

“An Indo-Persian Guide to Sufi Shrine Pilgrimage”

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Pilgrimage is a ritual that orients the cosmos around a holy place and provides ways for participants to integrate themselves around symbols of transcendence. In the Islamic tradition the **hajj** pilgrimage to Mecca is of paramount importance, but local and sectarian forms of pilgrimage are also practiced. Pilgrimage to the tombs of the Shi`i martyrs is an important feature of Shi`i piety, and across the Islamic world, from Morocco to Chinese Turkestan, the tombs of the saints are the resort of Muslims of many varying backgrounds. Reformers from Ibn Taymiyya down to the Wahhabis of Sa`udi Arabia have tended to denounce the veneration of both imams and saints as the idolatrous worship of fallible human beings.<sup>1</sup> In the Indian subcontinent, where pilgrimage (Arabic **ziyara**, Persian **ziyarat**) to Sufi shrines is particularly common, Protestant British civil servants and modern Muslim reformers alike have often seen in this ritual the insidious influence of Indian paganism. From the frequent denunciations of ziyarat as "**pir-worship**" (worship of the master), one might suppose that it was a transparent case of the corruption of Islam by Hindu polytheism, but a closer look reveals that the case is not so simple. Hindu practices undoubtedly occur at some Muslim shrines, such as the shrine of the warrior-saint Salar Mas`ud at Bahraich.<sup>2</sup> The presence of Hindu practices cannot, however, explain the participation of educated Sufi masters in pilgrimage, for they found ziyarat to be an authentic expression of Islamic piety, Qur'anic in spirit and firmly based on the model of the Prophet Muhammad.<sup>3</sup> The purpose of this paper is to illustrate the Sufi interpretation of ziyarat, by presenting in translation a small treatise by a learned Indian Sufi of the

eighteenth century that explains and justifies the practice of pilgrimage to saints' tombs according to the traditions of the Chishti Sufi order.

The treatise translated here is a guide to observance of Sufi saints' **`urs** (pl. **a`ras**) festivals, written as a preface to the **Makhzan-i a`ras** ("Treasury of Death Anniversaries") in 1742-43 by Muhammad Najib Qadiri Nagawri Ajmeri, a Sufi of the Chishti order who lived in the Deccan city of Awrangabad. The main body of the book is a calendar of saints, which, like the Roman Catholic calendars, lists for each day of the year the Sufi saints whose festivals are to be celebrated then according to the Islamic lunar calendar. Like the Catholic calendars, this Muslim calendar lists saints' festivals by the death anniversary or **`urs**, literally "wedding," which records the date when the saint's soul was "wedded," that is, united with God.<sup>4</sup> The celebration of saints' death anniversaries seems to be peculiar to the Islamic East, since in Mediterranean countries celebrations commonly occur on the birthday (**mawlid**) of the saint.<sup>5</sup> It is not clear when the term **`urs** first came into use, though it was common among the Chishtis in the early fourteenth century.<sup>6</sup> The later Sufi and scholar Hajji Imdad Allah (d. 1899) traced the term to a saying of the Prophet Muhammad, directed at the saints as they prepare for death: "Sleep with the sleep of a bridegroom (**`arus**)"; this saying suggests that the physical death of the saint is in fact the moment of joyous reunion with the beloved.<sup>7</sup> To make a pilgrimage or *ziyarat* to the tomb of a saint is considered beneficial at any time, but at the time of the **`urs** special blessings are available, since Paradise rejoices at the return of that supremely happy moment when a human soul was united with God. A comprehensive pilgrim's guide to these holy days, the lithographed edition of the **Makhzan-i a`ras** gives the death anniversaries of hundreds of saints in well over two hundred pages. In the twelve-page introduction, the author describes the reasons for making pilgrimages to the tombs of Sufi saints, and how to perform the requisite ceremonies. It is this introduction that is translated here.

The **Makhzan-i a`ras** was not a novelty, but was based on an earlier calendar of saints and a number of other literary sources. Muhammad Najib explained that the calendar was an expanded critical edition of the **A`ras namah** or "Book of Death Anniversaries" completed several decades earlier by one of Muhammad Najib's fellow disciples in Sufism, Sheikh Sharaf al-Din ibn Qadi Sheikh Muhammad Nahrawali. The introduction to the calendar is, however, quite unusual as an extended monograph on pilgrimage as a Sufi practice. While the introduction to the **Makhzan-i a`ras** cites by name or quotes from more than two dozen Persian and Arabic Sufi texts, it quotes most extensively from two texts, each of which makes up about one-fifth of the introduction. One of these sources is the **Lata'if-i ashrafi**, the discourses of Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani (d. 1425); though initially a disciple of the Central Asian Sufi master `Ala' al-Dawla Simnani (d. 1336), he made his way to India and joined the Chishti order, settling in eastern Bihar. His voluminous discourses reflect the Central Asian teachings of the Kubrawi order as well as the traditions of the Chishtis.<sup>8</sup> The other source is a manual on religious practices called **Adab al-talibin** ("Rules for Aspirants"), by Muhammad Chishti Ahmadabadi (d. 1630). This treatise, which lays heavy stress on Islamic law and ritual, codifies in a few pages current Chishti practices associated with pilgrimages to Sufi tombs.<sup>9</sup> An additional passage from **Adab al-talibin** on the rites of pilgrimage, which was not included in the **Makhzan-i a`ras**, has also been translated here as Appendix A.

Muhammad Najib's own version of the calendar was also a scholarly work, quoting extensively from standard works of Sufi biography and history to complement the records of shrines and oral tradition.<sup>10</sup> He compiled this work as an act of piety, to enable Muslims to celebrate saints' death anniversaries and perform pilgrimage to their tombs. The intended audience of the **Makhzan-i a`ras** was the elite group of Sufi disciples educated in Persian and dedicated to the practices and piety of the Chishti order. References to problems of presenting food offerings during times of poverty indicate that the author had in mind the religious devotee lacking worldly resources. Yet the

rich and powerful were also interested in observing the death anniversaries of the saints, to judge from the dedication of the work to a powerful noble of the time. The popularity of the calendar of saints among the ruling class is indicated by its appearance in another recension, compiled by Muhammad Sharif at the request of Tipu Sultan of Mysore (r. 1783-1799), which eliminated the scholarly apparatus (including the year of death), thus becoming a purely devotional calendar.<sup>11</sup> A number of other works of this type have been written in Persian, and today one can still acquire current Urdu almanacs printed in Bombay and Lahore which prominently feature the death anniversaries of Sufi saints of the Indian subcontinent.<sup>12</sup>

The most widespread of all Sufi orders in India is the Chishti order, established by Mu`in al-Din Chishti (d. 1236) late in the twelfth century. The early Chishtis were notable for both their avoidance of royal patronage and their fondness for music. In Muhammad Najib's treatise, the authorities cited most often are the Chishti masters of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, such as Qutb al-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki (d. 1235), Nizam al-Din Awliya' (d. 1325), Nasir al-Din Mahmud "Chiragh-i Dihli" (d. 1356), and Muhammad al-Husayni "Gisu Daraz" (d. 1422). By the early fourteenth century, pilgrimage to tombs such as Qutb al-Din's in Delhi was an established practice among the Chishtis, though authorities for this practice are cited from other orders as well, such as the Suhrawardis and Naqshbandis.<sup>13</sup> The famous Moroccan traveler Ibn Battuta made such a pilgrimage to the tomb of Farid al-Din Ganj-i Shakkar (d. 1265) at Ajodhan (modern Pakpattan) around the year 1340.<sup>14</sup> Historical literature from the Sultanate period also attests to the popularity of pilgrimage, and the visits of various sultans to major tombs are frequently mentioned.<sup>15</sup>

**[Note: the following paragraph is based on a no longer justifiable "decline and revival" interpretation of the history of the Chishti Sufi order; see Ernst & Lawrence, *Burnt Hearts: The Chishti Sufi Order in South Asia and Beyond* (Curzon Press, forthcoming in 2000), esp. Chapter 5.]** Muhammad Najib's calendar of saints was a product of the renaissance of

the Chishti order in the eighteenth century, when leading Chishtis revived the traditions of their great predecessors. After Timur's destruction of the Delhi sultanate in 1398, the Chishti order had been dispersed to all parts of India. Although this diaspora consolidated the order's popularity in many different regions, the new leaders did not measure up to the stature of their predecessors, and many of them accepted the patronage of kings or established hereditary successions. The leading modern authority on the Chishtis, K. A. Nizami, has shown that this period of decline was eventually followed by a renaissance of the order in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, led by such men as Kalim Allah Shahjahanabadi (d. 1729) and his disciple Nizam al-Din Awrangabadi (d. 1729). These masters not only raised the standards of Islamic scholarship in the order but also revived the intense spiritual discipline characteristic of the early Chishtis.<sup>16</sup> Their strong emphasis on **hadith** scholarship, concerned with the sayings and deeds of the Prophet Muhammad, was typical of the pan-Islamic phenomenon of that time, which John Voll has called "neo-Sufism."<sup>17</sup> Our author Muhammad Najib was clearly a part of the Chishti renaissance, as his scholarship attests, and he explicitly informs us that the basic text by Sharaf al-Din Nahrawali that he expanded had been originally written at the order of their master Nizam al-Din Awrangabadi.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, the rules of pilgrimage that Muhammad Najib incorporated from Muhammad Chishti's **Adab al-talibin** also form part of the heritage of the Chishti renaissance; Muhammad Chishti had been the grandfather and teacher of Yahya Madani (d. 1689), the Medina-based teacher of the Chishti reformer Kalim Allah Shahjahanabadi.<sup>19</sup>

The times during which Muhammad Najib wrote were troubled ones, when, it may be supposed, the revival of religious traditions might serve as a source of order amid political chaos. India in the eighteenth century was a shambles, in which Afghans, Marathas and Sikhs fought over the wreckage of the Mughul empire. The British and French were eyeing opportunities for their own imperial expansion in India. The Deccan was nominally an appendage of the Mughuls, but was

increasingly independent under the powerful Nizam, who initially made Awrangabad his capital. The first Nizam (Nizam al-Mulk Asaf Jah, d. 1748) was closely attached to the Chishtis, and even wrote a biography of Nizam al-Din Awrangabadi.<sup>20</sup> Both the first Nizam and his successor, Nizam al-Dawla Nasir Jang (d. 1164/1750), were buried next to one of the principal Chishti places of pilgrimage in the Deccan, the tomb of Burhan al-Din Gharib (d. 1338) in Khuldabad, near Awrangabad.<sup>21</sup> In what appears to be a dedication at the end of his introduction, Muhammad Najib mentions as a friend of the Sufis Anwar al-Din Khan Bahadur (d. 1749), a noble of the Carnatic who was allied militarily with the Nizam against the French and British.<sup>22</sup> Evidently Sufis like Muhammad Najib still needed the support of powerful protectors. This had also been true for his master Nizam al-Din Awrangabadi, who had to travel in the company of the royal army.<sup>23</sup> Although the revival of early Chishti practices implied the refusal of financial support from secular rulers, it was evidently impossible for the Chishtis to avoid political relationships; the exact nature of these relationships still has to be examined by the study of financial records in shrines and archives.<sup>24</sup> The internal reorganization of the Chishti order was, in any case, combined with highly uncertain political conditions. This makes it all the more understandable that a calendar of saints, recording and memorializing the religious heroes of the past and present, should have been considered an important enterprise. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries witnessed a considerable growth in the literature of Islamic hagiography and martyrology in India, as I have shown elsewhere.<sup>25</sup> The invocation of the spirits of the great Chishti masters at the propitious time of the `urs, and attention to the classical pilgrimage rituals of these same masters, were equally important in the revival of tradition during a period of decadence.

Many of Muhammad Najib's allusions to the rituals of pilgrimage are casual, presupposing that the reader is familiar with them already, and they touch on observances concerned not only with saints' tombs but also with the tombs of one's relatives and other ordinary persons. Nevertheless, we

can summarize here the most important rituals that he mentions.<sup>26</sup> There is an emphasis on determining the exact hour and day of death for commemoration, though this is not indispensable. Food and drink also play an important role, and are to be offered to the spirits of the dead and then distributed on whatever scale the pilgrim can afford. Offering food to the spirits of the saints brings good fortune in this life, and pilgrims may also present petitions to the saints (section 19, below). The pilgrim is also urged to offer "sweets, roses, and flowers" at the tomb (sec. 17), or a bit of money, and this is still expected of the visitor today. Performance of music on these anniversaries is a characteristically Chishti practice. Yet the ziyarat is not a terribly rigid ritual, as can be seen from the frequent statement that one should perform only what can be done in accordance with one's ability, especially in case of poverty. Muhammad Chishti summarized this relaxed attitude toward pilgrimage by saying that one should perform it "as much as possible without objection [being attached to it] (**bi-la haraj**)."<sup>27</sup> The ritual is possible and permissible, but not blameworthy. This ritual flexibility is bolstered by a saying of the Prophet Muhammad, that one is to be judged by one's intentions. Another interesting feature is the mention of the superior nights and days of the year, according to the encyclopedic **Revival of Religious Sciences** of Muhammad al-Ghazali (d. 1111); this listing of holy days is tied in with the development of Sufi piety and stipulates the most propitious times for supererogatory prayer. Although the holy days have nothing intrinsically to do with saints' death anniversaries, their inclusion by Muhammad Najib is natural in a book that organizes the year into a series of daily sacred remembrances. In addition, repetition of sections from the Qur'an and of various Arabic prayers forms a major part of the pilgrimage procedure. An index of the Qur'anic passages mentioned in the text is attached at the end of the translation as Appendix B, and shows at a glance which were most popular for pilgrimage to tombs. To tie all the anniversaries together, there is a Muslim equivalent for the Christian All Saints' day, on the first Thursday in the month of Rajab, when one may commemorate all the saints' festivals at once (sec.

5). Muhammad Najib also included instructions for prayers of intercession on behalf of deceased sinners who are undergoing pre-resurrection torments in the grave; one may willingly give to another the reward for years of prayer, as is shown by the story of Abu al-Rabi` and his 70,000 repetitions of the Islamic creed (sec. 11). While no Islamic equivalent of the Christian All Souls' day arose, celebration of the salvation of the saint is similarly distinguished from penitential remembrance of the sinner in both traditions.<sup>28</sup>

Other pilgrimage practices described by Muhammad Najib raise interesting questions about the status of ziyarat as an Islamic ritual and the psychological dimensions associated with its external performance. Like the hajj, ziyarat calls for circumambulation (sec. 12), in this case of the tomb rather than the Ka`ba.<sup>29</sup> Some enthusiastic pilgrims actually found ziyarat to be superior to the hajj (sec. 12). These comparisons were evidently designed to emphasize the acceptability of ziyarat as an Islamic ritual. That some questioned the pilgrimage to saints' tombs we may suppose from the response of the learned Nasir al-Din Chiragh-i Dihli, who discovered a hadith of the Prophet in support of ziyarat (sec. 12).<sup>30</sup> Muhammad Najib accepted this canonical approval of ziyarat wholeheartedly, and concluded his treatise by describing these practices as good **sunna**, that is, exemplary behavior based on the Prophet's word or deed (sec. 23). Muhammad Najib frequently reminds the reader to observe proper manners (**adab**) and reverentially correct behavior; otherwise one risks offending the saints, who are consciously present and not averse to correcting the offender. One should especially avoid turning one's back on the saint's tomb or turning one's feet disrespectfully in that direction. The pilgrim is also instructed to perform a deep psychological self-examination while visiting tombs, for receptivity to supernatural communications is then greatly increased and one may hope for spiritual guidance by this means.

One of the most interesting extended accounts in the treatise is `Ala' al-Dawla Simnani's lengthy and somewhat obscure reply (sec. 13) to an extreme idealist who scorned the spirit's need for

a body and so doubted the efficacy of pilgrimage to tombs. `Ala' al-Dawla pointed out that pilgrimage to tombs increases one's spiritual concentration (**tawajjuh**) through contact with the earthly remains of a saint. Simnani said further that, along with the subtle body that will appear at the resurrection, the place of bodily entombment is more closely connected with the spirit than is any other material phenomenon. Citing the example of the Prophet Muhammad's tomb in Medina, he argued that while meditation on the Prophet at any time is beneficial, physically visiting the Prophet's tomb is better, since the spirit of the Prophet senses the extra effort and hardship of the journey and assists the pilgrim in attaining the full realization of the inner meaning of the pilgrimage. The eminent scholar `Abd al-Haqq Dihlawi (d. 1642-43) also stressed the spiritual nature of the vision sought by pilgrims (sec. 18).

Muhammad Najib concedes that there is controversy over honoring the dead, and he argues that objections to this practice simply misunderstand its true nature. He maintains that those souls who received honors while living are still worthy of those honors after their death. This leads him to consider those honors that were controversial in Islamic law, such as prostration before the master. It is common for pilgrims to express their love and respect for the saints by kissing and touching their eyes to the tombs. Prostration, though customary in the courts of kings, is technically permissible only before God, as in ritual prayer; many jurists draw the inference that prostration before a mortal is therefore idolatrous, although some permit a distinction between the , although some permit a distinction between the prostration of respect and the prostration of worship. The Chishti master Nizam al-Din Awliya' was uncomfortable with the practice, but permitted it since it was an established custom with his predecessors.<sup>31</sup> `Ala' al-Dawla Simnani mentioned an occasion when people bowed down before his own master, and a jurist forbade them to do so. Yet he made it clear that this prostration is not worship (**`ibadat**) of the person but spontaneous respect (**ta`zim**), which is paid to the spiritual reality that is manifest in the form of the sheikh.

Supporters of ziyarat pilgrimage reject the suspicion that it is the result of Hindu influence, and they find the Wahhabi iconoclasm extreme, pointing to passages in both the Qur'an (e.g., **al-Kahf**, 18.21) and the hadith reports which approved graves as memorials and allowed the visiting of saintly people's tombs as a pious and beneficial act. The tomb was in fact an untypical form of architecture in Hindu India, where cremation was the preferred method of disposal of the dead. From a purely architectural perspective, it might be more correct to describe Sufi shrines as mosques with funerary functions, since the tombs invariably have an orientation to the direction of Mecca, and large mausolea almost always feature a **qibla** niche in the appropriate wall.<sup>32</sup> From this functional perspective, tombs of Sufi saints are developments within the Islamic tradition that do not rely on any Hindu example.

Muhammad Najib's introduction to the **Makhzan-i a`ras** shows a learned Sufi's understanding of ziyarat pilgrimage to Sufi shrines as a religious practice comparable to the hajj pilgrimage and generally permissible according to Islamic law. Though some disputed the legitimacy of ziyarat, Sufi scholars almost unanimously accepted it as a practice founded on the example of the Prophet Muhammad, and in this view it was thoroughly Islamic in intention. The use of the Islamic lunar calendar and a ritual atmosphere saturated with recitation of the Qur'an reinforced the Islamic character of pilgrimages to saints' tombs. The Sufis' own understanding of the encounter with a saint's spirit derived from their intense cultivation of the master-disciple relationship, which for them reached beyond the limits of life and death. The ziyarat pilgrimage is not merely a journey to a place of burial, but is literally a visit to a living saint; one of the most common Persian terms for a saint's shrine is **mazar**, a place that is visited, indicating that the act of personal encounter takes priority over the structure's reliquary function. Pilgrimage to Sufi saints' shrines is, temporally, a search for union with God through synchronicity with the the saint's death anniversary; physically it is an approach to the divine presence over the threshold of the saint's tomb. The traditional Sufi

attitude to pilgrimage, as shown in Muhammad Najib's introduction, resulted from centuries of reflection on an extremely widespread ritual. Despite the theological and legal controversies that have raged around pilgrimage to Sufi tombs, the practice is rooted in the hearts of many Muslims and remains a vital part of the Islamic tradition.

### Introduction to the Treasury of Death Anniversaries

(**Makhzan al-a`ras**)<sup>33</sup>

1. Praise be to God, Lord of Creation, and blessings and peace on the chief of messengers and seal of the prophets Muhammad the Chosen, and on his family, and all his companions. Now, this special treatise is [taken] from the collection of death anniversaries of the prophets, companions, imams of guidance, and noble sheikhs (God be pleased with them) that was assembled previously by Sheikh Sharaf al-Din ibn Qadi Sheikh Muhammad Nahrawali. Since the names of the saints who were joined to the mercy of God after the compilation of the aforesaid treatise were lacking, as well as some names of the ancients, therefore a selection was made from biographical works in the year 1155 [1741-42] by this slave of darwishes, Muhammad Najib Qadiri Nagawri Ajmeri, who is one of the intimates and disciples of the threshold of all creation and the resort and exemplar of those united with God, the revered Sheikh Nizam al-Din Chishti Awrangabadi [d. 1142/1729] (disciple of the exemplar of the saints Sheikh Kalim Allah Chishti Shahjahanabadi [d. 1142/1729], disciple of the axis<sup>34</sup> of those united with God, Sheikh Muhammad Yahya Chishti al-Gujarati al-Madani [d. 1101/1689], grandson and disciple of the axis of axes Sheikh Muhammad Chishti al-Gujarati [d. 1040/1630], God sanctify their consciences!). These works include **Nafahat al-uns**, **Mir'at al-janan**, the history of Imam Yafi`i, **Rashahat**, **Matlub al-talibin**, **Siyar al-awliya'**, **Siyar**

al-`arifin, Akhbar al-akhyar, Khizanat al-jalali, Fada'il al-awliya', Khawariqat, Tabaqat-i nasiri, Rawdat al-shuhada', Gulzar-i abrar, Safinat al-awliya', Mukhbir al-wasilin, Tabaqat-i Shahjahani, and other authentic texts. He found that for some [saints], the year and date and tomb and Sufi order were in books, and the dates of others, both ancient and modern, were not to be seen in books. At the tombs of those where a death anniversary is observed at a place where pilgrimage is possible, there were some papers that were there verified by the descendant (**sahib-i sajjada**) and the attendants of the tomb. In the places where it was impossible to go, verification was conveyed and confirmed by disciples of the order of that saint or by residents of the place who were well-known and trustworthy men. Dates contained in the aforementioned **Book of Death Anniversaries** were retained without change or substitution. If something has been found to contradict that in the biographical books, it has been added, and displayed, as a means of salvation in both worlds. May God (glory be to Him who is exalted!), in respect of the holy ones who are mentioned in this noble text, keep this rebellious and poorly armored sinner in the love of this lofty company, and make [me] die in their love, and resurrect [me] in the troop of their lovers and in the sanctuary of the Prophet and his noble family.

#### On Fixing Death Anniversaries

2. The axis of the saints, Sheikh Muhammad Chishti (son of Sheikh Muhammad Hasan ibn Ahmad ibn Sheikh Nasir al-Din-i Thani ibn Sheikh Badr al-Din ibn Kamal al-Din, disciple and true nephew of the axis of axes, Sheikh Nasir al-Din Mahmud Chiragh-i Dihli [d. 757/1356]) has said in his writings,<sup>35</sup> "Seeker of God, my dear, my beloved! You ought to observe the death anniversaries of the saints of God Most High, for help comes to you from them. God Most High gives the capacity for this work to their descendants, from His own generosity. The author of the **Majmu`**

**al-riwayat**<sup>36</sup> has said, 'If one wishes to select the [time of the saint's] feast, let him select it with awareness of the day of his death, and take care for the hour in which his spirit departed. For the spirits of the dead come every year in the days of the death anniversaries, in that place and in that hour. And it is fitting that one take food and drink in that hour, for that makes the spirits glad. Indeed, there is an extraordinary [spiritual] influence in this. And if one wants edibles and beverages, they [the spirits] will be glad, and wish one well and not ill.' Thus if the aspirant, in pilgrimage to that place, regardless of conditions, regardless of where it is, regardless of anything whatever, makes an offering to the best of his ability--and if that hour is not known, then if the spirit has passed on during the day, he does this during the day, and if it has passed on during the night, he does it during the night. The holy master of the secret, Gisu Daraz,<sup>37</sup> used to make a great offering to the spirit of the axis of axes, Sheikh Nasir al-Din Mahmud Chiragh-i Dihli (God be pleased with him!) during the night of the 18th of Ramadan, (p.4) since the passing of his spirit had been on this night. But he also performed this during the day. And if it is not known with certainty whether it was by day or night, then one should perform it during the day, and also do something at night." Such was the practice of the axis of the saints.

### Offerings to the Spirits of the Dead<sup>38</sup>

3. "Know, seeker of God (glory be to Him who is exalted), that the perfectly guided ones, sincere disciples, and trustworthy adherents ought to present food to the spirits of their elders, their masters, and their guides, as much as possible without objection. Thus by their [the spirits'] blessing, the benefits (**futuhāt**) and good fortune of both worlds are increased, and their [the disciples'] life and wealth grow, and they attain their desire and stand in need of nothing created; might and

fortune become great, and since 'The [real] man is he who loves,' by their blessing, their final state becomes good if God Most High wills. This having become clear by experience, there is no success, unless [for] the possessor of fortune and happiness." If [celebrating] all of the death anniversaries causes difficulty, let him only do some, and make an offering without sin to the spirits of all the prophets and saints and all the people of the heart, in the month of Rajab.

#### Flexibility in Observing the Death Anniversary

4. Know that, if one does not perform it on the day and night of the death anniversary, but performs it on another day on account of business, it is good. "The perfection of deeds is in intentions." He [Muhammad Chishti] has also said,<sup>39</sup> "One observes the death anniversaries of one's masters, as much as possible without objection, and in observing this, if one obtains the permission of the master both formally and spiritually, it is best. And if it is hard to give to anyone, let him give that which he owes to his family and children and people, and that which he eats [himself]; this shall be his intention.<sup>40</sup> And if the death anniversary is on a day when it is hard [to perform all customary practices], he performs it on whatever day is easy. On the day of incurring expenses for the death anniversary, he does not become extravagant, but does whatever is without extravagance."

#### Distributing Food Offerings at the Death Anniversary

5. In the **Khizanat al-jalali**<sup>41</sup> it is written, "One of the conditions of the sincere is that, for the spirit of one to whom one wishes to offer food, he should distribute food for the darwishes at that subtle time in which that saint has departed, for three days in succession. Whatever time he wishes is best." In the above-mentioned **Book of Death Anniversaries** it is written,<sup>42</sup> "Making

offerings on the day and night is a complete cycle (**bar-i tamam**), and the day of the death anniversary and the following night and the following day is the order of making offerings on the day of the death anniversary.<sup>43</sup> And if the day is not known, nor the night, then it is performed in the [appropriate] month, but if the month is not known, it should be performed in the month of Rajab, especially on 'the night of wishes (**laylat al-ragha'ib**)' or that day, the first Thursday that comes in the month of Rajab, which is called [the day of] 'the night of wishes.'<sup>44</sup> They say that in this night or day, [or on the night of the Prophet's ascension], if one performs it as much as possible for the souls of all the saints and the people of faith, what happiness is [then] in the breasts of all! If one is a faqir or darwish, whatever cooked food is in the house (p.5) he dedicates to their spirits and eats it. And if it is a time of poverty, let him not forget the **Fatiha** [Qur. 1]."

6. One of the offspring of the disciples of the axis of axes, Sheikh Muhammad Chishti (God sanctify his conscience) writes,<sup>45</sup> "On the day of the death anniversary, or the night, one recites the **Fatiha** to his spirit and makes an offering of food. If one recites the **Fatiha** during the hour of the passing away of his spirit, it is better; otherwise [one does it] at whatever hour and whatever day is easiest without objection. Let him recite the **Fatiha** over the food and drink. If he cannot [distribute food], indeed let him recite the **Fatiha** for their spirits and eat the food that has been cooked for his own meal and for his family." In attempting to observe one, two, or three death anniversaries of one's own masters, one ought to engage in music sessions, complete Qur'an recitations, [distributing] food, and similar things, and one ought to abstain from unlawful things. And if, in Rajab on "the night of wishes," until "the day of conquering," which is the 15th of Rajab, or the [27th] of the month, one distributes food dedicated to the spirits of the prophets, saints, martyrs, and pious ones, they say that one will obtain much benefit.

7. In the **Dalil al-`arifin**<sup>46</sup> it is written that the sheikh of sheikhs, Sheikh Husam al-Din Manikpuri [d. 852/1448], the disciple and successor of the axis of the world, Sheikh Nur al-Haqq [d. 813/1410] (God sanctify their consciences), used to make a pilgrimage to [the tomb of] his parents after every Friday's prayers, and he did this without fail. Once he went [instead] to speak with his master's son after the Friday prayers. When he returned, the tomb was in the road. He, riding in his palanquin, stood and recited the **Fatiha**, and came home. On Saturday, after the morning prayers, he went out on pilgrimage. He said, "On Friday, and the first hours on Saturday, the spirits are present in the tombs, and one should perform pilgrimage." He also said, "If one recites eleven times the **surat Ikhlas** [Qur. 112], and the **Mu`awwadhatayn** [Qur. 113-114] at the same time, and the Throne Verse [Qur. 2.256], the people in the tombs are absolved." When he went to the tombs, he was near the tomb of his father. He greeted them, standing at the head [of the tomb], and recited the **Fatiha** and the Throne Verse, up to [the word] "eternally." Eleven times he recited the **surat Ikhlas**, and at the same time the **Mu`awwadhatayn**, and once **Ilahukum al-takathur** [Qur. 102]. He went to the foot, and kissed the top of the tomb. He performed the same pilgrimage to his mother, also kissing the top of the foot [of the tomb], and at the time of departure recited **A-lam nashrah** [Qur. 94]. He said, "If one holds one's hands on top of the tomb and ten times recites the word of unity and praise, the dead are absolved." He also said, "One should perform pilgrimage every day, though it is not easy. One should do it on Friday, for the dead expect it. It is of the same use to the mother and father." He also said, "My master, the axis of the world, Sheikh Nur al-Haqq, every day after morning prayers used to perform pilgrimage to his father, Sheikh `Ala' al-Haqq wa-al-Din (God sanctify his conscience)." He also said, "If someone once recites the **Fatiha** in a tomb, (p.6) for forty days, the punishment will be removed from that tomb." The axis of axes, Sheikh Nasir al-Din Chiragh-i Dihli (God be pleased with him), says, "While standing at the head of someone's grave,

one says the **Fatiha** once, the Throne Verse three times, **al-Takathur** [Qur. 102] three times, and **Ikhlas** many times."

#### The Best Days for Pilgrimage and Prayer

8. In the **Khizanat al-jalali** it is written, "Pilgrimage to graves every week is [legally] approved,' and the best days for pilgrimage are four: Saturday, Monday, Thursday, and Friday. It is the same with the blessed and superior nights, such as `the night of orders,'<sup>47</sup> and with blessed times, such as ten Dhu al-Hijja, the two `Ids,<sup>48</sup> and `Ashura."<sup>49</sup> In the **Ihya' al-`ulum**, written by Imam Muhammad Ghazali [d. 505/1111] (God's mercy upon him), he writes, "The superior days are seventeen: the first day is `Arafa;<sup>50</sup> the second day is `Ashura; the third day is 27 Rajab; the fourth day is 27 Ramadan; the fifth day is 15 Sha`ban; the sixth day is Friday; the seventh and eighth days are the two `Ids; and the nine days of Dhu al-Hijja, from the first night of the moon until the ninth. The superior nights are fifteen: In the month of Ramadan, the 21st, 23rd, 25th, 27th, 29th, and 7th; the first night of the month of Muharram; the night of `Ashura; the first night of the month of Rajab, and the 15th and 27th nights in Rajab; the 15th of Sha`ban; the night of `Arafa; and the nights of the two `Ids." <sup>51</sup>

#### Efficacy of Prayer for the Dead

9. At the time when one is standing, facing the deceased, one says, "Peace be unto you, people of the houses, among those who submit and are faithful! May He have mercy on those who have come before us, and those who come after; God willing, we shall be joined with you. I shall ask God for you, and forgiveness will be yours." The Messenger of God (God's blessings and peace

upon him) spoke thus, then sat and said, "In the name of God, and for the community of the Messenger of God." One finds in hadith that whenever one recites this by the tomb of someone, the inhabitant of the tomb will be spared the punishment, darkness, and straitness [of the tomb] for forty years. Then one says, "There is no god but God, He alone, Who has no partner; His is the kingdom, His is the praise; He gives life and death, while He is living and does not die; good comes by His hand, and He has power over everything." Then one recites the **surat al-Fatiha**, the Throne Verse, and gives the reward of that to the inhabitants of the tombs. After that, one recites the **surat Ikhlas** seven times, but if one recites it ten times, it is better.

10. In the **Jawami` al-kalim**,<sup>52</sup> the discourses of Sayyid Gisu Daraz (God sanctify his conscience), it is written that he said, "One day (p.7) a great man passed through a graveyard, and he saw a commotion in the cemetery. He asked, 'What is this commotion?' In the midst of this, they [the dead] replied, 'It is a week since Habib `Ajami [d. 156/773] (God's peace be upon him) passed by us, and he had recited one **Fatiha** intended for us. The abundance and reward produced from that is being divided among us.'"

11. In the **Nafahat al-uns**,<sup>53</sup> in the account of Abu al-Rabi` Malaqi, the disciple of Sheikh Abu al-`Abbas, it is written that it has come down in the hadith of the Prophet (God's blessings and peace be upon him) with this meaning, that saying the phrase, "There is no god but God"<sup>54</sup> seventy thousand times for the salvation of the speaker or for the salvation of that person whom the speaker intends, is completely efficacious. Sheikh Abu al-Rabi` has said, "I had said this **dhikr**<sup>55</sup> seventy thousand times, but had not done it in the name of any particular person, until one day I was present with a group at someone's feast-table. With them was a youth who had experienced [spiritual] unveilings. At the moment when that youth laid a hand on the food to eat, suddenly he wept. They asked him, 'Why do you weep?' He said, 'Right here I am witnessing hell, and I see my mother in it undergoing punishment.'" Sheikh Abu al-Rabi` said, "Secretly I prayed, 'God! You know that I have

said "There is no god but God" seventy thousand times. I have offered that [reward] for the sake of freeing the mother of this particular youth from hellfire.' When I had completed forming this intention internally, that youth laughed and became cheerful, saying, 'I see my mother freed from hellfire! Praise be to God!' Then he joined in eating food with the group."

### Legitimacy of Pilgrimage

12. In the discourses of Sayyid Gisu Daraz (God be pleased with him) it is written that he said, "They asked Khwajah Nasir al-Din Chiragh-i Dihli (God be pleased with him), 'Do you perform circumambulation around the tomb of Sheikh al-Islam Qutb al-Din [d. 634/1236] (God sanctify his conscience)? What is the [prophetic] basis of that?' He said, 'On "Pilgrimage to tombs," it is written, "Circumambulation around the tomb of a pious man is lawful."'"" The collector of the above-mentioned discourses says, "He is a sincere lover who, at every new moon, circumambulates the hospice of his revered master with bare head and bare feet, saying, 'In this I find more than in pilgrimage to Mecca!'"

### Spiritual Effects of Pilgrimage

13. In the **Lata'if-i ashrafi**,<sup>56</sup> the discourses of Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani Chishti [d. 829/1425] (God sanctify his conscience), it is written that he said, "After making pilgrimage to the saints who are seated on the seat of guidance and the chair of dignity, one makes pilgrimage to the tombs of the saints." He said, "One day I had sat in attendance on Sheikh Rukn al-Din `Ala' al-Dawla Simnani [d. 736/1336] (God sanctify his conscience). (p.8) A darwish asked, 'Since in the tomb this body has no perception, and the acquired body (**badan-i muktasab**), is detached from it,

together with the spirit, and since there is no veil in the world of spirits, what need is there to visit tombs? Concentrating on the spirit of a saint should be just as useful in any other place as at his tomb.' The sheikh said, 'It has many uses. One is that when one makes a pilgrimage to someone[']s tomb], one's concentration increases as often as one goes. When one reaches the tomb and beholds it by sense-perception, one's sense-perception also becomes engaged with the tomb. He then becomes totally concentrated, and this has many uses. Another is that however much spirits lack a veil, and though the whole world is one to them, it keeps an eye on the body with which it [the spirit] has been connected for seventy years and on its resurrection body that it will become after the resurrection, for ever and ever. Its [the spirit's] connection is greater here than in any other place.<sup>57</sup> The benefits of making pilgrimage are great. If one concentrates here on the spirituality of that revered Mustafa [that is, the Prophet Muhammad] (God's blessing and peace upon him), one obtains benefit. But if one goes to Medina, the spirituality of Mustafa (God's blessing and peace upon him) is aware of one's traveling and the suffering of the road. When one reaches there, one sees by sense-perception the pure shrine (**raw\*a**) of that revered one. One becomes totally concentrated. How can the latter benefit be compared to the former? The people of vision (**mushahada**) realize this internal meaning (**ma`na**).'"

The Saints are Conscious

14. He [Ashraf Jahangir Simnani] also said,<sup>58</sup> "The dead are aware of the coming of a pilgrim and his concentration, for the spiritual world has a subtlety, specifically, that the spirits of the saints take notice of even a little concentration of the pilgrim." He said that Sultan al-Mashayikh, Sheikh Nizam al-Din Awliya' [d. 726/1325] (God sanctify his conscience) had gone to make pilgrimage to the blessed tomb of the axis of axes, Khwajah Qutb al-Din (God sanctify his conscience). In the

midst of circumambulation, it occurred to him, "Is his spirituality yet aware of my concentration?" This incipient thought was not yet complete when from the luminous tomb a voice sprang up, with an eloquent expression, reciting this verse: "Think of me as living like yourself; I will come in spirit if you come in body. Do not think me lacking in companionship, for I see you even if you don't see me." He said, "Whenever one comes to a town, the first thing one ought to accomplish is to kiss the feet of the saints who are full of life, and after that, the honor of pilgrimage to the tombs of saints found there. If one's master's tomb is in that city, one first carries out the pilgrimage to him; otherwise one visits the tomb of every saint shown him."

#### Controversy over Prostration<sup>59</sup>

15. There is a debate among the legal scholars about placing the forehead (**jabha**) on the tombs of saints, and they have not permitted it, though among the sheikhs there are differences of opinion. (p.9) According to this faqir [that is, Ashraf Jahangir Simnani], just as in the world of travel many saints are seen, who while living have been looked upon with respect (**ta`zim**), so after death people look on them with the same respect. In the same way, the father and teacher and master and the like are worthy of respect.<sup>60</sup> When my revered master [Ala' al-Dawla Simnani] returned from congregational prayer, people placed their heads at his feet, and the heads that were not honored by his blessed feet they put on the ground and so prostrated themselves. One of the **mullas** asked about the meaning of this, for it is unlawful that they should put their heads on the ground. He said, "I have often forbidden them and restrained them, so that they do not come back."

16. In the **Siyar al-awliya'**<sup>61</sup> it is written that one day in the assembly of Sultan al-Mashayikh, Sheikh Nizam al-Din Awliya' (God sanctify his conscience), there was talk about disciples coming to the revered master and placing their heads on the ground. Sultan al-Mashayikh

said, "I wanted to forbid people, but since they have done this before my sheikh, I have not forbidden them." In sum, sincere friends and trustworthy aspirants, [because of the form that they call vision in the mirror of the sheikh and the inner meaning (**ma`na**) that they witness in the form of the sheikh, involuntarily place their heads on the ground.<sup>62</sup> In the **Mirsad**<sup>63</sup> it is said that to place the head on the ground before the sheikh is not prostration; this is respect and honor for the light of the essence and attributes of the real object of worship [that is, God], for the sheikhs and saints are illuminated with that light.

#### Rules and Prayers of Pilgrimage<sup>64</sup>

17. He [Ashraf Jahangir Simnani] also says that when one comes to make pilgrimage to tombs, from modesty (**haya'**) he enters the tombs and circumambulates three or seven times. Then he puts his head at the foot of the grave, and turning his face toward the deceased, stands to the right of the grave and says, "Peace be unto you, people of 'There is no god but God,' from the people of 'There is no god but God!' How did you find his saying, 'There is no god but God'? God! [It was] by the truth of 'There is no god but God!' Resurrect us in the multitude of those who say, 'There is no god but God.' Forgive him who says, 'There is no god but God,' and do not deprive us of saying 'There is no god but God and Muhammad is the Messenger of God.'" Then he strews a rose or plant on the tomb and sitting or standing recites the **Fatiha**, the Throne verse, **Idha zulzilat al-ard** [Qur. 99], **ilahukum al-takathur** [Qur. 102] once, **Ikhlas** seven or ten times and once recites this prayer: "There is no god but God, He alone, He has no partner; His is the kingdom and the praise; He gives life and death. He is the Living who never dies, full of beauty and generous with his right hand. He has power over everything. In the name of God, for the nation of the Messenger of

God." After that he says, "O God, I have recited this recitation, and I have made the reward for it as a gift for the spirit of so-and-so son of so-and-so." (p. 10) One should not go to make pilgrimage to the sheikhs without sweets, roses, and flowers. If it is the tomb of his master, he makes an offering of gold there, and then conveys [something] to the descendants of the master and also some alms--a bit of gold--to the people residing there.<sup>65</sup>

#### Benefits of Pilgrimage on Friday

18. In the commentary on the **Sirat al-mustaqim**<sup>66</sup> it is written, "On Friday the spirits of the faithful are near their tombs, near in a real sense. The attachment is a spiritual connection; vision and contact are a connection that they have with their bodies. The pilgrims who come near the tombs realize (**shinasand**) this, though they always realize this, but on this day they realize it with a realization greater than the realization of the other days, from the point of view of being near the tombs. Undoubtedly the realization through nearness is better and stronger than the realization through distance." In some accounts it is said that realization at the beginning of the day is better than at the end, and therefore for this reason pilgrimage to tombs at this time is preferred and customary in the holy shrines.

#### Rules and Prayers of Pilgrimage, Continued

19. In the **Jawami` al-kalim** it is written that if someone goes to make pilgrimage to the tombs of the sheikhs, when he reaches the door he should say once or seven times, "Glory be to God," etc., and kissing the ground recite the **Fatiha** once pronouncing the name of God, the Throne Verse three times, **Idha zulzilat al-ard** once, **ilahukum al-takathur** seven times, **Ikhlas**

ten times, and praise of the Prophet (**durud**) three times. According to the revered master Nizam al-Din (God sanctify his conscience), [one recites] the **Fatiha** and the Throne Verse once, **Ikhlas** twelve times, and praise of the Prophet ten times. After that one sits and recites what one has memorized from the Qur'an. Rising, one circumambulates the tomb seven times and makes a petition for whatever concern one has; otherwise one kisses the ground. The feet are turned away and one never shows one's back toward the revered one. At the time of pilgrimage, in coming and going one is vigilant and expectant regarding who enters and leaves one's thoughts and who remains and what they did. From left and right, from before and behind, [one watches for] what they said, and what voice called out. In the **Lata'if-i shami**<sup>67</sup> it is written, "When from the garden one passes into the realm of the graves, the group who are honored by the happiness of [divine] protection, one faces them and says once, 'Peace be unto the people of the region, the faithful and submitting; may God have mercy on those who came before us and those who follow; God willing, I am with you who are attached [to God],' and once 'O God, make a reward for all these who are visited, O Most Merciful one!'"

#### Spiritual Presence of the Saints

20. In the **Makhzan al-fawa'id**<sup>68</sup> it is written, "However much the spirit of the saint departs from the body both in expressions and relations, yet its influences nonetheless leave their mark on a place. Just as when musk is removed from a letter or tray, even so his [the saint's] perfume (p. 11) continues to linger in the place to which he was related. Thus they have said, (verse): 'When someone becomes dust after reaching perfection, / the dust of his feet replaces the elixir.'" In this manner, therefore, when the pilgrim presents himself in pilgrimage to the shrine with its miraculous influences, with firm faith, trustworthy belief, necessary good conduct, manners of sanctity, and

good behavior, the beneficent spirit of the master of the tomb is present. It is not in accord with purity (**dar khwar-i safa'i**), but sincere belief in terms of the pilgrim's state obtains aid and assistance, and brings about the production of happy fortune and the attainment of favors. If sometimes a kind of discrepancy appears in the order of necessary conduct, the pilgrim will be caught by the occasion for reproach. Such was the case when Sayyid `Ala' al-Din Jiwari one day went to make pilgrimage to Sheikh al-Islam, Khwajah Qutb al-Din. He sat down near the tomb of the sheikh, and from within a voice cried out, saying "Sayyid, you see me as dead; if I were living, could you sit in this way?" After only hearing these words, he arose from that place and sat down far away in good conduct.

21. It is written that when you walk over the graves of the saints, ask their help and seek resolution (**himmat**), entrust [yourself] to the Lord (**mawla bar gumari**) by the force of maintaining your conduct, so that you will never be able to recall the world's desire. A darwish walked on the earth over [the grave of] Abu al-Hasan Fushanji and prayed to God Most High for the world. That night he saw Abu al-Hasan in a dream, saying, "Darwish, when you come upon the earth over us, completely free yourself from both worlds, but if you want the world's goods, walk upon the ground over kings."

#### Respect for All the Dead

22. In the **Mir'at al-Asrar**<sup>69</sup> it is written, "Since the state of the dead is concealed and hidden, thus it is not known who among them is wretched (**shaqi**) and which is happy, nor whether the deceased was learned, an ignoramus, or perfect. But it may be that his name is from the names of God and His Messenger.<sup>70</sup> Thus maintaining good conduct and respect for the deceased is

necessary and required in all times for all people; so it is conveyed, and the rewards and benefits of the **Fatiha** are many and uncounted. May God aid us and you."

## Conclusion

23. The goal of this arrangement and the purpose of the book contained here [is to show] each of the dates of the months of the whole year, for perpetually enduring are the death anniversaries of these revered ones of lofty rank whose aid is sought, as also the generality of spirits of the noble saints and great sheikhs. If one [wishes to know] the date of the passing ed (**sanna sunna hasana**) has his reward and the reward of the one who performs it," may the author of this book also find a pleasure and share of the Last Day and its reward, with the help of God Most High. This noble and blessed text was collected and reached completion by the expansion of several authenticated texts, such as **The Book of Death Anniversaries** by the previously mentioned Sheikh Sharaf al-Din, which is from the sublime library of the exemplar of those united with God, the revered Sheikh Nizam al-Din [Awrangabadi] (God sanctify his dear conscience), which was transcribed the 24th of Rabi` I, 1128 hijri [17 March 1716], according to the direction of the revered sheikh (God sanctify his conscience). I later compared two texts from the blessed port of Surat and another text from Awrangabad, in the days when the lover of darwishes, the believer in their believers, Anwar al-Din Khan Bahadur<sup>71</sup> (may God Most High strengthen him with the strength of His acceptance) was in the army of Nizam al-Mulk Bahadur Asaf Jah, on the 5th of Shawwal, in the 1156th year since the prophetic emigration [18 November 1743]. Praise belongs to God, the Lord of creation, and blessings and peace be on our master and Prophet, Muhammad, the best of Messengers, and on the people of his house and all his companions.

## Appendix A

Further Practices of Pilgrimage in the  
**Adab al-talibin** of Muhammad Chishti<sup>72</sup>

If the master commands concentration (tawajjuh) on one of his own masters, how fortunate! When he goes on pilgrimage to the tomb, when he gets close to the tomb he should not walk too quickly nor too slowly, but moderately. If there is no difficulty, he circumambulates it, but should he not do so, there is nothing to worry about. While circumambulating he says "God is great," then the **Fatiha** or "Master, help, for so-and-so, (that is, the master) is for our good!" He takes the master's name, or the name of the master that he has been told, or the name of the master whose grace he wishes to partake of. At the time of reciting the **Fatiha**, he turns away from the direction of prayer and turns toward him [that is, the saint]. If there is no difficulty, then he kisses the tomb, and touches his face to the tomb to kiss it, or places his hand on his breast and then touches it. At the time of return, he takes three paces backwards and then turns his back upon him [the saint]. If one recites the **Fatiha** in this manner, it is good. First one recites praise of the Prophet, then praise of God (**al-hamd**), then the Throne Verse three times, then **Ilahukum al-takathur** seven times, then **Ikhlas** eleven times [fol. 22a], then praise of the Prophet. Should he not do it in this way, there is nothing to worry about. Circumambulation is not required. If he does it, he does it; if he does not do it, he does not. But one should attempt to watch carefully one's going and coming in the manner described. Yet if inadvertently or by necessity this does not occur, there is nothing to worry about. When one performs pilgrimage to the tomb of one's master, or the tomb of a master on whom one has been told to concentrate, or pilgrimage to a tomb of [a master] whose grace one wishes to partake of, one should state one's object (**maqsud**), and request their help. One should state this

slowly, and at the time of reciting the **Fatiha** look neither to the left nor the right. Without permission, one should not be involved with anything near the saint, unless elsewhere is difficult. He recalls the suppression of breath as much as possible, that is, when he breathes in, he conceives that he breathes in with the phrase "there is no god (**la ilaha**)," and when he breathes out, he conceives that he breathes out with the phrase "but God (**illa allah**)." He thinks that "There is none worshipped but God (**la ma`bud illa allah**)," or he thinks that "There is no object but God (**la maqsud illa allah**)," or he thinks that "There is no existent but God (**la mawjud illa allah**)." In praying, he takes delight in the Qur'an if it is recited, or else he remains silent. He thinks, "Worship your lord as though you see him, for if you do not see him, he surely sees you," which necessarily applies to him.

## Appendix B

### Qur'anic Citations in the **Makhzan-i a`ras**

(suras cited according to section number of the translation in which they appear)

1 (**Fatiha**): 5, 6 (4 times), 7 (4 times), 9, 10, 17, 19, (2 times), 22, Appendix A (4 times).

2.256 (Throne Verse): 7 (2 times), 9, 17, 19, (2 times), Appendix A.

94 (**A-lam nashrah**): 7.

99 (**Idha zulzilat al-ard**): 17, 19.

102 (**Ilahukum al-takathur**): 7 (2 times), 17, 19, Appendix A.

112 (**Ikhlas**): 7 (3 times), 9, 17, 19 (2 times), Appendix A.

113-114 (**Mu`awwadhatayn**): 7 (2 times).

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<sup>1</sup>A. J. Wensinck, "Ziyara," *Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam*, ed. H. A. R. Gibb and J. M. Kramers (Leiden, 1953; reprint ed., Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), p. 660. A modern example of juristic opposition to *ziyarat* is the collection of legal responsa by Rashid Ahmad Gangohi (d. 1323/1905), *Fatawa-i Rashidiyya* (Karachi: H. M. Sa'id Company, 1985), p. 59 (impropriety of petitioning the dead), p. 69 (condemnation of kissing tombs), p. 134 (condemnation of attending annual death anniversary festivals). The learned author, a scholar of the Deoband school and a member of the Sabiri Chishti order, does not deny that spiritual grace (*fuḍ*) emanates from tombs, but maintains that the common people must not be permitted to have access to it because of the danger of idolatry (p. 104). His main objection to these practices is their similarity to non-Muslim religious practices.

<sup>4</sup>Conversely, the Catholic commemorations of martyrs' and saints' death anniversaries were called birthdays (*natalitia*) as a sign of rebirth into eternal life (*The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F. L. Cross [2nd ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983], pp. 954-955).

<sup>5</sup>Ignaz Goldziher, "Veneration of Saints in Islam," *Muslim Studies (Muhammedanische Studien)*, ed. S. M. Stern, trans. C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern (2 vols.; London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1971) II, 284-285.

<sup>6</sup>Nizam al-Din Awliya' Bada'oni (d. 725/1325), *Fawa'id al-fu'ad*, comp. Hasan `Ala Sijzi, ed. Muhammad Latif Malik (Lahore: Malik Siraj al-Din and Sons, 1386/1966), p. 209, gives the etymology of *`urs* as "getting married," but also mentions another meaning, "the alighting of a caravan at night." Jurists such as the Baghdadian Ibn al-Jawzi (d. 1201) criticized Sufi *`urs* festivities,

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and the Mevlevi Sufis in Anatolia used the term `urs in the thirteenth century; see Fritz Meier, *Abu Sa`id-i Abu l-\*ayr (357-440/967-1049), Wirklichkeit und Legende*, Acta Iranica 11 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), pp. 250, 261.

<sup>7</sup>Wahid Bakhsh Sial, *Maqam-i Ganj-i Shakkar* (Lahore: Sufi Foundation, 1403/1983), p. 38.

<sup>8</sup>Ashraf Jahangir Simnani, *Lata'if-i asbrafi*, comp. Nizam Gharib Yamani (2 vols.; Delhi: Nusrat al-Matabi`, 1295/1878) II, 28-30, quoted in sections 13-17 of the text, below. On Simnani's life and works, see Bruce B. Lawrence, *Notes from a Distant Flute: The Extant Literature of Pre-Mughal Indian Sufism* (Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1978), pp. 53-55.

<sup>9</sup>Muhammad Chishti, *Adab al-talibin* (MS copied in Tawnsah, probably after 1790, personal collection of Carl Ernst), fols. 21b-22b (rules), 22b-24a (here later scribes have inserted a brief calendar of saints, including the `urs of Kalim Allah Shahjahanabadi [d. 1729]), 24a-b (concluding rules), quoted in sections 2-5 of the text; cf. Muhammad Chishti Gujarati, *Adab al-talibin, ma`a rafiq al-tullab wa albab thulatha*, Urdu trans. Muhammad Bashir Husayn, ed. Muhammad Aslam Rana (Lahore: Progressive Books, 1984), pp. 61-64, based on the Punjab University MS, which has no calendar of saints. The Persian text of *Adab al-talibin* was published in Delhi in 1311/1893-94 by Matba`-i Mujtaba'i, and there are a dozen copies of the MS in Pakistan alone; cf. Ahmad Munzawi, *Fihrist-i mushtarak-i nuskhah-ha-yi kbatti-i farsi-i Pakistan*, vol. III (Islamabad: Markaz-i Tahqiqat-i Farsi-i Iran u Pakistan, 1363/1405/1984), p. 1213, no. 2140. K. A. Nizami has summarized some of the contents of this work in his *Tarikh-i mashayikh-i Chisht*, vol. I (2nd ed.; Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1980), p. 446; for details of Muhammad Chishti's life, see the introduction to *Adab al-talibin*, Urdu trans., pp. 7-15. The manuscript of *Adab al-talibin* came into my hands by good fortune; I

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would like to express my thanks to Mr. Khalil al-Rahman Dawoodi of Lahore for presenting me his copy.

<sup>10</sup>For a survey of Sufi biographical sources, see my "From Hagiography to Martyrology: Conflicting Testimonies to a Sufi Martyr of the Delhi Sultanate," *History of Religions* 24 (1985), pp. 308-327, esp. pp. 309-312; see also Marcia K. Hermansen, "Survey Article: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Islamic Biographical Materials," *Religion* 18 (1988), pp. 163-182.

<sup>11</sup>*Tarikh-i wafat-i buzurgan* or *A`ras-i buzurgan*, cited in Hermann Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the India Office Library* (Oxford, 1903; reprint ed., London: India Office Library & Records, 1980), no. 2733, col. 1482; also called *Sabifat al-a`ras*, in Wladimir Ivanow, *Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1924; reprint ed., 1985), p. 755, no. 1634. The relationship of this work with Muhammad Najib's collection is evident from its commencing with the same four names. Muhammad Sharif's treatise is apparently identical with the *A`ras-i buzurgan* attributed to one Sayyid `Alawi, edited by W. Nassau Lees and Mawlawi Kabir al-Din Ahmad and published at Calcutta in 1855, as cited by C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature, A Bio-Bibliographical Survey* (2 vols.; London: Luzac & Co., 1927-71), I, 1054.

<sup>12</sup>A devotional work that arranges brief biographies of saints with their death anniversaries, in chronological order from the time of Adam, is `Abd al-Fattah ibn Muhammad Nu`man's *Miftah al-`arifin* (MS 4263/1613 Sherani, Punjab University, Lahore), an autograph written in 1096/1684-85 in Sirhind. Examples of modern Urdu calendars of saints include Muhammad `Abd al-Hayy Siddiqi's *Tadhkirat al-sulaha'* (Badaun: Matba`-i Nizami, 1330/1911-12); Kalam al-Din Banarsi and Ibrahim `Imadi Nadwi's *Islami Mubammadi ba`i taqwim Bombay 1402* (Bombay: `Ali Bha'i Sharaf `Ali and

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Company Private Limited, 1402/1981-82), pp. 18-38; and Hakim Mawlawi Muhammad Barakat `Ali's *Asrar-i `alam jantri 1987* (Lahore: Maktaba-i Rafiq-i Ruzgar, 1986), pp. 19-24.

<sup>13</sup>Nizam al-Din Awliya' told of his mother's visiting the tombs of martyrs and saints in Bada'on (*Fawa'id al-fu'ad*, pp. 100), and mentioned the many tombs worth visiting in Lahore (p. 57). Simon Digby has briefly described pilgrimages to major Chishti shrines in "Tabarrukat and Succession among the Great Chishti Shaykhs," in *Delhi Through the Ages: Essays in Urban History, Culture and Society*, ed. R. E. Frykenberg (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1986), esp. pp. 91-96.

<sup>14</sup>Ibn Battutah, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, trans. H. A. R. Gibb, ed. E. Denison Ross and Eileen Power (London, 1926; reprint ed., Karachi: Indus Publications, 1986), p. 191, where the translator understands this as a visit (*ziyarat*) to a living person.

<sup>15</sup>Sultan Firuz Shah ibn Tughluq Firuz Shah ibn Tughluq (r. 1356-87) chronicled his own rebuilding of major Sufi shrines in his lengthy inscription, known as the *Futubat-i Firuz Shahi*, ed. Shaikh Abdur Rashid (Aligarh: Muslim University, Department of History, 1954), pp. 14-15, translated in Sir H. M. Elliot, *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, ed. John Dowson (8 vols.; Allahabad: Kitab Mahal, n.d.), 3:384-385. The popularity of shrine festivals may be judged from the fact that Firuz Shah also forbade ladies from attending them, on the grounds that evil characters also frequented these occasions (*Futubat-i Firuz Shahi*, p. 9; trans. Elliot and Dowson, 3:380).

<sup>16</sup>K. A. Nizami, "*ishtiyā*," EI<sup>2</sup> 2:50-56; idem, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India in the Thirteenth Century* (2nd ed., Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1978 [1963]); idem, *Tarikh-i mashayikh-i Chisht*, vol. I, pp. 290 ff.; vol. V (1985), pp. 81-181.

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<sup>17</sup>John Voll, *Islam: Continuity and Change in the Modern World* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1982), index, s.vv. "neo-Sufism," "hadiths."

<sup>18</sup>Neither Muhammad Najib nor Sharaf al-Din Nahrawali appears among the list of Nizam al-Din Awrangabadi's chief disciples; cf. Nizami, *Tarikh*, V, 178-179.

<sup>19</sup>*Adab al-talibin*, Urdu trans., p. 13; Nizami, *Tarikh*, 5:92-94.

<sup>20</sup>Nizami, *Tarikh*, 5:173, 175-6, notes that this book is no longer extant.

<sup>21</sup>P. Setu Madhava Rao, *Eighteenth Century Deccan* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1963), p. 61. The first Nizam considered patronage of Sufi saints an important state duty, and stressed this point in his testament to his successor (*ibid.*, pp. 62, 66-67).

<sup>22</sup>Samsam-ud-Daula Shah Nawaz Khan and his son `Abdul Hayy, *The Maathir-ul-Umara*, trans. H. Beveridge, rev. Bains Prashad (reprint ed., 2 vols.; New Delhi: Janaki Prakashan, 1979), II, 1065-1066 (where he is praised for his knowledge of Sufism); Elliot and Dowson, VIII, 391 (his death fighting the French); Ethé, II, col. 1011, Index, s.n. "(Nawwâb) Anwâr-aldînkân."

<sup>23</sup>Nizami, *Tarikh*, 5:157-158.

<sup>24</sup>Nizami, *Tarikh*, 5:167, records Nizam al-Din Awrangabadi's regular distribution of gifts to the poor, which must have required substantial donations from lay followers.

<sup>25</sup>See Ernst, "From Hagiography to Martyrology," esp. pp. 322-327.

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<sup>26</sup>It would be desirable to collect information from gazetteers, travelers' reports, and modern anthropological studies on the different practices that have arisen at the major Sufi shrines in India and Pakistan, but such an investigation is beyond the scope of the present article.

<sup>27</sup>Muhammad Chishti, *Adab al-talibin*, fol. 22b, 24b. The text frequently uses the Arabic phrase *bi-la haraj*, meaning "there is no harm or crime in it" from an objective legal point of view; the pilgrimage rituals are harmless but not required.

<sup>28</sup>George Every, *Christian Mythology* (London: Hamlyn, 1970), p. 114. The Maliki jurist Ibn al-Hajj Ibn al-Hajj (d. 1336) refers to a candle festival for all the saints on 15 Sha`ban (Fritz Meier, *Abu Sa`id*, p. 264).

<sup>29</sup>Cf. Goldziher, "Veneration," II, 288, on circumambulation (*tawaf*).

<sup>30</sup>Cf. Goldziher, "Veneration," II, 335, n. 3, on hadith in favor of pilgrimage. For an early example of preferring pilgrimage to saints' tombs over the hajj, see Fritz Meier, *Abu Sa`id*, pp. 202-203.

<sup>31</sup>*Fawa'id al-fu'ad*, pp. 267, 364.

<sup>32</sup>James Dickie, "Allah and Eternity: Mosques, Madrasas and Tombs," in *Architecture of the Islamic World: Its History and Social Meaning*, ed. George Michell (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), pp. 43-44.





