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## ÇIŞTÎ

Abdur Rahaman

A critical study of the dates of birth and death of Hadrat Khwájah Mu'ínu'd-Dín Chishtí of Ajmer .--  
1964 ISSN: 0378-0856 : Indo-Iranica, vol. 17 i pp. 29-32, (1964)

, Syed Sabahuddin; Chishtî, Mu'ín al-Dîn Hasan

030884

DİA

**çİŞTİ**

**Madde Yayınlandıktan Sonra Gelen Doküman**

**21.08.2017**

[Chishtī, Mu'in al-Dīn Hasan]

Kalam-i-lam yazal: (the message eternal) / Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti .-- Peeters, Leuven, 2004 :

Trans. Sukul, V. N.

'Abbasids | Theology

و هر سال مردم آن دیار، در ششم رجب به مناسبت فوت وی، مراسمی برگزار می‌کنند. به معین‌الدین کرامات بسیاری نسبت داده‌اند (همان جا).

معین‌الدین خلفا و شاگردان بسیاری تربیت کرد؛ از جمله قطب‌الدین بختیار کاکلی، حمیدالدین صوفی سعیدی ناگوری، شمس‌الدین غوری، و شهاب‌الدین غوری (دانشنامه جهان اسلام، همان جا).

او علامت شناخت خدا را خاموشی در معرفت و گریز از خلق دانسته است. البته خدمت به خلق، کمک به بیچارگان و برآوردن حاجات درماندگان نیز در تعلیمات او جایگاه ویژه‌ای دارد (دانشنامه جهان اسلام، همان جا).

از معین‌الدین آثاری به‌جا مانده است که برخی در صحت انتساب آنها به او تردید دارند (آریا، ص ۹۹-۱۰۰). بعضی از این آثار عبارت‌اند از:

۱. انیس الارواح یا انیس دولت، که ملفوظات خواجه عثمان هارونی است (منزوی، ج ۲، ص ۵۶۲-۵۶۳).
۲. گنج اسرار، که مجموعه دیگری از ملفوظات خواجه عثمان هارونی است و بخشی از آن درباره شرح مناجات خواجه عبدالله انصاری است (همان، ص ۷۷۰).
۳. دلیل‌العارفین، که مشهورترین اثر اوست و قطب‌الدین بختیار کاکلی آن را گردآوری کرده است. این کتاب درباره مسائلی مانند نماز، ذکر، محبت، و آداب سالکان است (همو، ج ۳، ص ۱۴۵۸).
۴. بحرالحقایق، ملفوظات معین‌الدین خطاب به قطب‌الدین بختیار است که در آن سیر و سفر عرفانی خود، از جمله معراجش، را شرح داده و از رسیدن خود به مقام وحدت سخن رانده است. این کتاب در هند چاپ شده است (همان، ص ۱۳۱۴).

خواجه معین‌الدین بن غیاث‌الدین حسن الحسینی سجزی معروف به معین‌الدین چشتی (۵۳۷-۶۳۳ ق)، صوفی و عارف بزرگ و سرحلقه مشایخ چشتی هند است.

گفته شده است غارت سیستان به دست ترکان غز او را به مراقبه و تأمل در خود و سرانجام به عرفان کشاند (جامی، ص ۳۳۰-۳۳۱).

معین‌الدین از مریدان شیخ عثمان هارونی بود. او به سمرقند و بخارا و سپس به عراق رفت و در بازگشت در قصبه هارون، از توابع نیشابور، به حلقه ارادتمندان عثمان هارونی پیوست و بیست سال در مصاحبت او بود و سفرهای بسیار کرد. در این سفرها با مشایخ بزرگی، چون محیی‌الدین عبدالقادر گیلانی و نجم‌الدین کبری و ابوالنجیب عبدالقاهر سهروردی و ابوسعید تبریزی، دیدار کرد (نفیسی، ص ۱۵۴؛ هدایت، ص ۲۲۰).

در مسیر خود به هند، مدتی در شهر لاهور و در جوار مقبره هجویری اقامت گزید و به تفکر و عبادت مشغول شد. پس از آن، مدتی در دهلی ماند. سپس، به شهر اجمیر رفت و در آنجا ساکن شد؛ به همین علت به اجمیری نیز معروف شده است. او طریقه چشتی را در هند رواج داد و جمعی از هندوان نیز به او گرویدند (دانشنامه جهان اسلام، ذیل مدخل).

معین‌الدین در اجمیر ازدواج کرد و صاحب سه پسر و یک دختر شد. یکی از پسرانش، فخرالدین، از علما و عرفا بود. دخترش، بی‌بی حافظه، نیز از دست پدر خرقة خلافت گرفت و زنان را ارشاد می‌کرد (نفیسی، همان جا).

سرانجام، معین‌الدین در همان شهر درگذشت. مرقد او در اجمیر هند زیارتگاه عارفان و عاشقان است

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1. Santos islámicos - India I. Título. II. Serie. III. Serie: Oxford University South Asian studies series  
297.213(540)  
ICMA 4-53176 R. 58488

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21 FKIM 1002

SOME ASPECTS  
OF  
RELIGION AND POLITICS IN INDIA  
DURING THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

By  
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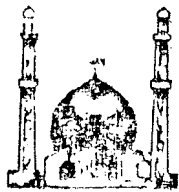
*Qistiyje*

With  
a Foreword by  
Dr. C. Collin Davies  
of the University of Oxford

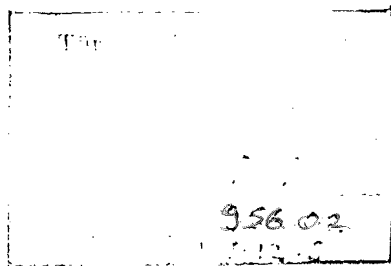
*Qists*

&  
an Introduction by  
Prof. Mohd. Habib  
of the Aligarh Muslim University

۱۷۷-۲۲۳



DARUL ULOOM HAQQANIA  
2009 QANUNJAN STREET DELHI-6 (INDIA)



*Sultan-u'l-'Arifin, Sultan-u'l-Mashaikh, Shah-i-din, Sultan-u'l-Hind* etc.<sup>1</sup> and often used political terminology to indicate his position and sphere of spiritual activity<sup>2</sup>. The following incident, recorded in the earliest and the most reliable authority on the mystic ideology of medieval India, the *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, gives some idea of the exactness with which the areas of spiritual supervision and control were determined:

A musician, 'Abdullah by name, came to Ajodhan and stayed with Shaikh Farid. After a brief sojourn, he took leave of the Shaikh and requested him to pray for his safe journey to Multan. The Shaikh replied:

ازین جا تا بدان موضع که چلیدین گروه باشد  
آنجا حوضی است، تا آنجا حد من است  
سلامت خواهی رسید، از آنجا تا ملتان  
در عهدۀ شیخ بہاء الدین است

(From this place to that *mauza*, which is at a distance of so many *karohs* from here and where there is a tank, it is my territory. You will reach that place safely. From that place to Multan it is under the charge of Shaikh Baha-u'd-din.)<sup>3</sup>

Medieval records abound in innumerable instances of territorial distributions of this type<sup>4</sup> and the seriousness with which reference is made to them by the contemporary mystic writers shows the extent of medieval faith in them. It was under the influence of these ideas that in some towns of northern India elder saints came to be known as *Shah-i-Wilayats*<sup>5</sup>.

1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 2; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 45, 48, 57.  
2. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 77; *Mafatih-u'l-Anwar*, pp. 20, 23; *Shirin Khusrav*, p. 12; *Majnun Laila*, p. 13; *Hasht Bihisht*, pp. 13-14. Note, for instance, the following verses about Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya:

اوشہ از ملک بسامان خویش  
داده ولایت بغلامان خویش

کردان ممالک ملکوت  
مشرق کارخانہ جبروت

3. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 137-138.  
4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 133; *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, 'Aff, pp. 61-62. See also *Maktubat-i-Ashrafi* (MS, Letter No. 73), where he says that Hansi is the frontier between the Chishti and the Suhrawardi jurisdictions:

ہانسی در اگبر چشتیہ و امائر نیک سرشتیہ سہروردیہ مرحد است

5. Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Samnani writes in a letter:

"بہایدانست کہ حق تعالی تقسیم ولایت ہندوستان پارلیامہ روزگار کردہ کہ ہرکدامی ہم خویش را مصافقت نمایند از نزول بلا ہائی متذوعہ و حلول آفتہای مختلفہ"  
(*Maktubat-i-Ashrafi*, MS, Letter No. 73). For accounts of some graves of *Shah-i-Wilayats*, see *Tarikh-i-Amroha* Vol. II, pp. 4-20; *Tazkirat-u'l-Wasilin*, pp. 32-36; *Ma'asir-u'l-Kiram*, p. 9.

Though in some other Muslim lands bitter struggles had, sometimes, taken place between saints of different affiliations for the spiritual control of certain areas<sup>1</sup>, such ugly situations were averted in India by the spirit of mutual trust and accommodation which characterized the relations of the Chishti and the Suhrawardi saints<sup>2</sup>. The Chishti supremacy in Delhi was temporarily threatened by the activities of the Firdausi saints<sup>3</sup> but, very soon, the pressure of public opinion forced them to migrate to Bihar.

Eager to work out the concept of spiritual sovereignty to its full length, the medieval mystics assigned the importance of regalia to some of the articles of their daily use. The patched frock (*khirqah*), the prayer-carpet (*sajjadah*), the wooden sandals (*na'lain-i-chubin*), the rosary (*tasbeeh*) and the rod (*asa*) of the chief saint constituted the mystic insignia in medieval India and whomsoever a Shaikh entrusted these articles in his last moments came to be regarded as his chief spiritual successor<sup>4</sup>.

The Suhrawardi and Chishti centres of activity

The Suhrawardi *silsilah* flourished most vigorously in Sind and the Punjab. A few Suhrawardi saints decided to settle in Delhi and Awadh, but they were overshadowed by their Chishti neighbours. In fact, the Suhrawardi *islah* could not secure any permanent footing in the Gangetic plains. Multan and Uchh remained throughout this period the two principal centres of its activity in India. Multan being a frontier town all entravans from either

1. See *Nafahat-u'l-Uns*, (p. 299) for details of tussle between Shaikh Maudud Uchhi and Shaikh Ahmad Jani, the leader of the *Silsilah-i-Khawagan*, for spiritual control of Herat.

2. Two such situations arose in India also, but were amicably resolved by the efforts of the two *silsilahs*. When Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki reached Multan from Baghdad, Qubachah requested him to settle there permanently. Suspecting an intrusion into his spiritual territory, Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya went to see Qutb Sahib and conveyed to him, in a peculiar mystic manner, his desire to leave his *wilayat*. The polite way of asking a saint to leave one's spiritual territory was to place his shoes in the direction he would like him to go. Shaikh Baha-u'd-din placed the shoes of Qutb Sahib in the direction of Delhi and the latter lost no time in quitting Multan. (*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 61). Samnani says that Qutb Sahib told Qubachah: "This land has been placed under the spiritual protection of Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya and it will remain under him". (*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 20). Nearly a hundred years after this, Sultan Mubarak Khalji requested Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Multani, a grandson of Shaikh Baha-u'd-din, to set up a *khanqah* in Delhi in order to turn away the public eye from Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya, but he refused to enter in the spiritual jurisdiction of his Chishti contemporary (*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 136).

3. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 147; *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 202.

4. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 121-122; *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 287. See also *A'ina-i-Sikandari*, (p. 12) where Amir Khusrav writes about his spiritual mentor:

ز نعلین چوبی شدہ تخت گہر  
ہکی کرسیہیں گشتہ دیگر سریر

ISLAMKUNDLICHE UNTERSUCHUNGEN • BAND 290  
BIBLIOTHÈQUE IRANIENNE • VOL. 69

Denis Hermann / Fabrizio Speziale (eds.)

**Muslim Cultures  
in the Indo-Iranian World**  
during the Early-Modern and Modern Periods

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

23 Mayıs 2015



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INSTITUT FRANÇAIS DE RECHERCHE EN IRAN  
KLAUS SCHWARZ VERLAG • BERLIN



— Gıstı (030884)

**RENEWAL OF THE ČIŠTĪ ORDER  
IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PUNJAB.  
CONVERGING PATHS OF TWO SUFI MASTERS:  
MAULĀNĀ FAḤR AL-DĪN AURANGĀBĀDĪ AND  
NŪR MUḤAMMAD MAHĀRAVĪ**

Sajida Sultana Alvi

*Abstract: The rise of the Čištī chain of Sufi masters (silila) in the eighteenth century in south-western Punjab is presented by examining the lives of two Sufi masters, Faḥr al-Dīn Aurangābādī (d. 1199/1785) and Nūr Muḥammad Mahāravī (d. 1205/1790). They came from two separate worlds; one from urban, formal and sophisticated Delhi, and the other from rural, more informal, flexible and intimate Punjab. This paper challenges the oppositional paradigm so often repeated in the literature by Orientalists. The life stories of Faḥr al-Dīn (master) and Nūr Muḥammad (disciple) highlight the contrasts in their backgrounds while illustrating the concurrent commonalities and links between them and their respective locales. This paper discusses the intimate interactions between the master and the disciple, Nūr Muḥammad's spiritual and academic training, and the transmission of knowledge from master to disciple in part because of the reification of Sufism and the categorical opposition of rural versus urban in much of the scholarly literature on Islam. Nūr Muḥammad brought the intellectual, metaphysical and spiritual traditions of Aurangabad and Delhi to the Punjab. His encounter with Maulānā Faḥr al-Dīn led to a renaissance of the travellers on the Čištī path (ṭarīqa) in the rural Punjab five hundred years after it had peaked in India.*

INTRODUCTION

The perfect manifestation (*mazhar*), the reflection of Maulānā [Faḥr al-Dīn], the follower of his [Maulānā's] wish (*murād*), the favoured and beloved of Allāh and His Prophet, the guide of the period, the leader of communities, the appointee of the Prophet to educate the masses, engaged in the search of the Truth, indifferent to worldly attachments, our master (*maḥdūm*), Maulānā Ḥwāja Nūr Muḥammad. May his exalted shadow carry on.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Nizām 1315, p. 15.

control of the island and the local production of gum mastic. The Maona also monopolized the production of alum mined at Old and New Phocaea (modern Foça, on Turkey's Aegean coast) and obtained the right to trade with the Ottoman Empire in return for an annual tribute of 4,000 gold *scudi* (sing. *scudo*, a gold or silver coin minted by various Italian states) (Turan, *Türkiye-İtalya İlişkileri I*).

After the Ottomans captured Chios in 974/1566, they allowed the island's non-Muslim inhabitants to exercise autonomy in their own internal affairs. Evliya Çelebi, visited the island in 1082/1671 and recorded a number of details about its ports, castles, and urban neighbourhoods.

Chios was especially prized for two rare and valuable local commodities, gum mastic and silk. In the twelfth/eighteenth century, textile manufacturing and dyeing were well developed; moreover, ship building had been an industry on the island since the Middle Ages.

The Venetians seized Chios in September 1106/1694 and occupied it for a little over a decade. During the Greek War of Independence (1236-48/1821-32), a rebellion broke out on the island, but it was repressed by the Ottomans. In 1864, a new era commenced in Ottoman rule of Chios, when it was incorporated into the province of Cezair-i Bahr-i Sefid (Cezâ'ir-i Bahr-i Sefid), along with Samos, Mytilene, and other islands. Greece occupied Chios in 1912, and Greek sovereignty was ratified by the Treaty of London (1913) and the Treaty of Lausanne (1924).

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MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN

SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN ZEKİ ARIKAN

(030844)  
9/2/11

30 Eylül 2015

### Chishtî Mu'în al-Dîn Hâsan

**Chishtî Mu'în al-Dîn Hâsan** Sijzî (536-633/1142-1236) is regarded as the founder of the Chishtiyya Şüfî community in South Asia. He probably migrated to India in the seventh/thirteenth century and settled in the town of Ajmer, in Rajasthan. He is frequently referred to in devotional literature by the epithet *gharîb nauâz* (lit., comfort to the poor).

Little is known of the life of Mu'în al-Dîn Sijzî. His *nisba* indicates that he came



THE LIFE AND TIMES  
OF  
SHAIKH FARID-U'D-DIN  
GANJ-I-SHAKAR

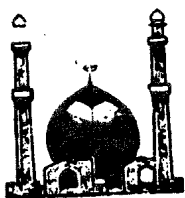
By  
KHALIQ AHMAD NIZAMI  
Professor of History  
Muslim University, Aligarh

With a Foreword by  
SIR HAMILTON GIBB  
Professor of Arabic  
Oxford University, Oxford

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clothes were in shreds and there was nothing in his outward appearance to suggest that he was a deeply religious man. Besides, he was not personally known to the eminent visitor. But, as soon as he stepped into the mosque, Maulānā Nūr Turk exclaimed: "O Mussalmans! the appraiser of true speech (*Sarrāf-i-Sukhan*) has arrived." All anxious eyes turned towards Bābā Farid. Nūr Turk then showered lavish encomiums on him. "He praised me", Bābā Farid informed his disciples in his old age, "in words he had not cared to bestow on any king<sup>1</sup>."

Nūr Turk's speech made Bābā Farid famous in Hānsī and visitors began to throng round him in large numbers. It was during his stay at Hānsī that Shaikh Jamāl-u'd-din joined his discipline.<sup>2</sup> He was a favourite disciple of the Shaikh and it was out of love for him that the Shaikh stayed in Hānsī for twelve years.<sup>3</sup> It is difficult, however, to determine with precision the duration of Bābā Farid's stay in Hānsī. Probably he stayed there for nineteen or twenty years and left it some years after the death of Khwāja Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyār Kākī.

<sup>1</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 199-200.

<sup>2</sup> Jamālī says that soon after the Shaikh's return from Dehli, Jamāl-u'd-din received *Khirqah* from his master. (p. 33).

<sup>3</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 178.

CHAPTER VII

At the Head of the Chishti Silsilah

"Maulānā Farid-u'd-din!", Khwāja Qutb-u'd-din addressed his disciple with tears in his eyes when the latter sought his permission to leave Dehli for Hānsī, "I know that you will go to Hānsī." "I will do as the Shaikh orders me to do," submitted Bābā Farid. "Go," continued Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyār Kākī, "it has been pre-ordained that you will not be present at the time of my death<sup>1</sup>. The saint then asked those who were assembled there to recite the *fātiḥah* for the spiritual elevation of Bābā Farid and bestowed upon him his special prayer carpet and staff. While bidding him farewell, Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din said that he would leave his *khirqah*, *dastār* and wooden sandals<sup>2</sup> with Qāḍī Ḥamid-u'd-din Nāgaurī and that he would receive them from him on the fifth day of his death. Then, with the words on his lips: "My place is yours," the great Chishtī saint Dehli parted for ever with his eminent disciple from the Punjāb.

Khwāja Bakhtiyār's words decided the problem of his successor. Shaikh Badr-u'd-din Ghaznawī and a few other disciples of the Shaikh who were anxious for this honour were gravely disappointed. But no appeals or protests against the Shaikh's decision were possible. His word was law.

The night on which Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyār Kākī was to depart for the world beyond, Bābā Farid dreamt that his master was calling him to his presence. At dawn he left for Dehli. The messenger who was sent from Dehli to convey the sad news to Bābā Farid met him in the way. Bābā Farid hastened to the capital, and reached there on the fourth day. Qāḍī Ḥamid-u'd-din Nāgaurī handed over to him the mystic regalia to him. Bābā Farid offered two *rak'ats* (genuflexion) of prayer, put the *khirqah* on his head and then proceeded to the house of his deceased master and sat in his place.<sup>3</sup> Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din

<sup>1</sup> *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> It may be noted here that the *Khirqah* (patched frock), *dastār* (turban), *'asā*, (rod), and the *na'lain-i-chubīn* (wooden sandals) constituted, what may be called the mystic regalia. It was entrusted by the dying saint to the best among his disciples, a disciple whom he thought fit to bear the burden of leading the organization.

These articles were later delivered by Bābā Farid to Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliya who, in his turn, gave them to Shaikh Naṣir-u'd-din Chirāgh of Dehli. Shaikh Naṣir-u'd-din did not consider any of his disciples fit to shoulder the burden of the organization. He did not, therefore, give them to any one, but, on the other hand, advised his disciples to bury them with him in his grave. *Khawāṣṣ Majālis*, p. 287.

<sup>3</sup> *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 187-88. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 72-73.

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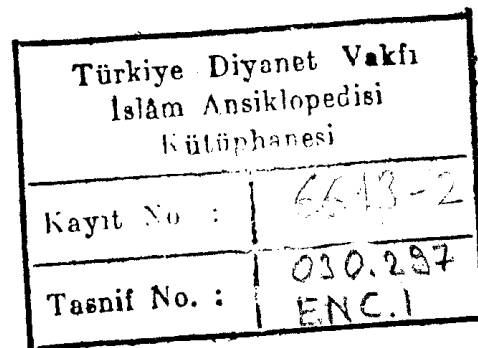
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UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF  
THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ACADEMIES

VOLUME II

C—G

PHOTOMECHANICAL REPRINT



LEIDEN  
E. J. BRILL

LONDON  
LUZAC & CO.

1965

Nizâmî, *Ta'rih-i Mashâyikh-i Çişt* (Urdü) Delhi n.d., 181-6. (MOHAMMAD SHAFI)

**ÇIRAGHĀN** (plur. of *çirāgh*, means of illumination such as candle, torch or lamp), the name of a palace on the European side of the Bosphorus between Beshiktāsh and Ortaköy. First built by Sultān Murād IV for his daughter Kaya Sultān, it was rebuilt by Dāmād İbrāhīm Paşa, the Grand Vizier of Sultān Aḥmad, for his wife Faṭīma Sultān. During the sultan's frequent visits, the famous *çirāghān* festivities (the illumination of tulip gardens with candles and lamps, tortoises with candles on them also wandered about in the gardens) were celebrated here. It was rebuilt of wood by Sultān Muṣṭafā III for this daughter Beyhan Sultān, with a magnificent hall 180 tr. in length, various ceremony halls, valuable floors and interior decorations. Demolished in 1859 by Sultān 'Abd al-Medjīd, the reconstruction began in the time of Sultān 'Abd al-'Azīz in 1863 and was completed in 1869. Made of stone, its architectural style was a mixture of classical styles to suit eastern taste. The building on the beach consisted of three parts, the façade with its mosaics, marble columns and stone work, the interior with its interior decorations, ceilings, wooden wall linings and doors inlaid with mother of pearl were separate works of art. After his deposition in 1876, Sultān 'Abd al-'Azīz stayed there until his suicide. The deposed Sultān Murād V was forced to live there for 27 years. With small alterations, it was used as a Parliament house for the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies and was destroyed by fire three months later on 7 Muḥarram 1328/19 January 1910. The walls and the imperial doors are the only remnants.

*Bibliography*: C. E. Arseven, *Türk Sanatı Tarihi*, Fasc. 8; M. Z. Pakalın, *Çırağan Sarayı in Aylık Ansiklopedi*, Istanbul 1940; T. Öz, *Çırağan Sarayı*, in *Panorama*, no. 1, Istanbul 1945; M. T. Gökbilgin, *Çırağan Sarayı in İA*, Vol. 19, Istanbul 1943; M. Z. Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri*, Istanbul 1948. (TAHSİN ÖZ)

**ÇIRCASSIANS** [see ÇERKES]

**ÇIRCUMCISION** [see KHITĀN]

**ÇIRMEN**, located at the site of Burdipta, a fortress of the ancient Thracians (cf. Tomaschek, 325), is called Τερωματόν in the chronicle of the Byzantine historian Kantakuzenos (cf. also Chalkokondyles, who mentions a Κερματόν χωριον and Črnoměcl in the Serbian sources. It lies on the south side of the river Maritsa, not far above Adrianople (Edirne) and was, at the time of the earlier Ottoman conquests in the Balkans, a point of some strategic importance, since it commanded a ford across the river. At Čirmen, in September 1371/Rabī' I 773), the Ottomans inflicted a crushing defeat on the southern Serbs led by the princes Vukašin and Uglješa. As the tide of Ottoman conquest in the Balkans advanced further towards the north and west, so the significance of Čirmen as a fortress began to decline. Ewliyā Čelebi describes it as *il il kal'esi*, i.e., a fortress of the interior, without garrison and equipment and with its walls in a state of disrepair. Čirmen was during the 14th-19th centuries the centre of a *sandjak* in the *eyālet* of Rümeli, but sank thereafter to the status of a *nāhiye* in the *hādā'* of Muṣṭafā Pāshā Köprüsü belonging to the *wilāyet* and *sandjak* of Edirne.

*Bibliography*: Sa'd al-Dīn, *Tāđi al-Tawārikh*, i, Istanbul A.H. 1279, 83, 518, 541; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāhatnāme*, iii, Istanbul A.H. 1314, 423; Kantakuzenos, i, (Bonn 1828), 191, ii (Bonn 1831),

526, iii (Bonn 1832), 243; Chalkokondyles, Bonn 1843, 31; J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, 49; P. A. von Tischendorf, *Das Lehnswesen in den moslemischen Staaten*, Leipzig 1872, 62, 64; C. Jireček, *Die Heerstrasse von Belgrad nach Constantinopel und die Balkanpässe*, Prague 1877, 99, 108; W. Tomaschek, *Zur Kunde der Hämus-Halbinsel*, SBAk. Wien, Phil.-Hist. Cl., Bd. 113, Vienna 1886, 325; N. Jorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, i, Gotha 1908, 240-241; St. N. Kyriakides, *βυζαντινὰ Μελέται II-V*, Thessalonike 1937, 189; F. Babinger, *Beiträge zur Frühgeschichte der Türkenherrschaft in Rumelien (14.-15. Jahrhundert)*, Brünn, Munich, Vienna 1944, 29 (note 113), 50; H. J. Kissling, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis Thrakiens im 17. Jahrhundert* (Abh. K.M., XXXII/3), Wiesbaden, 38, 38 and 116 (index); Ö. L. Barkan, *Konunlar*, Istanbul 1943, 257-259; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV-XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, Istanbul 1952, 12 ff., 261 ff., 515 ff., and 561 (index) (cf. also, *ibid.*, Vakfiyeler, 235 ff.); Sāmī, *Kāmūs al-'Ālām*, iii, Istanbul 1891, 1873 and vi, Istanbul 1898, 4309 (s.vv. Čirmen, and Muṣṭafā Pāshā Köprüsü). (V. J. PARRY)

**ÇİŞTİ**, KHWĀDJIA MU'İN AL-DİN ḤASAN, one of the most outstanding figures in the annals of Islamic mysticism and founder of the Çiştīyya order [see the following article] in India, was born in or about 536/1141 in Sidjistan. He was in his teens when his father, Sayyid Ghīyāth al-Dīn, died leaving as legacy a grinding mill and an orchard. The sack of Sidjistan at the hands of the Ghuzz Turks turned his mind inwards and he developed strong mystic tendencies. He distributed all his assets and took to itineracy. He visited the seminaries of Samarkand and Bukhārā and acquired religious learning at the feet of eminent scholars of his age. While on his way to 'Irāk, he passed through Harvan, a *kaşaba* in the district of Nişāpūr. Here he met Khwādjia 'Uthmān and joined the circle of his disciples. For twenty years he accompanied his mystic teacher on his *Wanderjahre*. Later on he undertook independent journeys and came into contact with eminent saints and scholars like Shaykh 'Abd al-Kādir Gilāni, Shaykh Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā, Shaykh Nađjīb al-Dīn 'Abd al-Kāhīr Suhrawardī, Shaykh Abū Sa'īd Tabrizī, Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahīd Ghaznawī—all of whom were destined to exercise great influence on contemporary religious thought. He visited nearly all the great centres of Muslim culture in those days—Samarkand, Bukhārā, Baghdād, Nişāpūr, Tabriz, Awsh, İsfahān, Sabzawār, Mihna, Khirkān, Astarābād, Balkh and Ghaznīn—and acquainted himself with almost every important trend in Muslim religious life in the middle ages. He then turned towards India and, after a brief stay at Lahore, where he spent some time in meditation at the tomb of Shaykh 'Alī al-Hudjwīrī, reached Adjmēr before its conquest by the Ghūrids. It was here that he married at an advanced age. According to 'Abd al-Ḥakḥ Dihlawī (d. 1642) he took two wives, one of them being the daughter of a Hindu rāđjā. He had three sons—Shaykh Abū Sa'īd, Shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn and Shaykh Ḥusām al-Dīn—and one daughter, Bībī Djamāl, from these wives. Bībī Djamāl had strong mystic leanings but his sons were not inclined towards mysticism. Nothing is known about Abū Sa'īd; Fakhr al-Dīn took to farming at Mandāl, near Adjmēr; while Ḥusām al-Dīn disappeared mysteriously. Mu'īn al-Dīn died at Adjmēr in 633/1236. His tomb is venerated by Hindus and Muslims alike

Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi

A History of Sufism in India,  
vol: I, New Delhi, 1986.

DN: 18165-1

Dergi / Kitap  
Kütüphanede Mevcuttur

BAĞDE TAYINLANDIĞI  
BOHRA GELİN DOKÜMAN

21 AGUSTOS 1993

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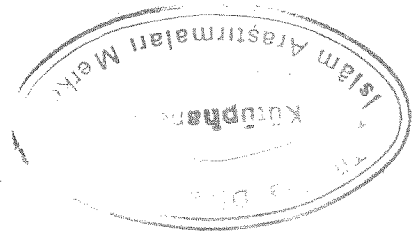
İslâm Araştırmaları

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THE SHRINE AND CULT OF  
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Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Demirbaş No:	30740
Tasnif No	297.75 C10.S

DELHI  
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS  
BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS  
1992

Edited by Christian W. Troll

Islam in India: Studies and Commentaries

Volume two: Religion and Religious Education.

New Delhi, 1985, s. 58-72.

DN: 59114

RESURGENCE OF CHISHTI SILSILA IN THE  
SULTANATE OF DELHI DURING THE LODI PERIOD  
(A.D. 1451-1526)

*Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui*

The period intervening between Timur's invasion of India in A.D. 1398 and the establishment of the Lodi dynasty in A.D. 1451 is socially and culturally uneventful in the history of the Delhi Sultanate. The cities and towns from Lahore and Multan up to Delhi and Meerut were sacked by Timur; either people were taken away as captives or they fled away to safer places as far as Gujarat and the Deccan.<sup>1</sup> Even the metropolitan city that had become a place for refuge and a haven for all those who had merit and skill in a certain field, was denuded of its cultural elite for a long time. No scholar or Sufi of eminence is reported to have flourished in Delhi or its dependencies till Sultan Bahlul's accession to the throne in A.D. 1451. The apparent reasons were the non-availability of jobs, want of royal patronage and starvation during the last

<sup>1</sup>Anonymous, *Tarikh-i Gujarat*, Ms. British Library, London, Or. 1819, f. 27b; Muhammad Bihamad Khani, *Tarikh-i Muhammadi*, Ms. British Library, London, Or. 137, f. 442b; Sharafuddin Yazdi, *Zafar-nama*, ed. Muhammad Allahdad, Vol. 2 (Calcutta, 1888), pp. 77-78.

years of the Sayyid dynasty.<sup>2</sup> With the advent of the Lodis to power, however, an epoch of cultural progress and economic recovery started once again in the Delhi Sultanate. The city of Delhi and its dependencies began to attract men of learning, poetry and the arts from different places.

Attracted by the prosperity of the Empire and by royal patronage, the *masha'ikh* (Sufi saints), the ulema and *danishmands* (intellectuals) came from different parts of India as well as foreign countries with new ideas and the influence of different cultures and civilizations, and settled down in Delhi, Agra and other towns in the Sultanate. The Sufis seem to have played an important part in the society comparable to that of the ulema, *danishmands* (intellectuals) and other leaders of thought. They accomplished a high degree of reconciliation between worldly and spiritual life.

The Lodi period is marked both by the emergence of certain new *silsilas* and the resurgence of the old ones, such as the Suhrawardiyya and Chishtiyya. The Chishti Sufis revived the popularity of their *silsila* and again played an important role in the cultural life of the country. The contribution made by them to Indo-Persian literature is also of immense significance. Besides poetry, they wrote *sharhs* (commentaries) on Arabic and Persian classics and translated Sanskrit works on Hindu mysticism into simple and readable Persian prose. All this helped the process of rapprochement between the Hindus and the Muslims, which had begun in

<sup>2</sup>Ali ibn Mahmud al-Kirmani, known as Shihab Hakim, the compiler of the *Ma'athir-i Mahmud Shahi*, relates that in the year A.D. 1447, Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa was informed about the plight of the divines and scholars in Delhi. That they faced starvation and could not leave for other places owing to the non-availability of financial assistance. Moved by this news, the Sultan of Malwa sent emissaries with money to them and invited them to his court. One of the scholars who joined the court of the King of Malwa in response to his invitation, was Shaikh Nizamuddin Mahmud. On his arrival, Sultan Mahmud Khalji selected him as his *nadim* (associate) and Counsellor for his learning and culture.

Rizqullah Mushtaqi mentions Shaikh Mahmud as Shaikh Mahmud Nu'man and adds that Sultan Ghiyathuddin Khalji, successor of Sultan Mahmud raised him to the position of *hajib* (chamberlain). Shaikh Mahmud is also reported to have got financial assistance from the Sultan for the people of Delhi who visited him from time to time.

Shihab Hakim, *Ma'athir-i Mahmud Shahi*, ed. Nurul Hasan Ansari, Delhi, 1968, pp. 67-68; Shaikh Rizqullah Mushtaqi, *Waqi'at-i Mushtaqi*, Ms. British Library, London, No. Add. 11, 633f. 75a, hereafter cited as *Waqi'at-i Mushtaqi*.

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SOUTH BY POSTMAN

16 NOV 1989

Edited by Christian W. Troll

Islam in India: Studies and Commentaries

Volume two: Religion and Religious Education

New Delhi 1985, s. 250-260 ON: 59114

A History of the Chishti Shaikhs 251

## A HISTORY OF THE CHISHTI SHAIKHS

Paul Jackson

The first thing that strikes the reader of Professor K.A. Nizami's *Tarikh-i masha'ikh-i Chisht*<sup>1</sup> is the handsome appearance of the volume. The *katib* is to be congratulated, too, for his elegant calligraphy, while the author's Urdu prose—as one would expect from him—befits the topic.

In his foreword, Professor Nizami points out that the present volume—re-printed after a quarter of a century—was intended to be the first in a series of volumes dedicated to the Chishti order in India. He says he has already gathered most of the needed material, and that all that remains to be done is to shape it into book form. It will certainly be a major contribution to have such a detailed history of the most famous Sufi order in India.

The present volume examines some general characteristics of Sufism; provides an historical sketch of Sufism before it entered India; gives an historical outline of the Chishti order in India; examines the chief aspects of the order; and presents its theosophy.

<sup>1</sup>Nizami, K. A., *Tarikh-i masha'ikh-i Chisht*, Delhi, Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delhi, 1980.

In his examination of the general nature of Sufism the author asks the primordial question: "What is truth, and where is it to be found?" (p. 27). He also rightly points out that anyone who wishes to understand creation has to understand himself (p. 29). He asserts that man's quest for gnosis—mystical knowledge of God—is Sufism (p.30). He calls this a search by man as man (*insānī جستجُو*) which is known as Sufism (*tasawwuf*). These words show that he has opted to use the term 'Sufism' (*tasawwuf*) in the general sense of 'mysticism', a term which can be, and is, applied to all those who seek a special intuitive knowledge of God, no matter what religion they belong to.

The author thinks that this quest has assumed, in Islam, a proportion not to be found in other religions. "Perhaps in no other religion has this quest assumed the importance and all-embracing nature that it has in Islam" (p. 30). Without going into the heart of the matter—namely, the actual qualitative and quantitative quest for God by adherents of the various religions—one can certainly agree that Muslims in the Indian subcontinent have been greatly influenced by Sufi thought and practice.

The author naturally refutes any allegation that sufism is a blot on Islam's reputation, but he realistically acknowledges that there have been excesses which rightly need to be criticized. He expresses his opinion, that "genuine Sufism is the soul of religion, the life of morality and the perfection of faith" (p. 31). Moreover, "its foundation is the *shari'a*, and its fountain-head is the Quran and *hadith* (Traditions)" (p. 31)

One can accept the legitimacy of this opinion, but there is a difficulty. This statement clearly applies to Islamic mysticism, and 'Sufism' as a necessary consequence, applies to this specific form of mysticism. It is in this sense that the term is used in this book. It means that the previous signification given to the word—i.e. the general sense of mysticism—no longer applies. This is purely a linguistic difficulty which could have been clarified by a suitable distinction.

The author quotes Nizamuddin Auliya to the effect that a spiritual guide has to know the *shari'a*, the Sufi Path and the Divine Reality. Thus he will not say anything against the Islamic Law (*shari'at*). This attitude is certainly representative of mainstream Sufism in India. The Qalandars and others who consider themselves beyond the Law are the exception, and one would have to search far and wide in the writings of the great Indian Sufis to find grounds to

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# The Holy Biography of Hazrat Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti

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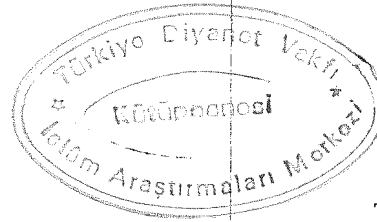
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### From Oral Teaching to Written Text In Sufism

4

## The Textual Formation of Oral Teachings in the Early Chishtī Order

The historical formation of Sufism in India is a process that has taken centuries, and its origins are available to us only through a series of later reconstructions. From the time of Hujwīrī (d. 1074), the northwestern cities of India were home to a number of Sufis, though Hujwīrī is one of the few whose writings have come down to us. Later tradition records that in the late twelfth century, when most of the great Sufi orders began to crystalize in different parts of the Islamic world, the Chishtī order first became established in India. Probably the most popular order in the subcontinent, the Chishtiyya originated in the town of Chisht in Afghanistan. Although later authors such as Jāmī (d. 1492) tell stories of the early Sufis of Chisht, the first Chishtīs themselves wrote nothing, nor do contemporary witnesses tell us anything of their lives.<sup>264</sup> Even in the case of Muʿīn al-Dīn Chishtī (d. ca. 1233), whom tradition identifies as the founder of the Indian Chishtiyya, in order to find any connected written account of him we must wait until the fourteenth century, when the Chishtī order suddenly reveals itself in a full-blown literary tradition written in Persian.

The oral teachings of the Chishtīs, as revealed in the “oral discourses” (*malfūzāt*) literature, took on a canonical textual form that soon became the authoritative and normative genre both for members of the order and for their lay followers. The transition from oral to written form was reflected in diverse literary styles adapted to different audiences. Modern critical debates about the authenticity of some of the Chishtī *malfūzāt* have put into prominence the question of the Chishtī canon, yet the imposition of Western models of literary criticism needs to be supplemented by attention to the elaboration of internal critical categories that help explain the textual mediation of mystical Islam in India.

The explosion of Sufi literary activity in India in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had a powerful formative effect on Indian Sufism. The widespread Suhrawardī order, which came from Baghdad, boasted outstanding mystical writers in its Indian branch, such as Qāzī Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāgawrī (d. 1244), who wrote sophisticated meditations on the ninety-nine names of God and on mystical love.<sup>265</sup> While the Chishtīs did not at first express themselves in writing, they eventually produced a broader and more sustained literary tradition than any other Indian Sufi order. Neither Muʿīn al-Dīn Chishtī nor his two main successors, Quṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī (d. 1235) and Farīd al-Dīn “Ganj-i Shakkar” (d. 1265), wrote any books (the spurious discourses attributed to them are discussed below). The first generations of Indian Chishtīs continued to emphasize oral instruction, although masters such as Farīd al-Dīn also taught standard Arabic works on religion and mysticism, such as the *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* of Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī. Yet in the next generation, the Chishtī master Nizām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ (d. 1325) made such a profound effect on his contemporaries that a new genre of literature, the *malfūzāt*, emerged to embody his teachings.

In theory, the *malfūzāt* was as close as one could get in words to the actual presence of the Sufi master. Although the authors of the *malfūzāt* texts did not actually take dictation at the time when the master was speaking, they typically tried to write out his talks from memory as soon as a daily session ended, and in some cases they had the good fortune to have their work corrected by the master. Nonetheless, in the act of rewriting the master’s words, the writer inevitably exercised some kind of selection and interpretation, and so produced a narrative structure depicting the Sufi teaching from a particular point of view. This combination of oral transmission and narrative recasting naturally had precedents in Sufi tradition. By the tenth century, the collecting of Sufi biographical dictionaries, with emphasis on sayings, had become an established category in Arabic religious literature; Sufi hagiography insofar as it stressed sayings was basically an outgrowth of the *ḥadīth* literature, which collected the sayings of the Prophet Muḥammad.<sup>266</sup>

Oral traditions from several outstanding personalities in the early Sufi movement, such as Abū Yazīd and al-Ḥallāj, were collected in Arabic in monograph form; typically these traditions were related as disconnected episodes, often introduced (as in *ḥadīth*) by the chain of transmitters (*isnād*).<sup>267</sup> In Persian the first monographic Sufi biographies concern Abū Saʿīd ibn Abī al-Khayr (d. 1049). His two biographies, written by his descendants some one hundred to one hundred fifty years after his death, narrate a long series of incidents that reveal his actions and sayings as a Sufi teacher.<sup>268</sup> Other works,

Carl W. Ernst, *Eternal Garden: Mysticism, History  
and Politics at a South Asian Sufi Center, Albany:*  
*State University of New York Press - 1992, s. 62-84.*



Mu'inu'd-Din, Khwaja (1139A.D. — 1236A.D.)

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of Khwaja Khawand Mahmud, while the rest of the work deals with the problems of *Fiqh*, concluding with a detailed analysis of the duties of orthodox Sunni rulers. This section largely follows the *Zakhiratu'l-muluk* by Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani and the *Sulukul-muluk* of Fazlu'llah Ruzbihan Isfahani.

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*Kanzu's-sa'adat*, ff. 256b-58a.

*Khazinatu'l-asfiya'*, I, p. 628.

### Mu'inu'd-Din, Khwaja

(1139A.D. — 1236A.D.)

Both medieval and modern scholars have showered copious praise on Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Chishti, but no reliable information regarding his early life, before he settled in Ajmer, remains. The only information recorded is the name of the area where he was born, the name of his teacher, and the fact that he had travelled widely. Strangely enough, the voluminous book, *Khairu'l-Majalis*, does not mention Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din in any connection,

and the *Fawa'idu'l-Fu'ad* refers to him merely in passing.

The earliest works which relate anecdotes of the early life of Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Chishti and his encounters with the court of Prithviraj at Ajmer are the apocryphal *malfuzats*. These tend to indicate that within about a hundred and fifty years of his death, the Khwaja had become a legend in India. The *Siyaru'l-Auliya'*, drawing on this literary source and also on family anecdotes, gives the following account of the Khwaja.

Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Sijzi was the embodiment of sufi virtues and famous for his outstanding spiritual achievements, which included the performance of miracles. He was the *khalifa* of Khwaja 'Usman Harwani, an eminent Chishti sufi who lived in Nishapur. Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din related that after he had entered the service of Khwaja Usman Harwani and been enrolled as his disciple, he then served his master for twenty years without a moment's rest. Finding him steadfast both in service and the practice of spiritual exercises, the Khwaja passed on to his disciple divine blessings which he himself had acquired.

The *Sultanu'l-Masha'ikh* (Shaikh Nizamud Din Auliya') believed that when Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din reached Ajmer, India was ruled by Pithaura Ra'i (prithviraj) and his capital was Ajmer. Pithaura and his high officials resented the Shaikh's presence in their city, but the latter's eminence and his apparent power to perform miracles, prompted them to refrain from taking action against him.

A disciple of the Khwaja's was in the service of Pithaura Ra'i. After the disciple began to receive hostile treatment from the Ra'i, the Ra'i, the Khwaja sent a message to Pithaura in favour of the Muslim. Pithaura refused to accept the recommendation, thus indicating his resentment of the Khwaja's alleged claims to understand the secrets of the Unseen.

When Khwaja Mu'inud-Din (the spiritual King of Islam) heard of this reply he prophesied: 'We have seized Pithaura alive and

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### Muhtasham Khan, Shaikh Qasim Fathpuri (17th Century)

**Muhtasham Khan was appointed to the rank of 1,000 with 500 horses in Jahangir's reign.**

Muhtasham Khan was the brother of Islam Khan Shaikh 'Ala'-ud-Din. In the 3rd year of Jahangir's reign he was appointed to the rank of 1,000 with 500 horses. In the 5th year, he was granted an increase of 250 horses. After the death of Islam Khan he received an increase in his rank. In the 8th year, he was appointed governor of Bengal and in the 9th year his rank was increased to 4,000 with 4,000 horses.

As he did not possess the essential qualities of leadership and in fact was devoid of any powers of management, people of the area were dissatisfied with him. He deputed an army without proper preparation and arrangement for the conquest of Assam. After it had made three or four marches in the country, the Assamese carried out a night attack, which resulted in a heavy defeat for his army. On this matter being reported to the King, he was removed from office and he fell out of favour. About the same time he died.

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### Mu'in-ud-Din Ahmad Khan Farankhudi (d. 1575)

**Mu'in-ud-Din Ahmad Khan entered in Mughal service in Akbar's reign.**

In the year when Humayun started from Kabul for the conquest of Hindustan, Mu'in-ud-Din Ahmad Khan accompanied his stirrups in the shadow of royal favours. In the 6th year of Akbar's reign, when the Emperor's standards marched towards the Eastern provinces, he was left in charge of Agra. In the 7th year, when 'Abdullah Khan Uzbek was deputed for the conquest of Malwa, Mu'in-ud-Din, who was distinguished for his rectitude and ability among the officers of the Buyutat, was honoured by the grant of the title of Khan and sent there with the instructions that after the conquest he should tactfully conciliate the plebeians and nobles of the area; and after defining the Khalsa lands and the fiefs to be granted, in accordance with their ranks, to the Amirs, who had been appointed to the expedition, return to the Court. He on his arrival carried out the division judiciously and returned to the presence; and was the object of increased favours (from Akbar).

In the 18th year he was attached to Mun'im Khan, who, according to orders had started for the conquest of Patna (Bihar). And later, he accompanied Mun'im Khan to Bengal. In the 20th year, when the army was stationed in the city of Jinnatabad (Gaur) and great mortality resulted from the effects of the bad air, he also died there in the year 983 A.H./1575 A.D.

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### ✓ Mu'inu'd-Din, Khwaja (1139 — 1236)

**Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti was the great Chisti Sufi saint and scholar of the Chishtiya school of Nagor.**

Every year hundreds of thousands of men and women throng at Ajmer to seek peace and solace at the shrine of Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti, the greatest Sufi saint of India. The Chishtiya school with its liberal and tolerant outlook counts a large number of people as its adherents and a visit to the shrine is considered a very pious act.

Both medieval and modern scholars have showered copious praise on Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Chishti, but no reliable information regarding his early life, before he settled in Ajmer, remains. The only information recorded is the name of the area where he was born, the name of his teacher, and the fact that he had travelled widely. Strangely enough, the voluminous book, *Khairu'l-Majalis*, does not mention Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din in any connection, and the *Fawar'idu'l-Fu'ad* refers to him merely in passing.

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Pithaura refused to accept the recommendation, thus indicating his resentment of the Khwaja's alleged claims to understand the secrets of the Unseen. When Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din (the spiritual King of Islam) heard of this reply he prophesied: 'We have seized Pithaura alive and handed him over to the army of Islam.' About the same time, Sultan Mu'izzud-Din Muhammad's army arrived from Ghazna, attacked the forces of Pithaura and defeated them. Pithaura was taken alive, and thus the Khwaja's prophesy was fulfilled.

The *Akhbaru'l-Akhyar* also contains the same account, and a large number of medieval and modern scholars confirm the validity of the story and recount fantastic miracles performed by the Khwaja at Ajmer. A modern author states

Other contributions are E. Odisho, "Phonetic and Phonological Description of the Labio-Palatal and Labio-Velar Approximants in Neo-Aramaic" (Iraqi *Koine*); K. Tsereteli, "The Velar Spirant *g* in Modern East Aramaic Dialects"; S. I. Sara, S.J., "Feminine Gender in Modern Chaldean: Form and Function"; Y. Sabar, "General European Loanwords in the Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Zakho, Iraqi Kurdistan"; S. E. Fox, "Cliticization in Neo-Aramaic" (*Koine*); R. D. Hoberman, "Reconstructing Pre-Modern Aramaic Morphology: The Independent Pronouns"; O. Jastrow, "Personal and Demonstrative Pronouns in Central Neo-Aramaic" (Türöyo and Hertevin); E. Panoussi, "On the Senaya Dialect"; W. Arnold, "New Materials on Western Neo-Aramaic"; G. Goldenberg and M. Zaken, "The Book of Ruth in Neo-Aramaic" (Jewish Zakho); B. Poizat, "La Complainte sur la peste de Pioz" (eighteenth-century Chaldean poetry).

S. A. K.

Congress Volume, Jerusalem 1986. Edited by J. A. EMERTON. Leiden: E. J. BRILL, 1988. Pp. vii + 303. Hfl 120.

This volume contains most of the papers read at the Jerusalem meeting of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament in August, 1986. The roll call of scholars represented here is an illustrious one. Of particular interest to members of the Society will be: F. M. Cross, "A report on the Samaria papyri"; W. W. Hallo, "Texts, statues and the cult of the divine king"; K. A. Kitchen, "Egypt and Israel during the first millennium B.C."; W. G. Lambert, "Old Testament mythology in its ancient Near Eastern context"; A. Malamat, "Premonarchical social institutions in Israel in the light of Mari"; and C. H. Gordon, "Ebla as background for the Old Testament." Other contributions are by N. Avigad, F. Crüsemann, M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, R. Hanhart, M. Haran, T. Ishida, B. Lang, E. Lipiński, M. Ottosson, E. Puech, H. Ringgren, J. J. M. Roberts, L. E. Stager, H. Stegemann, B. Uffenheimer, M. Weinfeld, L. Alonso Schökel, and R. Rendtorff.

S. A. K.

*The Bazaar of the Storytellers*. Translated by WILMA HESTON and MUMTAZ NASIR. Islamabad: LOK VIRSA PUBLISHING HOUSE, 1989. Pp. 349. Rs 150. [Distr. by South Asia Books.]

This is one of the most enjoyable books I have read in a long time. Wilma Heston, who has worked in Peshawar collecting folk tales and ballads both from Pathan singers and

from tapes, was supported by an NEH translation grant as well as by a Smithsonian grant. She is able to give vitality to the atmosphere of the famous Qissakhwani Bazaar in her very convincing translations. She retells the stories, interspersed with little verses, and it is remarkable how faithfully her rendering of the tales reproduces the original style and sound. The specialist will see, with delight, that the traditional poetical imagery is very much alive even in the most recent stories. The translators offer a short introduction to each story, placing it in its framework in Pathan tradition; a glossary and explanations of certain terms facilitate understanding for those who are not familiar with the Pathan way of life.

The continuity of the Pathan code of honor is well expressed in the stories, which comprise classical tales, such as Adam Khan and Dur Khanai, and stories which tell of the brave behavior of men and women in the days of the British raj. Many of them speak of the aversion between cousins, because they may turn out to be a man's worst enemies, due to inheritance problems, and in each and every story the adamant defense of the family honor forms the center around which the events move. Thus, it is an instructive and at the same time very readable book. The Peshawar atmosphere is captured well in the small drawings which accompany the tales.

ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL  
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

*Building Construction in Mughal India: The Evidence from Painting*. By AHSAN JAN QAISAR. New York: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS; Delhi: CENTER OF ADVANCED STUDY IN HISTORY, ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, 1989. Pp. 72 + plates. \$19.95, Rs 150.

Mughal miniatures are much more than beautiful paintings in delightful colors—they are important historical documents, because they not only show portraits of Mughal and Rajput grandees, of scholars and holy men, but give us a deep insight into the material culture of India at the time of her greatest glory. Professor Ahsan Jan Qaisar's book makes use of this aspect of miniatures from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The author has carefully studied the works written in Persian, historical studies as well as documents, and utilized the accounts of British and French travelers to Mughal India. Thus he is able to offer the reader a comprehensive view of all aspects of the architectural process: we learn how the work was organized, who was in charge of which part of the building, which material was used and what kind of tools architects and masons needed in order to build the structures, whose beauty and strength amaze the spectator to this day. Literary and pictorial evidence are carefully compared, and a good number of black-and-white and color pictures prove his points. Thus the book will serve as a

model for future studies of the material aspects of Mughal (and perhaps also of other Islamic) culture. Appendices deal with scaffolding, with the role elephant statues played; and Bernier's report about the houses of Surat is offered in translation. The bibliography is as complete as could be hoped, with the exception of some important studies published recently in the United States, such as the publications of Fatehpur Sikri by Glenn Lowry, Michael Brand, and Attilio Petrucciello. They were apparently not yet available to the author.

We hope that Professor Qaisar will continue working in this field, for we need such studies in order to complement both purely philological studies and approaches that emphasize mainly the aesthetic side of Mughal art. We are grateful for this publication.

A. S.

*The Shrine and Cult of Mu'in al-Din Chishti of Ajmer*. By P. M. CURRIE. Oxford University South Asian Studies Series. Delhi: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1989. Pp. 220. Rs 180, \$24.95.

This book is an attempt to go back to the real life of one of the most venerated saints of Muslim India, whose mausoleum has been the goal of millions of pious pilgrims for more than 700 years. Mr. Currie has apparently spent a considerable time in Ajmer, and his descriptions of the rites of the pilgrimage, the role of the *khuddam* and the administration are very clearly delineated—the description of "looting the *deg*," the attempt to get portions of the blessed food from the boiling hot cauldrons, is particularly impressive. But before entering into detailed descriptions of the shrine and those in charge of it, Mr. Currie tries to demythologize the vita of Mu'in al-Din Chishti and offers the reader a careful study of the oldest sources in which the saint is mentioned (the diversity of the term "saint" is studied in the introductory chapter). Very little can be said about the "real" Mu'in al-Din; likewise, precious little is known about the way the office of the *sajjadanishin* continued in the first centuries. The author shows the relations of the shrine with the Mughal emperors, under whom the most important buildings were erected and endowments made. Later, the Nizam of Hyderabad was also a major benefactor of the shrine. The book contains many interesting details, good photographs, and a wealth of information, written by someone who has studied his subject with love and understanding. One remark: always read *kilam* instead of *kilm*.

A. S.

*Muslim Response to the West: Muslim Historiography in India, 1857-1914*. By MUHAMMAD ASLAM SYED. Historical Studies (Muslim India) Series, 9. Islamabad: NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL RESEARCH, 1988. Pp. 158. Rs 150, \$15.

The author gives a useful survey of the responses of the Muslim intelligentsia to developments after the so-called Mutiny in 1857, which largely destroyed the fabric of Muslim life and forced Indian Muslims to rethink the roots of their culture as well as possible solutions for the future. He rightly emphasizes the influence of some British institutions, such as Delhi College, as well as the reaction of leading Muslims to the historical works of Sprenger and Muir, on the one hand, of Gibbon and Carlyle, on the other. The responses were threefold: that of the Modernists, beginning with Karāmat 'Alī and culminating in Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān (the founder of the Aligarh Anglo-Muslim College) and Sayyid Amīr 'Alī; they were deeply influenced by modern liberal-critical Western ideas and tried to interpret Islam in a "rational" way, taking their inspiration in part from (idealized) Mu'tazilite theology. Understandably, these thinkers and reformers were bitterly criticized by the Traditionalists, whose centers were Deoband (developing as a counterweight to Aligarh's "dangerous" influence) and Bhopal, where the husband of the ruling princess, Šiddīq Ḥasan Khan, is the main representative of the *ahl-i ḥadīth*. Maulāna Shibli tried to establish a middle way between the extremes with the foundation of the *Nadwat al-'ulamā'* in Lucknow. While the Traditionalists in general followed the inherited methods and views of medieval Islamic scholars, Shibli, doubtlessly the most important Muslim historian of this period, devoted most of his biographical writing to the great figures of history, among whom 'Umar takes pride of place (*al-Fārūq*). Among the spiritual leaders of medieval Islam he singled out Abū Ḥanīfa, whose approach to Islam seemed to him ideal. (Strangely, the author does not mention that Shibli assumed the nickname *Nu'mānī* out of respect for Abū Ḥanīfa.)

Another way of confronting the Muslims with their history was that of the New School which, in this book, is represented by Ḥālī, Āzād, and Sharar—men who did not belong to either faction and used, even in their historical writing, a more literary form: Ḥālī's *Musaddas* (1879) is the finest example of this approach, while the subjective element seems to be dominant in Āzād, famed for his elegant style. Sharar, on the other hand, tried to draw an idealized picture of medieval Islam through historical novels, and only his *Guzaghta Lucknow* can be regarded as a "historical" work.

The author gives numerous examples to illustrate his views, and I find some of his analyses very interesting, especially those of Shibli and Āzād.

A number of studies about the period have not been mentioned in the bibliography (probably because the printing took a long time)—the works of J. M. S. Baljon on Shāh

# Chishti, Khwaja Moinuddin Hasan, Sultan-ul-Hind, Gharib Nawaz (1141-1239)

## Mystic Saint, Founder of the Chishtia Order

Chishti, Khwaja Mu'in Al-Din Hasan, one of the most outstanding figures in the annals of Islamic mysticism and founder of the Chishti order in India, was born in or about 1141 in Sidjistan. He was in his teens when his father, Sayyid Ghiyath Al-Din died leaving as legacy a grinding mill and an orchard.

The sack of Sidjistan at the hands of the Ghuzz Turks turned his mind inwards and he developed strong mystic tendencies. He distributed all his assets and took to itineracy. He visited the seminaries of Samarkand and Bukhara and acquired religious learning at the feet of eminent scholars of his age. While on his way to 'Iraq', he passed through Harvan, a qasba in the district of Nishapur. Here he met Khwaja Uthman and joined the circle of his disciples. For twenty years he accompanied his mystic teacher on his wanderings. Later on he undertook independent journeys and came into contact with eminent saints and scholars like Shaykh 'Abd al-Kadir Glani, Shaykh Nadim-al-Din Kubra, Shaykh Nadjib al-Din 'Abd al-Kahir Suhrawardi, Shaykh Abu Sa'id Tabrizi, Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahid Ghaznawi—all of whom were destined to exercise great influence on contemporary religious thought. He visited nearly all the great centres of Muslim culture in those days—Samarkand, Bukhara, Baghdad, Nishapur, Tabriz, Awsh, Isfahan, Sabzawar, Mihna, Khirkan, Astarabad, Balkh and Ghaznin and acquainted himself with almost every important trend in Muslim religious life in the middle ages.

He then turned towards India, and after a brief stay at Lahore, where he spent some time in meditation at the tomb of Shaykh 'Ali al-Hujwiri reached Ajmer before its conquest by the Ghurids.

Khwadja Mu'in al-Din laid the foundations of the Chishti order in India and worked out its principles at Ajmer, the seat of Chahan power. No authentic details are available about the way he worked in the midst of a population which looked askance at every foreigner. It appears that his stay was disliked by Prithvi Raj and the caste Hindus but the common people flocked to him in large numbers. He visited Delhi twice during the reign of Iltemish (1210-1235), but kept himself away from the centre of political power and quietly worked for the cultural revolution in the country.

His firm faith in 'Wahdat al-Wujud' (Unity of Being) provided the necessary ideological support to his mystic mission to bring about emotional integration of the people amongst whom he lived.

Some of his sayings, as preserved in Siyar al-Auliya, reveal him as a man of wide sympathies, catholic views and deep humanism. He interpreted religion in terms of human service and exhorted his disciples "to **develop river-like generosity, sunlike affection and earth-like hospitality**". The highest form of devotion (ta'at) according to him, was "to **redress the misery of those in distress; to fulfil the needs of the helpless and to feed the hungry**". The Chishti order owes to him the ideology which is expounded in the conversations of Shaykh Nizam al-Din Awliya (Fawa'id al-Fu'ad) and other Chishti mystic works of the 13th and the 14th centuries.

It was here that he married at an advanced age. According to 'Abd al-Hakk Dihlawi (d.1642) he took two wives, one of them being the daughter of a Hindu raja. He had three sons—Shaykh Abu Sa'id, Shaykh Fakhr al-Din and Shaykh

Husam al-Din—and one daughter, Bibi Djamal, from these wives. Bibi Djamal had strong mystic leanings but his sons were not inclined towards mysticism. Nothing is known about Abu Sa'id; Fakhr al-Din took to farming at Mandal, near Ajmer; while Husam al-Din disappeared mysteriously.

Mu'in al-Din Chishti died at Ajmer in 1236.

He is venerated by Hindus and Muslims alike and hundreds of thousands of people from all over the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent assemble there on the occasion of his 'urs (death anniversary)

### Dargah Sharif

The dargah area contains many buildings—gates, mosques, hospitals, langars etc.—constructed by the rulers of Malwa, the Mughal emperors, nobles, merchants and mystics during the past several centuries. Muhammad B. Tughlak (626-752/1325-1351) was the first Sultan of Delhi who visited his grave (Futuh al-Salatin, Madras, 466). The Khaldji Sultans of Malwa constructed the tomb of the Saint. It was during the reign of Akbar (963/1014/1556-1605) that Ajmer became the most important centre of pilgrimage in the country. The Mughal emperors displayed great reverence for the mausoleum of the saint. Akbar undertook a journey on foot to Ajmer.

The works attributed to him are—Gandj al Asrar, Anis al-Arwah, Dalil al-Arifin and Diwan-i-Mu'in.

References: M. Habib, *Chishti Mystic Records of the Sultanate Period, in Medieval India Quarterly*, Vol. i, no. 2, 15-22; K.A. Nizami, *Studies in Medieval Indian History, Aligarh 1956*, (40-42). Abu'l Fadl: *A'in-i-Akbari*, Ghawthi, *Gulzar-i-*  
(Contd. on page 82)

Writing the biography of a medieval saint is no easy task. It needs an apparatus of critical evaluation specifically related to mystic literature. Without psychodynamic insight into the mystic ideology and institutions, it becomes extremely difficult to see things in their proper perspective. Mystic lucubrations and *shathiyāt* (ecstatic utterances), credulous behaviour of the devotees, motivations of the saint—all have to be carefully sifted. Once this is done, it becomes easier to separate the wheat from the chaff and to arrive at the real moral and spiritual teachings of the saint. Sometimes twentieth-century canons of criticism are adopted to consider the ways and values of persons who lived in a different milieu and worked in different circumstances, and the warning of Fustal de Coulanges—that one writing about medieval institutions 'should keep out from the history of the past modern ideas which a false method carries into it'—is lost sight of.

Semantically the use of the term 'saint' in Muslim mystic parlance may be wrong, but it has assumed a connotation synonymous with the Arabic *auliyā'* (sing. *walī*). Currie would have done better to trace the concept in the light of the Qur'ān (as Maulana Abul Kalam Azad has done in his pamphlet on *Auliya' Allāh*) or in the light of the early mystic works, such as *Risālat al-Qushairī*, the *Ihyā' al-'Ulūm*, and the *Qūt al-Qulūb*, rather than discuss it on the basis of the observations of O'Brien, Titus, Mayer, Westermarck, etc.

Currie's assessment and utilization of source material raise certain basic questions. First, reliance on Urdu translations of important works, such as *Siyar al-Auliya'*, *Akbbār al-Akbyār*, the apocryphal *malfūzāt* of Chishtī saints, and *Gulzār-i Abrār*, is hardly justified in a critical study of this type. As a result, the work contains ineffective and soulless translation of some highly significant and suggestive passages.

Secondly, the author's assessment of the historical value of *Siyar al-Auliya'* leaves much to be desired. This is the most important work of the Sultanate period to deal with the biographies of the Chishtī saints. Its author refers to different opinions in his anxiety to arrive at the correct version (e.g. 272), and abstains from exaggeration. What more could one expect from a medieval hagiographer? He was a mystic and surveyed the world around him from the foot of the *khānqāh*. If this fact is kept in mind, the whole perspective becomes clear and meaningful. Currie's statement that 'once the miraculous has been taken out of the *Siyar al-Auliya'* there is very little left' (40) cannot be sustained by any objective assessment of the work. Similarly his assessment of *Akbbār al-Akbyār* (27 n. 16) ignores the fact that Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq Muḥaddith had applied the canons of *uṣūl-i-isnād* in preparing his work and had accepted facts which he could get tested on this basis.

Thirdly, there is a well-established method of evaluating the statements of later writers by discovering their sources of information, tracing the basis of their adoration, and removing the crusts added by the superstitious instincts

of posterity. Currie proceeds in a way that confuses the earlier and the later accounts.

Fourthly, the apocryphal literature came into existence mostly after the exodus of Delhi's population to Daulatabad. But this literature contains much that was found floating down the stream of time and it depicts saints as their immediate successors saw them. The fact that *Sīrat-i-Firūz Shāhī*, *Shamā'il al-Atiqiyā'*, *Siyar al-Auliya'*, *Akbbār al-Akbyār*, and others refer to some of their statements shows that they contained some elements of genuine information and some reliable factual data. It would be unfair to think that every fact quoted there is wrong. Critical scholarship was not chary of accepting what was supported by continuity of traditions and comparison with ideological positions. The assessment and evaluation of oral tradition in the religious literature of the world demand a very careful and cautious approach. Currie, who was anxious to trace the growth of cult, might have handled this literature deftly and differently. One cannot help feeling that the traditions set by Massignon, Nicholson, Arberry, and others have failed to provide him with any guidelines.

It is true that the *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād*, *Khair al-Majālis*, and even the *Surūr al-Ṣudūr* (which is directly connected with the saint of Ajmer through Shaikh Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nagauri) do not give any details about the life of the shaikh. But this does not mean that the shaikh was a nonentity and did not occupy any position in the *silsila*. In fact his impact was there, though his teachings and the details of his life were not so well known. (1) All the spiritual genealogies that have come down to us through 'Iṣāmī, Burhān al-Dīn Gharīb, Mīr Khurd, and others, mention his name. From the time of Muḥammad b. Tughluq to the last Mughal emperor—let alone the élite and the mystics—rulers have visited his grave. (2) Currie complains that 'Contemporary historians do not mention Mu'in al-Dīn' (26). Had he referred to *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, written during the time of Jahāngīr, he would have found the reason. Incorporating accounts of saints in historical works was, till then, contrary to the Iranian tradition of historiography. (3) Mīr Khurd considered him to be the 'deputy of the Prophet', and spoke with respect about his tomb which attracted people from far and near. One would like to know how this legend grew up and why. Did it have its roots in the assessment of the shaikh's role in the broader framework of the history of Islam in India? One may not agree *in toto* with Ronald de Sousa's *The Rationality of Emotion* (London, 1987), but there is much that is based on deep and searching analysis. No student of mysticism can altogether ignore his arguments. Further, ideas which have been discussed and put aside long ago have determined Currie's assessment. The difference between 'prophetic consciousness' and 'mystic consciousness' has been very clearly indicated in mystic works, and from Shaikh 'Alī Hujwīrī, author of *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, to Iqbal (*The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*) religious thinkers have dispelled this misunderstanding. Unfortunately Currie could not rid himself of it.

In some sayings of the saint, as quoted in *Siyar al-Auliya'*, we find incontrovertible indication of the lines on which the early Chishtī mystic ideology was

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از دیگر مریدان قطب‌الدین چشتی این اشخاص بودند: پیر کبار چشتی اهل پیشاور (عالم فقری، ص ۱۱۹)؛ ابونصر شکیبان زاهد، از مشایخ سیستان؛ شیخ حسن تبتی؛ خواجه سبزیوش آذربایجانی و عثمان رومی، که خرقه بایزید بسطامی\* به وی رسیده و ازین‌رو پیر هر دو سلسله بوده است (غلام سرور لاهوری، ج ۱، ص ۲۵۰).

به قطب‌الدین چشتی دو اثر، یکی خلاصه‌الشریعة و دیگری منهاج‌العارفين، نسبت داده و گفته‌اند که کتاب اخیر را در پانزده سالگی درباره سیرت خواجهگان چشتی نوشته است (چشتی عثمانی، ص ۷۸؛ غلام سرور لاهوری، ج ۱، ص ۲۴۸). از این دو کتاب نسخه‌ای به دست نیامده، فقط یک نسخه خطی به نام منهاج‌العارفين، از مؤلفی ناشناس، موجود است (نوشاهی، ج ۱، ص ۱۵۱).

منابع: عبدالرحمان بن احمد جامی، نفحات الانس، چاپ محمود عابدی، تهران ۱۳۷۰ ش؛ هدیه بن عبدالرحیم چشتی عثمانی، سیرالقطاب، لکنئو ۱۹۱۳/۱۳۳۱؛ داراشکوه بابری، سفینه الاولیاء، کانپور ۱۳۱۸؛ عالم فقری، اولیاء‌الله، لاهور ۱۹۹۰؛ محمد بن موسی غزنوی، مقامات ژنده پیل: احمد جام، چاپ حشمت‌الله مؤید سندجی، تهران ۱۳۴۰ ش؛ غلام سرور لاهوری، خزینة‌الاصفیا، کانپور ۱۹۱۴/۱۳۳۲؛ محمد معصوم بن زین‌العابدین معصوم علیشاه، طرائق الحقائق، چاپ محمد جعفر محجوب، تهران ۱۳۳۹-۱۳۴۵ ش؛ احمد منزوی، فهرست مشترک نسخه‌های خطی فارسی پاکستان، اسلام‌آباد ۱۳۶۲-۱۳۷۰ ش؛ محمد بن مبارک میرخورد، سیرالاولیاء در احوال و ملفوظات مشایخ چشت، لاهور ۱۳۵۷ ش؛ عارف نوشاهی، فهرست کتابهای فارسی چاپ سنگی و کمیاب کتابخانه گنج بخش، اسلام‌آباد ۱۳۶۵ ش.

/ محمد مهدی نوش آبادی /

**چشتی، معین‌الدین حسن سجزی**، از عرفای قرن ششم و مروج سلسله چشتیه\* در هند. او در ۵۳۷ به دنیا آمد (داراشکوه بابری، ص ۹۳). گفته‌اند که نسل وی از سادات سیستان بودند و به احتمال بسیار خود او در قصبه سجز به دنیا آمد؛ از این‌رو، وی را معین‌الدین حسینی سجزی (سیستانی) نیز می‌خوانند (علی بدخشی، ص ۱۴۷ و پانویس ۴؛ قس چشتی عثمانی، ص ۱۰۰-۱۰۱، که سنجری ضبط کرده است). همچنین به دلیل سکونت و وفات معین‌الدین در اجمیری به او اجمیری نیز گفته‌اند (چشم سرور لاهوری، ج ۱، ص ۲۵۶).

معین‌الدین در نوجوانی پدر خود، غیاث‌الدین، را از دست داد و از او باغ و آسیایی به ارث برد (جمالی دهلوی، ص ۵). علت ورود او را به سلک صوفیان، مواجهه‌اش با مجذوبی به نام

(۲۴۸). گفته‌اند که یوسف چشتی با خواجه عبدالله انصاری (متوفی ۴۸۱) ملاقات داشته و مورد علاقه و احترام وی بوده (چشمی، همانجا؛ غلام سرور لاهوری، ج ۱، ص ۲۴۸) و ابوبکر شبلی (متوفی ۳۳۴) نیز در مجلس سماع یوسف چشتی حاضر می‌شده است (چشتی عثمانی، ص ۷۵؛ غلام سرور لاهوری، ج ۱، ص ۲۴۷)، اما این موضوع از لحاظ زمانی تا اندازه‌ای بعید به نظر می‌رسد.

پس از یوسف چشتی، فرزند بزرگش، مودود، در ۲۴ یا ۲۶ سالگی بر سجاده قطبیت نشست (جامی، همانجا؛ چشتی عثمانی، ص ۷۸). برخی از نزدیکان مودود، به سبب جوانی او، وی را شایسته جانشینی پدر ندانستند، بلکه عموی وی (خواجه علی چشتی) را، که در دهلی نزد سلطان غیاث‌الدین بلبن\* بود، وارث سجاده دانستند، اما خواجه‌علی در نامه‌ای این مقام را به مودود سپرد (میرخورد، ص ۲۲۱-۲۲۲).

از جمله سوانح زندگی مودود، ملاقات او با شیخ احمد جام\* ملقب به ژنده پیل بود. چگونگی مواجهه این دو، با تفاوتی، نقل شده است (چشمی، ص ۳۳۱-۳۳۴؛ غزنوی، ص ۷۰-۷۴؛ چشتی عثمانی، ص ۸۲-۸۴؛ غلام سرور لاهوری، ج ۱، ص ۲۴۸-۲۴۹). قطب‌الدین مودود در رجب ۵۲۷ وفات یافت و در چشت دفن شد (همانجا).

وی مریدان بسیاری داشت که معروف‌ترین آنان عبارت‌اند از: (۱) فرزند و جانشین وی، احمد چشتی، که پس از تشریف به حج مدتی در مدینه اقامت کرد. هنگام بازگشت، در بغداد به خاتقاه شیخ شهاب‌الدین سهروردی، صاحب عوارف‌المعارف، رفت و مورد تکریم وی و همچنین خلیفه بغداد قرار گرفت (جامی، ص ۳۳۴-۳۳۵؛ معصوم علیشاه، ج ۲، ص ۱۳۵). خواجه‌احمد در ۵۷۷ در چشت وفات یافت (جامی، ص ۳۳۵).

(۲) حاجی شریف زندنی (متوفی ۶۱۲)، ملقب به نیرالدین. نقل است که او چهل سال در عزلت و در خرابه زیست و با برگ و میوه درختان سد جوع کرد. وی نزد سلطان سنجر محترم بود (میرخورد، ص ۵۳-۵۴؛ چشتی عثمانی، ص ۹۰-۹۳). خلافت چشتیه بعد از او به خواجه عثمان هارونی (متوفی ۶۱۸) رسید (میرخورد، ص ۵۴).

(۳) شاه‌محمود سنجان (متوفی ۵۹۷)، ملقب به رکن‌الدین، که لقب شاه را از قطب‌الدین مودود گرفت. مزار او در قریه بایج، از توابع تربت حیدریه، است (معصوم علیشاه، ج ۲، ص ۱۳۴؛ غلام سرور لاهوری، ج ۱، ص ۲۵۲). وی شعر هم می‌سروده که بیشتر آنها رباعی بوده است (معصوم علیشاه، همانجا).

(جمالی، ۵؛ غوثی، ۲۱؛ لعلی، ۱۴۷؛ داراشکوه، ۹۳). که نام آن در برخی از منابع به اشتباه سنجر ثبت شده است (چشتی، ۵۹۳). پدر وی غیاث‌الدین حسن - که مردی بسیار دین‌دار و پارسا بود - و بنابر برخی منابع از سادات حسینی به شمار می‌آمد (داراشکوه، همانجا؛ چشتی، ۵۹۲؛ غلام سرور، ۲۵۶/۱-۲۵۷)، هنگامی که معین‌الدین ۱۱ ساله یا ۱۵ ساله بود، درگذشت و باغ و آسیابی را برای او به میراث گذاشت (جمالی، لعلی، چشتی، غوثی، همانجاها).

معین‌الدین پس از مرگ پدر در باغ و آسیاب به کار پرداخت و اداره خانواده را بر عهده گرفت؛ اما چندی بعد، در برخورد با درویشی دوره‌گرد، به نام ابراهیم قهندوزی (قندوزی) دستخوش تحولی روحی شد که در پی آن باغ و آسیاب موروثی را فروخت، بهای آن را به نیازمندان و درویشان بخشید و آن‌گاه به طلب علم دیار خود را ترک گفت و به سمرقند و بخارا رفت و در آنجا به حفظ قرآن و کسب علوم ظاهری پرداخت (جمالی، داراشکوه، همانجاها؛ لعلی، ۱۴۷-۱۴۸؛ چشتی، ۵۹۳-۵۹۴). با این همه، این تحصیلات نیز ظاهراً نیاز معین‌الدین جوان را پاسخ نگفت و از این رو، پس از چندی در جست و جوی پیری شایسته از ماوراءالنهر به راه افتاد و به عراق عرب روی آورد، اما بر سر راه خود به سوی غرب به روستای هارون (یا هرّون)، در نزدیکی نیشابور رسید و در آنجا با شیخ عثمان هارونی دیدار کرد و به او دست ارادت داد. معین‌الدین چنان نسبت به شیخ عثمان ارادت می‌ورزید که همه‌جا، در سفر و حضر او را همراهی می‌کرد و وسایل شخصی او را خود بر دوش می‌گرفت. لعلی بدخشی شرح سفر خواجه با شیخ عثمان به مکه و مدینه، و بازگشت آنها به نیشابور را در کتاب خود آورده است. وی همچنین به اقامت دو سال و نیمه آنها در آنجا، سفرشان به بخارا، و باز حرکت به سوی بغداد و ماندن در آن شهر و عزلت گزیدن شیخ عثمان در آنجا نیز اشاره دارد (ص ۱۴۸-۱۵۰). در کتاب *دلیل العارفين* نیز که مجموعه‌ای از اقوال خواجه معین‌الدین است و گردآوری آن به قطب‌الدین بختیار اوشی کاکي (د ۶۳۴ ق/۱۲۳۷ م)، خلیفه خواجه نسبت داده شده است، اشارتی به سفرهای آن دو به مکه، دمشق، سیستان و کناره دجله یافت می‌شود (ص ۱۶، ۳۳، ۴۱).

به تصریح بیشتر منابع، دوره تربیت و سلوک خواجه نزد شیخ عثمان ۲۰ سال به درازا کشید (میرخرد، ۵۵؛ لعلی، ۱۴۸، ۱۵۰). که آن را به ۱۵ سال در حضر و ۵ سال در سفر تقسیم می‌کند؛ عبدالحق، ۲۲؛ داراشکوه، همانجا؛ چشتی، ۵۹۴). اما در برخی منابع این دوره دو سال و نیم (جمالی، غوثی، همانجاها؛ میرحسین دوست، ۲۹۶؛ فرشته، ۲۷۵)، و در بعضی دیگر ۸ سال نوشته شده (دلیل ... ۳)، و در برخی از همین منابع تصریح شده که خواجه در ۵۲ سالگی از شیخ عثمان هارونی خرقه گرفته است (جمالی،

آربری و مینوی پایان پذیرفت (ویلکینسن، II/11، مقدمه). در میان آثار معرفی شده در این فهرست، نسخ کامل یا برخی از متون کلاسیک فارسی مانند *شاهنامه*، *گلستان* و *بوستان* سعدی، *تاریخ طبری* و *خاوران‌نامه* ابن‌حسام خوسفی، *دیوان* سراج قمری، و نقاشیهایی از عصر صفوی موجود است که از لحاظ تاریخی بسیار با ارزش‌اند (ایرانیکا).

آربری نزدیک به ۲۵۰۰ دست‌نویس از کتابهای عربی کتابخانه را در ۷ مجلد فهرست کرد که میان سالهای ۱۹۵۵-۱۹۵۶ م در دابلین به چاپ رسید. این خاورشناس و استاد عربی دانشگاه کیمبریج توضیحات کوتاهی درباره هر نسخه داده است. بیش از ۲۶۰ نسخه مذهب قرآن و قطعات پراکنده‌ای از نسخ خطی مربوط به سده‌های ۳ تا ۱۳ ق، از جالب‌ترین مجموعه‌های کتابخانه محسوب می‌شوند. این مجموعه قرآنی، کتابخانه چستریتی را به یکی از مراکز عمده مطالعه در فرهنگ و هنر اسلامی تبدیل کرده است. شاخص‌ترین آن در بخش قرآنها، نسخه‌ای یگانه از این کتاب آسمانی است که در ۳۹۱ ق به خط نسخ ریحانی ابن بواب (د ۴۱۳ ق/۱۰۲۲ م)، خوش‌نویس و مذهب معروف در بغداد کتابت شده است (نک: د، ۱۴۰/۳-۱۴۲؛ هاجینسن، n.pn).

دیوید جیمز، متصدی بخش اسلامی کتابخانه چستریتی، مجموعه قرآنها را یکی از بهترین مجموعه‌ها در عالم می‌داند. به باور وی، مبالغه‌آمیز نخواهد بود که گفته شود فقط کتابخانه توپکاپی استانبول می‌تواند به لحاظ کیفیت، اهمیت تاریخی و شعاع گستره، با مجموعه قرآن چستریتی رقابت کند (ص ۷).

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مجدالدین کیوانی

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## ■ اشعار

1 - نهاية الرتبة في طلب الحسبة؛ 2 - المنهج المسلوك في سياسة الملوك، أهداه للسلطان صلاح الدين الأيوبي؛ 3 - الإيضاح في أسرار النكاح، في مجلدين، الأول خاص بالرجال، والآخر خاص بالنساء؛ 4 - خلاصة الكلام في تأويل الأحلام؛ 5 - روضة القلوب ونزهة المحب والمحبوب.

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د. محمد هشام النعسان

حلب - سوريا

الحسبة فيرد في نسخة دار الكتب المصرية في الصفحة الأولى عنوان الكتاب ما نصه: كتاب نهاية الرتبة في طلب الحسبة، تأليف الشيخ الإمام العالم عبد الرحمن بن نصر بن عبد الله الشيزري رحمته الله، أمين وتاريخ نسخها هو 23 صفر سنة 711هـ والناسخ هو أبو بكر علي البهنسي بمصر وهي أقرب إلى عصر المؤلف من تواريخ المخطوطات الأخرى.

من أبواب الكتاب:

- فيما يجب على المتحسب من شروط الحسبة ولزوم مستحباتها؛ - في النظر في الأسواق والطرق؛ - في معرفة القناطير والأرطال والمثاقيل والدرهم؛ - في معرفة الموازين والمكاييل وقياس الأرطال والمثاقيل؛ - في الحسبة على الصيادلة؛ - في الحسبة على العطارين؛ - في الحسبة على الحاكة؛ - في الحسبة على الخياطين؛ - في الحسبة على الكتانين؛ - في الحسبة على الصباغين؛ - في الحسبة على الصيارف؛ - في الحسبة على الصاغة؛ - في الحسبة على البياطرة؛ - في الحسبة على الفصادين والحجامين؛ - في الحسبة على الأطباء والكحالين والمجبرين والجراثحين؛ - في الحسبة على الحسبة على أهل الذمة.

## ■ شيشتي، معين الدين حسن

(ت 627هـ / 1229م)

الحجاب والمدارك التي وراءه، اختلفوا في طرق الرياضة وتعليمهم في إمامة القوى الحسية وتغذية الروح، فانشعبت منهم طرق كثيرة، أشهرها الطريقة القادرية للسيد الإمام عبد القادر الجيلاني، والطريقة السهروردية للشيخ شهاب

هو معين الدين حسن شيشتي السنجري. إمام، وعارف، ومتصوف. وهو مؤسس الطريقة الشيشتية (الجشيتية) في الهند.

انتشرت الطرق الصوفية في الهند من خلال رجال الصوفية الذين انصرفت عنايتهم إلى كشف