enacts a very important part in connection with sama^c. According to most of the eminent sufis, there is a "secret" or a "substance" already in the heart of man, and sama^c stirs and stimulates that "substance"; thus producing "ecstasy".⁶⁴

The "secret" or "substance" which is placed in the heart is the mīthāq. Abū Muḥammad al-Ruwaym (d.303/915) says, "the people heard their first 'remembrance' (dhikr) when God addressed them, 'Am I not your Lord?' This dhikr was secreted in their hearts ... So when they hear dhikr, the secret things of their hearts appear and they are ravished...."⁶⁵

Qushayrī,⁶⁶ Junayd,⁶⁷ Aḥmad al-Ghazālī, ^cAyn al-Quḍāh al-Hamadhānī and Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i Shakar (d.664/1265), all refer to mīthāq as man's experience of ecstasy.⁶⁸ Naturally, the Qur'anic concept of mīthāq becomes man's first participation in sama^c and his first experience of ecstasy.

d) Sama^c as Ecstasy (wajd)

What is Ecstasy ?

This is an interesting question, in the context, because of the significant role ecstasy plays in Sufism itself. Here it may be termed as the "essence" of sama^c. But the main difficulty arises when we look for answers to the above question, because ecstasy is seldom described by the sufis.

Hujwiri, for instance, feels that the state of ecstasy cannot be explained in words. He says, "without experience no knowledge."⁶⁹ Abū Sa'īd ibn al-A'rabī (d.341/952) whose treatise on "ecstasy", one of the first to deal with the subject, is quoted in extenso by Sarraj is of the same opinion, "the essence of ecstasy and of other mystical states is incommunicable and is better described by silence than by speech."⁷⁰ ^cAmr bin ^cUthmān al-Makkī

(d.291/903) says, "the howness (kayfiyah) of ecstasy (wa'id) cannot be expressed because it is the secret of Allāh, which remains only with His staunch believers."⁷¹

On the other hand, some of them have attempted to describe it, and their descriptions give a vivid picture of ecstasy.

Kalābādhī writes, "ecstasy is a sensation which encounters the heart, whether it be fear or grief or the vision of some fact of future life or the revelation of some state between man and God." He reports it to be the hearing and sight of the heart.⁷² Abū al-Hasan al-Nūrī (d.259/907) says that ecstasy is a flame which springs up in the heart and appears out of longing.⁷³

e) Source of Ecstasy

All the sufis generally agree that the cause or the source of ecstasy is God. They term it a "visitation" (wā'id), which takes over them, thus causing an experience of rapture.

^cUmar al-Suhrawardī says, "ecstasy is a visitation (wā'id) which comes from God."⁷⁴ He further states that it is the shouting (surākh) of the spirit (rūh).⁷⁵ Abū al-Hasan al-Nūrī also holds the same view that ecstasy is a "visitation". Kalābādhī quotes another sufi saying, "ecstasy is the glad

tidings sent by God of the mystic's promotion to the station of His contemplation."⁷⁶ Ahmad al-Ghazālī calls these experiences of rapture the "unseen visitations" (al-wāridāt al-ghaybiyah) with which the hearts (qulūb) and spirits (arwāh) are nourished.⁷⁸

f) Ecstasy (wajd) and artificial ecstasy (tawājjud).

Now that we have discussed ecstasy, we will briefly discuss another technical term, tawājjud (artificial ecstasy). Both of these terms are equally important to sama^c, and we shall see how these are related to and distinguished from each other. Wajd is the "end" of sama^c, while tawājjud is its beginning, if we may be allowed to put it this way.

Tawājjud is an artificial way to induce wajd. In other words, wajd is a "visitation", to speak in sufi terminology, which takes possession of a person all by itself, whereas tawājjud is a process adopted by the person to achieve or experience the wajd, which then "visits" him, as a result of his endeavor. This relationship and distinction becomes clear in the following illustration from al-Sarrāj. A sufi, whose name is not mentioned, divided wajd into two kinds; ecstasy of possession (wajd mulk) and ecstasy of encounter (wajd liqā'in). He who does not possess ecstasy (lam yamlik) must encounter it (laqū'). These two kinds are explained by another sufi: "ecstasy of possession is that ecstasy which finds you and takes possession of you, while the ecstasy of encounter is that which is found by you."⁷⁹ In other words, the first kind is genuine ecstasy (wajd), whereas the second is artificial ecstasy (tawājjud).

According to the above mentioned sufi, tawājūd becomes a part of waḥd, in the sense that if a person is not possessed with waḥd, he relies on tawājūd. Nevertheless, it may be said that tawājūd was not always appreciated by the sufis, probably because an element of pleasure and amusement was involved in it. On the contrary, they felt that self-control was an essential factor.

According to Hujwīrī "methodical dancing" and "grace of gestures" are absolutely unlawful.⁸⁰ He believes that the adepts are tranquil while the beginners are agitated because their bodies are opposed to it. When this agitation (idtirāb) becomes continual, the beginner too receives it quietly.⁸¹ al-Sarrāj says, "ecstasy, provided that it is involuntary, is not improper for dervishes who are entirely detached from worldly interests. No one, however, should seek to produce ecstasy in himself by joining a number of persons already enraptured."⁸² Kalābādhī feels, "if a man's ecstasy is weak, he exhibits ecstasy (tawājūd) ... if, however, his ecstasy is strong he controls himself and is passive".⁸³ Muḥammad al-Ghazālī⁸⁴ and 'Umar al-Suhrawardī⁸⁵ also agree with their predecessors that an adept is unmoved and that he has control over the "visitations" (wāridāt). "But", al-Ghazālī says, "such power is rarely found".⁸⁶ Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā (d.618/1221) expresses his view by saying, "nothing siezes the shaykh. On the contrary, he takes control of the states (ahwāl)".⁸⁷

Junayd⁸⁸ and Abū al-Ḥasan al-Nūrī⁸⁹ are often referred to as having controlled themselves in sama, while the other listeners were dancing

in ecstasy. According to Sarī al-Saqatī, a man in depths of ecstasy would not even feel the blows of a sword on his face.⁹⁰

g) Dancing (raqs).

Although dancing (raqs) was one of the earliest forms of expressing ecstasy,⁹¹ it was not always approved of by the sufis. We may as well point out here that two aspects of dancing are distinguished.

Firstly, dancing as a form of tawajjud, that is, to induce ecstasy; the only surviving form of it today is found among the Mawlawīyah Order (named after Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī, d. 672/1273), popularly known as the "whirling dervishes".⁹² It was this aspect of dancing which was not looked upon favourably.

The second aspect is the dancing which is an expression of ecstasy. In other words, it is the dancing of a person because of intense rapture. Shihāb al-Dīn Yahyā al-Suhrawardī (Shaykh al-Ishrāq, d. 587/1191) writes that everyone does not find ecstasy (ḥālat) by dancing. On the contrary, dancing is the result of ecstasy.⁹³ Hujwīrī does not approve of dancing at all. He prefers the second type to be called "ecstatic movements" rather than "dancing"; though, he says, these "movements" resemble it. "All footplay (pa'i-bāzi) is bad in law and reason ... that agitation (idtirāb) is neither dancing nor footplay nor bodily indulgence, but a disallusion of the soul."⁹⁴ Umar al-Suhrawardī believes in self-control and discipline, until it becomes impossible

to control.⁹⁵ Elsewhere, he classifies dancing under "allowable" (mubāh) and also under worship (ibādah) if the intentions (nīyah) of the performer were good.⁹⁶ Abū Sa'īd ibn Abī al-Khayr felt that dancing dispels lust from young men.⁹⁷ Aḥmad al-Ghazālī agreed with him.⁹⁸ Ibn 'Arabī was opposed to ecstatic dances or artificially inspired ecstasy.⁹⁹

Nevertheless, we are told that eminent sufi shaykhs like Junayd, al-Shiblī (d.334/946), Ma'rūf al-Karkhī (d.200/815-6), 'Abd Allāh ibn Khafīr¹⁰⁰ (d.372/982), Abū Sa'īd ibn Abī al-Khayr,¹⁰¹ Maṣṣūr al-Hallāj¹⁰² (d.309/922), 'Ayn al-Qudāh al-Hamadhānī¹⁰³ (d.525/1131) and others have danced in sama^c.

h) Rending of Garments.

The sufi stand on this problem is explained by al-Ruwaym in a very clear manner. He states that the people in sama^c see the realities (al-ma'ānī). When the veil is raised, their pleasure changes to weeping. This is the reason why some tear their clothes and others weep or scream.¹⁰⁴

Qushayrī thinks that sama^c has a share for each organ. "What descends to the hand, makes it tear the dress or slap oneself."¹⁰⁵

Hujwīrī says that it has no foundation in sufism, but one may be allowed to do so under three circumstances; when a dervish tears his own garments through ecstasy, when a number of his colleagues do so at the instance of a spiritual director, and when they do it in the intoxication of ecstasy.¹⁰⁶ 'Umar al-Suhrawardī's argument, on the contrary, is that

one is expected to control oneself from any "movements" (al-harakāt) and screaming (al-za^cqāt), it is essential that he does not rend his garments.¹⁰⁷

It may be said that generally it was agreed that one should restrain from tearing garments but under intense rapture it was allowed.

B) INDIAN CONTROVERSY

India was no exception to the controversy over sama^c, but the nature of the conflict seems to have been somewhat different as we shall very briefly discuss in the following pages.

We may presume that sama^c, as a sufi practice, was first mentioned on the Indian sub-continent by Hujwiri. As is well-known, Hujwiri travelled to the Indian sub-continent and settled in Lahore where he is buried and highly venerated. Hujwiri was one of the supporters of sama^c, and there is no evidence to show that he did not listen to it in India. Therefore, there is a strong probability that he did practice it and, possibly, even introduced it to India. Moreover, the fact that he mentions the effects of music in deer hunting (an Indian practice) shows his interest in it.¹⁰⁸

Nevertheless, Shaykh Mu^cin al-Din Chishti (d.633/1236), who immigrated to India in the year 590/1193, is reported to have organized sama^c gatherings. It is said that he listened to music every evening.¹⁰⁹ Thus, with the establishment of the Chishti order begins the history of the institution of sama^c in India; the controversy naturally follows. Besides Shaykh Mu^cin al-Din Chishti, all his spiritual disciples were fond of sama^c. As many of the modern scholars observe, sama^c for the sufis of the Chishti order, was one of the most important rituals of their monasteries (jamā'at khānah).¹¹⁰

The other sufi order established in India during the early medieval period was the Suhrawardī tarīqah. Amongst the important sufis of this order who settled and worked in India were Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyā' (d.661/1262), Qāḍī Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāgūrī (d.643/1245), Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn Mubārak Ghaznawī (d.647/1249) and Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī (ca642/1244), who were all the disciples of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn ^cUmar al-Suhrawardī. The scope of our present study does not include the history of this order but its association, if any, with the institution of sama^c. It is difficult to say whether the sufis of the Suhrawardī order in India practised sama^c, though most of the modern writers believe that they rejected it,¹¹¹ which does not seem to be a justified generalization.

It is reported in Fawā'id al-Fu'ād that Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyā', who is regarded as the founder of the order in India, listened to sama^c and became ecstatic when a certain ^{ho}Abd Allāh Rūmī told him that Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn ^cUmar al-Suhrawardī conducted such gatherings.¹¹² The Fawā'id al-Fu'ād implies that Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn did not listen to music before this incident, because he was under the impression that Shaykh al-Suhrawardī disliked it, but he realized through ^cAbd Allāh Rūmī that he was misinformed.¹¹³ It also implies that Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn was waiting for the opportunity to organize sama^c. Qāḍī Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāgūrī, another eminent Suhrawardī, is purported to have been one of those who established the institution of sama^c firmly in India. In any event, even if the Indian Suhrawardīs did practise sama^c, it was not (with the exception of Qāḍī Ḥamīd al-Dīn) a cardinal feature of their khānqah curriculum, as was the case with the Chishtīs.

It is related that sama^c was popularized through the efforts of Shaykh Qutb al-Dīn Bakhtiyārī Kākī (d. 633/1236) and Qādī Ḥamīd al-Dīn, during the reign of Sultān Iltutmish (607/1211-633/1236), and it was Minhāj al-Sirāj Juzjānī (d. after 658/1259), a qādī of Delhi, who legalized the institution.¹¹⁴

The conflict between the ulamā' and the sufis during the Delhi Sultanate (602/1206-962/1555) was mainly focussed on the question of sama^c. The Indian ulamā', instead of condemning the institution through treatises and books as was the case in the classical period, tried to put an end to sama^c gatherings by calling meetings (maḥḍar) before the Sultans. They endeavoured to make the Sultans issue official interdicts on the organizations of sama^c, but they were never successful.

The main reason behind this conflict seems to have been purely religious dogmatism in the new surroundings of India, at least during the early stages. The ulamā' accused the sufis of innovation not just in order to prevent common Muslims from engaging in sama^c, but because they thought that music was utterly illegal according to sharī'ah, i.e. forbidden for any muslim, including the sufis. Besides, it is not possible to estimate the muslim population of India during the 13th century, since there is no sufficient material dealing with the subject. It may be said, though, that Muslims were in a very small minority, which is presumably, the reason why the ulamā' did not engage themselves in writing, but rather thought it more practical to approach the Sultan for action against the liberal sufis.

Besides, in the maḥḍar on sama^c against Qāḍī Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāgūrī and Shaykh Qutb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār, before Sultan Iltutmish, the Qāḍī is reported to have said that sama^c was permitted for the sufis (ahl-i ḥāl) but prohibited for the externalists (ahl-i qāl)¹¹⁵. It should be noted that he naturally did not mention anything about its permissability for the Muslims in general, who must have been in a very small minority. Moreover, by "externalist" the Qāḍī could very well have meant the ulamā' themselves.

Another reason for calling maḥḍars on sama^c, may have been the interest of the royal courts in music,¹¹⁶ which the ulamā' thought they could curtail indirectly by binding the sufis through official interdicts.

In short, theologians, on the one hand, tried unsuccessfully to uproot the institution of sama^c in their zeal to preserve the sharī'ah, while the sufis, on the other, successfully endeavoured to establish this institution which probably was one of the tools of popularizing their orders in the non-muslim environment.¹¹⁷ Aziz Ahmad observes, "Music is perhaps the only art in which something like a synthesis between the Muslim and Hindu artistic traditions was achieved, though not without a series of tensions."¹¹⁸

The monasteries of sufis attracted all kinds of people, irrespective of caste or religion, and sama^c was possibly one of the attractions. Verse and poetry in hindawi¹¹⁹ came to be recited in their

sama^c gatherings¹²⁰ so that it might be comprehensible to all the listeners. It is interesting to note that the objection of the culamā' was always aimed at the Chishtī sufis.

A qāḍī of Ajūdhan asked the scholars of Multan to declare the sama^c of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i Shakar illegal. The scholars declined to do so.¹²¹ When someone mentioned the differences of opinion (ikhtilāf) among the culamā' regarding sama^c, Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn is believed to have said, "Glory be to God! See the difference between the one who is burnt (sūkht) to ashes (khākistar) in sama^c, and the others who are still arguing about it".¹²²

The most important maḥdar seems to have been that which was summoned against the sama^c of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā', during the reign of Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughlaq (720/1320-725/1325). The maḥdar of 253 culamā', asked the Chishtī shaykh to appear before them. It is reported that they did not accept the tradition (ḥadīth) which the Shaykh presented in support of sama^c. Meanwhile, a Suhwardī sufi ʿilmal-Dīn, who was a descendent of Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyā', arrived and reported that during his travel abroad, he had witnessed that the sufis were permitted to hear music. Thus the Sultan ruled that sama^c may be permitted for the sufis but prohibited for the rest of the community.¹²³

During the reign of Sultan Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq (752/1351-790/1388), some culamā' reported to the Sultan that the listeners prostrated before

Gisūdirāz in the sama^c gatherings. Subsequently, the Sultan sent word to the Chishtī sufi to hear sama^c in seclusion (khalwat). Siyar-i Muḥammadī relates that since then Gisūdirāz listened to sama^c from inside a room with a curtain separating him from the rest of the listeners.¹²⁴

The Chishtīs, no doubt, were quite liberal as far as this institution was concerned, though they were regarded as an orthodox order along with the Suhrawardī ṭarīqah. They did not declare sama^c forbidden for either the common people or the novices. The rules and conditions regarding this institution came to be written only from the days of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā'. We feel that the liberal attitude adopted by the earlier Chishtī Shaykhs may in a way be justifiable in view of the environment they preached in. They had not only to adapt themselves to the Indian surroundings, but also to present their religion in a more appealing and acceptable form to the non-Muslims. In sama^c they found that appeal.

The Suhrawardīs, though they did not adopt sama^c in the form in which it existed with the Chishtīs, may perhaps be said to have been "generally indifferent",¹²⁵ but did not reject it completely as most of the modern scholars observe.

The institution of sama^c developed in India mainly under the supervision of the Chishtīs. We have but scattered views of the earlier Chishtīs regarding this ritual. Therefore, a study of Gisūdirāz, who was the only prolific writer among them and who may be regarded as an exponent of the Chishtī doctrines, would enlighten the Chishtī viewpoint on the subject.

C) GISUDIRAZ ON AUDITION OF MUSIC (SAMA^c)

1) Exoteric Aspect

During the time of Gīsūdirāz, the institution of sama^c was in a highly developed shape, but it was he who formulated its doctrines and articulated the tradition into a systematic form. Earlier sources, like Fawā'id al-Fu'ād, Siyar al-Awliyā', and Khayr al-Majalīs, do have some material on the subject, but it was not dealt with as extensively or systematically.

For the Chishtī sufis, sama^c was not just an ordinary mode of worship, but was a "specific path" leading to God. Gīsūdirāz writes that sama^c is one of the ways of approaching the Beloved.¹²⁶ "Prayers, fasting and recitation of Qur'ān lead man towards God, likewise sama^c draws one closer to Him." Here Abū 'Alī al-Daqqāq (d.405 or 406 or 412/1014 or 1015 or 1021) is quoted that sama^c is the closest (aqrab) path leading to God. Gīsūdirāz feels that this is so because "unity" (jam^c; of thought) and contemplation (tawajjuh) which are the best (sarmāyah) of all the fortunes (jamī^c-i s.a^c ādathā) is possible mainly through sama^c.¹²⁷

Gīsūdirāz claims to have achieved his own spiritual status, or in his own words "triumph in my affair" (fath-i kār-i man), owing mostly to recitation (tilāwat; of Qur'ān) and sama^c.¹²⁸

One might venture to point out here that there seem to be two combinations of worship: a) prayers (namāz) and recitation (tilāwat); b) recitation

and sama^c. The first is presumably attributed to the ascetics (zuhhād).¹²⁹ Gīṣūdirāz, while commenting on fear (khawf) and hope (raḡā'), says that a person who thinks that fear and hope mean the fear of hell or the hope of paradise, is utterly wrong. Prayers and recitation are better suited for such a one who "fears" (khā'if) and such a one who "hopes" (rāḡī).¹³⁰

The second combination is more important for him, because it seems to bear fruits. Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' is also for this combination, as he is of the opinion that three kinds of "fortunes" (sa^cādat) befall a mystic in sama^c and recitation (tilāwat).¹³¹ No wonder, Gīṣūdirāz prefers¹³² the recitation of Qur'ān before and after sama^c.

It must be noted though, that Gīṣūdirāz was very particular about prayers and sharī'ah in general, but he does not seem to have been a man who would take any criticism against sama^c, in which respect he is comparable to Ahmad al-Ghazālī as seen through Bawāriq al-Ilmā^c. In the following quotation of Shaykh Mawdūd Chishtī¹³³ (d.527/1132), cited approvingly by Gīṣūdirāz, a clear implication of preference to sama^c over prayers is discerned. When asked whether sama^c was better than prayers, Shaykh Mawdūd Chishtī replied, "a person prays with all its formalities, but still he is not certain whether his prayers will be accepted, for God might hear them or reject them. For us, sama^c is one of the 'attractions' (jadhbah) of the Merciful (al-rahīmān). Prayer is doubtful in its being heard (qubūl), whereas sama^c is 'acceptance itself' ('ayn-i qubūl)."¹³⁴ Gīṣūdirāz writes that sama^c should not be considered something trivial, because all that is found through "remembrance" (dhikr),

"meditation" (murāqabah) and "prayers" (ṣalāt), is already the "cash of the moment" (naqd-i waqt) in sama^c.¹³⁵

a) Permissibility of sama^c

Ḡisūdirāz criticises jurists very severely, because of their uncompromising and rigid attitude towards sama^c. He classifies them along with women from whose sight one is supposed to abstain when in sama^c, and calls them "cowards" (nā mardān).¹³⁶

Ḡisūdirāz writes that though the jurists declare sama^c forbidden, their arguments do not have any bearing on pain (dard), seeking (ṭalabī), burning (ḡuzī) and such. They do not pass this path at all, and therefore, they do not understand it either. Besides, their field is restricted only to worldly matters.¹³⁷ "What an strange (ʿaḡab) man he (the jurist) is ! What a strange (ʿaḡab) person he is ! He refers to agitation (idṭirāb), crying (ḡiryah), grief (andūh) and sorrow (huzn) as a sport," says Ḡisūdirāz.¹³⁸

He goes on to divide sama^c into four types, from the legal point of view: permitted (ḡalāl), forbidden (ḡarām), undesirable (makrūh) and allowable (mubāh). Where the thoughts of the listeners are related exclusively to Reality and Truth, sama^c is ḡalāl; if the thoughts tend towards worldly affairs, it is ḡarām; if these are midway between Reality and worldiness, it is makrūh.¹³⁹

b) Rules and Regulations

Eventhough Gīṣūdirāz was liberal at times and even went beyond the traditional views of the classical sufis, he has a lot to say about the rules and conditions attached to this institution. He has dealt with the problems in such detail that he stands out among his predecessors of the Ghishti order. The circumstances described by him, under which sama^c should be conducted would, no doubt, render such a gathering into a unique worship regarding which even a jurist would have to think twice before giving his opinion.

Obviously, Gīṣūdirāz was one of those who favoured sama^c ardently. It was not an ordinary worship for him. It had great "power" which could take a person away from himself. Interpreting a saying from Ādāb al-Murīdīn that a beautiful voice does not add anything to the heart, but it stimulates that which already exists in it, Gīṣūdirāz writes that he has seen through his experience that a beautiful voice can also stir a person whose mind is void of anything (khālī dhahnl).¹⁴⁰ This was the extraordinary role that sama^c played for him.

Although he was strict in certain external matters like sitting, watching, meditation, self-control and such, he was quite liberal, when compared to the classical sufis.

One such liberality is not explicitly forbidding sama^c for the common people. But neither did his spiritual predecessors prohibit it.

Gīsūdirāz probably implies the exclusion of common man from sama^c, when he talks about its participants.¹⁴¹ Elsewhere, he says that the listener (mustamī^c)¹⁴² should be an intelligent person (sāhib-i firāsāt) to be able to distinguish between the genuine listeners and others; that is, those who are worthy of sama^c and painful in love (bā dard) from those who are worldly (hawā' parast) and vain (khud numā). He feels that one must be selective in inviting people to attend sama^c, for it is not efficacious for a sufi with "taste" (dhawq) to participate in sama^c at a place where all types (har jins) of people gather to listen.¹⁴³

Elsewhere he writes that sama^c is "desirable" to the proficient (muntahīyān), "allowable" to the beginners (mubtadiyān) and middlers (mutawassitān), but "undesirable" to common people.¹⁴⁴

Gīsūdirāz does not prevent the beginners or novices from participation in sama^c,¹⁴⁵ as is also apparent from the above classification. Commenting on the saying of Junayd that if a disciple is fond of sama^c, there is a remnant of idleness left in him,¹⁴⁶ he says that Junayd did not forbid sama^c for a novice. On the contrary, the saying implies that a novice participates. His interpretation of Junayd does not seem to be logical enough, for the saying certainly forbids a novice from participation. On the one hand, he does not want to disagree with Junayd, while on the other, he wants the novices to attend such gatherings.

He further says that a novice hears audition so that the worldly

desires may be purified by the power of sama^c. Sama^c does to a novice what soap (sābun) does to a dirty garment.¹⁴⁷ Gīṣūdirāz thinks that a disciple (murīd) has no other alternative but to hear sama^c.¹⁴⁸ It is interesting that where Abū al-Najīb classifies the hearing of phazals and descriptive poetry (al-awsāf), under "undesirable", (makrūh) for a novice, Gīṣūdirāz is indifferent. He just translates the statement.¹⁴⁹ The novice must relate such poetry to his preceptor (pīr).¹⁵⁰

c) Time (zamān) place (makān) and brethren (ikhwān).

The word zamān means time; makān means place ; and ikhwān (plural of akh, brother) means brethren. As technical terms here, they mean the time and place for conducting sama^c, and the brethren who participate in it.

The first person to have laid down these three conditions of selecting time, place and brethren before organizing sama^c seems to have been Junayd of Baghdad.¹⁵¹ Eversince, the majority of sufis have tried to abide by them. Gīṣūdirāz himself was particular about them. Although, he does not mention these terms specifically, they are implied¹⁵². Moreover, his biographer states that sama^c necessitates zamān, makān and ikhwān.¹⁵³

With respect to time, Gīṣūdirāz prefers night to day, in which case it should be well illuminated.¹⁵⁴ He says that during the night one is able to hide (istitār) his states (ḥālī); but it is better to arrange sama^c in the day for a person who has visitors (āyandah wa rawandah). These visits are actually a disturbance of the moment (parīshānī-i waqt), and if one could

find concentration in spite of this disturbance, nothing could be better.¹⁵⁵ Sāmānī further elaborates that sama^c should be heard after all the religious and social duties have been performed.¹⁵⁶ There should be no worldly or even religious distraction hampering the continued concentration absolutely necessary in sama^c.

As for place, Gīṣūdirāz writes that it should be enclosed (mahfūz) with walls and should have a roof. It should not be an open space where the wind blows or where the voice might echo. This is so because the voice gets carried away by the wind instead of reaching (ḥuṣūl) its destination (mahall) which is the heart (dil).¹⁵⁷ He further explains that the place should be perfumed (murawwāh), and free (khālī) from disturbances.¹⁵⁸ Aloeswood and ambergris should be burnt, flowers should be kept, for fragrance is what the spirit (rūḥ) feeds upon. When spirit finds its nourishment it becomes powerful and the "taste" (dhawq) of sama^c increases.¹⁵⁹ Sāmānī relates that the places where Gīṣūdirāz attended sama^c ceremonies were fully lighted and filled with invigorating odours of incense and sandal wood.¹⁶⁰ Gīṣūdirāz was not in favour of holding sama^c at general public gatherings or at wedding ceremonies.¹⁶¹ Neither did he like it to be held in mosques. Besides, he says that the listeners must neither face Mecca (qiblah) nor have their backs towards it.¹⁶²

Regarding brethren, Gīṣūdirāz expounds that it is better if they be the disciples of the same preceptor or the people of the same faith (yak khānawādah).¹⁶³ Among those who are to be excluded from participation in sama^c, are the condemner (munkir), unaffected disciple (muta^callimī bī ḡlṣ), "prosaic"

jurist (matafaqqihī bī sāz), merciless master (ustādī bī dard), impure scholar (dānishmandī bī safā), vagabond (gumrah), royalty (abnā-i mulūk), worldly (arṣāb-i duryā) and women (^cawrat; who must not be allowed even to peep through doors or windows).¹⁶⁴

d) Instruments of sama^c

Gisūdirāz was very liberal where instruments were concerned, relative to orthodox Islam and the traditional views of the sufis. He was not absolutely opposed to the playing of musical instruments in sama^c, though he himself did not have any instrument, except a tambourine, played during the ritual. It is reported that in the early years of his life, Gisūdirāz did not differentiate between the instruments. Once, he along with two of his companions, conducted a sama^c, in which all the instruments one could possibly muster were played. When his preceptor, Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, heard of it, he forbade Gisūdirāz from conducting such a sama^c. From that time Gisūdirāz did not desire any instrument to be played, but he would not object to anyone present playing.¹⁶⁵

He relates that the invention of musical instruments is attributed to Satan. But he argues to the effect that though the jurists forbade the instruments, its value and worth are known only to the "people of heart" (ahl-i dil). Therefore, silence should be preferred regarding the controversy.¹⁶⁶ Nevertheless, he feels that it is better, especially for a sufi shaykh (ahl-i irshād wa da^cwat), to keep away from those instruments which are forbidden by law (shar^c).¹⁶⁷

e) Poetry.

Ġisūdirāz loved poetry, a fact which is apparent from his works in Persian. He allows poetical description of cheek, mole, etc., to be recited in sama^c.¹⁶⁸ But the important factor here is the application of the process of tahmīl to such verses;¹⁶⁹ i.e. the listener should correlate them to his preceptor.¹⁷⁰

Sāmānī writes that generally odes and verses in Persian were recited in sama^c because Ġisūdirāz preferred Persian poetry.¹⁷¹ It is reported that Ġisūdirāz said, "Hindawī verses are usually soft, sweet and touching. The tunes are also soft and tender like the couplets, which induces humility and submission; but it is possible only in the sweet and tender melody of Persian poetry to do justice to the feelings and emotions surging in the heart of the singer."¹⁷² Elsewhere he says that one's disposition (mayl) is more towards Persian and Arabic than towards Hindawī.¹⁷³

f) Guidelines

Ġisūdirāz has innumerable advice in connection with the rules and conditions for the participants of sama^c. We will mention some of them to show the developed form this institution was in. Very fine points are discussed by him, which signify a sort of "unity" (jam^c) even in external matters.¹⁷⁴

One must clean himself, perform ablution (wuḡū') and wear white clothing before attending sama^c.¹⁷⁵

During sama^c one must meditate (murāqabah) and imagine his "goal" (maqṣūd) to be before him.¹⁷⁶

Following Abū al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī, Gīṣūdirāz says that the Qur'ān must be recited at the beginning and the end of sama^c gatherings. In the absence of a reciter, one must at least chant the fātiḥah. It is necessary to follow this procedure because the first part of the middle (waṣṭ) is related to the beginning, and the last part of the middle is connected with the end. When the Qur'ān is recited in the beginning and the end of sama^c gatherings, all that which comes between becomes the sama^c of Qur'ān. This is the reason why the Prophet told Miṣḥad al-Dīnawarī to recite Qur'ān before and after sama^c.¹⁷⁷

One should maintain visual attention in audition. He should either be looking at the singer (qawwāl) or keeping his eyes glued to the front.¹⁷⁸

During sama^c one must meditate (murāqabah) and practise "silent remembrance" (dhikr-i khafī), because meditation elevates the spirit, and the dhikr-i khafī quickens the manifestation of its effects.¹⁷⁹ Care should be taken that one does not practise the "remembrance" (dhikr) of illa Allāh (that is dhikr-i jalī) in sama^c like the sufis of the Kubrawīyah order do, he says -- because then it will not be called sama^c but dhikr.¹⁸⁰

It is not suitable that one drink water during sama^c, even if he is thirsty.¹⁸¹

It does not become a disciple to display any "movement" (jumbishī) in the presence of his preceptor (pīr); rather he should concentrate on his preceptor.¹⁸²

One should not be aware of the suitability or the non-suitability of the verses recited or the technicalities of poetry or music.¹⁸³

The singer should not be prompted or requested to sing a particular verse or tune to suite one's own state, because the selection of verses or tunes comes from the "unseen" (ghayb) and anything which is from the "unseen" is faultless (bī c'ayb).¹⁸⁴

It does not become a sufi to both sing and dance in sama^c.¹⁸⁵

It is fortunate (zahī) if the singer is from among the sufis (qawn).¹⁸⁶ but it should never be a woman.¹⁸⁷

It is necessary that the singer be clean (bā tahārat); otherwise he should be cleared out of the gathering.¹⁸⁸

One must conform (muwāfaqat) to the movements of the one in ecstasy who should not be left alone in it.¹⁸⁹

If one rends his garment or takes it off in ecstasy, it is given to the singer.¹⁹⁰

One must not make sama^c his profession (pīshah) by participating in it day and night, because too much indulgence in sama^c produces hypocrisy (nifāq).¹⁹¹

After sama^c one must free the heart (dil) of other diversions and concentrate exclusively on his "absolute goal" (maqṣūd-i tamām), because there is "opening" or "triumph" (futūhī) in it.¹⁹²

g) Artificial ecstasy (tawājjud) and conformity (muwāfaqat).

We have already discussed the meaning of tawājjud and the classical views about it. Muwāfaqat means "conformity" (wāfaqa or to agree, conform). The distinction technically is that tawājjud is an artificial way of inducing ecstasy or wajd, while muwāfaqat is a type of tawājjud. That is to say that muwāfaqat is a particular way of behavior a person adopts by following the movements of another already in wajd.

Ġisūdirāz does not reject tawājjud. He differs with the quotation in al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah which states that tawājjud is not praiseworthy because artificial behavior (takalluf) is involved in it.¹⁹³ On the contrary, he feels that tawājjud is applied only to experience wajd and wajdān and, therefore, should not be termed "artificial behavior". It is allowable and is praiseworthy if the purpose is to experience wajd.¹⁹⁴ Elsewhere, he criticises the sufis of the Kubrawīyah Order for making the disciples hear sama^c after seven days of seclusion (khalwat). Ġisūdirāz thinks this to be "artificial behavior" in order to make themselves happy. This way they are throwing

themselves by force into joyfulness, which cannot be the sama^c of sufis.¹⁹⁵

Subsequently, commenting on the "state of quiet" of Junayd in sama^c, Gīṣūdirāz says that Junayd did not reject tawājjud in his answer to his colleagues who enquired if he was not "moved". "Tawājjud is a good (mustahsin) thing", Gīṣūdirāz continues, "there are a few aspects which are enlightened through the anecdote of Junayd. Firstly, tawājjud is praiseworthy (mamdūh) and acceptable (maqbūl) to the sufis. Secondly, if a respectable (muhtashamī) and revered (muhtaramī) sufi presides in sama^c, it is improper for someone to move (junbad) in his presence. Thirdly, it is not the case that sufis become unconscious (bī khabar) in sama^c, but they remain conscious of themselves (bā khud)".¹⁹⁶

Regarding maṣfūqat, Gīṣūdirāz mentions two conditions under which this conformity is done. The first is when someone, who is already showing ecstasy, is conformed to by others, so that he may not be left alone in his "movements". This is done because it may become the cause of the unity (jam^ciyat) of the performer's innerself (i.e., by such a conformity, the performer will not be distracted by the non-conforming audience). The other case is when one conforms to a "possessor of state" and "taste" so that one might also receive a share (naṣībah) of his "state" and "taste".¹⁹⁷ In the first case, conformity is done for the sake of the person who is "not to be left alone", while in the second case, it is for the sake of the "conformer".

Why does Gīṣūdirāz not reject tawājjud as was generally done by the

earlier sufis ? Tawājjud was not merely an artificial method of inducing ecstasy, but it had an inner significance for him. It was the initial stage of a sama^c, as we shall discuss below.¹⁹⁸

h) Self-control.

It is interesting to note that Gīśūdirās does not discard the idea of tawājjud, but he also prefers controlling oneself in sama^c. On the one hand, he goes beyond the classical view, while on the other, he tries to remain within its boundaries.

He says that it is praiseworthy if one does not lose oneself but remains conscious.¹⁹⁹ The one who claims that he was unconscious (bī khabar) of his "movements", is as a matter of fact, unconscious of sama^c itself.²⁰⁰ Reflecting over the incident when a young companion, under the orders of Junayd,²⁰¹ died in trying to control himself in sama^c, Gīśūdirās exclaims, "Bravo! to the preceptor that Junayd was, for he knew the states and (rightly) prohibited the young man from displaying his state (hāl). Bravo! to that young disciple who controlled himself to the extent that he died".²⁰² Elsewhere, Gīśūdirās says that the display of state is not an "aid" (muā'adit) but it is hypocrisy (riyā').²⁰³ One is supposed to control oneself, until his state overpowers him and makes him stand up (for dance).²⁰⁴ But at the same time care must be taken not to repel a state (hālī) which takes over one and influences his actions (harākāt wa sakanāt).²⁰⁵

2) Esoteric Aspect

a) Meaning and kind of sama^c

What did sama^c mean to Gīśūdirās ? It is an interesting question to be asked of a sufi like Gīśūdirās for whom sama^c was not an ordinary worship, but had an extraordinary "power" which could take him away into the spiritual realm. Gīśūdirās holds the traditional view that sama^c is a "visitation" (kūrid)²⁰⁵ of the unseen (ghayb).²⁰⁷ If there is any share (naṣīb) one might experience a number of such "visitations".²⁰⁸ In sama^c, certain power (qawātī) is displayed, which is not possessed by the sound senses (ṣahīh ṣunī). This power is the "visitation", which takes one away from himself, and it agitates him (dar taḥarruf-i khud ḥawdah).²⁰⁹

Relative to this visitation Gīśūdirās divides sama^c into three kinds: Aggressor (hājim), which takes one by surprise in the beginning of the audition itself, and agitates him intensely. Under its influence people become uncontrollable, because it makes them almost mad (dīwānāhār). The second type of sama^c is a visitation which takes over a person and does not leave him till he achieves perfection. Besides, that person too accepts it willingly as a "gain" (ghaniyat). The third type is that which descends on one through his conforming (bī muwāfaqat) to his colleagues (ṣaḥāb).²¹⁰ Gīśūdirās probably alludes here to tawājjud, for later on he says that this conformity is done so as to induce ecstasy (majd) through tawājjud, and to achieve actual conformity

(wifāq) through imitation (taḥfūq).²¹¹

Elaborating the saying of Ḥaṣḥ al-Muḥḥ al-Muḥḥ that ḥaṣḥ is a divine visitation (ḥaṣḥ al-ḥaṣḥ) which draws the hearts towards Truth (ḥaṣḥ); whosoever hears it through the Truth (ḥaṣḥ) reaches God (ḥaṣḥ al-ḥaṣḥ), while whosoever listens through the carnal soul falls into heresy (taḥandagā). Ḡisūdirāz writes that the word ḥaṣḥ has certain implications. The listener is attached (mutṭaṣif) to the attribute (ḡifat) of Truth (ḥaṣḥ), and therefore, becomes (automatically) an adept (muḥaḥḡiq & mutaḥaḡiq). Whatever he listens to because of this Truth is the Truth, and he reaches God. The other type is when the listener (who is already an adept by virtue of his attachment to the ḡifat of the Truth) thinks that he is listening through the Truth, but in reality he possesses his "self" (khudī) and carnal soul (nafṣ-i naf ṣanīyat), which leads him to heresy (ḡandagāh).²¹²

b) Music.

Another important aspect of Ḡisūdirāz' thought is his recognition of the art of music; in this he probably exceeds the limits of the traditional view which insists on the interpretation of verses in song. From his discussion on music itself, it is apparent that he was versed in that art too.²¹³ It is difficult to say whether he considered pure melody higher than poetry, but one might surmise that he believed in the wonders that melody itself could also do. In other words, a person can experience waḡd through melody as well as poetry.

He writes that delight (dhawq)²¹⁴ achieved in sama^c is the result of both melody (naghmah) and the meaning of verses (hamal-i baytī).²¹⁵ The delight felt exclusively through melody does not necessitate interpretation of verses; but still a fine feeling (riqqatī) befalls one internally (dar-bāṭin). Responding to that fine feeling, the beautiful voice (husn-i sawt) makes him lose himself, and accordingly he "moves" (jumbishī), he is agitated (idtirābī), he cries (giryah) or shouts (na^crah). Gīśūdirāz explains the reason why one is agitated through pure melody. He quotes his preceptor Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd as having said that every beautiful thing is from the higher world (‘ālam-i ‘ulwī), as is the spirit (rūh). Since it was God's decree (irādah), beauty of melody is far from its origin. When the spirit hears melody (which was separated from it), it becomes happy and experiences a fine feeling.²¹⁶

It is definitely implied that music belongs to a higher world than that of poetry. Moreover, sama^c was a combination of poetry and melody. What Gīśūdirāz is probably wanting to say is that at times ecstasy may be the result of only music because music belongs to the spiritual world.

c) The Process of relating (taḥmīl).

Generally speaking, apart from the rules and conditions previously mentioned, the criterion of attending sama^c seems to have been sincerity of heart or pain of love, though the person may be involved in profane love.²¹⁷ The importance lies in relating the metaphor (maḥāz) to the reality (ḥaqīqat) which purifies the one involved. Gīśūdirāz feels that reality (ḥaqīqat) is an

elixir (aksīrī) which turns anything it touches into pure gold (zarī khālīs). The role of sama^c to Gīṣūdirāz is that of reality (ḥaqīqat). He says, "there are among the sufis some who let their eyes roam (naḡar bāz), looking at young men (amārid) and beautiful faces (surat-i zībā) during audition. The people of reality (mardān-i ḥaqīqat) do not consider this sama^c and do not give any importance to the pain (dard) and burning (sūz) of such sufis, because men are worshippers of form (surat parast). But some of these sufis make use al-chemy (kīmīyā garī) by colouring the metaphor (maḡāz) with the colour of reality (ḥaqīqat)." The ḥaqīqat, then, turns them into gold; but every lover's (sawdā'ī) boat does not reach this stage. ²¹⁸

There are three important technical terms used by Gīṣūdirāz with regard to maḡāz and ḥaqīqat; Ḥamal is the meaning of the thought which the verses convey; tahmīl is the process of relating or attaching of the ḥamal to something or someone; and mahmil is the one to which the ḥamal is related by the listener. There is another term muḥammil, meaning the verse itself, which is seldom used. ²¹⁹

Gīṣūdirāz says that when the verses are not clear in conveying their meaning that is, if they have no relation with mystical states (maḡām) or states (ḥāl) outwardly, then one listens to them through the process of tahmīl. The method of tahmīl is by attaching, for instance, one universal (kullī) to another universal, one state (ḥāl) to another state, one anecdote (ḥikāyat) to another anecdote. In other words, we can regard one universal or state or anecdote as maḡāz, while the other as reality (ḥaqīqat). Gīṣūdirāz says that there are two ways of tahmīl. First is the one just explained above, whereas

the second is the relating of the hamal to one's own condition. That is to say, when a grief-stricken person who has lost his son, hears a verse, he would relate the hamal to his own condition and will thus become agitated.²²⁰ Gīṣūdirāz feels that there is a connection (munāsibatī) between the two methods of tahmīl, though he does not state what that connection is. In any event, the result of this process appears before the state (hāl) of the listener, and he experiences "tasté" (dhawq) and ecstasy (wiḡḍān). Subsequently, such a person is agitated or he cries or he circles (in ecstasy). This procedure is applied by sufis to verses which describe coquetry (karishmah), pride (nāz), cheek (khad), mole (khāl), separation (firāq), union (wiṣāl), and such, be they composed in Arabic, Persian or Hindawī.²²¹

d) Symbolic meanings of different types of dances.

Before we discuss the symbolic meanings, we will see how Gīṣūdirāz defines dance (raqs). His concept of raqs is very similar to that of Hujwīrī.²²² Gīṣūdirāz defines raqs as the agitation (idṭirāb) which befalls a sufi in sama. What he calls raqs is something which Hujwīrī feels resembles raqs and prefers it to be called "movements".

Gīṣūdirāz further says that the agitation might be either rhythmic (bā wazn) or not.²²³ It may happen that a sufi who is well-versed in music forgets the beats (darb) and rhythm (wazn), due to the sudden agitation of the "visitation" (wārid). The circling (gashtanī), running (dūwīdanī) and running to and fro (plīdanī) -because of the sudden seizure of the visitation- could

be without any rule (wad^c).²²⁴

It would have been interesting if he were making a distinction between rhythmic dancing as a result of pure melody, and non-rhythmic due to poetry and melody. But it is not possible for us to speculate, because we cannot substantiate our interpretation.

Gisūdirāz enumerates and interprets various types of ecstatic dancing.²²⁵ We will discuss a few of them here.²²⁶ Gisūdirāz writes that if a person circles in ecstasy, its esoteric meaning is that he is circling round the world (atwār-i ^cālam) in search of his Goal (maqūd), not knowing from which path or through which door He might manifest Himself. It could also mean that he circles in a state of wonder (hayrān) because he is helpless of any device (tadbīr).²²⁷ The commentary on Asmār al-Asrār states that the first interpretation is related to the state of sālik majdhūb, while the state of "helplessness" is that of majdhūb sālik.²²⁸

If anyone leaps or gallops (mī jahad), his action indicates that his spirit (rūh) wants to return to the higher world (ālam-i ^culw) but his soul (nafs) which is the chain on its feet, pulls it back to earth (zamin). According to the commentary, this is the state manifested by sālik majdhūb.²²⁹

Another person might hit the ground with his foot, which shows that he is annihilating (nīst wa nābūd) absolutely everything other than God by placing it under his foot. The Commentator says that this condition is of majdhūb sālik.²³⁰

Another type of raqs is that of a person who lifts both his hands over his head, circles them, twists them and then brings them down. This signifies that he has the "spiritual" (malakūt), the "transcendence" (jabarūt) and the "divine" (lāhūt) worlds all twisted inside his chest.²³¹

A person might say huwa (he) in ecstasy. It means that the person is uttering nothing other than the huwa of huwīyat (he-ness).²³² Another might utter hu ha hi.²³³ It means that its origin (asl) is the "dot" (nuqtah). If this "dot" is circled and taken up, the form (naqsh; of ḥ) would appear. When this form is vowelled, it can only be hu ha hi. Ḡisūdirāz says that then, the mystic "traveller" is (really) in sama^c and equally in that dot. In that "dot" one-ness (wahdat) shows up, "I-ness", (annīyat) goes into concealment, two-ness (dū'i) gathers around the "apparel of existence" (rakḥ-i wujūd), but He-ness (huwīyat)²³⁴ remains in its place, because there is nothing else other than "one in one" (yakī dar yakī).

It may be assumed that the utterance hu ha hi in sama^c is that of a sufī who has attained the highest stage. It is the stage when the "non-vocalization" (jazm) of unity (tawhīd) and one-ness (wahdat) sit in one place (khānah), and have lost any separation (tafrīq) in union (jam^c) and union of union (jam^c al- jam^c) for He has established Himself".²³⁵ This, then, is the stage of the "dot" (nuqtah) which is both the beginning and the end. The last stage is very significant in as far as it conveys a general idea of Ḡisūdirāz sufism: a circle, a point on which is its beginning and its end.²³⁶

e) The State of "unity" (jam^C) in sama^C

As we have stated earlier, Gīśūdirāz feels that sama^C is the most efficacious path leading to God, because "unity" (jam^C) and contemplation are possible mainly in it. Here we will discuss what he really means by the term jam^C, and how this "unity" materializes through sama^C.

One should also keep in mind his persistence on the place, where sama^C is held, not being open, because the sound and voice of the singer have to reach the hearts of the listeners;²³⁷ also in regard to time and brethren, that it should preferably be held at night, and the listeners should be the disciples of the same shaykh.²³⁸ All this points out, in a way, to a type of "unity" (jam^C) even in external matters regarding rules and regulations. It is interesting to note how Gīśūdirāz analyses the inner components of man and their respective interests in sama^C. His analysis also illustrates the mystical value of melody and music in general.*

Gīśūdirāz says that man is composed of five things;²³⁹ nature (tab^C), soul (nafs),²⁴⁰ intellect (aq̣l), heart (dil) and spirit (rūh). During sama^C, nature (tab^C) busies itself in the straightness (rāstī) or crookedness (kazhī) of the reed-pipe (mūsīqār); the soul (nafs) sees the straightness (rāstī) or crookedness (kazhī) in the poetry (naẓm); the intellect (aq̣l) considers the hidden wisdom (hikmatī) of the verses; the heart (dil) engages itself in beholding the sought (ḥamāl-i maṭlūb); and the spirit (rūh) travels with the sweet sounds or melody (naghmāt).²⁴¹ Gīśūdirāz says that when these five things

"unit" (jam^C) there is calmness (qarārī) and comfort (ārāmī) in sama^C because none of the five things can then antagonize (khāṣm) each other. "This", he says, "is the reason why people are engaged (giriftār) in sama^C". He further explains that when people are engaged in prayers, the taste (dhawq) is that of the soul (nafs) but heart (qalb), spirit (rūh), nature (tab^C), and senses (hiss) are obstacles (muzāḥim) to that experience of soul. If the people are busy in remembrance (dhikr), through which the heart (dil) experiences pleasure (hazz), the rest of them become obstacles.²⁴² The importance seems to be in the unity of all the five things, which "state", he says, is rarely achieved.²⁴³ The commentator of Asmār al-Asrār gives an interesting interpretation. "These five (tab^C, nafs, caql, dil and rūh) are the followers (tābi^C) of the heart (dil). When the heart becomes contemplative (mutawajjih) too, with the rest, it overpowers (ghalabah) them and unites them into one (yakī). Then it becomes perfect. It seldom happens and it is rare that these, which find their respective foods (ghidhā'),²⁴⁴ become united (jam^C shawand). One is the path of sālik majdhūb and the other that of majdhūb sālik".²⁴⁵ The implication is that each one of the five things engaging itself with its own interest in sama^C is one path, that of sālik majdhūb, whereas their perfection and unity is another, the path of majdhūb sālik. It is also possible that one path is the state of intoxication (sukr), while the other is the state of sobriety (sahw), for it has already been discussed that unity (jam^C) of the five things results in calmness (qarārī) and comfort (ārām). Moreover, the movements and dancing in sama^C is due to the intoxication, while in the state of sobriety one is calm.²⁴⁶

Talking of the significance of sama^c, Gīṣūdirāz says that the best state of sama^c and the soundest (sālim tarīn) of the states (ahwāl) of the listeners is when the heart gets delighted with the "togetherness" (ma^ca)²⁴⁷ of Allāh, because neither the meaning of the verses (hamalī) nor the verses (muḥammilī) remains between them. The heart is happy with God and is comforted with its goal (maqṣūd).²⁴⁸ This is the state of "unity".

Besides the state of jam^c which is rarely achieved, Gīṣūdirāz writes that there are different states (ahwāl) of the people of sama^c (ahl-i sama^c).²⁴⁹ One could find out the stage (maqām) of a sufi in sama^c. This is done by noticing the verses which moves him. For instance, if a verse regarding asceticism (zuhd) agitates a sufi, it means that he is on the stage of zuhd.²⁵⁰ But he says that a person gradually overcomes his state (hāl)²⁵¹ and then becomes its lord (musaytir). He overcomes (ghālib) the "visitation" (wārid) which no longer can overpower him.²⁵² Such a person is regarded as a "resider" (mutamakkin). Therefore it is said that the desire (dhawq) for sama^c is lessened in a "resider" (mutamakkin).²⁵³ At the same time, the crying (giryah) and agitation (idtirāb) also decrease in him, in comparison to the beginner and the mediocre.²⁵⁴ In other words, a "resider" has achieved unity (jam^c) or sobriety (sahw).²⁵⁵

f) Sama^c as a Sufi path.

This section is important because it concerns Gīṣūdirāz' three core technical terms, tawājjud, waḥd and wuḥūd. Additionally our discussion will point out the stages (maqāmāt) one achieves through sama^c and their relationship to other significant aspects of Sufism, like the "subtle substances" (latā'if) and such. As Trimmingham²⁵⁶ has pointed out, very few sufis have discussed

what sama^c really consists of, apart from singing poems to induce ecstasy. Here we find an opportunity in Gisudiraz' thought to discuss some of the major esoteric aspects of sama^c. This is why we have called this section "sama^c as a sufi path".

The Persian text on which our discussion is based is extremely difficult and complicated; indeed at times it is incomprehensible. We have, therefore, translated the relevant passages which are confusing from Sharh-i Risālah-i Qushayrīyah of Gisūdirāz, and in doing so we have tried our best to be as literal as possible. For convenience, we have also rendered each statement of al-Qushayrī from Arabic, before translating Gisūdirāz' commentary on it.

Translations

1) From page 284:

al-Qushayrī: As for wujūd (discovery), it is after the ascension from wajd (ecstasy).

Gisūdirāz: As for wujūd; after he rises above wajd and the affair (kār) increases, he becomes wujūd. I have already defined wujūd above.²⁵⁷ wujūd is when an individual (shakhs) becomes wujūd itself (ʿayn-i wujūd); (his) wujūd becomes (his) goal itself (ʿayn-i maqsūd); and the wujūd of (his) goal (wujūd-i maqsūd) becomes his very wujūd (ʿayn-i wujūd-i In). Wajd is the finding (yāftan). Tawājud is endeavoring with effort for the "finding" of something. "Finding" is that which is called wijdān. Wijdān is something for which there is tawājud. These words of mine (In sukhan) are the essence of that wijdān (ʿayn-i wijdān). When his being (būd-i ū) becomes the essence of His (God) wujūd, he is called wujūd.

ii) From page 286:

al-Qushayrī: I have heard al-Ustād al-Imām Abā ^cAlī al-Daqqāq saying that tawājud necessitates encompassing (isti^cāb) of the servant (al-^cabd); wajd necessitates his drowning (istighrāq); and wujūd necessitates his annihilation (istihlāk). It is like his witnessing a sea, then sailing on it and then drowning in it.

Qisūdirāz: Tawājud is something that a person seizes all the time through "artificial behavior" (takalluf). Wajd necessitates drowning; that is, something is found (yāftah) in which he is busy and engrossed. Wujūd necessitates his annihilation; (that is) he goes away (ba^c-rawad) but remains (bāqī-shawad) through it (wujūd), which becomes (the cause of) his annihilation and he (thus) becomes the "demand of Truth" (istifā-i haqq). The whole affair is like a person who sees a sea from a distance; as though tawājud witnesses wajd from far off. Wijdān is like a person who sails on the sea; and wujūd is like that person drowning in it and being reduced to nothing (nīst wa nābūd) and eventually only the sea remains. Muḥammad Ḥusaynī says that tawājud is like a person standing on the shores of the sea, and it is destined (sākhtah) that he fall in it. Wijdān is like his falling in the sea and becoming familiar (āshnā) with it; and wujūd is like his drowning and melting (qudāzad) in it, and eventually becoming the "very sea" (ḥayn-i daryā).

iii) From page 286-287

al-Qushayrī: The sequence of this affair is qusūd (resolution), then wurūd

(entrance), then shuhūd (witnessing), then wujūd (discovery), and then khumūd (extinction).

Ḡisūdirāz: The sequence of this state (of affairs) which I have said is that, "resolution" (qasḍ) is the initial stage of this affair (ʿin kār). Then, actualization of "resolution" (is called wurūd). After (passing through the stage of wurūd, it becomes shuhūd. Beyond shuhūd is wujūd. This shuhūd comes and grants a new wujūd (wujūdī naw) to him (i.e. the individual who is experiencing). Beyond this wujūd he becomes extinct (makhmūd). I say that sharīʿat is the "saying" (guft) of the Perfect Man (insān-i kāmīl); tarīqat is the "doing" (kard) of the Perfect Man; ḥaqīqat is the "seeing" (dīd) of the Perfect Man; ḥaqq al-ḥaqīqat is the "being" (būd) of the Perfect Man; ḥaqīqat al-ḥaqq is the "being of non-being" (būd-i nā būd) of the Perfect Man. Here it is explained as such: qasḍ faces sharīʿat, wurūd faces tarīqat, shuhūd faces ḥaqīqat, wujūd faces ḥaqq al-ḥaqīqat, and khumūd faces ḥaqīqat al-ḥaqq. One encounters a problem here. Shaykh (al-Qushayrī) -- may God have mercy on him -- had said earlier that khumūd-i basharīyat (extinction of man-ness) precedes wujūd,²⁵⁸ but here wujūd precedes khumūd. That khumūd (i.e. khumūd-i basharīyat) is due to the witnessing of wujūd (ba-shuhūd-i wujūd), but here khumūd which follows wujūd, becomes shuhūd (too). The cause of this shuhūd is khumūd-i basharīyat after which he becomes wujūd. Beyond this wujūd there is another khumūd.²⁵⁹

iv) from page 288:

al-Qushayrī: the state of his (i.e. sāhib al-wujūd) "sobriety" (sahw) is his "remaining" (bagā') through the Truth, and the state of his "obliteration" (mahw) is his "annihilation" (fanā') in the Truth. These two states follow each other in him.

Gisūdirāz: these two are "states" (hālat). The individual by himself (khud ba-khud) becomes wujūd. He is changed through khumūd so that he becomes another wujūd which is (in reality) the "being of non-being" (būd-i nā būd). The wujūd is served by two states, sahw and mahw. Coming (back) from himself through himself to himself (az khud bakhud bā khud āyad) is called sahw; and going (away) from himself through himself to himself (az khud bakhud bā khud rawad) is called mahw. These two states follow each other in that individual. When one state disappears, the other appears; and this is what the external meaning of the Shaykh al-Qushayrī demands. But the esoteric meaning is (that) as soon as he gains sobriety, he is obliterated and as soon as he is obliterated he gains sobriety. Sobriety is (embedded) in obliteration and obliteration is (enrooted) in sobriety.²⁶⁰

One can see through the above translations how complicated the text is, even though we have tried to explain certain aspects in parenthesis. We will try our best to be as clear as possible in the following discussion.

Elaborating the terms tawājjud, waḥd and wujūd, Gisūdirāz writes that tawājjud is in fact, begging (istiḥḥāb) for ecstasy (waḥd), which is the "finding" (yāftan). One has to suffer before experiencing waḥd, and he wishes that his "taste" (dhawqī) and "yearning" (shawqī) would also become waḥd itself, which Gisūdirāz calls waḥd and wijdān. But wujūd (discovery) is when one becomes wijdān and ultimately turns into wujūd itself (ayn-i wujūd).²⁶¹

The most interesting point is that Gisūdirāz names the person who reaches the stage of wujūd, wujūd. He writes, "wujūd is (the name of) a person (wujūd ^Cibarat az shakhsī ast), who is-wujūd itself (ʿayn-i wujūd). Such a person is absent (ghayb) from all the beings (akwān) and also from throne (ʿarsh) and stool (kursī), because he is with God (bā khudā) and, therefore, does not possess the states of intimacy (uns) and awe (haybat)".²⁶² There is a strong implication here of the identification of God (khudā) with wujūd.

Gisūdirāz agrees with Abū ʿAlī al-Daqqāq and al-Qushayrī in the distinction between tawājjud and wajd. Tawājjud is "begging" (istiḥlāb) through artificial behavior (takalluf) to achieve wajd, whereas wajd is a "visitation" (wāridī) from the "unseen" (ghayb) which descends upon the heart (dil) without anyone's choice (ikhtiyār).²⁶³ He again agrees that wujūd is achieved after one's affair increases, and he ascends from the stage of wajd.²⁶⁴

Gisūdirāz further explains wujūd to be a stage where a person becomes "wujūd itself" (ʿayn-i wujūd); his wujūd becomes his "goal itself" (ʿayn-i maqsūd); and, above all, the wujūd of his goal becomes his "very wujūd" (ʿayn-i wujūd-i in).²⁶⁵ It is assumed here that Gisūdirāz is talking of three ranks in the stage of wujūd, to which topic we shall return.²⁶⁶

According to al-Qushayrī, with whom Gisūdirāz agrees, tawājjud is the beginning (bidāyah), wujūd is the end (niḥāyah), and wajd is in between

(wāsit) which is related to both tawājud and wujūd. al-Qushayrī quotes al-Daqqāq as saying that tawājud necessitates the encompassing (istī^cāb) of man (al-^cabd), wajd necessitates his absorption (istighrāq), and wujūd necessitates his annihilation (istihlāk). These three stages are further explained by al-Daqqāq as the witnessing of sea, sailing on it and drowning in it. Gīṣūdirāz comments on the quotation and writes that tawājud is seized by a person all the time, when he behaves artificially (takalluf mī kunad); wajd is the finding (yāftan) in which that person becomes engrossed; wujūd then becomes the cause (mūjib) of his annihilation --that is, he passes away from himself-but remains (bāqī) through wujūd. Thus, the person becomes the "demand of Truth" (istifā-i haqq). Gīṣūdirāz differs with al-Daqqāq in the second part where the metaphor of the sea is used. In fact, Gīṣūdirāz goes deeper into it than al-Daqqāq. He says that tawājud is like a person standing on the shores of the sea, for he is destined (sākhtah) to fall into it. Wajd is like his falling into the sea and becoming familiar (āshnā) with it. Wujūd is his being drowned and melted in it, and eventually turning into the "very sea" (‘ayn-i daryā).²⁶⁷

The above interpretation of Gīṣūdirāz regarding the metaphor of sea is significant for his general sufi ideas. The key term here is the word "destined" (sākhtah). It indicates the missing link which may have existed between a person and the sea, before he came into existence. The ultimate result is his turning into the "sea itself", which was the "demand of the Truth". As we have already observed, the sufism of Gīṣūdirāz is like a circle or a process which begins from and ends at the same point. It may be termed as a

a type of "unity of being" (wahdat al-wujūd). No doubt, he is particular that the middle part is always linked with both its beginning and its end.²⁶⁸

Another simile of an ocean is also very interesting in this regard. Gisūdirāz writes that when an ocean is restless, it is called "waves" (mawj); when it rises up in the air, it is called "vapours" (bukhār); when the vapours are condensed in the atmosphere, it is called "clouds" (sahāb); when they trickle down, it becomes "rain"; when it flows, it is a "stream"; and when the stream merges into the ocean it turns into the ocean itself (that is, it goes back to its original form). In fact, "rain is from the ocean and the ocean is from the rain".²⁶⁹

This symbolism may also signify the different forms of manifestations of God, and may also, as pointed out by his commentator, denote various attributes (sifāt), multiple names (asmā') and innumerable acts (af'āl) of God.²⁷⁰ The point here is that the "ocean" remains "the ocean" and is not affected in any way by its various names such as vapours, clouds, rain, etc., neither do these names add anything to it. Besides, these manifestations are not and cannot be called "ocean". Although they are from the "ocean", they are not it.

To go back to our discussion, Qushayrī mentions an hierarchy of stages: "resolution" (qūsūd), "entrance" (wurūd), "witnessing" (shuhūd), "discovering" (wujūd) and "extinction" (khumūd).²⁷¹ While elaborating on these stages, Gisūdirāz writes that the difficulty here is that Qushayrī had mentioned earlier that khumūd precedes the stage wujūd,²⁷² while here it is the other

way round. He goes on to resolve this problem himself. He says that the khumūd which preceded wujūd earlier was the khumūd-i bashariyat (extinction of manness; which we shall call khumūd no.1 for convenience), which was the result of witnessing of wujūd (shuhūd-i wujūd; we shall call this wujūd, wujūd no.1, and this shuhūd, shuhūd no.1). Here khumūd (which we will call khumūd no.2) is after wujūd (no.1), and it (i.e. khumūd no.2) is also shuhūd (shuhūd no.2), the cause of which shuhūd is khumūd-i bashariyat ²⁷³ (i.e. khumūd no.1). Gīsūdirāz then goes on to say that there is another wujūd (no.2) after khumūd (no.2). ²⁷⁴ This wujūd no.2, he says, is the "being of non-being". (būd-i nābūd) of a mystic. On this stage, there are two states serving him: sobriety (sahw) and obliteration (mahw). Sahw is the "coming back to self from self through self" (az khud bakhud bākhud āyad), while mahw is "passing away from self to self through self" (az khud bakhud bākhud rawad). When one state disappears, the other necessarily follows. Gīsūdirāz says, "in reality sahw is rooted in mahw and mahw in sahw." ²⁷⁵

Gīsūdirāz is actually talking of two wujūds, two khumūds and two shuhūds. The wujūds and khumūds follow each other successively, one being higher in rank than the other. That is to say, wujūd no.1 follows khumūd no.1 (which is actually the "extinction of man-ness", khumūd-i bashariyat). Wujūd no.1 is a stage higher than khumūd no.1; khumūd no.2 is a stage higher than wujūd no.1; after which is the highest stage wujūd no.2. Wujūd no.2 is a stage equivalent to "remaining" (baqā), because a person becomes wujūd all by himself (khud ba-khud) ²⁷⁶ when the two states sahw and mahw become active in him. It is also implied here that wujūd no.2 is rooted in khumūd no.2.

In other words, a mystic who has reached the stage of khumūd no. 2 automatically acquires wujūd no.2, because khumūd no.2 and wujūd no.2 are stages inseparable from each other, like the states sahw and mahw.

As for the two shuhūds, the only possible way to interpret them is that they accompany the two khumūds. That is to say, shuhūds and khumūds are the cause and effect of each other. In the first case, khumūd no.1 (i.e. khumūd-i basharīyat) is the result of shuhūd no.1 (i.e. shuhūd-i wujūd), while in the second case, shuhūd no.2 is the result of khumūd no.1. Shuhūd no.2, according to Gīṣūdirāz, is (in reality) khumūd no.2. The only distinction one might discern here between the two shuhūds, is that shuhūd no.1 is the witnessing of wujūd no.1, whereas shuhūd no.2 is the witnessing of something definitely higher than wujūd no.1. Moreover, shuhūd no.1 is something due to which khumūd no.1 actualizes—that is, the manness in a mystic is extinguished—while shuhūd no.2 is, therefore, a witnessing of something by the mystic in a purer or a finer form. The following charts will show that Gīṣūdirāz is actually going further than Qushayrī, and is extracting meanings more than Qushayrī intended.

Chart according to Qushayrī

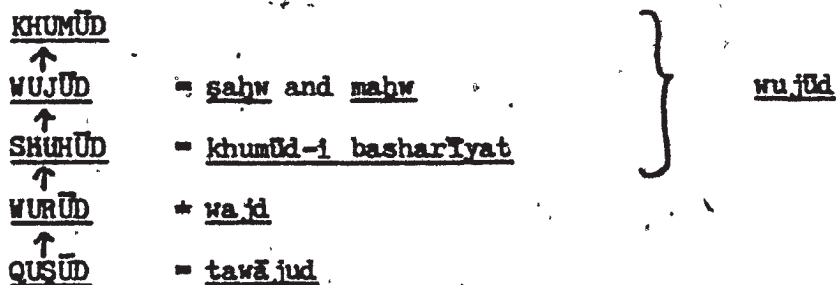
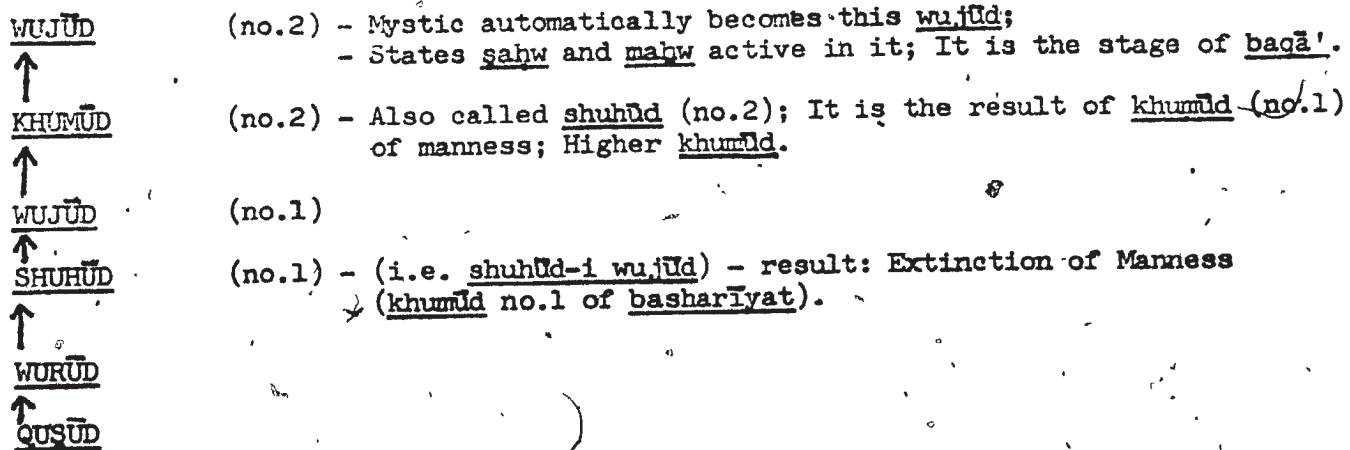


Chart according to Gīṣūdirāz:



We will now go back to the three ranks of wujūd we discussed earlier.²⁷⁷ That is, we had said that shakhs ^cayn-i wujūd shawad, wujūd-i ū ^cayn-i maqṣūd shud, and maqṣūd ^cayn-i wujūd-i in shud are three ranks of the stage of wujūd. These three ranks correspond to the stages of shuhūd no.1, wujūd no.1, and khumūd no.2.

<u>Khumūd</u> no.2 = <u>maqṣūd</u> ^c <u>ayn-i wujūd-i in shud</u>	} <u>wujūd</u>
<u>Wujūd</u> no.1 = <u>wujūd-i ū</u> ^c <u>ayn-i maqṣūd shud</u>	
<u>Shuhūd</u> no.1 = <u>shakhs</u> ^c <u>ayn-i wujūd shawad</u>	
<u>Wurūd</u> = <u>wa'id</u>	
<u>Qusūd</u> = <u>tawājud</u>	

In other words, shuhūd no.1, wujūd no.1 and khumūd no.2 (which necessarily includes wujūd no.2) are three degrees of transition in a mystic traveller on the stage of wujūd, which is reached after passing through tawājud and wa'id. This is the point that Gīṣūdirāz wants to make. The other

significant and perhaps the most interesting aspect is the definition of wujūd. He defines it as "consciousness" (shu'ūr)²⁷⁸. It is presumed that this definition is of wajūd no.2, which is a special kind of "consciousness" in a mystic at the highest stage of ḥaqīqat al-ḥaqq. It signifies the "consciousness" and a state of "awareness" that God is "beyond the beyond" (warā' al-warā').²⁷⁹

The stages achieved in sama' correspond to sharī'at, tarīqat, ḥaqīqat, ḥaqq al-ḥaqīqat and ḥaqīqat al-ḥaqq, and are, therefore, related to the subtle substances (latā'if) nafs, qalb, rūh, sirr and khayr.²⁸⁰

<u>Ḥaqīqat al-Ḥaqq</u>	=	<u>Khayr</u>	=	<u>Khumūd</u>	}	<u>Wujūd</u>
<u>Ḥaqq al-Ḥaqīqat</u>	=	<u>Sirr</u>	=	<u>Wujūd</u>		
<u>Ḥaqīqat</u>	=	<u>Rūh</u>	=	<u>Shuhūd</u>		
<u>Tarīqat</u>	=	<u>Qalb</u>	=	<u>Qusūd</u>	=	<u>Wajd</u>
<u>Sharī'at</u>	=	<u>Nafs</u>	=	<u>Qusūd</u>	=	<u>Tawājjud</u>

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

- 1 Ibn al-Jawzī, Talbīs Iblīs, Cairo (n.d.). p. 215; D.B. McDonald, "Sama", Encyclopaedia of Islam (old ed.) Vol. IV: 1, p.121; See also J.S. Trimingham, Sufi Orders. p.195.
- 2 H.G. Farmer, "Music", The Legacy of Islam. London, 1968, pp.358, 362. For details regarding music in royal courts, see idem., A History of Arabian Music. London, 1967.
- 3 It is difficult to say exactly when sama^c came to be accepted by the sufis, but it may be fairly correct to conclude that its introduction in sufi circles was not later than the middle of 3rd century Hijrah/9th century A.D. Moreover, from Ibn Abī al-Dunyā's (d.208/823-281/894) treatise Dhamm al-Malāhī which is supposed to be the earliest work known on opposition of music, one might presume that sama^c had become popular in the 3rd cent./9th cent., which seems to be the reason for his absolute refutation. The work was edited and translated by J. Robson, under the title Tracts on Listening to Music, Oriental Translation Fund, N. Series, Vol. XXIV, London, 1938.
- 4 H.G. Farmer, Legacy, p.359.
- 5 McDonald, E.I. Vol. IV: 1, p.121.
- 6 R.A. Nicholson, Mystics, p.65.
- 7 J. Robson, ed. Tracts, Introduction, p.4; M.L. Ray Choudhury, "Music in Islam", Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXIII, (1957), p.63; Abū Sa'īd Ibn Abī al-Khayr seems to have neglected the noon-prayers, having fallen into ecstasy in sama^c. When reminded, he said, "we are at prayers", see Nicholson, Studies, pp.60-61; Also see Ibn al-Jawzī, Talbīs, p.239.
- 8 Hujwiri, Kashf, p.392.
- 9 Ibid., pp.401-402.
- 10 Ibid., pp.398, 409, 416, 420; See also, Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, Kīmīyā'ī Sa'ādat, Tehran, 1914, pp.374, 379-380; Ibn al-Jawzī, Talbīs, p.239; Shihāb al-Dīn Umar al-Suhrawardī, Awārif al-Ma'ārif, Beirut, 1966, p.187; Ahmad al-Ghazālī, Bawāriq al-Ilm, ed. J. Robson, Tracts on Listening to Music, London, 1938, p.177.

- 11 al-Kalābādhī, Kitāb al-Ta^carruf, Cairo, 1960, p.160. As translated by A.J. Arberry, Lahore, 1966, p.182; Robson, Tracts, intr. p.8, quotes Kalābādhī as saying something which Kalābādhī himself attributes to Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghdādī. Ta^carruf, p.161.
- 12 Besides, certain fraternal bodies were also formed whose members were called fityān (pl. of futuwwah). They lived together in convents, under the guidance of a chief (akhī), and they passed their evenings singing and dancing. See van Avendonk & Bichr Faris, "Futuwwa", Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam, p.109.
- 13 Robson, Tracts, Intr. p.11.
- 14 Hujwīrī, Kashf, p.398, 411 ff; Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj, Kitāb al-Luma^c; ed. R.A. Nicholson, London 1914, 275 ff; al-Qushayrī; al-Risālah al-Qushayriyah Miṣr 1320 A.H., pp.151-152; Ibn al-Jawzī, Talbīs, pp.221-223; Ibn Abī al-Dunyā, Dhamm. The whole treatise consists of traditions and Qur'anic verses; Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, Iḥyā' Uḷūm al-Dīn, Urdu transl. by M.A.S. Nānūtawī, Madhīq al-Ārifīn, Lucknow, 1955, Vol. II, pp.336-345; A. al-Ghazālī, Bawāriq, pp.130-133, 139, 143 ff; S. U. al-Suhrawardī, Awārif, pp.175, 181, 188; Also see Roy Choudhury, J.R.A.S., pp.78-80.
- 15 Ibn al-Jawzī, Talbīs, pp.229-231.
- 16 For a list of the frequently quoted Qur'anic verses and Traditions, see al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab. Miṣr 1925, Vol. IV, pp.133-139; Qushayrī, al-Risālah, pp.151-153; Also see Robson, Tracts, intr. pp.1-2; Roy Choudhury, J.R.A.S. p.57-70; M. Molé, La Danse Extatique en Islam, Sources Orientales, 6, Paris 1963, pp.157-160; H.G. Farmer, A History, p. 22 ff.
- 17 Robson, Tracts, pp.117-118; A. al-Ghazālī, Bawāriq. pp.182-183.
- 18 S. U. Suhrawardī, Awārif, p.178; Diyā al-Dīn Abū al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī, Ādāb al-Murīdīn, Xerox copy Tubingen University Library Manuscript, Germany, f. 34a; Amīr Khurd, Siyar, p.494, it quotes from Awārif al-Ma'ārif; Also See Robson, Tracts, p.3.
- 19 'Abd al-'Azīz Wā'izī, Habībī, p.81; Min Allāh Tabṣirat, p.73.
- 20 Qushayrī, al-Risālah, p.158.
- 21 In Qushayrī, his name is given as Abū al-Ḥarith al-Awlāsī. The Persian translation of the Risālah has Abū-al-Ḥārith al-Awlāsī. His full name is given in the index of the translation as Fayḍ bin al-Khiḍr. cf. Abū 'Alī Ḥ. b. Ahmad 'Uthmānī, Tarjamah-i Risālah-i Qushayriyah, ed. B. Ferozānfar, Tehran 1967, pp.620-789; Awlās was the name of a fort near Tarsus on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. It was known as the fort of ascetics. cf. Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-Buldān, ed. Heinrich Ferdinand, Tehran, 1965, p.407.

- 22 Hujwiri, Kashf, pp. 411-412; Qushayri, al-Risalah, p.157; Ibn al-Jawzi, Talbīs, p.242; The version of Qushayri is different from that of Hujwiri. Abū al-Hārith, according to Qushayri, dreams of the assembly of Iblīs, which was gathered on the roofs of some houses in Awlās. Iblīs tells him that he could not enter the bodies of sufis except through sama^c. The answer of Iblīs seems somewhat similar to that given by him to Junayd in another incident quoted by S. U. Suhrawardi; For another incident where Gīṣūdīrāz is reported to have seen Satan dancing, c f. Min Allāh, Tabṣirat, p.28, no.28.
- 23 S. U. Suhrawardi, Awārif, p.177.
- 24 Sarraj, al-Luma^c, pp.298-300; See also al-Makkī, Qūt al-Qulūb, Cairo, 1932, Vol. III, p.91.
- 25 al-Makkī, Qūt, Vol. III, p.91; S. U. Suhrawardi, Awārif, p. 174; The name Abū al-Ḥasan b. Salim is mentioned by Suhrawardi, with the addition of "when persons better than me have listened and permitted it", to the answer of Salim.
- 26 Aziz Ahmad, An Intellectual History of Islam in India, Edinburgh, 1969 p.146; Robson, Tracts, p.84, note 1; The Shi'i law does not approve of sama at all. See Robson, Tracts, Intr. p.3; Roy Choudhury, J.R.A.S., pp.86-88; M. Molé, La Danse, 169 ff.
- 27 See Hujwiri, Kashf, pp.399, 403, 407; Qushayri, al-Risalah, p.157, where he quotes Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī (d.215/830); For an anecdote regarding Dā'ūd al-Dīnawari al-Duqqī (al-Raqqī d.360/971) refer Qushayri, al-Risalah, p.153; Sarraj, al-Luma, p.270; Hamīd Qalandar, Khayr, pp.43-45; Also Robson, Tracts, intr. pp.4-5; Nicholson, Mystics, pp.59-63.
- 28 See Sarraj, al-Luma^c, pp.298-299; M. Molé, La Danse, pp.159-176.
- 29 al-Makkī, Qūt, Vol. III, p.90, Vol. I, p.118; S. U. Suhrawardi quotes al-Makkī, Awārif, p.175; For details about other classifications refer, Hujwiri, Kashf, p.402, 406 ff; Sarraj, al-Luma, 277 ff; Qushayri, al-Risalah, p.154-155; M. al-Ghazālī, Kimiyā, pp.371-374; S. U. Suhrawardi, Awārif, pp. 175, 196.
- 30 Qushayri, al-Risalah, p.153; This is comparable to the saying of the grandfather of al-Sulamī, that sama should be heard with a heart (qalb) and a dead soul (nafs mītah). S. U. Suhrawardi, Awārif, p.177; A.N. Suhrawardi, Adāb, f. 33a; Qushayri also mentions this saying with a verbal difference, but does not attribute it to anyone. al-Risalah, p.154.
- 31 Sarraj, al-Luma^c, pp.186, 272; Qushayri, al-Risalah, p.153; M. al-Ghazālī Kimiyā, p.388.

- 32 Ahmad al-Ghazālī does not mention Junayd, when he refers to time, place and brethren. Bawāriq, p.123.
- 33 M. al-Ghazālī, Kīmīyā', p.388.
- 34 Qushayrī, al-Risālah, p.155; D.A.N. Suhrawardī. Adāb, f.34a; S. ^cU. Suhrawardī, Awārif, p.187; 'Alā' al-Dawlah al-Simmānī, Mā Lā Budd fī al-Dīn, Xerox copy of manuscript from As'ad Affandī Library, no.1431, Tehran: f.61b; Hujwīrī quotes another saying of Junayd giving the same meaning. Kashf, p.412.
- 35 Qushayrī, al-Risālah, p.152; see Nicholson, Studies, p.34, note 1; Robson, Tracts, intr. p.8.
- 36 al-Makkī, Qūt, Vol. III, p.91; S. ^cU. Suhrawardī, Awārif, p.187.
- 37 Hujwīrī, Kashf, p.420.
- 38 M. al-Ghazālī, Kīmīyā', p.375; Robson mentions al-Ghazālī as allowing novices to attend sama', but with warnings. Tracts, intr. p.6.
- 39 S. U. Suhrawardī, Awārif, p.178.
- 40 See Nicholson, Studies, pp.57-58.
- 41 Sarrāj, al-Luma', pp.287-288; See Hujwīrī, Kashf, 419.
- 42 A. al-Ghazālī, Bawāriq, pp.74, 97. He goes as far as to say, "if one of the common people is moved in audition in resemblance to them (sufis) seeking some of their inheritance, he is like them". p.151.
- 43 Ibid., p.175. It is felt that Ahmad al-Ghazālī can be taken as the most suitable representative of sufis, to be quoted especially here, because in spite of being very liberal in his outlook on sama', he does not allow any instrument to be played, except for a couple of them.
- 44 Ibid., p.154.
- 45 Ibn al-Dunyā, Dhamm, pp.44, 54.
- 46 Hujwīrī, Kashf, p.401.
- 47 A.H. Siyazī, Fawā'id, R.95.
- 48 Hujwīrī, Kashf, p.394.
- 49 Ibid., pp.397, 398.
- 50 Sarrāj, al-Luma', pp.276, 283.

- 51 Qushayrī, al-Risālah, p.156; Sarrāj, al-Luma^c, p.291.
- 52 See Supra. p.143.
- 53 A. al-Ghazālī, Bawāriq, p.175.
- 54 S. U. Suhrawardī, Awārif, p.175.
- 55 Trimmingham, Sufi Orders, p.195.
- 56 Hujwīrī, Kashf, p.405.
- 57 M. al-Ghazālī, Kīmiyā', p.370; See also Ibn al-Jawzī's objection that God can never be the beloved (ma^cshūq) of man. Talbīs, p.238.
- 58 Qushayrī, al-Risālah, p.155. A saying against sama^c is also attributed to al-Rudhbārī, p.154.
- 59 Gīsūdirāz, Khātimah. pp.44-45, para. 61.
- 60 Nicholson, Mystics, p.63; Robson, Tracts, intr. p.9; Trimmingham says, "it was in fact a degeneration which the early masters of sufism had perceived and warned against when dealing with the question of sama^c." Sufi Orders, p.195.
- 61 For instance, Ahmad al-Ghazālī says that one sees revelations in sama^c. Bawāriq, pp.162, 164; M. al-Ghazālī's views are similar. Kīmiyā', p.374. Also see L. Massignon, La Passion d'al-Hallaj, Paris, 1922, Tome I, pp. 56, 314.
- 62 Qur'an, S. VII: 172.
- 63 Junayd, Rasā'il, bāb ākhir fī al-Tawhīd, ed. with Translation, by Dr. A.H. Abdel-Kader, under the title, The Life, Personality and writings of al-Junayd, London, 1962, pp.56-57, cf. translation pp.177-178.
- 64 Hujwīrī, Kashf, p.402; Kalābādhi, Ta^carruf, p.161; Sarrāj, al-Luma^c, p. 296; Qushayrī, al-Risālah, p.157; D.A.N. Suhrawardī, Adāb, f.6b; M. al-Ghazālī, Kīmiyā', p.370; S. U. Suhrawardī, Awārif, p.193; Gīsūdirāz, Asmār, p.103.
- 65 Kalābādhi, Ta^carruf, p.161.
- 66 Qushayrī, Risālah. Kitāb al-Samā^c, Karachi 1964, pp.51-52..
- 67 Qushayrī, al-Risālah, p.153; F. Attār, Tadhkirat al-Awliyā', Leyden 1907, Part II, p.32.

- 68 A. al-Ghazālī, Bawāriq, p.159; ^cAyn al-Qudāh al-Hamadhānī, Tamhīdāt, p.113, para.161; Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganjī Shakar says that unconsciousness (bīhūshī) in sama^c is due to the covenant. When it took place everyone had become unconscious because of the experience of ecstasy. Amīr Khurd, Siyar, p.499; There are other views also in regard to the cause of ecstasy. See Anonymous, Khulāṣah-i Sharḥ-i Ta^carruf. Iran, 1349, pp.536-538. The Khulāṣah is an abridged form of the Sharḥ-i Ta^carruf of Abū Ibrāhīm bin Muḥammad al-Mustamī Bukhārī (d.434/1042). The work was compiled in 710/1310; See also M. Molé, La Danse, pp. 207-211.
- 69 Hujwīrī, Kashf, p.416.
- 70 Sarrāj, al-Luma^c, p.313.
- 71 Abū Abd al-Rahmān al-Sulamī, Tabaqāt al-Sūfiyah, Miṣr, 1953, p.202; Sarrāj, al-Luma^c, pp.300-301.
- 72 Kalābādhī, Ta^carruf, p.112. Translation of Arberry, p.116.
- 73 Ibid., p.113
- 74 S. U. Suhrawardī ^cAwārif, p.195; Sarrāj, quotes "wajd is a revelation from God". al-Luma^c, p.301, see also p.310; Hujwīrī, Kashf, p.419.
- 75 S. U. Suhrawardī, ^cAwārif, p.194.
- 76 Kalābādhī, Ta^carruf, p.113.
- 77 Junayd is reported to have said that God's Grace descends upon the sufis on three occasions; when they eat, when they speak and when they are in sama^c. Qushayrī, al-Risālah, p.153; Kalābādhī, Ta^carruf, p.161; al-Makkī, Qūt, Vol. III, p.90; Sarrāj, al-Luma^c, p.272; Ibn al-Jawzī, Talbīs, p.241; S. U. al-Suhrawardī, Awārif, p.176. The versions with Sarrāj, al-Makkī, Ibn al-Jawzī and Suhrawardī seem to be almost the same, whereas there is a slight difference in the versions between them, Qushayrī and Kalābādhī. But all convey the same meaning.
- 78 A. al-Ghazālī, Bawāriq, p.177.
- 79 Sarrāj, al-Luma^c, p.301. See also p.305, for a distinction between wujūd and tawājud by another Shaykh; Also see Qushayrī, al-Risālah, pp.34-35; Hujwīrī, Kashf, pp.413-416; For a discussion on tawājud, wajd, and wujūd by Gīṣūdirāz, see infra., Section C, p. 187ff.
- 80 Hujwīrī, Kashf, p.415.
- 81 Ibid., p.408.

- 82 Sarrāj, al-Luma^c, pp.186-187, 293. He divides those whose ecstasy is genuine (al-wājidūn) and those whose ecstasy is artificial (al-mutawājidūn) into three classes respectively. pp.302-303.
- 83 Kalābādhī, Ta'arruf, p.112; For a discussion on whether the state of tranquility is perfect or the state of agitation, see Sarrāj, al-Luma^c, pp. 306 308-309.
- 84 M. al-Ghazālī, Kīmīyā', p.386.
- 85 S. 'U. Suhrawardī, Awārif^c, pp.195, 196. Suhrawardī believes that self-control is necessary in sama^c, to the extent that it becomes physically impossible to control anymore. p.200; Also see, Kalābādhī, Ta'arruf, p.161; Simnānī, MĀLĀ Budd, f.62a.
- 86 M. al-Ghazālī, Kīmīyā', p.387.
- 87 Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā, Fawā'ih, para.94.
- 88 Hujwīrī, Kashf, p.415; Sarrāj, al-Luma^c, p.294; al-Kubrā, Fawā'ih, para. 93; Qushayrī, al-Risālah, p.34; Simnānī, MĀLĀ Budd, f.61b.
- 89 al-Kubrā, Fawā'ih, para. 94.
- 90 Sarrāj, al-Luma^c, p.306; S. 'U. Suhrawardī, Awārif^c, p.200; Many instances are also related where people have either fainted or died due to the intense state of ecstasy in sama^c. See Qushayrī, al-Risālah, pp.156-158; Hujwīrī, Kashf, p.396, 409 ff; Sarrāj, al-Luma^c, 285 ff, p.289; M. al-Ghazālī, Kīmīyā', p.387; P.A.N. Suhrawardī, Adab, f.33b; S. 'U. Suhrawardī Awārif^c, p.199; Ibn al-Jawzī says to the effect that if the sufis are true in claiming that they experience ecstasy, and do not know what they do in that state, then this ecstasy is nothing but intoxication (sukr) which is forbidden in Islam. Talbīs, p.252.
- 91 al-Ruwaym's description of sufi shaykhs in sama^c as resembling that of a flock of sheep attacked by wolves, implies dancing. Sarrāj, al-Luma^c, p.288; Qushayrī, al-Risālah, p.156. The incident, related by Qushayrī, regarding Jāhm al-Duqqī who uprooted a tree and started circling in ecstasy also indicates a type of dance. al-Risālah, p.35; Again the anecdote about Ibrāhīm Khawwāq (d.291/903) who is supposed to have danced in artificial ecstasy (tawājud). Hujwīrī, Kashf, p.410; See also Ibn al-Jawzī, Talbīs, pp.249-251; Trimingham, Sufi Orders, p.195; Nicholson, Mystics, p.63.
- 92 Trimingham, Sufi Orders, p.195.
- 93 al-Suhrawardī, (Shaykh al-Ishrāq), Risālah fī ḥālat al-Taṣawwuf, Tehran, 1970, p. 266, para. 20.
- 94 Hujwīrī, Kashf, p.416.

- 95 S. 'U. Suhrawardī, Awārif, p.200; For expression of ecstasy as portrayed through paintings, c f. T.W. Arnold, Painting in Islam, Oxford (n.d.) plates XLII, XLIIIa, XLIIIb.
- 96 Ibid, p.180.
- 97 Nicholson, Studies, p.58, p.237. Abū Sa'īd says, "if a young dervish claps his hands, the lust of his hands will be dissipated, and if he tosses his feet, the lust of his feet will be lessened". p.58; Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' refers to the interpretation of Abū Sa'īd, though without mentioning his name. Amīr Khurd, Siyar, p.504.
- 98 A. al-Ghazālī, Bawāriq, p.155; M. al-Ghazālī says that dancing (rags) is not forbidden (harām). Kimīyā', p.387.
- 99 Aziz Ahmad, Intellectual, p.146.
- 100 A. al-Ghazālī, Bawāriq, p.155. Junayd has always been mentioned by other sufis as remaining calm, in spite of experiencing ecstasy.
- 101 See Nicholson, Studies, pp.60-61.
- 102 L. Massignon, La Passion, Tome I, p.313, Tome II, p.796.
- 103 'Ayn al-Qudāh al-Hamadhānī, Nāmāhā'-i 'Ayn al-Qudāt-i Hamadānī, Beirut 1969, Vol. I, pp.374-375, para. 624. al-Hamadhānī writes that he was dancing with his father who saw that Ahmad al-Ghazālī too had joined them in it.
- 104 Qushayrī, al-Risālah, p.154; S. 'U. Suhrawardī, Awārif, p.176.
- 105 Ibid, p.857; Abū al-Najīb Suhrawardī mentions a shortened version of it. Adab, ff. 32b-33a; also see A. al-Ghazālī, Bawāriq, p.122.
- 106 Hujwīrī, Kashf, p.417.
- 107 S. 'U. Suhrawardī, Awārif, p.200.
- 108 Hujwīrī writes how the hunters use music to hunt deer, what effect music has on deer. Kashf, p.400; This account is corroborated with a later source of Amīr Khusraw, Nuh Sipihr, ed. M.W. Mirza, Calcutta, 1948, 3rd Sipihr, pp.171-172; Moreover, when Hujwīrī migrated to India, Lahore was under the Ghaznavide territory since 411/1020. See Ikram, Muslim Civilization in India, ed. A.T. Embree, Columbia University, 1964, p.25.
- 109 S.N. H. Rizvi, "Music in Muslim India", Islamic Culture, Vol.15, no.3, (1941), p.331; Also see S.A. Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn, Bazm, p.48; Aziz Ahmad, Intellectual, p.144.

- 110 S.N.H. Rizvi, Isl. Cult., p.331; Nur al-Hasan, The Chishti, p.184; M. Mujeeb, Indian Muslims, p.137; M.L. Roy Choudhury, J.R.A.S., p.89; Trimingham, Sufi Orders, p.66; S.A.A. Rizvi, Revivalist, p.17.
- 111 Trimingham, Sufi Orders, p.66; M. Mujeeb, Indian, p.298; Rizvi, Isl. Cult., p.334; Rizvi, Revivalist, pp.23, 26; Aziz Ahmad writes that the Suhrawardis were generally indifferent towards sama^c. Intellectual, p.144; Nur al-Hasan, The Chishti, p.292.
- 112 Siḡzī, Fawā'id, p.137; Amīr Khurd, Siyar, p.525; Also see Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn, Baḡm, pp.101-102; Rizvi, Isl. Cult., p.334; Aziz Ahmad feels that the ecstatic dancing attributed to Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyā^c may be regarded as apocryphal in view of the Suhrawardī discouragement of music". Intellectual, p.146; This assumption is without any proper evidence, and is therefore questionable. Moreover, Shihāb al-Dīn Umar al-Suhrawardī did not reject sama^c, neither did his uncle Abū al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī as we know from their own works. Qāḍī Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāḡūrī was very fond of sama^c. Later on, during the Tughlaq period, a descendent of Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyā^c, supported sama^c in a maḡḡar. See Infra, p. 162. The statement of Prof. Aziz Ahmad, "Suhrawardī discouragement of music" needs further clarification. See also Tarachand, Influence of Islam on Indian Culture, Allahabad, 1936, p.83.
- 113 There seems to have been a tradition, regarding Shihāb al-Dīn Umar al-Suhrawardī, prevalent among the early Indian Sufis, to the effect that God bestowed on him every blessing except the "taste" (ḡhawq) of sama^c. See Siḡzī, Fawā'id, p.34; Amīr Khurd, Siyar, p.524.
- 114 Siḡzī, Fawā'id, p.239; Amīr Khurd, Siyar, p.519; K.A. Nizami, Some Aspects, p.303; idem. Salāṭīn, p.120; Rizvi, Revivalist, p.23; S.M. Ikram, Civilization, p.101; Aziz Ahmad, Intellectual, p.144; Roy Choudhury, J.R.A.S. p.85; Nur al-Hasan, The Chishti, pp.34, 292.
- 115 Ḥisāmī, Futūḡ al-Salāṭīn, ed. A.S. Usha, Madras, 1948, pp.117-119; Nizami, Some Aspects, pp.302-303; idem. Salāṭīn, p.120; Rizvi, Isl. Cult., pp.332; Roy Choudhury, J.R.A.S. p.85; Nur al-Hasan, The Chishti, pp.216, 337.
- 116 Rizvi, Isl. Cult. 332ff; Nizami, Some Aspects, p.303; Aziz Ahmad, Intellectual, p.144.
- 117 Rizvi, Revivalist, p.17; Nur al-Hasan, The Chishti, p.33.
- 118 Aziz Ahmad, Intellectual, p.143.
- 119 The medieval historians and hagiographers used the word "Hindawī" for the vernacular language spoken by the people.

- 120 Aziz Ahmad, Intellectual, p.145; M. Mujeeb, Indian, p.170.
- 121 Sijzī, Fawā'id, p.96; Nizami, Some Aspects, p.168; Nur al-Hasan, The Chishti, p.339.
- 122 Amīr Khurd, Siyar, p.492.
- 123 Ibid., pp.525-530; This event is referred to in Sijzī also, when a person told Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' that it has been permitted that the Shaykh could hear sama^c whenever he wanted to. The Shaykh replied "Anything which is forbidden (ḥarām) by law cannot be permitted (ḥalāl) by anyone's order (ḥukm), likewise neither can anything permitted (ḥalāl) become forbidden through an order". Fawā'id, p.227; Amīr Khurd, Siyar, p.531; Also see M. Mujeeb, Indian, pp. 75, 172; Nizami, Salāṭīn, pp.315-318; idem. "Early Indo-muslim mystics and their attitude towards the state", Islamic Culture, Vol. 23 (1949) p.318; Aziz Ahmad, Intellectual, p.145; idem. "The Sufi and the Sultan in Pre-Mughal Muslim India", Der Islam, 38 (1962), pp.149-150; idem. "The role of 'Ulama' in Indo-Muslim History", Studia Islamica, 31, pp.3-4; Rizvi, Isl. Cult., pp.334-335; Nur al-Hasan, The Chishti, pp.353-354. Nur al-Hasan writes that the mahḍar consisted of 53 theologians; Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn, Bazm, pp.205-207.
- 124 Sāmānī, Muḥammadi, pp.87-88; Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn, Bazm, p.494.
- 125 Aziz Ahmad, Intellectual, p.144.
- 126 Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn is reported to have said, "sama^c moves the hearts (qulūb) of the listeners and kindles the fire of yearning (shawq) in the chests (sudūr) of the 'yearners' (mushtāqīn)". Amīr Khurd, Siyar, p.492.
- 127 S. Akbar Husaynī, Jawāmi^c, p.153. On the same page Gīṣūdirāz explains tawajjuh as being the "contemplation" of the heart over one thing and freeing it from everything other than the one. What he really means by "unity" or Jam^c will be discussed later. See infra., p. 185ff.
- 128 Sāmānī, Muḥammadi, p.90; Wā'izī, Habībī, p.81; Anonymous, Asrār, Vol.1 f.153a.
- 129 Gīṣūdirāz calls an "ascetic" a "coward" (nāmard). Asmār, p.102.
- 130 Idem., Tarjāmah-i Adāb al-Murīdīn, Hyderabad 1358 A.H. p.70.
- 131 Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' writes that three kinds of fortunes (sa'adat) descend through sama^c and tilāwat: "lights" (anwār), "states" (ahwāl) and "effects" (āthār). They are from three different worlds, and descend on three particular things. Firstly, lights descend from the "spiritual" world (ālam-i malakūt) on spirits (arwāḥ); secondly, that which appears in the heart (dil) is called "states" (ahwāl), which descend from the

- "transcendence" world (ʿālam jabarūt) upon the hearts (qulūb); thirdly, the "crying", "actions" and "movements" which are manifested (by the person) are called effects (āthār). These descend from the "material" world (ʿālam-i mulk) on the "limbs" (jawāriḥ). Siḥzī, Pawā'id, pp.36-37; Amīr Khurd, Siyar, p.497; S. Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn, Bazm, pp.232-233; Alā' al-Dawlah Simnānī writes that one witnesses (mushāhadah) the "lights of ecstasy" (anwār-i waḥid) during sama^c Mālā Budd, f.59a.
- 132 See infra., p. 173.
- 133 His name is Qutb al-Dīn. For his life see Jāmī, Nafahāt al-Uns, Tehran, 1337 A.H., pp.326-330; Amīr Khurd, Siyar, pp.42-43.
134. Gīsūdirāz, Asmār, pp.103-104; Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd says that the jadhbah is actually "divine love" (mohabbat-i khāṣ) which is peculiar only to those brought near (muqarrabān). Ḥamīd Qalandar, Khayr, p.28.
- 135 Gīsūdirāz, Asmār, p.103. It is comparable to Aḥmad al-Ghazālī who says, "he who engages in audition rises to the high stations and the divine favours which one cannot attain by a thousand efforts and the most perfect religious exercises". Bawāriq, p.166. Also pp.163,164; Simnānī also feels that if one abides by the rules, sama^c raises him in a moment (bayak dam) to such heights that years of struggle (mujāhadah) and religious exercises (riyāḍat) could not make him attain. Mālā Budd, f.57a.
- 136 Gīsūdirāz, Khātimah, pp.34-35, para. 48.
- 137 Ibid., pp.21-22, para. 28. Also p.35, para. 48.
- 138 Ibid., pp.34-35, para. 48.
- 139 M. ʿUmar, Hālāt-i Dilgudāz, Delhi, 1320 A.H., p.35; sama^c has also been identically divided by Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā'. See Amīr Khurd, Siyar, p.491.
- 140 Gīsūdirāz, Tarjamah, p.64.
- 141 Idem., Asmār, p.99; idem., Khātimah, p.21, para. 37.
- 142 Probably, he means here the organizer of sama^c.
- 143 Idem., Khātimah, p.34, para. 48; Also see S. ʿU. Suhrawardī. ʿAwārif, p.204.
- 144 Idem., Tarjamah, p.63.
- 145 See Supra, Sufi Controversy, p. 144ff; Simnānī feels that sama^c of the people of Truth (ahl-i haqq) is a fine medicine for the novices and middleers. But he feels that the novices must not be allowed to hear sama^c too often. Mālā Budd, ff.61a, 61b.

- 146 Supra, Sufi Controversy, p. 146.
- 147 Gīsūdirāz, Tarjamah, p.269.
- 148 Idem., Khātimah, p.108, para. 180, p.128, para. 239.
- 149 Idem., Tarjamah, p.268.
- 150 Idem., Khātimah, p.68, para. 101; See the "process of tahmīl".
- 151 See Supra, Sufi Controversy, p.145.
- 152 See Gīsūdirāz, Asmār, p. 99.
- 153 Sāmānī, Muḥammadī, p.155; Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' is reported to have observed the significance of time, place and brethren. Amīr Khurd, Siyar, p.493; Elsewhere, it is related that Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn felt the scrutinizing of four things essential: singer (musmī^c), the verses (masmū^c), the listeners (mustami^c) and the instruments (ālāt-i samā^c). The singer should be an adult, and not a boy or a woman. The verses should not be obscene or sportive in nature at all. The listener must hear samā^c with the Truth (bā haqq), and the instruments should not include anything like lute (chang) and rebeck (rubāb). Sijzī, Fawā'id, p.246; Amīr Khurd, Siyar, pp.491-492.
- 154 Gīsūdirāz, Asmār, p.99; idem., Khātimah, p.34^c, para. 48.
- 155 Idem., Khātimah, p.34, para. 48.
- 156 Sāmānī, Muḥammadī, p.155.
- 157 Gīsūdirāz, Khātimah, p.46, para.64.
- 158 Idem., Asmār, p.99.
- 159 Idem., Tarjamah, p.69.
- 160 Sāmānī, Muḥammadī, p.90; Wā'izī, Ḥabībī, p.79.
- 161 Gīsūdirāz, Khātimah, p.34, para. 48; Sāmānī, Muḥammadī, p.155.
- 162 Ibid., p.46, para. 66; Aḥmad al-Ghazālī feels that mosques are more fitting to samā. Bawāriq, p.123.
- 163 Idem., Asmār, p.99; idem., Khātimah, p.21, para. 37; See also Sāmānī, Muḥammadī, p.155; S. U. Suhrawardī, Awārif, p.187; Sarrāj too feels that if the speaker and hearer are one in feeling and intention, the ecstasy will be stronger. al-Lama^c, p.297.

- 164 Gīsūdirāz, Khātimah, p.21, para. 37, p.22, para. 29, pp.33-35, para.48; idem., Asmār, p.99; idem., Tarjamah, p.69; Sāmānī, Muhammadi, pp.155-156.
- 165 S.Aḥṣaynī, Jawāmi^c, p.263; Sāmānī, Muhammadi, pp.88-90; Wā^ciḏī, Habībī, p.80; Shaykh Naḡīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd felt that musical instruments were forbidden by Sharī'ah. Ḥamīd Qalander, Khayr, p.42.
- 166 Gīsūdirāz, Khātimah, p.36, para. 49, p.39, para. 52.
- 167 Ibid., p.33, para. 48.
- 168 Supra, p. 169.
- 169 For the process of tahmīl see infra, p. 180ff.
- 170 Supra, p. 169.
- 171 Sāmānī, Muhammadi, p.90.
- 172 S.Aḥṣaynī, Jawāmi^c, pp.172-173, Sāmānī, Muhammadi, p.90; Also see M. Mujeeb, Indian, pp.170-171.
- 173 Gīsūdirāz, Khātimah, p.33, para. 48.
- 174 Infra, p. 185ff.
- 175 Gīsūdirāz, Khātimah, p.20, para. 37.
- 176 Ibid. For similar views see M. al-Ghazālī, Kīmīyā, p.388.
- 177 Idem., Tarjamah, pp.267-268.
- 178 Idem., Khātimah, p.34, para. 48.
179. Ibid., p.24, para. 40.
- 180 Ibid., p.41, para. 54.
- 181 Ibid., p.42, para. 56; Shaykh al-Ishrāq also implies that one does not drink water during sama^c. But he says that one drinks it only after the ritual, because if he does not do so, he will be burnt by the fire of love. Tuḥfīyah, p.266, para. 20.
- 182 Gīsūdirāz, Khātimah, p.21, para. 37.
- 183 Ibid., p.20, para. 37, p.24, para. 40.
- 184 Ibid., p.43, para. 58, p.23, para. 40; also see Hujwīrī, Kashf, p.419.

- 185 Ibid., p.43, para. 58, p.40, para. 53.
- 186 Ibid., p.34, para.48; Hujwīrī says that the singer should be a respectable person. Kashf, p.419.
- 187 Ibid., p.33, para. 48.
- 188 Ibid., p.47, para. 67.
- 189 Ibid., p.42, para. 57, p.43, para.60; See also Hujwīrī, Kashf, p.417; A. al-Ghazālī, Bawāriq, p.175; Shaykh al-Ishrāq explains why one conforms to the other in dancing. Tufulīyah, p.265, para. 19.
- 190 Ibid., p.43, para. 57, p.46, para. 65; Elsewhere Gīsūdirāz says that this was the custom of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā', but with Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, the garment was returned to its owner, and the singer compensated. Gīsūdirāz himself seems to prefer the custom of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn. Tarjamah, p.280.
- 191 Idem., Khātimah, p.41, para. 53 & 54; also see Sarrāj, al-Luma^c, pp. 186-187; Hujwīrī, Kashf, pp.418-419, but Hujwīrī feels that one may cease to hold sama in reverence if it was made a habit.
- 192 Idem., Khātimah, p.38, para. 51; See also Aḥmad al-Ghazālī, Bawāriq, p.177.
- 193 Qushayrī, al-Risālah, p.34.
- 194 Gīsūdirāz, Sharh, p.280.
- 195 Idem., Tarjamah, p.261.
- 196 Idem., Sharh, p.281.
- 197 Idem., Tarjamah, p.264.
- 198 See infra.p. 187ff.
- 199 S.A.Ḥusaynī, Jawāmi^c, p.152; Gīsūdirāz, Tarjamah, p.263; idem. Sharh, p.281; See also Najm al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Mirṣād al-Ibād, Tehran 1973, p.263.
- 200 Gīsūdirāz, Khātimah, p.32, para. 48; S.A.Ḥusaynī, Jawāmi^c, pp.329-330.
- 201 Qushayrī, al-Risālah, p.156; D. A.N. Suhrawardī, Ādāb, f.33b; Sarrāj, al-Luma^c, p.285.
- 202 Gīsūdirāz, Tarjamah, p.265.
- 203 Ibid., p.264.

- 204 Ibid., pp.263-264.
- 205 S.A. Husaynī, Jawāmi^c, p.152; See also Hujwīrī, Kashf, p.419.
- 206 Gīśūdirāz explains the term wārid as that which befalls the heart from God, without any strife or wish or imagination. It is something praiseworthy. It is like "suggestions" or "thoughts" (khawāṭir, pl. of khāṭir) but it possesses a certain power which is not possessed by khāṭir. This wārid agitates and stirs up a person. Sharḥ, p.374.
- 207 See Supra, Sufi Controversy, p. 152ff; Elsewhere Gīśūdirāz says that whatever is from the "unseen" is related to sama^c. Tarjamah, p.261.
- 208 Gīśūdirāz, Khātimah, p.23, para. 40.
- 209 Ibid., p.32, para. 48; Elsewhere he says that the "visitation" from Truth (ḥaqq) is the cause of the crying of sufis. Tarjamah, p.254.
- 210 Gīśūdirāz, Khātimah, p.37, para. 50; the first and the third type of sama^c are comparable to wajd mulk and wajd liqā'in. Supra, Sufi Controversy, p.153; Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' divides sama^c into two: hājim and ghayr-i hājim. Hājim is that which agitates a person in the beginning of audition itself, through a verse or voice. Ghayr-i hājim is that state in which a person, after being affected by sama^c, connects it to God, or to his preceptor or to anything else which is in his heart. Amīr Khurd, Siyar, p.500; Sijzī, Fawā'id, pp.113-114.
- 211 Gīśūdirāz Khātimah, p.38, para. 50; For classical view on tawājjud, see Supra, Sufi Controversy, p. 153.
- 212 Gīśūdirāz, Tarjamah, p.257. The text here is not comprehensible, and we have tried to get the only possible meaning out of it. As for the concept of an individual being attached to the attribute (ṣifat) of Truth or God, Gīśūdirāz himself is very clear elsewhere. a) He writes that the "withness" (ma'iyat) of God is with everything, Asmār, Samar 4, p.17. b) Secondly he states very clearly that through every creation a ṣifat of God is manifested, but as man (insān) comprehends (murakkab) all the existing things (mawjudāt), he was created with all the Ṣifāt of God. Asmār, Samar 47, pp.158-159; Moreover the "emanation" (fayd) of God is with everything. Supra, ch.II, Sect.B, p. 100ff.
- 213 See Gīśūdirāz, Khātimah, p.35, para. 49.
- 214 Dhawq has probably been used as a synonym of wajd.
- 215 This is comparable to Shaykh al-Ishrāq who holds that the manifestation of "state" (ḥāl) in sama^c is because of the sound of tambourine, the the voice of the singer and the verses. Tufūlīyah, pp.263-264.

- 216 Gīṣūdirāz, Khātimah, p.24, para.40; also p.33, para.48. Idem, Tarjamah, p.68; Hujwīrī says that the spirit is subtle and there is a subtility in sounds, so that when they are heard, the spirit inclines to that which is homogeneous with itself, see Kashf, p.399.
- 217 See supra, Sufi Controversy, p.149. Gīṣūdirāz, Khātimah, p.41, para. 54. Elsewhere Gīṣūdirāz writes, "if there is an affair going on between lover and beloved, then the lover attends sama^c, which moulds him straight. Sama^c for an Āshiq is like a balm for the burnt part of the skin, which assuages the pain and heals." Āshiq Risālah dar bayān-i Āshq, Urdu translation printed in Tarjamah-i Yāzdah Rasā'il, Karachi, 1967, p.259; Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' says that sama^c is like a stick (lakhtī) for men. Sijzī, Fawā'id, p.45; Simnānī feels that sama^c is a medicine. Mā Lā Budd, f.56b.
- 218 Gīṣūdirāz, Khātimah, pp.31-32, para.47.
- 219 Idem, Asmār, p.102; infra, p. 187.
- 220 The second method was not preferred by Gīṣūdirāz, for elsewhere he emphasizes that the heart should be pure and unstained. He relates how Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' abstained from sama^c for six months, because of the sorrow of his son's death. Khātimah, pp.22-23, para. 29; idem, Tarjamah, p.274. It is felt here though, that Gīṣūdirāz is contradicting himself; according to Simnānī, such a sama^c is sama^c shahwānī, Mā Lā Budd, f.58a.
- 221 Idem, Khātimah, pp.26-29, paras.44 and 45.
- 222 Hujwīrī says that ecstatic movements and practices resemble dancing. Kashf, p.416; Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' does not call it raqs, but "movements" or "actions". Even though he says that these movements are related to the material world, he calls them "fortune", supra, note 6.
- 223 Gīṣūdirāz probably differs here from Hujwīrī, who rejects rhythmic dancing, Kashf, p.415.
- 224 Gīṣūdirāz, Khātimah, p.24, para.40.
- 225 Ahmad al-Ghazālī gives an interesting interpretation of dancing. "Dancing is a reference to the cycling of the spirit (rūh) round the cycle existing things (dā'irat al-mawjūdāt)", see Bawāriq, p.159; Gīṣūdirāz says that dancing in circles means the circling of the mill of existence (āsiyā'-i wujūd), see Khātimah, p.29, para.46.

- 226 For the various types of dances and their interpretation, see Gisūdirāz, Asmār, pp.100-101. These are also described in his other work, with a few variations and additions; see Khātimah, pp.29-31, para.46. A few types Gisūdirāz seems to have demonstrated and expalined to his friends. S.A. Husaynī, Jawāmi^C, p.109. The concerned passage from Jawāmi^C has been translated into French. See M. Mole, La Danse, pp.224-225. The type of dancing we are discussing presently are all selected from Asmār al-Asrār.
- 227 See also Gisūdirāz, Tarjamah, p.67.
- 228 Anonymous, Asrār, Vol.I, f.157a. Sālik Majdhūb (one who strives first and as a result is "attracted" towards God) and Majdhūb Sālik (a person initially attracted but later on strives for spiritual attainments) are technical terms used by ^CUmar Suhrawardī to classify the shaykhs into four kinds. The other two lower types are majdhūb mujarrad (exclusively attracted, signifies rupture) and sālik mujarrad (exclusively striving, one who stops after reaching a stage of worship and cannot proceed ahead; it probably signifies asceticism). The significance of these is that the first two types are higher in rank, majdhūb sālik being the highest, and are capable of being shaykhs or guides for others; because they have strived and passed through the necessary stages. For details, see ^CAwārif, pp.87-88; Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd takes these concepts from Suhrawardī, but has the same things to say about them. Cf. H. Qalandar, Khayr, pp.47-48. Later Gisūdirāz elaborates on these terms at length, although he specifically states that there is no difference between majdhūb sālik and sālik majdhūb, for they are like twins. Cf. Asmār, pp.234-238; S.A. Husaynī and the commentator of Asmār again distinguish between the two types and like Suhrawardī, assign majdhūb sālik the highest stage, which they attribute to the Prophet Muḥammad. Cf. Istīlāḥat, pp.128-129. The commentator further assigns the stage of sālik majdhūb to the rest of the Prophets. Cf. Asrār, Vol.II, ff.359a-362b, also ff. 471a-471b, 504b. The commentary on the concerned chapter from Asmār is incomplete.
- 229 Ibid.^C, f.158a. Shaykh al-Ishraq says that a person dances because his spirit wants to rise up. The spirit is like a bird in a cage, from which it wants to free itself. Tufūlīyah, p.264, para.16; D.A.N. Suhrawardī also has a similar idea, that the agitation in sama^C is between the rūh and nafs. The former wants elevation, but the latter pulls it back to earth. See Adāb, f.7a; see also the commentary of Gisūdirāz, Tarjamah, p.68.
- 230 Anonymous, Asrār, Vol.I, f.157b.

- 231 The commentator has nothing to say about this type.
- 232 In Khātimah, Ḡisūdirāz explains this utterance as meaning that U is huwa huwa, and there is no one other than him (U), p.31, para.46.
- 233 The text of Asmār al-Asrār has huh hah hih hah huhhi hih hah hih hih. There are two variations mentioned on the margin, hu ha hi, and huh huh hah hih hih, p.101. In the commentary, Asrār al-Asmār, there is a third variation: hamah hamah hamah; vol.I, f. 158b. We have selected the first variation, because, according to the interpretation of it by Ḡisūdirāz, it suits better.
- 234 The commentary says, "Huwiyyah that is ahadiyyah", Asrār, Vol. I, f. 158b; see supra, Ch.II, Section B., p. 114 for the Hallājīan "I-ness" (anniyah).
- 235 Ḡisūdirāz, Asmār, p.101. We presume this to be the highest stage, because the stage of jam^c al-jam^c is the highest a mystic can go. It signifies the "consciousness" in man of God's being "beyond the beyond", where a mystic utters "He is Truth" (Huwa al-Haqq), instead of "I am the Truth" (anā al-haqq). This is the significance of "he-ness" (huwiyyat). It is described by the tradition, "he who knows God becomes dumb"; see supra, Ch.II section B., pp. 113-115. for details regarding the world-view of Ḡisūdirāz.
- 236 See also infra, p.193; supra, Ch.II, section B, p.86 for the world-view of Ḡisūdirāz.
- 237 See supra, p. 170.
- 238 Supra, pp. 169-170.
- 239 When commenting on the quotation that there is "drinking" (shurb) in samā^c for hearts, spirits, and souls, Ḡisūdirāz writes that there are five things in man, rūh, qalb, caql, tab^c, and nafs. Tarjamah, p.271.
- 240 In Khātimah, Ḡisūdirāz used the word nafs instead of hiss, p.37, para.49. It is possible that nafs and hiss are taken as synonymous terms. The problem is that when he further explains these terms in Asmār al-Asrār, he uses nafs, but omits caql. p.100; Elsewhere, he again mentions nafs in the place of hiss. Tarjamah, p.271.
- 241 Elsewhere Ḡisūdirāz states that nafs engages itself in considering the arkān and rythm(waḡn) of dancing (raqs). Tarjamah, p.271. Also see how the spirit is delighted by sweet sounds and melody (naghmah); according to S.ḠU. Surawardī, Awārif, pp.194-195.

- 242 Gīṣūdirāz, Asmār, pp.99-100; idem., Khātimah, p.37, para.49; there is a slight difference in the wordings of the works.
- 243 Gīṣūdirāz, Asmār, p.100.
- 244 Gīṣūdirāz himself says that each one of them finds its food. Khātimah, p.37, para.49; idem., Tarjamah, p.271.
- 245 Anonymous, Asrār, Vol.I, f.156b.
- 246 Gīṣūdirāz, Asmār, p.100; idem., Khātimah, p.29, para.46; it is the resider (mutamakkin) who is calm. See infra, p.187.
- 247 See Ahmad al-Ghazālī where he talks of ma'ā, Bawāriq, p.16.
- 248 Gīṣūdirāz, Asmār, p.102. The state of delight of the heart with God is that of an adept. See idem., Tarjamah, pp.63, 68, 274; idem, Khātimah, p.25, para.40.
- 249 S.A. Ḥusaynī, Jawāmi', p.153. Also see Hujwiri, Kashf, p.406; Sarraj, al-Luma', p.289; S.^cU. Suhrawardī, Awārif, p.176; A. al-Ghazālī, Bawāriq, pp.175-176.
- 250 Gīṣūdirāz, Khātimah, p.25, para.42; Ḥusaynī, Jawāmi', p.150.
- 251 Hujwiri says that when the divine influence becomes continual, the beginner receives it quietly. Kashf, p.408.
- 252 See also al-Kubrā, Fawā'id, p.45, para.94; Kalābādhī says that the spiritual state gives one the power to control oneself. Ta'arruf, p.161.
- 253 Ḥusaynī, Jawāmi', p.153; Gīṣūdirāz, Tarjamah, p.274. The state of a resider is that his heart is delighted with God; see supra, note 107; may be compared to Kalābādhī, Ta'arruf, p.161; Sarraj, al-Luma' pp.294, 300. The words talwīn and tamkīn are two technical terms. Talwīn literally means "colouring". In sufism, it is an unbalanced condition of a mystic on whom one state descends and disappears, while another appears and again disappears. Tamkīn literally means "establishing". Technically, it is the "established" state of a mystic in whom occurs no change. Such a person is called mutamakkin "a resider". This state is particular to the adepts or 'ahl-i haqā'iq. Gīṣūdirāz calls them "residing lords" or arbāb-i tamkīn. This state is achieved after one passes through the states of talwīn. A resider is one who has reached the stage of union (ittisāl). For more details, see Gīṣūdirāz, Sharh, pp.342-350.

- 254 Husaynī, Jawāmi^c, p.153. Ahmad al-Ghazālī writes that there are three ranks: ranks of men, ranks of angels and ranks of lordship. At the rank of Lordship, one attains absolute tranquillity (al-sukūn al-mutlaq), Bawāriq, pp.176-177.
- 255 Supra, p.186.
- 256 Trimmingham, Sufi Order, p.195.
- 257 Gīṣūdirāz, Sharḥ, p.279.
- 258 Ibid., p.284; Qushayrī, al-Risālah, p.34.
- 259 The sequence seems to be thus:
Qusūd → Wurūd → Shuhūd (i.e. khumūd-i Bashariyat) → Wujūd →
 → Khumūd (also called shuhūd).
- 260 كما صحاحها وكما صحاحها في المحو والمحو في المحو
- 261 Gīṣūdirāz, Sharḥ, p.279.
- 262 Ibid. S.A. Husaynī, in his commentary to one of the chapters of Asmār al-Asrār, mentions the classical division of wujūd; wājib al-wujūd (necessarily existent), mumkin al-wujūd (possible existent), and munṭani^c al-wujūd (impossible existent). To these he adds a fourth type, namely ʿārif al-wujūd or gnostic of existence. He explains this type as the guidance of "God guides whosoever He likes to His light" (Qur'ān 24:35). Istilāḥāt, p.31. Is ʿārif al-wujūd the name of the person who has become wujūd itself?
- 263 Gīṣūdirāz, Sharḥ, pp.282-283.
- 264 See Hujwiri's discussion on Tawājjud, Wajd, and Wujūd. He feels that wajd is higher than wujūd; see Kashf, pp.413-415, also M. Mole, La Danse, p.190ff.
- 265 Gīṣūdirāz, Sharḥ, p.284.
- 266 Infra, p.197.
- 267 Gīṣūdirāz, Sharḥ, p.286.
- 268 See supra, pp.173-174.
- 269 Gīṣūdirāz, Asmār, Samar 6, pp.23-24, 52-53; idem, Istiqāmat, p.17.
- 270 Anonymous, Asrār, Vol.I, f.51a.
- 271 Qushayrī, al-Risālah, pp.34-35.

272. Gisūdirāz, Sharh, p.284; Qushayrī, al-Risālah, p.34.

273 Ibid., p.287.

274 Ibid., p.288.

275 Ibid.

276 Ibid., see also pp.305-306.

277. Supra, p.192.

278 Gisūdirāz, Asmār, p.296.

279 See supra , Ch.II, section B, p. 114ff.

280 Supra, Ch.II, section B, p. 116.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

Being himself a practising sufi, Gīṣūdirāz' major contribution was in the field of sufism; there is hardly any concept or idea related to this field that we do not find him discussing. It is a pity that Gīṣūdirāz' achievements in sufism have been neglected today. As an opening into his sufi theories and practices, we have, therefore, studied two very sensitive issues, saintship (walāyah) and audition of music (samāʿ). Simultaneously, we have attempted to trace any possible connection between his theory of walāyah and his practices of samāʿ.

As was the case with the majority of sufis,¹ walāyah plays a significant role in the sufism of Gīṣūdirāz and, thus, contains in itself his world-view. Yet it is not as simple as that either. By his world-view is meant how and why the creation came into existence, and what really is the relationship of God with the creation and vice versa. It is this reciprocity of relationship between the Lord and His servant which a sufi experiences or rather realizes in himself. He, therefore, sees unity in multiplicity and multiplicity in unity. At this stage walāyah is actualized and he becomes ready for the epithet

walī. The approach to this problem indicates, no doubt, a profound influence of Ibn [°]Arabī, but the world-view of Gīṣūdirāz suggests that this unity in multiplicity and vice versa is not of the Ibn [°]Arabī type; i.e. he cannot be regarded as an exponent of the doctrines of wahdat al-wujūd, but he is more inclined towards those doctrines which are termed wahdat al-shuhūd. This is the reason why we have called his sufism "a type of wahdat al-wujūd".² In this regard, Gīṣūdirāz is, probably, the link between [°]Alā' al-Dawlah al-Simnānī and Aḥmad Sirhindī.

In the achievement of the ultimate goal in sufism, the emphasis has always been on mystical experiences (dhawq) of the path leading to that goal. The path consisted of stages (maqāmāt) and states (ahwāl). Thus samā', for Gīṣūdirāz, is one such path. The highest stage (i.e. khumūd)³ on this path is the actualization of walāyah (or his world-view). From the external point of view, of course, samā' (being the audition of music, poetry, etc.) was questionable according to the jurists and theologians. Gīṣūdirāz, therefore has innumerable rules and regulations under which he permits such a gathering. At the same time, he is very liberal when he is compared to some of the orthodox sufis. Gīṣūdirāz himself was, indeed, an orthodox sufi; he emphasized Sharī'ah and even considered himself a jurist.⁴ What he did not seem to like was, probably, the "worship of religious law" (sharī'at parastī),⁵ for its own sake. He is comparable, no doubt, to [°]Ayn al-Qudāh al-

Hamadhānī, for whom "sharī^cat parastī" is no different from any other conventionalism (ḥādāt parastī).⁶ Here Gīsūdirāz seems spiritually akin to sufis like Ahmad al-Ghazālī, ^cAyn al-Qudāh, et.al.

NOTES TO CONCLUSION

- 1 See supra, Ch.II, section A, p. 54ff.
- 2 See supra, Ch.III, section C, p.193. It may be said that wahdat al-wujūd and wahdat al-shuhūd, though taken as two types of sufism, have striking similarities. They are, perhaps, two ways of tackling the same problem. Dr. H. Landolt points out that the former is "static being", while the latter is "dynamic becoming"; cf. Der Islam, p.60-61.
- 3 See comparative chart, Appendix C.
- 4 Supra, Ch.I, section B, p. 21.
- 5 It is a term used by 'Ayn al-Qudh al-Hamadhānī, not Gīṣūdirāz; see infra, n.6.
- 6 H. Landolt, "Mystique Iranienne: Suhrawardī Shaykh al-Ishrāq, (549/1155-587/1191) et 'Ayn al-Qudh-i Hamadānī (492/1098-525/1131)", Iranian Civilization and Culture, Essays in honour of the 2500th Anniversary of the founding of the Persian Empire, ed. by G.J. Adams, Montreal, 1972, p.26.

APPENDIX A

THE CHISHTI SILSILAH

1. The Prophet Muhammad (d.11/632)
2. ^cAlī ibn Abī Tālib (d.40/661)
3. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d.110/725)
4. ^cAbd al-Wahid bin Zayd (d.170/786)
5. Fuḍayl bin ^cIyād (d.187/803)
6. Ibrāhīm bin Adham al-Balkhī (d.166/783)
7. Saḍīd al-Dīn Khudhayfah al-Mar^cashī (d.276/890)
8. Amīn al-Dīn Hubayrah al-Baṣrī (d.287/900)
9. Mīmshād ^cAlī al-Dīnawarī (d.299/911)
10. Abū Ishāq Shāmī Chishtī (d.325/937)
11. Aḥmad Abdāl Chishtī (d.355/966)
12. Rukn al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Chishtī (d.411/1020)
13. Nāṣir al-Dīn Abū Yūsuf Chishtī (d.459/1067)
14. Quṭb al-Dīn Mawḍūd Chishtī (d.527/1132)
15. Hājī Sharīf Zandānī (d.612/1215)
16. ^cUthmān Hārūnī (d.617/1220)
17. Mu^cīn al-Dīn Ḥasan Sijzi Chishtī (d.634/1236)

Amīr Khurd, Siyar, p.20; H. Qalandar, Khayr, pp.7-8; Sāmānī, Muḥammadī, pp.8-9; cf. K.A. Nizāmī, Tārīkh, pp.139-140; idem., E.I., Vol.II, p.50; S.M. Haq, J.P.H.S., p.164.

APPENDIX B

THE CHISHTI SHAYKHS OF INDIA

Mu^cin al-Dīn Ḥasan (d.634/1236)

Quṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār-i Kākī
(d.634/1236)

Ḥamīd al-Dīn Ṣūfī-i Nāgūrī
(d.642/1244)

Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i Shakar
(d.664/1265)

Badr al-Dīn Ghaznawī

Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā'
(d.726/1325)

^cAlī' al-Dīn Ṣābir
(d.691/1291)

Nasīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd Chirāgh-i Dihlī
(d.757/1356)

Burhān al-Dīn Gharrīb
(ca.741/1340)

Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī Gīsūdīrās
(d.825/1422)

^cAllāmah Kamāl al-Dīn

For more detailed charts, cf. K.A. Nizami, E.I., Vol.II, pp.51-54.

APPENDIX C: COMPARATIVE CHART OF STAGES: CREATION AND SUFI JOURNEY

Beyond the Beyond

TO INFINITY
Essence
Essence
Essence
Essence

ASTONISHMENT IN ASTONISHMENT

EMANATION	ESSENCE	REALITY OF TRUTH	PROPHETHOOD	EXTINCTION	OCCULT
	Macro Cosm				
	ESSENCE	TRUTH OF REALITY	SAINTSHIP	DISCOVERY	SECRET
	ATTRIBUTES	REALITY	WISDOM	WITNESSING	SPIRIT
	ACTS	PATH	AFFAIR	ARRIVING	HEART
	EFFECTS	LAW	BURDEN	RESOLUTION	SOUL

Process of
Creation

Sufi Stages

Stages from the
point of view of
Prophecy

Stages from the
point of view of
sama

Sufi psychology:
subtle substances

APPENDIX D

SOURCES ON ĠISŪDIRĀZ

The primary sources for the life of Ġisūdirāz are two: Siyar-i Muḥammadi (ed. and trans. by S.A. Nadhīr Aḥmad Qādrī, Hyderabad, 1969), written in the year 831/1427 by Shāh Muḥammad ^CAlī Sāmānī, a disciple of Ġisūdirāz (*ibid.*, pp.1-2). It is a biographical work which deals also with the family and the disciples of Ġisūdirāz. The work is divided into nine chapters (the present edition has only seven chapters) and is well-organized. It is a reliable source since its author was in Delhi with Ġisūdirāz and eventually accompanied the Shaykh to Gulbarga (cf. pp.4, 26, 116, 139). Another significant aspect of this biography is that Sāmānī writes exact dates of important occasions. Although this work is sometimes written in the hagiographical tradition, of attributing miracles, etc., the author tries to keep this to a minimum and apparently aims at writing a factual biography.

The second biography is the Tārīkh-i Ḥabībī wa Tadhkirah-i Murshidī, compiled by ^CAbd. al-^CAzīs bin Shīr-i Malik bin Muḥammad Wā^Cizī, who seems to have been a disciple of Sayyid Aṣghar Ḥusaynī (the youngest son of Ġisūdirāz). The manuscript copy of the work is preserved in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (see W. Ivanow, Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the collection of the

Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1924, p.90, no.246). Though the original is still to be edited, it was translated into Urdu by M. Ma^cshūq Husayn Khān, known as Ma^cshūq Yār Jang, and printed in Hyderabad, 1368 A.H. Wā^cizī wrote this biography in the year 849/1445 during the reign of Ahmad Shāh II Bahmānī (838/1435-862/1457), as he himself states in his introduction (see Habībī, p.4; cf. Ivanow, Descriptive Catalogue, p.90, no.246). Wā^cizī was aware of Sāmānī's Siyar-i Muḥammadi, which he calls Tārīkh-i Muḥammadi instead (see Habībī, p.6), but he never quotes from it. He divides his work into ten chapters, and he tries to center it around the family of Gīṣūdirāz. This work is more hagiographical in nature than that of Sāmānī. He devotes two to three chapters to describing the spiritual achievements of Gīṣūdirāz (cf. Habībī, Ch.I and II). But, at times, it is more useful than Sāmānī's work; for instance Wā^cizī discusses in Chapter IV that Gīṣūdirāz was a Sunnī, and in another Chapter VII, he arranges the works of Gīṣūdirāz chronologically. Nevertheless, there are instances when these two biographies differ also, especially in regard to dates (cf. supra, Ch.I, n.62). In spite of their handicaps, these two biographies are reliable, and if a critical study of them is made, they should supply ample information about the life and works of Gīṣūdirāz.

Besides the above two biographical works, mention may also be made of Jawāmi^c al-Kalīm (cf. supra, Ch.I, section B, p.38), the

discourses of Gīṣūdirāz. The collection enlightens some important aspects of his life. Another malfūz which contains information on the life of Gīṣūdirāz is entitled Shawāmil al-Jumal dar Shamā'il al-Kunāl (Mss. 'Alī' al-Dīn Junaydī collection, Gulbarga). It is a collection of the discourses of Sayyid Abū al-Fayḍ Min Allāh Ḥusaynī (whose shrine is in Bidar, Deccan), a grandson of Gīṣūdirāz. These discourses are of the year 874/1469 to 877/1472. Tabṣīrat al-Khawāriqāt (ed. and trans. by S.M. Raf'at, Hyderabad, 1385 A.H.) is a later biographical work on Gīṣūdirāz compiled by S. Min Allāh Ḥusaynī in the year 981/1573. The author was a descendant of Gīṣūdirāz. As the title suggests, the major part of the work contains very interesting stories describing the spiritual powers of Gīṣūdirāz. In the latter part of the work, the author briefly deals with the life of the Shaykh and his family. Min Allāh's sources were mainly those which we have discussed above. These works form the basic sources for all the later hagiographical literature dealing with Gīṣūdirāz (for such later literature, see K.A. Nizami, E.I., Vol.II, pp.1115-1116).

Among the earlier historical works that take notice of Gīṣūdirāz, there are two, the Burhān-i Ma'āthir (Hyderabad, 1936) of Sayyid 'Alī Ṭabāṭabā, written in the year 1000/1591. The work basically deals with the history of the Nizām Shāhī kingdoms (896/1491-1044/1633) of Ahmadnagar of the Deccan. The work is partly devoted to the history of the Bahmānī Kingdom, where it mentions Gīṣūdirāz also (for details about

the work see H.K. Sherwani, The Bahmanis, pp.431-432). The second historical work is the well-known Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī, known as Tārīkh-i Firishtah (cf. infra, Bibliography) of Muḥammad Qāsim Firishtah, a contemporary of the author of Burhān-i Ma'āthir. This massive work of Firishtah is a very popular work with the modern historians. It was compiled early in the 17th century, and it deals with Medieval Indian history. As far as the history of the Bahmanī Kingdom is concerned, H.K. Sherwani writes that the Burhān-i Ma'āthir is more accurate than the latter (see H.K. Sherwani, The Bahmanis, p.432; for details about Tārīkh-i Firishtah, see ibid., pp.435-437; idem, "Contemporary Histories of the Quṭb Shahi Dynasty of Golkonda", Historians of Medieval India, ed. M. Hasan, N. Delhi, 1968, pp.84-87).

Innumerable works have been written on the life of Gīṣūdirāz by modern scholars. We will list here only those which are well-researched, systematic, and contain a critical analysis of his life. Note Aḥmad Idrīs Qādrī, Hayāt-i Bandahnavāz (Karachi, 1965); Iqbāl Aḥmad, Tadhkirah-i Khwājah Gīṣūdirāz (Karachi, 1966); Jahān Numā' [°]Alī Shāh Chishtī [°]Alawī, Kayfiyat-i Khāndān-i Muḥammad, known as Tārīkh-i Muḥammadiyah (Hyderabad, 1318 A.H.); S. Ṣabḥ al-Dīn [°]Abd al-Rahmān, Basm-i Ṣūfiyah (Azamgarh, 1949), pp.483-520; M. Ikrām, Āb-i Kawthar (Lahore, 1966), pp.366-374; K.A. Nizami, "Gīṣūdirāz", Encyclopaedia of Islam (New ed.), Vol.II, pp.1114-1117. Mention may be made here of two dissertations; first the one of Dr. M. [°]Abd al-Mannān entitled Persian Literature under the

Bahmani Regime (unpublished doctoral thesis in Urdu, Osmania University, 1966). The thesis has a chapter on the life and works of Gīśūdirāz (pp.219-270). It is surprising that this chapter is very similar, and at times, identical to the work of A.I. Qādrī mentioned above. The second dissertation is that of M. Sulayman Siddiqui, who recently submitted his Ph.D. dissertation (Osmania University, February 1975). His thesis is about the sufi movements in the Deccan under the Bahmani Kingdom (I do not have the exact title of the work). During my visit to Hyderabad in the summer of 1973, I had the opportunity to read the drafts of parts of the thesis. In parts III and IV, Siddiqui deals in extenso with a critical analysis of the life and works of Gīśūdirāz. Besides the above mentioned, almost every edition of Gīśūdirāz' treatises has an account of his life written by its editor. Very handy, but short accounts of the life of Gīśūdirāz are found in catalogues, such as H. Ethe, Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office (Oxford, 1903); W. Ivanow, Descriptive Catalogue (see above); C.A. Storey, Persian Literature, A Bio-bibliographical Survey (London, 1953), etc.

It is a pity that no one has worked on the thought of Gīśūdirāz. The only attempt made is by Mir Walī al-Dīn, Khawājah Bandah Nawās ki Tasawwuf aur Sulūk (Delhi, 1966) which is neither a very systematic nor a critical study. Similar studies are found usually in almost all the contemporary biographical works on Gīśūdirāz.

The present study on Gīṣūdirāz has been based on original sources, especially on his more important work, Asmār al-Asrār; but his other compilations have not been neglected. As Gīṣūdirāz did not discuss samā^c elaborately in his Asmār, his other works had to be consulted frequently in chapter III. Even in the parts other than those on Gīṣūdirāz, an attempt has been made to use original sources as far as possible. The secondary sources were utilized for comparative purposes.

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