

**POLITICS OF BARELWI ISLAM IN INDIA: A STUDY OF SYED
PAK MAKHDUM DARGAH, KICHAUCHA SHARIF**

*Thesis submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University in fulfillment of the
requirements for the award of the degree of*

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Fakhruzzaman



**Centre for Political Studies
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2019**



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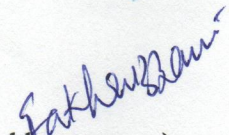
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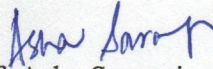
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CERTIFICATE

This thesis entitled *Politics of Barelwi Islam In India: A Study of Syed Pak Makhdūm Dargah, Kichaucha Sharif*, submitted for the award of the degree of **DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY** of Jawaharlal Nehru University has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this, or any other university. Further, this is my original work.

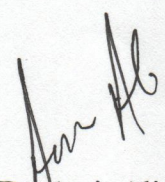

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Acknowledgement:

I would like to express hearty gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Amir Ali without his scholarly guidance, utmost patience and unstinting support; this work would not have been possible. His strict yet affectionate guidance made this journey of knowledge less strenuous. The weekly discussions helped me develop a perspective and devise a rigorous methodology for this thesis. This thesis would not have become a possible without his support, guidance, feed-back and cooperation. Amir Ali is an excellent supervisor, a hard task master, but excellent nevertheless. I also thankful Prof Shefali Jha, and Dr. M.N. Thakur helped me and their cooperation, support and guided me in right direction.

I also thank JNU teachers Prof. Gurpreet Mahajan, Harish Wankhede, Ajay Gudavarthy, and Parlay Kanungo, and also thank my previous university teachers, Prof. Manjari Katju, Prof K.C. Suri, Prof Arun Kumar Patnaik, Dr. K.Y. Ratnam, Prof. Arshi Khan, and Dr. Aftab Alam. I also thank friends and senior old and new in JNU and HCU. The list of friends is very long, let me put few name here. I would especially like to acknowledge, Shadab, Abdul Matin, Akhlaq Khan, Habibullah Rahimi, Kiran Agwane, Jadumani Mahanand, Mohd Firoz, Ashish, and Aisha Imtiaz and many more. I would like to especially thank family members who always provided encouragement.

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Introduction:

‘Sufism is the voice of peace, co-existence, passion, and equality; a call to universal brotherhood.

(P.M. Narendra Modi, World Sufi Conference, 2016).

The binary between Wahhabi and Sufi is also known as Deobandi and Barelwi in South Asia and even popular media as well¹. The general wrangle between Deobandi and Barelwi is generally known to everyone, but they are often unaware of the fundamental difference between them. Most people have considered that the difference between Deobandi and Barelwi are the real problem contained in ‘politics’, and others insinuate that it is all about difference created for the purpose of ‘business’. Other ignored because of too ‘religionism’ and few have considered only ‘customary’ difference between them. These binary has not been restricted only between Wahhabi and Sufi, but post 9/11, the policymakers and western intellectual tradition advanced the Sufism as the soul of Islam. Sufism is the sober, more inclusive, and mystical form of Islam². In fact, they often describes the Sufi Islam as the liberal, rational, enlightened, moderate and tolerant and only way in which Sufi Islam will be able to coexist with the West³. Even some academics are observing the role of Sufism in making Islam more acceptable, inclusive and co-existence in multicultural society. Although militant Islamists dominate the headlines, the Sufi ideal had captured the imagination of the many. On the other hand, Wahhābi Islam one of the major ‘Islamic threats’ to the western society and it has become infamous for its negative influence on Islam, mosques, and madrasas globally⁴. Even recent world Sufi conference was held in Delhi in 2016, the organization of the conference concluded that ‘Wahhabi’ Islam is responsible for the terrorism and violence and linked to the Abdul Wahhāb ideology and thought. They considered that post 9/11 Islam is ideologically divided into two points of views, one view was represented by the Wahhābi Islam and second group was led by Sufi Islam. They summarized that,

¹ Ron Geaves. “The Contested Milieu of Deoband: ‘Salafis or ‘Sufis?’”. In Lloyd Ridgeon ed. *Sufis and Salafis in the Contemporary Age*, London: Bloomsbury, 2015.

² Clinton Bennett. “Introduction: South Asian Sufis-Continuity, Complexity, and Change”. In *South Asian Sufis: Devotion, Deviation, and Destiny* edited by Clinton Bennett and Charles M. London: Bloomsbury, 2012, 1.

³ Zidane Meriboute. *Islam’s Fateful Path: The Critical Choices Facing Modern Muslims*, London: I.B.Turis, 2010.

⁴ Natana J. Delong-Bas. *Wahhabi Islam: From Revival and Reform to Global Jihad*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

After 9/11 the world is divided into two ideological groups, one group represents the Sufi Islam and the second group which represents the Wahhabi Islam. The consequence of ideological division has come in the existence of radical or extremist ideology of Islam and whose ideological back up from Abdul Wahhāb Najd and his adherents and their radical thought and action is obliterated peace and security from the world....In such a case, Muslims have left no option to protect their religion and the world was assured that the practice of extremists is not associated to Islam and not linked to the majority of Muslims. The majority of Muslims are associated with Sufism and *khanqah*, who is a follower of peace, unconditional love, tolerance, liberal-mindedness, brotherhood, equality, and humanity....It is true that in many years Barelwis and their organization like, (AIUMP, Sufi conference) are trying and representing the moderate voice, temperate and peaceful kind of Islam in different platforms in different parts of India, where significantly success has also been received. However the world has received the symptom of diseases from the radical Islam, right now has not completely healed. So it is time to require for the Barelwis' represent the voices of moderation and tolerance in the world to maintain peace and security⁵.

However, the organization of the conference tried to send message that Sufi Islam described as respect human values, philosophy of love, syncretism, unconditional love and peaceful nature and liberal interpretation of Islam. Sufism has become cognitive in the form of peace-loving, pacifist and non-political. Sufism is used against Salafism, and projects Sufi as a "Good Muslims"⁶. On the other hand, 'mystical orders can well be enticed to claim the title of 'moderate' and the opportunities of leadership in Muslim society which can afford it⁷. It is a common allegation that Sufi Islam overemphasizes the esoteric at the expense of external conformity, compromises with divine unity and borrows much from outside Islam⁸. Not only this, 'Sufi Islam also associated to recent bombings of Sufi shrines in Pakistan, some of which have labeled the bombers specifically as "Deoband Islam" accentuate this ignorance of Deobandi Sufism'. To take recent example, coverage of Ishtar Park Mawlid bombing in Karachi and bombing of the Data Ganj Baksh Sufi shrine Lahore cited an alleged Deobandi hostility to Sufism, suggesting not just 'Deobandis' critique is culpable for this violence but that Deobandis' are antagonistic to Sufism as a whole'. As the British newspaper, The Guardian recently concluded "Sufism is offensive to Muslims from the more ascetic Wahhabi and Deobandi sect,

⁵ Khūstar Noorani, "Tareekh ka Ek Naya Mod", *Mahnama Jame-i-Noor*, March, 2016.

⁶ Mark Sedgwick, "Sufi as 'Good Muslims': Sufism in the Battle against Jihadi Salafism". In Lloyd Ridgeon, ed. *Sufis and Salafis in the Contemporary Age*, London: Bloomsbury, 2015.

⁷ Ron Geaves, "Who Defines Moderate Islam 'post'-September 11?" In Ron Geaves, Theodore Gabriel, Yvonne Haddad & Jane Idleman Smith, ed. *Islam & the West Post/11*, London: Routledge, 2004.

⁸ Clinton Bennett and Sarwar Alam, "Introduction: Sufism, Pluralism, and Democracy: Contexts, Comparison, and Critiques". In Clinton Bennett & Sarwar Alam, ed. *Sufism, Pluralism, and Democracy*, London: Equinox Publishing Ltd, 2017, 1-21.

who consider worship of any saint to be heretical and that only access to God is through direct prayer”⁹. Coincidentally the law Sufism binary it's connected to the large discourse which come to nineteenth-century colonialism and orientalism, and that continue till today, Good Muslim and Bad Muslim, Whereby, Good Muslim who is close to liberal secular understanding what authentic religion looks like. Good Muslim who does not really take religion seriously and bad Muslims who restrict the conventional practices¹⁰. The good and bad Muslim is much more powerful today in neoliberal discourse and its imperial agenda it come to nineteenth-century knowledge and power discourse. The binary between soft and rigid version of Sufism is politically highly loaded categories, which is describes themselves the act of power. “What Cornwall and Lindisfame, say “category creation itself is an act of power”, to change this asymmetrical global colonial power structure the decolonization project need to challenge, re-frame and re-order some of these categories of analysis”¹¹.

Why Barelwi Islam?

There are at least four ways in which this thesis contributes to a more nuanced understanding about Barelwi Islam in general and dargah specifically. There is a trend in popular media when it comes to intra-Muslim polemical debate between Barelwi and Deoband, often delineate the Barelwi as the soft version of Sufism and Deoband it recognizes that rigid legal version of Islam. First, when Barelwi/Sufi Islam appears in popular media, it is often considered for the synthesis of Sufism and Sufi dargah. Deoband Islam, it is reference to alleges antagonism to Sufism and dargah. Second point this thesis contributes when it come to point in the matter of visitation of shrine, it is often reference to its saint-worshippers, and ‘other’ considered Barelwis as a saint worshipper (*qabar-parasti*). At the same time, the Barelwis’ whose practices are in question would fiercely contest the notion that their reverence of the saints amounts to ‘worship’. Apart from this, generally, there is a perception that Barelwis, who are often considered tantamount to the dargah. The ‘other’ who indictment on the Barelwis as the saint worshipper (*qabar-parasti*), *bidati* (innovator in Deen), taking help from saint, bow in front of saint, prostration in front of dargah. It also characterized as folk Islam, custom-laden Islam, specific to particular

⁹ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/jul/02/suicide-bombers-kill-dozen>. (last accessed on 15 March, 2019).

¹⁰ Mahmood Mamdani. *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: America, the Cold War, and the Roots of Terror*, Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004.

¹¹ Cornwall and Lindisfame, 2011, 38.

localities and it places significant emphasis upon the worship of pirs or saints and their tomb as shrines of worship are open to all. On the other hand, it is often considered that Deoband Islam is against the visitation of shrine, and it is often alleges that Sufism and shrine is completely antithesis. This thesis will make abundantly clear; Barelwis define Sufism as absolutely essential to their understanding of Islam. The thesis did not find single Barelwi alim or mufti who would readily admit and support to ‘worshipping’ graves. The third point in this thesis meticulously interrogated that it is often alleges that Sufism or Barelwism perpetually in conflict with the ‘Hanafi School of law’. In other words, it is often perceive that law Sufism binary or ulama and Sufi. A notion now thoroughly embedded in Western liberal views of Sufism as a moderate alternative to Wahhabism or Islamism, is rooted in a much older orientalist binary between the legal scholar and the Sufi. The law and Sufism binary is not the new creation, it is prevalent at colonial time. The fourth point is that it is tendency to the intellectual tradition that Sufi never goes to war and do not oppose anyone. They often portray Sufi as the peaceful and apolitical and always make a distance from the worldly affairs, this thesis will contribute that Barelwis or Sufis are not apolitical.

Reviews of Literatures:

Islam and Muslims in South Asia:

Islam and Muslim in South Asia have been studied by different scholars in different perspectives. The scholars, observers, and practices of Islam in South Asia have crystallized the two different perspectives, one is universal Islam derived from scripture and textual sources and other popular Islam adopted from local culture and custom, beliefs and practice. For the purpose of literature review on Islam and Muslim in South Asia, we categorize here scholars in different school of thought, those who have worked on Islam in South Asia. The usual label them orthodox-reformist (Deoband) traditionalist-syncretistic (Barelwis) modernist-liberal (Aligarh) and fundamentalist (Mawdudi) highlight the varying importance of theological doctrine vis-a-vis folk tradition.

Deoband (orthodox-reformist):

An overwhelming number of scholars, studied Muslim society in the South Asia through various analysis and historical perspectives. Mohammed Qasim Zaman book on *Ulama in Contemporary*

Islam: Custodian of Change has explored the ulama activism in Pakistan and India. Zaman's work limited to Deobandi ulama and tries to show that how Ulama have exercised religious authority and adapted to changing political developments in both colonial and postcolonial South Asia¹². Francis Robinson collection of papers explored the history of Farangi Mahall Ulama in Lucknow. Robinson book on *Ulama of Farangi Mahall and Islamic Culture in South Asia* (2001) a biography of mufti Rida Ansari and Farangi Mahall *dares-i-nizamiya* course, which it became a dominant system of Indian education¹³. Barbara Metcalf works on limited to Deoband school of thought in South Asian Islam. Her book on *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900*, describes the major religious movement or renewal in British India, and reforming ulama in nineteenth century. Metcalf focused in her book on reformist ulama that the most important group is associated with founded the Deoband School in 1867, Nadwah and Bareilwi School of reformist Ulama¹⁴.

Robinson book on *Islam, South Asia, and the West* (2008) demonstrate this-worldly and other-worldly Islam. He argues that how the idea has emerged Muslim revival and reform from a long-standing discourse amongst Muslim over other-worldly and this-worldly Islam¹⁵. Further, he explained the shift from this-worldly to other-worldly due to decline of Muslim power and west came to dominant over Muslim world. The central shift Muslim society past two hundred years, the shift towards individual personal responsibility for working to create an Islamic society on the earth in order to achieve salvation a this-worldly Islam¹⁶. The key reasons to shift Muslim society, it was ideas of Islamic reforms and Islamic revival developed by Islamic reformers in Arab world and also in South Asia.

Pearson in his book on *Islamic Reform and Revival in Nineteenth-Century India: The Tariqah-I-Muhammadiyah* explored the processes of religious reform and popular mobilization that characterized the Tariqah-I-Muhammadiyah. The Tariqah-I Muhammadiyah it addressed the entire Muslim population of India in an effort to establish a uniformity of belief and practice. The book is focus on Muslim reform movement centered in north India in early nineteenth

¹² Mohammad Qasim Zaman. *Ulama in Contemporary Islam: Custodian of Change*: 2002.

¹³ Francis Robinson. *The 'Ulama of Farangi Mahall and Islamic Culture in South Asia*, 2001.

¹⁴ Barbara D. Metcalf. *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.

¹⁵ Francis Robinson. *Islam, South Asia, and the West*, 2008, 3.

¹⁶ *Ibid*,182

century called Muhammadi movement initiated by Syed Ahmed Barelwi and his close disciple Shah Ismail in the late eighteenth century¹⁷. Mushirul Hasan edited book on *Islam in South Asia: Theory and Practice*, comprised nineteen chapters and divided into three sections. The first section comprised only two chapters, deals with the Islam observed. Second section divided into twelve chapters and this basically deals with the way that Islam is constructed. Third section comprised five chapters and this section devoted debates on South Asian Islam. Francis Robinson chapter on print and revolution it ushered in the transmission of knowledge¹⁸. Barbara Metcalf chapter on *too little and too much: reflection on Muslim in the history of India*, deals with history and situation of Muslim post-independence in India. Hasan have looked at theory and practice of Islam and response Indian Muslim to the west. The editor have focused on the how to understand the Muslim identity. It examined how the notion of a distinct identity came to invented in the latter part of nineteenth century.

Third volume *Islam in South Asia: the realm of the tradition* (2008) devoted on voices of Ulama and orthodoxy of Islam and their role in Indian Islam. Third volume covers Muslim ulama in Indian history. The editor focuses on the articulation of ideas by individuals like Syed Ahmed Khan and his contemporary Shibli Nomani, and Maulana Azad. Peter Hardy, W.C Smith, C.W Troll, and M.S Agwane cover the Jamaat Islami and Tabligh Jamaat. The role of ulama in Khilafat Movement is well covered by M. Naeem Qureshi and Maulvi Mohammad Barkuttullah¹⁹. Fourth volume, *Islam in South Asia: the Realm of the Secular* (2009) the editor focuses on the significance of the secular within the broad framework of largely Muslim concerns²⁰.

Fifth volume, Hasan focused on the *Ulama contribution in South Asian from pan-Islamism to socialism*, from an appeal to nationalism to an equally rousing call for Unitarian Islam, from sectarianism to Sufism²¹. Sixth volume *Islam in South Asia: Sounding on Partition and its aftermath* (2010): fully concerns partition. The editor did not concern with the theories and interpretation of partition, but with the impression and analysis of some prominent individuals,

¹⁷ Harlan Otto Pearson. *Islamic Reform and Revival in Nineteenth-Century India: The Tariqa-i-Muhammadiyah*, 2008.

¹⁸ Mushirul Hasan, *Islam in South Asia: Theory and Practice*, 9.

¹⁹ Ibid, 7

²⁰ Ibid, 7.

²¹ Ibid.

all of whom are coincidentally Muslim²². The first section the editor concerns the partition story with the reference to the prominent figure and biography. The second section looks at minority issues in the light of partition, and law, Muslim identity in the context of partition²³.

Maududi (Fundamentalist).

Irfan Ahmad book is all about to study the Jamaat Islami in India with the reference to SIMI and Student Islamic Organization (SIO). The book, *Islamism and Democracy* (2005) the main theme of transformation or moderation of the Indian Islamists. Ahmad discuss the Jamaat positions on secularism and democracy, the Islamic state, Aligarh Muslim University, inter and intra-religious pluralism and conflict and ambiguity that accompanied the Jamaat moderation²⁴. He explores the changing pattern of Jamaat ideology from God kingdom to Indian secular democracy. Ahmad cogently argued that Indian Islamism is not a stagnant, but it is changing pattern of Indian Islamism. He explains that previously Jamaat called secularism and democracy is a Harām. Afterward, Jamaat has changed their position regarding the issue of the secularism and democracy. For instance, the author highlighted that there is an ideological opposition to western education, while there is simultaneously a political fight to protect the minority character of an educational institution such as AMU, which provides such supposedly western education. Maidul Islam book on '*Limits of Islamism*' a comparative study between contemporary India and Bangladesh, make an exquisite differences and similarities on Jamaat position on different issues, such as neo-liberalism, imperialism, Islamic state and democracy, cultural globalization. Maidul Islam explored the concept of Islamism and it tries to link with the Jamaat-e-Islami ideology in Bangladesh and contemporary India. The author uses discourse analysis method and theorized the Laclau ideology. The book limits of Islamism addressed in three ways. First, the author tries to show how Islamist see globalized world. Second the formation of Jamaat-e-Islami to struggle for hegemonic forces, ultimately its failure project and third one the author focuses on the contradiction between universal and particular. The term Islamism primarily used in this book to connote a modern political ideology quite distinct from Islamic theology²⁵. The author argued Islamism is politico-ideological movements which is dominant concept and continue

²² Mushirul Hasan, 2010,7

²³ Ibid,7-8.

²⁴ Irfan Ahmed, 2005,218.

²⁵ Maidul Islam, *Limits of Islamism*,2016,8-9.

exist in Muslim modern world. Islamism is varied in different form and continues challenging the varied form of secular-nationalist political model, which are governed by the logic of Eurocentrism²⁶. He pointed out that secular-nationalist political model had a close parallel with Mujibism in Bangladesh and Kemalism in Turkey. Maidul Islam argues that Eurocentrism is mimicry of western world. A Euro-centrism approach varies from mimicry western secularist, model of separation of religion and politics, to the celebration of ethnolinguistic nation-states²⁷. The author also dealt the Jamaat position on atheism, blasphemy, live-in relationship, and homosexuality, which Jamaat Islami see product of western culture.

Barelwis’:

Usha Sanyal books on *Devotional Islam and Politics in British India: Ahmad Raza Khan Barelwi and His Movement, 1870-1920* and her second book on *Ahmad Raza Khan Barelwi: in the Path of the Prophet (2005)* made a debate in Barelwi school of thought. Sanyal works is related to Barelwi movement, madrasa, institution and identity of Ahle -Sunnat Jamaat and specific to Ahmad Raza’s family in colonial period²⁸. Sarah Ansari book on *Sufi Saints and State Power (1992)* seeks to explain the relationship between religious elites and British authority in Sind region. She examines the British system of political control in relation to the hereditary Sufi saint within the framework of Sind under British rule from 1843 to 1947²⁹.

Locating Barelwi Islam in the discourse of Anthropology of Islam:

The objective of this section is to explore and reflect upon some of important models of Islam operating in the field of anthropology of Islam in general and South Asian Islam in particular. Anthropology of Islam is analysed as the two most important pillars on which the authors have been divided into two broad categories, one part of Islam have analysed in the framework of ‘Great Tradition’ or ‘High’ Islam. Second model of Islam have analyzed in the framework of ‘Little’ tradition or ‘Low’ Islam. The concept of little and great tradition is gained currency from the work of Robert Redfield. It depicted the contrast between the textual, civilization perspective

²⁶ Ibid, 11.

²⁷ Ibid, 15.

²⁸ Usha Sanyal. *Devotional Islam and Politics in British India*, 1996. *Ahmad Raza Khan Barelwi: In the Path of Prophet*, Oneworld, 2005.

²⁹ Sarah Ansari. *Sufi Saints and State Power: The Pirs of Sind, 1843-1947*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

and the everyday beliefs of the folk society. Little traditions mainly refer to the local tradition of the small groups and derived their practices through mostly orally. On the contrary, great traditions are based on the textual; the tradition of the elite is maintained and circulated through foundational text of Islam, such as, Quran, Hadīth, and Sunna. People with great traditions consider themselves as protectors of sacred values and act as guardians. Dale Eickelman's paper, "*The study of Islam in local contexts*" (1982), is largely related to this debate.

Clifford Geertz's, who was the first anthropologist, has done remarkable study on the Muslim society in comparison to Indonesia and Moroccan Islam. He draws a parallel line between textual understanding of Islam and mystical form of Islam. In other words, he studied Islam in two different countries namely Indonesia and Morocco and he cogently argued that religious life must be studied comparatively, and he juxtaposed Indonesian and Moroccan Islamic experiences, but also delineated scripturalism and mysticism as two distinct forms of faith are operate in Indonesia and Moroccan Muslim societies³⁰. On other hand, Ernest Gellner, whose famous book on *Muslim Society*, and Michael Gilson on *Recognizing Islam*³¹, not only reaffirmed the Geertz two divergent forms approach but also divided Islam into two main standards. Gellner writes the most important feature of Islam is that it was internally divided into an 'urban' Islam of the scholars and the 'rural' Islam of the people. He had differentiated between urban and rural Islam, which states that each has its own distinct characteristics. Urban Islam is carried by urban scholars recruited largely from the trading bourgeoisie (with often combine's scholarship with trade) and reflects the natural tastes and values of urban middle classes. These values include strict monotheism, puritanism, emphasis on scriptural revelation, high literacy, and absence of saints and hierarchies. On the other hand, with regard to the rural Islam represents illiterate masses and operates in the countryside mainly rural periphery, focusing mysticism and saint rather than Islamic law. It stresses magic more than learning, ecstasy more than rural-observance³², hierarchy both within this-worldly and the other worldly, and profusion of ritual and mystical practices rather than sobriety and moderation³³.

³⁰ Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia*, London: Yale University Press, 1968.

³¹ Michael Gilson, "Recognizing Islam: Religion and Society in the modern Arab world". In *Anthropology of Islam Reader*, ed. Jens Kreinath, London: Routledge, 2012, 51-63.

³² Ernest Gellner, *Postmodernism, Reason and Religion*, London: Routledge, 1992, 11.

³³ Ernest Gellner, "A Pendulum Swing Theory of Islam". In *Sociology of Religion*, ed. Ronald Robertson: Selected Readings, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968, 130.

Other anthropologist like, Abdul Hami el-Zein article *beyond ideology and theology: the search for the anthropology of Islam* rejected the binary between textual understating of Islam (high Islam) and mystical form of faith (low Islam). He cogently argued that ‘utility of the concept of Islam as a predefined religion with its supreme “truth” is extremely limited in anthropological analyses. Even the dichotomy of folk Islam and elite Islam is infertile and fruitless. He tried to show, the apparent dichotomy can be analytically reduced to the logic governing it. He suggested that Anthropologists reckon with the fact the world is made of multiple Islams³⁴.

Afterward, Anthropologist Talal Asad in his seminal work “the anthropology of Islam” (1986) suggest that there are three common anthropological solutions to this problem. The first suggests that there are no such theoretical objects as Islam and therefore there is no need to deal with the diversity between Muslim societies. The second uses Islam as a label for a heterogeneous collection of items each of which has been designated Islamic by informants. The third holds that Islam is a distinctive historical totality which organizes various aspects of social life³⁵. The binary between great and little traditions and the concomitant concepts such pluralism and syncretism, have led to a persistent dualism between the centre and the periphery in understanding the Barelwi Islam. I argue that the study of Barelwi Islam needs to go head this binary approach, and locating Barelwis in the perspective of scriptural Islam. In the Indian context, the Barelwi Islam has developed in opposition to scriptural Islam, and always sees the antagonism between ulama and Sufism. The Barelwi Islam has been regarded as agents of little tradition, folk or low Islam, as well as an assertion against the orthodoxy, and Islamic law. Their interpretation has been in the form of empowering the voice of little tradition. In this thesis, I argue that these two regular approaches used in the study of Islam in India have been unhelpful in analyzing the trajectory of Barelwi Islam. My engagement with the Barelwi Islam has made me question the conceptual efficacy of understanding the text of Islam, and how Barelwi ulama interpreted the foundational text of Islam in the context of everyday life of the Muslim societies. I argue that binary politically charged concept between low and high Islam and demarcation of boundaries between the little and great tradition, Islam and Muslim societies have

³⁴ AH el-Zien, “Beyond Ideology and Theology: The Search for the Anthropology of Islam”. In *Anthropology of Islam Reader* ed. Jens Kreinath, London: Routledge, 2012, 77-92.

³⁵ Ronald A. Lunkens Bull. “Between Text and Practice: Consideration in the Anthropological Study of Islam”, *Marburg Journal of Religion*, 4 (2), 1999, 1-21.

misunderstood. Sami Zubaida in his paper on “*is there a Muslim society: Ernest Gellner’s Sociology of Islam*” has argued that how this compilation is broken in front of most parts of Muslim history, because ulama himself was involved in Sufism's members and leaders and used to participate in mysticism. Further he pointed out the conflict between the orthodoxy of the clerics and heterodoxy of the Sufi is not the universal opposition between fundamentalism versus syncretic; tolerant traditions but involves a far more complex relation that involves the state and the question of power³⁶. The thesis shows that the argument of writing on Islam-between puritanical Islam (of ulama) and folk, heterogeneous Islam (of Sufi orders)-is unqualified in the light of historical, textual and ethnographic details. The purpose of the research is to understand the Barelwi belief, divine sovereignty, Muhammad’s ontological status, norms, and Muslim practices and ritual and customary practices. The thesis shows that Barelwis are traditionalists and reformists like Deoband School and other reformist groups in South Asian Islam.

Who is a Barelwi?

The title Barelwi actually is tantamount to *maslak Ala-Hazrat* (follower of the Ahmad Raza Khan Barelwi) and it has more reputation and popularity than the Ahle-Sunnat. Barelwis traced their identity with Ahmad Raza Khan Barelwi, as he was the reformer and mujaddid of the Barelwi School. Barelwis do not hesitate to call themselves as the ‘Barelwi’, because the subject is the path of Ahmad Raza and his predecessors. The Barelwis, who is close to Ahmad Raza and literally adheres to his creed and belief, and is the guiding principle and affinity of the Barelwi School. Barelwis’ are to be found not only in Indian subcontinent but also resides in Africa, Europe and Britain. The adherents of Ahmad Raza follow simply because of he come from Bareilly district or some things more. Usha Sanyal makes a reference that, it common practice for Muslims in Indian subcontinent to identify themselves by place-name or by profession, association with a Sufi order, Chisti, or other family such as Qureshi or Usmani, so as distinguish between individuals with the same personal name³⁷. As Ahmad Raza was the central figure around which the movement sharing his views took shapes, the name Barelwis has come to stand not simply for him but for the movement itself³⁸. Sanyal uses the term Ahle-Sunnat which means

³⁶ Anindita Chakrabarti. *Faith and Social Movements: Religious Reform in Contemporary India*, New Delhi; Cambridge University Press, 2017, 12.

³⁷ Usha Sanyal. *Devotional Islam and politics in British India: Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi and His Movement*, 1996, 8.

³⁸ Ibid, 8

grasping the self perception of those being describes³⁹. Actually Ahle Sunnah or “the people of the Sunnah” are so called because they strictly follow Hadīth, tradition or saying of the Prophet and the Sunnah, the practice of the Prophet⁴⁰. Here I use the term Barelwi, not as a pejorative term but as a popular term, recognized by Barelwi Ulama and Scholars. They have made distinction between Ahle-Sunnat and Barelwi, which means they see the difference between the followers of Ahmad Raza or maslak-I- Ala-Hazrat⁴¹ and other reformist school in South Asia such as Deoband and Ahl-i-Hadīth. The maslak ala-Hazrat is surely epithet of the *Ahle-Sunnat wa Jamaat* and in present times it is familiarity with the true follower of prophetic sunna and true Deen (religion). The identity of *Ahle-Sunnat wa Jamaat* was known as Barelwi or maslak Ala-Hazrat by more than one century. Therefore, Wahhabi and Deobandi are also known in South Asia as Hanafi and Sunni. In order to understand the difference between Barelwi and other, the Barelwi ulama developed their own identity and followed the straight path of Sawad-e-Azam, (that is, the majority of Islamic scholars in Islamic traditions). The main objective of Barelwi has distinguished to ‘other’, they write:

On condition that in order to obtain recognition of the ‘sawad-e-Azam’ and ‘maslak Ahle-Sunnat’, it was necessary to a peculiar word, in which, it could distinct between Ahle-Sunnat and ‘other’. If someone claim themselves only Hanafi Sunni, then it is not shows any distinctive feature, whether that man is follower of the Deoband School or Barelwi School. If someone carrying the maslak Ala-Hazrat or Barelwi, it mark distinct feature between Ahle-Sunnat and other maslak in Indian subcontinent. In short, it should be any subservient of the mystical order such Chisti, Qadiri, and Naqshbandi, it is necessary that they themselves claim of Ahle-Sunnat. Afterward, they pledge to be part of the maslak Ala-Hazrat and having strong belief and creed in the line of the Ahmad Raza Khan Barelwi⁴².

It is crystal clear that Barelwis means literally one who is a traditionist, and strictly adherents the practice of the Prophet Muhammad, and his companions. They follow the Sunni madhabs,

³⁹ Ibid, 9.

⁴⁰ Abdur-Rahman Ibrahim Doi, “Sunnism”, In. *Islamic Spirituality*, ed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr. London: Routledge, 289.

⁴¹ The term ‘maslak ala-Hazrat’, (follower of the Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi) has been using expression, and proclamation approximately two hundred ago. This is a term, which is distinguished the difference between Barelwi and ‘other’ maslak. The term ‘maslak ala-Hazrat’, which is came to effect at the time, when Sunni conference was held at Banaras in 1946, where the resolution passed and issues a guidelines for the follower of the Ahmad Raza Khan Barelwi. After death of Ahmad Raza, the Barelwi continue engaged in act of maslak Ala-Hazrat practices and made a wider popularization, diffusion in contemporary South Asia. The Barelwis’ believe that the term ‘maslak ala-Hazrat’ was received in the legacy of their ancestors (*aslāf*) and predecessors. Maslak ala-Hazrat is the symbolic sign of the *Ahle-Sunnat wa Jamaat*.

⁴² Mohd Shamshad Rizvi. ‘*Madhab Wa Maslak Ka Haqiqi Irfan*’, Kalak Raza Foundation, Mumbai, 2013. Mohd Hussain Ashrafi, ‘Maslak Ala-Hazrat Maslak Ahle-Sunnat ki Sind’, *Sunni Awaaz*, 2015, Jan-Feb.

Islamic caliphate, and mystical order and methodical-esoteric path (Tariqa), and followers of the contemporary ulama in Barelwi school such as Allama Fadl-i-Haqq Khairabadi (d. 1277/1861), Allama Fadl-i-Rasūl Badaun and Ahmad Raza Khan Barelwi (d.1340/1921). The main objective of the Barelwi ulama is distinguished to ‘other’, because, they claiming the legitimacy, authenticity and a sense of specialness. The appropriation of title as a religious identity label also serves to fix rival movements as ‘other’, at best deviant or guilty of innovation, at worst, to be branded by the tool of fatwa, as non-Muslim or guilty of idolatry⁴³.

What is Barelwi Islam?

Ahmad Raza Khan Barelwi (d.1340/1921) was a traditionalist⁴⁴, political intellect, an exegete in Qur’an and follower of the Sunni Hanafi law. He rejected unequivocally Deoband and Ahl-I Hadīth School of thought. He was born into Sunni family and was allegiant and staunch follower of the traditional school of Islam. Ahmad Raza apparently believed that Sunni collection of Hadīth is authentic and blind follow to heir of the Imam. As Barbara Metcalf noted that, ‘Ahmad Raza’s mental agility was considered secondary to his religious learning, but the same style of great reputation in fiqh, deriving in large part from his phenomenal memory’⁴⁵. The first

⁴³ Ron Geaves, “A Case of Cultural Binary Fission or Transglobal Sufism? The Transmigration of Sufism to Britain”. In *Sufis in Western Society: Global Networking and Locality*, ed. Ron Geaves, Markus Dressler and Gritt Klinkhammer. London: Routledge, 2009, 102.

⁴⁴ Traditionalist and traditionalism William Graham refer to an emphasis upon the historical authority of, and the continuity with or recovery of norms and institutions basic to a particular cumulative tradition. He uses traditionalism and traditionalist to refer to a person or a group’s story preference for recourse to tradition (genuine or invented) as the primary source of authority. William Graham, “Traditionalism in Islam: An essay in Interpretation”, *the Journal of interdisciplinary History*, 23, (3), 1993, pp, 499-400. On the other hand, Edward Shills portrays tradition anything which is transmitted or handed down from the past to the present, Edward Shills. *Tradition*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1981, 12. Eric Hobsbawm, who distinguished the tradition and customs in traditional societies. He believes that customs can be immutable and tradition cannot be irreversible. The tradition including invented ones is invariance. The past real or invented, to which they refer, imposes fixed practices, such as repetition. On the other hand customs in traditional societies has the double function of motor and fly-wheel, see, Eric Hobsbawm. “Inventing Tradition introduction”. In *The invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, 2-3. In Anthropological sense tradition defines by some anthropologists, the idea of tradition is identified with enduring social practices, and tacitness is often regarded as its signature, Mark Salber Phillips & Gordon Schocet. “Preface” in Phillips & Schocet ed. *Questions of Tradition*, Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2004, ix. In general, tradition can be defined as the element of historical continuity or social inheritance in culture, or the social practice by such continuity is achieved. Furthermore, tradition can be also explicated as the collective social inheritance of particular people culture, society, group, or collectively and as such stands as the referent of its collective identity, R. Bauman, “Anthropology of Tradition”. In Neil J. Smelser & Paul B. Baltes ed. *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, New York: Elsevier, 2001, 15819.

⁴⁵ Barbara D. Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982, 299.

traditionalist scholar in Barelwi School was Allama Fadl-I-Haqq Khairabadi (popularly known as Aristotle of the east, 1797-1821), Maulana Shah Fadl-I-Rasūl Badaun (1799-1820), and finally, Ahmad Raza Khan Barelwi (1856-1921), who led the Barelwi movement against all the traditionalist and modernist scholar's in South Asia.

The Barelwis, who distinguished to other traditionalist and modernist on the basis, they claim that as the true follower of the Prophetic Sunnāh⁴⁶ or traditions and they derived their belief, thought and action from Quran, hadīth and Islamic law and the traditionalists valued the saying of and about the Prophet Muhammad that has been transmitted by his companions and the following two generations. The leading figures of the earliest generations, starting with the 'Sahaba', (companions) were called the 'Salaf' (forefathers) and 'Salihin' righteous ones. Their precedence as valid interpreters of the sacred texts and pious models to be emulated was central to the evolution of Sunni doctrine⁴⁷.

The first difference was commenced between Shah Ismail and Allama Fadl-I Haqq Khairabadi on the nature of God, and possibility and impossibility of a peer of the Prophet Muhammad, and later polemical debate was erupted between Ahmad Raza and Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanwi's on the issue of light of Prophet and 'hazir wa nazir' (present and seeing) and Sunna versus *bida* (innovation). Barelwi belief and *aqidah* also differ from other normative practices of Islam.

The Barelwis' emphasized the teaching of the Quran, and Prophetic Sunna as authoritative sources of law. They stand steadfast by both the letter and the spirit of the Hanafi School of fiqh emanating from Quran, Hadīth and Prophetic Sunna. Barelwis, people who follow the practices of the Prophet Muhammad, and the majority, popularly known as the Sunnis. The Barelwis staunchly believe that the words and deeds of the Prophet Muhammad in accordance with the Quran. They categorically believe in oneness of God and He is absolute and real. There cannot be involved in His essence and attributes. Barelwis' also maintain that not only belief in oneness of God as well as also considered that Prophet Mohammad is the last Prophet and belong to them

⁴⁶ Sunnah, as the technical term, applies primarily to the way of life of the prophet in so far as it is an example of his followers. The word Sunnah both in its singular and plural forms has been used in the Qur'an a number of times and in these usages it generally refers to the behavior characteristics of the previous communities. Moreover the Prophet came with mission. This mission, under the divine guidance. Took definite form known as the Sunnah or Sunnah of the Prophet of God. Ahmad Hasan, "Sunnah" as the Source of "Fiqh", *Islamic Studies*, 39(1), 2000, 3. S.M.Yusuf. "The Sunnah: It's Place in Islam", *Islamic Studies*, 1(4), 1962, 41.

⁴⁷ Richard Martin. *Defenders of Reason in Islam*, 1997.

(Muslim community). The real meaning of God is to consider that God is one (oneness of God) and also avow that His messenger Prophet Mohammed is vicegerent of God. Barelwi believes that God's knowledge is innate and he does not acquire from the other. Barelwi's evidently considered that there is no possibility (*mumkin*) that God can lie. For Barelwi, no Muslims can be justified that Gods suppose to lie.

For the Barelwi, God had created the Prophet Mohammed by the light (*nūr*) before creating every creature in the earth and received special blessing from God to guide and instructions to human beings. Barelwi who hold that the God created the Prophet by light and it also considered that having purify body and high exalted that is reason to celebration of the birth anniversary of the Prophet Muhammad, is the reason for reward and salvation and after it is also believed to get success and happiness of the world and hereafter. In other words, Barelwi held that Prophet Muhammad is identical to the light and at the same time they considered him as the human. Barelwi also believed that without God commands and acceptance cannot receive any profit or loss and without God bestow cannot authorized and personalized on the properties. The God have provided Prophet Muhammad countless discretionary power and authority. They held that the impossibility of a peer of the Prophet Muhammad and also believed that the Prophet Muhammad is alive in the grave and according to God's law, death order was prevailed over him and placed in the grave and after completion of God's law, he is alive and unscathed. Barelwi also believed that God has bestowed the authority to intercede on the Prophet Muhammad. They believe that the essence of Prophet Muhammad is the light (*nūr*) as well as human being⁴⁸. On the other hand, Barelwi also contemplated that Prophet Muhammad is transcendent to other humans and received special kind blessings from God. Nevertheless, Barelwi give credence that Prophet Muhammad is the patron of the day of resurrection and he will intercede with the consent of God. Ahmad Raza considered the Prophet Muhammad to be the most beloved of

⁴⁸ There is remarkable similarity between the Shia concept of 'divine light' and that revealed in Ahmed Raza's writings on the Prophet. Ahmed Raza attached considerable importance to the concept of the pre-eminence of the Prophet's light, which was created before Allah created the spiritual or material universe and before the creation of Adam, the first prophet. His views were identical to Shia belief. He wrote that the divine light had been transferred from generation to generation by Muhammad's ancestors, through pure backs and pure wombs until his birth. There are some important conceptual similarities Shia thought and aspects of Ahmad Raza's prophetology; the evidence indicates that his writings were based on Sunni sources. see, Usha Sanyal, *Devotional Islam and politics in British Indian: Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi and His Movement, 1870-1920*, New Delhi: Yoda Press, 2010, 212-6.

Allah's prophets, it followed that Muhammad must have been one of the messengers⁴⁹. Prophet Muhammad one of those effervescent personalities that Barelwis often believe prophet had unique knowledge of the unseen of *ilmul ghaib*⁵⁰. Ahmad Raza believed that Prophet Muhammad possessed a unique knowledge of the unseen and complete awareness of all spiritual matters.

The Barelwis' believes that there is power of intercession in the saint and Prophet. The saints were at once part of and aware of the light of Muhammad and after death they were believed to be able to intercede with God on behalf of ordinary believers just as the Prophet himself could⁵¹. In other words, the Barelwis' strong belief in the Prophet as intercessor with God on behalf of the faith-full at all times contrasted particularly with the Ahl-I hadith who denied the importance of prophetic intercession⁵². Ahmad Raza elaborated on Ibn 'Arabi's belief that there was a secret hierarchy of saints whose presence in every age sustained the universe itself⁵³.

The Barelwi School provides Sunna to its followers with clear guidelines prepared by the light of the Quran and for all areas of life and every area of activity. Barelwi ulama' procured their guidance as the primary sources from the Quran and Sunna, and *ijma* (consensus of opinion) and *qiyās* (analogical deduction) as the secondary sources. The sources for the Barelwi ulama rely on the interpretation of Islam more particularly of its prophetology are the classic ones of Quran, hadith and Islamic law (fiqh)⁵⁴. It is an axiomatic fact that Ahmad Raza enthusiastically supported his position regarding the Prophet predominantly with foundational text of Islam as well as the Sufi writings. In his oeuvre, Ahmad Raza relied heavily on references from the hadith

⁴⁹ Ahmed Raza Khan suggested that these groups thereby denied that Muhammad was the best prophet of all that he was unique in his capacity as the last prophet. He then charged Maulana Qasim Nanautawi.

⁵⁰ The meaning of the 'unseen' which is hidden and the person cannot perceive his eyes and the senses. The exegetes, who is describes the two types of unseen in the field of philosophy. The first type of unseen, which make argument and provide source, and second type of unseen, there is no source and argument on the unseen. There are three features of the unseen knowledge. First, the God is essentially state of affairs. No words can be known without Him. Second, God provided the hidden knowledge to the Prophet Muhammad and the prophets. The third, the knowledge of Prophet Muhammad is more than the whole creation. Prophet Adam, the messenger of death and Satan are also created by God.

⁵¹ Ron Geaves, 2009, 95.

⁵² Usha Sanyal, "Barelwis." In Jane D. McAuliffe, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Quran*, vol. 1, 201-203. Leiden. J. Brill, 2002, 201.

⁵³ Ron Geaves, 95.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 201.

and Islamic legal texts, as well as the Quran. He even accepted weak hadīths that elevate the Prophet's stature⁵⁵. Ahmad Raza has wittingly and willingly endorsed the views by the Sufis and theologians on the matter of Prophet's unseen knowledge. He wrote couple of indignant short treatises against the rejection of the Deoband position on the Prophet Muhammad. Ahmad Raza was, however adamant that the Prophet unseen knowledge is not against the tenet of the Islam.

Barelwis strictly follows the taqlīd (imitation) and their Imam also has credence on the ijma and ijtihād. Ahmad Raza Khan Barelwi (1856-1921)⁵⁶, who was staunch followers of taqlīd and he was not endured as such for any comment on taqlīd. With regard to the issue of ijtihād, Barelwi muftis and ulama have consensus that follows Imam of Hanafi School of law. Ahmad Raza categorically did not oppose the ijtihād; he eventually suggested that ijtihād door was not closed. He cogently argued that Jihad's door is open to those who take charge of mujtahid and literal knowledge of Quran, Hadīth and the Islamic jurisprudence. With the regard to conduct ijtihād, Ahmad Raza, unequivocal was in incongruent with the argument of Shah Wali-Allah Dehlvi. Shah Wali-Allah cogently argued that, however, the 'door to ijtihād' was never closed, and there is a possibility to conduct ijtihād⁵⁷.

⁵⁵ Ibid, 202.

⁵⁶ *Ittibā'* (following) means to follow to their *muqallid* without any source. Other ulema have differentiated between *taqlīd* and *ittibā'* in different ways. For example, *taqlīd* means to follow to any *mujtahid* and imam without any sources, while many have written about *ittibā'* that *ittibā'* means to follow any imam without any authentic source. Ahmad Raza Khan Barelwi writes that, means that those Imam and Mujtahid are doing *taqlīd*, we have admit his without source, taqlīd mutlaq or taqlīd aam or taqlīd *ghair shakshi*: for the taqlīd *mutlaq*, there is no compulsion to follow anyone imam but there is an independent to follow on issues to one imam and different issues to follow to different imam is called taqlīd *mutlaq*. Terminology *taqlīd* meant that any person can believe to other person views and emphasized that view is perfect and complete and accept without hesitation. Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi, *An Nahyul Akeed an al Salat Wara Uddi al Taqlīd, As-Sahmu'sh Shihābī ālā Khadāyī'l Wahābī, An-Nayyiratu'sh Shihābī ālā Tadrīsī'l Wahābī, Al-Fadl al-Mawhibī fi Māna idhā saḥḥa'l ḥadīthu fa huwa madh'habī,*

⁵⁷ The first stipulation of *ijtihād*, having willed of *ijtihād* and must acquainted the Qur'an and Hadīth. And must also know what issues have been conducted in the consensus (*ijma*) and should also know what right stipulation of *qiyās*. Who is mujtahid: having experience and well qualified on the subject of Quran and Hadīth and they must know what previous Imam or *mujtahid* have made a consensus on the issues of fiqh. He must know and having experience in the field of *qiyās* and they must know the previous mujtahid, who did *qiyās*. *Mujtahid* should have proficiency in the Arabic language. He made certain condition and stipulations to conduct *ijtihād*. He argued that those have adept and command in the field of Quran and Hadīth allowed to conduct *ijtihād*. For the laymen, Shah Wali Allāh advised, those who do not have the command of Quran and Hadīth, they should follow theory and practice on the basis of law. Hence with regards to the law, he advised and insisted to the ulama and believers should comply with the Hanafi law and only Hanafi laws lead to the puritanical form of Islam and remove the corrupt practices of Islam.

Research Design:

Data Collection Methods:

Sociologist Norman Denzin suggested that research should examine a problem from as many different perspectives as possible, a technique he calls multiple triangulations. Denzin recommends triangulating sources of data as well as methods for the gathering data, and theories analyze them. Such an approach generates the broadest possible data, and a wider use of data in analysis⁵⁸. The major data collection methods in ethnographic research are participant observation, in-depth interviews, and documents. The purpose of to this research apply qualitative research approach to give respondents the opportunity to fully describes their experience in their own words in order to ensure that the data reflects their lived experiences, understanding and ideas. This research employed triangulation in data source. It drew from textual sources as well as field research, thus combining the strength of both the ethnographic and qualitative approach.

Participant Observation:

Participation observation is a commonly close method in ethnographic research. A key feature of this method is that researcher or an observer seeks to become a kind of member of the group. This may involve not only a physical presence but also entry into their social and symbolic world through learning their social conventions and habits, their use of language and non-verbal communications⁵⁹. For the purpose of this study, I predominantly observed the social, religious and interpersonal process at the dargah and carried out observation at different sections of the dargah at the different times. In the dargah of Makhdūm Pak, some days were considered holier than others, for example, Nauchandi and festivals.

Interviews: represent the third major method of gathering ethnographic data and under some circumstances the primary source data for field researchers. Interview enquires into the experiences of others, interviewers may learn a great deal about the life-worlds of the other. Prus

⁵⁸ Norman Denzin, *The Research Act*, Chicago: Aldine Press, 1970, 298-300.

⁵⁹ Robson, 2002, 314.

suggests that interview should be not seen as substitutes for extensive involvements as participant observers, but it is not always feasible for researchers to participate in all settings in all memberships manner⁶⁰.

Documents: textual sources for this study drew from primary and secondary sources. Documents in Urdu were examined in the Mukhtar Ashraf library, personal collections, and archives, the various libraries of the Aligarh Muslim University, Rampur Raza Library. In addition, a particular source was collected from different Khanaqah's, which offered and published the number of books related to their ancestors and personalities.

Data translation: The entire semi-structured interview were conducted and transcribed in Urdu and then translated into English for the analysis. I translated the Urdu transcripts into English using an authentic Academic 21st century- Urdu to English dictionary that is published by Educational Publishing House Delhi.

Outline of the Chapters:

The thesis divided into five main chapters with the sixth part as concluding chapters. In the first part of the first chapter an attempt is made to compile the biography of Syed Ashraf Jahangir Simnani, his genealogy, and lives, patronage and relation with rulers. The second part of this chapter looks at the Syed Jahangir Simian's ontology. The chapter is interrogated whether Syed Ashraf Jahangir Simnani is the line with the Ibn 'Arabi ontology. The chapter is given conceptual and theoretical legitimacy of *wahdat al-wujūd* by critically invoking the Ibn 'Arabi perspective on ontology and metaphysics of being. In the second chapter, looks at the Barelwi movement with regard to Kichaucha Sharif. The third and fourth chapters are based on ethnographic studied at the Makhdūm Pak dargah, Kichaucha Sharif. The fifth chapter, assess the Barelwi fatwas', especially related to the customary and popular practices issued by the Barelwi muftis. The concluding chapter provides an alternative normative judgment on these contentions by proposing a background for new principles of Barelwi Islam in India. Following is the brief descriptions of these chapters.

Chapter first: Hagiography and Biography of Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī:

⁶⁰ Robert Prus, *Symbolic interaction and ethnographic research: interdisciplinary and the Study of Human Lived Experiences*, 1996, 20.

The first chapter is divided into two sections. First section in the first chapter looked hagiography and biography of Ashraf Jahangir Simnani. The chapter is based on Jahāngīr Simnānī's life and narratives, genealogy, although; Simnānī appears in many biographical and hagiographic dictionaries, but not in exhaustive. The purpose of this chapter attempt to provide a critically analyze, genealogy, the early life of Ashraf Jahangir Simnani, his teachers, students, his influences, and his death. The second section of this chapter looks at Syed Ashraf Jahangir Simnani ontology, whether his ontology is line with the Ibn Arabi's ontology. The finding of this chapter suggests that Simnani was main proponent of the *wahdat al-wujūd* and Simnani was more vocal and supporter of *wahdat al-wujūd*, and in fact, he traveled to different parts of world to convince the idea of Shaykh ontology. He was not only settled the dispute between the Abdul Razzāk Kashānī and Simnānī, but he has corroborated his argument with the Quranic verse and included syntax, lexicon, fiqh, and Kalam in the discourse of *wahdat al-wujūd*.

Second Chapter: Understanding Barelwi Movement with regard to Kichaucha Sharif:

The chapter is to look mainly contribution to Kichauchwī in the Barelwi movement and tried to link his political activism during the 20th century. The chapter is divided into three parts; first part intended to deal with the controversy over between Shah Ismail Dehlvi and Allama Fadl-I-Haqq Khairabadi on the nature of God and issue of Prophet Muhammad. This controversy actually paved the way the origin of Barelwi movement in South Asia. The second part of this chapter highlights the Ahmad Raza Khan Barelwi and his understanding regarding the nation-state, Khilafat movement, non-cooperation movement and unity between Hindu and Muslim. In this section, the chapter will explore Barelwi school position on the Khilafat, Non-cooperation, and unity between Hindu-Muslim. The third sections dealt with the contribution of Maulana Kichauchwī in the Barelwi movement.

Chapter Three: Syed Pak Makhdūm Dargah, Kichaucha Sharīf:

The Dargah of Makhdūm Pak is unquestionably, the largest and most prominent shrine in the district of Ambedkar Nagar, Uttar Pradesh. The dargah of Pak Makhdūm is very important, which is identifying the ritual and spirit possession practice take place. There are many shrines in India, but Pak Makhdūm dargah is unique case and large numbers of devotees are come here to take bless from Makhdūm Saheb. The dargah is known for spirit possession, *Jinn*, and *Bhut*. The

chapter highlighted the perception of dargah and asked who prefer to attend the Makhdūm Pak dargah and also addressed ritual activities in the dargah and inter-religious practices around shrine.

Chapter Four: Presence (*Hazirī*): Moral Court (*Adalat*), Functions & Justice, Kichaucha Sharīf Dargah:

Makhdūm Pak dargah is specialized in the services of people afflicted by devil and sorcery and the dargah of Makhdūm Pak is unique in the field of therapy and healing. The dargah occupied one of the most prestigious places in spirit possessions in South Asia. People come here generally who afflicted by the demons Jinn, *Shaitani Harkat* (a diabolical act) sorcery, magic, and mental distress. In this chapter, I have distinguished between secular court and moral court and how the moral court works mainly in the dargah of Kichaucha Sharīf. The chapter focuses on moral court law is existed and operated in the dargah of Makhdūm Pak and other places including shrines and temples in South Asia. There are still number of places where spirit possession, healing, and administration of justice continue to be practiced together. The moral court law is a different kind of law but it is focus a kind of possession by demons, spirits, and ghosts, often called spirit possession. It is found all human culture and society and it is often associated with the healing. In this chapter, I have combined three interrelated concepts, namely, possession, healing and law and these three things clearly operated in moral court of Makhdūm Pak dargah. I have also examined the nature of illness and diseases and how moral and immoral person trail ordeal and get justice, punishment through *haziri* in the moral court.

Chapter Five: Barelwi Islam: Muftis and their Fatāwá on Customary and Popular Practices:

Fatwa in India are issued by one madrasa to other, may not be binding elsewhere or not necessary to accepted to other school of thought. Fatwa are deep-rooted in local Muslim communities that are practice of Islam in India. The majority of Fatwa are issued and delivered by Deoband madrasas, Barelwi madrasas and other. Fatwa is all about an ‘opinion’ and also its mufti observation, not a law. The chapter has examined the Barelwi positions on the issues of customary and ritual practices. One of the main concerns of this chapter to know that are the Barelwī School scripture, text and fatwa’s permits and celebrates the ritual and customary practices. I did not find such kind trend in the Barelwi School of fatāwá.

Chapter First: (First section)

Hagiography and Biography of Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī (d.832/1429):

Abstract:

The first chapter is based on the hagiography and biography of Sufi saint and his lineage and patronage with the rulers. The chapter is built around four important themes. First theme in this chapter, has explored the importance of the malfūzāt and maktūbāt of Ashraf Jahangir Simnani (*section I*). The second theme in this chapter looks at the Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnani's genealogy and his familial lore and also life of Syed Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnani in Simnan (*section II*). A third theme in this chapter is to explore the life of Jahāngīr Simnani in Qasbah Kichaucha and patronage, grants and relations with rulers (*section III*). The purpose of this chapter is to reconstruct the biography of Ashraf Jahangir Simnani.

Introduction:

Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī (b.712/1312) was a Sufi in the Chisti order who settled in Qasbah Kichaucha after having lived in many places in northern and eastern part of India. He was a disciple in the Khanaqah Ala al-Haqq Pandavi (d.800/1398) in Pandwah Sharif, West Bengal. He is remembered as a well-traveled, highly esteemed saint who sought out the company of wise, famous and powerful men, from the local ruler of Jaunpur to the Persian lyricist of Shiraz, Hafiz. He is even reputed to have once met the Mongol warlord Timur⁶¹. Already religiously and mystically inclined from his early youth⁶², his life has changed during the reaction to Timur's invasion. For Simnānī, the slaughter of his relatives in Simnan impelled him to seek solace in the authority of a Pir⁶³. Jamal Malik noted that, in the wake of Timur's invasion, many more Sufis were come to Jaunpur, among them the famous Chisti Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī (d.1427) the spiritual leader of the political master Ibrahim Sharqi and a committed adherent of the Andalusian mystic Ibn al 'Arabi (1165-1240) idea of *wahdat al-wujūd*⁶⁴. It is also worth noting

⁶¹ Carl W. Ernst & Bruce B. Lawrence, *Sufi Martyrs of Love: Chishti Sufism in South Asia and Beyond*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, 42.

⁶² Riazul Islam. *Sufism in South Asia: Impact on Fourteenth Century Muslim Society*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002, 267.

⁶³ Bruce B. Lawrence. *Notes from a Distant Flute: The Extant Literature of pre-Mughal Indian Sufism*, Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1978, 47.

⁶⁴ Jamal Malik. *Islam in South Asia: A Short History*, Leiden: Brill, 2008,126.

that, before arriving in Kichaucha, he first met with the noble Sufi was the Suhrawardi saint of Uch, Jalal ud-din Bukhari Makhdum-i Jahaniyan. Later Simnani visited Pandwah Sharif, where he found Ala al-Haqq of Bengal- a disciple of Shaikh Akhi Siraj, himself a distinguished Khalifa of Nizām ud-din Awliyā. Prior to settling down in Kichaucha, Simnani traveled extensively to Iran and other countries in search of seeking bless and grace from the different Sufis. He died at the age of 832/1429 at Qasbah Kichaucha and left many reputed students and disciples including Qadi Shahābuddīn Daultabadi, and many others.

Simnānī was well known for his writings on mystical topics and was considered influential in his times. He had contact with many of the important mystics of his days and was initiated in all the major Sufi tariqas (lineages). The Chishti saint Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī, a man who had traveled widely in Iran, he was the first Sufi, who followed the Kubrawi order in South Asia, initiated and retained his Pir Ala ad-Dawla Simnānī in Iran and he was a follower of the line of Ibn Arabi ontology and later made a distance from his Pir Ala ad-Dawla Simnānī on the negative attitude toward Ibn al-Arabi's concept of unity of being⁶⁵. He trained himself to be a masterful exorcist, and, after outmaneuvering his Hindu rivals as well as Chiragh-I-Hind, Simnānī became the master of Kichaucha⁶⁶ (in modern Ambedkar Nagar district of UP). He was a man of diverse talents, who was immersed in magic as well as mysticism. Simnani had vast knowledge in the subject of mystical thoughts, as well as he was acclaimed scholar in the field of *ma'qulāt* (rational knowledge, philosophy & logic) and *manqulāt* (the transmitted sciences such as tafsīr, hadīth, and jurisprudence). When he discussed any issue with the theologian and scholars, he introduced sharp and depth in his arguments. The hagiographer contains endless reminiscences about Simnānī's topic of discussion on the scholastic issues, he writes; when Simnani debated any issues with the theologian and ulama; he adopted the attitude of the scholars in mystical sign and points and he does not like override the beyond Sharia in any case. He had given significant importance the knowledge of Sharia, as well as the emphasis on the pursuit of one another Sufis and ulama⁶⁷.

⁶⁵ Annemarie Schimmel. *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent*, Leiden: Brill, 1980, 41.

⁶⁶ Bruce B. Lawrence. *Notes from a Distant Flute: The Extant Literature of pre-Mughal Indian Sufism*, Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1978, 53.

⁶⁷ Sayyed Sabahuddin Abdul Rahman. *Bazm-e-Sufia*, Azamgarh: Darul Musannefin Shibli Academy. 1971,471.

On the other hand, Simnani has written extensively in various topic of mysticism including, *wali*, *wilāya* (terms and condition of the saint), *wujūd* (existence) *ikhtyar* (will or authority), *iradat* (devotion), *hairat* (amazement or astonishment)⁶⁸, *Ishq* (love)⁶⁹ and *ilm* (knowledge). Regarding knowledge in mystical thought, Simnani adopted the view on the Importance of knowledge with Khwaja Maudood Chishti. He explained that without knowledge an ascetic is just like devil's beloved; therefore in the spiritual path the acquaintance of God, mystic knowledge, faith, Islamic law and Sufi order (*tarīqa*) is necessary for the follower of the Sufism⁷⁰. For Simnani, no mankind can be saint, unless they subservient the practice of exoteric (*zahir*) or esoteric (*bātin*), and in the word of deed and Sharia. Ashraf Jahangir Simnani, Sufi is that with who is described the attributes of god except obligation and step. It is necessary for the saint should have the knowledge of Quran, hadīth, and jurisprudence, as well as saint, should be *alim* not ignorant. His

⁶⁸ Amazement or astonishment is a prelude to spiritual enlightenment; and an early Sufi master, Shibli (d.945) maintained that "Gnosis is continual amazement". Ashraf Simnani has explained about the concept of Hairat, that is Hairat *majmum* which is related to the astonishment of despicable, and *Hairat mahmud* that is related to the praiseworthy.

⁶⁹ The dictionary defined the word is *Mohabbat* is derivative from the '*haba*' and which means slips. However *hubb* named by *hubb*, because actually lives in the *hub*. Some argue that *hubb* (love) is a name that denotes the purity of affection, (*safa al- mawadda*) because the Arabs say *habab al-asnan* about white and fresh looking teeth. They also say *habab* about things that appear on the surface of the water during a heavy rain⁶⁹. Other say a word *Mohabbat* is derived from *hubbub*, which is plural of *hubah*. *Mohabbat* is more than the name of *Ishq* and while his relationship with Allāh and his messenger⁶⁹. The word *Ishq* uses in different way and interpreted in different manners. Thus one group has pointed out that, a man might be the *Ishq* (love) of God, but God's love is not to understand in proper way. Further saying that *Ishq* is the essence of quality, who has withheld from his beloved⁶⁹ because the man has withheld from Allāh and Allāh is not withheld from man. So it is permissible to man to love of god, but for Allāh is not permissible⁶⁹. Other school of pointed out that a man might not be the *Ishq* of god, because it's not permissible. For him to exceed the limit for the name of *Ishq*, and god is not finite. The later Sufi's have pointed out that the love of god substance (*dhāt*) can't be possible to the both world. However, they have pointed out that *Ishq* (love) is much more compatible with cognitive substance. But substance of God is not a perceptive. Therefore it's possible to love of His essential quality (*sifāt*), but it can't be possible with His substance (*dhāt*). Other Sufi's have also pointed out that, without beloved to god is not possible to achieve *Ishq* (love). However, *Ishq* (love) can be allowable through a just cognizance. Because *Ishq* is rapport with *Nazar* and it's not possible on Him. Because the god is invisible. Moreover, the substance of God is a without cognition and without feelings. So it may not be possible to *Ishq* along with Him. A group of Sufi's also have pointed out that there is no stubborn in *Ishq* and also there is no stubborn to almighty⁶⁹. Therefore He is graceful and most merciful. *Risala Qaishariya* had explained about *Ishq*, to transgress from *Mohabbat* that is called *Ishq*. Praise to almighty, it is not lawful to transgress. Therefore it will not be proper way to say that almighty does love somebody and also to proper way to say related to individual that had *Ishq* on almighty. Thus, it is the negation of *Ishq* from both sides and there is no case to using the word *Ishq* for the virtue of almighty⁶⁹. Syed Ashraf Jahangir Simnani, *Lataif-i-Ashrafi*, pp, 361-363, volume III., *Risala Qaishariya*,p, 327 and also *Tehqeeqat ishq*, pp,1-27.

⁷⁰ Generally expressed by the Arabic term '*ilm*', which can also be translated as traditional or acquired knowledge. Sufi authors have discussed at length the various types of knowledge. In general they argue that one can attain discursive knowledge through one's own effort, by a disciplined study of the principal Islamic religious sources (scriptures and exegesis, Prophetic tradition, and religious law) as well as through familiarity with important Sufi sources. See, John Renard, *Historical Dictionary of Sufism*, Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, 2005, p, 139

deed and actions should be approved by the Sharia and tarīqa. He surmises that the friends' of God are of any category, such as the mystic of the highest order, nobles or chiefs, hidden and solitary; they are not capable of attaining unity with God after passing through various stages of self-purgation and self-purification⁷¹.

For Simnani, there are two types of will, one kind of will that is metaphorical (*majazi*) and the second kind that is related to the real (*haqiqi*). The metaphorical will is affinity with the creature and real will that is engagement with God will. Simnani tried to establish the argument that everything is the master of God and he is the Lord of everything. He was wanted to explain that the mankind would have firm faith that the total authority of God in Providence⁷². Simnani laid down the certain term and condition about devotion (*iradat*) towards the patronage of the saints for the mystic disciples. The disciple has not hidden any such thing to his saint. He does not have any kind of objection to his saint. The first stage of the disciple is strict to conformity to the sharīa, leading to the second stage, that of mystic path(*tarīqa*), which in turn leads to a third stage, that of gnosis (*ma'rifa*), leading finally to the fourth stage, *haqīqa* (truth)⁷³. Ahmad maintains that the Chishti order in the hagiographical account of the renunciation of a throne in favor of spiritual life by Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī repeats the 'renunciation motif' of Ibrahīm Ibn Adham traced. Simnānī's own teaching emphasized religious law to such an extent that his disciples were better known as theologians' than as Sufis⁷⁴.

Why Hagiography?

The hagiography or vita is the record of an exemplary life held up as a model for the imitation of the faithful⁷⁵. Jacques Le Goff remarks, 'hagiography tell us much about the mental

⁷¹ Fana fillah/annihilation in Allah is a mystical concept which states that man is capable of attaining unity with Allah after passing through various stages of self-purgation and self-purification. This is a state when man loses his existence into Allah's existence. The concept of baqi billah/permanence within Allah is a natural corollary of concept of 'fana fillah'; baqi billah means when man loses his existence in Allah's existence, he becomes permanent existence because Allah's existence is permanent.

⁷² He is the God (as the real Doer of all things), He is also the real master and He is the real supplier of the means of subsistence, cherisher, sustainers and provider. The mankind only has virtually authority on the things. Simnani has explained that theologians have explained in very details about the issue of authority. But the reality is that they could not explain about the concept of will that the Sufis have engagement with the actual and real will.

⁷³ Aziz Ahmad. *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment*, London: Oxford University Press, 1964, 132-33.

⁷⁴ Ibid, p,137

⁷⁵ Carl W. Ernst. "From Hagiography to Martyrology: Conflicting Testimonies to a Sufi Martyr of the Delhi Sultanate", *History of Religions*. 24, No. 4, 1985, 309.

infrastructure of the middle ages; the interpretation between the tangible world and the supernatural world, the common nature of the corporeal and psychic, are the conditions which make miracles and related phenomena possible⁷⁶.Hagiographical texts in local circulation vouched for both their antiquity and their holiness and it also provides a basis for studying local sanctity and saintly patronage within the region⁷⁷.

Hagiography that is the broad range of literature produced for the cult of saints- has provided the source material for important studies concerning both monastic and lay religious practices in the Middle Ages. Sanctity, in the period prior to and contemporary with the development of official organization procedures, was constructed and manipulated by religious communities for their own benefits within the context of local patronage networks. Hagiography was not only an expression of the public piety of the communities which commissioned their composition and listened to their contents but a private work of piety for the authors themselves⁷⁸.

Long ago, Carl Ernst and B. Bruce Lawrence had determined that how to study hagiography of Chisti Sufi in South Asian context and beyond. They suggested two approaches to study the hagiography of the Sufi saint. The first approach takes it historical data in general and Sufi biographies in particular as test cases for rules and methods. The real purpose of the scholarship, they argue, is to win some pellets of truth, which are lying under the accumulation of legends and superstitions by all giant storytellers. The second approach, they expound that, there are a large array of excavations and then ambiguous information about small saints, on the assumption that once their story has been told “in their own words”, the message of their search for truth will be obvious. What has been overlooked in both approaches is that one scholar insisted on, “one fact is only a relevant fact” in which there are questions regarding a frame of references, which we would post in the past. This is the ability to present the ‘right’ question that separates productive scholarship. In the context of the origin of Chishti Sufism, the right question is not easily posed; they occupy a penumbral zone between this time and earlier times. In order to understand the beginnings and at the same time it also needs to pay attention to the origins. In

⁷⁶ Cited in Thomas Head. *Hagiography and the Cults of Saints: The Diocese of Orleans, 800-1200*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, 14.

⁷⁷ Thomas Head. *Hagiography and the Cults of Saints: The Diocese of Orleans, 800-1200*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, 4-5.

⁷⁸ Ibid, 14-17.

other words, for beginnings, even though have to keep accounting separately from the origins, but in practice, it is two equal. They further point out that, if someone wants to study the history of Chishti Sufism, every student should join the struggle with both origins and beginnings⁷⁹.

Malfūzāt and Maktūbāt of the Syed Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī:

The malfūzāt⁸⁰ of *Latā'if-i Ashrafi* is concerned with the life and thoughts of Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī, compiled by his student and disciple Shaikh Nizām ad-dīn Yamani, which is the most authentic and reliable source. Bernard Lawrence expounds that *Latā'if-i Ashrafi* is the most voluminous single *malfūzāt* collection attributed to Indian saint⁸¹. *Malfūzāt* is the original script in Persian and contains a *muqadma* (preface) and sixty *lataif* (anecdotes) which is rarely found in any other *malfūzāt*. Apart from voluminous notes, the *Latā'if-i Ashrafi* has been considered and importance work in which hagiographer discussed a multitude of the theological issues like, *tasawwuf*, *Ishqhaqeeqi* (spiritual love of God), *wahdat al-wujūd*, (unity of being), Sharia (exoteric path) and *tariqat* (esoteric path), *haqīqa* (mystical truth), *ma'rifa* (mystical knowledge) *Chisti sama*, (dhikr and remembrance) the debate between Abdul Razzāk Kashāni and 'Ala' ad-dawla Simnānī, biographical sketches of Sufis, spirit, (*qalb*), and so forth. Simnānī was interested in Persian poetry and had a collection of numbers of poetry which is mentions in *Latā'if-i Ashrafi*, likes, Firdausi, Nizami, Zahir faryabi, Hafiz Shīrāzi, and Khusro, etc⁸².

⁷⁹ Carl W. Ernst & Bruce B. Lawrence. *Sufi Martyrs of Love: Chishti Sufism in South Asia and Beyond*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, 47-9.

⁸⁰ Literally "utterances", in Sufi parlance denotes the conversation of a mystic teacher. An Arabic word, malfūzāt literally means "what has been said" and refers to the text written, mostly in Persian, by the disciple of a Sufi Shaikh recording as much possible of the Shaikh conversations, activities and teaching. Malfūzāt was such a contemporary record of the teachings of a Sufi Shaikh as observed and compiled by a disciple. K.A Nizami writes that it was Hasan Sidjzi of Delhi who gave it a definite literary form. In 707/1307 he decided to write a summary of what he heard from his spiritual mentor Shaikh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā and completed it under the rubric, *Fawā'id al-fu'ād*. It marked the beginning of a new type of mystical literature known as malfūzāt. A few years later in 711/1312 Sultan Baha al-Dīn son of the famous Maulana Jalal al-Dīn Rumi completed a record of his father utterance under the title *Fihi-ma-fihi*. After that in (830/1426) Syed Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī disciple Nizām ad-Dīn Yamani started to compile the malfūzāt and biography and his teachings. See, K.A Nizami. "*Malfūzāt*". In The Encyclopedia of Islam. ed. P.J Bearman, TH. Bianquis, C.E Bosworth, Leiden, Brill, vol. Xii, 2004,577-78 , Amina Steinfelds, "His Mater's Voice: The Genre of Malfūzāt in South Asian Sufism", *History of Religions*,.44,No.1, 2004,56-69

⁸¹ Bruce B. Lawrence. *Notes from a Distant Flute: The Extant Literature of Pre-Mughal Indian Sufism*, Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1978, 53-54.

⁸² Wahid Ashraf. *Hayāt Syed Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī*, Lucknow: Sarfraz Qaumi Press,201, also "Hazrat Gaus ālam ka Ilmi Martāba aur Tasnīf", *Al-ashraf*, January, 2001, 51-55.

Aslam Farkhī's remarks on *Latāif-i Ashrafi* gained extraordinary importance in Persian malfūzāt in Indian subcontinent. The malfūzāt of *Latāif-i Ashrafi*, which is also, contains details description, wellsprings, and insights of the people. It is also a treasure of knowledge and spirituality and mysteries of human life and it is the key to elegance and good disposition⁸³. *Latāif-i-Ashrafi* has been originally written in Persian script and was first published in 1878 from Delhi, but the date of this publication is not available. It was Hakim Shah Syed Nazar Ashraf who translated nine *lataifs* in Urdu. Nasir Ahmad Korvi, who translated a short translation of *Lataif*/subtle in Urdu, and published in two volumes and it, has not been completed in complete book translation. Later, Professor Latīfullāh translated forty *lataif* with voluminous notes and footnotes. The biographer of *Hayat Makhdūm Syed Ashraf Jahangir Simnani*, Wahid Ashraf writes about *Lataif-I Ashrafi*, the malfūzāt himself signifies the extent of knowledge and insights of Syed Ashraf Simnānī. It is the essence of all fundamental books of mysticism, which kept the different problems of tasawwuf in a good manner and interpreted the events and narratives in voluminous notes. Khidr Nausahi writes that the malfuzat of *Latāif-i Ashrafi* is a biography of Ashraf Jahangir Simnani and it also delineates the record of his teaching and leanings with his Murshid (guide) and disciples. Further he goes on to say that, in *Latāif-i Ashrafi*, somewhere render the origin and development of Sufism, somewhere explanations about heart, spirit and love ,somewhere debate on the intricate meaning of mystic, somewhere has been mentioned the familial lore and genealogy, somewhere the lives of Suifs, thought, and poetry of Sufis have been explained. It will not be an exaggeration if we say that the malfūzāt of *Latāif-i Ashrafi* is one of the oceans of Sufism⁸⁴.

Maktūbāt-I Ashrafi⁸⁵:

⁸³ Nizām Yamani. *Latāif-i-Ashrafi*, vol.II, 2.

⁸⁴ Khizr Nausahi. *Lataif-I Ashrafi*, translated by Shams Bareilwi, 10.

⁸⁵ Maktūbāt literally "letters", a term used especially in Muslim in India for the epistles of Sufi leaders. There are collections of letters written by mystic teachers to their disciple. This epistolary literature, which throws valuable light on the mystic ideology and institutions of the period, K.A Nizami have classified under four categories, (a) sundry correspondence limited to mostly to one or two letters dealing which some religious problem, e.g. Letters of attributed to the Shaikh Abdul Qādir Jīlani, Bakhtiyār Kaki, Shaikh Farid Ganj-I Shakar, Shaikh Nizām ad-din Awlīya and others,(b) collections of letters in the nature of mystic lucubration without any indication of the addresses, e.g. letters of Hamdani, Qadir Al-hamid Nagawri and Sayed Ali Hamadani,(c) collections of letters bearing on mystical or religious themes addressed to disciple to resolve their difficulties, e.g. the letter of imam al-Ghazālī, Yaha Maneri, Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī, Gesu Daraz, Shah Muhibullāh Allahabādi (d) collections of letters having the consistent of a specific ideological position and controlling the organizational direction and ideologically drift of the disciples. The Naqshbandi saints particularly from the time of Shaikh Ahmed Shrinthi used letters as a

Ashraf Jahangir Simnānī's maktubat Ashrafi is a collection of letters, which he had narrated in different times in front of disciples (*murīds*'), followers, and friends. The *Maktūbāt-I Ashrafi* was addressed the number of questions and issues, such as the oneness of God, blasphemy, Sufi's ideas/belief, stages of Sufis, designation, *Khulafa-Rashidīn*, stages of *tawhīd*, and reality of dreams, etc. Lawrence's remarks on maktubat Ashrafi, it is related to a different period of the life of saints than the *Lataif-I Ashrafi*. In their entirety, they appear to derive from the last phase of his long and highly successful spiritual career. Yet it's inconceivable that a scholarly saint with Syed Ashraf disposition to write would have written letters only toward the end of his life. Moreover, there are only seventy- five letters in the extant *Maktūbāt* collection. Some of the letters must have belonged to an earlier period, overlapping with the *Lataif-I Ashrafi*⁸⁶.

Maktūbāt-I Ashrafi was collected for the first time by the Nizām Yemeni and second time was collected by Nurul Ain, which was ordered by the Ashraf Jahangir Simnānī's, but there is no date for publication. Maulana Mumtaz Ashrafi noted that the first set of *maktūbāt-i Ashrafi* was compiled by Nizām Yemeni in (1385/787) and first time reviewed by Nurul Aīn in (1464/869). *Maktūbāt-I Ashrafi* was originally written in Persian script and translated for the first time in Urdu by Hakim Syed Abdul Hay Ashraf Kichachwī and the second time was translated into Urdu by Maulana Mumtaz Ashrafi in 1423/2002.

Genealogy of Syed Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī:

The malfūzāt of *Lataif-i Ashrafi* maintained that Simnānī was belonged to the family of Asad Bin Samānī, the son of the Bahram Chubin, belong to a nomadic community, later converted into Islam in the late 9th century. His father name was Ibrahīm Samanī⁸⁷ traced their lineage from the Samani dynasty. As *Lataif-I-Ashrafi* maintains that,

‘After demise of Sultan Syed Amaluddīn Nur Bakshi, the coronation of the Nūr Bakshi Sultanate was managed by his son Sultan Syed Ibrahīm Simnānī. Sultan Syed Ibrahīm Simnānī was the father of Syed Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī. His father was not only emperor but also a pious and righteous. Zahoorul Hasan Sharib writes ‘about his father Sultan Syed Ibrahīm Simnānī was patron of arts and sciences. He maintained the culture and civilization for those

regular channel for the communication of their trends thought, see, K.A Nizami, “*Maktūbāt*”. In *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, ed. P.J Bearman, TH. Bianquis, C.E Bosworth, Leiden, Brill, vol. Xii, 2004, 571-72.

⁸⁶ Bruce B. Lawrence. *Notes from a Distant Flute: The Extant Literature of Pre-Mughal Indian Sufism*, Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1978, 53-55.

⁸⁷ *Lataif-I-Ashrafi* mentioned about his father and Simnānī,

changes happened in the life of tenants. His main outstanding qualities were of peace and justice and always concern rights for tenants. He was bound to order and prohibition and endeavored to implement the Islamic laws⁸⁸.

But the fact that our extant sources do not indicate any of the Nur Bakshi Sultanate was ruled in the region of Simnan province⁸⁹. It seems to suggest here that it is fictitious character facilitated

⁸⁸ Zahoor al-Hasan Sharib. *Mukammal Swanih Umri Syed Makhdūm Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī*, 13-14.

⁸⁹ Our extant source does not support the Jahangir Simnani silsila back to the Prophet and even, see Ismāīl Samānī was the Samanid emir of the Transoxiana(829-907) and Khorasan(900-907) in the province of Iran. He was belong to the family of Asad Bin Samānī, the son of the Bahram Chubin, belong to nomadic community, later converted into Islam in the late 9th century. Bahram Chubin was appeared in service of emperor al-Ma'mūn(d.218/833), who reigned in province of Maru. Chubin was more close to Al-mamun and he helped fight for the throne of caliphate between Al-mamun and his brother Amin. Ismail Samānī was the grandson of the Asad Bin Samani. Ismāīl was the first member of Samanid dynasty to rule over all Khurasan and Transoxiana province for more than two decades. He left reputation for justice and piety and for serving the caliph and his interests faithfully, a reputation preserved in historical and *adab* literature. He is often referred to in source as Amir-e Māzī and Amir-e Ādel. He may be considered the greatest of the Samanids, for none of his successor was of his caliber. Ismail was the real founder of the Samanid state and is highly regarded in all sources for his good qualities as a ruler, indeed almost an idealized ruler. After the demise of Ismāīl Sāmānī, his son Ahmad Sāmānī(d.301/914) succeeded of that province and ruled for more than eight years (907-914). At the outset of his reign, Ahmad set out to conquer Sistan which had remained under a Saffarid rule. By 298/911 most of the province had submitted to Sāmānīd rule. The province of Tabaristan, however, broke away from the Samanids with the revolt of a Zaidi Shia leader called Nasir al-Kabir. Before Ahmad could take measures to reconquer Tabaristan and Gurgan, which cut off his head when he was sleeping in his tent near Bukhara. Some sources say that most of the friends and families were dis-satisfied to the works of Ahmad b. Ismail, due to ill-manner. He ruled more than six years but his activities and action were against the caliph, wire-puller, and his relatives, ultimately he was killed by his slave. As sources indicate that he was very loyal to his manner and desire, and often referred to him as noble and pious. His tenants were happy for their work and he made this very convincing evidence of his determination to his tenants that he was more pious and belong to more noble family. Ahmad died in (d.301/914) and his son succeeded him at the age of eight. After demise of Ahmad b. Ismail, his son Nasr b. Ahmad Ismāīl(d.331/943) was succeeded to the throne of province. Nasr appointed Abu Abdullah as his Prime Minister, was not only a capable administer but also famous geographer and learned man. After a few days, they expanded their boundaries more than to Ismail Samani and ruled for more than thirty years without any intervention and objection by their families and friends. He died after a rule of twenty-nine years in 331/943 in his darulsaltanate Bukhara accidentally. After that, his son, Nūh b. Nasr (d.343/954) ascended the throne of that province and reigned for more than thirteen year and died at a very early age. In spite of the revolts and internal troubles, the reign of Nasr b. Ahmad might be called the high point or golden age of Samanid rule. Suffice it to say that during the reign of Nasr both Arabic and Persian books were produced in his capital, as well as elsewhere in the kingdom, and the library was assembled at Bukhara which won the praise of scholars including Ibn Sina, who used it later in the Sāmānīd era. After that Nūh b. Nasr son Abd al-Malik(d.350/961) succeeded for that province. He seized the southern part of Khurasan and appointed to the Alp-Tegin, the leader of Turks as a post of governor for that province. Appointing him as a pots of Governor, it was clear indication that Nūh son was not as capable as his father and affairs continued to devolve into the hands of the Turks. He ruled for seven years in province of Khurasan, and finally when he was playing polo, he died. After decease of Abdul Malik, his brother Mansur b. Nuh(d.365/976) succeeded to that province. He was married to Rukn ad-Daula daughter and his dominance was also recognized in Iraq and Fārs province. His Wazir was Abu Ali b. Mohammed, who was translated *Tarīkh al-Tabari* into Persian. Mansur b. Nuh rules for fifteen years in the same tradition as his predecessors, patron of the arts and literature, but his government was not only weak but chronically in debt. After that, his son Abu al-Qasim Nūh (d.387/997) ascended to the throne of the Khurasan province. His own people revolted against the Province and king Bugra Khan of Moghulistan attacked them. The

in the *malfūzāt* of Lataif-I- Ashrafi by Simnānī disciples and his followers. Moreover, all were circulated to convey specific messages, whether didactic and exemplary to serve in the training of adepts or in the edification of a broader constituency-or tactical and ‘political’-to serve in negotiating competitive rivalries among Sufi communities⁹⁰.

On the other hand, mother name Sayyida Khadīja Khatūn was the daughter of acclaimed Sūfi Khwaja Ahmed Yasavī(d.561/1166)⁹¹. Yasavī was a most cautious and religious devotee. The Yasavī tradition takes its most common appellation from the figure of Ahmad Yasavī, whose *nisba* is in turn derived from the name of his native town, Yasī, now known as ‘Turkistan’, in southern Kazakhstan; Ahmad Yasavī, usually said to have died in 562/1166-7⁹². The most important thing is that at this point, it should be noted that the period between Ahmad Yasavī and

battle took place adjacent to Bukhara and Nūh defeated in the hand of Bugra Khan army and seized the Bukhara province. But it was strange coincidence happened that after the victory Bugra Khan died in Bukhara and his army returned to their place. Nuh again captured the Bukhara province and strengthen their Kingdom. It was time, Abu Mansur Sabuktigin, who was the founder of Ghaznavids dynasty established a permanent government and Nuh after accession to the throne of that province, a few days later, Alp-Tegin (d.352/963) died. Abu Mansur Sabuktigin was helped to Nuh against the battle of Bugra Khan, received the title of ‘Nasir al-Din’ by the Nūh. Nuh wanted to punish their rebellious vazirs, who was the rebel against the Nuh, but they fled to Bukhara and took shelter in the court of Fakhr ad-Daula. These rebellious and Fakhr ad-daula attacked the province of Bukhara and Nuh again request for help to Sabuktigin. Sabuktigin and his son Mahmud Ghaznavi combated against the rebellious and after great war, they defeated at the hand of both Ghazanvis. Nuh was more happy and he confirmed Mahmūd Ghaznavi’s title of ‘*Saif ad-daula*’. Nuh ruled for more than twenty years, but his period witnessed most of the times was war, rebels. After Nuh Sani, his son Mansur b. Sani was succeeded the throne of his father. The vazir’s who had annoyed, they defeated the Mansur and threw out the Bukhara. Then they conceded the Mansur as a king of Khurasan province. Mahmud Ghazanvi overthrew the king of Khurasan and seized it with a large troops in that province. After that, at the same time, rebellious vazir;s overthrew from throne and blinded the Mansur and ascended the throne of that province of his brother Abdul Malick Sani. After that Malick army and rebellious vazir’s attacked on the Mahmud Gahazanvi. Gahazanvi routed Malick and his troops and they fled towards the Bukhara. On the other hand, Ailz Khan, who had captured the Khwarizm and conquered on the Bukhara and the result is that Ailz Khan who arrested Abdul Malick Sani and seized the province of Bukhara and Abdul Malick Sani third brother fled from Bukhara into disguise oneself, and after few days he was roaming with pirate... see, C. Edmund Bosworth. “*Esmail, b. Ahmad b. Asad Samani, Abu Ibrahim*”. Encyclopedia Iranica, 1998, vol. viii, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/esmail-b-ahmad-b-asad-samani>, or R.N. Frye, “*The Sāmānids*”. In The Cambridge History of Iran, ed. R.N. Frye, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, IV, 1975, 138-155.

⁹⁰ Devin DeWeese. “The Masha’iakh-I Turk and the Khojagan: Rethinking the Links between the Yasavī and Naqshbandi Sufi Traditions”. *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 7 (2), 1996, 181.

⁹¹ Shaykh Abdul Rahman Chisti writes that Ahmed Yasavī was pedigree of Alvi. Because he was belong to family of Hazrat Ali karam-ullah Wajhi and disciple of Yusuf Hamdani. Yasavī was a maternal grandfather of Ashraf Simnani. There was a popular tradition for his birth, and every hagiographer have noted down. Syed Sultan was married to Khadija, initially they had two daughters, but no child was born next eight years. He had perplexed that who would be heir of throne of Simnan. She began to grieve. Because both have fierce desire to see a boy. One day after *Fazr Namaaz* was sitting on prayer mats saw Ibrahim Majdub entering inside room, see, *Mir-at ul-asrar*, P, 533.

⁹² Devin DeWeese. “The Masha’iakh-I Turk and the Khojagan: Rethinking the Links between the Yasavī and Naqshbandi Sufi Traditions”. *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 7 (2), 1996, 180-81.

his daughter Sayyida Khadīja Khatūn is full of gaps (more than hundred years) and anachronistic relationship. It comes to the conclusion that our extant source pays no attention to Simnānī mother silsila back to the Yasavī's⁹³.

Life of Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī⁹⁴ in Simnan:

Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī was born in Simnān is situated on the way to the northeast and the important trade and pilgrimage center of Mashhad. Most of the biographers and hagiographers however seem, also have to reach consensus that his birth occurred in the year (b.712/1312) but this is speculative opinion based on circumstances' evidence as support⁹⁵. Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī reached at four years celebrated his first nomenclature and Maulana Imaduddīn Tabrezi, who was the first teacher, who taught him *Bismillah* (in the name of Allāh). The primary education was not received by a teacher but many teachers of his period. Perhaps one of the most important common forms of the study was memorized the Qur'an under his teacher Maulana

⁹³ I relied on the link between Yasavī and Simnani mother, see, Devin DeWeese. "The Politics of Sacred Lineages in 19th Century Central Asia: Descent Groups Linked to Khwaja Ahmad Yasavī in Shrine Documents and Genealogical Charters". *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 31, No. 4, 1999, 507-530. The Masiakh-I Turk and the Khojagan: Rethinking the Links between the Yasavī and Naqshbandi Sufi Traditions, *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 7, 1996, 180-207.

⁹⁴ Extant literature on hagiography and biography of Syed Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī, see, A.S Bazmee Ansari, "Ashraf Jahāngīr". In, *Encyclopedia of Islam, second edition*, ed. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E Boseworth, E. Van Dongel. N. Hanif, "Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani". In *Biographical Encyclopedia of Sufis South Asia*, Delhi: Sarup & Sons, 2000. Nizām Yamani. *Lataif-e Ashrafi*, translated by Latif Ullah, Karachi: Okhai Printing Press. Shaikh Abdul Rahman Chisti. *Mir'at al-Asrar*, (trans. Captain Wahid Baksh Chisti), Delhi: Maktaba-i-Jam-i-Nur, NA. Shaikh Abdul Haq Dehlvi. *Akhbar-Alakhyar*. Karachi: Darul-Asa-at, Urdu Bazaar, Maulavi Rahman Ali. *Tazkira Ulam-e Hind*, Karachi: Matbua Pakistan Historical society Syed Ali Hussain Ashrafi. *Thaif Ashrafi*, Karachi: Syed Ali Hussain Ashrafi. *Wajaif-Ashrafi*, Azamgarh: Shoeb Publishing House, NA. Syed Ali Hussain Ashrafi. *Sha'if-Ashrafi*, Mumbai: Idarah Faizān Ashraf Darul Ulūm Muhammadiya, NA. Syed Naeem Ashraf Jilani. *Mahboob Yazdani*, Chalgam: Islamia Printing Press, Syed Wahid Ashraf. *Hayat Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī*, Lucknow: Sarfraz Qaumi Press. Syed Qadir Ashraf. *Zikr-e-Ashraf*, Faizabad: Matbua Idarah Ilm w Adab Kichaucha Sharif, NA. Syed Shamim Ashraf. *Ashraf Simnani: Hayat w Ifkaar*, Tanda: Qamar Press, NA. Rafiq Anjum Kichauchwī. *Makhdūm Simnani*, Tanda: Qamar Press, NA. Zahoorul-Hasan Sharib. *Mukammal Swanih Umri Syed Makhdūm Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī*.

⁹⁵ cf. there is a disagreement regarding born and death of Syed Ashraf Jahangir Simani among biographers. For instance: Shaikh Abdul Rahman Chisti has mentioned 808 hijri in *Mir'at al-Asrar*, (trans. Captain Wahid Baksh Chisti), Maktaba-i-Jam-i-Nur, Delhi, India, 1418 A.H. / 1997, page no. 1060. Shaikh Abdul Haq Dehlvi mentioned (Date of birth 770) in, *Akhbar-Alakhyar*, Darul-Asa-at, Urdu Bazaar, Karachi, page 358. Maulvi Rahman Ali has mentioned (808) in *Tazkira Ulam-e Hind*, Matbua Pakistan Historical society, Karachi, page no.112. Hamid Hasan Qadri, (688-808) *Daastan Tarikh Urdu*, Mutbae Urdu Academy, Sind, page no. 1289. Syed Naeem Ashraf has mentioned (808) in *Mahboob Yazdani*, Matbua Islamia, Chalgam, page no. 130. Zahoorul Hasan Sharib, has mentioned (688-808) in *Aasar Syed Ashraf Jahangir Simani*, Mutbae Zafaruddin Khan, Agra, page no. 16. Maulvi Syed Qadeer Ashraf Khichauchvi has mentioned the date of birth of Syed Ashraf Simani (712-830/832) in *Zikre-Ashraf*, Matbua Idarah-Ilm wa Adab Kichaucha Sharif, Faizabad, page no. 15. Syed Naseem Ashraf (732-832) page no. 27. Bazmee Ansari, Syed Ashraf Jahangir Simnani.

Imamuddīn Tabrezi. Jahāngīr Simnānī reached at the age of seven, he acquired traditional Islamic knowledge and many great ulama were praised for them. When he was seven year old memorized the Qur'an and after became fourteen old; he has completely mastered over ma'qulāt (consist of logic, mathematics, and philosophy)⁹⁶ and manqulāt (consist of Hadīth, Qur'anic tafsīr, and Prophetic tradition). He undertook a various traditional form of education under many teachers. In addition to Quranic and rationality studies, Jahangir Simnani also acquired the knowledge of *Quranic tafsīr* and qirat in Qur'an. These disciplines were studied in particular with Alī bin Hamza⁹⁷, who was famous for Quranic studies. Syed Nasīm Ashraf writes that Simnānī acquired the knowledge of Quranic science and memorizes the Quran with seven qira'at (recitation of Quran with the corrects pronunciation) in one year under the supervision of Kofi⁹⁸. He then adds useful information about Syed Ashraf Simnānī teachers, namely Abu Abd Allah al-Yafī (d.786/1367), the founder of Yafī iyya (a branch of Qādiriyya) and a famous Ash'ari scholar and compiled the Mir'at al-Janan (the mirror of the soul) and Najmuddīn Kubra son, and Baba Farah Muhaddis, Maulana Ahmed Haqqānī (Sanad Hadīth). The Abu Abd Allah al-Yafī authorized the Simnani to transmit Hadīth and other teachers taught him Sanad Hadīth⁹⁹.

When Simnani was fifteen years old, his father passed away and the work and responsibilities of the taking care of his mother came under him. Simnani most of the time spent with austerity, meditation, and worship, and he remained conscious and always aware of the principles of the rules and regulation of the *tasawwuf*. He spent most of his time in the service of Shaikh Aladawla Simnānī. Although Simnani was young, he gave full concentration to gnosis (*marifat*) and spiritual path (*sulūk*). He used to feel yearning in the heart and that yearning has forced to leave Simnan. After seven years the death of his father and Simnani reached at twenty, in the month of Ramzan, the last 27th Hazrat Khīdr came to his dreams and said in elegant language. O' Ashraf now your time has completed, 'if you want to see the end of the *wisaal-Ilahi*, leave the Simnan and to depart toward the Hind, where an elderly Sufi Shaikh Alaul-Haq Ganj is alive, which will

⁹⁶ Syed Wahid Ashraf. *Hayat Syed Ashraf Jahangir Simnani*, 33.

⁹⁷ Ali Bin Hamza,

⁹⁸ Syed Naseem Ashraf. *Ashraf Simnani Hayat wa- Ifkaar*, Matbua Makhdūm Ashraf Academy Dargah Sharif, Faizabad, 30.

⁹⁹ It is not clear from where Simnani received Hadīth knowledge, the name of two teacher did not mention in Lataif-i Ashrafi.

make *Khanaqah* (copper dig) for you'. Explaining these things disappeared from sight"¹⁰⁰. After the revelation of Hazrat Khidr (*Basharat*), he planned to leave for India¹⁰¹.

Met with Makhdūm Jahaniyan Jahangasht (Mir Sayyid Jalal al-Din):

After reaching Uchh Sharīf, where he met Makhdūm Jahaniyan Jahangasht and appeared for the services of Makhdūm. Jahaniyan Jahangasht is original name Mir Sayyid Jalal al-Din. He was given the title of 'Jahaniyan Jahangasht' and the word Bukhari from the name of his birthplace was appended after his name. He was the grandson of Sayyid Jalal al-Din and son of Sayyid Ahmed Kabir. He was the most prominent Suhrawardi saint of the second half of the fourteenth century in South Asia. He was a scholar of wide learning¹⁰²; it is said that he traveled around the world several times and on one such occasion he came to Pandwah Sharif, where met Ala ul-Haqq Pandavi. Many Muslims, including some royal's officials, became his disciples. Lawrence noted that one reason for Makhdum's fame may have been his extensive travels. Even within his own lifetimes, they became legendary so that the epithet Jahangasht ("he who has traveled the world") became added to his fame¹⁰³. He died in (785/1383) and is now lying buried at Uchh¹⁰⁴. Simnani stayed in three days at Uchh Sharīf and left for Ala al-Haqq Pandavi, where he was waiting for Syed Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī. It is also worth noting that, Jahangīr Simnani visited the saint a second time (probably when returning from his first foreign tour about, 1380), and received from him the *khirqā-i-khilafat* (the robe of deputyship), evidently of the Suhrawardiya order¹⁰⁵.

Contact with Pir-o-Murshid Shaykh Ala al-Haqq Ganj Pandavi of Bengal, Pandua Sharif:

Shaykh Akhi Sīraj was one of the famous Khalifas of Shaykh Nizām al-Din Auliya of Delhi. He came to contact with Shaykh Nizām al-Din in his childhood, who handed him over to Fakhr al-Din Zarradi to teach them. He got the title of *ain-I-Hindustan* (mirror of Hindustan) by his

¹⁰⁰Nizam Yamani. *Lataif-I-Ashrafi*.

¹⁰¹ cf. there is a different opinion about Simnani age when he left for India. I have listed here those biographers and hagiographers have mentioned about his age. '*Lataif-i-Ashrafi*' (twenty-five years), p,20, Syed Ali Hussain Ashrafi Jilani, '*Shaief Ashrafi*' (twenty years) p,71, Wahid Ashraf, '*Hayat Syed Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī*', (twenty-five years) p,41, Syed Naeem Ashraf Jilani '*Mahboob Yazdani*' (twenty-five years), p,10 Syed Shamim Ashraf, '*Ashraf Simnānī*', (twenty years) p,39, Syed Mahboob Shah Ashrafi, '*Aftab Taza*', (forty years), 17.

¹⁰² Riazul Hasan. *Sufism in South Asia: Impact on Fourteenth Century Muslim Society*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002, 278.

¹⁰³ Bruce B. Lawrence. *Notes from a Distant Flute: The Extant Literature of pre-Mughal Indian Sufism*, Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1978, 70.

¹⁰⁴ Abdul Karim. *Social History of the Muslim in Bengal*, Dacca: The Asiatic Society of Pakistan, 1959, 103.

¹⁰⁵ Riazul Hasan. *Sufism in South Asia: Impact on Fourteenth Century Muslim Society*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002, 267-8.

Shaykh and asked him to preach Islam in Bengal. Sīraj had a number of disciples in Gaur and Pandua chief among whom was Shaykh Ala al-Haqq¹⁰⁶. Shaikh Abdul Haq Dehlvi writes about the life of Ala al-Haqq that, earlier he was rich and abounding and lived their glory. But he left all luxurious life and adopted reclusive, dervish and mystical life when he came to contact with Shaikh Akhi Sīraj¹⁰⁷. Shaykh Ala al-Haqq Pandavi was the sons of Shaykh Asad of Lahore¹⁰⁸ and was the spiritual disciple of Shaikh Akhi and received grace and blessings from him. Shaikh Akhi received spiritual blessings from his Shaykh, Nizām al-Dain Auliya, gave to Ala al-Haqq Pandavi and acquired a center of spirituality. Shaikh Pandavi started *silsila* their spiritual and mystical experience in Bengal and flourished the knowledge of thirsty. He traced his genealogy from Khalid Bin Walīd and spiritual lineage from Chisti mystic tradition. One of the miracles attributed to Shaykh ‘Ala al-Haqq is that he punished two fakirs, who visited him and vexed him with unbecoming words. One was killed by an ox; another got an attack of orchitis, according to words uttered by the saint. It is said that he spent a large sum of money on feeding the pupils, beggars, and wanderers. The Sultan grew jealous because the state treasury also could not have born such huge expenditure. He ordered the saint to leave the capital and go to Sunargawn. In Sunargawn, the saint spent twice the amount. Nobody knew wherefrom this huge sum came, his possession included only two gardens, which also, later on, he gave to a beggar¹⁰⁹. Abdul Rahman Chisti writes about Ala al-Haqq Pandavi majesty and grandeur, “It can be guess about his charisma and perfection that Syed Ashraf Simnānī likes having sublime and henchman left the kingdom of Simnan to the services of Ala ul Haq Pandavi and despite going through many Saints tombs, but all have said to them, that your Pir-o- Murshid is waiting for you in Bengal¹¹⁰”. According to authentic sources, Jahāngīr Simnānī completed his journey in two years and reached in Bengal¹¹¹. Nizām Yamani the biographer of Syed Ashraf Jahangir Simnani narrated story about Simnānī when he reached at Pandua. Explains in this way,

¹⁰⁶ Abdul Karim. *Social History of the Muslim in Bengal*, Dacca: The Asiatic Society of Pakistan, 1959, 102.

¹⁰⁷ Shah Abdul Haq Dehlvi. *Akhbarul Akhyaar*, 310.

¹⁰⁸ Abdul Karim. *Social History of the Muslim in Bengal*, Dacca: The Asiatic Society of Pakistan, 1959,104.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid,104-5

¹¹⁰ Shaikh Abdul Rahman Chisti. *Mir-at ul-asrar*, Lahore, Ziya-ul Quran Publications Ganj Baksh Road, 1993, 1013-1014.

¹¹¹ The specific point of difference among biographer/hagiographer over whether Syed Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī first went to Bihar and later Bengal or not. Syed Shah Ali Hussain Jeelani and Zahoor Hasan Sharīb writes in their books, Syed Ashraf Simnānī went to Bihar from Delhi, where he performed funeral prayer to Shaikh Ahmed Maneri, Hazrat Sheikh had enjoined that the person having three essential qualities will perform his funeral prayer.

‘Shaikh Ala al-Haqq Pandavi were taking siesta in his own Khanaqah (congregation), suddenly awakened and said tomurid(disciple), ‘I am a getting fragrance from my friend’, and sent to his murid to see who is coming. Then he told him that a man having named Ashraf coming from Simnan. Listening to that Shaikh expressed his rapture and asked to disciples and visitors, we were waiting for him last two year, now he is coming. Shortly after that Simnānī reached and saw his Pīr and put his head in his hands and said to him, son Ashraf when you started your journey from Simnan, they are waiting for you at that time and every moment inquiring about you. Before coming to here seventy times they (Hazrat Khidr) gave me news about your influx’¹¹².

After receiving spiritual training and according to *tariqa* of Masiakh granted one ‘*Hujrah*’ (a room) and started their spiritual practice and exercise. Shaikh Pandavi apprised of mysteries’ and secrets to Syed Ashraf Simnānī. Nizām Yamani writes that ‘Shaikh Pandavi took to Jahāngīr Simnānī inside ‘*Hujrah*’ and both stayed few hours in ‘*Hujrah*’. The secrets truth of Prophet Mohammed pearls were pollinated on Simnānī head and Shaikh Pandavi came out from ‘*Hujrah*’ and left for few hours to Simnānī. After few hours again entered inside ‘*Hujrah*’, where he found a strange situation and both came outside the ‘*Hujrah*’, Simnānī face was glistening just like the sun”¹¹³. According to *Lataef-i-Ashrafi*, came to understand that Simnānī much revered to his Shaykh Pandavi. They used to sit respectfully in front of him. He used to have had conversation with very humbly, even slowly too. When he was present for Shaikh Pandavī’s services, so much enthusiasm was born. After he has spent four year under the services of Shaikh Pandavi, so Pandavi was anxious to bestowed the title to Jahāngīr Simnānī.

Jahāngīr Simnānī spent Ramadan with his Shaikh and got away from Pandva Sharif on Eīd and according to Pir decree departed to Jaunpur. After leaving Bengal, he was stayed the first place that is Zafarabad area near to Jaunpur. He stayed with his companions in the mosque. According

The first quality, he will be lineage of Syed family. The second essential quality of the person should have knowledge of Quran. The third most essential quality he has abandoned the Sultanate. All three essential qualities were existed in Syed Ashraf Simnānī life. That’s why he has performed the funeral prayer of Shaikh Ahmed Maneri. After that he departed for Bengal, where his Pir-o-Murshid was waiting for him. Syed Wahid Ashraf writes in his book (*Hayat Syed Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī*) *Lataif-i-Ashrafi* mentioned that at the same journey in Bihar where Simnānī had performed the funeral prayer of Maneri but not in first journey, it was second time when he went to Bengal to take blessing from his Pir-o-Murshid and then there Jaunpur and then there are many countries visited outside India and again came to India and then he went to Bengal to meet Shaikh Pandavi. Wahid Ashraf writes that Shaikh Ahmed Maneri died in (782) hijri and Syed Ashraf Jahangir Simnānī had left the Simnan before the death of Shaikh Ala ud-Daula Simnānī. There is a difference of forty five years in between both ages. It’s cleared that Syed Ashraf Simnānī had performed the *Namaz-e-janaza* not in first time but it was second time journey.

¹¹² Nizām Yemini. *Lataif-I Ashrafi*,

¹¹³ Nizām Yemini. ‘*Lataif-i-Ashrafi*’, translated by M. Lateef Ullah, Pakistan, Shaikh Mohammed Hashim Raza Ashrafi, Volume II, 54-57.

to *Lataef-i-Ashrafi*, wherever he visited, there always stayed in the mosque. After reaching Zafarabad, where many of the local persons, including some ulama and Qadi, were employed in the Jaunpur area were looking forward to his visit. A small group of persons had already gone forward to Jaunpur to receive Ashraf Jahangir Simnani and to conduct him to Zafarabad. He stayed there for a comparatively long period-one week. From among those came to meet him, most of them were ulema, Sufi's, nobles and common people. Most of them came from were willing to test of Simnānī's Knowledge and having doubts on different questions. They wanted to debate and discussion with Ashraf Simnānī, most of them tried to convince their points but failed to do so. Finally, most of the local persons who took *halqa-iradat* along with their family and provided allegiance with exoteric (*Zahiri*), esoteric (*batini*) and gave direction to right path. It was during his stay at Zafarabad that Ashraf Simnani paid a visit to the famous nearby Sufi saint and Khanaqah. He has been continuing doing his *tabligh*, people appeared for his services and inspired by his influential teaching, and joined into the Simnānī '*halqa-iradat*' (mystic disciple). Having stayed one-week at Zafarabad, he moved on to Jaunpur where Qadi Shahābuddīn Daultabadi (d.849/1445), requested him to stay in the mosque for some time. A large number of people from the adjacent villages took halqa-iradat from him. Qadi Shahābuddīn Daultabadi the *malik al-ulama* lived in Jaunpur and served as chief of qadi¹¹⁴ in the Kingdom of Ibrahim Shah Sharqī of Jaunpur. It was Jaunpur, who led by the Sharqī kingdom developed into an important cultural and political area and Jaunpur became a centre for scholarship, soon to be called Shiraz-I-Hind. Under his rule, Jaunpur was the famous centre of Muslim culture and learning for various ulama and theologians¹¹⁵.

Nizām Yemeni writes that "Qādi Shahābuddīn had requested to Sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqī (d.844/1440) that one stranger dervish has come, and belong to Chisti lineage. His condition is very exalted. It is a convenient time to see his way of life. So Qādi and group of ulama had gone to appear for his services, Simnānī were engaged in prayer, the Qādi Shahābuddīn appeared, he investigated about him, Qādi made a reference that this a Qādi Shahābuddīn, having fame in almost all branches of knowledge¹¹⁶. After that, Daultabadi, who requested to Ibrahim Shah Sharqī to provide for shelter Jahāngīr Simnānī. Sharqī, who had close relation among Sufis and

¹¹⁴ Annemarie Schimmel. *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent*, Leiden: Brill, 1980, 41.

¹¹⁵ Jamal Malik. *Islam in South Asia: A Short History*, Leiden: Brill, 2008,126.

¹¹⁶ Annemarie Schimmel. *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent*, Leiden: Brill, 1980, 41.

ulama and given a huge space to the number Sufis after in the wake of Timur's invasion, among them, are great Shahābuddīn Daultabadi (d.1445) the chief qadi of Jaunpur¹¹⁷. In addition, Sharqi kingdom facilitated the number of mystical orders in his own region, because of this two-fold mission, mystics brought men nearer to God, purified human society, and also brought a sense of dignity to various cultural groups¹¹⁸. He was often tried to overcome his personal rights and prestige, in order to win over mysticism as a firm believer out of eviction¹¹⁹. Moreover, Sharqi kingdom not only given space to different mystical orders but also emboldened Sufis and theologians from all over India as well as from Middle-Eastern countries to come to Jaunpur. The Sufis and theologians, who had taken shelter in the province of Jaunpur, were partly encouraged by the benign treatment of the Sharqi dynasty and partly under the circumstances in the country, where they had migrated¹²⁰.

Daultabadi had developed mutual relation with Jahāngīr Simnānī and became a disciple of him, then provided spiritual training, after completion of spirituality accorded the status of '*Khilafat*' (succession). *Lataef-I-Ashrafi* has mentioned the number of books who have written by Shahābuddīn, which are, *Badi-al-byan*, *Tafseer Baher-al-Mawaz*, *Jamia-alshanaya*, which was written on various themes¹²¹. Syed Ashraf Simnānī was stayed more than two months in Jaunpur, during that, people benefited from him, especially clergy and had an intellectual conversation with him, and later on, all clergy have joined the '*Halqa-iradat*'. Simnānī has started the journey from different phases to reach Azamgarh, where he had an intellectual debate with clergy and evidence presented withstand. Wahid Ashraf writes about his journey, he reached in Mohamedabad in the area of Azamgarh and where also a brief halt was made. The clergy of here and near-neighbor came to meet him and started intellectual conversation, had debated on various issues. After that, many people from neighboring localities and ulama came and took *halqa-iradat*.

Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī Life in Kichaucha:

¹¹⁷ Jamal Malik. *Islam in South Asia: A Short History*, Leiden: Brill, 2008,126.

¹¹⁸ Mian Muhammad Saeed. *The Sharqi Sultanate of Jaunpur: A political & Cultural History*, Karachi: University of Karachi Press, 1972, 211

¹¹⁹ Ibid, 211

¹²⁰ Ibid, 211.

¹²¹ Lataif-i-Ashrafi vol.II, 44.

To the request of Ala al-Haqq from Shah Ibrahim, he has assigned a province to Ashraf Jahangir Simnānī and unveiled to the *maqām* (place) of Kichaucha that is located between ponds. The *malfūzāt* of Lataif-I-Ashrafī maintained the story of Jahangir Simnānī and the establishment of Khanqah in the Kichaucha. Simnānī reached at ‘Kichaucha’ with his companions and met first with the name of Malik Mahmud and he has highly honored Simnānī. Nizām Yamani writes that few hours they have wandered around ponds with Malik Mahmud and saw very closely towards pond, and he said that Shaikh has ordered me for this, which place will be suitable for me. Malik Mahmud requested to him, a place lived a ‘Yogi’ (colloquial term ‘*Jogi*’), shall be the better place. The water of the pond is around the place. But that place occupied by the atheistic and illusionist¹²². Lataif Ashrafī explained in very details about these events. Simnānī has encountered with ‘Yogi’. But he had to accept defeat in front of Simnānī spirituality and he accepted the Islam with all their partners. According to Nizām Yamani more than five thousand came to contact and joined *halqa-iradat* with repentant, then at the same place Simnānī built a *Khanqah* and given name for *Kasrat ābād* and he has redeployed a space for *murīds*. Malik Mahmood provided him a plot of land which was considered as pleasant for the settlement by Shaikh and, afterward, turned to be the Kichaucha Sharif, his homestead. Then he set up *Hujra* where he named it *Rūh-ābād* and one *Hujrah* established there where he provided the name for it *wahdat-ābād*.

Patronage, Grants, and relations with Rulers:

Simnānī had patronage of several rulers, including Ibrahim Shah Sharqī, the ruler of Jaunpur province and Nūr Qutb-I Alam, a reputed Chisti Sufī, who lived in Pandwah and had a great influence on the people in Bengal. He also recognized the value of keeping in touch with the amirs, the nobles. Simnani had several amirs and jagirdars among his devotees; some of these amirs indeed came from the outside. To one noble who wished to renounce the world and live like a darwesh, he advised against the course, explaining that wealth and high status were not barriers in the path of God¹²³. In the matter of relations with kings and nobles, Jahangir Simnani

¹²² *Lataif-e Ashrafī*, 76-78.

¹²³ Riazul Hasan. *Sufism in South Asia: Impact on Fourteenth Century Muslim Society*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002, 270.

practiced what he preached. He welcomed contacts with royalty and nobility and was in active correspondence with some of them¹²⁴.

In 817/1414 Shaikh Nūr Qutb-I Alam wrote a letter to Ibrahim Shah Sharqi about the tyranny of Raja Ganesh over the Muslim of Bengal. Raja Ganesh, the *de facto* ruler of Bengal, had attained complete ascendancy over two Muslim rulers Saifuddin Hamza Shah and Shamsuddin (1410-14)¹²⁵. He wanted to end the Muslim rule in Bengal and was also an enemy to major Muslim mystics and divinities. In the letter, Shaikh addressed Ibrahim Shah Sharqi, along with a contemporary saint Jahangir Simnānī about the hostility and ill-treatment of Muslim in Bengal under Raja Ganesh. The letter was written to Ibrahim Sharqi by Nur Qutb Alam, the celebrated Chisti Sufi saint briefly summarizes the whole affairs.

“In the letter, the saint expresses his remorse at the ascendancy of infidels and the misfortunes that befell on the followers of Islam. The saint regrets at what had taken place and asks everybody to pray to god. Although the saint does not mention the name of Ganesh; he writes very clearly about the oppression of the infidel over the Muslims, for example, he writes, “how strange is the affair and astonishing the time that in the river of God, the unapproachable and unmovable a ruffle has come and thousands of doctors of religion and learned men and ascetics and devotees fell under the command of an infidel, a zamindar of four hundred years”. Again he writes, Alas! Alas! O, how painful! With one gesture and freak of independence, He caused the consumption of so much of bitter tears. Alas! Woe to me, the sun of Islam has become obscured and the moon of religion has become eclipsed”¹²⁶.

Ashraf Jahangir Simnānī¹²⁷ also wrote a letter to Ibrahim Shah Sharqi with the support of his Shaikh son Nur Qutb Alam about plight condition of the Muslim in Bengal. The letter of Jahangir Simnānī to Ibrahim Shah Sharqi summarized by Hasan Askari in his article:

“If the sons and descendants of these holy personages and particularly the son and family of Qutb Alam are rescued from the clutches of the black infidels with your aid assistance and the courage and bravery of your troops it would be an excellent thing.....I, the afflicted Dervish of the ‘*Alai* orders congratulate you on the firm resolve that you have made and I offer my prayer for the deliverance of Bengal from the hands of the infidels. I have already recited

¹²⁴ Ibid p, 270,

¹²⁵Mian Muhammad Saeed. *The Sharqi Sultanate of Jaunpur: A political & Cultural History*, Karachi: University of Karachi Press, 1972, 50.

¹²⁶ Abdul Karim. “*Nur Qutb Alma’s Letter on the Ascendancy of Ganesha*”.

¹²⁷ Jahangir Simnani was more cautious about the condition of Muslim in Bengal. In fact he wrote Ibrahim Shah Sharqi many times about the situation of Muslims in Bengal. A letter written by Jahāngīr Simnānī to Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi of Jaunpur stated: “in the country of Bengal, not to speak of the cities, there is no town and no village when holy saint did not come and settle down” see, Richard Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and Bengal Frontier, 1204-1760*, Berkley: University of California Press, 1993,p,82

the Fatiha prayer to God to render justice. As your object and that of your nobles is to free the land of Bengal and to champion the cause of Islam if God wills you will achieve your aims in the best manner possible. As the firm resolve and the sound judgment of the king are directed towards helping the cause and satisfying the heart's desire of the son of Hazrat Makhdūm (Ala al-Haqq Pandavi) you should not neglect showing favor to that dear holy personage and you should never refrain from meeting him and fighting for his cause"¹²⁸.

Nur Qutb-I Alam requested Ibrahim Sharqi to come to Bengal to liberate the Muslims from the tyranny of Raja Ganesh. The Sultan Sharqi persuade marched along with Shahābuddīn Daultabadi against Raja Ganesh. Ibrahim moved out with a strong army and in the way captured Tirhut and chastised Raja Shiv Singh. Ganesh became nervous and approached Shaikh Nur Qutb-I Alam to intercede and secure peace for him. The saint agreed to his request, provided his younger son accepted Islam and Ganesh made a definite commitment not to harass the Muslims. It was Ganesh's son Jadu, who later ascended the throne as Jalaluddin. Ibrahim Sharqi returned to Jaunpur¹²⁹.

According to *Lataif-I-Ashrafi*, Simnānī lived for one hundred twenty years and died 28 Muharram al-harām, (d.832/1429) at 'Kichaucha and his Dargah located at Rasulpur, Qasbah Kichaucha in Ambedkar Nagar district, Uttar Pradesh. He was succeeded by Syed Abdur Razzaq, the son of Syed Hasan Abdul Ghafur, who was adopted by Jahangir Simnānī during his tour in Iraq. He had five sons, of whom the eldest died childless. From the other four, four *sajjadah* were established. Syed Hasan and Syed Husain Qattal remained at Rasulpur, the third, Syed Farid-Uddin received Khilafat and sajjadah of Basorhi, while the youngest, Syed Haji Ahmad was entrusted the sajjadah at Jais. Simnani family acquired a great deal of revenue-free lands from the Delhi rulers and constructed Kichaucha and Baskhari. But most of the grant was received from Sadat Ali Khan, the ruler of Awadh; a part of Rasulpur is still in the possession of the family¹³⁰. The documents specified that all the grants were received in the name of Jahangir Simnani, i.e. Jais, Barsorhi and Kichaucha, and at all these places his descendants are holding sajjadas; the documents have not specifically mentioned which of the three places of grant was

¹²⁸ Syed Hasan Askari. "New Light on Raja Ganesh and Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi of Jaunpur from Contemporary Correspondence of two Muslim Saints", *Bengal: Past and Present*, vol. LXVII, 1948, 36.

¹²⁹ Mohammad Habib and K. A. Nizami. ed. *A comprehensive History of India*, New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1970, 5, 717.

¹³⁰ Rafat Bilgrami. "Some Mughal Revenue Grants to the family of and Khanqah of Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir". In *Medieval India: A Miscellany*, II, 1972, 299.

made. But in all documents clearly mentions the name of Syed Ashraf Jahangir to shows that the grant was made for Khanqah expenditures¹³¹.

Conclusion:

The chapter attempted to provide a complete biography of Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnani, genealogy and his familial lore, provided a correct record of the Jahangir Simnānī's birth, in his early life and his patronage with the rulers and other life events. In this chapter we have already talked about the genealogy of Jahāngīr Simnani, as the hagiographers always talked about, they do so because to reiterate and retrieve and conjure a spiritual line that links the current generation to earlier generation is central defining identity¹³². But in case of Jahangir Simnani genealogy found complete antithesis to historical records. The purpose of hagiographers maybe highlights the high status of the saint and to mobilize the larger devotees. As Brown & Brown noted that the text of holy men written for their own purposes presented the holy man in a patronage role in what they coined the terms carefully censored language of "clean" patronage¹³³.

The hagiographers have narrated the story of piety, holy man, miracle and pious and the full of myth and legends in tabaqat of a Sufi saint. The text is always restricted to a religious character and aim at edification. Their writings inspired by religious devotion to the saint and intended to increase the devotion¹³⁴. The vast majority of all hagiographic works about the Jahangir Simnani were written by authors, either they belong to the saint family or they are followers of the Sufi saint. Nobody has written independently. It has been argued that hagiographer is not a historian, but rather an agent or a publicist, who prefers legends to facts and portrays myth as history; as Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell have observed, the work of the hagiographer reflects the collective mentality of his or her audience¹³⁵. All the hagiographical genre of the Sufi saint narratives, they do not portray the Jahangir Simnani as a human, rather all these hagiographers, they have been portrayed as the most pious Muslim and friends' of God. Tambiah writes that

¹³¹ Ibid,304.

¹³² Carl W. Ernst & Bruce B. Lawrence. *Sufi Martyrs of Love: Chishti Sufism in South Asia and Beyond*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, 47.

¹³³ Peter Brown & Peter Lamont Brown. *Authority and the Sacred: Aspects of the Christianization of the Roman World*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, 64.

¹³⁴ Hippolyte Delehaye. *The Legends of the Saints*. New York: Fordham University Press, 1962,2.

¹³⁵ Donald Weinstein & Rudolph M. Bell. *Saint and Society: Christendom, 1000-1700*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1982, 13.

hagiographical work is not complete without anecdotes of supramundane and transcendental powers, for without such signs of achievement a saint is not a saint, merely a virtuous man¹³⁶. In case of all hagiographers tried to send message to the people that he was not only Sufi saint but also friends of God, similar model proposed by the Bollandist theorist of hagiographic studies, Hippolyte Delehaye. Hippolyte Delehaye argued that all hagiographic works should be inspired by devotion and that they should maintain a primarily religious character¹³⁷.

¹³⁶ Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah. *The Buddhist saint of the Forest and the Cult of Amulets*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984,125.

¹³⁷ Hippolyte Delehaye. *The Legends of the Saints*, New York: Fordham University Press, 1962.

Chapter First: (second section):

Is Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī in line with Ibn ‘Arabī ontology?

Abstract:

Previous section has explored Syed Ashraf Jahangir Simnani’s lives, genealogy and patronage with rulers. This section is an attempt to explore Ibn ‘Arabi and Syed Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī’s ontology, metaphysics of being and nature of God. The chapter is divided into six parts; first part of this chapter is to look the Ibn ‘Arabi ontology and debate around pantheism and panentheism (*section I*). The second section examines Syed Ashraf Jahangir Simnani idea of *wahdat al-wujūd*, nature of God, and stages of tawhīd (*section II*). The third part looks at the debate between Ala’ ad-Dawla Simnani and Abd al-Razzaq Kashānī on the doctrine of Ibn ‘Arabi unity of being. This section also looks how Jahangir Simnani settled dispute between Kashānī and Simnani (*section III*). The last part summarizes the chapter and the concluding remarks (*section IV*). The argument of this chapter is tried to look whether Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī ontology in the line of Shaykh ontology. The finding of this section shows that Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī was adherent of Ibn ‘Arabi metaphysics of being, and in fact, he himself had great faith of *wahdat al-wujūd*, (unity of being) and he preached the concept of unity of being to his students and disciples in the late thirteenth century in Indian subcontinent. The main objective of this chapter is to interrogate similarities between Syed Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī and Ibn ‘Arabi ontology.

Introduction:

The doctrine of *wahdat al-wujūd* (unity of being) is long dispute between theologians and modern scholars and when the subject came into existence, the topic of debate is being consideration at that time and still persists in Islamic theology. But the theologians and others avowed that for the first time, the concept of unity of being was given in the collection of thought by Ibn ‘Arabī (d.638/1240). The unity of being is crucial issue in the field of Sufism and given more consideration on this topic in South Asia in the middle of fifteenth century, because, it is subtle issue and some theologians, and modern scholars, who have considered the common links between pantheism and Ibn ‘Arabi ontology. Therefore, the problem of this issue remains intuitive not only in South Asia but in other places. The debate came to exist over long period of time on the two-dimensional school of difference and disagreement in this regard. First school of thought led by Ibn ‘Arabī and his close predecessor Abdul Razzāk Kashānī and this doctrine

acquired a firm footing in India also, where the names of Jahāngīr Simnānī and many others tell of the spiritual glory of the thirteenth & fourteenth century¹³⁸, and last but not least in Indian subcontinent was Muhibullāh Allahabādi (d.1058/1648)¹³⁹. He has been called a second Ibn-Arabī because of his mastery of Ibn ‘Arabi works, his own voluminous writings, and his fervent defense of Ibn ‘Arabi status as the Greatest Master¹⁴⁰. Second school of thought led by the ‘Alā’ad-dawla Simnānī in Iran in the late thirteenth century and at the end of the 16th century, the doctrine of *wahdat al-wujūd* was again problematized by the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddiya Sufi Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (d.1033/1624)¹⁴¹ and his writings heated debate in Indian Subcontinent

¹³⁸ Annemarie Schimmel. *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, The University of North Carolina Press, 1975, 279.

¹³⁹ Shiakh Muhibbu’ullah Mabriz Allahabādi was born in (996/1587-88) at Sadrpur, near Allahabad. After taking a formal course in religious education he became obsessed with mysticism and visited a number of contemporary Sufis for instructions. From Delhi he went to the *Khanqah* of Shaikh Abu Sa’id, the scene of his formal Sufi training. He then visited to Rudauli where he became friend of Shaikh ‘Abdu’r –Rahman Chisti. Allahabad was his next call and was to become his home for some twenty years which were spent teaching Sufism. The death of Shiakh Muhibbu’ullah occurred on nine Rajab (1058/30 July 1648). According to Shaikh ‘Abdu’r –Rahman Chisti his convinced many learned ‘ulama’ who were initially hostile on the doctrine of *wahdat al-wujūd* of its validity. This view however is over-simplified. Although Shaikh Muhibbu’ullah could number among his admires of price Dara Shukoh. Throughout his stay in Allahabad he encountered considerable obstacles through the enmity of the orthodox ‘ulama’ and the opposition of philosophers (such as Mulla Mahmud Jaunpuri) to the *wahdat al-wujūd*. The threat posed by the ulama and their supporters was a more formidable one, and a large number signed a *fatwa* saying the Shaikh was both a materialist and an atheist who should execute for his sins. As already mentioned Shaikh ‘Abdu’r –Rashid of Jaunpur rushed to Allahabad to vehemently support of Shaikh Muhibbu’ullah interpretation of *wahdat al-wujūd*. He argued that like other Muslim philosophers, Shaikh Muhibbu’ullah did not in fact believe that all being emanated from unity according to its nature, but he considered the Being to be distinct from the quiddity of things and absolute reality. Only two Sufis were singled out by Shaikh Muhibbu’ullah as being opposed to the *wahdat al-wujūd*. There were Shaikh Simnani, and Gesu Daraz. His criticism of the former amounted to an accusation of his not having understood the real and esoteric meaning of Ibn ‘Arabi theory of *wahdat al-wujūd*. Shaikh Muhibbu’ullah also claimed that only scholars, ascetics and mystics who were unable to achieve true spiritual perfection were followers of Shaikh Simnani. Sufis who opposed Ibn ‘Arabi he categorized as *Sufi i-jahil* (ignorant Sufis), *amma ahl i-tariq* (common-place followers of the mystic path) over-emphasizing the belief in Divine transcendence and being guilty of accepting the beliefs and scholars of kalam in matters related to the highest form of experiential spiritual truth. Sayyid Athar Abbas Rizvi. *A history of Sufism In India, from Sixteen Century to Modern Century*, Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal, 1983, II, 268-9. G.A. Lipton. “Muhibb Allah Allahabadi’s Taswiya Contextualized”. Denis Hermann & Fabrizio Speziale ed. *Muslim Cultures in the Indo-Iranian World during the Early-Modern and Modern Periods*, Iran: Institute Francias De Recherche En, 2010, 475-497. Francis Robinson, Chapter 2, “Scholarship and Mysticism in early Eighteen Century Awadh”. In, *The Ulama of Farangi Mahall and Islamic Culture in South Asia*, Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001, 56-57.

¹⁴⁰ William Chittick. “*Wahdat al-wujūd in India*”, 38 <https://iphras.ru/upfile/smironov/ishraq/3/4chitt.pdf>.

¹⁴¹ Much of the existing confusion over the impact of Simnānī on the Naqshbandiyya and central Asian and Indian Sufism in general derives from a misreading of the Naqshbandiyya’s and Simnānī’s stances on Ibn ‘Arabi and the notion of *wahdat al-wujūd*. As demonstrated by Elias, Simnānī was opposed to any doctrine which compromised divine unity and transcendence, and it was in this context that he initially criticized Ibn ‘Arabi. On the other hand, the Naqshbandiyya has traditionally shown interest in the ontological teachings of Ibn ‘Arabi and it is only as a result of the stance taken by Sirhindi that order effectively adopted a stance doctrinally opposed to that of *wahdat al-wujūd*. It is therefore wrong to view Simnānī as somehow influencing in Naqshbandiyya in the adoption of an

and influenced by number of religious movements in the 18th -19th century particularly Tariqa-e-Muhammadiya and Deoband movement. After that, in the beginning of the eighteen century, mujaddid, and reformer Shah Wali Allah (d.1186/1762) attempted a reconciliation of the unity of being (*wahdat al-wujūd*) and unity of witness (*wahdat al-shuhūd*) schools in his writings, and even he elucidated concept, *wujūdi* and *shuhūd* in his writings. Ahmad Dallal maintains that the emergence and polarization of different Sufi sects occur when people judge by appearances and failed to realize that the “providence of the true one is the same”. Shah Wali Allāh clarifies what he considers a misuse of terminology which partly accounts for the schism between the unity of being and unity of witness¹⁴². The section tried to look at whether Jahāngīr Simnānī ontology in the line of Shaykh ontology. At the end of the chapter, it will be explained that Jahāngīr Simnānī was the follower of Ibn ‘Arabi metaphysics of being and in fact, he himself had great faith of *wahdat al-wujūd*, and he preached the concept of *wahdat al-wujūd* his students and disciples in the late thirteenth century in Indian subcontinent.

I. Ibn ‘Arabi Ontology¹⁴³:

The concept of Being (*wujūd*¹⁴⁴) is belongs to only substance of God because Being (*wujūd*) is identical to ultimate reality of God. The existence is identical to His entity (*ayn*). The original meaning of existence (*wujūd*) is immortal. It means “to be”. Ibn Arabi believes that existence is

attitude antithetical to that of Ibn ‘Arabi¹⁴¹. Jamal J. Elias. *The Throne Carrier of God: The Life and Thought of ‘Ala’ ad-dawla as-Simnānī*, New York: State University of New York Press,1995, 57-58.

¹⁴² Shah Walī Allāh (1703-1762) lived and worked in Delhi. Ahmad Dallal. “Origins and objectives of Islamic Revivalist Thought, 1750-1850”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1993, 346.

¹⁴³ His name is Mohammed, surname Abu Bakr and title Mohyuddin, born in July (560/1165) at Murcia in Spain. He was famous for the name of Ibn al-‘Arabi and better known for Ibn al-‘Arabi. Allama Nibhani wrote in Jamia Karamat that Shaikh Gaus Zama used to appreciate about Ibn-Arabi. He was given the title of *Shaykh al-Akabar* (the greatest master). Where he took religious knowledge from their senior ulama and .he shifted to his family to Lisbon where he took early education. Then he stayed in Rome where he went to Hejaz (Mecca, Saudi Arabia) and wrote *Futuhāt-ul-Makkiyyah*. For his ideological and other details, see “Ibn- Arabi and his school”. In Sayyed Hossain Nasr, ed. *Islamic Spirituality: Manifestations*, New York, 1991, 47-79. Also, see William C. Chittick. “*Ibn Arabi Heir to the Prophets*”, Oneworld, London, 2005, 1-4. *The Sufi Path of Knowledge: Ibn al-Arabi’s Metaphysics of Imagination*, Albany, New York, 1990, IX-XX.

¹⁴⁴ *Wujūd* literally means, “What is found”, only God is worthy of the name “being” (*wujūd*). Ibn-‘Arabī carefully articulates that view that “the ultimate reality is identical to what is found (*wujūd*). The Ibn-‘Arabī and Mullā Sadrā make a distinction between Being(*wujūd*), which is solely applicable to God, and existence(*maujūd*), which applies to all that there is insofar as they are theophanies of divine names and acts. God is existent (*maujūd*) insofar as he is disclosed to us, but being insofar as he is unknown and unseen (*ghyab*), Sajjad H. Rizvi. “Mysticism and Philosophy: Ibn ‘Arabī and Mullā Sadrā”. In *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy*, ed. Peter Adamson & Richard C. Taylor, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005, 234-235.

one and is very similar to the ultimate reality because it sees the world, not God, in a different way. In actual fact, *wujūd* is identical with the Real, not other than “He”¹⁴⁵. He is exalted from anybody. But the real meaning of existence is the reality of the God, and He witnessed to all belongingness and properties. Besides God, whatever in the world exists that is identification (*ta`ayyun*) and eternal (*Shan*). Ibn Arabi has defined that God’s existence has two aspects: non-manifest being and manifest Being: ‘God reported about Himself that He possesses two relationships: a relationship with the cosmos through the divine names which affirm the entities of the cosmos, and the relationship of His independence from the cosmos. In respect of His relationship of independence, He knows Himself and we know Him not’¹⁴⁶. For Ibn ‘Arabi all identification and eternal are phenomena of the God. He is not convinced that the embedded in the ‘*hulūl*¹⁴⁷’ (incarnation) or whose statement gives ‘*ittihādi*’, (union). His substance (*dhāt*) and entity (*ayn*) is apparently the same in the cosmos. In other words, there is an entity (*ayn*) in the cosmos which means that the manifestation of the same substance. His substance is not equal with the existence of the superabundance. The existence of the substance is reflected in his appearance. His substance appears in their superabundance. The God is the first. He is the eternal and He is manifest. He is hidden self¹⁴⁸.

The ultimate reality of God (*dhāt*) is necessary existence (*wajib al-wujūd*). He is free from any restrictions. Even He is free to be exempt from any restrictions. His substance order is not in total and not part of it and not more than one oneness. He is pure and free from all servitude and captivity. There is no partner to Him. His entification and positions is called the universe.

¹⁴⁵ William Chittick. *The Self Disclosure of God: Principle of Ibn Al- ‘Arabi Cosmology*, New York: State University of New York, 1998, 12.

¹⁴⁶ Ibn Arabi, *Futuhāt*. II: 533.4, trans. William Chittick in *The Sufi Path of Knowledge: Ibn al-‘Arabi’s Metaphysics of Imagination*, 64.

¹⁴⁷ Fana is not to be confused with *ittihad*, “union”, a term that presupposes the existence of two independent beings and has, therefore, been regarded as heretic, as had *hulūl*, “indwelling” which means the incarnation of the divine in man. Annemarie Schimmel. *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, University of North Carolina Press, 1975, 144-145. The word *shaan* is the plural of *shawn*, meaning. *Shan* means haal, and *amar*, means splendor, order. Sufi’s have described about *Shan*. (*Aiyan* is a plural of *Ain* which means final. Ibn-Arabi declares every object which is the principle and reality of god’s knowledge. He says that created an object of appearance in the knowledge (*ilm*) of god. His knowledge appearance that is actual and final and, He is the final approval. Because of the knowledge of god is eternal and immortal. *Ayan* is also immortal and unending. (Shah Abul Hasan Zaid Farooqi. “*Wahdat-ul-Wujūd Dar Bayan Wahdat Ash-Shahood*”, Hazrat Shah Abul Khair Academy, Shah Abul Marg, Delhi, 19-25.

¹⁴⁸ Shah Abul Hasan Zaid Farooqi. “*Wahdat-ul-Wujūd Dar Bayan Wahdat Ash-Shahood*”, 18-19.

The presence of attribute, though, is apparent in different images. But all these images are a sign of the absolute being. So, the appearance of the attribute of the God is called absolute Being (*wahdat muqaid*). The absolute Being is clearly manifest that, there is no partner in God's attribute. For instance, there is God but there is no partner in the creation of God. Hence, absolute Being is denied the existence of God other than God. As Ibn 'Arabi writes that, 'the Real possesses the attributes of Being and the attribute of necessary Being through Himself. His contrary is called absolute nonexistence (*al-'adam al-mutlaq*), and it possess an attribute through which it is called "impossible" (*muhāl*). Because of this attribute, it never receives existence. So it has no share in existence, just as the Necessary Being through Himself has no share in non-existence¹⁴⁹. Thus God has two perfections. The first is substance of perfection and second is attributes of perfection.

The perfection of the substance of God:

The God is perfect from his own substance (*dhāt*) and necessary existence (*wajib al-wujūd*), even He is final *wujūd*. He is presents with his own substance (*dhāt*). He is "independent" (*ghani*) of existence of the cosmos, and free of need and Praiseworthy. The God does not have any relation with others and has no association with anything else.

It signifies the absolute independence of God from anything and everything. Ibn 'Arabi seems to consider any kind of external relationship or reference a form of dependence. In his discussion of absolute independence of *dhāt*, he tends to appeal to the Quranic verse: Allah is surely independent (*ghani*) of all creatures' (3: 97). Thus ultimate reality as *dhāt* is not even meant to indicate Him as a creator or a lord, as being a Creator implies that He has an external relationship with something else (His creation): hence, as the Divine Self *dhāt*, ultimate reality is independent even of these titles, Ibn Arabi confirms¹⁵⁰.

The perfection of the attribute of God:

God's substance is property to His attribute and nouns. When the substance of God is featured with attribute, then it called the nouns. Ibn 'Arabi employs that God's substance will be featured to His attribute at the same time when it will prove to be realities.

¹⁴⁹ Ibn Arabi, Futuhat, and II: 248.24, trans. William Chittick in *The Sufi Path of Knowledge: Ibn al-'Arabi's Metaphysics of Imagination*, 87.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, p, 153

Defining Pantheism and Panentheism:

The English word pantheism was first coined by the John Toland (d.1722), who recognized himself as a Pantheist, but he did not develop complete form of pantheism. Toland borrowed idea of pantheism from the philosophy of Spinoza. Spinoza, who developed the concept of God, and is considered as the most distinguished pantheist in Western philosophy. He argued that since substance is completely self-sufficient, and only God is self-sufficient, God is the only substance. In other words, God is everything¹⁵¹.

In Greek word pan means “all”, theos means “in”. Pantheism means that all is God. In other words, Pantheism is the view that God and cosmos were identical. On other hand, Panentheism is the view that all is in God or God is in all things¹⁵². Generally, it perceives that pantheism is identical to atheism; because they believe that it is necessary for the theism that God transcend ordinary sensible reality at least to some degree. But it is not clear that theism requires a transcendent or personal notion of God, and one might claim that the belief that it does, is the result of an anthropomorphic view of God¹⁵³.

Pantheism is tantamount to atheism; because they believe that theism require that God transcend ordinary sensible reality at least to some degree. It is not obvious that in eastern philosophy, especially the Vedic tradition of Indian philosophy, pantheism is part of a rejection of polytheism.

Ibn Arabi and Scholar views on Pantheism:

Ibn Arabi, one of the most misunderstood mystical thinker in the field of Sufism. Some scholars have label him as a pantheist or panentheism and other have fit them in existential monist, and somewhere understood as he destroyed the Islamic idea of God as a living and active force and was largely responsible for the decay of true Islamic religious life. As Seyyed H. Nasr, see in Ibn ‘Arabi work a full of explanation of what was already understood by earlier Sufis¹⁵⁴. It is

¹⁵¹ A.P Martinich. “Pantheism”. In *The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy*, ed. Robert Audi, et al. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, 640-41.

¹⁵² Charles Hartshorne. “Pantheism and Panentheism”. In *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade, New York: Macmillan, Vol. II, 1987.

¹⁵³ A.P Martinich, “Pantheism”. In *The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy*, ed. Robert Audi, et al. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999,641.

¹⁵⁴ Annemarie Schimmel. *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, University of North Carolina Press, 1975, 263.

notable that many prominent modern scholars have employed the words ‘pantheism’ to some extent by mistake, their non-pantheistic interpretations of Ibn Arabi. For instance, A. E. Affifi stated that Ibn Arabi has a definite philosophical doctrine of pantheism, the bearing of which is shown in every part of his system. He was certainly conscious of a complete pantheistic philosophy but, lacking philosophical training, he did not know how to express it¹⁵⁵. He clearly stated that Ibn ‘Arabi’s theory of Reality is a pantheistic one. It has been expressed in some of its own words “glory be to God who created things, being Himself their essences (an ‘yānuhā)’”¹⁵⁶. On the other hand, William Chittick, who provide very nuanced understanding the Ibn Arabi concept of Oneness of Being, and he rejected other scholars who thinks that Ibn Arabi idea of metaphysics of Being is pantheistic interpretation. He clearly expressed in these terms,

‘Oneness of Being’ may appear to some people as another brand of ‘pantheism’. But in fact, this simplified expression of what the Shaykh is talking about cannot begin to do him justice. When the Shaykh himself explains what he means by the statement that Being in one, he provides one of the most sophisticated and nuanced expression of the ‘profession of God’s Unity’ (tawhid) to be found in Islamic thought’¹⁵⁷.

The problem lies at Ibn Arabi, not in oneness of existence, but the scholars typically interpreted that God and the world are identical; everything that exists constitutes a divine unity, as the pantheism believes. In response to these pantheistic interpretation by Nasr stated that the pantheistic accusations against the Sufis are doubly false because, first of all, pantheism is a philosophical system, whereas Ibn ‘Arabi and others like him never claimed to follow or create any “systems” whatsoever; and, secondly because pantheism implies a substantial continuity between God and the Universe, whereas, the Shaikh would be the first to claim God’s absolute transcendence over every category, including that of substance. What is overlooked by the critics who accuse the Sufis of pantheism is the basic difference between the essential identification of the manifested order with its ontological principle and their substantial identity and continuity¹⁵⁸. As Ibn Arabi simply believes that there is Oneness of existence and that existence is belongs to God. Those admire non-existence wujūd, they are doing shirk, according to Ibn Arabi. He sees the reality of universe is divine ilm because the God’s knowledge is eternal and endless. Therefore the reality of universe is also eternal and infinite. He considered that a reality of

¹⁵⁵ A.E. Affifi. *The Mystical Philosophy of Muhyid Din-Ibnul ‘Arabi*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939, xi

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, 54.

¹⁵⁷ William Chittick. *The Sufi Path of knowledge: Ibn Al-Arabi’s Metaphysics of Imagination*, 1989, 79.

¹⁵⁸ Seyyed Hussein Nasr. *Three Muslim Sages*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964, 104-105.

universe is world of fixation. For him, the shape and nature of universe it appears that is reflection of lord imagination.

II. Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī & Oneness of Existence (*wahdat al-wujūd*):

This section discusses about the Simnānī concept of *tawhīd*, which is an attempt to examine Simnānī view on Sufi's concept of *tawhīd*. The word *tawhīd* is derived from *wahdat* its literal meaning being convinced in oneness. Its derivatives are *wāhid*, *wahd* and *wahīd* with the meaning "being one and unique"¹⁵⁹. The root of the *ahad* "one" is *wahd* "being one". The word *wahdat* is relies on both wisdom and knowledge (*ilm* and *Aql*). Oneness of absolute *dhat o-Sifat*¹⁶⁰ and second is confined of oneness attribute (*sifāt*) without substance (*dhāt*). With the *dhāt* and *sifāt*, the God is absolute and that is existed with the substance and attributes. A substance (*dhāt*) with such unique attributes has not joined any of these attributes. Thus the existence of the absolute unity, the non-existence of things must be dissipated and God is determinate, the existence of parallel things must be depleted. Syed Ashraf Simnānī meticulously explains about *tawhīd*, "God is absolute. In the case of existence and the universe, on the mode of creation, appears to limit yourself and believe in their reality". He describes the quality of *tawhīd* to annihilate in the name of God. "God is a reality without act of doubt, and explanation, without incarnation, unity with the divine, and doubt, without adulteration, comparison, doubtful belief, and parable, rather without blending illustration and illusion that is *tawhīd*"¹⁶¹.

Ashraf Jahangir Simnānī elaborated *wujūd* in three kinds in his *Maktūbāt Ashrafi*¹⁶².

First, *Wajib al-wujūd*: necessary existence (is the quality of being *wajib* and may be translated as necessity). This means that who's an entity is eternal and everlasting and be always and forever not to be annihilated. Second, *Mumkin al-wujūd*: Possible existence (*mumkin* is that of which neither the existence nor the non-existence is inconceivable) it means that the first was non-existent, then existent, and then non-existent. Third, *Mumtana al-wujūd*: impossible to exist: (is that of which the existence is inconceivable) which means that the *wujūd* is inconceivable. Whose existence is impossible?

¹⁵⁹ *Abul'qasim Al-Qushayri*, 307.

¹⁶⁰ The distinction of *Dhāt* and *Sifāt* is very nearly the distinction of substance and attributes. At times it looks like that of existence and essence. It can be rendered as the distinction of Being and Nature, or and its Qualities.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*, 134-35.

¹⁶² Syed Ashraf Jahangir Simnani, *Maktubat Ashrafi*.

According to Jahangir Simnānī, there are two types of unity (*wahdat*), (1) Absolute Unity (*wahdat mutlaq*) (2) *wahdat muqaid*.

Wahdat mutlaq: (Absolute Unity): The substance of God is eternal and everything except that is all accident. In other words, before the existence of the cosmos, there was only God's existence. That is to say, when a thing was not in existence, at that time the substance of God was in existence with attribute. Jahangir Simnānī called this absolute Being (*wujūd-mutlaq*).

Wahdat muqaida: The substance of God is infinite. Therefore He cannot be confined in existence in any case. The existence of God, which is just the forms of His divine names and substances. The appearance of that substance is called *wujūd-muqaid*. For Simnānī, if he fixed the substance of God with any other being, then the substance of God will be limited, which is absurd (*mūhal*). Jahangir Simnānī described two types of oneness (*wahdat*) derived from hadīth, '*Kan Allah wal amyāqunm 'aadsayighairah*', that means it was just God and there was nothing other than that. The hadīth indicated toward the absolute unity (*wahdat mutlaq*). The absolute unity denies the existence of non-God and in any case, the substance of God cannot be limited in existence. Therefore, to embrace Islam, the presence of God's names and attributes was necessary. The presence of attributes, though, is apparent in different images. But all these images are a sign of the absolute being. So, the appearance of the attributes of God is called absolute Being (*wahdat muqaid*). The absolute Being is clearly manifest that, there is no partner in God's attribute. For instance, there is God but there is no partner in the creation of God. Hence, absolute existence denies the existence of the other non-existence.

Further, in his discussion of absolute being, Jahangir Simnānī tends to appeal to the Quranic verse, 'He is Allah, the One and Only. Allah, the Eternal, Absolute. He neither begets nor is born. Nor is there to Him any equivalent' (112: 1-4)¹⁶³. The God is unique, He is present and He belongs to whatever is in the heavens and earth. For Simnānī, the God is unique which indicates the sign of the unity of existence, which means that God is the all-wise. He is unrestricted and free from all kinds. Therefore Simnānī call it *wahdat mutlaq*. For Simnānī absolute existence (*wahdat mutlaq*) is the substance of God. So, that means that there is no existence other than

¹⁶³There is a difference between *ahad* (unique) and *wahid* (one). Unity (*ahad*) describes an attribute of the absolute God, so an attribute compared between one and more than one. *Wahid* is the subject of God.

Him¹⁶⁴. The above paragraph it seems clear that the existence is finite which means that it is necessary existence and on other hand, there is no possibility of existence other than God. The existence is indigent to substance of God.

Simnānī notwithstanding believe in absolute existence, he somehow distinguished between God and the cosmos. He rejected both *hulūl* and *Ittihad* (union with divine) and did not recognize unity with union and incarnation. Simnānī believes that the intent of the mystic path is not the substance of God with the union (*Ittihad*); rather the best thing about *sulūk* (pathway) is that the *sālik* (mystic or follower) reach the utmost limits. Simnānī declared himself to follow the Quran and *hadīth*. But he also accepted the reward and divine punishment because it is proved by the Quran and *hadīth*.

Simnānī explained about the attribute of God, where he concerned that the basic concept of Islam is not defective for God. The concept of God in Islam is that He is pure and free from every error, and He is no associate in that attribute and substance. No one can imagine His substance because He is pure from every aspect. Therefore, He is unimaginable and who is an unimaginable, so He is free from attribute. Because the thing is inconceivable, His existence will be inconceivable.

Simnānī has explained that the concept of God's existence does not mean it considered Him to any form. Rather, the concept of god existence means that embrace Islam wholeheartedly on His existence and His attribute is sign of existence of God. To embrace Islam on God's existence, it does means that He is the real doer of all things, effective and omnipotent.

For Jahangir Simnānī, the word God Simnānī understood the meaning of gnosis, which is related to the substance. But it does not mean that the substance is free from attribute. There is no equivalent to Him in Islam. The Quran has not only mentioned about God is not equivalent to anybody...*lam yalidwalam yelled* (He neither begets nor is born,). But also have cleared the doubt that...*walam yakun lahu kufuwan ahad* (Nor is there to Him any equivalent). There is no stubbornness with His substance, and not equal to Him. There is no question raise about the equivalent with Him.

¹⁶⁴ Syed Wahid Ashraf. *Sufism*, Vellore: Dairat al-Ma'raf, I, 1988.

Stages of Tawhid:

Tawhīd-I Īmāni: the first stages of define by Simnānī that's Tawhīd Īmāni. Tawhīd Īmāni obtained through the Knowledge of exoteric (*zahir*). Beyond these, he explains that achieving Tawhīd Īmāni by studying the scriptures. In other words, Tawhid Imani, which means that the mankind firmly faith on the Quran, hadīth, and life of the prophet Muhammad. Simnānī attributed the qualities of God is insufficient and people should have testimonials the Quran and Hadīth. God is absolute with corresponding qualities and substance. Second, the God is confined with corresponding qualities without substance. For salvation in Islam, religious belief is necessary on the *Tawhid Imani*. It is impossible to achieve salvation without them. But salvation is also a necessary act with religious belief. In doing so, it will add in the field of gnosis and intuitive knowledge and the strength of faith is more stable. **Tawhīd-i ilmī:** is the second stage of tawhid, which passing through perception to faith and the mankind should admit that the God is the real monotheism and absolute unity, without it, there is no existence. The second stage of tawhid ilmī is achieved by contemplation or meditation. *Tawhīd-i ilmī* obtained through esoteric knowledge (*ilm-i batīn*¹⁶⁵). This is the second stage is related to the esoteric knowledge. *Tawhīd-i ilmī* is also known as *ilmul-yakīn*. Jahangir Simnānī describes the *tawhīd-i ilmī* in which he discusses about Sufi path and people should admit that the world created by God and all things is related to God, that's absolute and supreme. In other words, according to Jahangir Simnānī, for the layman, Islam demand first to firmly believe oneness of God and Quran is book of Allah and Prophet Muhammad is the last Prophet. **Tawhīd-i rasmī:** the third stage of *tawhīd rasmī*. Simnānī which he discusses about the *tawhīd-I rasmī* describes how *tawhīd-i rasmi* is differing from *tawhīd-i ilmī*. He explore about the concept of *tawhīd-I rasmī* which is deal with the conversation and discussion between master and servant. **Tawhid Rasmī:** is the third stage of tawhid defined by the Ashraf Jahangir Simnani in which the mankind is considered the oneness of God through what one has heard by the different individuals or through their sagacity and perusal. **Tawhīd-I hālī:** The fourth and final stage of *tawhīd* that is *tawhīd hālī* is also known as *tawhīd-wujūdī*, which means that the 'existence' of God. Because it is clear that reality is one. *Tawhīd hālī* itself must be an attribute of monotheist. *Tawhīd hālī* is in itself twofold, one part being that of the *ulamā-i wujūdī* (characterized by a state in which nothing but Allah exists and

¹⁶⁵ *Batin* which related to hidden and relating to the life of spirit, as distinct from *zahir* (outward) and *batin* (esoteric), p 82, see John Renard, historical dictionary of Sufism, and 2005.

the world forgotten), and the other that of the *ulamā-i-suhūdī* (in which the world is perceived as mere shadow¹⁶⁶). According Simnānī *tawhīd hālī* is good temperament with *tawhīd ilmī*; even *tawhīd ilmī* is less than in stratum. The *tawhīd* namely, *tawhīd hālī* is the purport of light of witness and *tawhīd ilmī* is the purport of light of meditation¹⁶⁷. Ashraf Simnānī describes the *tawhīd hālī* is based on mode of experienced which means that at this stage the immersed in the *wujūd* the ‘existence’ of oneness of God rather, the behold the elegance of *dhāt* and *sifāt* of god.

III. Debate between ‘Alā’ad-dawla Simnānī (d.1336) and Abd al-Razzaq Kashāni (d.1329):

Add al-Razzaq Kashāni (d.736/1335) one of the most significant Sufi author and commentator in the late thirteenth century in Islamic theology. He wrote number of books and commentaries on various treatises, both in Arabic and Persian, which are contained in Ibn ‘Arabi ontological discourse. His works and actions made him one of the main protagonist and exponent of Unity of being of Ibn ‘Arabi after the famous Sufi Sadr al-Din Qunawi, one of the most influential thinkers in mystical philosophy and advocate the School of Ibn ‘Arabi. Kashāni, who was the second Sufi after al-Qunanwi, disseminated the works and doctrine of Ibn ‘Arabi, not only Persian but also in Arab world. His commentary *Fusūs al-Hikām* in which he discussed about the matter of *wahdat al-wujūd*, promoted Ibn ‘Arabi teaching into Persian world¹⁶⁸.

Kashāni (b.650.1252) was born into Persian family of wealthy landlords in Kashan a city in Isfahan province, located approximately two hundred kilometers south of Tehran. He was most ardent and erudite scholar in the field of Sufism, and having command over the esoteric and exoteric sciences. Kashāni was not only Sufi saint but also has authority on Islamic law and mystical knowledge. It was reason that Jahāngīr Simnānī went to learn mystic knowledge under him and received the spiritual training. Nizām Yemini compiled the story meeting point between Jahāngīr Simnānī and Kashāni...

“Jahāngīr Simnānī stated that when I appeared to the service of Razzaq Kashāni, at that time few students were reading *Fusūs al-Hikām* to him and I also participated in the lesson of the *Fusūs al-Hikām*. The preface was over but

¹⁶⁶ Hans Harder. *Sufism and saint veneration in contemporary Bangladesh*, New York: Routledge, 2001, 85.

¹⁶⁷ Nizām Yamani. *Lataif-I-Ashrafi*, translated by M. Lateef Ullah, Pakistan: Shaikh Mohammad Hashim Raza Ashrafi, Vol. I.

¹⁶⁸ Fatimeh Hashtroudi. “Abd al-Razzaq Kashāni: His Life, Works and Contribution to Sufism”, *Journal of Usulddin*,(41), 2015,169.

due to specialty on me, Kashāni repeated the lesson again for me. Beside, *Fusus al-Hikām*, Simnānī read about one volume *Fūṭuhāt Makkiya* and the life of the Ibn ‘Arabi¹⁶⁹”.

It seems clear above paragraph that Jahāngīr Simnānī went to Kashan, studied the *Fusūs al-Hikām*, *Fūṭuhāt Makkiya* and about the life of Ibn ‘Arabi under the Razzaq Kashāni and received the grace in the field of rational science and mystical knowledge. On the other hand, his (Kashāni) contemporary Ala ad-Dawla Simnānī (b.659/1262) was born in the village of Biyābānak situated about twenty kilometers south-west of the city of Semnan¹⁷⁰. Simnānī was follower of the Kubrawi order and the main opponent of the Ibn ‘Arabi doctrine of *wahdat al-wujūd*. Simnānī has mastered the subject of esoteric and exoteric sciences. His writing of high quality and exceed more than three hundred books and treatises in Persian and Arabic on different topics. He was the noblest Sufi of his time, was the possessor of unveiling and miraculous powers and possessed sublime station (*maqām*) in Sufism. His father name was Malik Sharaf al-Dīn, acquired high position in the government. As Rahman Chisti writes that Simnānī Uncle Malik Jalaluddin was the *wazīr* of King of Argun Khan and his maternal uncle was the judge in the Kingdom of Argun Khan and courtier of the Argun times. Simnānī also received a high post in the royal court of Argun Khan by the request of his uncle and remain associated with imperial court and accomplished his work with responsibilities and diligence.¹⁷¹

Abd Razzaq Kashāni (d.736/1335) was the proponent of the Ibn ‘Arabi *wahdat al-wujūd*. On the other hand, Sufi’s like, Ala ad-Dawla Simnānī was critical towards Ibn ‘Arabi, and have tried to refute the same idea of *wahdat al-wujūd*. This facet of his thought placed him in opposition to the school of Ibn ‘Arabi (d.638/1240) and its influential doctrine of the oneness of being (*wahdat al-wujūd*), as is demonstrated by his correspondence with ‘Abd Razzaq al-Kashāni (d.736/1335), a discipline of Ibn ‘Arabi. Besides this, the doctrines of unity of being, both has a striking similarity, but at the same time are influenced by Ibn ‘Arabi. For Simnānī, Sufism falls under that special type of Islamic mysticism which is often labeled as “unity of witnessing” (*wahdat*

¹⁶⁹ Nizām Yemini, *Lataif-I-Ashrafī*, translated by M. Lateef Ullah, Pakistan: Shaikh Mohammad Hashim Raza Ashrafī, Vol. I.

¹⁷⁰ Giovanni Maria Martini. *‘Alā’ al-Dawla al-Simnānī between Spiritual Authority and Political power*, Leiden: Brill, 2016, 1.

¹⁷¹ Abdur Rahman Chisti. *Mir-at ul-Israr*, Lahore: Ziya al-Quran Publication, 1993.

as-shuhūd), as opposed to “unity of being” (*wahdat al-wujūd*) of Ibn ‘Arabi¹⁷². Ala ad-Dawla Simnānī ideas of divine emanation and creation of the world, he developed the existing notion of *tajalli* (theophany) in terms of varying degrees of divine self-manifestation occurring through intermediaries as opposed to the concept that all of creation shares in divinity¹⁷³.

Explanation of Jahāngīr Simnānī on ‘Alā’ad-dawla Simnānī’s Position:

Both Sufis have discussed about the issues of *wahdat al-wujūd* and both have provided their arguments, but the debate and discussion was not face to face, it was through letters and epistles. Nizām Yemeni compiled the letters and correspondence between Simnani and Kashāni writes, Sufis whose belief is on the essence of *wahdat al-wujūd* and the differences arose between Simnānī and Kashāni is based on the subject of dispute. At the time when these persons (Simnānī and Kashāni) were doing mutual correspondence, Jahangir Simnānī and Amir Iqbal Sistani were aware about these issues. According to *Lataif-I-Ashrafī*, came to know that, both Jahangir Simnānī and Amir Iqbal had delivered the letters of Simnānī and Kashāni. Amir Iqbal Sistani was the disciple of Ala ad-Dawla Simnānī. At starting Ala ad-Dawla Simnānī was not convinced with idea of Ibn ‘Arabi *wahdat al-wujūd*, but subsequently, he changed his thought on the idea of *wahdat al-wujūd*. Nizām Yemeni writes that,

‘Jahangir Simnānī stated that contention and conversation was an initial remark, when Jahangir Simnānī met the Ala ad-Dawla Simnānī at the last meeting, where some elderspeople were sitting in Majlis, a dervish asked Simnānī that Ibn ‘Arabi said the truth (*Haq*) is the absolute existence(*wujūd mutlaq*). For this reason, will it be cursed on the day of resurrection or not. Ala ad-Dawla Simnānī explain that I do not like such kind of words to put on the throats. I

¹⁷² Gesudiraz idea of wujūd is something very similar to Ala’ ad-dawla Simnānī, but he was against the Ibn ‘Arabi idea of unity of being in his entire life. see, Syed Shah Khusro Hussaini, *Sayyid Muhammad al-Husayn-I Gesudiraz on Sufism*, unpublished dissertation, Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, 26. Three centuries later, the debate occurred in Indian subcontinent through Ahmad-I Sirhindi (d.1033/1624) mujaddid and Sufi reformer developed the doctrine of the oneness of witnessing (*wahdat as-shuhūd*) within the Naqshbandi Sufi order to check Ibn ‘Arabi’s influence in India. Spreading from Sirhindi throughout the Mujaddi phase of the Naqshbandiyya and beyond, this doctrine, derived from Simnānī’s ontological theories has become the major Sufi alternative to the concept of *wahdat al-wujūd* for comprehending the relationship of God and the world, see, Jamal J.Elias. *The Throne Carrier of God: The Life and Thought of ‘Ala’ ad-dawla as-Simnānī*, New York: State University of New York Press,1995, 2.

¹⁷³ Jamal J.Elias. *The Throne Carrier of God: The Life and Thought of ‘Ala’ ad-dawla as-Simnānī*, New York: State University of New York Press, 1995.

wish he did not approve such kind of words. It is not appropriate to say such words to create doubts among dervish'¹⁷⁴.

It is clear from the above paragraph that Ala ad-Dawla Simnānī was not so opposed the Ibn 'Arabi doctrine of unity of existence (*wahdat al-wujūd*) in comparison to earlier period. But later he adopted a very cautious approach to the principle of unity of existence. After explanation about Kashānī and Simnānī, he came to conclusion that it was subject of dispute not the dispute of reality. At the last moment, Alā'ad-dawla Simnānī accepted that Ibn 'Arabi was committed only semantic error.

Jahāngīr Simnānī believes that its matter of surprise that Shaikh 'Ala' ad-dawla Simnānī have objected to the doctrine of, Ibn 'Arabi. Though, 'Ala' ad-dawla Simnānī has eulogized the Ibn 'Arabi. Even he has addressed Ibn 'Arabi in his book as a truthful, intimate and mystical thinker.

Jahangīr Simnānī did not reject both (Shaikh 'Ala' ad-dawla Simnānī & Shaikh Abd al-Razzāk Kashānī) ideas as they respect both views. He believes that there is no contrariety on reality of oneness (*tawhīd*) between Shaikh Abd al-Razzāk and 'Ala' ad-dawla Simnānī. Both have differed on the basis of context and he (Simnānī) could not understand the concept of *wujūd* in accordance with the Ibn 'Arabi writings. It has had three stages of its descents. First, *wujūd bashart-ash-shai* (determinate existent being), second *wujūd lā-bashart-ash-shai* (indeterminate concept of pure being), and third *wujūd bashart lā-shai* (Pure concept, i.e. the concept of determinate being). Ibn 'Arabi has contrived absolute existence in the third stages while 'Ala' ad-dawla Simnānī has contemplated absolute existence in second stages and has exaggerated between negation and denial in much more. However, 'Ala' ad-dawla Simnānī himself, hinted toward determinate being.

Jahāngīr Simnānī maintains that 'Ala' ad-dawla Simnānī controversy and conversation were initial remarks. As *Lataif-I-Ashrafi* stated that, when Ashraf Simnānī went to last time attended to his services and at the same day, there was gathering of grandees (*ākabir*) and meanwhile a dervish came to Durbar, asked to 'Ala' ad-dawla Simnānī that Ibn 'Arabi had called god to determinate being and whether he will be entitle to be punished. Then he replied, will not be

¹⁷⁴ Nizām Yemini. *Lataif-I-Ashrafi*, translated by M. Lateef Ullah, Pakistan: Shaikh Mohammad Hashim Raza Ashrafi, Vol. I.

punished. He did not want to repeat this sort of things again. ‘Ala’ ad-dawla Simnānī urged they would not do it that callous to say, is not easy. Jahangir Simnani explains about Ibn Arabi, in fact, he believed that oneness of existence, ultimate reality as existence and God is absolute. Ibn ‘Arabi wanted to prove the oneness of existence (unity of being). It is nothing more than that. Syed Ashraf Simnānī had certified with authentic sources that existence (*wujūd*) is the just one.

IV. Sum up and conclusion:

The history Sufism indicates that in 9th and 10th century had taken place the number of debates about doctrine of *wahdat al-wujūd* and different Sufis, who laid down the number of observation on the doctrine of *wahdat al-wujūd*. It was Ibn ‘Arabi, who has been considered pre-eminent mystical philosopher in the discipline of *falsafa*. He was first Sufi, who propounded the doctrine of the *wahdat al-wujūd*. However, Ibn Arabi idea of *wujūd* is a contentious issue in the domain of mysticism, and his oeuvres and ideas still complete enigma in the ontological discourse. His doctrine of unity of being is an anathema to most theologians and mystical Sufi order in the realm of Islamic theology. Some modern scholars still considered the Ibn ‘Arabi’s idea of being is obfuscate and illusory and common links between pantheism and Ibn ‘Arabi ontology. The first difference arose between Ala ad-Dawla Simnānī and Abd al-Razzaq Kashānī in the early thirteenth century on the discourse of metaphysics of being in the Persian world. Abd al-Razzaq Kashānī was close disciple of the Ibn ‘Arabi and proponent of his doctrine of *wujūd*. He meticulously epitomized the Ibn ‘Arabi doctrine of *wahdat al-wujūd* in the late thirteenth century. On the contrary, Ala ad-dawla Simnānī was opponent of the Ibn ‘Arabi idea of *wahdat al-wujūd*. Afterward, the doctrine of unity of being has engendered much controversy between Ibn ‘Arabi and Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi in the late sixteenth century in Indian subcontinent. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi and his adherents continues iconoclastic about Ibn ‘Arabi ontology and metaphysic of being. He vociferously castigated the Ibn ‘Arabi’s idea of unity of being and ontology and he seemingly placed him in the line between God and cosmos. In a nutshell, Ibn ‘Arabi in general weighed as the pantheist philosopher and his concept of *wahdat al-wujūd* continues considered that God and cosmos were identical. Afterward, the doctrine of unity of being is supplemented by Ibn ‘Arabi’s followers and adherents were including Abd al-Razzaq Kashānī (d.1339) in Persian region, and Muhibullāh Allahabādi (d. 1058/1648) in South Asia, all places where unity of being in the Ibn ‘Arabi context flourishes.

At the early periods of them, Alā'ad-dawla Simnānī was the first Sufī, who disagreed with Ibn 'Arabi. Simnānī was a high exalted personality among Sufis at that time. Jahangir Simnānī writes that therefore have disagreed with Alā'ad-dawla Simnānī on the issue of *wahdat la-wujūd*, it was great deal of him. Initially, Jahangir Simnānī has received grace in Sufism from Alā'ad-dawla Simnānī. Later, he went to study the exoteric and esoteric from Abdul Razzāk Kashānī. He also met with number of Sufis and theologians about the issue of *wujūd* and knowledge and had conversation with them. According Nizām Yemini, compiler of *Lateif-I Ashrafi* writes that Jahāngīr Simnānī met more than hundred Sufis and theologians including most prominent were Syed Ali Hamdani, Syed Jalal Bukhari, Abdul Razzāk Kashānī, Alā'ad-dawla Simnānī and Gesu Daraz regarding the issue of nature of God and the concept of *wujūd*. Gesu Daraz was the first who took position on *wujūd* against the Ibn 'Arabi in South Asia. Simnānī was not only met with Gesu Daraz but also had conversation about *wahdat al-wujūd*. Nizām Yemeni writes that,

“Gesu Daraz composed a book '*Seerat al-nabi*' which is his last book, where he discussed about the *wujūd mutlaq* and in that book he gave the signal against Ibn 'Arabi book *Fusūs al-Hikam*. He (Simnānī) was given the number of argument to Gesu Daraz about *wahdat al-wujūd*, but he was not satisfied and he did not reconcile this book”.

After explanation about Abd al-Razzaq Kashānī and Ala ad-dawla Simnānī, he came to conclusion that it was subject of dispute not the dispute of reality. At the last moment, Alā'ad-dawla Simnānī accepted that Ibn 'Arabi was committed only semantic error. Jahangir Simnānī got an opportunity to mull over the subtle problem of Sufism and he firmly argued with the Quran and hadīth. Therefore, their contribution in the problem of Sufism is great importance. The way that he has debated on the issue of unity of being is very important and interesting and his disciple Nizām Yemini has noted down in the malfuzat of *Lateif-I Ashrafi*.

Conclusion:

The section attempted to provide the same line between Ibn 'Arabi and Jahangir Simnani on the doctrine of unity of being. Simnani was more vocal and supporter of *wahdat al-wujūd*, and in fact, he traveled to different parts of world to convince the idea of Shaykh ontology. He was not only settled the dispute between the Abdul Razzāk Kashānī and Ala ad-dawla Simnānī, but he has corroborated his argument with the Quranic verse and included syntax, lexicon, fiqh, and Kalam in the discourse of *wahdat al-wujūd*. According to Jahangir Simnani, in reality, there is oneness of God and belongs to God *wujūd*. The cosmos is fixed because of His substance. The

existence of the cosmos is God shadow and accidental. Despite being convinced in Oneness of existence, Simnānī was against the pantheism. For Simnānī, Islam does not ever endure the pantheism and whatever is provided justification. Pantheism cannot be related to the realities of the manifestation of things. In his own words, when the existentialists annihilated the thing of non-existence as God, then the question does not arise to worship the false God. The phenomena are a creature and two creature things can not equate together. As Jahangir Simnānī provides justification, if you see a person's face in different mirrors, then different faces will be seen, but that person is only one.

Chapter Two:

Understanding Barelwī Movement with regard to Kichaucha Sharīf:

Abstract:

The chapter is built around four important sections. First section in this chapter, has explored the controversy between Shah Ismail and Allama Fadl-I-Haqq Khairabadi on Muhammad's ontological status. Shah Ismail penned a '*Taqwiyyat ul-Iman*' the most controversial book in the late eighteen century. The pith of the argument of the Shah Ismail, the God is impossible to create a prophet resemble to the Prophet Muhammad. On the contrary, Allama Fadl-I-Khairabadi, the gist of his philosophy is that the God is impossible to make prophet equivalent to the Prophet Muhammad. Afterward a heated debate between these two cusps of religious scholars, the paradox of the tradition complete breakdown in Islamicate society, and not able to be retrieved in future (*section I*). The controversy over '*Taqwiyyat ul-Iman*' erupted between Shah Ismail and Allama Fadl-I-Haqq Khairabadi, and it paved the way origin of Barelwi movement in South Asia. The second section of this chapter highlights Barelwi movement and the Ahmad Raza's view in the nature of God, Prophet Muhammad, and Sufism (*section II*). The third part of this chapter is also understand the position of the Ahmad Raza and his disciples in the issue of *dar al-Harb* and *dar al-Islam*, Khilafat movement, non-cooperation movement, unity between Hindu-Muslim and last of this section looked at the debate in the nation-state (*section III*). The fourth part of this chapter dealt with the Barelwi movement with regard to Kichaucha Sharif. It was Maulana Kichauchwī in the Barelwi School has vociferously demanded the establishment of new state (*section IV*). The objective of this chapter is that Barelwi movement was not only engaged with the debates, polemic, and difference with the 'other', but also their leaders were concerned about the representation, Khilafat, Cooperation movement and unity between Hindu-Muslim in the 20th century.

Introduction:

Muhaddis Azam-e Hind Syed Shah Mohammad Ashrafi Jilani Kichauchwī (b.1311/1894)¹⁷⁵ was concerning love for Prophet Muhammad. He considered himself to be one of the greatest active

¹⁷⁵ I relied on Urdu based writings about Muhaddis Azam-e Hind Syed Shah Mohammad Ashrafi Jilani Kichauchwī, I did not find any English sources on him, see extant sources, Shah Mahmood Ahmed Qadiri. *Hayat Makhum Al-Auliya Mahboob Rabbani*, Islamabad: Hazrat Amin Shariat Trust, 2001. Syed Shabir Hussain. *Imam Ahmed Raza Khan Muhaddis Barelwi aur Fakhr Sadaat Syed Muhammad Muhaddis Kichauchwī*, Lahore: Raza Academy, Abdul

leaders of the Barelwi movement in South Asia. He was born in Qasbah Jais, the district of Rae Bareilly in 1311/1894, and died in Lucknow in 1380/1961. He spent some time studying in Lucknow, Aligarh, and Badaun, where he acquired traditional knowledge of manqulāt (consist of Hadīth, Qur’anic tafsīr, and Prophetic tradition) and ma’qulāt (consist of logic, mathematics, and philosophy). Maulana Kichauchwī was one of the closest disciples of Ahmad Raza Khan, where he learned fatwa writings under the counsel of him. He returned to Jais where he preferred intellectual literary and Islamic activities to the practice of tabligh (*dawah*) and Barelwi movement. In his poetry and other writings, he was strongly influence by Sufi thought. Kichauchwī was initiated of Ashrafia mystical order (*ashrafia silsila*) and he influenced by the Sufi philosopher, such as Ibn al-Arabi, as well by great Persian and Turkish Sufi poet such as Ashraf Jahangir Simnani and Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi and many others. In fact well known in his sermons (*khutbahs*’) and memoir (*tazkira*), he moved from more philosophical and metaphysical interesting to call for an Islamic activism. Based on spiritual principles such as love (*Ishq*) and spiritual poverty (*fakhr*), we find sources for this activity in his understanding of the meaning the life of Holy Prophet Muhammad.

After the death of Ahmad Raza Khan Barelwi, his disciples and Khalifas becomes a more active in sphere of political activism in Indian Politics. The first organization of the Barelwi ulama, the All India Sunni Conference was set up in Moradabad in March 1925. Only orthodox Sunnis become its members. Even the definition of ‘Sunni’ was given in the Constitution of the party. Apart from criticizing the policies and programs of the Jamiatul Ulama-I-Hind, and the Congress, the All India Sunni Conference also appealed to the Muslim not to join the Congress. After the Muslim league adopted the Pakistan Resolution in 1940, the Sunni ulama decided to work for the establishment of Pakistan¹⁷⁶. During the 1946 election, the Barelwi ulama issued fatwas in favor of the Muslim League.

The Context of the Study:

Hakim Khan. *Muhaddis-e-Azam Kichauchwī aur Pakistan*, Lahore: Markazi Majlis Muhaddis Azam Kichauchwī, 1976, Allama Hasan Ali Rizvi Barelwi, *Muhaddis Azam Pakistan Akabireen w Muasireen ki Nazar mien*, Karachi: Tahreek-e-Ittihad-e-Ahle-Sunnat Pakistan, 2004, Syed Mohd Mazahir Ashraf Ashrafi. *Hayat Muhaddis Azam Kichauchwī*, Karachi: Maktaba Simnani.

¹⁷⁶ Jamal Malik. “The Luminous Nūrani: Charisma and Political Mobilization among the Barelwis in Pakistan, *Social Analysis*”: *International Journal of Social and Cultural Practices*, No. 28, 1990, 38-50.

Before Barbara Metcalf and Usha Sanyal, few other historians and orientalists have written on the Barelwi movement or Islam. Orientalists like, W.C. Smith, who has mentioned short notes on Barelwi Islam in his monograph *Modern Islam in India*. He has established the critical comments and he deployed the method of criticism without the studied the Barelwi ulama writings. Smith has commented on Barelwi School as to be point of death. He criticized the Barelwi School....

“The Barelwi School expresses and sustains the social and religious customs of a decadent people. It is socially accommodating, winking perhaps at the drinking of wine and the like: but at the same time it adheres to the prevailing superstitions, saint worship, and degradations. The Barelwi maulwis accept the piteous villages of India as they find them: and their Islam is without qualification or criticism the actual religion of those villages”¹⁷⁷.

Smith has alleged the Barelwi School that is superstitions and practice of saint-worship, demotion, rustics and resides in villages. Men like W.C. Smith and other Orientalists, in fact, they have deployed the method that Abdul Wahhab was the founder of Islamic reformist movement in the Muslim world and other ulama that propagated the reformism in South Asia were considered him as the great reformer. And in their opinion, Abdul Wahhab was the great reformer and his predecessor, Ibn Taymiyyah worth following of him. And those who did not follow the same line of Abdul Wahhab’s idea of reformism, Smith considered them as the enemy of reformist school of thought. In case of Barelwi Islam Smith observed that Barelwi ulama were against the criticisms and opposition to critical thought. It is interesting to note that those who have considered Abdul Wahhab and Ibn Taymiyyah as the reformers, now they label them as fundamentalists and fundamentalism has been fatal for all nations of the world. Orientalists and intellectual tradition of the western hegemony also subscribed by the South Asian historian and theologians, such as Mohammad Ikraam, wrote a worthy book entitle ‘*Mauj-e-Kausar*’, where he labeled Barelwi as the saint–worshipper and outdated Islam. He writes;

“The Ahle-I-Hadīth school which is not respects the old tradition of the predecessors’, and in this issue, they have not endorsed the Shah Wali Allah school of thought and renounced his views and opinion regarding Islam. It has two significant points, which is completely contrary both each other and there is not one of the groups which are like by the Wahhabi adherents. The first reaction came in existence against the reformist movement which is the Barelwi group. Syed Ahmad Barelwi was born in Rae Bareilly, United Province and three hundred miles away Ahmad Raza was born in 1856, in Bareilly city. He wrote more than fifty books on the various disputed subject and debated scholarly on several issues. He endorsed the Hanafi law in very intensely. He was convinced to all ritualistic and customary practices of Fatiha, in holding observances on the fortieth day after a death and on its anniversary; in celebrating the giyarhwin of Shaikh ‘Abdul Qadir Jilani and the urs of other saints; in mediation of the image of the Shaikh; in standing during the celebration of the Prophet’s birthday; and in calling on saints for help. His difference is not only to Wahhabi but he has difference with Deoband School and he also considered as non-imitators (ghair

¹⁷⁷ W.C. Smith. *Modern Islam in India: A Social Analysis*, Lahore: Minerva Book Shop, 1943, 320.

muqallid). Other Barelwis declared Syed Ahmad Barelwi an infidel, or at least Barelwis had strong objection and hatred against the Syed Ahmad's books and letters"¹⁷⁸.

Later, in the book he went to say: I do not have right answer when Barelwi group was emerged. Ikraam critically analyzed the Barelwi Islam especially Ahmad Raza, but he has not cited any authentic works written by the Barelwi ulama. He looked at the Islamic reformist movement and ulama in the 19th and 20th century and reviewed the several books related to them. In the case of Barelwi groups, Ikraam mentioned a chapter on Ahmad Raza in his book; but his research does not seem to be identical to the original works of Ahmad Raza, and even he has not read carefully any original source of Barelwi School. Therefore, he was unable to provide any adequate authentic sources, documents and evidence to prove his investigation in monograph.

Scholar likes, Barbara D. Metcalf, in her book on *Islamic Revival in British India*, chapter seven, devoted whole chapter on 'alternative tendencies within Sunni Islam; the Ahle-I-Hadis and the Barelwis'. Metcalf book is literally devoted on the Deoband reformist movement. Apart from Deoband reformist movement, she also wrote one chapters on Ahl-I-Hadīth and Barelwis under alternative trends, the seventh chapter Metcalf devoted on the Ahle hadis and concerned with Barelwis and backgrounds of Ahmad Raza. The chapter eight covered the topic of discussion on the Nadwa ul Ulama and history of Aligarh movement. The chapter seven, Metcalf wrote about Barelwis on the total eighteen pages and thirty-two references in this part. It is interesting to note that Metcalf chapter on Barelwis, she cited one reference related to Ahmad Raza's original works, and other reference cited mainly written by Deobandi ulama or Ahle hadis ulama. It is not that she is not aware of Ahmad Raza works. Page no 301 and footnotes no. 86, Metcalf cited Zahoor Ahmad Azhar book, *Daira Marf-e-Islamia*, in which book, Azhar devoted one chapter on history of Barelwi, but she just only cited in footnotes, she writes, this article also for its useful bibliography. Even she has not benefited from that source.

However, instead of studying the primary sources of the works of Ahmad Raza, she chose the Deobandi and Tabligh Jamaat alim, Maulana Manzoor Nomani's book, '*Faisla Kun Munazara*'¹⁷⁹. Metcalf deliberately and intentionally had chosen the Nomani's book, because she wanted to prove that there are ideological rivalries between Deoband and Barelwi and Ahmad Raza had great enmity with the Deoband School. Therefore, she wittingly chose most popular book *Husamul Haramain*, written by Ahmad Raza. The secondary source, Metcalf only found

¹⁷⁸ Mohammad Ikraam. *Mauj-e-Kausar*, Lahore: 70.

¹⁷⁹ Manzoor Nomani. *Deoband aur Barelwi ke Ikhtelaaf w Nizā Par Faisla Kun Munazra*, Lahore: Darul Nifaas.

the *Hayat Ala-Hazrat*, compiled by Zafaruddin Bihari, disciple of Ahmad Raza. It can be very prudent to say that Metcalf has partially selected a bibliography on the Barelwi section in her book. Barbara Metcalf in her book introduction part studied Barelwi movement in the line of Deoband point. She writes;

“I have focused in this book on what I call “the reformist ‘ulama” of whom the most important group is that associated with a theological academy founded in the town of Deoband in 1867. I also include as reformist the less numerous Ahle-I-Hadis (chapter V1) and the ‘ulama of Nadwah (chapter V11). Their opponents, the Barelwi ‘ulama or the Ahle-I-Sunnat wa Jamaat (chapter V1) adhered to more custom-laden religious practice and a more intercessory style of religious leadership linked to the pirs of the medieval tombs. In fact, however, they also thought of themselves as reformist (that is, as scholars engaged in *tajdid* or (renewal) and indeed-even if I and the Deobandis begrudge them the title of reformers-in their self-consciousness and their concern with disseminating familiarity with the law, they were in the end, close to those they opposed”¹⁸⁰.

She noted in her long aforementioned paragraph, tried to explain that Barelwis were as an opponent and rival group of Deoband reformist movement. She suggests that Ahmad Raza was against the reformist movement and strictly followed the custom-laden and customary practices style of Islam, and there was a more intercessory style of religious leadership linked to the pirs of the medieval tombs. But she further writes and reviewed the chapter seven in very detail and again she stoutly rejected the Barelwi movement as the Islamic reform movement. The part seven of the book, the first paragraph of first line, Metcalf writes;

“The Barelwi ‘ulama, the last of these three groups of ‘ulama to crystallize, is always describes by supports and opponents as a reaction to the other two reformist movement in South Asia such as Deoband and Ahle-hadis movement. They did, however, operate, as did the other ‘ulama, as a popularly supported leadership, detached from the political activity, offering social and religious guidance to their followers. Like them, too, they were committed to what they deemed a correct interpretation of the law. What made them unique was that they used their position and their legal scholarship to justify the meditational, custom-laden Islam, closely tied to the intercession of the pirs of the shrines that was characteristic of the area”¹⁸¹.

The part of this chapter, she is not only studied the Ahmad Raza but also meticulously described Barelwi creed and belief. Interestingly, with regards to Barelwis belief and creed, she did not study any authentic book or fatwas regarding Ahmad Raza or Barelwi beliefs. Rather, she imitated the statement of an Ahle-hadis alim for the statement of the Barelwi belief and creed. She writes;

“They (the Barelwis) believed, wrote a member of the Ahle-I-Hadis, “in reading Fatiha; in holding observances on the fortieth day after a death and on its anniversary; in celebrating the giyarhwin of Shaikh ‘Abdul Qadir Jilani and

¹⁸⁰ Barbara Metcalf. *Islamic Revival in British India*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982, 12-3.

¹⁸¹ Ibid, 296.

the urs of other saints; in mediation of the image of the Shaikh; in standing during the celebration of the Prophet's birthday; and in calling on saints for help"¹⁸².

Metcalf accepted the statements of the opponents of Barelwis without any criticism and profound research. It is not debate here why Metcalf so close with the Deoband and Ahle-hadis. After finishing statement of Ahle-hadis alim, Metcalf explain about Barelwi,

"Like the other 'ulama, they opted to turn inward, cherishing religion as an ever-more important component of their identity. But in a period widely held to be threatening to their culture, they blamed not only the colonial ruler but perhaps even more-the reformist Muslims. They wanted to preserve Islam unchanged: not Islam as it was idealized in text or the historical past, but Islam as it had evolved to the present. They were, thus, an oppositional group as much as were the reformers, not even as one might think-representing continuity with the past but rather, in their very self-consciousness, representing a departure from it"¹⁸³.

Metcalf acknowledged that Barelwis wanted to maintain Islam without any unaltered. But at the same time, she also considered that Barelwis do not adherent the ideal Islam which is preserve in the foundational text of Islam, such as Quran, Hadīth and Islamic jurisprudence. Rather, Barelwi Islam that is gradually developed to the present time. She does not believe that Barelwis' represents the Islamic continuity and past, instead, she held they were opposition groups as much as reformers. But the reality is that Barelwi belief is based on the Quran, Hadīth and the Hanafi law. Ahmad Raza books and especially his short treatises on Iman (faith or belief), Ibadāt (adoration), beliefs, derived the sources the direct line with the Quran and prophetic traditions. His arguments and evidence is based on the Quran and Hadīth. Further, she herself acknowledges that Ahmad Raza writings were characterized by an argumentative style, a pilling up of reference upon reference to show simultaneously his intellectual superiority and the deficiencies' of his opponents¹⁸⁴. Even Metcalf provide reference to support the intellectual superiority from the Abdul Hakim Shahjahanpuri book, '*Ala-Hazrat Barelwi Ki Fiqhi Maqām*', On the point of joining two namaz in a time of difficulty or on a journey, for example a practice whose legitimacy he vehemently denied, he mocked Miyan Nazir Husain as having less education than an ordinary student and continued, "he cited five precedents of Companions; I will cite thirty. He only quoted four hadis, none of which helped him and he could not even come up with the name of a verse of the Quran in proof"¹⁸⁵.

¹⁸² Ibid, 296.

¹⁸³ Metcalf, 296.

¹⁸⁴ Barbara D. Metcalf. *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982, 308.

¹⁸⁵ Barbara D. Metcalf. *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982, 308.

According to Metcalf, she apparently considered the ideal Islam or reformist Islam, which are the true adherents of Abdul Wahhab and the guiding principles of Wahhabi ulama. Apart from this, Metcalf believed that Barelwis or Ahmad Raza was the first group to break the Islamic tradition. But the reality is different from these narratives. Barelwis true followers of the ‘As-Sawad al-Azam’, that is, the majority of Islamic scholars in Islamic traditions. They take righteousness from the Quran and Hadīth and who already become righteous predecessor, they follows taqlīd. Barelwis do not invent any new things in Deen. Therefore Metcalf accusation is baseless that Barelwis broken the Islamic tradition of the past. Rather, Barelwis already represents the Islamic tradition of the past. However, the scholarship and tabligh of Barelwi ulama always reflect their thought and idea in the present times. They maintain the continuing tradition of ‘past’ and remained engage with reform and renewal at the present times. Can the history of Islam with reference to Indian subcontinent be neglected name of a person, who has preserved and protected Islamic tradition, such as, Abul Hassan Ali Hujwiri, commonly known as Data Ganj Baksh, Moin Uddin Chishti, Farid Uddin Ganjshakar, Shaikh Nizamuddin Awliyā, Syed Ashraf Jahangir Simnani, Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddis Dehlvi, Shah Wali Allah, Allama Fadl-I-Haqq Khairabadi, Allama Fadl-I-Rasūl Badaun, Maulana Ahmad Raza Khan Barelwi, Maulana Naimuddin Moradabadi, and Mufti Amjad Ali Azmi, etc.

Metcalf has praised Ahmad Raza’s personality and intellectual ability and she also admitted his vast knowledge, but with the reference to the reform and renewal, Metcalf took neutral position to the contribution and services of Ahmad Raza in the field of reformist movement. Metcalf highlighted the Islamic reform movement in Middle East in the same reformist movement such as Nadwah, Aligarh, and Deoband in South Asia; but she deliberately ignored Barelwi madrasas, fatwas and the contribution Barelwi ulama in the process of reform and renewal in the 19th and 20th century. Therefore, it seems to suggest that Metcalf analyzed the Barelwi movement in her book from Deoband or Ahle-hadis perspective. On other hand, anthropologist Pnina Werbner, who created binary between reformist and non-reformist groups in Britain, stated that

“For Deobandi, the stress on individual rationality and individual self-control is accompanied by an emphasis on legal reasoning (as against the mystical knowledge of the Sufis). The reform movement met with powerful organized opposition in defense of Sufi saints and cult practices surrounding saints’ tombs. This counterreformation has come to be known as the Barelwi movement. Thus, in South Asia, at least two classes of “learned doctors” have

emerged... reform jurists and saintly jurists share many formal properties and are locked in continuous religious controversy”¹⁸⁶.

Historian likes Usha Sanyal, her pioneer work on Barelwi movement especially Ahmad Raza Khan Barelwi and his institutional settings and fatwas and formation of Barelwi Islam in the 19th century in north India. Her method deployed the Barelwi movement with regard to the Ahmad Raza and disciples. But Sanyal missed an opportunity to link the foundational support of Barelwi movement. Her work is limited to the Ahmad Raza and she did not look before Ahmad Raza predecessors. It was Allama Fadl-I-Haqq Khairabadi and Shah Fadl-I Rasūl Badaun, who initiated the Barelwi movement in the eighteenth century. Later, Ahmad Raza shaped the Barelwi movement and further debated the Deobandi alim on the nature of God and Muhammad’s ontological status¹⁸⁷. Moreover, Usha Sanyal framed Barelwi movement or ‘ulema’ of the *Ahle-Sunnat wa Jamaat* maintained a largely apolitical stance towards British rule in India and were not directly concerned with “Politics”¹⁸⁸.

The chapter is divided into four parts; first part intended to deal with the controversy between Shah Ismail Shahid and Allama Fadl-I- Haqq Khairabadi on the nature of God and Muhammad’s ontological status. The controversy over *Taqwiyyat al-Iman* erupted between Shah Ismail and Allama Fadl-I Haqq Khairabadi, and it paved the way the origin of Barelwi movement in South Asia. The second part of this chapter highlighted the Barelwi movement and the Ahmad Raza’s view on the nature of God, Prophets, and saint, pir and murid (Sufism). The third part of this chapter also understands the position of Ahmad Raza and his disciples on the issue of *dar al Harb* and dar al-Islam, Khilafat movement, cooperation movement, unity between Hindu-Muslim and last of this section looked at the debate on the nation-state. The fourth part of this chapter dealt with the Barelwi movement with regard to Kichaucha Sharif. It was Maulana Kichauchwī in the Barelwi School has vociferously demanded the establishment of new state. The objective of this chapter is that Barelwi movement was not only engaged with the debates, polemic, and difference with the ‘other’, but also their leaders were concerned about the representation, Khilafat, Cooperation movement and unity between Hindu-Muslim in the 20th

¹⁸⁶ Pnina Werbner. “The Making of Muslim Dissent: Hybridized Discourses, Lay Preachers, and Radical Rhetoric among British Pakistanis”, *American Ethnologist*, 23(1), 1996, 106-11.

¹⁸⁷ Usha Sanyal. *Devotional Islam and Politics in British India: Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi and His movement, 1870-1920*, New Delhi: Yoda Press, 1996.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

century. On the other hand, in the political field, the leaders of this movement were concerned about the representation and space in Indian politics.

Literature Reviews:

The existing literatures on revival and renewal movement of the eighteenth and nineteenth-century focused on dichotomy between tradition and modernity, whether modernity has impact on subsequent religious change has taken place or tradition stick to their foundational text of Islam such as Quran, Hadīth and Prophetic tradition. Pearson, who studied the Tariq-i-Muhammadiyah movement was started in the colonial period; the movement was not simply reaction to British colonialism or disintegration of the Mughal Empire but also inner Islamic life. Although the use of printed and translated Islamic scriptures in the eighteenth century, in particular, indicates that the direction of reform was well-established before substantial British were apparent¹⁸⁹. Peter Robb, located changes in British policy as the major stimulus for religious mobilization in the so-called Wahhabi conspiracy¹⁹⁰. Marc Gaborieau studied the connection between Fort William College, Christian missionaries and the flourishing of Wahhabi printed text¹⁹¹. Farhan Ahmad Nizami also placed what he refers to as the mujahidin movement of Sayyid Ahmad Barelwi in the context of the British rule in the early nineteenth century, but he was more concerned with educational institutions and authority of ulema and the Sufi leadership. Nizami argued that British rule drove religious Muslims into more rigid and otherworldly isolation. The Mujahidin, however, established a far-flung well-organized network to oppose British rule¹⁹². Warren Fustfeld's study of the naqshbandiya in the colonial period emphasized the role of controversy, particularly about Sufi practices and beliefs in the efforts to define religious authority and what it means to be a Muslim. The absence of legitimate Muslim state power was overdriving force for the need to establish other ways to assert authority. More sociological in its orientation Jaun Cole's contribution to the study of Sayyid Ahmad Barelwi, placed it not in the British colonial context but rather in Shia dominated Awadh, which was still relatively

¹⁸⁹ H.O.Pearson. *Islamic Reform and Revival in Nineteenth-Century India: The Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah*, 2008, 227-229.

¹⁹⁰ Peter Robb. *Society and ideology: essay in South Asian history*, New Delhi: Oxford University press, 1993.

¹⁹¹ Marc Gaborieau. "Late Persian, Early Urdu: The case of 'Wahhabi' Literature (1818-1857)". In *Confluence of cultures: French Contributions to Indo-Persian Studies*, ed. Francoise Nalini Delvoyf, New Delhi: Manohar, 1995.

¹⁹² Farhan Ahmad Nizami, *Madrasah, Scholars, and Saints: Muslim Response to the British Presence in Delhi Upper Doab 1803-1857*, Faculty of History: University of Oxford, Unpublished Thesis, 1983.

autonomous and was after all the location-in Rai-Bareilly of Sayyid Ahmad birth family and upbringing. Coming from a formerly prominent Sufi's land holding lineage of Sunni Sayyids, Sayyid Ahmad responded to the withdrawal of privilege and opportunity under the Awadh regime. In his later career, according to Cole, he transformed this reality or perception of downward mobility Sunni Muslims into a jihad against the Sikh kingdom and ultimately the British.

Claudia Liebskind, who studied the piety on its knees: three Sufis traditions in South Asia in modern times, where she sought to understand the how these Khanaqah have respond to the process of colonial state and western modernity. Her analyzed lead to understand that Islamic reform movement in the nineteenth and twentieth century has no impact on these institutions and significant no changed took place in these institutions¹⁹³. Nizami work on Chisti-Sabris Sufi order revival and renewal movement in Qasbah Amroha and Rudauli in north India in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, where Nizami pursued the reform process within Sufism, argued that Sufism complemented the revivalist upsurge in many respects, rather than opposing it or retaliating against it. Sufis were not marginalized by the reformist movements; rather, they played the role of mediators for reform among the wider public¹⁹⁴. Francis Robinson, who sees the relationship between the religion change and modernity, where he saw, ulema and the process of change, is link with western modernity and colonial state¹⁹⁵.

I. Barelwi School and Shah Ismail Shahid controversy on book 'Taqwiyyat al-Iman':

Allama Fadl-I- Haqq Khairabadi (b.1212/1797)¹⁹⁶ was born in Qasbah Khairabad¹⁹⁷in Uttar Pradesh; his personality seems to reflect in several dimensions in society. Being engaged with

¹⁹³ Claudia Liebskind. *Piety on its Knees: three Sufis Traditions in South Asia in modern times*, Delhi: Oxford University, 1998.

¹⁹⁴ Moin Nizami. *Reform and Renewal in South Asian Islam: The Chisti-Sabris in the 18th and 19th century North India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2017, 250.

¹⁹⁵ Francis Robinson. *Islam and Muslim in History South Asia*, Delhi: Oxford University, 2000, *Islam, South Asia, and The West*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007. *The 'Ulama of Farangi Mahall and Islamic Culture in South Asia*, Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001.

¹⁹⁶Extant literatures on life and works of the Allama Fadl-I-Haqq Khairabadi, see, Allama Fadl-i-Haqq Khairabadi, *Tahqeeq al-Fatwa*, translated by Abdul Hakim Sharaf Qadri, Ghosi: Daira al-Mar'af al-Amjadiya, 1982. Najm Al-Hasan Khairabadi. *Khairabad ki Ek Jhalak*, Lucknow: Naami Press, 1969. Mahmood Ahmed Barkati. *Safar aur Talas*, Karachi: Majlis Matbuat w Tahqeeqat. Salma Suhail. *Allama Muhammad Fadl-I-Haqq Khairabadi*, Lahore: Maktaba Qadria, 2001. Syed Muhammad Miya. *Ulama Hind ke Saandar Maazii*, Lahore: Jamiat Publications'. Mahmood Ahmed Barkati. *Fadl-I-Haqq Khairabadi aur san Satāvan*, Karachi: Barkaat Academy, 1987, Ayub Qadri, *Maulana*

literary works as well, he spent considerable times on the advancement of societal progress. Khairabadi had a friendly and close relationship with famous literary figures and poets in his contemporary, such as Momin Khan Momin (d.1267/1851), Mirza Asadullah Khan Ghalib (d.1286/1869), and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (d.1377/1958), etc. He received primary education especially Islamic sciences, logic, and philosophy from his own father Allama Imam Khairabadi, whereas other education he followed transmitted and revealed knowledge under the guidance of Shah Abdul Qadir and Shah Abdul Aziz Muhaddis Dehlvi¹⁹⁸. Khairabadi has finished all the branches of knowledge under the age of thirteen. He memorized the Quran after the finishing the all kinds of education. Shortly thereafter, he took discipleship (*bait*) with Chishti order Sufi Dhuman Shah in the presence of his own father. Despite being trained in the field of logic, philosophy, and hadīth, though as one often finds in the biographies of the learned class in India, he is also said to have inclined to Sufi practice and to have given his allegiance to at least two masters¹⁹⁹.

Allama Khairabadi's followers held him to be outstanding scholar of logic and philosophy in South Asia in the 19th century. His seriousness and inquisitiveness in the field of logic and philosophy, also consider him as a mujtahid as well his utterance have ultimate judgment in Barelwi School. He upheld a prominent and respected position among contemporary ulama in the South Asia, based on his experiential knowledge and wisdom. He has achieved a distinction in the sphere of logic and philosophy and mastered over rational sciences as well aesthetic discernment in literature and poetry. These qualities of education and training were obtained in the legacy of his father Allama Fadl-I- Imam Khairabadi. Theologians believe that few people

Fadl-I-Haqq Khairabadi Daur-e-Mulazmat, Lahore: Al-Fuzail, 1991. Usaidul Haq Qadri Budauni. *Khairabadeyat*, Budaun: Tajul Fuhood Academy, 2011. Usaidul Haq Qadri. *Fadl-i-Haqq Khairabadi, Fadl-i-Rasul aur Azda, Mahnama Jame-Noor*, Dec, 2010, Hakim Mahmood Ahmed Barkati. *Taj al-Fuhood, Mahnama Mazhar Haq Budaun*, (8) 1998, Khūstar Nūrani, *Allama Fadl-I-Haqq Khairabadi Chand Unū'naat*, Delhi: National Council for Promotion of Urdu Language, 2013. Mohammad Ahmed Misbahī. *Allama Fadl-I-Haqq Khairabadi Hayāt aur Khidmāt*, Ambedkar Nagar: Madrasa Ahle-Sunnat Ziya al-Uloom, 2009. Nizamullah Sohbanī, *Hayat Allama Fadl-i-Haqq Khairabadi aur Un ki Siyasi Karname*, Karachi: Dairatul-Musannifeen, 1957.

¹⁹⁷ Khairabad was famous since medieval times, known as '*Khair al-Bilad*' and it also called it as '*Shiraz-I Hind*', and it has produced the number of Sufis, ulema, poet, theologians and rationalists. Allama Khairabadi, who specialized in the field of philosophy and logic, even he was famed in other field also and considered the Imam of Philosophy, logic in South Asia. see, District Gazetteer, Sultanpur,

¹⁹⁸ Abdul Aziz, son of the Shah Wali-Allah, known as *mujaddid* of the seventeenth century in South Asia. Allama Khairabadi received primary education especially in the field of logic, philosophy under his father Maulana Fadl-I Imam Khairabadi and Hadīth under the Shah. He had received primary education under Shah Abdul Aziz, who had a great commitment with scholarship and shrewdness in his own age.

¹⁹⁹ Asad Q. Ahmed. *Fadl-I Imam Khairabadi*, Encyclopedia.

reached the same level of Allama Khairabadi in the field of logic and philosophy. However, the evidence shows that maximum number of students in the Indian subcontinent who studied logic and philosophy was the product of Khairabad School of thought. As Maulana Salman Nadwī writes that, ‘Allama Fadl-I Haqq Khairabadi was the son and heir of the Maulana Fadl-I Imam Khairabadi, whose energy and enthusiasm has rejuvenated the field of *ma`qulāt*, and came to known as Ibn Sina (Avicenna) in South Asia. The students turned towards him across province and country and revived in the field of logic and philosophy in new method’²⁰⁰. Khairabadi’s knowledge and intellectual thought in the field of logic and philosophy led to the formation of new modern school of thought came to known as ‘Khairabad School’, where middle of the eighteenth century in the field of *ma`qulāt* had set up various branches and produced number of scholars of pedigree form here. But by the middle of the nineteenth century, the Khairabadi’s were beginning to emerge as more prominent and prolific author in the field of logic and philosophy. The circle of the scholars, the greatest contributors to the theology were made by Fadl-I Haq Khairabadi (d. 1277/1861) who dealt with various theological subjects ranging from unity of being, and the possibility of God’s lying to the nature of God’s knowledge, in the following works²⁰¹. Later, his learned son Abdul Haqq Khairabadi expanded and proceeded to further advance the school of Khairabad.

Allama father Imam Khairabadi, who also specialized in the field of rational religious sciences including logic and philosophy (*ma`qulāt* consist of logic, mathematics, and philosophy) on the other hand Shah Wali-Allah family tradition was famous for traditional religious science (*manqulāt* consist of Hadīth, Qur’anic tafsīr, and Prophetic tradition). His father migrated to Delhi in the late nineteenth century, who was the first Indian Muslim, who accepted the post of the imperial *Sadr al-Sudūr* and *Mufti-yi a’zam* by the grace of the British²⁰². Around 1827 Imam Khairabadi resigned from his post as Mufti and placed his student Mufti Sadr al-Dīn (d.1285/1868) as the post of *Mufti-yi a’zam*. Imam Khairabadi belonged to the direct line with Shāh Wali-Allāh family, settled in Badaun first and later moved to Qasbah Khairabad. Moreover,

²⁰⁰ Syed Salman Nadwi, *Hayat Shibli*, Darul Musannefin, 170.

²⁰¹ Asad Q. Ahmed & Reza Pourjavady. “Theology in the Indian subcontinent”. In *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology*, ed. Sabine Schmedtke, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016, 616.

²⁰² Jan-Peter Hartung. “Abused Rationality? - On the role of *ma`quali* scholars in the events of 1857/8”. In *Mutiny at the Margins: New Perspectives on the Indian Uprising of 1857*, ed. Crispin Bates & Marina Carter, New Delhi: Sage, 2017.

he belonged to the fourth generation of scholars in a direct line of Nizām al-Din (d.1161/1748) founder of the Firangi Mahal tradition and “patron saint” of the Dars-i-Nizami. It was Fath-Allah al-Shirazi, considered by later historiographers as having been main conduit for the serious study of philosophy and theology in India to trace a lineage from Fath-Allah al-Shirazi to the scholar of Firangi Mahal in the eighteenth century. Although, it is almost certain that Fath-Allah al-Shirazi was a Shii scholar, later generations of Sunni scholars in India have shown no hesitation in linking their chain of transmission of theology to him²⁰³. By such a legacy it is not surprising that Fadl-I imam Khairabadi is especially known for his commentaries and glosses on works of philosophy and logic²⁰⁴.

Fadl-I Haqq Khairabadi, who commenced the first service in the East India Company and later joined the lower court at the age of nineteen as the head of the court. Even he wanted to leave job because he was not interested to work with the British. In 1233/1818 he wrote a letter to his father about resignation from his job, but his father declined. After the demise of his father in 1246/1831, he relinquished his unpleasant job in the East India Company. Despite his reluctance to work with East India Company, yet he completed sixteen years of service as a deputy commissioner²⁰⁵. In 1246/1832 Nawab Mohd Faiz Khan had invited him in the princely state of Jhajhar, appointed him as *Khuddam* with fixed five hundred rupees per month. The authentic sources do not indicate how many years he had stayed in Jhajhar. But the history of Jhajhar documented about his life in very brief introduction, writes that Allama Fadl-I Haqq belonged to Khairabad and the man was famous and prominent in the field of philosophy. He left job from the East India Company and came to Jhajahr through Nawab Mohammad Faiz Khan, stayed long period with the companionship of Nawab of Jhajhar. Eventually, without any reason, he left his job from Jhajhar. The biographers are silent about whether Allama Fadl-I Haqq Khairabadi had stayed in the state of Alwar. The biographer of ‘*Safar aur Talas*’ delineated that, the ruler of the Alwar province had called for Khairabadi. As the source revealed that, for the first time Allama

²⁰³ Asad Q. Ahmed & Reza Pourjavady. “*Theology in the Indian subcontinent* “. In *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology*, ed. Sabine Schmedtke, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016, 609.

²⁰⁴ Jan-Peter Hartung, “*Abused Rationality? - On the role of ma’quali scholars in the events of 1857/8*”. In *Mutiny at the Margins: New Perspectives on the Indian Uprising of 1857*, ed. Crispin Bates & Marina Carter, New Delhi: Sage, 2017.

²⁰⁵ Mirza Hayat Dehlvi, *Hayat Taibah*, Delhi: Matb`a Faruqi, 101-2.

Khairabadi went to Alwar in 1356/1840, after resigned the job of Jhajhar²⁰⁶. Allama also was attached to princely state Tonk and Saharanpur, where he worked for two years. In August, 1256/1840, the Nawab Mohd Said Khan, who accession to the throne and invited the number ulema and logician, wanted to translation and compilation the number books into different language and Allama Fadl-I Khairabadi being one of them. He reached Rampur in 1256/1840 with the invitation of Nawab Mohd Said Khan, where he wrote a book on ‘*Hadiya Saidiya*’, which was comprised into Arabic language and dedicated to the Nawab of Rampur. He died during the exile in Andaman Islands on August 1861.

Individual like Shah Ismail Shahid (b.1193/1779) was born in Delhi and died fighting with Sayyid Ahmad Barelwi in the battle of Balakote in May, 1246/1831. He was from the illustrious family of Shah Abdul Aziz, grandson of Shah Wali-Allah and the contemporary of Allama Fadl-I Haqq Khairabadi, both familial lore genealogy direct link with two brothers, Baha al-Din and Shams al-Din, who migrated from Iran to Delhi in the late 16th century²⁰⁷. Shah Ismail was elder more than nineteen years to Khairabadi, both studied Hadīth under Shah Abdul Aziz and close affinity with him and became pupil of the Shah Abdul Aziz Dehlvi. Abd al-Aziz considered both of them perfect in their knowledge of the Quranic exegeses, Hadīth, fiqh, principles of fiqh and logic and gave them the titles of Shaykh al-Islam and Hujjat al-Islam respectively²⁰⁸.

Shah Ismail was a prolific writer and his treatises and letters contain some of the most lucid and forceful exposition of the aims and objects of the Wahhabi movement. The movement was most probably initiated by Shah Ismail Shahid as early as the late eighteenth century or early nineteenth century²⁰⁹. The movement is based on the Sufi dimension, although it is often emphasized to distinguish Indian Wahhabis from Arabian Wahhabis. Marc Gaborieau explored the Sufi dimension of by turning to the first printed Persian manifesto, around 1818, that gave systematic exposition of Sayyid Ahmad’s Sufi doctrine²¹⁰. But the movement was not a Sufi

²⁰⁶ *Baaghi Hindustan*, 251.

²⁰⁷ Hakim Mahmood Ahmed Barkati. *Shah Wali-Allah Aur Unka Khandan*, Lahore: Majlis As`at Islam, 1976.

²⁰⁸ S.A.A Rizvi, *Abd Al-Aziz. Puritanism, Sectarian, Polemics and Jihad*, Canberra: Ma`rifat Publishing House, 1982, 477.

²⁰⁹ Marc Gaborieau. “Sufism in the first Indian Wahhabi Manifesto: Sirat ul Mustaqim by Ismail Shahid and Abdul Hayy”. In *The Making of Indo-Persian Culture: Indian and French Studies*, ed. Muzaffar Alam, Françoise N. Delvoye & Marc Gaborieau Delhi: Manohar, 2000, 49.

²¹⁰ *Ibid*, 50.

nearness to God, but rather was a social and historical situation that demonstrated the separation of God from the world²¹¹.

He was as prolific with his pen in the defense of the movement as he was proficient with sword in fighting for its cause²¹². He wrote *Taqwiyyat Iman* and the basic manual of the mujahidin was the *Sirat-i-Mustaqim*; it contains the Sayyid's discourse but, like the Sufi *malfūzāt* literature, was compiled mainly by Shah Ismail Shahid, although sections in the second and third chapters were written by Maulana Abd al-Hay²¹³. But the Sayyid Ahmad's book *Sirat-i-Mustaqim*; did not induce much hostility among the Hanafis. Very strong exception was taken by the Hanafi majority of India to Shah Ismail's definition of nature of God and Prophet, which to all intents and purposes meant that all Indian Hanafis were mushriks (polytheists)²¹⁴. Cutting across the basic difference of the Qādiriyya, Chistiyya, Naqshbandiyya and Mujaddiyya *silsila* of India, the *Sirat-I-Mustaqim* sought to elaborate what Shah Abd al-Aziz described as the Prophetic *wilāya*. Sayyid Ahmed Barelwi called it the Tariqa-Muhammadiyya (the path of Prophet Muhammad) and giving this name to his own Sufi silsila obtained *bay'at* in this order²¹⁵.

Ma'qulāt vs. Manqulāt:

Ma'qulāt consist of rational sciences, including, logic, astronomy mathematics and philosophy. On the other hand, manqulūt comprises "traditionally transmitted" sciences such as Hadīth, Qur'anic tafsīr, and Prophetic tradition²¹⁶. The curriculum of madrasa was first prepared by the Mulla Nizamuddin (d.1161/1748) in the late seventeenth century. He belonged to the family of Firangi Mahal, Lucknow and he has been famous as the master of logic and philosophy in different parts of Indian subcontinent. He prepared the syllabus for the madrasa students that is

²¹¹ Haran O, Pearson, *Islamic Reform and Revival in Nineteenth Century: The Tariqa-i-Muhammadiyah*, Delhi: Yoda Press, 2008, 226.

²¹² Qeyamuddin Ahmad, *The Wahhabi Movement in India*: Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1966, 27.

²¹³ S.A.A Rizvi, *Abd Al-Aziz. Puritanism, Sectarian, Polemics and Jihad*, Canberra: Ma'rifat Publishing House, 1982, 498.

²¹⁴ Ibid, 518.

²¹⁵ S.A.A Rizvi, *Abd Al-Aziz: Puritanism, Sectarian, Polemics and Jihad*, Canberra: Ma'rifat Publishing House, 1982, 477-8.

²¹⁶ Muhammad Qasim Zaman. "Religious Education and the Rhetoric of Reform: The Madrasa in British Indian and Pakistan", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 41, No. 2. 1999, 297.

called it *Dars-i Nizami*²¹⁷. The school taught basically the *Dars-i Nizami*, the curriculum evolved at Firangi Mahall in the eighteenth century. The syllabus became so much popular and continued prevailed more than hundred years without any amendment and change. This syllabus continues to prevail in different madrasas in South Asia. The purpose of this syllabus was compiled for the madrasa students, to work as the post of the *qadi* and *mufti* and chief of qadi in the government. At the time of the late 17th century, two types of branches of knowledge were taught. The first branch of knowledge is ma'qulāt, which is related to the rational sciences, logic, philosophy, and mathematics. The second branch of knowledge is manqulūt, which is based on the study of the Hadīth and Quran. The distinctive feature of the '*Dars-i-Nizami*' syllabus, which is especially emphasized the study of the ma'qulāt, rather than manqulāt. Afterward, the family of the Shah Wali Allah prepared the syllabus for the madrasa Rahimiya that is based on the manqulāt. They emphasized the study of the Quran and Hadīth rather than the study of the fiqh and logic. Thus in India, these two trends can be outlines the curriculum of madrasa in the context of the late 17th century. For instance, ulama of Firangi Mahallis continued to emphasize the study of the logic and philosophy. As Barbara Metcalf noted that wherever there was a prince, the Firangi Mahallis sought positions under him. Thus in mid-eighteen century, one family member was appointed as qadi in Delhi²¹⁸. This was evident in their continued emphasis on ma'qulāt and in the fact they taught Shia as well as Sunni students, cooperating as they did with the Oudh court²¹⁹. On the other hand, Shah Wali Allah family's ulama, they especially emphasized the study of Quran and Hadīth. Therefore in this context, the binary has created. The madrasa Deoband was formed on the model of madrasa Rahimiya in 1867 in Deoband, Saharanpur. Afterward, Deoband School emphasized the traditional sciences, and this school in the line with Shah Wali Allah and the Delhi academicians emphasized especially the study of Hadīth and Quran, while Barelwi School of ulama including Allama Fadl-I-Haqq Khairabadi and Ahmad Raza continued special emphasis on the rational science (ma'qulāt) and the study of fiqh, logic, and philosophy. The Deobandis, however, reversed the emphasis on "rational" studies in favor of an emphasis on Hadīth, which

²¹⁷ Iqbal Husain. "Change within the Islamic Tradition of Learning: Firangi Mahal and the Dars-I Nizami", *Proceeding of the Indian National Congress*, 63, 2002, 439-446.

²¹⁸ Barbara Metcalf. *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband 1860-1900*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982, 32.

²¹⁹ *Ibid*, 33.

was to be the basis of their popular teaching²²⁰. Shah Wali Allah has clearly refuted the value of study of ma'qulāt, about those subjects as a source of intellectual practice and confusion²²¹.

Individual like, Shah Ismail explicitly denied the follower of the ma'qulāt and he was staunch follower of the study of hadīth and Quran. Men like, Khairabadi was interested in the manqulāt especially logic, philosophy, and rational sciences. For instance, in this case of the issue Prophet Muhammad's ontological status is concerned, both sides argued along their preferred lines of religious scholarship i.e., *manqulāt* versus *ma'qulāt*. Fadl-I Haqq as one might have already guessed, appeared as an ardent advocate of the rational sciences, arguing in a philosophical manner against the possibility of a peer, whereas Shah Ismail strongly emphasized the omnipotence of God, and thus, His generally able to create a peer to the Prophet Muhammad²²². Moreover, Shah Ismail categorically endorsed the Asharites. He based his reasoning on a hadīth in which the Prophet denigrated people who indulge in their own theories instead of relying on God. Some of them end up, becoming atheists, other heretics and polytheists²²³.

Allama Khairabadi and Shah Ismail Shahid on the Nature of God:

Khairabadi was ardent advocate of the rational sciences and metaphysics of being. He was staunch follower of Ibn al'-Arabi ontology, came to known as '*wahdat al-wujūd*' (unity of being). He believed that Islamic sciences were compatible with modern sciences. Indeed, he applied rationalist method in his literary works and he interpreted the unity of being based on the reason and rational sciences ('aql, ma'qulāt)²²⁴. Khairabadi perhaps was the first theologian in South Asia, who interpreted the reality of unity of being in the line of Ibn Sina. He wanted to prove metaphysics of being with the foundational support of philosophical line and it was the

²²⁰ Metcalf, *Revival of Islam*, 1984, 100.

²²¹ Ibid, 38.

²²² Jan-Peter Hartung, "*Abused Rationality? - On the role of ma'quli scholars in the events of 1857/8*". In *Mutiny at the Margins: New Perspectives on the Indian Uprising of 1857*, ed. Crispin Bates & Marina Carter, New Delhi: Sage, 2017.

²²³ Ayesha Jalal. *Partitions of Allah jihad in South Asia*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008, 79.

²²⁴ Al-aql is literal meaning which implies the reason, rationality, intellect or intelligence. The opposite meaning of aql is stupidity or foolishness. In other words, aql implies the intellectual capacity to understand the evidence of factual knowledge received or discovered in any information or message. Generally, aql always makes a distinction between wisdom and folly, which is the ability in man to be guided by the rule of wisdom. The philosophers and rationalists often classified the "reason or "intellect". Ma'qulāt consists of rational sciences, including, logic, mathematics and philosophy. On the other hand, manqulūt comprises traditional knowledge including, Hadīth, Qur'anic tafsīr, and Prophetic tradition, see, Shabbir Ahmed Usmani. *Al-aql w Naql*, Lahore: Idarah Islamiyat.

main reason number of theologians dissented with him. They adduced that the mode of interpretation of metaphysics of being is contrary to the reason (*ma'qulāt* versus *manqulūt*) and this theological controversy always existed within Islamicate society.

Khairabadi, who was defender of reason and theological rationalism, and was inspired Ibn-Sina (Avicenna) by the ideas of cosmology and unity of being, and borrowed the concept of necessary (*wajib*), possible (*mumkin*), and impossible (*na-mumkin*) from him and applied them to his works²²⁵.

Allama Fadl-I Haq Khairabadi held that the reality of God is absolute existence. He sees that the reality of *wajib ul-wujūd* is absolute being and therefore God is obligatory and may not be possible and may not be obliged to. The existence of God and absolute existence is obligatory and absolute existence is the incumbent to necessity²²⁶. For Allama Fadl-e Haq Khairabadi, 'the necessary is that whose existence is absolute reality and their deployment is possible. But it is clear that *wajib* is *wajib* and *mumkin* is *mumkin* and absolute truth is necessary. His existence in itself confirms the truth of witness and He is free from any restrictions and deployment²²⁷'. He defended that there is a possibility of *wujūd* in the universe but only one *wajib al-wujūd*, apart from Him, there is no *wujūd*. However, there is only one *wujūd* in reality and this means that of *wahdat al-wujūd* (Unity of being).

Individual like Shah Ismail Shahid held that oneness of God, and the God is alone, perfect and independent. He is free from any need and there is no identical to Him. He is the One, in times of distress (situations) is called upon. He is the omnipotent and all powerful and He is the supreme

²²⁵ In order to understand the Khairabadi metaphysics of being, have to understand the idea of necessary, possible and impossible. For him, the necessary is that whose existence is absolute Being, and possibilities of truth His boundaries and nature. Wherefore, the necessary is that whose existence is not possible, and the necessary is that whose existence cannot be possible. The necessary is that whose existence is absolute Being and the necessary is that whose existence also for the sake of absolute Being. And possible is fixed and there is possibility for fixed. All Muslims agree that God's very reality is one. Controversy arises because the word *wujūd* is also employed for the "existence" of things and the world. According to critics, *wahdat al-wujūd* allows for no distinction between the existence of God and that of the world. Defenders point out that Ibn al-Arabi and his followers offer a subtle metaphysics following the line of the Ash 'rite formula: "the attributes are neither God nor other than God". God's "signs" (*ayat*) and traces (*athar*) - the creatures -are both the neither same as God nor different from him, because God must be understood as both absent and present, both transcendent and immanent, William C. Chittick. "*Wahdat al-wujūd*". Encyclopedia.com, <https://www.encyclopedia.com/religion/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/wahdat-al-wujud>.

²²⁶ Allama Fadl-I Khairabadi. *Al-roz al- maujūd fi-tahqīq wah-datul-wujūd*, Lahore: Maktab Qadriya, translated by Mahmūd Ahmed Barkati from Arabic to Urdu.

²²⁷ Ibid.

authority over everything. If any of these qualities are ascribed to any other entity other than God, it is known as *shirk*, even if such an entity is regarded as inferior to God or is reckoned to be a creature or slave of God²²⁸. Apart from this, he emphasized that all such beings and entities like a prophet, saints, jinn, and Satan shall all be treated equally in this matter, and whoever believes them as Divine powers, acts as polytheism²²⁹.

Allama Fad-I-Haqq Khairabadi and Shah Ismail Shahid on Muhammad's Ontological Status:

Taqwiyyat al-Iman' is one of the most famous books written by Shah Ismail Shahid, though it is a small treatise whose purpose in order to send a message to correct practices of Islam and also to obey an ideal rule for the guidance of the faithful. The book is written in an awe-inspiring and tremendous style. They may certainly conform to the Quran and Hadith. The book had greatly enhanced the value of the contents and has given them a dignity. The book was composed in Delhi of an earlier than 1240/1823, but its exact date of composition is not known. The original script written in Urdu and it was planned to include an introduction and two chapters, but he was expired suddenly before completing the whole book. This original portion of the book has been translated into English as well by Mir Shahamat Ali²³⁰. In the preface of the Taqwiyyat Iman Maulana Shah Ismail, he expressed in his opinion that the wise and learned man can understand the word of God. God himself said a prophet had been raised up among the ruse and ignorant for their instruction, and that He, the Lord, had rendered obedience easy²³¹. In the first chapter of this book, Ismail narrated the ideal rule and correct practices of Islam. The main portion of the book, Ismail treats of the unity of God, and in it, the author depicts the supplication of saints, angels, etc, as the immoral form of practices in Islam. He provides specific reasons given for such kind worship to be meaningless, and show the ignorance of the God's word God. God is alone, and he has no one; prostration and worship are due to Him, and not for any other²³². The subject of this book, Shah Ismail Shahid emphasized the importance of the Prophet as human

²²⁸ Shah Ismail Shahid, *Taqwiyyat al-Iman*,

²²⁹ Ibid,

²³⁰ Mir Shahamat Ali, *The Taqwiyyat Iman*,

²³¹ Muhammad Baqir. "A Warrior Scholar of the Nineteenth century". In *Aspects of Shah Ismail Shahid: Essays on His Literary Political & Religious Activities*, ed. Abdullah Butt, Lahore: Qaumi Kutub Khana, 1943, 47.

²³² Ibid, 48.

model rather than as a source of miracles or a mere conduit of revelation²³³. The publication of *Taqwiyyat al-Iman* soon created a stir among the circle of the learned doctor of religion. It was considered a bombshell on the self-coined and age-old practice, which were all aflame to hear²³⁴. Allama Fadl-I Haqq Khairabadi was first rationalist scholar in South Asia, who objected seriously to the assertion of the Shah Ismail Shahid's book '*Taqwiyyat al-Iman*' that God had the power to create another prophet like Muhammad²³⁵. According to Khairabadi, it was a sacrilege to make such a statement. Shah Ismail Shahid very clearly responded to the objection of the Khairabadi and cited a Quranic verse in which God evidently revealed that if He wanted; he could create another like them (human beings). Khairabadi had raised three objections to a statement made on the matter of the nature of God. The objection made by Khairabadi, to say that God was powerful to create another man like Prophet Muhammad, the Holy Prophet, it was wrong. And uttering such thing it would be matter of sacrilege and it is absurd. It was not impossible in itself for God to lie, about possibility and impossibility of peer of the Prophet Muhammad. Shah Ismail Shahid the opinion that it is impossible alike the last of Prophet ('*mumkin-bilzāt*') and it is possible in itself ('*mumtena-bilghair*') and it is not impossible in itself ('*mumtena-bilzāt*')²³⁶. This means that the God cannot create alike last Prophet, because it is contrary to the Prophet's seal. This does not mean that God does not desire to create the Prophet Muhammad alike, but God has omnipotent to produce the similar Prophet. Whereas, Allama Fadl-I Haqq Khairabadi postulated that creating alike Prophet is impossible in itself (*mumtena-bilzāt*'). And the ways God cannot create His own resemble, and likewise the God cannot make the same the last of the Prophet. In other words, the explanation of the problem is whether God can create another Prophet identical the Prophet Muhammad. For Allāma Khairabadi, it is impossible to create Prophet alike the Prophet Muhammad. It is absurd (*mūhāl*) and impossible (*mumtina*). This is not under the omnipotence. Otherwise, it will deny the last Prophet because the Quran has mentioned the number of times about the seal of the Prophet and it will associate the God's lie. In contrast, Shah Ismail expressed his opinion in book *Taqwiyyat al-Iman* the possibility of a peer of the Prophet. In other words, he held that it is possible for God to create a

²³³Barbara D. Metcalf. "The *Taqwiyyat al-Iman* (Support of the Faith) by Shah Ismail Shahid". In *Islam in South Asia in Practice*, ed. Barbara D. Metcalf, Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2009, 201-11.

²³⁴ Muhammad Baqir. "A Warrior Scholar of the Nineteenth century". In *Aspects of Shah Ismail Shahid: Essays on His Literary Political & Religious Activities*, ed. Abdullah Butt, Lahore: Qaumi Kutub Khana, 1943, 48.

²³⁵ Barbara D. Metcalf. *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900*, 1982, 65.

²³⁶ This means that it is impossible for one thing. Combining opposite qualities,

prophet similar the Prophet Muhammad. On other hand, Allama Khairabadi held that the impossibility of a peer of the Prophet Muhammad and the God is impossible to create a Prophet alike the Prophet Muhammad. Maulana Ismail, unlike Khairabadi, has very calmly and studiously upheld his statement giving quotations from the Quran and hadis as his authorities. Khairabadi, although not satisfied by his risala, was completely silenced after its publication²³⁷. Khairabadi wrote a short manuscript entitled ‘*Taqrīr Aitejarat Bar Taqwiyyat al-Iman*’, stoutly rejected the argument of Shah Ismail Shahid, where he argued that it is impossible for God to create another prophet like the Prophet Muhammad. He continued, If we accept that it is possible, then lying to God is necessary and lying to God is impossible and absurd (*mūhal*). On the other Shah Ismail wrote a short treatise ‘*Risala-e-Yak Rūza*²³⁸’ to respond the Allama Khairabadi, where Shah Ismail defended his argument with the omnipotence and argued that the possibility of a peer of the Prophet Muhammad. Even Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who not only defended the argument of Shah Ismail Shahid, but also blamed Allama Khairabadi for this controversy and he cogently argued that it was ordinary and nonsensical problem, and relate to a labyrinthine matter²³⁹. On the other hand, the friend and family tradition of Khairabadi, including Mufti Sadr al-Din Āzurda Dehlvi (d. 1285/1868)²⁴⁰ and Shah Fadl-I Rasūl Badaun (d. 1289/1872) defended the argument of Khairabadi.

Individual like, Shah Fadl-I Rasūl Badaun, who issued an infidelity fatwa against the Shah Ismail to reject the ‘*Taqwiyyat al-Iman*’, and later compiled a complete form entitled, ‘*Tahqīq al-Fatāwá fi ibtal al-tagw`a*’ and signed by number of apologists containing, Maulana Said

²³⁷ Muhammad Baqir. “A Warrior Scholar of the Nineteenth century”. In *Aspects of Shah Ismail Shahid: Essays on His Literary Political & Religious Activities*, ed. Abdullah Butt, Lahore: Qaumi Kutub Khana, 1943.

²³⁸ Risala Yak-Rozi (one dayer), is a short treatise in which Allama Fadl-i-Haqq Khairabadi’s objections on his book *Taqwiyyat al-Iman* have been answered. While Shah Ismail Shahid was on his way to the mosque to perform his prayer, he received the letter of Khairabadi. Immediately after offering his prayer, he sat down to write an answer to it and finished it in one stroke. That is why it has taken named Yak Rozi, see Shah Ismail Shahid, *Taqwiyyat al-Iman*, translated

²³⁹ Atiq Siddiqui. *Ghalib aur Abul Kalam*, Delhi: Maktaba Sahirah,

²⁴⁰ Mufti Sadr al-Din Āzurda, was born in Delhi, his ancestor belong Kashmiri origin, settled in Delhi in Akbar reign. He received primary education from his own father, and in the field of rational science and logic was obtained from Fadl-i- Imam Khairabadi, whereas hadith studies under the Shah Abdul Qadir. Both Allama Fadl-i- Haqq Khairabadi and Mufti Sadr al-Din Āzurda was the fellow-student of the Fadl-i- Imam Khairabadi, they used to take a lesson on logic and philosophy to Fadl-i- Imam Khairabadi. Mufti Āzurda served the post of chief justice in Delhi through the East India Company, which was the highest position received for the Indians by the British government. Mufti was not only close friend of Allama but also he has close friendship with Mirza Ghalib. The 1857 revolt Mufti also sent jailed and wrote many books, see, Maulana Mohd Miyan. *Ulamae Hind Ka Shandar Mazi*, Lahore: Jamiyat Publications, 2005, 813-7.

Naqshbandi, Maulana Makhsus Allah Dehlvi and Mufti Sadr al-Din Āzurda Dehlvi, brought into public sphere in the 1240/1825. On the other hand, the student of Shah Ismail, Maulana Syed Haider Ali, who defended the argument of Shah Ismail and he (Tonki d.1272/1865) wrote a thin book on ‘*Kalām al-Fazil al-Kabīr al`a Ahal al-Takfīr*’(p.1269/1853) in order to response and defend the Shah Ismail position and vociferously discarded the argument of Shah Fadl-I Badaun. In response to Tonki, Shah Fadl-I Rasūl Badaun wrote a *risala* in Persian language on entitled, ‘*Takbiyat al-Najdi*’ in defense of Allama Fadl-I Haqq²⁴¹. Shah Fadl-I Rasūl Badaun, who wrote more than one dozen book to reject the argument of Shah Ismail, namely, ‘*Saif al-Jabbar*’, ‘*Al-bawariq al-Muhammadiya*’, ‘*Fauz al-mominin*’, *Ehqaq-I haqq*, *Fasl al-khitaab*, and *Al-mu`taqid al- mushqid* and etc. Afterward, a fatwa signed by Fadl-I-Haq Khairabadi and other leading ulema denounced Shah Ismail as an infidel who deserved to be executed for apostasy. Anyone, supporting him was also an infidel, guilty of insulting the Holy Prophet²⁴². Allama Khairabadi used his official position to try to curb Shah Ismail’s “Wahhabi” activities, even before the start of the jihad movement²⁴³.

The series of counterargument and counteraccusation was not restricted between Shah Ismail and Allama Khairabadi but also brought attention to the theologians and poet, including Mirza Ghalib, and Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Ashraf Ali Thanvi and Rashid Ahmed Gangohi, etc. Mirza Ghalib (d.1285/1869) the famous Urdu poet, who wrote poetry against the Allama Khairabadi. Fadl-I-Haq, enlisted the help of Ghalib, his close friend, and disciple, in exposing Shah Ismail’s fallacy. Showing his independence of mind, Ghalib did not fully endorse his mentor and certainly refrained from saying that God did not have the power to create another Muhammad. When taken to task for the lapse, he simply added verses stating that God had the power to create many new words and therefore as many Muhammad’s. Mirza Ghalib wholeheartedly considered Shah Ismail Shahid a paragon of intellectual beauty and majesty and clearly missed his presence in Delhi. On other hand, his close friendship with Allama Fadl-I-Haq Khairabadi, who thought that Shah Ismail and Sayyid Ahmad were leading their followers up the garden path, occasionally led Ghalib to express his skepticism. But he could not forget the

²⁴¹ M. A. Barkati. *Safar aur Talash*. Karachi: Majlis Matbuat w Tahqeeqat.

²⁴² Ayesha Jalal. *Partitions of Allah jihad in South Asia*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008, 80-81.

²⁴³ Ibid, 80-81.

experience of having had a friend like Shah Ismail and because of him, was mesmerized by Sayyid Ahmad's personality²⁴⁴.

Individuals like Ashraf Ali Thanvi and Rashid Ahmed Gangohi were stoutly rejected the argument made by the Allama Fadl-I-Khairabadi on regarding the Muhammad's ontological status, but also they wrote extensively that the God can create another prophet similar to Prophet Muhammad. Rashid Ahmed Gangohi also argued that it was within the power of God to create another Prophet like Muhammad, he also opined that God can, if He so desires, utter a falsehood though He does not do so²⁴⁵. On other hand, Ahmad Raza Khan, Maulana Naimuddin Moradabadi, the predecessors and disciples of Allama Fadl-I Haqq Khairabadi and Shah Fadl-I Rasūl Badaun, wrote a books and pamphlets (*risalas*) to refute the argument '*Taqwiyyat al-Iman*'. Maulana Syed Naimuddin Moradabadi (b.1300/1887) was disciple of Ahmad Raza Khan Barelwi and followed the path of Ahmad Raza Khan Barelwi. He was in fact, one of the closest disciple of Ahmad Raza, and debater of his times. He compiled number of books and translated the '*Kanz al-Iman*' by Ahmad Raza in Urdu. His original plan was to write an Islamic constitution for Pakistan, which he deserted because he got sick and later, died at the age of sixty-one (d.1367/1948). His closeness of Ahmad Raza, for instance, emerge as the defender of Barelwi Islam and an admirer of Sunni orthodox traditionalist theologians like Abdul Haqq Muhaddis Dehlvi, Allama Fadl-I Rasūl Badaun, Fadl-I Haqq Khairabadi, and Ahmad Raza, etc. Maulana Naimuddin Moradabadi not only defended the Ahmad Raza position on the nature of God and Prophet but also wrote a book on '*Attayyab al-bayan fi-radd taqwiyyat al-Iman*'²⁴⁶ and rejected the argument of Shah Ismail Shahid. These argument and counteraccusation of two sides-one for arguing for the possibility of per se and other for possibility of God's lying and of another Muhammad ultimately contributed to the crystallization of the Deobandi and Barelwi movement in South Asia²⁴⁷.

II. Understanding Barelwi Movement:

²⁴⁴ Ibid, 111.

²⁴⁵ I.H Qureshi. *Ulema in Politics: A Study relating to the Political activities of the Ulema in the South-Asian Subcontinent from 1556-1947*, Delhi: Renaissance Publishing House, 1985, 223.

²⁴⁶ Maulana Naimuddin Moradabadi. *Attayyab al-Bayan Fi Radd Taqwiyyat al-Iman, Arawaal: Arakeen Jamaat Raza-I-Mushtafa*, 1999.

²⁴⁷ Asad Q. Ahmed & Reza Pourjavady. "*Theology in the Indian subcontinent*". In *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology*, ed. Sabine Schmedtke, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016, 615.

Why did South Asia create a large number of religious movements? Did the internal change due to adoption of western modernity, colonialism or decline of political sovereignty? Why reform movements emerged and why movements were developed at the end of the nineteenth century. The historians observed that the eighteenth century marks a significant moment of internal change and often viewed as a “dark age” in the history of Islamic societies²⁴⁸. In 1857 there was a war of mutiny or war of rebellion in which Indian Muslims brutally defeated by British army and that effectively ended Muslim political sovereignty in India²⁴⁹. One may look at the time losing political power decline. Paradoxically, the loss of political sovereignty led to greater intensification and formative intellectual thought in the late 18th century. The religious reformers in the eighteenth and nineteenth century were encouraged internal reform as a response to British rule of India²⁵⁰. They held that challenge to existing institutions, practices, and traditions were more crucial and responses to them were more diverse²⁵¹. Colonialism was itself the product of fundamental, social, political, intellectual and technological transformation in the West, and the colonial rule was the medium through which new ideas, institutions, and forms of knowledge based on these transformations confronted Muslims. The wave of modernism traveled through colonialism. Afterward, colonialism created two trends in Muslim society. The first group that is the *ulama* did not adopt the western modernism and continued practices of *taqlid* to their predecessors and Imams in the religious matters. So that in order to maintain unity in the society, and continue practices of Islamic tradition. On the contrary to this movement, there was another group, who believed that rejecting modernity means adopting backwardness. With the result that modernists accepted where political, social and economic change is necessary as well as it is also necessary to accept the interpretation and exegesis of religion in the context of the situation. These two trends have created two classes in Muslim society, one that is under the influence of traditionalists’ *ulama* and the other modern educated classes who wanted to see Islam under a new shape of development, so that one side preserves their creed and belief and on the other side, can adopt modernity. In other words, modernists, who were not ill-disposed to the western world, and believe that its political systems, scientific and technological advances and

²⁴⁸ John Obert Voll. *Islam: Continuity and Change in the modern world*, Colorado: Westview Press, 1982, 33.

²⁴⁹ Barbara D. Metcalf. *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900*, 7-8.

²⁵⁰ Usha Sanyal. *Ahmed Raza Khan Bareilly: in the Path of the Prophet*, Oxford: One world, 2005, 19.

²⁵¹ Mohammad Qasim Zaman. *The Ulama in Contemporary Islam: Custodian of Change*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002, 12.

educational methods should be used to resuscitates Muslim society. They said that these aspects of Western civilization are in line with the spirit of Islam²⁵².

As far as is related to the process of change, whether religious, social and political are always takes place in the society. But the change in society does not like every class of people. In particularity, the religious organization and ulama, always see the change as the negative meaning in Deen (religion) and for that reason, the original form of religion get worsens and metamorphosed. Therefore, the continuing resistance among religious groups against the social and religious change, and which appear in the form of resistance, mutiny, and reform movement. These trends can be explains in different ways, for instance, sometimes movement to revive an idea of correct practices of Islam and sometimes resistance against the modernity in the society. For instance, the ulama and scholars began to take serious in the 19th century, how should reform Islam and Muslim society in new condition of colonialism. Why different ulama and Muslim scholars desire to invested in reforming Islam. What reform meant them varied considerably? After that, leads different kind of debates, polemics, and differences among ulama and scholars. These different movements of reform, that emerged among the learned elite class or scholarly class, Muslims of India in the late nineteenth century. Afterward, what is known as *masalik* or *maslak*?²⁵³The purpose of the reform movements is to return correct practices of Islam, which has blended the ritual and customs with the Islamic tradition.

Islah and Tajdīd:

The word *islah* appeared in Arabic, Persian, and Urdu, which means that to restore the original form of Islam as exemplified in the life of the Prophet Muhammad. The basic root of this

²⁵² Ron Geaves, who defines Moderate Islam 'post'-September 11 ?, p, 65.

²⁵³ What is *maslak*, Ibrahim Moosa defined the *maslak*, The word derives from the term "virtuous" conduct (*sulūk*)- an expression frequently used by Muslim mystics. Virtuous conduct, at least one sense of it. Means to act according to certain rules or standards (normatively). Another sense of a *maslak* is that of a story: a compelling narrative justifies the religious practices adopted. And this story is further validated because it conforms to the correct of version of Islamic history. In other words, *maslak* is a keyword that describes how an institutional memory of virtues conduct is constructed, sustained and cherished by folk who follow tradition. Counterpoint too is an essential element of a tradition-based life. The *maslak* as a narrative continuously harmonizes and readings the present with some continuous logic of the past. Traditional practices see it as their highest goal to find a precedent or analogy- no matter how slender-in past practices or in the lives of the pious ancestors in order to thread the continuity of reasoning from the past with new conditions. See, Ibrahim Moosa. *What is Madrasa*, University of North Carolina Press, 1995. 20.

transitive verb` is “*salah*” an intransitive verb which is derived from its masdar “*salah*”. Ali-Muslehi writes;

“*Islāh*, as an Islamic concept, is a human corrective task in which any state of *fasād* is correctly changed into its opposite desired state which meets the Islamic criteria presented in the Quran and /or exemplified in the Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad.....and by *fasād* it is meant a state of loss of the benefit of a thing, inexcusable detriment, or unjustified deviation from a moderate norm”²⁵⁴.

Tajdīd is usually translated as “renewal” and *Islāh* as “reform”. Both concepts reflect a continuing tradition of revitalization of Islamic faith and practice within the historic communities of Muslims. *Islāh* and *tajdīd* have always involved a call for a return to the basic fundamental of Islam as presented in the Quran, Hadīth, and Sunna of the Prophet. He is reported to have said that “God will send to his Ummah (the Muslim community) at the head of each century those who will renew its faith for it”²⁵⁵. As Francis Robinson put it, ‘for the majority of Muslims today, Islamic renewal in some shape or other has helped to mould the inner and outer realities of their lives’²⁵⁶. For Barelwis thus, was a reform (*islāh and tajdīd*)²⁵⁷ movement aimed to create in an existing society or community of Muslims the moral climate thought to have existed at the time of Prophet Muhammad²⁵⁸. In other words, Barelwi movement was the traditionist Sunni movement emphasized upon Islamic values and to revive and reform the correct practices of Islam and intended as a return to the path of Prophet Muhammad. The movement had its origin in the late 19th century with the founding member of the Ahmad Raza. But the origin of the Barelwi movement traced back to the controversy and contestation with the argument between Allama Fadl-I Khairabadi and Shah Ismail Shahid regarding the nature of God and possibility and impossibility of peer of the prophet Muhammad. The specific difference about ‘creed’ and

²⁵⁴ Mohamed Abu-Bakr Ali-Muslehi. *Al-Ghazali an Islamic reform (Muslih): An Evolution Study of the Attempts of the Imam Abu Hamid al-Ghazali at Islamic Reform (Islāh)*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis: The University of Birmingham, 2006, 30.

²⁵⁵ John O. Voll. Renewal and Reform in Islamic History: *Tajdīd and Islāh*, in *Voices of Resurgent Islam* ed. John L. Esposito, New York: Oxford University, 32-33.

²⁵⁶ Francis Robinson, Islamic Reform and Modernity’s in South Asia, *Modern South Asian Studies*, 42, 2/3,2008

²⁵⁷ Here should not confuse the term reform in Islamic context with the ‘reformation’ in the Christian sense of restructuring of ecclesiastical authority or ‘reformation’ of the Islamic message and it not confuse what Robinson used the term, reformed process was a willed faith a protestant faith, faith of conscience and conviction, he refers to the Islamic protestant and Christian Protestant and it is not applicable in the context of the Barelwi movement, see, Francis Robinson, Islamic Reform and Modernity’s in South Asia, *Modern Asian Studies*, (42) 2/3,2008, 269.

²⁵⁸ Usha Sanyal, *Devotional Islam and Politics in British India: Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi and His Movement, 1870-1920*, Delhi: Yoda Press, 2010, 11.

‘belief’ existed before the Barelwi movement. But it was not serious concern and there was no *maslaki* group among Muslims. However, the problems of the interpretation were the principles and fundamentals of Islam. The difference aroused between the Barelwi and ‘other’ was the main causes of the mode of interpretation of Muhammad’s ontological status, and in which Barelwis claim themselves that Deoband School belittled the image of the Prophet.

Barelwi movement, whose main purpose and objective to revive the tradition of the Islamic past and past itself indicates the golden age of Islam. The movement derived its thought and action from the Prophetic tradition and that tradition has invigorated the Barelwi movement which led the utopian view of Islamic state and Islamic governance. Barelwi ulama did not invent new ‘tradition’ in religion; rather they elaborated traditional approaches to the Islamic tradition of the past. Tradition understood by Barelwi ulama more broadly in terms of what Hobsbawm coined the term ‘invention of tradition’. Inventing tradition Hobsbawm put it is essentially a process of formalization and ritualization, characterized by reference to the past²⁵⁹. The invention of tradition occurs in all times and places but as Hobsbawm indicates “we should expect it to occur more frequently when a rapid transformation of society weakens or destroys the social patterns for which ‘old’ traditions had been designed, producing new ones to which they were not applicable, or when such old traditions and their institutional carriers and promulgators no longer prove sufficiently adaptable and flexible or otherwise eliminated”²⁶⁰. Tradition is often contrasted with modernity and seen as its contrary. Tradition is often connotes a static, irrational and culturally monolithic past, while modern implies a dynamic, rational and culturally pluralistic present²⁶¹. As Eickelman & Piscatori remind us that, tradition is often a profound vehicle for evolutionary and revolutionary change²⁶². But the Muslim and non-Muslim alike tend to take at face value the ideological claim by some Muslims that key elements of Islamic tradition are fixed. Indeed, the idea of tradition is profoundly conditioned by the central role played by both founding text and prophetic example, just as Muslim consider the Quran the direct word of God, to be immutable, the hadīth (saying) and actions of the Prophet Muhammad are regarded as

²⁵⁹ Eric Hobsbawm. “Introduction: Inventing Tradition”. In *The invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm & Terence Ranger, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, 4.

²⁶⁰ Ibid, 5-6.

²⁶¹ Richard C. Martin, Mark R. Woodward & Dwi S. Atmaja. *Defender of Reason in Islam: Mu`tazilism and Rational Theology from Medieval school to modern Symbol*, Oneworld, 1997, 14.

²⁶² Dale F. Eickelman & James Piscatori. *Muslim Politics*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996, 25.

template for action in the present²⁶³. Marilyn Robinson Waldman reminiscent of tradition should see as a modality of change²⁶⁴. In case of the Barelwi movement, the tradition has played a broad role in reviving the Islamic tradition and it also reviving the Islam's true practices.

Initiatives aimed of the Barelwi movement were affirmation of what Lapidus called the 'Sunni-Sharia-Sufi syntheses'—relied on the scriptural sources of Islam including Quran, hadīth and Islamic law and Sufism that constitutes the mainstream of Sunni Islam²⁶⁵. The basic objective of the Barelwi movement as aforementioned- construction a moral society, emphasized return to the Quran and the teaching of the Prophet Muhammad at least in the theory. The movement in the late nineteenth century does not embrace any of the ideals of the western enlightenment, but the Barelwi School of ulama has given priority to the reason and rational (*aql*). The movement did not call modernize their Muslim society, even they did not accept the modernization theory from the west, but Barelwis' wanted their '*tajdīd*' and '*islāh*' within the cultural and Islamic tradition under knowledge of Quran Hadīth and tradition. In other words, the movement wanted to revitalize dignity and self-respect to Muslim in the political field and revive and return to correct practices in religious field. Ahmad Raza also shared the concern of the reformers for disseminating instruction in the performance of religious obligations. The role of the ulama, he said, was to act in accord with the *sharīāt* and to teach Muslims their duties. Ahmad Raza's position on various points was bolstered by an armory of erudition²⁶⁶.

Ahmad Raza Khan Barelwi (d.1340/1921) was the founder of the Barelwi movement and received the title mujaddid (reformer) in Patna²⁶⁷. Shortly thereafter, his disciples and Khalifas joined this movement including Syed Naimuddin Moradabadi (d.1367/1948), Syed Ahmed Kichauchwī (d.1380/1961), and Ahmad Raza's son Hamid Raza Khan Barelwi (d.1362/1943). The movement was started in the Rohelkhand region, and its headquarters were in several parts

²⁶³ Ibid, 28

²⁶⁴ Marilyn Robinson Waldman. "Tradition as a Modality of Change: Islamic Examples". *History of Religions*, 25, No. 4, 1986, 318-340.

²⁶⁵ IRA M. Lapidus. "Islamic Revival and Modernity: The Contemporary Movements and the Historical Paradigm", 448.

²⁶⁶ Metcalf, 1982, 304.

²⁶⁷ Usha Sanyal. *Devotional Islam and Politics in British India: Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi and His Movement, 1880-1920*, New Delhi: Yoda Press, 2010, *Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi in the Path of the Prophet*, Oxford: Oneworld Publication, 2005, Mohd Shabir Naseem Bastavi, *Ala-Hazrat Barelwi*, Lahore: Maktaba Nabuiyyah, 1976, Syed Mohammad Farooq Al-Qari, *Fazil Barelwi aur Umūr-e-Bidat*, Lahore: Raza Publications, 2009,

of India, including Delhi, Rampur, Pilibhit, Badaun, Bareilly, and Marharra. The main leaders of this movement were originally from the Ashraf class, mainly Pathan, Syed, and Usmani. They were the landlords, Sufi Shaikhs and Pirs in their regions. Over time, popular religious culture was gradually evolving and in which the status of Pir and Sufi order was gained important position. Sajjadah Nishins have continued to maintain mystical order in their dargah and Khanqah. There were also a practices of veneration and spiritual concentration and distributed the relics of saints, in which, turban, wooden sandal, and people perform ziyarat and received reward of virtues. There was longing or desire to meet people in the dargah and used to provide special amulet to the people. There was an annual urs at the dargah, on the occasion the followers used to celebrate the urs. Other than this, celebrating the Qawwali program and followers attended in the condition of ecstasy and fervor was a customary practice. Even they have given importance Prophet Muhammad's birthday, the recitation of the Holy Quran, poetry and preaching (*va.aj*) in the praise of Prophet Muhammad. Ulama who are against the popular practices in the religion who were concerned about the correct practices in Islam, and led movement to revive an idea which was unnecessary ritual and customary practices which were blended with Islamic traditions. Barelwi ulama were the defender of practices of Prophet Muhammad in Islam. When Ahmad Raza, the correct practice of Islam, in which popular practices became part of Islam, he led the movement against these rituals and customary practices.

Ahmad Raza Khan Barelwi (b.1272/1856) was born in Sunni family in city of Bareilly, Uttar Pradesh. His family migrated from the Afghanistan in search of employment in the Mughal court and finally settled in Bareilly city. Ahmad Raza was ardent follower of the Abdul Qadir Jilani, affiliated to mystical orders, primarily the Sufi Qadri order. Being Mufti and expert in Quranic hermeneutics, he was utterly familiar with philosophy of revelation and rational sciences and admirer of Sunni orthodox religious scholars, such as Abdul Haqq Muhaddis Dehlvi, Allama Fadl-I Haqq Khairabadi, and Shah Fadl-I Rasul Badaun and so on. His grandfather, Maulana Raza Ali Khan was particularly distinguished for his skill in the family's great specialty of fiqh and for his piety. His son Maulavi Taqi Ali Khan (d.1880), a prolific writer, was known more for his intellectual endeavors, above all for his opposition to the reformers. He wrote a refutation of

the *Taqwiyyat Iman* and published in 1876, a work on *imkan-I nazir*²⁶⁸. His family adhered to the tradition of *ma'qulāt* studies tied with the ulama of Badaun and Khairabad specialists in the rationalist studies²⁶⁹, rather than the hadīth scholarship (*manqulāt*) emphasized by the Shah Wali-Allah family in Delhi²⁷⁰. Zafaruddin Bihari, the biographer of Ahmad Raza noted that the Nawab of Rampur had suggested Ahmad Raza's study the logic ((standard text of the *dares-Nizami* syllabus) under Abdul-Haqq²⁷¹. He had complete mastery over the knowledge of mathematics, space-time, and philosophy of religion. Ahmad Raza wrote more than fifty books and about one thousand booklets, and commentaries, and his works are considered scientific excellence and trustworthy witnesses for Barelwi School. It is important to note that, Ahmad Raza has completed modern sciences at the age of fourteen and he started fatwa writing in early age. He received all branches of knowledge under his father Maulana Naqi Ali Khan. Ahmad Raza acquired primary education under the guidance of Sunni Barelwi alim Mirza Gulam Qadir Beg and in mathematics under the Maulana Abdul Ali Rampuri and he also received additional knowledge in the field of mathematics and science under the Syed Shah Abdul-al Hussain Ahmed. Ahmad Raza, throughout life, never received any training in madrasa, and school; in fact, he never traveled outside of Bareilly city for education and training. Therefore, the biographer noted that Ahmad Raza was knowledge 'inspired knowledge'²⁷². He translated the Quran into Urdu, compiled by his Khalifa and the pupil mufti Amjad Ali Azmi. As Zafaruddin Bihari noted that the book '*Kanzal-Iman*', a repository of the knowledge in itself and a strong passionate love for the Prophet Muhammad and the book line by line it reflects the status and maqām (spiritual experience) of the real picture of Ahmad Raza²⁷³. His translation refers to the Holy Quran, the masterpiece of the Urdu language and literature on the one hand; on the other hand, it cogently demonstrates the correct interpretation of the Quran.

Ahmad Raza Khan Barelwi and Sufism:

Shortly thereafter, Ahmad Raza received discipleship (*bait*) from his erstwhile teacher and Sufi, Syed Aāl Rasool from Marharra Sharif. In 1294/1877, when Ahmad Raza and his father Maulana

²⁶⁸Barbara D. Metcalf. *Islamic Revival in British India*, 1982, 298.

²⁶⁹ Ibid, 298.

²⁷⁰ Usha Sanyal. *Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi: In the Path of the Prophet*, Oxford: Oneworld Publication, 2005, 59-60.

²⁷¹ Ibid, 60.

²⁷² Zafaruddin Bihari. *Hayat Ala-Hazrat*.

²⁷³ Ibid,

Naqi Ali Khan, went to receive the Khilafat. Syed Aāl Rasool honored Ahmad Raza and took the oath of allegiance from Marharra Sharif. Once Syed Aāl Rasool heir apparent grandson and Khalifa Abu Al-Hussain Ahmed Nūri requested to him, Huzoor, here provides Khilafat after continue spiritual exercise (*riyādāt*), self-discipline (*mujahada*), how they were given now. He explained that, “and people here come with dirty, filthy and contaminated heart. There is a need spiritual exercise (*riyādāt*), self-discipline (*mujahada*) for purification. Ahmad Raza came here with purifying, refining heart and he did not need any spiritual exercise and self-discipline. He needed only spiritual attachment which was obtained after taking an oath of allegiance to Qadri’s order”²⁷⁴.

The religious belief of Ahmad Raza was principally complied with the Sufis, theologians, and company of the beloved of the Prophet. It is remembered that religious belief is not only known as perception and imagination but is also known as a good deed. But the special deed is heart. For Ahmad Raza, basic premise of Sufism is the purgation, heart (*qalb*), and obedience of shariah. He is not distinguished between tariqa (Sufi path) and shariah (law), he sees tariqa is the tantamount to Sufism, and tariqa is the mystical path, who follows in the path of Prophet Muhammad. Ahmad Raza explained about *tasawwuf* (Sufism) that the tough station (*maqām*) in Sufism that is accounting for inner development in the self. In the practice of Sufism, he followed the path of Prophet Muhammad, Abdul Qadri Jilani, and Syed Aāl Rasool and also expressed his fear of God and God-consciousness. He, even distinguished between good Sufi and bad Sufi, and he wrote in his short treatise on the concept of Sufism, where he distinguished between false Sufis’ and right Sufis’, he writes that some false Sufis’ creates binary between Sharia (legal path) and Tariqat (methodical-esoteric path), so that they openly behaved vicious practices, and even they demanded an opportunity to do corrupt practices in Sufism. Ahmad Raza completely disowned such practice in Sufism. He writes:

‘Sharia (legal path) is the collection of material substance, spirit, soul, heart, divine knowledge, and sciences, wherein one part of belongs to the methodical-esoteric path and mystical knowledgetherefore, it is compulsory every saints’ to presents the mystical truth in front of murid and common public. If the Tariqat is conforming to Shariat.....it is right and accepted, otherwise, it is rejected and vile. He goes on to say that, whatever reveals in

²⁷⁴ Mohammad Ahmad Misbahi. *Imam Ahmed Raza Khan Bareilwi aur Tasawwuf*. Lahore: Karmanwallah Book Shop, 2007. A. M. H. Misbahi, “Ahmed Raza aur Tasawwuf”. *Journal of Mar’af Raza*. 2000.

tariqat that is obtained by Shariat. Otherwise, unveiling of saints, which directs the negative path, leads to hell and divine punishment for sins.....Shariat is the source and tariqat is attained from it'²⁷⁵.

Ahmad Raza understands that practical Sufism has been derived and learned from his pir and Sufis circle of Marharra Sharif. The idea of Sufism for Ahmad Raza, can be related what Paul Heck categorized Sufism into four normative dimensions, intellectual discipline, spiritual practice, literary tradition and social institution²⁷⁶. The first normative dimension of Sufism is practical Sufism (*tasawwuf-e- amali*). The true purpose of practical Sufism, which is afraid of God, is the purity and warm attitude of the Sufis. In practical Sufism there is an extremely hard station that is definition in the person's self create amazement and self-conceited. Sufi is required to avoid such confrontations. Ahmad Raza sees the dual range of methods struggle against the ego's self. He proposed the first range of method struggle against enemies of the Prophet Muhammad and contested through written works and the rebuttal and proved them wrong. The second category the range of method struggle for the defensive form of Ahle-Sunnat ulama's writings and speeches and avoid self control from self-admiration.

Ahmad Raza believed pir as the spiritual and emotional allegiance. It is also considered that in order to understand the gnosis, it is necessary to have Pir, without him, it cannot follow the path of Prophet Muhammad. Therefore it is necessary to have Pir, and he should be Sunni, right creed, belief, and should have knowledge of fiqh, and he should have capacity to show the path of righteousness of the followers. His genealogy must match the Prophet Muhammad tradition. Once Haji Ismail asked a fatwa from Africa related to pir that if the person without pir is not salvation and who does not have pir, their pir is devil. Ahmad Raza replied that it is true that the word of saint or *wali*, both things has been proved and derived from the Quran and Hadīth. 'Saints claim to be able to interpret the purely literal world of the Quran as well as its spirit. Like other Muslims they want to emulate the life of Prophet Muhammad, to 'sunnatize' their life-worlds, and perform *imitation Muhammadi*²⁷⁷. There are two types of salvation. There is no compulsion for the Muslim, should be depend upon on *bait* and mystic disciples (*muridi*). But it is compulsory for the Ahle-Sunnat Muslims to be path of Prophet Muhammad and considered

²⁷⁵ Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi. '*Shariat w Tariqat: Maqal Arfa B'ajjaz Shara w Ulama-az'*, Karachi: Maktaba Al-madina Al-ilmiah, 2003, 1-64.

²⁷⁶ Paul L. Heck. "Mysticism as Morality: The Case of Sufism", *Journal of Religious Ethics*, 34, No. 2, 2006, 253.

²⁷⁷ Jamal Malik and John Hinnells. "Introduction". In *Sufism in the West*, ed. Jamal Malik & John Hinnells London: Routledge, 2006, 3.

him a spiritual teacher and mentor. In the writings of Sufism, Ahmad Raza defined *murshid* into two types, common (*aam*) and second kind of *murshid* that is special (*khaas*). The first type of *murshid* Ahmad Raza defined that he should be path of the Quran, Hadīth, the word of companion, and Sharia and tarīqa guidance in the right way. Special (*khaas*): the individual take the oath of allegiance from the *murshid*-having qualities of Sunni *alim*, good deeds and true follower of the Ahle-Sunnat maslak. Before taking an oath of allegiance from Shaikh, it should clarify the genealogy of Shaikh continue to link the Prophet Muhammad. The genealogy of Shaikh is direct link with the Prophet Muhammad. There is no discontinued with Prophet genealogy. Other who becomes successor without taking an oath and Ahmad Raza strictly prohibited doing this kind of act. Other who says that it has taken oath an allegiance from *pīr*, but not taken the succession (*Khilafat*), without permission, they start makes a disciple. Shaikh should be a follower of the Sunni tenet of Islam. He insisted that if Shaikh has vicious practices of religion and apostasy, then he cannot be true follower of the Prophet Muhammad path. Shaikh should be *alim* and should have knowledge of Fiqh as well acquainted with *Ahle-Sunnat* doctrines. It also knows of difference between monotheism and polytheism and it should be the knowledge of righteousness and digression through the right path. Shaikh should be aware of comprehensive conditions of pernicious things, and devil's strategies. He should aware of other socialization of behavior and keep focus his own. Shaikh should inform on the matter of defects and provide solution to the murīds. Shaikh is neither merely devotee of mystic path nor is wholly absorbed in divine mediation to the exclusion of all profane ideas, but he should pay attention to the care of the other.

There are two types of *bait* in Sufism defined by Ahmad Raza. The first category of *bait* that is takes an oath of allegiance from Pir for the divine grace. The first category Ahmad Raza defined that individual entered in Sufi order for the sacred relics. These days, the common practice of *bait* usually happens with good-intentions. Otherwise, lots of individual practices *bait* for worldly purposes and without any well-meaning that is irrelevant to the first category. The second category of *bait*- that is takes an oath of allegiance from *pīr* for the devotion. Ahmad Raza defined that individuals entrusted over their will and authority to true guide Sheikh's hand as a whole. Murshid considers *pīrs* absolutely as their master and possessor. The second of category of *bait*, Ahmad Raza placed them a mystical path of *bait* and this is the real purpose of Sufis, and Shaikh. Ahmad Raza insisted that common *pīr* or *murshid* is positively necessary for

the absolute salvation. Apart from this, he categorically emphasized that separation from the *pīr* or *murshid* cannot be achieved in the complete relation with absolute salvation and good deed.

With regard to the intellectual domain in the realm of Sufism, his writings include a number of works on speculative Sufism such as his most comprehensive work, which contains discussions of Sufi ontology, cosmology, Prophetology, Muhammad's ontological status, *Karamat*²⁷⁸ among many other subjects. With the regard to institutional aspect of Sufism, Ahmad Raza derived his spiritual experience of Sufism with the Shiakh and *pir-o-murshid* Syed Aal Rasūl from Marharra Sharif. He was initiated spiritual path and self-discipline by Shiakh and *pir-o-murshid* Syed Aal Rasūl from Marharra Sharif. Ahmad Raza was close disciple of Syed Aāl Rasool. In fact, his *Pir-o-Murshid* was trusted him, and even he advised his Khalifa and family that whatever our family members books will be publish by the Khanaqah Marharra Sharif.....these two alim, Ahmad Raza and Fadl-I-Rasūl Badaun should consult both of them. Once there was discussion going in the Khanqah about the Day of Judgment, one disciple asked a Syed Aāl Rasool, Huzoor, what will be life after the death. He said that I was very worried, that on the Day of Judgment, if God asked me a question, Syed Aāl Rasool, what you brought for me, what I will submit to Him. But thank God that worry became free and I will present Ahmad Raza in front of God²⁷⁹. He later become one of Syed Aal Rasul's most trusted and influential spiritual successors (*Khulafa*) and established a khanqah at Bareilly, Uttar Pradesh. It was here that Ahmad Raza started his teaching and spiritual training disciples, who went to different parts of north India. Doctrinal Sufism (*tasawwuf-e-nazari*) Ahmad Raza appreciation of the facts, fields of knowledge, Sufis, great guidance, teaching of Sufism.

He was *fana fi-al-Rasool*, therefore, he was not ready to tolerate against the sense of honor of the love of prophet in any case. But it is also true that Ahmed Raza appreciated anyone who came from the city of Medina; even he was despised by them. He used to be considered the rage of love as the source salvation of hellfire. Ahmed Raza was the preacher of the Prophet's messages

²⁷⁸ The reality of *Karamat* is based on Sharia. Ahmed Raza considered *Karamat* (miracle) under the preview of the shariah. He determined that *Karamat* should be based on constancy of attitude and intention in right direction. Ahmed Raza cited the view of Ibn al-Arabi on *Karamat*, he explained that *Karamat* that is not interfere to miracles through witchcraft and fraud. The true essential meaning of *Karamat* is insight on the special. But at the same Ahmed Raza discarded the funny *Karamat* usually mentioned in number of biographies and *tazkiras*.

²⁷⁹ Mohammad Ilyas Qadri. *Tazkira Imam Ahmed Raza*, Karachi: Maktaba Medina.

and associated with the revelation of a divine book. He himself was the true lover of Prophet Muhammad. This was reflected, in particular, in his poem,

جان ہے عشق مصطفےٰ روز فزوں کرے خدا
جس کو ہو درد کا مزاناز دوا اٹھائے کیوں

Ahmed Raza's poem is entirely based on fleeting mystical experiences that result from divine grace alone. His poetical writings are a disposition of a witness to the spiritual observation of the Sufis²⁸⁰. He was aware the actual state or condition of Prophet Muhammad. Ahmed Raza did not praise any government and authority during the colonial period except the Prophet Muhammad. Once a man called the British government as the *aaqaa* (master or lord), he finally reprimanded and how is it possible that they called *aaqaa*. Even he was eulogized only for the prophet, his companions, saints, and his followers. He has not received any help from anyone other than God. He was the true lover of the prophet Muhammad, mystic, pious, warrior in the cause of faith and spiritually adept. He spent his whole life in the revival of Islam and Sunna and also protected divinely ordained prophethood associated with the revelation of a divine book. In his teaching the prophet, Muhammad is regarded to be omnipresent or omniscient (*hazir wa nazir*). In the last moments of his life, he bequeathed his heirs and followers, from whom anybody insults God and Prophet Muhammad, even if they are relatives of him, instantly separate from them²⁸¹. He did not forgive those who act presumptuousness against the honor of Prophet Muhammad. Throughout his life, he never tolerated against the unfair treatment of Prophet Muhammad. He had deep love for the Prophet Muhammad. Accordingly, he proclaimed himself to be *abd al-Mustafa* (Muhammad's slave) thereby stressing the need for the love of the Prophet and his central position. However, it was considered to be polytheism (shirk) by 'other': the word slave (*abd*) had to be followed by one of God's ninety-nine names and certainly not by that of the Prophet²⁸². In his writings and sermons, he often focused on the Sufi doctrine of the *nur-I Muhammadi* which, he claimed was denied by his opponents. The doctrine was that there existed

²⁸⁰ Mohammad Ahmed Misbahi. *Imam Ahmed Raza Khan Bareilwi aur Tasawwuf*. Allama Mubarak Hussain Misbahi. "Ahmed Raza aur Tasawwuf", *Journal of Mar'af Raza*, 2000, 20-24.

²⁸¹ Maulana Kausar Niyazi. *Imam Ahmed Raza ek Himma-Jahat Shakshiyat*.

²⁸² Jamal Malik. "The Luminous Nūrani: Charisma and Political Mobilization among Bareilwis in Pakistan", *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice*, 28, 1990, 39.

a “light of Muhammad” that had derived from God’s own light and had existed, like the Word in Christian theology, from the beginning of creation²⁸³.

He was staunch opponent of innovations, superstitions, ritual and customary practices. Ahmad Raza, throughout life, he ended all the mischievous elements in his era and he rebutted all the religious school of thought and defended and corroborated Ahle-Sunnat w Jamaat. He truly represented the right path of his predecessor of the Barelwi School. Mirzā Ghulām Ahmad Qadiani, when he himself claimed a false prophecy, Ahmad Raza, he was the first alim who stood against him and he strongly spurned the propaganda of false prophecy and wrote several books and booklet against the rebuttal of Qadiani. Not only this, but a fatwa was also issued against the Shia *rawafizs*²⁸⁴, who deliberately and intentionally insulted the Prophet Muhammad’s companion. He once participated in defense of Sunni Islam against the militant Hinduism of the Arya Samaj, on one occasion-apparently-converting an Arya Samajis’ by his answers to his questions. He also published responses to polemical works of the Arya Samaj. However, he did not join the debate with the Christian missionaries’, perhaps because of his great concern to avoid giving offense to the government²⁸⁵. He preached the practices of Prophet Muhammad throughout his life, which was the divine conferring power received by the grace of Prophet Muhammad. Ahmad Raza was a stern subservient of Islamic traditions as recounted in practice of Prophetic Sunnah. He has done heroic deeds in reviving the traditions, which was earlier, blended with ritual and customary practices. The defensiveness of his thought made him one with the self-conscious reformers; and his followers thought of him as a mujaddid, just as the reformers thought of their own leaders²⁸⁶.

He had deep reverence for the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. In fact, he was great admirer and respects the Syed family. Ahmad Raza always respected the companions of the Prophet Muhammad, predecessors, and affinity to the lineage of the Prophet Muhammad. He obtained practical evidence in the reverence of the sacred relics of the holy person. His life witnessed the brimful of the respect and obedience of the saints and descendent of the holy person and saint. ‘Maulana Syed Abu Salman Qadri came to meet Ahmad Raza to solve his

²⁸³ Barbara D. Metcalf. *Islamic Revival in British India*, 1982, 300-1.

²⁸⁴ Rawafiz is a group of Muslims, who are belongs to the Shia community. Barelwi consideres them non-Muslim, do not keep them in Sunni fold.

²⁸⁵ Ibid, 307.

²⁸⁶ Ibid, 313.

problem. He was witnessed to this that Ahmad Raza knew that Maulana Qadri was belong to Syed family, Ahmad Raza gave him full respect and dignity, and after a few minutes, he completely ended the doubts. Maulana Qadri stayed with Ahmad Raza for two days with the support and respect and received blessings and grace. After the departure, Ahmad Raza gave him some honorarium. He refused the honorarium. Ahmad Raza told him that this is your family gift, please accept it. Afterward, a few times attended the urs, Ahmad Raza did not deprive of him of his grace and blessings during the time²⁸⁷. Another story narrated by the Ahmad Raza in his biography ‘*Hayat-Ala-Hazrat*’, in which biographer Zafaruddin Bihari stated that a Syed man, has engaged as a servant in the Ahmad Raza family. When Ahmad Raza came to know that the servant was from Syed family, he pressurized his family that not to work with that man, and provide him whatever had been promised. After that, Syed took leave from Ahmed Raza’s family because he did not work without paying.

Ahmad Raza Views on the Nature of God and Muhammad’s Ontological Status²⁸⁸:

He firmly believed in the line of Ibn al-Arabi’s idea of unity of being, and his deed and act in accordance with tariqat and shariah. Ahmad Raza believed in oneness of God. In his opinion, tawhid (unity of God) does not consist in worshipping God, while ignoring the beloved of Allah. With him, the beloveds of Allah are not strangers in the stages of belovedness²⁸⁹. Ahmad Raza firmly believed that there is no one worthy to worship God, nothing other than God exists. For him, there is only one God, besides all, everything is non-existent. God exists; He is the one and Alone. He was adherent follower of the reality of the unity of being in his whole life. There is only one reality in the presence of God, and His entity in truth is unique from the holy substance. Raza’s followed the unity of being on the lines of the Allama Fadl-I-Khairabadi’s interpretation of unity of being based on the reason and rationality. In fact, both are congruent on the issue of unity of existence. Ahmad Raza explained that as much as the meaning of *wahdat al-wujūd* is concern, can be interpreted on the basis of reason, it will be result of unity of existence and the unity of only one entity, everything else is in the form of manifestation of His names, attributes,

²⁸⁷ Zafaruddin Bihari. *Hayat Ala-Hazrat*. 1, 206.

²⁸⁸ Mohd Ahmed Misbahi. *Imam Ahmed Raza aur Tasawwuf*, Lahore: Karmanwallah Book Shop, 2007. Mohd Sajid Hasni Qadiri. *Imam-e-Deen Mujaddid Alf-Shani aur Imam Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi*, Pilibhit: Jamia Khadija, 2012. Syed Umar Farooq. *Fazil Barelwi aur Umūr-e-Bidat*, Lahore: Raza Publication, 2009.

²⁸⁹ Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi. *Ujala, (Light)*.

beauty, and majesty. Everything is mortal except God substance. Regarding the attributes of God, Ahmad Raza has agreed on the reality of God with the line of Ibn ‘Arabi. He also agreed with theologians that the attribute of God is not identical to other non-existence. Ahmed Raza determined that each verse in the Quran is a reality and this is the word of Allah. The word of God, that which has confirmed the attribute of God²⁹⁰.

Muhammad’s ontological status:

Likely, the status of existence is the only reality of the God, everything else existence because of His presence, just like that in the segments of the creation, is the only Prophet of Muhammad, the rest of God’s existence is on all other His reflection of grace. The way nūr Muhammadi’s world was indigent from origin of existence that if he was not there, then nothing would happen. Just like that, every object is dependent on its abiding. If the existence of Muhammad in midst of the world is pulled, then the universe will be annihilated suddenly. Ahmad Raza sees the quality of Prophet Muhammad is the mediator and state between death and resurrection between possibilities and necessity of existence. He unwittingly divided the existence into two types, the first is ‘necessary being’ and the other is ‘possible’. He place the Prophet Muhammad in the category of ‘possible’, because, the reality is that he is the messenger of Islam, as well possible, and at the same time he is also the master of knowledge. He is neither God nor an essential entity, but he is closely secret mediator to death and resurrection and close intermediary between creator and creatures. In his short treatise *Tajalli-al-Yaqīn*, Ahmed Raza had provided concrete evidence to support argument of the issue of Prophet Muhammad. He has considered the Prophet Muhammad as the first and the last and he knows everything about esoteric and exoteric knowledge²⁹¹.

The idea of the “Muhammadan light” seems to have been fully developed about earlier²⁹² before Ahmed Raza Khan conceptualized and written extensively on the issue of Prophet. He held that God had created the Prophet Mohammed by the light (*nūr*) before creating every creature in the earth and received special blessing from God to guide and instructions to human beings. It also

²⁹⁰ Mushtafa Raza Qadri. *Malfūzāt Ala-Hazrat*, 47- 84.

²⁹¹ Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi,

²⁹² Annemarie Schimmel. *Mystical Dimension of Islam*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975, 215. Mohammad Hanif Khan Barelwi. “Tawhid aur Fikr Raza”, *Journal of Mar’af Raza*, 2006, 40-55.

considered that having purified body and high exalted that is reason to celebration of the birth anniversary of the Prophet Muhammad, is the reason for reward and salvation and after it is also believed to get success and happiness of the world and hereafter. The God has provided Prophet Muhammad countless discretionary power and authority. Ahmed Raza held that the impossibility of a peer of the prophet Muhammad and also believed that the Prophet Muhammad is alive in the grave and according to God's law, death order was prevailed over him and placed in the grave and after completion of God's law, he is alive and unscathed. He believed that God has bestowed the authority to intercede on the Prophet Muhammad. The essence of Prophet Muhammad is the light (*nūr*) as well as human being²⁹³. On the other hand, he also contemplated that Prophet Muhammad is transcendent to other humans and received special kind blessings from God. Nevertheless, Prophet Muhammad is the patron of the day of resurrection and he will intercede with the consent of God.

Ahmed Raza authorized the views by the Sufis and theologians on the matter of Prophet's unseen knowledge. He considered Prophet Muhammad knowledge is the erudite scholar of "what was and what shall be" (*ma kana wama yakun*). Ahmed Raza also believed that the prophet had unique knowledge of the unknown of *ilmul ghaib*. He had full knowledge of spiritual matters (*haqiqat-I ruh*); of the meaning of all metaphorical passages on the Quran, and of the past and future. The reformers, anxious to preserve God's uniqueness, had denied that the Prophet had this knowledge except in special instances when it was granted by God²⁹⁴. He write it was easy to say that Ahmed Raza had been convinced on the Prophet unseen knowledge and it against the tenet of Islam. They did not see, Ahmed Raza is associated with various Sufi orders and theologians and with the practice of the Prophet's path²⁹⁵. He firmly believed that the

²⁹³ There is remarkable similarity between the Shia concept of 'divine light' and that revealed in Ahmed Raza's writings on the Prophet. Ahmed Raza attached considerable importance to the concept of the pre-eminence of the Prophet's light, which was created before Allah created the spiritual or material universe and before the creation of Adam, the first prophet. His views were identical to Shia belief. He wrote that the divine light had been transferred from generation to generation by Muhammad's ancestors, through pure backs and pure wombs until his birth. There are some important conceptual similarities Shia thought and aspects of Ahmad Raza's Prophetology; the evidence indicates that his writings were based on Sunni sources. See, Usha Sanyal. *Devotional Islam and Politics in British India: Ahmed Raza Khan Bareilwi and His Movement, 1870-1920*, New Delhi: Yoda Press, 2010, 212-6.

²⁹⁴ Barbara D. Metcalf. *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982, 301.

²⁹⁵ What is unseen, the unseen word that is hidden things, mankind which cannot realize its eyes, and nose. Therefore the unseen are two types, the first kind of unseen that sets out the argument, which means that, it is

Prophet Muhammad is aware of his intention and determinations and the dangers in the universe. There is no difference between the life and death of Prophet Muhammad.

III. Is Ahmed Raza Khan against the issue of ‘Dar al-Harb’ (house of war)?

The 1919-1920 was the crucial period for the Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi. On the one side, Barelwi ulama were intentionally corroborated the Khilafat and deliberately rejected non-cooperation movement, and on the other side, they tried to prove that whether Hindustan is dar al-Islam (abode of Islam) or dar al-harb (house of war). The issue came to limelight when Shah Abdul Aziz (1745-1823) was issued a fatwa; concerning that Hindustan is a dar al-harb, in which he declared that interest (*munāfa*) as the correct practice in accordance with the Hanafi jurisprudence. Shah Abdul Aziz gave fatwas that India was no longer “*dar al-Salam*, but was *dar al-Harb*. And that it was duty to every Muslim to expel the intruders²⁹⁶. The pith of Shah Abdul Aziz argument was: British India is *dar al-Harb*, and therefore Hijrat from India is not mandatory²⁹⁷. He writes in his *Fatāwā-Azizia*;

‘As far as the issue of interest (*munāfa*) in the *dar al-Harb* is concern, it is not unlawful between the Muslim and infidel. It is legitimate to accept interest from infidels, and even to keep the goods and property of the infidels is also lawful. In case, it should not be suspicion and breach of agreement when taking property and goods from infidels.....that’s not case the followers of Islam have already promised with the infidels that it will not take goods and property as unlawfully. In such a situation, if it takes goods illegally from infidels, it will be a breach of trust. Therefore, in the land of *dar al-Harb*, it is lawful to take interest (*munāfa*) from infidels and to give interest²⁹⁸.

Individuals like, Shibli Nu’mānī (1857-1914) not only agreed with Shah Abd al-Aziz’s famous fatwa that India is *dar al-Harb* and *ribā* is lawful in it, but also wrote an independent treatise on this subject in which he went one step further and argued that bank interest (*munāfa*) is not

known from arguments and sources. For instance, heaven, hell, attribute and substance of the God, matters of the universe and verses of Quran. The second type of unseen, it cannot be figure out by the evidence or source. For instance, do not know what will be the Day of the Judgment. There are three conditions for knowledge of the unseen, and there are different orders. The first order of knowledge of the unseen, the God is supreme and without it, no one can write a word. The God gave the unseen knowledge to Prophet Muhammad along with other Prophets. The third condition is that God has given more knowledge than other prophets, see, Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi. *Risayil Ilm-e-Ghaib: Izahatul Aib Besaif ul Ghaib enba ul Mustafa Khalisul Etiqad*, compiled by Arshad Masood Chishti, Lahore: Millat Publications, 51.

²⁹⁶ Tasadduq Hussain Khalid. “The Reaction of Muslim India to Western Culture in the 19th Century with Particular reference to the Wahhabi Movement”. In *Aspects of Shah Ismail Shahid: Essays on His Literary Political & Religious Activities*, ed. Abdullah Butt, Lahore: Qaumi Kutub Khana, 1943, 78.

²⁹⁷ M. Naeem Qureshi. “The ‘Ulama’ of British India and the Hijrat of 1920”. *Modern Asian Studies*, 13, No.1. 1979,47.

²⁹⁸ Shah Abdul Aziz. *Fatāwā-Azizia*, Karachi: H.M. Saeed Company, 1987, 580-88.

usury (*sūda*)²⁹⁹. Sayyid Ahmed Barelwi continued to endorse that India was *dar al-Harb*, but after 1870, he avoided open conflict with the rulers. British officials knew very well that the issue would be decided on political, social and economic, rather than upon theological considerations³⁰⁰. Although a group of ulama, who issued a fatwa that India, is neither *dar al-Harb* nor *dar al-Islam*, rather, it is *dar al-Aman*. For instance, Mufti Kifayatullah (1875-1952), one of the founder members of the Jamia Millia Islamia, declared in his fatwa that India is a *dar al-Aman*. Even Maulana Anwar Shah Kashmiri (1875-1933) has declared that India was not a *dar al-harb* but it was the *dar al-Aman*. People like, Haji Shariat Allah (1781-1840), the founder of the Faraizi movement in Bengal, declared areas under British control as *dar al-Harb* (house of war) and banned the performance of the Friday congregational prayers in these areas³⁰¹. Later, the lecture given by Maulana Karamat Ali Jaunpuri (1800-1873) referred to Haji Shariat Ali and criticized the Faraizi movement that Friday and Eid prayers should not be banned under British rule and had debated the question with the Faraizi leader. Jaunpuri was the follower of the Hanafi School and in his lecture pronounced that British India was *dar al-Islam* and therefore jihad was unlawful, as the three conditions he states in his lecture that Hanafi fiqh Imam Abdu Hanifa laid down three conditions for the conversion of a *dar al-Islam* into a *dar al-Harb*³⁰². Individual like, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898) presented arguments from Hanafi School of jurisprudence as Maulana Karamat Ali did in the context of the West Bengal. He stated that Hanafi jurisprudence does not allow jihad to be valid against infidels, where Muslims are living in peace and security under the non-Muslim government. However, Sir Syed has not considered that India was neither *dar al-Islam* nor *dar al-Harb*, but something of both and he adds significantly that there is no religious obligation upon Muslims to fight against the British³⁰³. After that it proved with great acumen and ability, that India has now lapsed into *dar al-Harb*,

²⁹⁹ Mehr Afroz Murad. *Intellectual Modernism of Shibli Nomani: an Exposition of His Religious and Political ideas*, New Delhi: Kitab Bhavan, 1996, 87.

³⁰⁰ Peter Hardy. *The Muslims of British India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972, 110.

³⁰¹ Iqbal Singh Sevea. *The Political Philosophy of Muhammad Iqbal: Islam and Nationalism in Late Colonial India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, 8, S.S.A. Rizvi. "The Breakdown of the Traditional Society", In *The Cambridge History of Islam*, ed. P.M. Holt, ii, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971, 76.

³⁰² Peter Hardy. *The Muslims of British India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972, 111.

³⁰³ Ibid, 112.

refuting at by the Calcutta Mohammedan Literacy Society, viz., that Hindustan is still a *dar al-Islam*³⁰⁴.

Men like Abdul Hay was belonged to Farangi Mahal madrasa situated in Lucknow, where he issued a fatwa based on Hanafi jurisprudence and argued that British Indian remained a *dar al-Islam* until the Indian Muslims were given the right to obey their religion and pursue their livelihood. However, he issued a fatwa to avoid social intercourse with infidels, but at the same time, he pronounced that the acceptance of British pensions and employment and the learning of English do not harm Islam³⁰⁵. Other theologians and scholars like Chirag Ali (1844-1895) deliberately and intentionally rejected the entire debate between *dar al-Islam* and dar al-harb. He argued that it was superfluous even to raise the question of whether British India was a dar al-Islam or *dar al-Harb*, as fiqh had been formulated with the assumption that Muslims were in political control³⁰⁶. He proposed that India was neither a *dar al-Islam* nor a *dar al-Harb*, as the Muslims in India were protected by the British; it was instead a *dar al-aman* or *dar al-Zimma*, the house of security or of protection³⁰⁷. Mufti like Rashid Ahmed Gangohi (1828-1905) from Deoband School deliberately refused to give a clear answer when bluntly asked for a fatwa. He even preferred silence and avoided not to express their opinion on the issue of dar al-harb and dar al-Islam. On the other hand, Barelwi School ulama especially Ahmed Raza wittingly rejected the Shah Abd al-Aziz's famous fatwa that India was *dar al-Harb* and *ribā* was lawful in it, rather he provided that India was neither *dar al-Harb* nor *dar al-Amn* but India was the *dar al-Islam*. The essential part of Ahmed Raza's argument was: British India is *dar al-Islam*, and therefore Hijrat from India is not mandatory. In 1298/1880, Mirza Ali Beg from Badaun asked a fatwa from Ahmed Raza, as indicated in his letter that, is Hindustan *dar al-Islam* or *dar al-Harb*, In response to this fatwas, Ahmed Raza wrote a short treatise on '*Ālam al-ālam ban Hindustan dar al-Islam*³⁰⁸' on the basis of Hanafi law. He has responded in his fatwa that, 'in the *dar al-Islam*, the state or authority will not be against Sharia, and if they continue against the Sharia and the

³⁰⁴ "Review on Hunter's Indian Musalmans. In *Writings and Speeches of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan*, comp. and ed. Shah Muhammad, Bombay: Nachiketa Publications Limited, 1972, 79.

³⁰⁵ Ibid, 114-5.

³⁰⁶ Peter Hardy. *The Muslims of British India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972, 114. Iqbal Singh Sevea. *The Political Philosophy of Muhammad Iqbal: Islam and Nationalism in Late Colonial India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, 8-9.

³⁰⁷ Iqbal Singh Sevea. *The Political Philosophy of Muhammad Iqbal: Islam and Nationalism in Late Colonial India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, 8-9.

³⁰⁸ Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi. "*Ālam al-ālam bān Hindustan dar al-Islam*",

freedom of religion, then it will be called completely *dar al-Harb*. He writes that Hindustan is a *dar al-Islam* and in any case, Hindustan is not a *dar al-Harb*.

For Ahmed Raza Khan Bareilwi, it is require two main terms and conditions along with the imperial domination. First condition, in *dar al-Islam*, where idol worship is practiced openly by the commandment and the authority preclude the practice of Sharia and absolute unity. But such things were not happening in British India. In other words, he explained that, if complete imperial domination of infidels, the practice of Islam is stopped by the colonial imperial authority. The second condition is that the boundary of *dar al-Islam* does not match with *dar al-Harb*. In short, two things are required to take *dar al-Islam* to *dar al-Harb*.

(1) Complete imperial domination by infidels, the commandment of Islam closed by the imperial domination

(2) and the boundary of *dar al-Islam* does not match with *dar al-Harb*.

Ahmed Raza made a clear that in which *dar al-Islam*; Muslim can offer *namaz* and celebrate their festivals such as Eid, Bakrid. Moreover, the Muslims have a right to propagate their religion, and also have right to practice their everyday life such as marriage, divorce (*talaq*), *iddat*³⁰⁹ maintenance (receiving back a divorced wife), dower (*mahr*)'. Here Muslims, worship God, celebrate Eid, and Azan (call to prayer), on pray Friday and five times Namaz, without any hindrance. But these things are not happening inside the British India, then it requires to takes *dar al-harb*. For Ahmed Raza, in the *dar al-Islam*, the Muslim will chose their freedom of religion and law, and propagate their religion and feel free to choose the Sharia and state law. If these things will not happen in the *dar al-Islam*, then it is possible to move from *dar al-Islam* to *dar al-Harb*.

The section attempted to make it clear that the issue of *dar al-Islam* is based on Hanafi law by Ahmad Raza, that Hindustan was *dar al-Islam* during the time of British India and by no means of Hindustan was *dar al-Harb*. He stoutly rejected the issue of *dar al-aman*, and he found that there was no place for *dar al-Aman* in Hanafi Fiqh. In addition, he expounds that three pertinent things needed to take *dar al-harb* from *dar al-Islam*. It is one of these conditions, where continue idol worship and Sharia practice is stopped by the authority.

³⁰⁹ The term of probation incumbent upon a woman in consequence of dissolution of marriage either by divorce or by the death of her husband. After divorce the period is three month, and after the death of her husband four months and ten days.

Is Ahmed Raza Khan against the Khilafat or Cooperation Movement?

The Khilafat movement was an attempt to force the British to preserve the Ottoman caliphate, and it emphasizes its international aspect, focused on the Indian Muslims' pan-Islamic sympathies for the Ottoman sultan-caliph following the defeat of Turkey in the First World War³¹⁰, which was eventually abolished not by British, but constitutionally Turks. Caliphate literally means succession, and the person who succeeds is called the caliph (Khalifa). But the word caliph generally assumed a person holding a religious office³¹¹. Theoretically, the concept of caliphate in Islam was placed after the death of Prophet Muhammad, but it was temporal and spiritual authority, was not permitted prophetic power³¹². The main task of the caliph was to protect Islam and to manage the worldly matters of the Muslims and the activities of the caliph could be accepted by the sultans of those countries which were quite different from each other³¹³. Mawdudi argues that 'the caliphate granted by God to the faithful is the popular vicegerency and not a limited one' and rules out a dictatorship. But the theoretical point of view which is contradicted by Mawdudi entire concept and practical program for the takeover by an organized party led by a supreme *amir*, even though 'elected' by the party rank and file³¹⁴. For Mawdudi the authority of the caliph was supreme and among his important duties was defense of shariah, dispensation of justice. For instance, Mawdudi legitimized hereditary rulership from the case of Umar nomination by Abu Bakr³¹⁵. Moreover, Mawdudi the whole plans was, and he wanted the re-establishment of the Khilafat, which was done under an effort to revive the Islamic way of

³¹⁰ Gail Minault. *The Khilafat Movement: Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982, 1.

³¹¹ The origin of the Khalifa may be traced to the Roman Catholic religion. According to the belief of the Roman Catholics the Pope is infallible, which means that he can do no wrong. The Roman Catholics believe that the Pope has complete authority in matters temporal and spiritual as well as power to grant absolution, see, Razi Siraj-uddin Ahmed. *The Truth about the Khilafat*, Lahore: Printed at the Ripon Press, 1916.

³¹² Vernie Liebel. "The Caliphate", *Middle Eastern Studies*, 45, No. 3, 2009, 373.

³¹³ It is general perception that Abdul Hamid II (r.1876-1909) used the institution of the caliphate effectively both in his domestic policies and in his dealings with the major European powers, i.e. England, France, and Germany. It is also believed that his caliphate was accepted by the overwhelming majority of Muslims all over the world. Buzpinar finding suggest that this is not to say that Abdul Hamid's right to claim the caliphate was never disputed. His research shows that Abdul Hamid II based his claim to the caliphate on three dimensions, divine will, hereditary rights, and actual power. It also shows that the idea of an Arab as opposed to an Ottoman caliph had won some support in British and among Arabs in the early of Abdul Hamid. Tufan Buzpinar. "Opposition to the Ottoman Caliphate in the early Years of Abdul Hamid II", *Die Welt de Islams*, 36, 1, 1996, 62-89.

³¹⁴ Aziz Ahmad. *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan 1857-1964*. Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1967, 219.

³¹⁵ Muzaffar Alam. "Sharia and Governance in the Indo-Islamic Context". In *Beyond Turk and Hindu: Rethinking Religious Identities in Islamicate South Asia*, ed. David Gilmartin and Bruce B. Lawrence, Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000, 217.

life. Initially, he was the member of the Khilafat movement and its *Tehrik-e Hijrat* (migration movement) while the Ottoman caliphate still existed, Mawdudi verbally the need for a caliphate throughout the next several decades³¹⁶.

Modernists like, Allama Iqbal and Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, who were not only against the impracticality of the caliphate in Islam but practically they were opposed the Khilafat movement. Iqbal was one of the very few modernists who endorsed the abolition of caliphate by the Grand National Assembly under Kamal Ataturk. This explains Iqbal's dissension from the prevailing ulama orthodoxy in the Khilafat movement³¹⁷. The distinction and disagreement reflected in his poetry also,

اگر ملک ہاتھوں سے جاتا ہے جائے تو احکام حق سے نہ کر بے وفائی
نہیں تجھ کو تاریخ سے اگہی کیا خلافت کی کرنے لگا تو گدائی
خریدیں نہ جس کو ہم اپنے لہو سے مسلمانوں کو ہے ننگ وہ پادشائی

If the territory is being lost let be it lost

You should not be disloyal to God's commands.

Do you not have knowledge of history?

You started begging for the Khilafat?

If we do not purchase with our own blood

Such sovereignty is a disgrace to the Muslim! ³¹⁸

Sir Syed's view on the caliph, there is no concept of caliphate in Islam as such. It is common belief that Prophet Muhammad was the last of all the Prophets. Therefore, Prophet cannot have any Khalifa or successor from the perspective of the prophet. But the Holy Quran suggests that in addition to office of the apostles, God establishes another office on his chosen people³¹⁹.

³¹⁶ Vernie Liebel. "The Caliphate", *Middle Eastern Studies*, 45, 3, 2009, 376.

³¹⁷ Richard Bonney. "Introduction". In *Iqbal's Reconstruction of Political thought in Islam*, ed. Fateh Mohammed Malik, Delhi: Media House, 2004, 12.

³¹⁸ Allama Iqbal. "Bang-eDra-159) Daryuza's Khilafat", <http://iqbalurdu.blogspot.com/2011/04/bang-e-dra-159-daryuzaay-khilafat.html>.

³¹⁹ After the death of the prophet of Islam, Au Bakr succeeded him with the title of Khalifa. But he was not a Khalifa in the sense in which the Pope is regarded as a successor of St. Peter. He had no authority in religious matters, except that he was to carry into practice the teaching of the Prophet, help others to do the same, and look to the temporal needs of the Muslim community. He had no power whatever to declare lawful that which was unlawful in Islam, nor to declare unlawful that which was lawful. He had no authority to abrogate any religious authority

Based on the Islamic intellectual history, Sir Syed clearly expounds that the sovereign people who adopted the title of Khalifa were accepted only in those countries, which were subject to their direct rule, but no one recognized their caliphate or imamate beyond their territorial jurisdiction³²⁰. He further explains that it is illogical to say that the sympathy of Indian Muslims with Turkey caliph is due to the fact that they consider him as their religious head. He goes on to say that Indian Muslims support the Turkey caliphate, it is because, the sympathy is natural as a Muslim feels for another Muslim, and it has increased greatly as a result of education and newspaper and facilities in traveling which have brought about easy means of intercourse between the two countries³²¹. He very strongly denounced the claims of Sultan Abd Ul-Hamid and urged that the Sultan's sovereignty or caliphate should be confined to his own territories³²².

Men like Shibli Nomani had same stance what Sir Syed aforementioned above. He indicated in his article "Khilafat" which had appeared in 1899, he explained that the Ottoman caliphate is not a precept of religion, nor a fact of history, for the Muslims who are living under the Turkish sultanate. He wrote another article in 1908 on the "*Musalamno ko Ghyar Madhab Hukumat ka Mahkum ho Kar Kiyun-Kar Rahna Chahiye*": in which he tried to show it on the basis of the Quran, Hadīth, fiqh, and history, that Muslim should remain loyal to whichever government they might have occasion to live under³²³. Shibli's attitude towards Ottoman Turkey was so romantic and emotionally based that he never tried or desired to know what was really happening inside the Empire³²⁴. Individual like Obaidullah Sindhi was separated from all the pan-Islamic movements during the colonial period. In fact, he refused to recognize any international religious convention or any religio-political institution such as Khilafat; rather he focused on the democratic form of government run by the elected representatives. Even he belittled the role of the caliph in an institutionalized political system at a time when the primary of the Ottoman

commandment nor to introduce any new practices in Islam. He could not pardon the sins of any one, nor could he intercede with God for the pardon of any one's sins., see, Razi Siraj-ud-din Ahmed. *The Truth about the Khilafat*, Lahore: Printed at the Ripon Press, 1916, 1-27.

³²⁰ Razi Siraj-ud-din Ahmed. *The Truth about the Khilafat*, Lahore: Printed at the Ripon Press, 1916, 12.

³²¹ Ibid, p 24, The Views of Sir Syed on the Caliphate. In *Writings and Speeches of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan*, comp. and ed. Shah Muhammad, Bombay: Nachiketa Publications Limited, 1972, 254-260.

³²² S.S.A. Rizvi. "The Breakdown of the Traditional Society", In *The Cambridge History of Isla*, ed. P.M. Holt, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971, 86.

³²³ Mehr Afroz Murad. *Intellectual Modernism of Shibli Nu'Mani: an Exposition of His Religious and Political ideas*, New Delhi: Kitab Bhavan, 1996, 91-2.

³²⁴ Ibid, 96.

Caliphate was “an article of faith among Indian Muslims³²⁵. Sindhi’s view on the issue of Khilafat had ended after renounce the throne of Imam Hasan in 660 A.D. and despite their great claim, rulers after the Umayyad, Abbasid and Ottoman Empire were only kings and not caliphs per se³²⁶.

Ahmed Raza friend like Maulana Abdul Bari toured in the different parts of the India to campaign on issue of Khilafat and urged them that defending the Khilafat and holy place was essentially one of the illuminating shariah and he emphasized that the ulama should be leaders of the Muslims in this question. In Bengal, he cited passages from Quran and Hadith exhorting the believers to support one another and followed with an eloquent plea for unity among the ulama, only then could they actually work as a spiritual guide for the Muslims. Maulana Abdul Bari, he even organized the number meeting and Jalsa in Deoband, Bareilly, Badaun, and Lucknow to gather support among the different school of thought. In addition, he also gathered support from the khanqah and Sufi brotherhood such as dargah of Moinuddin Chishti at Ajmer; he took advantage of the presence of throngs of Sufis and their disciples to urge a united pronouncement on the Khilafat question, prayers for the sultan-caliph in all Friday khutbahs and the calling of an all-India conference of ulama³²⁷.

Khilafat Movement and Barelwi School Ulama:

Khilafat movement was initiated in the 20th century to support the Turkish Khalifa and the Barelwi ulama was fully endorsed the Khilafat movement. But few Barelwi ulama became a strong supporter of the Khilafat movement, but juxtaposition with the opponents of the Khilafat movement, the number was too low. But here it is important to note that, were Ahmed Raza and his disciples against the Khilafat movement. The point here should be noted that Ahmed Raza Khan was not against the Khilafat movement and even holy places, but the reality is different from these narratives is existed in the literatures. Ahmed Raza was not a politician but he was

³²⁵ Tanvir Anjum. “Bridging Tradition and Modernism: An Analysis of ‘Ubaid-Allah Sindhi’s Religious Thought”, *Journal of Pakistan Historical Society*, July-September, 2013, 23.

³²⁶ Sindhi writes that *Khilafat-I Rashidah* or the government established by the pious caliphs was based upon the teaching of the Quran; he discerned that it is impossible to revive the political institutions of the early Muslims era in their same old form. He argued that the political system of the pious caliphate could not be revived in contemporary times. He suggest that, it was only the essence or the basic principles of the Pious Caliphate that need to be grasped, and new forms the Qur’anic Governments’ could be evolved in future in the light of these principles, see, Tanvir Anjum. “Bridging Tradition and Modernism: An Analysis of ‘Ubaid-Allah Sindhi’s Religious Thought”, *Journal of Pakistan Historical Society*, July-September, 2013, 23.

³²⁷ Gail Minault. *The Khilafat Movement: Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982, 79.

represented as a statesman of the Barelwi movement. He studied and issued a fatwa on the non-cooperation and Khilafat movement and came to conclusion that it is necessary to support the Ottoman Empire and holy places. He expressed his opinion in fatwa that he was not categorically against Khilafat movement and objectives, but he was a stern critic of the modus-operandi of the Khilafat movement. He believed that Jamiat Ulama Hind and Khilafat Committee were wrongly represented by the Khilafat movement. Ahmed Raza passionately believed that the leadership of the Khilafat movement has been captured by the Hindus, which was a threat to the Muslim in the future. The leadership of Gandhi and esprit de-corps with the Hindus led him to conclude that the Muslims were being sacrificed to achieve the interests of the Hindus. He at once voiced his suspicions and warned against the coming dangers³²⁸.

Even he was against the Gandhi's ideas in the context of the Hindu-Muslim unity, and Khilafat movement. But overall, Barelwi ulama have expressed disagreement over the unity between Hindu-Muslim and it was specific reasons were delineated the religious and political. They understood the unity between Hindu-Muslim was essentially impossible. When Gandhi announced support for the Khilafat movement and non-cooperation movement, Ahmed Raza was categorically opposed it. Gandhi was a sagacious leader, and he fully defended the Khilafat movement, as a consequence of which he gained trust among the Muslim leaders and ulama. Gandhi appealed to Muslims to support the non-cooperation movement. He enthusiastically supported the Khilafat movement because he saw it primarily as an anti-British issue, he was mainly drawing the attention of the Muslim leadership to the nationalist movement, and his plans big boost to Muslims to reorganize and redirect the Congress into a mass movement. The alliance with Gandhi and the Congress was given a space for the Khilafat leaders because their recognition by nationalists as Muslim spokesmen helped establish their claim Indians and British alike to be the leaders of the United Muslim constituency³²⁹.

Ahmed Raza made a clear stand that the unity between Hindu and Muslim is serious hurdle of societal progress exclusively for Muslim community. Individual like Maulana Azad and other nationalist ulama friend believed that Qur'an does allows the unity between Hindu and Muslim and it is permissible. On the other hand, Ahmed Raza completely discarded the view of Maulana

³²⁸ Muhammad Masood Ahmed. *Ujala*, Karachi: Idarah Masudiyah, 2004, 21-22.

³²⁹ Gail Minault. *The Khilafat Movement: Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982, 11.

Azad and other nationalist ulama, and he proved that the Quran does not allow such kind of unity between Hindu-Muslim. This is the reason Ahmed Raza opposed the unity between Hindu and Muslim during the Khilafat and non-cooperation movement. He was not seriously concerned Muslims alliance with Mr. Gandhi. Based on these issues, he had disagreed with his closest friend Maulana Abdul Bari Firangi Mahali. On the basis of these issues, both have exchanged of letters on different set of ideas in voluminous notes, which was later, Ahmed Raza son Maulana Mustafa Raza has compiled the correspondence between Ahmed Raza Khan and Maulana Abdul Bari Firangi Mahali in three volumes³³⁰. Ahmed Raza was proffered the Sunni Muslims' not to accept Mr. Gandhi as the political leader of the nation. His Khalifa Naimuddin Moradabadi has carried forward the views of Ahmed Raza. Naimuddin Moradabadi close disciple of Ahmed Raza writes about the issue of Khilafat movement; the Muslims should take all possible measure to support the Ottoman sultanate, and protection of holy place, but Muslims should keep their religion safe and secure. Muslims should not be dependent on Hindus. They should be a master of own destiny and do not disengage their senses and reasons. They should continue to use their consciousness. They should show their shrewdness in terms of good and bad³³¹. Another disciple of Ahmed Raza like mufti Mohammad Umar Naïmi commented on the issue of Khilafat movement in support of the Ahmed Raza, he writes: 'to what extent surprise that defender of Islam and protector of the shariah, adherent of the Khilafat movement and holy place considered him an opponent, and Wahhabi believes that the rest of the word is a polytheist and being considered him as the opponent of the Khilafat movement'³³². Although, in April 1920, a conference was organized by Barelwi organization Al-Ansar Al-Islam in Bareilly, in which the Barelwi ulama discussed the issues of conservation of sacred and holy places and endorsed the Turkish Caliph. The number of step has taken place and demanded the number of issues to the British authority. It has been demand to the British government that to create unity between Arab and Turkey and send a delegation to create a mutual trust between Arab and turkey. It also demanded that British government make a law to protect the Islamic countries and avoid any kind of apprehension in future³³³.

³³⁰ Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi. *Altari-Aldaari*, Bareilly: Matbua Bareilly.

³³¹ Jalaluddin Ahmed Noori. *Fazil Barelwi ki Siyasi Kirdaar: Tahqeeq w Tareekhi Jayza*, Karachi: Maktaba Nooria, 2007, 95.

³³² Masood Ahmed. *Tehrik-i-Azadi Hind aur Al-swad-e-Azam*, 205.

³³³ Jalaluddin Ahmed Noori, *Fazil Barelwi ki Siyasi Kirdaar: Tahqeeq w Tareekhi Jayza*, Karachi: Maktaba Nooria, 2007, 80-86.

Ahmed Raza donated fund and encouraged his adherents and families to donate the fund for the Khilafat movement. When Indian National Congress was collecting fund for the Khilafat movement; Ahmed Raza strictly warned that the Hindus were exploiting the funds of the Khilafat movement. He said that thousands of rupees are misused and money was being spent in the wrong directions. For Ahmed Raza, Khilafat movement was purely an Islamic movement, but when the Hindus were given upper hand in it, Ahmed Raza at once said that it was no longer to be an Islamic movement. It had degenerated into Swaraj movement³³⁴. Maulana Naimuddin Moradabadi throughout life; he has been against the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi. He writes that, suppose that, the Gandhi ideas and opinion are suitable for the Muslims if the Gandhi has changed his opinion and ideas, what Muslims will do. How sad it is, Muslims do not have any sagacious leader. He criticizes the Muslims that it is a curse for those who wanted to acquire the Caliph by selling their Deen. For the survival of Turkish Caliph, the Muslims have infidelity for the survival of Turkish Caliph. Moradabad had made it clear that the Barelwis support the Turkish Caliph for the sacrifice of Islam; otherwise, Barelwis and Turks have no relation with each other.

This section does not corroborate the argument with Usha Sanyal; she argued that Barelwi school ulama opposed the Khilafat movement. But in reality that Barelwi ulama were fully endorsed the Khilafat movement, but Ahmed Raza (1856-1921) had problem with methods, the way movement has been organized by the Muslim leadership. It is true Barelwi ulama were opposed the unity between Hindu and Muslim and even they also against the ideas of Gandhi and Deoband idea of composite nationalism on ideological grounds³³⁵. But with the regards to Khilafat movement, the Barelwi School ulama known as Barelwis were intentionally endorsed the Turkish Caliph and even they accumulated funds and encouraged their followers and families to donate the funds for Turkish caliph.

Barelwi Ulama and Nation-State:

Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madni made a stance clear that nation-states are formed by lands, or on the basis of community, culture, language, and ethnicity. Therefore, Muslims in India are Indians based on nationality or citizenship. However, the Muslims in India by definition, they are Indians

³³⁴ Ujala, 22.

³³⁵ Ayesha Jalal. *Self Sovereignty Individual and Community in South Asian Islam since 1859*, London: Routledge, 2000, 198.

and at the same time, they are representative of the Ummah. There were references in the Quran bracketing the prophets and their enemies and friends as belonging to the same nations. ‘Nation’ may be a modern western term also, but in the Quranic sense of the term *qaum*; Indian Muslims were co-nationals with other Indian groups and separate from them as a religious community³³⁶. Madani imagines that independent India as a place where Islamic learning and cultural traditions, like his, will be protected and where the message of Islam, whether accepted or not, will be available to all³³⁷. In the letter in 1938 by Madani, Iqbal stoutly dismissed Madani’s distinction as a philosophical conundrum between the *qaum* (nation) and *millat* or *ummah* in the context of the political situation in colonial India³³⁸. He unraveled that *qaum* and *millat*, both are synonymous. The nation-state is formed not by community, culture, and ethnicity, but by Islamic faith. Based on these, the formation of a nation-state is decided only by Islam and Islam is nationality and nationalism for Muslims. He writes; I have nothing to say even against this statement of Maulana Madani. Objection must, however, be raised when it is contended that in modern times nations are formed by lands and the Indian Muslims are advised to accept this view³³⁹. Iqbal argued that the concept of territorial nationalism was not Islamic and that the nation established on the basis of kinship, race, language, and territory was a curse for humanity. He further justified the theory of nationalism by the example of Prophet Muhammad, he explained that,

‘The Prophet Muhammad, if he does not immigrated from Makkah to Medina, and settled with the pagans of Makkah, and they unite based on race, language, and territory, and they continue worship their Goddess and Muslims will continue worship their God, then the Prophet Muhammad would have been the first nationalist and he will not be the messenger of Islam. He further goes on to say that, after migration of Medina, the Prophet Muhammad settled down the ‘*muhajirīn*’ and ‘*Ansar*’ communities based on faith and formed the Ummah, nation, and *Qaum*. Therefore, the nation-state came to exists not by nationalism or nationality but by the Islamic faith³⁴⁰.

³³⁶ Aziz Ahmad. *Islamic Modernism in Indian and Pakistan*, 192-3.

³³⁷ Barbara D. Metcalf. “Introduction”. In *Composite Nationalism and Islam, Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani*, Delhi: Manohar, 2005, 48.

³³⁸ *Ibid*,40.

³³⁹ Iqbal used the word “*millat*” in the sense of “*qaum*” (nation). No doubt, the word “*millat*” has been used to mean law and religion in Arabic and especially in the Holy Quran, but there exists in modern Arabic, Persian and Turkish language considerable evidence to show that the word “*millat*” is also used in the sense of nation, see, Muhammad Iqbal, Statement on Islam and Nationalism in Reply to a Statement of Maulana Husain Ahmad, Published in the *Ehsan* on 9th March, 1938, in *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, ed. Latif Ahmad Sherwani, Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1948,p, 300

³⁴⁰ Javid Iqbal. *Apne Gareban Chaak: Khud Nawisht Sawanih Hayat*, Lahore: Sange-e-Meel Publications, 2002,275-76

Allama Iqbal was not alone, who vehemently chastised the Madani's idea of nation-state. Later, Maulana Mawdudi opposed the first Indian nationalistic stand of Maulana Madani and of the Deoband ulama, and the later Pakistan's movement condemned its secular-minded leadership. He not only dissented with nationalist ulama of Deoband but also against the Jamiat Ulama-I-Hind; there was series of attacks and counter-attacks on both sides. Maulana Mawdudi assailed the 'composite' nationalist theory of ulama of Deoband on the same ground as did Muslim League, that however well-intentioned their nationalism was, it exposed Muslim India to grave dangers of religio-cultural absorption into Hinduism³⁴¹. The notion that nationalism is completely antithetical to Islam and the concept of Ummah for Mawdudi was given first priority in his idea of nation-states. To him, Islam envisages political integration of its followers despite its ethnic, linguistic, geographical or national identity. It is a unique kind bond of universal brotherhood and unity that crosses the man-made divisions of ethnicity, language, caste, and geography. Mawdudi considered that nationalism as a modern form of idolatry³⁴². Moreover, the idea of political thought by Mawdudi starts with premises that the main source of the constitution and law is the Quran and this ultimate legal and constitutional authority is contained in God alone. Although a measure of freedom of choice strictly limited and circumscribes by revealed injunctions has been allowed to man³⁴³.

On the other hand individuals like Azad and Madani, both were incongruent with the premises of composite nationalism. Both, dissented with Iqbal and Mawdudi, and conversely not blended religion with politics. Azad conversely was the champions of the composite nationalism as the counterpart of religious universalism and as a political substitute of the older 'universal' pan-Islamism. His theory of Muslim participation in Indian nationalism begins with a generalized humanism. The only link connecting individuals and individual is a common life on humanity and on the earth: all other relationships are artificial and unreal³⁴⁴. To him, Islam does not recognize any affinity other than the humanistic brotherhood; he rejected all other criteria of social groupings such as race, country, color, and language.

Men like, Maulana Sindhi was subservient to the Maulana Madni. Both seemed to have found nothing inherently contradictory between Islam and nationalism. Obaidullah Sindhi, trained by

³⁴¹ Aziz Ahmad. *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan*, p, 213,

³⁴² Sayyid Maulana Abul A'la Maududi. "Muttahiddah Qaumiat aur Islam". In *Tehreek-e-Azadi Hind aur Musalman*, compiled by Khursheed Ahmed, Lahore: Islamic Publications, Vol. 1, 1972, 311-331.

³⁴³ Ibid, 216.

³⁴⁴ Ibid,186.

Mahmood ul Hasan, was the first Indian Muslim to adopt the nationalist point of view in the interpretation of the history of Islamic world. The most important element of Maulana Sindhi's religious and political thought is humanism. It is drawn from the Quran. Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi, after being exiled for a long time, returned to India, then, Jamiat Ulama Bengal invited him to deliver a presidential address in Calcutta, where people have acquainted with his specific ideas for the first time. He spoke a lengthy speech, where he narrated the idea of European form of nationalism. Afterward, in his speech he went to say.....'If our nation wants to refrain from revolution which is damaged in other parts of the world and it continues to spread in other parts. Then it will have to promote the European form of nationalism',³⁴⁵. Sindhi knew that there was need to bring together the ulama and western educated youth³⁴⁶. He wanted to synthesize Islamic principles with national aspirations.

Men like Ahmed Raza were inspired by the Prophet, Muhammad. He had a deep love of the Prophet Muhammad. He wanted to make the love of the Prophet Muhammad, a basic element in the religious life of the Muslims. Ahmed Raza believed that religion is the central component of the nation and it must stay with the nation. He thought that separating religion from the nation, nothing is left fine. Furthermore, had a firm belief that religion should be part of the political if the religion is divorced from politics the result is cruelty. He instructed the Muslims that if a person desires to develop love of religion or secret of the religion or understanding religion, they should follow the Prophet Muhammad path in totality.

Ahmed Raza did not influence any political thinkers and philosopher of his times, but he combined politics and Sharia with the analysis of current situations of that period. His political thought lead to us to understand the glorification of Islamic heritage and on the other hand, having ability to understand the different issues in modern trends with the context of the current situation. His ideology is covered with historical paradigms, was influenced by the career of the Prophet Muhammad and Khulafa-e-Rashidīn and the establishment of first Islamic state in Medina. He wanted to teach Muslim society on those principles (Sharia, Prophet Path), which cannot fall into action on Muslim society.

³⁴⁵ Sayyid Maulana Abul A'la Maududi. "Kiya Hindustan Ki Najāt Nationalism mien Hai". In *Tehreek-e-Azadi Hind aur Musalman*, compiled by Khursheed Ahmed, Lahore: Islamic Publications, Vol. 1, 1972, 335-371.

³⁴⁶ S.S.A. Rizvi. "The Breakdown of the Traditional Society". In *The Cambridge History of Islam*, P.M. Holt, ed. Vol. ii, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971, 96.

People like, Iqbal was the chief theorist of the Muslim state. On the other hand individual like Azad was the chief theoretician of the Khilafat movement in British India. Both Iqbal and Azad have inspired the religio-political ideas of al-Afghani, but while Iqbal has taken the place of a multi-national concept of neo-pan Islamism which he has spurned the principle of caliphate as inapt to modern times. The role of accent in the concept of Iqbal's universe is that of man, which led to the political, social and ethical views, which reflects the position of man's responsibility and emphasizes the values of power, derivative and creativity. Azad emphasized the role of God primarily respected man's responsibility in the form of ethical and moral³⁴⁷. Men like, Ahmed Raza were deeply inspired the life of the prophet Muhammad. He was stoutly rejected the all ideas of the Deoband form of nationalism. Ahmed Raza usually accomplice religious-social reform with political reform, because in his opinion Islam provide and covers all facets of life³⁴⁸. He believed that Islam is not just a religion but a complete system of life, in which there is a set of ideas, institutions, culture, and civilization. He did not influence any political ideology or doctrine; he realized to the Muslim that, Islam does not need renaissance or reformism, instead it is necessary that to understand the right meaning and correct practices of Islam. So, it will not require any doctrine or ideology for Muslims³⁴⁹. He deeply loved Islamic tradition, culture, and civilization. He was dyed with Islamic hue and wanted to see every Muslim a fan of his own culture.

IV. Barelwi Movement with regard to Kichaucha Sharif:

Muhaddis Azam-e Hind Syed Shah Mohammad Ashrafi Jilani Kichauchwī was born in Qasbah Jais, the district of Rae Bareilly in 1311/1894, and died in Lucknow in 1380/1961. Kichauchwī's father tutored him in Primary education at home, where usually taught the noted Persian books. He enrolled for higher education in madrasa Firangi Mahali Lucknow, where he received certificate of excellence. After that, he moved to Aligarh, where he joined the renowned theological seminary of Aligarh madrasa, and benefited from eminent scholar Lutfullah Aligarhi, and awarded the title of Allama (erudite scholar). He spent some time studying in Badaun, where he acquired traditional knowledge of manqulāt (consist of Hadīth, Qur'anic tafsīr, and Prophetic tradition) and ma'qulāt (consist of logic, mathematics, and philosophy). There he also got

³⁴⁷ Aziz Ahmad. *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan*, 186.

³⁴⁸ Mohd Zafar-Uddin Bihari. *Hayat Ala-Hazrat*, Bareilly: Imam Raza Academy, 2014.

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

familiarized with the writings of Ahmed Raza Khan (d.1340/1921) and Allama Fadl-I Haqq Khairabadi (d.1278/1861) one of the founder member of the Barelwi movement. Maulana Kichauchwī was one of the closest disciples of Ahmed Raza, where he learned fatwa writings under the counsel of him. Once Syed Shah Ahmed Ashraf Kichauchwī, the maternal grandfather of Muhaddis Azam-e Hind Kichauchwī presence in Bareilly to honor with the Ahmed Raza, after the departure from Bareilly Sharif, Kichauchwī entreated to Ahmed Raza Khan, Huzoor, ‘I wanted that my nephew (Muhaddis Azam-e-Hind) present in services of yours, Huzoor, the expedient idea of the presence’. Ahmed Raza uttered that, of course, it is certainly a matter of honor with the presence of Kichauchwī and here he writes a fatwa, and give a lecture in madrasa Manzar-I Islam. “O my nephew (Ashraf), you possess very noble qualities and come from a high family, whatever I have received from the grace of Prophet Muhammad, he is his charity³⁵⁰.

Maulana Kichauchwī returned to Jais where he preferred intellectual literary and Islamic activities to the practice of tabligh (*dawah*) and Barelwi movement. In his poetry and other writings, Kichauchwī was strongly influenced by mystical thought. Kichauchwī was initiated of Ashrafia Sufi order (*ashrafia silsila*) and he influenced by the Sufi philosopher, such as Ibn al-Arabi, as well by great Persian and Turkish Sufi poet such as Ashraf Jahangir Simnani and Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi and many others. In fact well known in his sermons (*khutbahs*’) and memoir (*tazkira*), he moved from more philosophical and metaphysical interesting to call for an Islamic activism. Based on spiritual principles such as love (*Ishq*) and spiritual poverty (*fakhr*), we find sources for this activity in his understanding of the meaning the life of Holy Prophet Muhammad. Shortly thereafter, Kichauchwī has taken oath of allegiance to the hand of Ahmed Ashraf Jīlani, the Sajjadah Nishin of Astana Alia Kichaucha Sharif. He was engrossed in spiritual retreat from the venerable Sufi saint and spent three years in religious or spiritual exercise and self-abnegation³⁵¹.

Muhaddis Azam-e Hind Syed Shah Mohammad Ashrafi Jīlani Kichauchwī (b.1311/1894 was concerning love for Prophet Muhammad. Barelwi held him one of the greatest active leaders in Barelwi movement in South Asia. Kichauchwī despite immersed himself in his political activism and tabligh; he continued composed and compiled the number of books and risala. He wrote

³⁵⁰ Malik Al-Zafar Shashrami. “Muhaddis Azam-e-Hind aur Imam Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi ki Khidmat”, *Mahnama Jame-i-Noor*, 2011, & Mustafa Raza Qadri, *Malfūzāt Ala-Hazrat*, 66.

³⁵¹ Ibid.

more than thirty-five books and short treatises (risalas'), which has been published and printed in many editions, and more than that the books and risalas', which could not have published and printed due to some reason. Almost every field has written an annotation on variegated books. Besides his works of exclusively political nature, he particularly focused on the Quranic studies. His works pertaining to the various aspects of Islam, as enshrined in the Quran, and he rendered the Quran from Arabic language into Urdu and also started exegesis of the Quran, but made few paragraphs, time came close to death.

Maulana Kichauchwī, who was an impressive public speaker, took an active part in public discussion of religious controversies about the anti-Islamic polemics of Christian as well as Hindu Arya Samaj missionaries. In 1912, he founded *Mahnama al-Ashraf* to propagate his nationalistic and anti-imperialistic stand. Moreover, he was successfully launched a movement against the Suddhi and Qadiani movement, where, he rejected the ideas of Suddhi, Qadiani, and Wahhabi movements based on his writings. In addition, he was associated oneself with Deobandis' and Wahhabis' in *munazara* (debate), to keep the good faith of the Ahle-Sunnat w Jamaat. He had a good deal of *munazara* as a capacity of president of the All India Sunni Conference or as a prestige speaker or assistant to their followers. Moreover, Kichauchwī was guardianship of numerous Ahle-Sunnat organizations' and he has presided over a numbers of meetings including, All India Sunni Conference, Jamaat Raza-I Mustafa Bareilly, All India Tabligh Seerat Bombay, All India Sunni Jamiyat Ulama Kanpur, and Al-Jamiyat Al-ashrafia, Mubarakpūr, while, he was initiated more than hundred religious and welfare organizations for the national building. However, Kichauchwī was organized a public gatherings at the countrywide level and he shaped the new direction of the Barelwi movement. In short, his travels outside India provided him an opportunity to realize the conditions as well as the problems and challenges faced by the Muslims all over the globe.

For most concern for Kichauchwī in his throughput life, he wanted to revive and renew in the field of education in general and Islamic education in particular. For instance, he made a clear that education is the vigor of the community and mind. By the process of educating the community will shape in right direction. To him, all the sects (Wahhabi, Qadiani) created by the British government, and they were all defect of education. He seems to suggest that there is a

need education in the right direction that is path of Prophet Muhammad³⁵². Kichauchwī vociferously demanded that the British government should make a separate Islamic ‘Darul-Qaza’ in every district and province to settle cases related to the Muslim personal law. He expressed his opinion in khutba, to scrapped all ritualistic and customary law which were not related to Muslim personal law, instead his desired to place the women’s property and inherent rights for a more egalitarian society³⁵³.

Kichauchwī does not see Islam as inimical to the politics. He considered that politics should not constrain from religion and the role of religion should not limit in the field of politics. Because he thinks that, ‘in which state there is a restriction of religion and faith and in which state there is no fundamental principles of security, safety and freedom. It is not politics but this is the death and the end of politics’³⁵⁴. Kichauchwī also drew attention on ‘good’ and ‘bad’ politics in his contemporary times. He described bad politics in relation with power politics. He explains that in present times the politics is derived from power and it is all over the game of balance of power. Maulana Kichauchwī, who surmised that, but whatever it is, not politics, but it, is a kind of game. The good politics which is holds esteem respect the nation and community and also helps to the survival of the state. In the good politics, it is also respect human dignity and self-respect and until that time, they could not understand when they do not study in depth of Islamic knowledge and sciences³⁵⁵.

The First Political Organization of the Barelwi School:

After the death of Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi in 1921, some of his Khalifas and disciples went on, in the 1920s, to become prominent leaders of the Barelwi movement during Khilafat and Indian nationalist movements. He looked upon them as lieutenants or right-hand men, who could be counted upon to debate with an opponent; run a newspaper or madrasa... generally promotes the goals of the movement in their hometowns but did not regard them as spiritual disciples³⁵⁶. The first organization of the Barelwi ulama, the All India Sunni Conference was

³⁵² Zakir Hussain Ashrafi. *Hayat Muhaddis-e- Azam Hind*, Shahab Ganj: Al-Ashraf Academy, 1996.

³⁵³ Muhaddis Azam-e Hind Kichauchwī. “Khutba-I Sadarat in All India Sunni Conference Banaras 1946”. In *Hayat Muhaddis Azam-e Hind Kichauchwī*, ed. Shah Syed Mohammad Mazahir, Karachi: Maktaba Simnani.

³⁵⁴ Ibid, 56-57.

³⁵⁵ Muhaddis Azam Hind Kichauchwī. *Khutba All India Sunni Jamiat Ulema Conference* was held in Mumbai.

³⁵⁶ Usha Sanyal. *Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi in the Path of prophet Muhammad*, Oxford: Oneworld, 93.

formed in Moradabad in March 1925. The Ahle-Sunnat ulama known as Barelwis and Sufi Shaikhs gathered at Jamia Naimia Madrasa Moradabad on March 1925, where they laid the foundation stone of the All India Sunni Conference, the first Ahle-Sunnat organization in Indian history. The purpose of the Sunni conference sought a space in colonial Muslim politics, especially it was answer to the Jamiat Ulama Hind and it was intended to reach the Ahle-Sunnat nationwide. In fact, it was larger interest was allied with Muslim League with their aims and objective to the Pakistan movement. Only orthodox Sunnis become its members. Even the definition of ‘Sunni’ was given in the Constitution of the party. Apart from criticizing the policies and programs of the Jamiatul Ulama-I-Hind, and the Congress, the All India Sunni Conference also appealed to the Muslim not to join the Congress. The organization has passed several resolutions in favor of Sunni Muslim interests³⁵⁷. Maulana Naimuddin Moradabadi elected as the president of the All India Sunni Conference, whereas Pir Jamaat Ali Shah was elected as the president of the organization.

In 1925, All India Sunni Conference organized a first ‘Sunni Conference’ in Moradabad, where Barelwi ulama, Sufis, and learned men gathered from Kashmir to Kanyakumari at the Jamiat Alia madrasa. The delegates and Sufis’ Shaikhs were belongs relatively to the Khanaqahs, madrasas, and Ahle-Sunnat organizations. In the ‘Sunni Conference’, Hamid Raza (Ahmed Raza’s son) was one who had addressed the historical presidential address, in which he outlined the problems of political, economic, religious, educational problems of the Muslims in British India. At the Sunni Conference, Barelwi ulama rejected the principle of Hindu-Muslim unity as means of achieving freedom. Indeed, in his welcome address, Hamid Raza Khan (Ahmed Raza’s elder son) rejected the goal of freedom itself, saying that since Swaraj would amount to Hindu raj he prayed that the Hindus would not succeed in their goal. Instead, he and others spoke of the need to work for the education and economic uplift of Muslims and for social issues on a national scale³⁵⁸. There are numbers of steps has taken by the Sunni Conference. The first demand was to remove anxiety among the Sunni Muslims and create trust among the Muslim communities. The second step has taken, to established Ahle-Sunnat branches in every city, Qasbah, and village and to strengthened the present Ahle-Sunnat organization and provide

³⁵⁷ There are numbers of steps has taken by the Conference. The first demand was to remove anxiety among the Sunni Muslims and create trust with the Muslim communities , the second step has taken, to established Islamic organization in every city, Qasbah, and village and present organization to strength the practice of tabligh works.

³⁵⁸ Usha Sanyal. *Devotional Islam and Politics in British India*, 308.

necessary efforts to improve the organization. After that All India Sunni Conference organized a second conference in 1927 at Muzaffarpur (Bihar), in which Maulana Syed Shah Kichauchwī was presided the conference, and demanded that British government protect the interest of the Sunni Muslims³⁵⁹. Similarly there was another Sunni Conference held in 1928 in Moradabad, in which the Pir Jamaat Ali Shah was banned from entering Moradabad by the British government. At the same time, Barelwi ulama organized a conference against the rejection of Nehru committee report (1928) and it also demanded the compulsory education.

Afterward, All India Sunni Conference organized a three-day *Jalsa*, (public gathering) in the Malda district of Bengal in 1930 in which Ahmed Ali Hussain Ashrafi and Syed Naimuddin Moradabadi joined the meeting as president's capacity. The Jalsa has passed several resolutions with the current situation of Indian Muslims. The resolution was proposed that Sunni Muslims should remain aloof from the Indian National Congress. This was the order from the religious and ideological ground. The Jalsa highlighted the misleading policy of Jamiat Ulama-Hind as an

³⁵⁹ In this conference, where Kichauchwī emphasized in his Khutba, Kichauchwī sees Tabligh is the real services of Islam and the dawah is the second name of Islam. He was craved to see in the future that every Muslim should be perfect in every aspect of their life. In his Khutba, he describes that 'our history tells us that we had number of rulers, Pīr and ulema were preacher of Islam. These preachers were glorified and Islam was spread to different parts of India, because of them, the truth and justice were also prevailed in the society. For Kichauchwī, Tabligh to the gift of faith, all these things were only for the purpose of religious sermon. Tabligh was not only for religious purpose, but also had assets of the Islam. Tabligh was part of Islam but there is no complete center for Tabligh to the Sunni Muslim. His desired to establish a full-fledged Tabligh center and set up branches in every district, so that, it will help in the field of mission, communication message and right practices of Islam to the Sunni Muslim. Kichauchwī wanted to establish everything under the banner of Sunni Muslim, for instance, he wanted to establish the printing press and a separate madrasa. The key objective of Kichauchwī was not to rely on British government, to make its intention of self-reliance and to build a platform, so that Sunni Muslim could get benefit from them. For him, the modes of preaching Islam were different from other Barelwi ulema. Kichauchwī wanted the Khanaqah to be made as an Islamic learning center, where the literatures related to their *maslak* could be published. His approach to preaching Islam should commence with Khanaqah; he said in his Khutba at the Banaras in 1946, the congregation of *Mahfil-e milad- Sharif* and *urs* should be made as a preaching of Islam, where Muslim learn correct practices of Islam and make them enlightened that Muslim not only care for every Muslim but also the means of community. For him, In addition to Khanaqah and madrasa, he also concentrated on the issue of health and gymnasium. He explains that 'our predecessors have given special attention to health and physical fitness. Even they have related wrestling to the place of worship. Kichauchwī wanted physical fitness and wrestling to be included in the national sport system'. His plan was to combine education and wrestling to implement it as the permanent institution. So it will work to the strength the country also in the national security. See, Zakir Hussein Ashrafi. *Hayat Muhaddis-e- Azam Hind*, Shahab Ganj: Al-Ashraf Academy, 1996. Syed Mohammad Jilani Ashraf. "Muhaddis Azam-e Hind: Hayat Aur Khidmāt". In *Muhaddis Azam-e Hind Aur Pakistan*, ed. Abdul Hakim Khan, Lahore: Markazi Majlis Muhaddis Azam Kichauchwī, 1989, 37-62. Shah Syed Mohammad Mazahir. *Hayat Muhaddis Azam-e Hind Kichauchwī*, Karachi: Maktaba Simnani.

expression of hatred and where it was also exposed that the Jamiat Ulama-Hind is the only organization for the few personalities and its puppet of the Indian National Congress. The Jalsa also declared that Jamiat Ulama-Hind is not the representative body of the Indian Muslims.

All India Sunni Conference (AISC) and Muslim League:

Barelwi ulama negotiated with the Muslim League for the establishment of the new state. Is there any capacity to debate and fixed the role of new state. In what bases Kichauchwī and other Barelwi ulama including Naimuddin Moradabadi and Allama Shah Abdul Aziz Moradabadi were negotiated the separate demand of state with Muslim League.

Soon after the creation of the first political organization of the Barelwi School, the organization sought a space in Indian Muslim politics and alliance with the Muslim league. All India Sunni Conference throughout was against the Indian National Congress and Jamiat Ulama-Hind. Maulana Kichauchwī, and other ulama negotiated the Muslim league on the basis that, there will be state on the basis of Quran or Islam and at the same time free government from any internal interference in one of part of British India, where the non-Muslim have right to propagate their religion, dignity, life, honor, and security. He put the condition to the Muslim League that if these demand are not considered by the Muslim league, then Sunni Muslim will not accept any formula and other meaning of Pakistan³⁶⁰. Maulana Kichauchwī vociferously demanded that Pakistan as independent and free government, in which there will be Islamic government on the basis of Islamic jurisprudence and Sharia. He compared the model of state to caliph Harun al-Rashid as an ideal state. Kichauchwī demanded a new state on the basis of the Abu Bakr's model, the first caliph in Islamic history, Umar Farūq, the second caliph, and Osman the third caliph and the last he draws attention to the Alvia Khilafat. Kichauchwī urged Sunni Muslims to demand continue for a new state if Sunni Muslims wants to live in a peaceful environment, protect their faith, future, and protect their mosque and adorn their Khanaqah and tomb. He advised in his speeches and writings that the Sunni Muslims continue support the Ahle-Sunnat organization such as All India Sunni Conference, as the role of model of the separate state of Pakistan. Barelwi School of ulama, who endorsed the idea of Pakistan under the flag of Muslim League on the part of Pakistan, the Quran of Islam is an independent government, and in which

³⁶⁰ Abdul Hakim Khan. *Hayat Muhaddis Azam Kichauchwī Aur Pakistan*, Lahore: Markazi Majlis Muhaddis Azam Kichauchwī, 1989, 28.

there will be right of minority, including, right to life, dignity, and respect under the prescribe law. The minority will take care of own affairs and matters under their own religion. Let them know their own religion.

Soon after the election was held, the All India Sunni Conference supported the Muslim League. But the Allama Shah Abdul Aziz Moradabadi was strongly objected alliance with the Muslim League. Moradabadi was the patron of the madrasa Ashrafia Mubarakpūr, well known Islamic learning centre of the Ahle-Sunnat w Jamaat. He has helped to the Masiakh and ulama and participated an active and as a responsible representative in the various organization, like All India Sunni Conference, Jamia Naimia Moradabad, All India Sunni Conference Kanpur, and All India Sunni Conference Bombay. Moradabadi also formed a separate branch of All India Sunni Conference (AISC) in Azamgarh and made a member of more than two thousand. For him, All India Sunni Conference was the resolute *Qaumi* and political platform of the Sunni Muslims, whereas, Muslim League was represented by the non-believers and skeptical. After that when election was held, the AISC was supported the Muslim League. Abdul Aziz Moradabadi, who was conscious about the Sunni Muslims, and he was aware that Muslim League control by heretic and deviant. He wrote a letter to his fellow ulama and urged that the AISC alliance with the Muslim League would be disastrous for Sunni Muslims and therefore, Sunni Muslims, as a result, would only be voters and command and leadership would be controlled by heretic. He further explained in his letter that, Nizām-e-Mustafa could never be formed in the leadership of Muslim League under the establishment of Pakistan³⁶¹. Having difference and different views on the alliance with Muslim League, Aziz Moradabadi resigned. Moradabadi resigned All India Sunni Conference as the post of president, because of the Muslim League did not define the model of the new state and what they have explained it was vague and unclear and the idea of new state was clash each other. His resignation letter sent to the Muhaddis Azam-e-Hind and Allama Naimuddin Moradabadi³⁶². Here I have translated the resignation letter sent by Moradabadi.

‘The period of perfidy, the Sunni Conference was the spiritual rapture of the new life of the Sunni Muslims. Had great hopes that the sheer religious and spiritual would be separate and detach from the other parties like Congress, Muslim League, Ahrar-e Islam, etc and Sunni organization will represent the Ahle-Sunnat and would be detach from

³⁶¹ Mubarak Husain Misbahi. “Muhaddis-I- Azam –e-Hind aur Al-Jamiyat al-Ashrafia”, *Jaam-e-Noor*, 2011, 102.

the deviant and heretical. Therefore, the Khadim was ready to serve All India Sunni Conference in the form of devoted passions. As per desire of Maulana Kichauchwī, a separate branch of All India Sunni Conference in Mubarakpūr, and new branch was established on the outskirts of the city. The work was done with remarkable struggle and cooperation to the locals. So, more than two thousand Sunni Muslims became regular members of Sunni Conference. But since the election phase started in India, the workers and the activists of the Sunni Conference started the campaign for the Muslim League. Group of Sunni Muslims and individual corroborated the League on the every surface, and dignitaries and other office holders have worked hard for the League. Therefore, the result from the hard work of the Sunni Muslims got worse. The workers of the Sunni Conference were impressed by the Khadim. Nevertheless, it was done justification, and it predicted the individual and local attributes on them. I used to think that the purpose of All India Sunni Conference is not corroboration of the Muslim League. Therefore, hopefully, it will be redressed in the meeting with All Indian Sunni Conference in Banaras. But we received an invitation letter for Sunni Conference in Banaras, which showed that the objective of All India Sunni Conference on the idea of Pakistan was not different from the opinion of the Muslim League. Although, Aziz Moradabadi interpreted the purpose of All India Sunni Conference, demand for an independent and powerful government, based on the principles of Sharia and Islamic jurisprudence. But from side of the Sunni Conference, the word of Pakistan can only be supplications for the Muslim League. Not as a full demand of Pakistan. Because Muslim League demanding for Pakistan, which is the only representative and claimant of all the Muslim community and at the same time Sunni Conference supported the Muslim League on the idea of Pakistan, and agreed to the British government formula of Pakistan. For Aziz Moradabadi, even, if All India Sunni Conference's encourages and corroborated the idea of Pakistan, then the Muslim League would get it, and the Pakistan will be based on the idea of Muslim League, and Mr. Jinnah, who has been highlighted repeatedly in various conferences and meetings that it can never be a form of *Hukumat-Ilahi* (the rule of the God) in Pakistan. Pakistan will be democratic state, wherein there will be right of freedom and worship for the minorities. As Mr. Jinnah already said in the Muslim League newspaper *Tanweer* in April, there will be no rule of fanatic religious leaders in Pakistan¹. Therefore, Aziz Moradabadi resigned as a member of Sunni Conference, because Sunni Conference continues encouraged and corroborated idea of Pakistan's Muslim League. He further said that now it has no place for the justification nor can any hope be expected. Therefore, with great regret, resigning as a member of Sunni Conference and most sincerely request to you, if the Sunni Conference detach from the Muslim League, then I will be prepared to join Sunni Conference ahead.

Last meeting of the All Indian Sunni Conference was held at Banaras in 1946:

The Banaras conference had paved the way for strengthening the Barelwi movement and it was an important key link to the concatenation of political activism for the Kichauchwī. Kichauchwī throughout his political career, he represented as spokesperson of the Barelwi movement and was an active chairperson of the All India Sunni conference and his activism and political struggle reflected a major role in the demand of Pakistan, creation of Pakistan and the existence of Pakistan. In the late 1940s, Kichauchwī became a more active, and he was more vocal and

concerned about the establishment of the Pakistan. The All India Sunni Conference was held on 27-30 April 1946 at Fatimah Bagh in Banaras, and this conference became a milestone for the Pakistan movement. In this conference two thousand ulama, Sufis and more than sixty thousand of the common people participated. The conference was held in Banaras and chaired by Muhaddis-e-Azam Hind, Pir Syed Jamaat Ali Shah Muhaddis Ali Puri and also life and soul of the organization of Syed Maulana Naimuddin Moradabadi. Kichauchwī was presided the presidential address of the conference and he himself gave a full speech where he triumphed the perspicuity and eloquence on the demand of separate nation-state. In his speech, he addressed not only the appraisal of national diseases of the Muslim community but also has prescribed for the treatment to the national problem. The following line of Kichauchwī speech here quoted:

‘O, my Sunni religious leaders! I have used right now the word of Pakistan in the memorandum and earlier the word of Pakistan has used in different places. The word of Pakistan became the daily use in the region. Long live Pakistan on the wall and in the form of resolution the Pakistan is our right, and in the resonance of slogans, Pakistan is birthright. Mosque, Khanaqah, market and deserted areas, the word of Pakistan is continuing full of wave. The term Pakistan is also used by the nationalist leaders in Punjab and every Muslim league leader is also used in the country and we as a Sunni Muslim, the term Pakistan became a habit’³⁶³.

At the Banaras conference, he addressed Sunni Muslims, where he expressed the opinion that ‘the time has come to overthrow the British government and establish an Islamic government on the basis of Shariah and make them ideal model of state in comparison to the past’. Muhaddis Kichauchwī was drew attention to the Barelwi ulama and the mystics and mapped the idea of Pakistan in the Sunni conference was held in Banaras, where he has spoken, ‘the Pakistan is self-governed and independent government of All India Sunni Conference “in which there will be Islamic law based on the jurisprudence not for other community, rather there will be a government of Islam. In short, the Islamic state will be based on the model of Rashidīn caliphate³⁶⁴. On 29 April 1946, the all India Sunni conference passed a following resolution to demand of Pakistan.

“A meeting of All India Sunni Conference has declared full support of Pakistan’s idea and they announced that Ahle-Sunnat ulama and Sufis were ready to support all possible sacrifice in the formation of Islamic government and

³⁶³ Muhammad Sadique Qasoori. *Ākabar Tehreek-e-Pakistan*, Lahore: Noori Kitab Khana, Vol, 1. 1970.

³⁶⁴Muhammad Jalaluddin Qadri. *Khutbaat-e- All India Sunni Conference*, Lahore:

it is our duty that forms such a government which is based on the Quran, Hadīth, Prophet and Islamic jurisprudence”³⁶⁵.

Barelwi School of ulama declared at the Banaras conference that the All Indian Sunni Conference, which was prepared to support the establishment of the separate state of Pakistan, based on the Quran, Hadīth, and Islamic law. Afterward, the creation of the separate state of Pakistan, Maulana Syed Naimuddīn Moradabadi and Maulana Syed Mohammad Kichauchwī, toured Pakistan for eighteen days and saw that the Muslim League and Pakistan government are not serious about the enforcement of Islamic law, they called for meeting for all masaikh and Barelwi leaders to form a separate Barelwi organization to put pressure on the Pakistan government to implement the Islamic law and Sharia³⁶⁶. Even Maulana Kichauchwī and Maulana Moradabadi was renamed the All India Sunni Conference to Jamiat Ulama of Pakistan as counterpart to Deobandi organization like Pakistan Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam.

Conclusion:

The chapter attempted to provide a complete overview on the Barelwi movement and their reformist agenda in the context of colonialism. The main objective of this chapter is to provide a Barelwi movement in the context of the socio-religious and political in the 19th and 20th century. Barelwi movement was started early 19th century with the founding member of the Ahmed Raza and his disciples including Syed Naimuddin Moradabadi, Syed Maulana Kichauchwī and many more. The Barelwi movement was politically conscious movement; it has taken a specific position on the issue of dar al-harb and dar al-Islam, Khilafat, cooperation movement, unity between Hindu-Muslim and actively participated in the Pakistan movement. The movement was especially not concerned the only religious reformist movement, but also Barelwi ulama raised the issue of political and socio-economic condition of the Indian Muslims.

Even Barelwis calls themselves a reformist Muslim, yet having orientation towards shariah and consciously determined the idea of implementation of shariah, in a way, it was more close their opponents-Deoband movement. In other words, other reformist movement such as the Deoband and Ahle hadis, Barelwi also set a belief in Islamic reformism in Indian subcontinent. Ahmed Raza’s scholarly writing style was that he did not initiate any progress in his books without

³⁶⁵ Muhammad Jalaluddin Qadri. *Khutbaat-e- All India Sunni Conference*, Lahore:, 283.

³⁶⁶ Shah Syed Muhammad Mazahir. *Hayat Muhaddis Azam-i-Hind Kichauchwī*, Karachi: Maktaba Simnani, 116-117.

consulting the Quran, Hadīth, and jurisprudence. With regard to poem in praise of Prophet Muhammad, he even acknowledged that he learned poetry as the Quran and Hadīth. In fact, the first shock the continuation of Islamic traditions after the publication of Shah Ismail Shahid book 'Taqwiyyat Iman'. The book *Taqwiyyat Iman* Barelwis believe that it is actually a copy of the book 'Kitab al-Tawhid' in the Indian version of Abdul Wahhab Najd. Prior to the act of announcement of the book, Muslims of India were divided into two groups, one group was represented by Sunni (Ahle-Sunnat) and other was represented by Shia. Ahmed Raza received 'As-Sawad al-Azam' from religious-cultural heritage. He attached Sawad al-Azam' to his heart, and he has developed his reasoning from predecessors. He also devoted the whole life to the path of the Sawad al-Azam and written extensively in defends of their successors. In fact, one of the biggest contributions of Ahmed Raza in the field of religion and even attached to their heart. He agreed with the Sawad al-Azam' ideas as well and for his services, he contributed and defends the argument of his ancestors. Ahmed Raza became one of the most ardent and devoted of his disciples. He was faithful of Deen and had fixed idea. He protected the predecessors through his scholarly writings and he has no negative attitude towards others. He put arguments and evidence with rationality.

Chapter Three:

Pak Makhdūm Dargah, Kichaucha Sharīf:

Abstract:

The chapter is built around four important themes. The first theme of this chapter is to explore syncretism, tolerance and pluralism (*section I*). The second theme of this chapter has explored common understating of what is saint or saintship. In order to understand, who is a saint, and how Barelwi ulama see and interpreted the saint (*section II*). The third themes in this chapter have explored controversy over visitation of the dargah. The section tried to distinguish between saint-worship and recites Fatiha in presence of Sufi saint. The purpose of this section illuminates the commonalities between Ashraf Ali Thanvi and Ahmed Raza on the issue of visiting dargah (*section III*). The fourth section has described the description and structure of the Pak Makhdūm dargah, Kichaucha Sharif (*section IV*). The chapter highlights the perception of dargah and asked who prefer to attend the Makhdūm Pak dargah and also addressed ritual activities in the dargah and inter-religious practice around shrine.

Introduction:

The existing literature on dargah suggests that shrine as a syncretic culture and its tolerance depicted as an inter-religious co-operation. Sufi and saint practices in South Asia have open up directed question the shrines as a practice of various communities. Previous ethnographic studies have generally outlines that Sufi shrines have varied functions in general. For instance, studies conducted by various ethnographers kept shrines as the syncretic and liminal space. Moini studied the rituals and customary practices on the dargah of Ajmer, how syncretic culture has been practiced with different backgrounds. He located the dargah of Ajmer Sharif in the parameter of syncretic culture and which is reality of the shrine practicing in India. He tended to explain the various customs and ceremonies that developed under the patronage and controls of Mughal, Rajputs, and Marathas generated an atmosphere of mutual understanding among different sections of society and gave stimulus to the growth of cultural affinity and spirit of cordially between Hindu-Muslim of the sub-continent³⁶⁷. Kerin Schwerin has studied the saint Worship in Indian Islam: the legend of the Martyr Salad Masud Ghazi an ethnographical study of

³⁶⁷ Moini, "Ritual and Customary Practice at the Dargah of Ajmer". In *Muslim Shrine In India: Their Character, History and Significance*, p, 61,

Ghazi Miyan at Bahraich district of Uttar Pradesh. He pointed out that saint worship is performed by all social classes of Indian Muslims and including Hindu and Muslim in north India. He further explain that the majority of Ghazi Miyan and Panch Pirs devotees are the lower caste Hindu and those converted from lower castes to Islam³⁶⁸. Saheb, who studied the shrine of Nagore Sharif's in Nagore district of Tamil Nadu. He writes that the Sufi saint Sahul Hameed Nagore is worshipped by Hindu-Muslim as a presiding God, and Sufi saint treated as place of veneration for all religious faiths. The other types of literatures exist in the context of the **psycho-analysis**, healing, illness and spirit possession. The shrine serves as the particular mundane problem of the visitors. For instance, in the case of Mir Data dargah in Gujarat, B. Pfeleiderer shows that the dargah can be provided for various curative and therapeutic routines³⁶⁹. On the other hand, Carla Bellamy looks at the dargah of Hussain Tekri, where visitors visit for the healing, illness and spirit possession³⁷⁰. The third kind of literature on the dargah the ethnographer looks at the controversy of visitation of dargah, where they deployed the method from the Ahle-hadīth, Wahhabi or Deobandi perspective. These early analyses of the controversy over visiting the shrine were primarily concerned with Ahle-Hadīth or Deoband perspective not with the Barelwi or Sufism perspective. Sociological, anthropological and psycho-analytical studies have been focused on Sufi shrines in South Asia.

I. Syncretism, Tolerance, and Pluralism:

Syncretism refers to the synthesis of different religious forms. Syncretism and pluralism often use in the context of the shrine. It is a contentious and contested term which has undergone many historical transformations in meaning³⁷¹. The term 'syncretism' is often used in anthropology and history as if it were a transparent, descriptive term, referring to 'borrowing, affirmation, or integration of concepts, symbols, or practices of one religious tradition into another by a process of selection and reconciliation. Syncretism refers to the synthesis of different religious forms. It is a contentious and contested term which has undergone many historical transformations in

³⁶⁸ Kerin Schwerin. "Saint Worship in Indian Islam: The Legend of the Martyr Salar Masud Ghazi". In *Religion and Ritual among the Muslims in India*, ed. Imtiaz Ahmad, Delhi: Manohar, 1981. 1981, 154.

³⁶⁹ B. Pfeleiderer, "The psychiatry of a Muslim Shrine". In *Religion and Ritual among the Muslims in India*, ed. Imtiaz Ahmad, Delhi: Manohar, 1981.

³⁷⁰ Carla Bellamy. *The Powerful Ephemeral: Everyday Healing in an Ambiguously Islamic Place*.

meaning³⁷². The dargahs appeals transcended the boundaries of community and caste by attracting people drawn from different sectors of society. It consequently acted as a powerful syncretic force in a land characterized by variety in religion, belief, and custom³⁷³. Ashish Nandy one of the most distinguished social scientist in his article the *Politics of Secularism and the Recovery of Religious Tolerance*, where he has split religion into two kinds, faith, and ideology. By faith mean religion as a way of life, a tradition which is definitionally non-monolithic and operationally plural. By ideology he means religion as a sub-national, national or cross-national identifier of populations contesting for, or protecting non-religious, usually political or socio-economic interests. Such religious-as-ideologies are usually identified with one or more texts which, rather than the ways of life of the believers, then become the final identifies of the ‘pure’ forms of the religions³⁷⁴. Nandy derived the tolerance from the religious communities and traditional societies those who resides in the rural part of India. For Nandy, the traditional methods of life have developed inner principles of tolerance for centuries and these principles should play a role in contemporary politics. Further, he has taken into consideration these principles in the context of the communal violence between communities, where he generalized that more than ninety percent of the riots starts in urban India, and within Urban Indian, in and around the industrial areas. Even now in the 1980s, Indian villages and small towns can take credit for avoiding communal riots³⁷⁵. The historian Asim Roy describes in his book the *Islamic syncretistic tradition in Bengal* (1983) how syncretism came under attack by Islamic reformist movements in nineteenth-century Bengal. Roy in his chapter on *thinking over popular Islam in South Asia: Search for Paradigm* 2005, tried to explain the whole question of diversity and syncretism in Indian Islam. The central themes in Roy’s chapter meticulously analyses the weakness and scantiness of the Islamist position in relation to Muslim religious belief and practice in South Asia³⁷⁶. Roy has warned those claim for single monolithic universal Islam, is the only unhistorical but also fraught and grave danger in the global environment. He seems to suggest that there is a need and challenge to establish a consensual understanding of the unity

³⁷² Peter Van Deer. “Syncretism, Multiculturalism, and the Discourse of Tolerance”. In *Syncretism/Anti-Syncretism: The Politics of Religious Synthesis*, ed. Charles Stewart and Rosalind Shaw, London: Routledge, 1994.

³⁷³ E. Mann. “Religion, money and status, competition for resources at the Shrine of Shah Jamal Aligarh”. In *Muslim Shrines in India, their character History and significance*, ed. Christian W. Troll, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989, 169.

³⁷⁴ Ashish Nandy. “The Politics of Secularism and the Recovery of Religious Tolerance”, *Alternatives*, xiii, 1988, 178.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 188.

³⁷⁶ Asim Roy, 58.

and dynamism of Islam within the variety, plurality, and creativity of the Muslim world has never been greater and so critical³⁷⁷.

Long ago the debate took place between sociologist like Imtiaz Ahmad and historian like Francis Robinson on the issue of norms and Muslim practices. The collection of chapters on *Ritual and Religion among Muslim in India*, edited by one of most distinguish sociologist Imtiaz Ahmad. Ahmed cogently argues that Islam in India as practiced faith rather than merely as a theological and philosophical systems. He writes one does not have to go very far in order to understand the Islamic theological and philosophical precepts and principles on the one hand and local, syncretic elements on the other should be encompassed integrally with Indian Islam³⁷⁸. He seems to suggest that Islam, as practiced in India, is heavily underlined the local environments and contradicts the fundamentalist view of the belief and practices, which Muslim in India strict to follow³⁷⁹. Ahmad further explicate that the religious traditions of the Muslim in India comprises two distinct elements, one ultimate and formal derived from the Islamic text (scriptural Islam), the other proximate and local validated by ritual and customs that is popular Islam³⁸⁰. He seems to suggest that local shrine based Islam is the unique pattern of Indian Islam, which has developed in the past. He illuminate that Indian Islam has own struggle to survive in alien environment which exist in the present and continue will perdure in the future³⁸¹. Historian, such as Francis Robinson, bluntly criticized Ahmed's position on the issue of norms and Muslim practices. In his article, on *Islam and Muslim History South Asia* has seen the Muslim practices in South Asia with the text and historical norms. In other words, Robinson talk about the pattern of perfection contained in the foundational text of Islam including tradition and summed up in the law. He manifested the idea of holy-men, ulama, and Sufi who preserve and transmit the pattern of perfection³⁸². Robinson supported views by the Aziz Ahmad who considered that: "the folk and syncretic elements in Indian Islam, the worshipping saints, the barely disguised presence of Hindu godlings, the hint of pollution and the traces of caste, as mere temporary

³⁷⁷ Asim Roy. Thinking over Popular Islam in South Asia: Search for Paradigm, p, 61.

³⁷⁸ Imtiaz Ahmad, "Introduction". In *Ritual and Religion among Muslims in India*, ed. Imtiaz Ahmad, Delhi: Manohar, 1981, 14.

³⁷⁹ Ibid, p, 7

³⁸⁰ Ibid, p, 15

³⁸¹ Francis Robinson, *Islam and Muslim History in South Asia*.

³⁸² Robinson, 57,

anomalies which would eventually be eliminated by the actions of Muslim reformers³⁸³. Robinson criticized Ahmad because in his views Imtiaz Ahmad: “is able to make his assertion, one sense, because the case studies he has brought together embrace too short a period of time, because, perhaps, the sociological understanding of religion, and religious change, is not as ‘comprehensive’ as he would like to think. The historian’s extend view suggests that there is continual, if sometimes slow and barely perceptible, movement between visions, of perfect Muslim life and those which ordinary Muslim lead³⁸⁴. Later, Gail Minault participated in this debate through in her article on *some reflection on Islamic Revivalism vs. Assimilation among Muslim in India*, where she talks about the scriptures norms and local customary practices are co-exists in South Asian Islam. Minault further illuminates that unique of Indian Islam where she tries to suggest that there is a tremendous problems in scripture of Indian Islam while Muslim practice. She suggests that local and popular practices of Islam can be a unique case in India Islam³⁸⁵. On the other hand Anthropologist like, Veena Das proposed another model of normative practices of Indian Islam. In her article, for a folk Theology and Theological Anthropology of Islam³⁸⁶, she passionately response to Robinson suggesting that he favored repressive Islamic regimes, a position that made clear the political stake in a purportedly academic discussion.

In order to understand the norms and practices of Hindu-Muslims at dargah of Pak Makhdūm, the question here posed why Hindu-Muslim turned to the dargah. Why Hindu-Muslim devotees turned to Makhdūm Pak dargah and made pilgrims to the shrine. What do mean for Hindu-Muslim when they participate in the common culture of *haziri*? The chapter highlighted the perception of dargah and asked who prefer to attend the Makhdūm Pak dargah and also addressed ritual activities in the dargah and inter-religious practices around shrine. The study conducted at the Makhdūm Pal dargah with the help of interviews would help of aims of those attending shrines. The chapter is divided into three sections, the first section has explored, who is a saint and what is saintship. The second section will understand the saint or saint-worship form

³⁸³ Francis Robinson, 186.

³⁸⁴ Francis Robinson. *Islam and Muslim History in South Asia*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000, 62.

³⁸⁵ Gail Minault. “Some, Reflection on Islamic Revivalism vs. Assimilation among Muslim in India”, *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, November, 1, 1984.

³⁸⁶ Veena Das. “For a folk Theology and theological Anthropology of Islam”, *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 1, 1984.

the text would illuminate the significance of different forms of behavior at shrine. The chapter will not deal in the context of the external critique especially from the reformist groups in the South Asian Islam. The chapter will highlight the critique come from within, largely from the Barelwi Scholar, like Maulana Imam Ahmed Raza Khan.

II. Saint or Sainthood:

The concept of *wilāya* (sainthood or friendship with God) developed early centuries of Sufism and traced back to the period Prophet Mohammad, whose companions are said to have been forebears of the Sufi *silsilas*. As regards the historical background of the *wilāya* is concern, one can find the third/ninth century to be the period of early Sufism. Although a reading of Abu Nu‘aym’s ornament of Saints reveals that saying on friendship with God(*wilāya*) and friends of God(*awliyā*) were already being transmitted by mystics of second/ninth century³⁸⁷. Moreover one can be find Sufi quotations about *wilaya* from as early as the second century Hijra, Hakim Tirmidhi (9th century) is regarded as the first to have written systematically on the concept of *wilaya*. Later, Sufis like Ibn ‘Arabi and Ala al-dawla Simnani wrote extensively on the concept of the wali and wilaya. Sufi like, Ali Hujwiri was the first Sufi in the South Asia, who has written systematically on the principles of Sufism. He introduced Tirmidhi concept of *wilayahin* his famous book, *Kashf al-Mahjub*. The doctrine of *wilaya* and its related issues were discussed at the length by Sufis such as Syed Ashraf Jahangir Simnani, Gesu Daraz, Shaikh Muhammad Jaunpuri, Shaikh Abdul-Haqq Muhaddis Dehlvi, and Naqshbandi Sufi and mujaddid Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindhi. This section tried to look the concept of saint and who is a saint, how does the saint define, and what is the condition and status of being a saint in Islam. Do Barelwi ulama consider that saints are naturally born or socially constructed? The objective of this section is to interrogate whether the saints are socially constructed or born naturally.

Who is a Saint?

The Arabic *walī*, is from root meaning “close to near”, thus suggesting in this usage divine protection or patronage; it is related to the term often used for “sainthood” and saintly or religious authority”, *walāya* and *wilāya*. As a category, they are known in the plural as *awliyā*, *Allāh*. Moreover, the word usually translated as “saint” *wali* means someone who is under

³⁸⁷ Bernd Radtke. *The Concept of Wilāya in early Sufism*,

special protection, “friend”; it is the attribute given by the Shiites to Ali, the *Wali* Allah par excellence³⁸⁸. Arthur F. Buehler defined the meaning of wali;

Wali, the word roughly defined as “saint,” which is derived from the Arabic root w-ly and has a root meaning of proximity, generally is found in the construct wali Allah, that is, someone who is close or intimate with God. It is a designation that Muslims use to define a holy person and can refer to overlapping categories of pious people, religious scholars, Sufis, and Shia imams. In English wali is translated variously as protégé, intimate, a friend of God, or “saint.” A wali who has power over others has *wilaya* (being a protector or intercessor) while a *wali* with *wilaya* focuses on the closeness or nearness to God (being a friend of God). Both of these meanings can be harmonized with interpretations of Quranic usage. Except for hairsplitting grammatical discussions, popular usage conflates these meanings since one close to God has power to protect and intercede and vice versa³⁸⁹.

Awliyā is the plural of *wali* which means is near to god, *mohabb*, confessors and helpers. Ali Hujwiri in his book ‘*Kashf al-Mahjoob*’ explained the meaning of wali. It is possible that the God blesses the guardianship authority and dispose in the universe and his prayers will be accepted. In Sufi term of wali means that whose heart busy in the divine and glorify, praises, and there is no space for other except love of God, whom they love and hate only for the pleasure of God. Sufi like Ibn al-‘Arabi explained in his *Fūṭuhāt al-Makkiya*, wali means that God has blessed the four enemies like desire, self (*nafs*), devil and universe with jihad against world by their help and mercy³⁹⁰. An authority of the early century, Abu Abdullah sa-Salimi, defined the saint as “those who are recognizable by the loveliness of their speech, and fine manners, and submission, and generosity, showing little opposition, and accepting the excuse of everyone who excuses himself before them and perfect mildness towards all creatures, the good as well as the bad”. Thus, the ideal Sufi is here called a *wali*³⁹¹. Shaikh Abu Ali Harzani explained the meaning of *wali*, that means that the *wali* who is mortal and should remain with ‘mystical state’ (*hāl/ahwāl*) and ‘contemplation’ (*mushāhada*) and they are unaware of their *nafs* (ego-soul) and do not meet with *ghair*-Allah. The meaning of wali Simnānī’s is derived from ‘*Risala Qusyairiyah*’ made clear that the heart loves God affection and other than Him should be avoided. He explains that *wilāya* is derived from *wāla*, which means to be close, nearness or

³⁸⁸. See, John Renard, *Historical Dictionary of Sufism*, 2005, 99, and Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 1975, 199-200.

³⁸⁹ Arthur F. Buehler. “Saint,” *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*, ed. Richard C. Martin, New York: Macmillan, 2004, 607.

³⁹⁰ Cited in Allama Syed Shah Tarab al-haq Qadri. *Tasawwuf w Tariqat*, Lahore: Zavia Publishers, 2010, 84.

³⁹¹ Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 1975, 199.

proximity. There are two kinds of *wilāya*. One is *wilāyat āam* (common saintship) and second one that is *wilāyat khāss* (special saintship). *Wilāyat āam* is the common to all eligible believers. Every believer admitted in that. *Wilāyat āam* is nearness to *lutf-ilahī* (divine grace). One who is admitted to God and acquainted with God is called the saint. As, all believers are closer to God's grace. Therefore, God has infidelity through forgiveness and has blessed him with the light of faith (*nūr-e-īmān*). *Wilāyat khāss* (special saintship or noble) refer to the *arabab-sulūk* (wayfarers'). *Wilāyat khāss* is fixed for those who are near to God. It refers to the right of the servant, for instance, God placed Abdul Qadir Jilani as a Muslim mystic of the highest order.

Explaining saint's stipulation, Simnani said that the saint should be alim; there is no place for ignorance in the concept *wilāya*. It is necessary for the saint should have the knowledge of Quran, hadīth, and jurisprudence, as well as saint, should be alim not ignorant. His deed and actions should be approved by the Sharia and mystical order. He should have the qualities of the Prophet Muhammad and his way of life. He should have subtleness language, virtue of morality, good humor, generosity, and benevolent. He should have abandoned the undesirable act and be ready to accept the virtues and noble character and he has become unaware of everything other than God. Ashraf Jahangir Simnani surmises that the friends of God are of any category, such as the mystic of the highest order, nobles or chiefs, hidden and solitary; they are not capable of attaining unity with God after passing through various stages of self-purgation and self-purification³⁹². God saved Prophet from error and sin (*masūm*). Likewise, the God protect saints against enemies and sin. Shaikh Shibli explains in *Lataif Ashrafi*, that purity is different for anyone except Allah. This means that if want to accept Allah and other worship, then ensure that the distance between purity and non-purity should be maintained. Ashraf Jahangir Simnani and Shaikh Shibli's idea came to conclusion that the stipulation of *wali* is based on proximity and propinquity to Allāh.

Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi defined the meaning of *wali*. When a Muslim engages in the worship of God, abstains from sins, do not associate with the world, and follows on the path of the prophet Muhammad, he becomes a friend of God and a beloved of God. Such a person is called a

³⁹² Fana fillah/annihilation in Allah is a mystical concept which states that man is capable of attaining unity with Allah after passing through various stages of self-purgation and self-purification. This is a state when man loses his existence into Allah's existence. The concept of baqi billah/permanence within Allah is a natural corollary of concept of 'fana fillah'; baqi billah means when man loses his existence in Allah's existence, he becomes permanent existence because Allah's existence is permanent.

wali. At times, a wali does certain acts which cannot be done by others. These acts are called Karamat (miracles, or noble and excellent deeds). Further, Thanvi differentiated the stage and station of wali and prophet. For him, no matter how high a stage a wali may reach, he will never be equal to a prophet. Do not compare the status of companion with the saint. For Thanvi the status of companion is so high that even Abdul Qadir Jilani cannot reach a stage equal to the lowest companion of the Prophet Muhammad. Thanvi emphasized that no one knows the unseen or hidden knowledge except God. However, certain things are made known to prophets through revelations to walis through manifestations and inspirations (*Kashf* and *Ilham*), and to ordinary people through signs³⁹³.

The true *wali* (saint) is sincerely loyal and follows in the footsteps of the Prophet Muhammad. The wali should be a follower of the Sunni tenet of Islam. Ahmed Raza insisted that if saint has vicious practices of religion and apostasy, then he cannot be true follower of the Prophet Muhammad path. Saint should be Alim and should have knowledge of Fiqh as well acquainted with Ahle-Sunnat doctrines. It also knows of difference between monotheism and polytheism and it should be the knowledge of righteousness and digression through the right path. *Wilāyat* means who is mortal in the name of God and remaining with Him. Abiding in its existence is to be annihilated. It is also important to understand that the unveiled wali should be *alim*, cannot be ignorant. Ahmed Raza believes that *ghaus* “helper” lives in every period. Without *ghuas* “helper” there cannot be subsists of heaven and earth. *Ghaus* Akbar is a Prophet, Mohammed. Then Abu Bakr Siddiq has honored the first *ghuasin* Muslim Ummah. After him, Umar Farooq was granted to *gauth*, Hazrat Osman, Hazrat Imam Hussain, and Imam Hussain Askari³⁹⁴. Sufi like, Ali Hujwiri believes that there are four thousand *awlīyas* who are hidden to people and no one recognize to each others. But they are unaware of their own guardianship. It’s hidden for all its positions and creatures. The highest spiritual authority is the *Qutb*, “axis, pole”, or *gauth*, “help”. He is surrounded by three *nuqabā* “substitutes”, four *autād*,”pillars” seven “abrār, “pious” forty *abdāl*, substitutes,” three hundred *akhyār*, “good,”. They all recognized each other and they are destitute to take permission of seniors for their own affairs³⁹⁵. At the same time, Ali Hujwiri pointed out that all companions are *Awliyā’ Allāh*. They are not blameless. But the God protects

³⁹³ Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi. *Heavenly Ornaments (Bahishti Zewar)*, Karachi: Zam Zam Publishers, 2005, 25.

³⁹⁴ Muhammad Mustafa Raza Khan. *Malfūzāt-e-Āla-hazrat*, Karachi: Maktaba-tul-Madina, 2009, Vol, I, 178,

³⁹⁵ ALI Hujwiri, *Kashf ul-Mahjoob*,

them by their own grace and no wali can be against the Sharia laws. All the *awliya* is the below the rank of Prophet and no *wali* can be reached at the *maqām* of Prophet Mohammed. Similarly, any wali cannot occupy the *maqām* of companions.

Amjad Alī Azmi, student and Khalifa of the Ahmed Raza explained the meaning and the concept of *wali*. He writes in his *Fatāwā Bahar-e-Shariat*;

‘*Wilāya* is a special kind of nearness to god. God is merciful and gracious and God blesses his chosen servant with his blessings. *Wilāya* is given presented and not individual could achieve with intense actions. However, perhaps *wilāya* received through reward from God and initially, few are received *Wilayat nama* through god. *Wilāya* does not get without knowledge or as they have received *ilm-zahir*³⁹⁶.

There are two types of *Awliya*. One is *Tashrieawliya* and second one that is *Taqvini awliya*. *Tashrie Awliya* means that is righteous and devoted Muslim and received the divine nearness. Every forty years there is a *tashrie wali* among righteous Muslim. *Takvini wali*, they are honored servants and which is authorized to dispose of the world. Mufti Amjad Ali writes;

‘The god is merciful and pious and has given power and authority to *Awliyas*. He blessed the *wilāya* with dispose and authority and authorized them with the peace and depravity. *Awliyas* they are the trerepresentative of Prophet Mohammed. They do receive the authority and position under the deputation of Prophet Mohammed. Unseen knowledge revealed over them³⁹⁷.

The above paragraph meticulously tried to explain that saint is not socially constructed but it is a natural born. For instance like Abdul Qadir Jilani, Ali Hujwiri, Nizamuddin Auliya are the natural born of Sufi saint, etc. Whereas some have attained the position of *wilāya* after the piety, righteousness, and enthusiasm and some have blessed the *wilāya* under the guidance of *wali*.

Acts which are sinful do not become permissible for him. The person who acts contrary to the Shariah cannot be friend of God, if he does some miraculous act, then it is neither magic nor something enacted through the influences of the soul and Satan. These things should not be believed in. At times, a wali comes to know of certain mysterious things either in his sleep or while awake. This is shown as *Kashf* or *Ilham* (manifestation or inspirations). If these things are in conformity with the Sharia, they are acceptable, if not, they have to be rejected.

³⁹⁶ Mufti Amjad Ali Azmi. *Bahar-e-Shariat*, 129.

³⁹⁷ Ibid, 130.

III. Controversies over visitation of Dargah:

There has been long-standing opposition in India from factions, particularly from some section of ulama, to the practice of venerating pirs and dargah. It is a matter of controversy in the subcontinent that the visit of a saint's tomb or ziyarat and certain ulama did not allow such form of practices of visiting shrine in Islam. In South Asian Islam scholars have written and argued extensively about the permissibility of shrine visitation and the appropriate form of worship, if attendance is indeed allowed or not. Most of literature we find that the authors have discussed about the visiting shrine which are often between visiting shrine and the saint worship or interpreted from the Ahle-hadīth or Deoband perspectives. The section tried to illuminate how Barelwis sees the visiting shrine and many alleges Barelwi as saint-worshippers. The Barelwi formally recognize and encourages the existence of dargah and the custom 'urs', while the Deobandis consider them processes degeneration of Islamic values³⁹⁸. The section also tried to distinguish between saint worship and recites Fatiha in presence of saint. The objective of this section is to highlights the 'commonalities' between Ashraf Ali Thanvi (d. 1943) and Ahmed Raza (d.1921) on the issue of visiting dargah. These two theologians represent one of the largest Schools in South Asia and their followers reside in different parts of the world. Ahmed Raza and Ashraf Ali Thanvi have been seen by their followers and by scholars as opponents. Ashraf Ali Thanvi represents the Deoband School and Ahmed Raza represents the Barelwi School of thought. Barelwis held him as the mujaddid or reformer of the 20th century in South Asia. On the other hand, Deoband School considered Ashraf Ali Thanvi as the Hakimul Ummat of the South Asia. In view of their spiritual authority and their revivalist efforts, both the Ahmed Raza and Ashraf Ali Thanvi have been widely seen by their followers as mujaddid, both the centennial revivers promised in a saying of the prophet³⁹⁹. In the discourse of dargah, we find number of literatures have found that there is a perception that a visitor worships the saints. But there is a different here two distinguished the saint worship and saint worship in presence of saint. Of course, no theologians allowed the practice of saint worship and it is come under the preview of worshipping non-God.

³⁹⁸ E. Mann. Religion, Money and Status, Competition for Resources at the Shrine of Shah Jamal Aligarh. In *Muslim Shrines in India, their Character History and Significance*, ed. Christian W. Troll, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989, 167-8.

³⁹⁹ Fuad S. Naeem. "Sufism and Revivalism in South Asia: Mawlana Ashraf Ali Thanvi of Deoband and Mawlana Ahmad Raza Khan of Bareilly and their Paradigm of Islamic Revivalism", *The Muslim World*, 99, 2009, 447.

Shah Wali Allah was the great Muslim scholar, who died in 1762. Shah Wali Allah also was Naqshbandi Sufi with links to the Naqshbandi Mujaddiya Tariqa as well as to other many Sufi orders. He is not only respected as a Sufi. However, he was translation of the Quran, Hadīth scholar, legal expert and the reformer, who is respected by all segments of the opinion in the Muslim communities. Being follower of Hanafi School of jurisprudence, Shah Wali-Allah was an important field of interminable knowledge and contemplation. Even today, his Fiqh maslak is controversial between ulama and writers. Followers of Hanafi School of jurisprudence in South Asia, when they write about Shah Wali Allah, then they gave more emphasis to bring to him into Hanafi school of Fiqh and his identity is set aside in the form of *muqallid*. On the other hand, Ahle-Hadīth ulama, who obliterated the *taqlid* tradition, try their efforts to prove them as a *ghair-muqallid*. He personally disliked the attitude of giving preference to one school of law over the other. He treated them all equally and tried to remove the difference wherever he found⁴⁰⁰. Shah Wali Allah was admired and influenced by great Hanbali scholar and jurists Ibn Taymiyyah, whose view is similar to the Shah Wali Allah. He was staunch followers of Hanafi School of jurisprudence, including his father and uncle. Even his teachers were Shāfi'ī School and he studied Hanbali, Māliki School of law.

Shah Wali-Allāh accepted two forms of ultimate authority, the prophet message as stated in the Qur'an, and the Hadīth or the accounts of the prophetic tradition⁴⁰¹. He has shared Ibn Taimiyya views in a number of times and number of issues, including the dangers of shrine cult. The reformist and Hanbali scholar, Ibn Taymiyyah (d.728/1328), who was the first scholar, vociferously rejected the visiting shrine and taking help from the saint's tomb. Taimiyya controversially declares that visiting graves (*ziyarat al-qubūr*), even the Prophet's grave, constitutes idolatry⁴⁰². Even, Abdul Wahhab strictly prohibited grave visitation included both genders. Wahhab recounted a hadīth forbidding both men and women from visiting graves and setting up mosques and lights over them. He then specified that women, as well as men, were forbidden from carrying out such practices⁴⁰³. Even Ibn Taymiyyah had been troubled by the

⁴⁰⁰ G. N Jalbani. *Life of Shah Waliyullah*, Delhi: Idarah Adabiyat-I Dilli, 1980, 56.

⁴⁰¹ Kenneth W. Jones. *Socio-religious Reform Movement in British India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989, 37.

⁴⁰² Richard Gauvain. *Salafi Ritual Purity in the Presence of God*. London: Routledge, 2013, 6.

⁴⁰³ Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab considered the issues of tomb visits and requests for the intercession of holy people with God to be so important that he devoted one-sixth of *Kitab al-Tawhid* to their discussion. Out of a total of sixty-six chapters in *Kitab al-tawhid* four discuss the prohibition against worship and prayer at or veneration of

corruption of the faith through Jews and Christian contact in Syria. Shah Wali Allah was similarly anxious to eradicate Hindu influences in the Indian context.⁴⁰⁴ Shah Wali-Allah, who denounces many of the traditional practices associated with the saint cult and *ziyarat*. One of the key aims of the Shah Wali-Allah writings was to propagate a purified form of Islam⁴⁰⁵. In fact, he issued order to ulama about the correct practices of Islam...

“Strict order should be issued in all Islamic towns forbidding religious ceremonies publicly practiced by infidels (such as Holi and ritual bathing in the Ganges). On the tenth of Muharram Shia could not be allowed to go beyond the bounds of moderation and the bazaars and streets neither should they be rude or repeat stupid things (that is recite tabarruk or condemn the first three successors of Muhammad)’. ‘I have seen weak brothers among the Muslims who choose rabbis and monks as lords apart from God (*cf.*Quran ix, 31) make their shrine places of worship and go on pilgrimage to their grave, their relics and their hills like Jews and Christian used to do. They credit those who have no claim to these prerogatives with power of intercession. They snatch elements from Hindu and Zoroastrian”⁴⁰⁶.

Shah Wali Allah was vehemently against the worship of tombs and hence *shirk* (polytheism), associating another with God. On the other hand, Ibn Taymiyyah categorically rejected the practice of dargah and visitation of shrine, whereas Shah Wali-Allah denounced certain cult practices, which was prevalent around the saint tomb, and he did not completely reject the shrine visitation. Shah Wali Allah in his treatise *Al-Balagh al-Mubin*, denounced directly addressed to the deceased saint, who were supposed to reside in their tomb⁴⁰⁷. He continues endorse not to practice of saint worship. He condemned that anyone who goes to Ajmer or tomb of Syed Salar Syed Masud Ghazi in Bahraich in order to get an urgent desire gratified commits a sin graver than murder or adultery⁴⁰⁸. In fact, he issued some rules and orders for the correct practices of the shrine. To visitor at the dargah, Shah Wali-Allah here explains that,

grave sites and seven discuss the prohibition against requesting intercession with God. See, Natana J. Delong-Bas. *Wahhabi Islam: From Revival and Reform to Global Jihad*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2004, 68.

⁴⁰⁴ Elizabeth Sirriyeh. *Sufi and Anti-Sufis: The Defense, Rethinking and Rejection of Sufism in the Modern World*, London: Routledge, 1999, 7.

⁴⁰⁵ Jacqueline Suthren Hirst and John Zavos. *Religious Traditions in modern South Asia*, London: Routledge, 2011, 98

⁴⁰⁶ Johannes Marinus Simon Baljon. *Religion and Thought of Shah Wali Allah Dehlawi, 1703-1762*, Leiden: Brill, 1986, 98-100.

⁴⁰⁷ Marc Gaborieau. A Nineteenth-Century Indian ‘Wahhabi’ Tract Against the Cult of Muslim Saints: *Al-Balagh al-Mubin*. In *Muslim Shrines In India: Their Character, History and Significance*, ed. Christian W. Troll, New Delhi, 209.

⁴⁰⁸ Johannes Marinus Simon Baljon. *Religion and Thought of Shah Wali Allah Dehlawi, 1703-1762*, Leiden: Brill, 1986, 100.

“Visitors should first recite the Fatiha whilst performing two rakats namaz. Next, he should squat on his heels with his face turned towards the dead and his back towards the Ka’ba, and recite the *surat al-Mulk* (in which the contrast is emphasized between the phenomenal world and the eternal reality). After that, he should exclaim Allah Akbar, should profess *lailaha illa’ Allah* and should recite the Sura al-Fatiha eleven times. Then he must approach the dead calling out twenty-one times Ya Rabb (Oh Lord), and pronounce *Ya Ruh* (Oh Spirit), driving this forcefully into the heaven, and repeat *Ya Ruh*, driving it now forcefully into his heart, until at last, he may gain relaxation of mind and inner light. Finally, he should wait to see whether an effusion of beneficence from the inhabitant of the grave may flow upon his heart”⁴⁰⁹.

Shah Abdul Aziz a very celebrated devotee of the city of Delhi, the fame of whose knowledge and piety has been widely extended throughout side of India⁴¹⁰. He allowed visiting shrine and seeking help from God’s creature in such way that man believe in man and he was firmly affirmed that whatever creature is asking for help from God is not a manifestation of God, it is haram. If the intention is to seek help towards the God and accept the law, means system of God, and is considered that the person to seek help belongs to the manifestation of God and apparently seeks demand from the saint. It is allowed. In fact, the real help comes from God and not from others⁴¹¹.

Individual like, Ahmed Raza write that, visiting shrine and recites Fatiha that is permissible. Both Thanvi and Ahmed Raza Khan are likely to have prospect on both issues. But the problem is not that whether visiting shrine is permissible or not. But the issue is that, whether celebrating urs, prostrating in front of dargah and worshipping saint that is permissible or not. Both Ahmed Raza and Ashraf Ali Thanvi strictly prohibited doing such things. Ahmed Raza writes that the God curse on those, who worships saint tomb and prostrate saint tombs. He literally writes that how it is possible celebrating urs to saints or wali, who have never been celebrated the urs of Prophet Muhammad, or companions. He categorically emphasized that the based on the Ahle-Sunnat belief and creed there is no sacred place except Prophet Muhammad grave. Further, he accentuates that how it is possible fixed the date of urs of saints, which is not the fixed date of visiting the Prophet Muhammad grave. And there is no any celebration on the Prophet grave,

⁴⁰⁹ J.M.S Baljon. “Shah Waliullah and the Dargah, in Muslim Shrine” In Indian: their Character, History and Significance, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989.

⁴¹⁰ J.R. Colvin. “Notice of the Particular Tenets Held by the Followers of Syed Ahmad, taken chiefly from the ‘Sirat-ul-Mustaqim’ a principal Treatise of that Sect”, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 11, 1863, p, 481

⁴¹¹ Shah Abdul Aziz. *Tafseer-e-Azizi*, Karachi: H.M Saeed Company,

how is it permitted to celebrate urs for any saints at a certain date. Therefore, the ulama of Ahle-Sunnat did not allow celebration of the urs of a saint at any time. Similarly, Maulana Thanvi did not oppose visiting shrine or to recites Fatiha there, but in his own times, he opposed the way practices went on at the tomb of saints. In fact, he writes that, on the whole, the rituals were usual in saint urs and *ziyarat*, it was started at the time of to seeking bless and receive *Baraka* from saint tomb. But now has created evil and has been resembled others. So Thanvi's tried to say that the evil rituals as common in urs day⁴¹². Therefore in the urs time, the ritual and customary practices prevalent, where prostitute perform dance and this is totally haram in Islam. Further, Thanvi emphasized that the grave is the place to remind the lesson and the death, not for dance and celebration of urs. Similarly, at the time of *urs* or without *urs*, the Muslims offer a chadar (a sheet of cloth) on the grave of a saint, which is abhorrent and extravagance and which Muslim consider it to be true, it is completely doing *shirk*⁴¹³.

IV. Description and Structure of the Pak Makhdūm Dargah:

The train journey from Delhi railway station (Kaifiayat express) took me to Akbarpur railway station, where I was still twenty-five kilometers away from reaching the Makhdūm Pak dargah. Again I took the bus from Akbarpur to Baskhari to reach Kichaucha. There is a one way to reach the dargah when pilgrims or faithful coming to *hazir* turn toward east, not to turn toward the highway between Baskhari-Jalalpur. Reaching near the highway about hundred meters one has to cross Ashraf Bridge after that pilgrim reach the small intersection. On which toward the north, there is a beautiful and spacious gate with ten to fifteen meters tall, which is called Salami gate and on which has been written Salami gate very beautifully. The gate maintains the straight line which highlights the way to reach Makhdūm Pak dargah. The attendees and pilgrims what we observed that when they reach the gate, they devote their Salam to Makhdūm Ashraf and even attendee who kisses the door of the wall for their proclamation of faith and a verse related to the first salute is engraved in the stone.

Salām Pahle Yahan Karke Jaate Hai Rauza,

Bah Soye Bargāh Badsāh Ba Tumke!

⁴¹² Ashraf Ali Thanvi. *Islāh Al-Rusūm*, Karachi, Urdu, 120,.

⁴¹³ Ibid, 121.

It has even been observed that those attendees, who used get down at the Salami gate from their carriage, then walk barefoot towards the dargah. The salami gate made a straight line towards the Astana Makhdūm Ahsraf and from Salami door to Malang gate, the number of shops, in which fifteen to twenty shops are of Hindus and rest of the shops belongs to Muslim community. On reaching Malang door, one side goes through Malang in the north, which is the last end of the dargah and on the other side goes through inhabitants in the east. After reaching Malang door, the boundary of dargah starts hereupon after the Malang door. Although from this door, six to seven meters wide range road goes towards the courtyard of Astana and there is no inhabited in those areas, rather there are shops (more than four hundred shops, they provide all necessary items, which needed to bring the saint, for instance, rose flowers, garlands, embroidered cloths, coconut, perfumes, small pack of sugar, sweet, and red cotton yarn and totally belongs to Muslim, including few are Hindus,) and there are different kinds of items available for pilgrims and attendees. Between Malang gate and Astana, there is another small gate, which height and width are spacious. From small gate, a few meters distance in the north, have to go towards in the east, where there are



Salami Gate, Kichaucha Sharif dargah, 2018

stairs and the same place there is a real gate of Khanaqah Mu'alla and from there to a few meters away in the north, start the boundary of Astana, where attendees and pilgrims use to sit there and where Syed Ashraf Simnani to be heard different cases of his spiritual power, and attendees and patients who believe that the decision is also endorsed from here. From going Astana to tomb, (from both sides ladder, there are two plinths in north and south, where north side vendor use to sell the *Chirag* and on the south side, announcer announce for *Chanda* (donation) and collection to attendees and pilgrims for their maintenance) there are ladders to reach the Makhdūm Pak tomb, and the boundary of Makhdūm Pak Astana is surrounded by water from three sides. On the downstairs of north, there is a small closet, usually, the attendees and participants pronounce it the *karāh ki kothri*, and where women to make *Chillā* to their wish at that door, and if the women return back with her wish, then they withdraw their *Chillā*.



Malang Gate, Kichaucha Sharif dargah, 2018

There is a small gate near to closet, which goes toward Jama Masjid, where men pray *namaz* four times. The Interesting thing is that in Astana of Pak Makhdūm Ashraf, where *namaz* was offered only four times. The boundary of *Adalat*, few meters away from east side, there is another old building constructed by a few years back, few parts which so show has concrete roof, and half of which shows the covered with tiles, and in which there are a hall and the hall, which shows the example of medieval architecture. There is another concrete room located on the boundary of *Khanaqah* in the north, which is called as *Khanaqah Lahad*.

The tomb which is situated on the mound, which seems like to see from far, it is like as a fort and that tomb pond is surrounded from three sides. Towards *Neer Sharif* in the north-west and in



Karah Ki Kothri, Where women Hanging onto chilla-covered jali, 2018

the south, there is a high mound, which is common attendee is called it *Bheeta*. And there are graves of the common and uncommon people in that *Bheeta*. *Nir Sharif* was constructed by Syed Ashraf Simnani himself and digs it by his disciples and followers, who have worked for *Neer Sharif*. And there is one another common story to hear around to dargah that last time Syed Ashraf went to Hajj and brought the Zam Zam from there and mixed it in the *Neer Sharif* water

and prayed to the God that those attendees and pilgrims, who use water in the food and bath, will not be affected by any diseases. Therefore the attendees and pilgrims now believe that if someone uses Neer Sharif that will shield them from from diseases. Using Neer Sharif will get different kinds of treatment and numbers of patients have been benefited.



Khanaqah Lahad Khana, Makhdum Pak Dargah, Kichaucha Sharif 2018

Even some doctors who researched Neer Sharif water also found similar ingredients in other water. The attendee and pilgrimage who believe that Neer Sharif has spiritual power and one get benefit from it. A Few years ago, Uttar Pradesh Government made a guideline and plan for the dargah and erected new stairs and made a separate bathroom for women⁴¹⁴. And in addition, also set up one tube well, due to lack of water in Neer Sharif during summer. The tube well is run from the donations of the attendee and devotees. My observations led me to conclude that there is no separate bathroom for women. Women always used to complain that there is no toilet facility around dargah. There are large numbers of fish in the Neer Sharif and no one catches the fish and no one agree to eat it. There is a perception among attendee that fish are the *muwakil* of the Syed Ashraf Simnani. From the mausoleum and to the east of dargah, almost a mile away, there is the *Mazar* of Bibi Bilai and every year and daily attendee and devotee, who visit the Bibi Bilai *Mazar* to recite fatiha. Now it has become a customary practice, those who visited Bibi

⁴¹⁴ Interviewed Intizamia Committee, 8-02-2018s

Bilal tomb, to offer a *chadar* to the tomb of Bibi Bilal. Apart from this, another attendee, who offers roasted gram and jaggery to the saint tomb.



Astana Makhdūm Pak, Kichaucha Sharīf dargah, 2017

The dargah of Makhdūm Pak is open to people of all religions, including caste and social groups. The attendees here feel that there is no distinction between the devotees and saint. The women are not permitted to directly access *Mazar* Sharif, while some other dargah in South Asia, women are allowed direct access inside *Mazar*, and they can access *Baraka* directly from the saint. At Makhdūm Pak dargah, the authorities and caretakers promote social harmony, goodwill, and tolerance among different social groups but at the same time, we should not ignore here that Indian society is highly rigid and caste-ridden society and these difference led to mark in Sufism also. The differences and hierarchy are clearly visible in Indian dargah culture, and these kinds of hierarchy are always promoted by the caretaker and authority of the dargah.

V. Makhdūm Pak Dargah, Kichaucha Sharīf:

The word dargah is derived from the Persian word, it means place of a door, and generally is used in Iran the title called a royal court and or place. In South Asia, the word dargah relates to the tomb or shrine of the Muslim saint. In other words, the term dargah in south Asia considered

a place of holy or sacred sites and it is associated with the divine person or saint⁴¹⁵. Dargah is also described as sacred places marked by intense devotional activity⁴¹⁶. Generally, historians referred to the pilgrimage sites as *Mazar*, literally a place which is visited. Moreover the shrine, indeed served as public holy place that made a saint's charisma more widely accessible to the people and it is also served as a ritual and devotional centre for Muslim communities⁴¹⁷ and these places become a religious and healing centers where people keep visiting these places throughout year, they express their difficulties and misfortune to the saints and pray for relief⁴¹⁸. As a matter of fact, the shrine job does not teach proper reverence rather it provides a ritual setting and it projected an aspect of sacred history enhanced by its antiquity, functionality and oral tradition and legends surrounding it⁴¹⁹. Shrine encourages social participation⁴²⁰ and also meeting points for large groups of people, because of popular cults associated with them⁴²¹ and sometime visitor visit the shrine owing to their devotion and reverence for the saints. K. Ewing, who works on Sufism in Pakistan's Punjab, said that shrine of Sufi saints is an important aspect of rural society of Punjab and many tribes are associated with them, which are originally converted by them⁴²². The major objectives of the people visits shrine for various purposes, such as paying visits to dargah as the fulfillment of the desires based upon, social, financial, political, religious, physical, mental and mystical aspects of the life⁴²³ and cure for illness, birth of child⁴²⁴. And many families go to the dargah due to their traditional bond with Sufism and many people considers that Sufi saint as the embodiment of Islamic virtues and committed to a life of piety, self-sacrifice, and public sacrifice⁴²⁵.

⁴¹⁵ Uzma Rehman. "Religion, Politics and Holy Shrines in Pakistan" ,*Nordic Journal of Religion and Society*, 19, 2006

⁴¹⁶ Gottschalk. *Muslim Tradition*, 2006,231.

⁴¹⁷ Devin DeWeese. "Sacred Places and Public narratives: the shrine of Ahmed Yasavī in Hagiographical tradition of the Yasavī Sufi order 16th and 17th century", *Muslim World*, 90, 2002, 353-354.

⁴¹⁸ Farida M. Pirani et.al. "I will accept whatever is meant for us. I wait for that-day and night": The search for healing at a Muslim Shrine in Pakistan", *Mental Health, Religion and culture*, 11(4) 2008,377.

⁴¹⁹ Josef W. Meri. *The Cult of Saints among Muslim and Jews in Medieval Syria*, Oxford University Press, 2002,252

⁴²⁰ Richard Kurin. "*The Structure of Blessedness at a Muslim Shrine in Pakistan*", 312.

⁴²¹ Jamal Malik. "Waqf in Pakistan: Change in Tradition Institutions", *Die Welt Des Islams*, No, ¼, 1990,64.

⁴²² Katherine Ewing. "The Politics of Sufism: Redefining the Saints of Pakistan", *The Journal of Asian studies*, 42, (2) ,1983.

⁴²³ Tahmina Iqbal & Mazhar Farid, Sufi Practice as the causes of Spiritual Mental and Physical healing at the Chisti Shrines in Pakistan, *Mental Health, Religion & Culture*, 9.

⁴²⁴ Richard Kurin, *The Structure of Blessedness at a Muslim Shrine in Pakistan*,

⁴²⁵ Robert Rozenhal. "Faqir or Faker? The Pakistan Tragedy and the Politics of Sufism in Pakistan", *Religion*, 36, 2006,29-47.

Table 1 -: Demographic Characteristics of the Participants (No = 106):

<i>Variable</i>	<i>No. Obs.</i>	<i>Percentage (%)</i>	<i>Variable</i>	<i>No. Obs.</i>	<i>Percentage (%)</i>
Marital Status			Age(Years)		
Unmarried	29	28%	< 30	40	38%
Married	79	72%	30-40	24	23%
Gender			40-50	23	22%
Female	31	30%	50-60	15	14%
Male	74	70%	>60	3	3%
Occupation			Maslak		
Housewife	13	12%	Barelwi	80	76%
Labor	18	17%	Deobandi	9	9%
Student	11	10%	Other	16	15%
Business	45	43%	Income Level(Per Month)		
Retired Govt.	7	7%	< 10000	37	35%
Govt Services	5	5%	< 20000	33	31%
Doctor/Clinic	4	4%	< 30000	16	15%
Farmer	2	2%	<40000	11	10%
Educational Background			>50000	8	8%
Illiterate/ no formal education	16	15%	Locality		
< 5 Years	6	6%	Urban	62	59%
5- 10 Years	42	40%	Rural	43	41%
>10 Years	16	15%	Did you visit other dargah for your illness		
Graduate	22	21%	Yes	84	80%
Post-Graduate	3	3%	No	21	20%
Social Groups			Did you go to doctor for your illness?		
Unreserved	46	44%	Yes	87	83%
Reserved	59	56%	No	18	17%
First Language			Purpose of Visit		
Hindi	98	93%	Jinn/Satan	50	48%
Bengali	1	1%	Sorcery/Magic	39	37%
Oria	1	1%	Other	16	15%
Urdu	5	5%			
Religions					
Hindu	16	15%			
Muslim	89	85%			

Source: Field Survey data set 2018.

Goldziher says that those people who are troubled by illness, they tend towards the saint in their distress⁴²⁶. On the other hand Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, who observed the dargah practices in Lucknow, states that people visit the dargah to recover from sickness, preservation from any grievous calamity, danger or other event which excites grateful feelings as the usual inducement. The fact is that attendants of the shrine appear to be more interested in material rather than spiritual matters⁴²⁷. The dargah of Mir Data, the patients are visited by many suffering from epilepsy and madness⁴²⁸. The people visits dargah expect to be cured from illness and hoping to have much-wanted child⁴²⁹.

People come to Pak Makhdūm dargah for a variety of purposes; some people come to the dargah for a cure to an illness, others to secure the birth of a child, others to exorcise (*jinn*) in demon⁴³⁰. However, some visitor, come to the dargah for a specific purpose such as misfortune, and the crisis in their families and distress. Many families come to the dargah because of their dedication and their religious beliefs towards saint. Some visitors, live permanently in the dargah, some stay for few days. Some have come here for their wish and many are told them visit Pak Makhdūm dargah; it's the last option that can find a solution to your *pareshani* and there is a strong cultural belief that Syed Pak Makhdūm dargah is the center of the exorcism and illness/diseases, and his spirit will succor.

Although no such study has found how many people visit the shrine, our observation shows that roughly more than thousand people come to the Makhdūm Pak dargah, as the part of their illness, healing and religious belief. This study deployed qualitative research technique whereby data was drawn from 106 depths interviews conducted at the Makhdūm Pak dargah, Kichaucha Sharif. Findings of the study revealed that majority of them have strong faith upon the blessings and charismatic power of the Sarkar/Baba and most of the visited dargah due to their *pareshani* and they believe that visiting shrine to get rid of their problems. The devotees believed that visiting dargah Sarkar/Baba could help and listen to their problem and majority of the attendees,

⁴²⁶ Goldziher. *Muslim Studies*, Vol,ii, 283.

⁴²⁷ P.M Currie. *The Shrine and Cult of Muīn Al-dīn Chishti of Ajmer*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1989,186.

⁴²⁸ Beatrix Pflleiderer. "Mir Data Dargah: The Psychiatry of a Muslim Shrine ". In *Ritual and Religion among Muslim in India*, ed. Imtiaz Ahmed, Delhi: Manohar, 1988, 219.

⁴²⁹ Kerin G. V. Schwerin. "Saint Worship in Indian Islam: The legend of the Martyr's Salar Masud Ghazi". In *Ritual and Religion among Muslim in India*, ed. Imtiaz Ahmed, Delhi: Manohar, 1988, 143-44.

⁴³⁰ Richard Kurin. "Structure of Blessedness at a Muslim Shrine in Pakistan": *Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*.

who thinks that visiting shrine to resolve their problems rather than going to Allopathic doctor or medicine. They believed that dargah as pious one and most of them believed that Sarkar/Baba is the mediator between people and God. The fieldwork survey dataset revealed that majority of the attendees comes from mostly Bihar and eastern Uttar Pradesh and few parts of the West Bengal and Jharkhand. Majority of the patients either they went to seek help from allopathic doctors and modern medicine or Ojha and Hindu temple. The result revealed that more than 80 % patients who visited or sought help from the allopathic medicine/doctor for their illness/ diseases. Most of patients have given their reasons visiting the Makhdūm Pak dargah is the last resort- and Pak Makhdūm dargah is like the supreme court of India and the last option to resort problems here. The data shows that those who visited Makhdūm Pak dargah to seek help either they are well educated or they belong to urban and lower-middle-class people. More than 35% of the patients are belong to below the thirty year age groups and more than 70% patients are married and 40% patients are belong to low education. It is interesting to note that more than 38% cases are related to the Jinn/Satan and less than 37% cases are related to the sorcery/magic and more than 10 % attendees who visited the dargah for *ziyarat*, manner or expecting for child. Our dataset revealed that majority of the patients coming to Makhdūm Pak dargah either they seeks help on the suggestion from the friends or relatives or neighbors.

VI. Ritual Activities at the Makhdūm Pak Dargah:

The word *ziyarat* (*Arabic-ziyara*) is derived from the Persian language, which means pious visits or makes a pilgrimage to a holy place, tomb or dargah. In the Indian subcontinent, where the pilgrimage to Sufi shrine is particularly common⁴³¹ among Muslims and Hindus. Ziyarat can be defined as a non-formal pilgrimage because it can be done at any time and it does not follow any systematized timetable. Usually, it considered that individual and family groups make a pilgrimage to the shrine. At the Makhdūm Pak dargah, it has been observed that devotees and faithful daily flow, who comes for ziyarat. Generally, it is seen that attendees go to Ajmer Sharif for ziyarat, in middle they stay few days at Makhdūm Pak dargah for ziyarat. There is no doubt that surrounding area of Kichaucha or neighboring districts devotees visit frequently but outsiders generally they visit *Nauchandi*, festival or *urs*. Those who come to the dargah of Makhdūm Ashraf on the daily basis either they come for the *pareshani*, kindness of love and

⁴³¹ Carl W. Ernest. *An indo-Persian guide to Sufi Pilgrimage*,1,

devotion to the Makhdūm Pak or facing some serious problem in their life and expecting to be cure there.

Devotees before going to enter *Mazar Sharif*, pray two *Rakatnamaz* in Auliya mosque, after that visit *Mazar Sharif*. Before entering the dargah, people carry the rose flowers, perfume, *agrabatti* and sweet, they devote on the *MazarSharif*. Devotees standing on the right side of the *Mazar Sharif*, they recite *Sura-Fatiha* with humility and submissiveness and three times *Darōd Sharīf* to reward Makhdūm Pak. Some devotees touch the grave and few prostrate to the Makhdūm Pak. Some devotees perform *tawaf* (circumambulation) around the grave while other devotees present their demands in front of Makhdūm Ashraf, whoever is in their mind or heart. After that few people who returned back, if they already decided that the wish is fulfilled, we do something for here. Generally, it is seen that few devotees distributed foods, money to the needy and few devotees who help the maintenance of dargah and mosque. After finishing *fathia*, devotees usually sit in front of *Lahad Khana* for one hour, and they pray to Makhdūm Ashraf to resolve their problems as soon as possible. Other devotees like to sit in front of Astana and focus on their *Nazar* on the dome of the dargah, and some people perform the *dhikr* and make a *dua* for their problems. Before leaving the dargah, devotees usually they go shopping and buy bangles, jewelry items, including, necklace, ring, and different types of cap (*topi*) and they visit another place including Karbala, *Bibi Bilai ka Mazar* and etc. It is also observed that before leaving, the devotees they carried, *Chirag* (lamp), *Kajal*, *Surma* (collyrium), *Neer sharif* water and Makhdūm Pak bath water.

Some devotees like to visit the *chilla*. Few people make a *chilla* for forty days and other for twenty-one day and least only seventh days. *Chilla* means to control their self. On the other hand, *chilla* has intentions or wish too. But theoretically it understands the soul's diet and there is *maqām* in the Sufism. Generally, *chilla* means that it is understood, to make a lump or tying thread. Those people who come for *chilla*, first they come at Astana and Khadim give some instructions, what to do and what should avoid in the diet. Before going to Astana, first, it makes sure that devotees have already prepared the *wudu* and after that it mandatory pray two *Rakat namaz-nafil* and later on, sit for a moment on the *Mazar Sharif* and to request Makhdūm Pak Ashraf that making *chilla* for forty days and the purpose to resolve whatever problem facing. It is

seen that women are restricted to making *chilla* inside *Mazar Sharif*; they usually sit in *zinnati* mosque beside *Mazar Sharif* and request the demand to the Makhdūm Ashraf.



Nauchandi Festival, Makhdūm Pak Dargah, Kichaucha Sharif, 2018

The *urs* celebrated at Pak Makhdūm dargah in every year in the month of Moharram 28 after his demise in 808. Since then and on the same date the *urs* of Pak Makhdūm is organized and large numbers of devotees and attendees, who traveled from far-flung including India and outside from India to attend the *urs* and those coming from far-flung despite different religion they belong, they respect and candor to each other. Khadim Maulvi Abdul Hasib Kichauchvi, who had experienced more than sixty years in the dargah of Makhdūm Pak, explain that, ‘my age had exceeded more seventy years, and more than fifty years had spent in the services of dargah Makhdūm Ashraf and on that basis, we witness in early *urs* day, mostly fifty to sixty thousand devotees turned over *urs* day, and he believes that one of the most peculiar reason, there was no transportation and shortage of resources and nor a large number of people who were not followers of Makhdūm Ashraf and nor the large numbers of space and rooms were available around dargah. Though, the *urs* day was set up by the lunar calendar. So, *urs* is celebrated in

every season, and due to rainy seasons and raw road, the devotees faced the more troubles to stay at dargah⁴³².

Then attendees and devotees, who believe that in the month of *urs* the spiritual power of Makhdūm Pak is greater, than other days and it's the main reason in the *urs* days the devotees and attendees who come in large numbers as compared to other days and get endorse in *urs* day. Now present time the participation of attendees and devotees has been tremendously increased in the *urs* of Makhdūm Ashraf, and that more than seven lakh people gathered to celebrate the marriage of Makhdūm Ashraf at a small place.

There is another festival celebrated in the dargah of Makhdūm Ashraf. Such festivals celebrate the dargah of Gazi Miyan Bahraich, where the festival of Gazi Miyan wedding was celebrated every month in May. Like the same festival, where it starts in the dargah of Makhdūm Ashraf from October to November and in this festival where a large number of attendees participated, but the majority of them are Hindus. There is another important point to note here that attendees who are coming to different parts of India, but largely they belong few parts of Uttar Pradesh. There is another festival of Hindus called it *Akadsī*, the large number Hindus turned in the dargah. Most of the visitors are belong to the eastern Uttar Pradesh districts. Maulvi Abdul Hasīb remembered those days 'when the large number of devotees who came from the bullock cart and the festival was continued until two months. But nowadays the availability of means and transportation, people left the tradition of bullock cart and they now come by motor and buses. He goes continue that on the festivals of *Diwali* and *Akadshi*, where the hundred of motors are standing on both sides of the road. Because, there is no such place around the dargah, for buses and motors stand there⁴³³.

***Baraka* (Blessings or Spiritual Power):**

The expression *al-tabarruk* means to seek blessings (*Baraka*) in something. It is derived from *al-Baraka*, which means or is often translated as 'blessing' 'honored' and 'respected'⁴³⁴. The Sufi concept of Baraka is simply meant charisma, divine blessing or spiritual power. The term Baraka is much more complex in the discourse of Sufism. Clifford Geertz meticulously described the

⁴³² Interviewed Khadim Maulvi Abdul Haseeb kichauchvi,

⁴³³ Interviewed Khadim Maulvi Abdul Haseed kichauchvi,

⁴³⁴ Oliver Leaman. "*Baraka*". In *Quran an Encyclopedia*, ed. Oliver Leaman, London: Routledge, 2006, 109-114.

charisma as a manifestation of “the inherent sacredness of sovereign power⁴³⁵. He writes that literally,

“Baraka” means blessing, in the sense of divine favor. But spreading out from that nuclear meaning specifying and delimiting it, it encloses a whole range of linked ideas: material prosperity, physical well-being, bodily satisfaction, completion, luck, plenitude. In broadest terms, “Baraka” is not as it has so often been represented, a para-physical force, a kind of spiritual electricity—a view which though not entirely without basis, simplifies it beyond recognition”⁴³⁶.

In the broadest terms, “Baraka” is not, as it has so often been represented, a para-physical force, kind spiritual electricity – a view which, though not entirely without basis, simplifies it beyond recognition. According to Geertz, *Baraka* is a talent and a capacity, a special ability to particular individuals than others- and few saints have some special spiritual power. Further, he writes that *Baraka* is a mode of construing-emotionally, morally and intellectually- human experience, a cultural gloss on life. Rather than electricity, the best analogue for “Baraka” is personal presence, force of character, moral vividness⁴³⁷.

One of the most precious *tabarruk* (blessing) at Astana of Pak Makhdūm Ashraf that is *chirag* (lamp).The *chirág* is prepared by iron, bronze, and copper. It also made by silver, but it available by order to the authority. The distinctiveness of the *chirág* neither woman can touch it nor can it use it. There are two types of *chirag*. First, the big one that is used for light in the room and the other one that is small to use for the amulet, but it seems to look like the same as both. The big one the devotees carry their home and light for forty days, the peculiarities of *chirág* can be understood by one of my interlocutor , he explained to me, ‘ you understand that if you bring one *chirág* in your home and light for forty days and within forty days, it will get the reality of the *chiràg*. He further explains that *Insallah* the condition of the house will change, and you will be getting benefits in your services and employment and you will be shocked’. The *chirág* helps it in various diseases including, mental disorder, magic, the devil and other diseases. The small *chirág* that is called *tawizichiràg* and it wears generally child and old ages to protect from any diseases. The small *chiràg* have to light for forty days in the alcove. The *tawizichirág* is a kind of

⁴³⁵ Clifford Geertz. *Centers, kings, and Charisma: Reflection on the Symbolic of Power*, 123.

⁴³⁶ Clifford Geertz. *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia*, London: Yale University Press, 1968,44.

⁴³⁷ *Ibid*, 44,

shield that protects a different kind of perplexities. Another very important *tabarrukat* Makhdūm Pak dargah that is sacred *gusul* of the *Mazar Sharif*: There is one time in a year to take a bath of *MazarSharif*. Without exaggeration, there are thousands of *kewra* water and rose water to take bath to the *Mazar* of Makhdūm Ashraf. There is no fixed date when it organized; it is depend upon the authority of the dargah. When it organized the date of bathing the Pak Makhdūm *Mazar*, probably more than forty thousand attendees and devotees who turn towards the dargah and take participate in the process and bring back the *ghusal* water for the *tabarruk*⁴³⁸. Generally, it is seen that the attendees and devotees who stay for two days for this occasion. They come in Thursday and come back on Friday after the *Juma* prayer.

VII. Competitive Syncretism⁴³⁹:

Once, the custodians' of the shrine claimed that Kamal Pundit is still alive because the custodian has compared to Makhdūm Ashraf. In mid-1990s the dargah custodians had built a chabutra

⁴³⁸ Interviewed Laddu Khadim in the dargah of Kichaucha Sharif,

⁴³⁹ According to the temple authority, Kamal Pundit was born in (d.1244) in the village of Kichaucha with the parents of Atma Ram Dubey and Gyanmati Devi. From childhood, Kamal Pundit had deep devotion and curiosity towards mahatma and hermit. Often Kamal Pundit who sat in front of village temple, and sometimes used to spend with Baba's services. After experiencing spiritual talent and outstanding qualities, Kamal Pundit became a precious majesty student of Baba Taparnath. After that, he spent more than ten years under the services of ascetic old sage Taparnath, where received the use of black magic. Later, after the death of his master, the Kamal Pundit became the successor of the presiding Guru of the temple. His dedicated service and the spirit of Baba Taparnath, achieved a secure place in the remote masses. The old sage Baba Taparnath his successful proven disciple Kamal Pundit started providing treatment for those who suffering from ghosts and evil spirits, mental distress and patient who suffer from weakness, and this treatment is continues survive even today. According to temple authority, Muslim empire was in full advancement and was ruled by the Muslim rulers all over India. There was a rule of Muslim landlord on Kichaucha village. There was idol worshiped in the Taparnath temple, and always was a conch shell. The practice of idol worship was infidelity from the Muslim view point. Hundreds of Sadhu and Hindu saint used to get food and Prasad from the temple. More than thousand people come here in the temple, who suffered from the ghosts and evils spirits, demons shadow of the dead, return back with cure and healthy. There was no any discrimination on the basis of caste, gender and religion and this tradition was strictly followed by Kamal Pundit. According to the authentic source, Makhdūm Ashraf had reached Kichaucha from the Iran and firstly he met with Malik Muhammad's family in village of Bhidur adjacent to Kichaucha. Makhdūm Ashraf was stayed few days in village of Bhidur, and asked to Malik Muhammad; tell me any such place which can be worship the God. Malik Muhammad told him that there is Kichaucha village adjacent to the Bhidur, where there is Kamal Pundit temple and he is a great Hindu saint, which is right place to worship God, if he agrees to give permission. After hearing these words of Malik Mahmood, Makhdūm Ashraf reached the gate of Kamal Pundit temple, where he met the Baba Kamal and introduced their introduction. After introducing the details in introduction, Makhdūm Ashraf told him that I did not find any pleasant place for worshiping God. If you provide a pleasant place, then God can be worshiped. After listening to Makhdūm Ashraf, Baba Kamal Pundit told him that you will get right place here.

(plinth) at the end of the courtyard and named it as Kamal Pundit Chabutra. The dargah custodian keeps alive of Kamal Pundit because they wanted to mobilize Hindu pilgrims and generate capital in the name of Kamal Pundit. After that pilgrims and devotees started offering flowers and chadar in the salvation of Kamal Pundit. There is no record of any conflict over the dargah or about its Muslim custodians. In the mid-1990s, for the first time, a dispute arose over the control of the dargah, setting in motion a process of conflicting claims and counter-claims.



Baba Kamal Mandir, Kichaucha Sharif, 2018.

From the mid-1990s onwards, local militant Hindu groups encouraged by the local Hindus launched destroy a dargah and planned to install a statue of God and Goddess on the Chabutra of

Kamal Pundit at the end of the courtyard. Syed Zafaruddin, who was a Sajjadah Nishin of Makhdūm Pak dargah, destroyed the Kamal Pundit chabutra overnight and threw all the debris in the river adjacent to Makhdūm Pak dargah. In the late 1990s the militant Hindu groups what they called a campaign to ‘liberate the dargah of Makhdūm Ashraf from the Muslim custodian. After that, right-wing Hindu groups put forward the claim that the dargah was, in fact, the temple of the Hindu God Baba Taparnath and Muslim had made a false claim of the dargah of Makhdūm Ashraf in order to control vast properties and income. After that, the issue of controlling dargah has been closed by the right-wing Hindu groups. There was no conflict as such took place but there was some tension between Hindu and Muslim for a moment. What happened after this incidence, the right Hindu groups, who live adjacent to the dargah, built a temple and named it Kamal Pundit temple. Now the temple has become a full-fledged, and the temple custodian constructed a guest house and lodge to live for pilgrims and devotees, who offers a chadar and other things to the temple who come here. But nobody was remembered there was a FIR from opposition side. But the pilgrims and devotees, who visit Makhdūm Pak dargah for the spirit possession and sorcery, they also visit the Kamal Pundit mandir. It has been observed that Hindu pilgrims live surrounding the mandir and Muslim stays at the adjacent of the Makhdūm Pak dargah. Pilgrims and devotees visit both side from the dargah to the mandir, and they believe that earlier both are the same, now separated because two powerful deities cannot live together.

The custodian of the temple spread the miracles stories about their deity not only in Kichaucha but also other part of the eastern and Bihar region. One story used to narrated about Kamal miracles in Kichaucha, one day the ruler of the Katihar district of Bihar region, his diseased daughter having needle in her stomach and the ruler went to many places but it could not achieved the success. After that, he came to contact with Baba Kamal Pundit, where through his miracle and sorcerer ejected the needle from the stomach. A local resident believes that through Baba miracles many dumb voices who benefited from here and the progeny received the distinction of becoming a female mother. The legendary story and mythical belief story spread many parts of the region to compete against the miracles of Makhdūm Pak. Here I have listed one miracle story constructed by the Temple custodian,

“One day, Baba Makhdūm created euphoria in his mind that why not inquires about the charisma of Baba Kamal. He called off in his own disciple and said that cut a goat and put in two metal pots, so it has send to as gift to Baba Kamal. After packing the goat meat and he ordered his disciple sent to give this gift to Baba Kamal. After reaching

Baba Kamal, the disciple handed them over. Baba Kamal became aware in mediation that goat meats were full in both metal pots. Baba Kamal provided food and snack to Baba Makhdūm disciple and touching his own rod on goat meat, return back goat meat to Baba Makhdūm. After that, the disciple reached dargah, Baba Makhdūm asked him, why did you bring goat meat, or he did not receive that gift. The disciple explained everything to Baba Makhdūm. Baba Makhdūm ordered them to open the metal pots, and saw the laddu (a kind of sweetmeat in the shape of ball) in metal pots. Everybody was surprised that Baba Kamal was a great charismatic saint”.

The miracle story is used to narrate inside temple in order to convey message to their followers and devotees, how Baba Kamal Pundit was more charismatic and to be more powerful than Makhdūm Ashraf.

The dargah is the means of Hindu and Muslim livelihood and the people here depend on the everyday life of pilgrims and devotees. For instance; around dargah, shops occupied by the both majority and minority community and are depend on the followers of Makhdūm Pak. People form majority community, who lives around dargah, they used sell vegetables, and sugar cane in the morning time, and minority community are depend on the food items, like fast food, Biryani, and other non-vegetarian items. During urs times, the majority community prepares a temporary thatch roof over the cultivated land for pilgrims and visitors and booked for the pilgrims to the heavy price.

The communities live together separately around the dargah and they maintain their cordial relationship between the minority and majority because the everyday livelihood depends on both. For instance; tension remains for some time around the dargah, when the issue of Babri Masjid highlights by political parties or the party announces the construction of Ram Mandir, then the local resident believe that it is nature of human being who feels happy with the party from majority side and the minority feels sad that is the reality of everyday lives of Muslims in this place.

Chapter Four:

Presence (*hazirī*): Moral Court (*Adalat*), Functions & Justice, Kichaucha Sharif Dargah:

Abstract:

In the previous chapter, it has been explored why Hindu-Muslim turned toward Pak Makhdūm dargah. The chapter four is attempts to narrate the story of the everyday lives of the Hindu-Muslim at Pak Makhdūm dargah, Kichaucha Sharif. The dargah Makhdūm Pak is specialized in the services of people afflicted by devil and sorcery and the dargah is unique in the field of therapy and healing. People here come generally who afflicted by the demons, Jinn, sorcery, magic, and mental distress. The chapter deployed qualitative method through participant observation in order to understand the nature of practice and illness and disease at dargah. In this chapter, I have most often tried to let the respondents speak for themselves, rather than filtering their voice through secondary, even scholarly sources. The chapter is divided into five sections. The first sections of this chapter explore the spirit possession, sorcery and magic (*section I*). The second section in this chapter looks at themes of possession, healing and law court in the current existing literatures (*section II*). Third section looks at the ritual healing and ritual efficacy (*section III*). The fourth section looks at the Makhdūm Pak moral court at Kichaucha Sharif dargah (*section IV*). The fifth section of this chapter looks at the case studies (*section V*). The purpose of the fourth chapter examines nature of illness, and diseases and how moral and immoral person trail ordeal and get justice through *hazirī* in the moral court of Pak Makhdūm dargah.

Introduction:

Assume for a moment the person A is an honest and also laborious. Few years back he started the cosmetic shop and has improved in his business because of his hard work and passion and now he has millions of rupees. The distant relatives of person A also started a business, but he did not succeed. The person A is always stood for the person B and he always used to help. From that point, the person B receives mental distress and one devil disguise into man face and went to the person B, and criticized against the person A. In the beginning, he smiled. But again and again, he used to give mental distress. Finally, the person A came in the possession of the devil. Then the devil has led the way that if we control the body of person A through sorcery and magic (*amal, jadu, tona*), then it will open the door for fun and frolic. The person B went to Maulvi, or Ojha who has opened the shop of sorcery and magic (*amliyāt*), where both of them constructed fascinating story against the person A and prepared amulet and magic.

Whatever the person A. business has declined within one year and the customers who bought the equipment, they did not return to pay. After all slowly the capital has finished and one day in the month Ramadan, the shop was vacated for color, it has seen that more than fifty percent of the apparatus was eaten by insects. So now the question arises, how do all these happen? Who is responsible for these? Can the secular court give punishment to the culprits? No, never⁴⁴⁰.

The above paragraph makes it clear that the conversation with interlocutor, where he distinguished the between secular court and moral court and how the moral court works mainly in different spaces including shrines. In this chapter I will focus on moral court law is existed and operated in the dargah of Makhdūm Pak and other places including shrines and temples in South Asia. There are still number of places where spirit possession, healing, and administration of justice continue to be practiced together⁴⁴¹. The moral court law is a different kind of law but it is focus a kind of possession by demons, spirits, and ghosts, often called spirit possession. It is found all human culture and society and it is often associated with the healing. In this chapter, I will combine three interrelated concepts, namely, possession, healing and law and these three things clearly operated in moral court of Makhdūm Pak dargah. I will also examine the nature of illness and diseases and how moral and immoral person trail ordeal and get justice, punishment through *haziri* in the moral court. I will explain in this chapter is that at the moral court of Makhdūm Pak dargah perform, two types of rituals to get justice. (1) *haziri* and prayer are mandatory to practice daily (b) to take bath nir Sharif water.

I. Spirit Possession, Sorcery, and Magic:

Spirit possession has been investigated by the different disciplines including social anthropology, theology, and psychology. The possession generally signifies a local belief that an individual has been entered by a spirit, soul or other Parahuman force, which can control the human body and significantly allies their actions and identity⁴⁴². The spirits are non-human agents inhabiting ambiguous cosmological spaces. They may extend into the different through regenerative and destructive effects, they may purify or pollute. Sorcery by the contrast is deemed to practice by

⁴⁴⁰ Interviewed healers at Makhdūm Pak dargah, 12.1.2018.

⁴⁴¹ William Sax and Helene Basu. "Introduction". In *The law of possession: Ritual, Healing and the Secular Court*, ed. William sax and Helene Basu, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015, 1-2.

⁴⁴² Ronald Littlewood. "Possession States" *Psychiatry*, 3:8, 2004, 8.

human beings intending to harm and destroy other human being life by using techniques of black magic (Jadu, tona)⁴⁴³.

Spirit possession can be defined as any altered or unusual state of consciousness and allied behavior that is indigenously understood in terms of the influence of an alien spirit, demon or deity⁴⁴⁴. Moreover, possession is an episodic disturbance of behavior⁴⁴⁵ and it changes in their physiognomy, voice, and manner⁴⁴⁶. The concept of spirit possession can be divided into two categories, one that entails the transformation or replacement of identity(executive possession) and second one that envisages possessing spirits as (the causes of) illness and Misfortune(pathogenic possession)⁴⁴⁷. The spirit possession is also related to Islam but also very close affinity with other religions, including Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism. The Quran and Hadīth have mentioned the number of times about the jinn and Satan and there is detailed description in prophetic literatures. The Jinn and Satan are different from that of the humans and or the angels. They do, however, possess some characteristics in common with humans, such as ability to think and reflect⁴⁴⁸. The origin of Jinn is rooted in Arabic, *Ijtinān*, which means ‘to be concealed from sight⁴⁴⁹’ and Islamic text discuss various classes of being that populate the universe Jinn(spirits) *Shaitan* (Satanic beings) marred(demons) *Bhut* (evil spirits) and Farista(angels)⁴⁵⁰.

Possession is a broad term referring to an integration of spirit and matter, force or power, and corporeal reality, in a cosmos where the boundaries between an individual and her environment are acknowledge being permeable, flexibly drawn, or at least negotiable⁴⁵¹. As Smith note that

⁴⁴³ Helene Basu. “Healing Madness through Ritual Trials”. In *Histories of intimacy and Situated Ethnography*, ed. Karen Isaken Leonard, Gayatri Reddy and Ann Grodzins, New Delhi: Manohar, 2010, 218.

⁴⁴⁴ Vincent Crapanzano. *Spirit Possession*, in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade, New York: Macmillan, 1987

⁴⁴⁵ C.P Wijesinghe etl. “Possession Trance in a Semi-Urban Community in Sri Lanka”, *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry* 19, 1976, 134-42.

⁴⁴⁶ Vincent Crapanzano. “Spirit Possession, in *Encyclopedia of Religion*”, ed. Mircea Eliade, New York: Macmillan, 1987, 12.

⁴⁴⁷ Emma Cohen. “What is Spirit Possession? Defining Comparing and explaining Two Possession forms”, *Ethnos*, 73, 1, 2008, 101-26.

⁴⁴⁸ Al-Ashqar, U.S. *The World of the Jinn and devils*, Boulder, Al basher Publications & Translations, 1998, 5.

⁴⁴⁹ Aziz sheikh. Jinn and Cross-Cultural Care, *Journal of the royal society of Medicine*, 98, No. 8, 2005.

⁴⁵⁰ Simaon Dein & Abdool Samad. Jinn and Mental Health: Looking at Jinn Possession in Modern Psychiatric Practice, *The Psychiatric*, 37, 2013, 291.

⁴⁵¹ Janice Boddy. “Spirit Possession Revisited: Beyond Instrumentality”, *Annual review of Anthropology*, 23, 1994, 407.

another clear-cut definition of possession was quoted by Carl Becker, states more specifically that possession is a “phenomenon in which persons suddenly and inexplicably lose their normal set of memories, mental dispositions, and skills, and exhibit entirely new and different sets of memories, dispositions, and skills⁴⁵².

II. Literatures Review on the Possession, Healing and Law Courts:

Joyce Flueckiger, book on *In Amma's Healing Room* focuses on the individual life of the Amma healing centre in South India. Flueckiger seeks to understand the Amma gender identity in the everyday ritual process in traditional male dominant society, which she marks as a vernacular Islam. She further states that Amma spiritual healing room creates a share plane of experiences and assumption of spiritual power that impact on physical world. She goes on says that this healing tradition can engage to different religious boundaries and these tradition can make a relationship to different religious boundaries⁴⁵³. Katherine Ewing article focuses on living saint in Lahore. She tries to define that living saint as the agent of treatment and healing in Pakistan society. She writes that Pīr operates in both the physical and spiritual domains in the Pakistan contemporary society, where it provides the amulet and traditional medicine to the people suffering from spirit possession. The Pīr can use divine power and blessings to influence the physical world through spiritual modes⁴⁵⁴. On the other hand, Beatrix Pfleider's works on the Dargah of Mir Data in Gujarat (1989) is based upon the details ethnographic studied on healing and rituals in the dargah of Mir Data Gujarat. The original title of German edition is that ‘The possessed women of Mir Data dargah’. It is study based on the women in the context of spirit possession and trance in the dargah of Mir Data. Pfleider, who goes to says that the women health problem is not taken seriously by the government, and that is the main reason women prefer to go the dargah for their treatment. She states that the problem of the mental health of the women are not taken seriously, and left to the indigenous and local healers, including, Pīrs, Saints, Baba and Ojha, people considered who are possessed of charismatic power, like ‘Karamat’⁴⁵⁵. Jackie Assayag, who studied the tomb of Hazrat Rajanaiyyer Shah located in the

⁴⁵² Carl Becker. *Paranormal Experience and Survival of Death*, Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1993.

⁴⁵³ Jyoce Flueckiger. *In Amma Healing Room: Gender and Vernacular Islam in South India*, Hyderabad: Orient.

⁴⁵⁴ Katherine P. Ewing. “The Sufi as saint: curer and exorcist In Pakistan”, *the journal of Asian Studies*, 1983, 114.

⁴⁵⁵ Beatrix Pfleiderer. *The Red Thread: Healing Possession at a Shrine in North India*, Delhi: Aakar, 1994.

north of Karnataka, where he focused on ritual practice every day in the dargah. The dargah is special in the field of therapeutic and treatment of demons. Assayag, who has explored the *hazirī* practice in the Hazrat Rajanaaiyyer Shah Dargah in Karnataka, where he mentions the term used at this dargah, is *tawaf* or circumambulation. He further notes that in the Shah Dargah, patients do *tawaf*, and who go round and round till a trance is induced like those of pilgrims in Mecca, who go around the Ka'ba⁴⁵⁶. Franck Rollier, who studied the Murugmalla dargah situated close border in three different states in South India, namely Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, and Andhra Pradesh, focused on the everyday rituals, possession, and *tawaf*, (Khuli Hazirī). He applied two psychoanalytic theories from Sigmund Freud and Jacques Lacan, who proposed the theories of psychoanalysis and Jouissance⁴⁵⁷. The short chapter written by Shobha Devi & Bidarakoppa, on the dargah of Jod Gomaz in the district of Bijapur, South Karnataka, focused on the nature and social practices of everyday in the dargah. Both authors, they tried to maintain that *hazirī* and prayer are the most important medicine to rescue their problems⁴⁵⁸.

Helene Basu chapter on *Healing Madness through Ritual Trails*⁴⁵⁹ studied the Bava Gor dargah in Gujarat is known for sorcery and healing madness. Basu has made a clear that at the dargah of Bava Gor, performs two types of rituals to get justice in the moral court of Bava Gor dargah and such type of court are operating in the Temple and Muslim shrines in western India, where human and non-human offender, who seeks justice through ritual for specific purpose creating trouble in people mind, body and behaviors. One type identified human culprits violating social and moral norms by committing act of theft, adultery or black magic through an ordeal, and second type, disclosed the identity of damaging presences of spirits and sorcery spills afflicting madness through trance⁴⁶⁰. As the same ritual is operating in the Balaji Temple located in the state of Rajasthan, it is known for the family-oriented religious temple treatment of mental health problem. Pakaslahti chapter on *Family-centered Treatment of Mental Health Problems at the*

⁴⁵⁶ Jackie Assayag. "But, they do more-Religion, Illness and Therapeutic in Southern Indian", In *Managing Distress: Possession and the therapeutic Cults in South Asia*, ed. Marine Cairen, Delhi: Manohar, 1999, 40.

⁴⁵⁷ Frank Rollier. "Walking round on the straight path in the name of the father: A study of the Dispossession Trance at Murugmalla". In *Managing Distress: Possession and the therapeutic Cults in South Asia*, ed. Marine Cairen, Delhi: Manohar, 1999

⁴⁵⁸ Y.S Shobha Devi & G.S Bidarakoppa. "Jod Gomaz Dargah as Healing Centre". In *Managing Distress: Possession and the therapeutic Cults in South Asia*, ed. Marine Cairen, Delhi: Manohar, 1999.

⁴⁵⁹ Helene Basu. "Healing Madness through Ritual Trials". In *Histories of intimacy and Situated Ethnography*, ed. Karen Isaken Leonard, Gayatri Reddy and Ann Grodzins, New Delhi: Manohar, 2010, 215-238.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid,218.

*Balaji Temple in Rajasthan*⁴⁶¹, where she observed that family treatment approach worked at the Balaji temple and through this treatment was achieved justice. On the other hand Aditya Malik, who works the Goludev Temple situated in the Himalayan of Kumaon district, known for the god of justice (*nayakadevta*). Malik noted that there are two ways to achieve justice at the temple. One way of requesting his mediation as through the submission of written petition in the main temple and second way soliciting his advice and intervention is through an oracular trance or ritual of divine embodiment⁴⁶².

III. Ritual Healing and Ritual Efficacy:

What is ritual and what does mean by ritual? What is ritual efficacy? Does the ritual efficacy works in the dargah. Does the patient come in the dargah to transform his life through ritual action? The term ritual is always difficult to define and give clear-cut definition. In popular discourse, the term 'ritual' usually means an action that is ineffective⁴⁶³, superficial and/or purely formal⁴⁶⁴. Sax and other, they argue, in popular understanding ritual is precisely the negation of the modern scientific episteme, which is one of the thing that makes it so interesting. They further write it is clear that from an historical and comparative perspective what we regard as 'rituals' are an important part of most human system of healing⁴⁶⁵. William Sax further argued that ritual exists as an analytical category and not as a natural kind. Indeed, ritual healing provides the most interesting as well as the most problematic example of the problem of the ritual healing⁴⁶⁶.

Healing is contingent upon a meaningful and convincing discourse that brings about a transformations of the phenomenological conditions under which the patient exists and

⁴⁶¹ Antti Pakaslahti. "Family-centered Treatment of Mental Health Problem at the Balaji Temple in Rajasthan. In *Family and Kinship in South Asia*, ed. A;Tenhunen Parpola, 129-66.

⁴⁶² Aditya Malik. "In the Divine Court of Appeals: Vows before the God of Justice", in *Hinduism and Law: An introduction*, ed. Timothy Luben, Donald R. Davis Jr. and Jagannath K. Krishna, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010,208.

⁴⁶³ William Sax, Jan Weinhold & John Schweitzer. "Ritual Healing East and West: A comparison of Ritual Healing in the Gharwal Himalayas and Family Constellation in Germany", *Journal of Ritual Studies*, 24(1), 2010, 61-77.

⁴⁶⁴ William Sax. "Ritual Efficacy and the Problem of Efficacy". In *The problem of Ritual Efficacy*, ed. William Sax, Johannes Quack and Jan Weinhold, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, 1-7.

⁴⁶⁵ William Sax, Jan Weinhold & John Schweitzer. "Ritual Healing East and West: A comparison of Ritual Healing in the Gharwal Himalayas and Family Constellation in Germany", *Journal of Ritual Studies*, 24(1), 2010, 62.

⁴⁶⁶ William Sax. "Ritual Efficacy and the Problem of Efficacy". In *The problem of Ritual Efficacy*, ed. William Sax, Johannes Quack and Jan Weinhold, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, 1-7.

experience suffering or distress⁴⁶⁷. Csordas asked in his book number of question about religious healing and ritual efficacy. How does religious healing work, if indeed it does? What is nature of its therapeutic efficacy? What is actually being healed by the performances of the Shaman, the medicine man or the faith healer? What is particularly religious about then in the first place? He believed that healing ritual understood not as liturgical repetition, but as intentional social action directed towards the quality and content of experience⁴⁶⁸. On other hand, William Sax, who raised the pertinent question, can ritual healing be efficacious? Does it work?



Haziri at the Makhdūm Pak Dargah, Kichaucha Sharīf:

IV. Makhdūm Pak Moral Court, Kichaucha Sharīf Dargah:

Makhdūm Pak dargah is specialized in the services of people afflicted by devil and sorcery and the dargah of Makhdūm Pak is unique in the field of therapy and healing. The dargah occupied one of the most prestigious places in spirit possessions in South Asia. People come here generally who afflicted by the demons Jinn, *Shaitani Harkat* (a diabolical act) sorcery, magic, and mental

⁴⁶⁷ Thomas J. Csordas. *Body, Meaning and Healing*, Palgrave: Macmillan, 2002, 25.

⁴⁶⁸ Thomas J. Csordas. *The Sacred life: A Cultural Phenomenology of Charismatic Healing*, California: University of California Press, 1997, 1-4.

distress. During my fieldwork, I have noticed that people affected by spirit possession were brought in the dargah by their relatives, neighbor, and friends. They did not come easily, sometimes used power and sometimes brought with chains. As evidence suggest that the numbers of cases was brought by their relatives, friends, and neighbor. Before filing a petition in the moral court, the patient have to pray two Rakat namaz in mosque annexed to the Mazar Sharif and offer *Fatiha* to the saint and bestow to the Mazar. After that patients had to file a petition (*arzi*) in the written form of an offering to the saint and later they have to attend court and sit in front of Astana daily in three times. However when *mariz* (patients) sit in *ādalat*, nīr Sharīf or other places around the dargah, and concentrate on the Mazar Sharīf dome and apologize for their sins to the heart. And there is an instruction by the authority, patients should read *ishtigfarat* most (asking for forgiveness of God for the sins so far committed) and conveys their problems to the Makhdūm Ashraf that the cases will be settled as soon as possible.



Haziri at Makhdum Pak Dargah, Kichaucha Sharif:

When the patient files a petition in the moral court, and the case was registered and the officer of the court noted in that petition, responsibility was given in that area and after that, the report will be presented in front of Makhdūm Ashraf. Since that patient has written complete name and address in his petition, and where the patient stay is also written on that petition. Therefore the responsibility of the court is given to the officers. The officer searches the petitioner house and catches all culprits including ghosts, Jinn, devil and etc. generally the report prepares in two or three days. There are two types of cases trail in the moral court of Makhdūm Pak dargah; one is related to new and old case. If the cases are not old, then it will take two or three days. If cases are old, it will take time. Generally, it has seen that it solves small cases in two or three days. If the cases are very old, so it will take time to complete. Because the devil or demons does not depart from the human body, the decision will not be in favor of the patient. One of the interlocutors told me that if the devil transformed the common problem into the Tuberculosis patient or the devil controlled the patient nerve and an entrails until the devil does not open the nerve and entrails, the decision will not be in favor of the patient. When the patient was admitted and hazirī started, the spirits made appear in the court and the trail and question started between Makhdūm Ashraf and devil or demons. The question directly to devil and evil spry, why you have possessed, and these form of hazirī is lead to violent form and sometimes very cruel.

Hazirī is mandatory to every patient to appear in three times in moral court with according to timetable decided by the dargah authority, without these, the cure and treatment will not impact on the patient life. The word hazirī is derived from the *hazir*, which means ‘presence’. There are two types of haziri operate in the dargah. The first one hazirī is related to those, who come to dargah and offer *Fatiha* to the saint, is called hazirī. The second type of hazirī, someone has a problem of magic and the devil. They sit in front of Astana so that whatever is there, it became visible. The first form of haziri is tentative, not much time for taking to completion. The other form of hazirī takes time and most of the patients usually spend a lot of time curing their diseases. On the other hand, at the dargah, I often heard and pilgrims also made a distinction between khuli hazirī and ghum hazirī. Other patients who told me that, *Abhihaziri Nahi chalahi*, which means that hazirī is started but not in open form, it is a *ghumhaziri* (hidden haziri). Khuli hazirī (open hazirī) is the direct conversation between devil and the Makhdūm Ashraf.

V. Case Studies:

CASE 1:

Afaaq Alam Khan, Age: 55, Ghazipur, taxi driver: Education 8th class. Magic:

Afaaq Khan lives in Mumbai but originally belongs to the Dildar Nagar district of Ghazipur in Uttar Pradesh. He is a private Taxi driver and earns more than twenty thousand per month. He has three children, two girls, and a boy, aged 28, 25, and 24 respectively. He offers namaz, Fatiha and recites Quran weekly. He watches T.V and religious programs for a while, when he gets time after finishing work. He celebrates Sabe-Barat and Muharram with *dhoom dham se* (with much pomp and show). Khan is neither pious nor religious, he does not read the Quran daily, but he specifically recites weekly on Friday. When he requires the knowledge of religion, what is right and wrong, usually prefers to consult with alim or Imam.

Khan often visits Choti dargah near his house, even his family visit daily there. He came to know of the Makhdūm Pak dargah from his younger brother. He has been living there for the past four years. Prior to coming Makhdūm Pak dargah, Khan visited many doctors, Ojha in the vicinity of his area, but there was no improvement. His wife suspect that he was suffering of the influence of the evil spirit. Hence his brother was brought to Makhdūm Pak dargah at Kichaucha Sharif for relief. During his hazirī, he revealed that he was being afflicted with magic, which has done by his relatives. The patient told me that there is hostility among our relatives and keep jealous because we are making progress in business. Alhamdulillah, now we are fine here.

He has been living in Makhdūm Pak dargah for the last four years; he thinks that staying here gets better soon. He witnessed that there are number of cases which were living here and quickly got better. The man himself told me that before coming to dargah, he was involved in trouble; occasionally occur accident in his family. After coming to dargah, his life has been normal. The man was to go home soon when I met him second time. The man himself told me that he had received permission of the Makhdūm Pak to come when he was emotionally troubled and now Sarkar has been given order to leave.

CASE 2: Rakesh Kumar Gupta, 45, Bihar:

Rakesh Kumar Gupta is a resident of Gopalganj district state of Bihar and has a sweet shop, earns more than twenty-five thousand per month. He has studied up to 8th standard from Hindi

medium school. Gupta is a religious person and a pure vegetarian and performs Puja everyday and before opening his shop he reads the Hanuman Chalisa. He is interested in listening to religious programs like Guru Dev on YouTube and sometimes on television. Gupta resides in mixed locality and celebrates festivals like Chath Puja and Dussehra, and also celebrates Muslim festival like Eid along with his friends, but he never goes to his friend's house due to his personal interest. He does not believe in *tawiz* (amulet), but he has offered vow and achieved the purpose. He visits the temple everyday and sometimes travels to the dargah in his hometown.

He came to know the Makhdūm Pak dargah by his neighbors. He did not have complete information about Makhdūm Ashraf. One man in his village gave Nir Sharif water; through him, he came to know that the dargah of Makhdūm Pak is located in Ambedkar district. The problem started with his niece, he was studying in class 8th, suddenly he fainted in his school and he felt that someone, attacked him. After that he went to doctor near his home, he got some relief there. After few days, he consulted another doctor, but there was no relief. After visiting many places including several dargah, Gupta could not find any relaxation from these places. Then a man in his village having Neer Sharif water gave to him and said that to have it with pure and *wudu* and do not use with unclean and have it water in the name of Makhdūm Baba and maybe get some relief. He provided it to Neer Sharif water and suddenly devil has controlled the human body. The problem has grown. After that, he made a program to visit Pak Makhdūm dargah Kichaucha Sharif in 2011. Gupta came to Makhdūm Pak dargah on Wednesday, in October 2011, first meeting with Chunnu Khadim and he suggested that stayed here one chilla (forty days). He filed a petition (arzi) in the moral court.

Later, he came to dargah Makhdūm Ashraf, where he gained much relaxation. He narrated his experience about before and after dargah. He think that earlier used to earn whatever profit; we spent the whole amount in illness. And income has lost from pocket. Now all these things have closed. After that, he went home, there was some relief and he keeps visiting dargah in the *urs* time and Nauchandi. Slowly the problem grew more. From that day on, the problem again arouses with his younger brother, and the half of the body has stopped functioning, then he went to galaxy hospital in Banaras. His brother gone to coma and his condition became very serious and there was no hope to continue survives. After that, on Tuesday, he (Gupta) started journey to Makhdūm Pak dargah. Upon reaching dargah, the condition of younger of his brother grew

worse. 'He prayed to Baba, and there is such a problem in my family. He demanded in front of Baba,

Baba even in my home, we burn the Chirag and also burn the Agarbatti. And even after that, there is such problem keep coming. What is the reason for this and you know better than me? Baba, I have come here on this *āstana* due to hassles and look in your perspective. Just recover the patient soon and the problem should be overcome.

The conditions of his brother was continuing to grow worse, and then he pick up train and return back to Banaras and reached there at 9pm. From that time, the problem slowly getting normal and after fifteen days, he discharged from the hospital. Reaching home, again the problem started. Baba's client (*muakkil*) came to his dreams and ordered that as soon as possible reach the dargah of Makhdūm Ashraf; otherwise life is not going to save. The man himself told me that 'we prepared the motor car; again we have come here (dargah) and their body was pale. There was no blood, and it seems like the blood of his body has sucked by the *Shaitan*. The patient never eaten non-veg. but after *Pareshani*, he demanded the non-veg, and start eating'.

Gupta families usually avoid having non-veg, but for patient, he brought non-veg for them. Before coming to dargah patient did not sleep full night, and not even single day, and there were *Bechaini* and *Ghabrahat*. Reaching dargah, he slept full night and because of Sarkar and at the same time, his *gupt hazirī* (hidden hazirī) commenced by the Sarkar. This process continued, but after three month passed, and the *khula hazirī* (*open hazirī*) did not start. A few days later, the *khuli hazirī* started. When the hazirī is opened, the full *byan* (statement) started. 'The Satan himself speaks in *byan* that we are making trouble since 1965 and your relatives are very jealous because you are making progress in your business. All these pareshani are given by relatives whom you are facing'. The maximum time Gupta spent two year on illness, within two years he won all the cases. After that, the grace of Sarkar slowly he fight the case. Today all the cases were finalized due to grace of Makhdūm Pak. When hazirī starts, Gupta correctly remembers that when the Satan (devil) is beaten by Makhdūm Ashraf in Hazirī, then the Satan distressed, then he speaks, Oh Makhdūm does not beat me.

During the Hazirī period, Gupta went to Kaliyar Sharif, who was ordered by Makhdūm Ashraf. He stayed there for seventeen days. Then after few days, he started bored, that is so far away. So he filed a petition (*arzi*) on 17th day to Baba, and he got permission to leave form Kaliyar Sharif.

After that, he submitted *arzi* that we should go to Kaliyar Sharif, then through the *arzi*, it came to know that it should go.

Gupta thinks that Makhdūm Pak is the servant of God and special envoy of the God. And God has sent them to do work because the devil has possessed the man. Makhdūm Pak, here to cut the Satan, so that men are not in *pareshani*. In order to protect the men from devil, God sent to Makhdūm Pak. Today all the people are getting benefit.

Gupta attended Hazirī everyday in his room; he did not attend hazirī at Makhdūm Ashraf dargah. Hazirī was open to everyday in his room, where he was staying there. The Hazirī runs from four to twelve o'clock. The Hazirī starts according to Adalat time. Before Hazirī starts, Gupta prayed to Makhdūm Ashraf and demanded that.....Baba, we want to get out of the devil, we want freedom for these devils. Did pray to Makhdūm Pak with *wudu*? We did not prepare *wudu*, because we do not belong to that religion. Therefore Makhdūm Pak knows that we belong to Hindu religion, and we do not know about Makhdūm Pak religion.

Gupta often visits Makhdūm Pak dargah, usually one or two month. When he feels Baba Makhdūm is calling, he goes there, and it depends on the wish of Makhdūm Ashraf. He did not face any Pareshani right now. They are living happily and there is a good condition in his home. His relatives and neighbors do not apply magic on his family. He thinks that whatever magic it was, all are taken by the Makhdūm Ashraf.

Did anybody come to hazirī? No one has come for the hazirī. The hazirī used to take by Baba and his *muakkil* (client). Gupta still burnt Chirag Sharīf for weekly in the salvation of Makhdūm Ashraf and also burn the agarbatti every evening. Because Makhdūm Baba knows that we are belong to Hindu community.

CASE 3: Karam Hussein, 55, Basti:

Karam Hussein Khan was born in the town of Basti and grown up in the district of Siddarth Nagar, where his father was a government teacher. After the retirement of his father, his family shifted to a small town of Basti. Karam Hussein was younger among his five brothers. His father sent to him Furkania madrasa, wanted to become an Alim. The madrasa Furkania is an Ahle-Hadīth madrasa located in the district of Gonda, a hub of the madrasa. Khan has left the alim

course and joined the Hindi medium school and completed the high school exam in the late 1980s. His family including his father was staunch followers of the Ahle-Hadīth school of thought and prays namaz in the Ahle-Hadīth mosque. In his younger age, he avoided all the ritual and customary practices during Sabe-Barat and Muharram. Khan married at the age of twenty-five in the Ahle-Sunnat family, where his father-in-law was a follower of Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi, known as a proponent of Barelwi School. He recalls that there was no kind of celebration of Sabe-Barat and Moharram in his families. He believes that the main reason for change in Sunni from Ahle-Hadīth to be influenced by his father-in-law. He remembered that one day his father-in-law told him;

‘Leave it Ahle-Hadīth and this kind of Islam are not real Islam and my father became upset. That is why we follow Ahle-Hadīth and he is going to a different direction. Even my father was replaced by my other house. Because of we started to follow the Barelwi’.

Two years ago developed headache, restless, nervousness, and felt generally weak. He consulted several doctors, but there was no improvement and he continues to suffer for more than year. Afterward, he visited Ghazi Miyan (Bahraich) and Deva Sharif (Barabanki), but there was no improvement and no relief. Sometimes she would have crave for sweets and Biryani and eat excessively. These symptoms used to persist for about an hour or more every day. Afterward, she would her normal state and attend to her work as usual. After that, his advised him to go to Ilfaat Ganj (Ilfaat Ganj is situated in the district of Ambedkar Nagar and it is not very far from Qasbah Kichaucha, nearly about twenty miles, where Zinda Pir was alive. He stayed there for more than three months, but there was no improvement. Afterward, Zinda Pir suggested that he visit Makhdūm Pak dargah. Khan came here upon the advice of Zinda Pir. The man filed a petition at the moral court, where he came to know through hazirī, he was afflicted by the spirit possessions, which were caused by the abnormal behavior. Khan spent the whole one year at the dargah and now he has won all cases finally. Khan keep visit Pak Makhdūm regularly, where he donated some fund for construction of mosque near dargah.

Case 4: Asif Sheikh, Age 30, Sasaram, Bihar, Ziyarat:

Asif Sheikh belongs to Bihar, but he lives in Asansol, West Bengal. His father was railway driver, retired last year and his family settled permanently in Asansol. Asif received primary education in Urdu medium school and after a period of time, he completed B.A in history from

local degree college in Asansol. He offers *Fatiha* and namaz in weekly. But he offers namaz regular five times when he stayed at the dargah. Asif pray namaz in Barelwi mosque. He used to attend the jalsa in years when it organized in his areas. He witnessed that when we attend the jalsa, if any *naat* feels good, then he chant Allah-o Akbar and Nare-Takbir. Asif occasionally listens to religious scholar video lectures on YouTube like, Maulana Tariq Jameel, who belong to Pakistan. He does not listen daily when he is traveling or he is away from home. His family celebrated Moharram with *doom dhamse*. He used to visit dargah annually. But this time he came for especially Ziyarat. The man told me that the market is down and the cold is too low. We thought that we should go to Makhdum Pak for ziyarat. He usually makes a vow, but sometimes a vow to be filled. Asif distinguished a vow between permissible and impermissible. He said that while seeking saint, O God make me millionaire that is impermissible in Islam. Asif regularly visits other dargahs, such as Sher-e-Bengal dargah, Asansol, Ajmer Sharif, and Nizamuddin Awliyā, Delhi.

Earlier he was heard that there are four times namaz in the mosque of Pak Makhdūm dargah. He believes and as it come to hearing that there is no prayer in the evening. Therefore, the client of Makhdūm Ashraf and his friends who come from outside pray namaz in the mosque. After he met a Maulana in his neighbors, he explained everything about Makhdūm Ashraf. Afterward, he came to Kichaucha Sharif where he became a disciple of Syed Nizamuddin Ashraf, a Pir based on Kichaucha Sharif. Asif keep coming to the dargah from 2014. He often visits Pak Makhdūm dargah especially in Urs in the month Moharram. Last time he had come here in *Urs* and stayed for more than fifteen days. Now this time he is planning to stay more than twenty days. Visiting dargah as Asif staunchly believes that there is positive impact on his business. When he feels that the profit of business has gradually decreased, he plan to visit dargah, where his Pir give some advice. When I met him second time, Asif was to go home after completing ziyarat put a question did you feel any different here and there?

Yes, it has changed. For instance, this usually happens in the business which is not doing in the right direction. Or we gave stuff on credit, and the customer did not return the money. Then we come here and talk to Pir. He replied that it is fine and be patient all will be fine. Pir also make dua for us, and we also recite a *Fatiha* for Makhdūm Pak. Therefore, Insallah everything seems to be all right gradually. He believes that there are different eminences for every saint. For

instance, Moinuddin Chishti has a different maqām, and he is the king of Hindustan. Concomitantly, Ashraf Jahangir Simnani had a different status.

CASE 5: Mohd Rafi, 55, Railway Employ, Intermediate:

Mohd Rafi was born in Rai Bareilly district, rural setting in Uttar Pradesh. He was married at the age of 27 years and he works in the Railway department as a Master of superintendent. He has three children, two boys, and a girl, aged 22, 18 and 12 years, respectively. He comes from nuclear family consisting of parents and two brothers and three sisters. He himself is the first child. The financial condition of his family is very sound. His income was estimated more than fifty thousand per month. He prays namaz five times with time, despite working in government sector. He feels that there is nothing more than namaz in the world. He does not like visit to any religious program. But he celebrate Moharram and also fast on the tenth day of Moharram. He thinks that after all such a big sacrifice happened in the Karbala and this is the reason keep fast on that day. He does not like to prepare malidah (pounded meal cakes mixed with butter and sugar), Kichhda (often made for distribution in memory of Moharram martyrs), and he does not follow ritual activities during Muharram. Khan prefers to listens daily Tariq Jamil speech(taqreer) video on YouTube. He prefers to listen to Tariq Jamil's speeches because he categorically rejects sectarian attitude. He talks about real Islam and always preaches not worldly affair, but the story of the Hereafter. Jamil categorically divides the worldly and religious affairs, where he prefers to speak only Deen and the Hereafter (*akhirat*).

He had come here twenty-five year ago; from onwards he keeps visiting regularly for Ziyarat. Now he has developed a very close relationship with Pir Syed Mohammad Salman and later he became a murid of him. This time he visited dargah because he was facing pareshani, tiredness, and anxiety. He had been taking medicine for a long time, but it did not cure. So he thought that should visit for Ziyarat. He thinks that visiting Makhdūm Pak dargah, it will get remedied soon. Prior to visiting Makhdūm Pak dargah, he checked his problem to other doctors, but it did not cure. The checkup was normal and there was no such things came out in X-ray. Therefore, he suddenly decided to go to dargah. When he feels that there is some *ghabrahat* (nervousness) and tiredness, then he visit here. Now it is completely comfortable. He usually makes a plan for ziyarat, it depends on his wish. This time he had come here after six months. Usually, he often visits in a month or two.

Rafi had come here for two days, he regularly visit Pak Makhdūm dargah, it does mean that when he involve in pareshani and feeling bad, but it is also spiritual attachment with Makhdūm Ashraf. He often visits Ajmer Sharif and Nizamuddin Awliyā for ziyarat and fatiha. We have come here yesterday and Insallah we return tomorrow. It did come here that not only health is bad. Rather it is a spiritual attachment with Makhdūm Sahab.

Rafi has not read about Makhdūm Ashraf. But he believes that Ashraf Jahangir Simnani is a friend of God, and request for supplication to him. Demand of method should be different. For him, it simply requests the Makhdūm Ashraf.... You are a friend of God, and if you pray for us, then God will accept our demand. He believes that wali is the means and it also ladder.

‘Jahan se har jagah khatm hota hai, yahan se suru hota hai’.

From where it ends everywhere, starts from Makhdūm Pak.

CASE 6: Gita Munda: Age 22, 12th, Ranchi:

Gita Munda is a literate; unmarried woman, aged about twenty-two years, belongs to Ranchi, Jharkhand. Her father is work in the Government sector, where he earns more than fifty thousand per month. She belongs to Hindu Schedule tribe caste and comes from a joint family. She had completed the intermediate exam in 2002 in English medium. Gita used to worship everyday in her house, and visits (Shankar God) daily temple, now she left all the Hindu ritual, due to she resides in the near to Makhdūm Ashraf. She had no interest to listen to any religious program either TV or YouTube. She is facing her problem since childhood. She believes that due to her *Pareshani*, she avoids celebrating all Hindu rituals and festivals. She recalls that ‘*Mujheyaad hai bachpan me Hanuman Chalisa padhte the abhi to shaitani harkat ki wajah se nahi padh pate*’. We remember that since childhood we used to read Hanuman Chalisa, now due to devil problem, we cannot read it. Last two years, she has not celebrated to any festivals due to her loneliness. She believes that *yahan pe hamare caste ka koi nahi hai* (There is no one in our community here).

I met her at the Pak Markham dargah as she was coming to offer regular hazirī. The woman said to have had attacks of possession during the past ten years. Earlier she had been well and healthy. Her family member told me that the attacks of possession were caused by sudden death

her younger sister, after three years ago. She complained of tiredness, body aches, and pains and started to refuse food. Then, she visited several dargah and Ojha, but there was no improvement. After that, her neighbor told her about the dargah of Makhdūm Pak. Her family planned to visit Makhdūm Pak dargah, where she had her first attack of possession, and she got to know through hazirī that it was the spirit of her sister who manifested himself. She remembered that she made a vow but a vow is not to be fulfilled. She asked for vows that will recover get soon. She has been living at dargah for last two years and participates in the hazirī daily in three times. The woman herself told me that which she does since she was relieved from her possession attack at the dargah.

CASE 7: Vimla Srivastava, Age 50, B.A, Retired Govt. Teacher.

Vimla Srivastava is a middle age, married women, belongs to the Kanpur city an urban setting. She belong to a Hindu upper caste, comes from a joint family. She has a child, who studies in Puna, doing MBA from Puna University. Vimla was a Government teacher in primary school, retired due to her illness. She was married at the age of twenty-three to a man working in the Air force. Her husband is an Airforce employee, voluntarily retired from his services due to his wife's illness. She and her husband, who live in Kichaucha Sharif, are facing a *pareshani* (evil spirit)for more than 9 years. Prior coming to the dargah, she used to celebrate every Hindu rituals and festivals including Holi and Deepawali. She is an abstinent, calm, dynamic and practicing Hindu woman.

Nine years ago, Vimla developed headache, hand pain, and felt generally weak. She consulted doctor and took medicine and got relief. Afterward, she would her normal condition and attend her work as usual. After that suddenly the pain again developed, and then this time, she went to next doctor, took medicine but there was no improvement and continued to suffer for more than a year. Finally, she went to all good doctors in Kanpur including medical college, but there was no cured. The problems continued to grow and her fingers started shrinking and many years passed, but there was no relief (*rahat*). Then again she checked up the Magnetic Resonance Imaging (MRI), but they did not find any problem. The medicine continued. Thereafter she left the allopathic drug and went to Dr. R.S Pareek, Agra, who is famous for homeopath medicine and treatment, continued for one year, but there was no relief. The treatment has been passed five years and body has stopped functioning. Finally, she consulted neurologist and physiotherapist;

where they were unable to identify the diagnosis. Her husband began to suspect that she was suffering because of the influence of an evil spirit. Hence she was brought to Sankat Mochan temple at Banaras for relief. She spent almost a month but was not completely relieved. Afterward, she came to know of the Makhdūm Pak dargah, it was told by one of her friends who had come here long ago. From there, she went to Kichaucha Sharif dargah, where she has been living for the past three years, took a room for rent three hundred per day in adjacent to the dargah. She arrived dargah, she first met Pīr and Khadim, but there were no such things, just as usual thing, like taking a bath in Neer Sharif and attending in hazirī. She believes that Pīr and Khadim are not helpful to patients and it is not just matter for our problem.

I met her while she was participating hazirī; the woman told me that before coming here, she often visits several temples like Sankat Mochan (Varanasi), Jagannath Puri (Orissa) and Gangasagar (West Bengal), etc. For her, the dargah was the new kind of experience, she visited dargah in her life for the first time, earlier she visited Hazrat Nizamuddin Dargah for ziyarat. She recalls that we, as a follower of Hindu religion, we did not visit dargah as usual, but sometimes we used to visit Hazrat Nizamuddin Dargah for ziyarat. We don't know earlier such things happen in dargah, before coming here; even we don't believe in such ritual. Her husband told me that even he does not believe these kinds of ritual taking place at the dargah. He continued, even now I do not believe in such things. Regarding adhering to such thing, if we get some relief from here, then we follow whole life and we use to come here permanently. If not, then life changes in time and circumstances. When I met her first time, she did not get any relief from the dargah. While I was coming from dargah, I asked her, did you get relief from here. The woman told me that if I sit in front of *Astana*, it gets some relief from the inside, but there is no physical improvement, only internal feelings has improved. Even her husband memorized the last three year experiences at the dargah that he uses to work daily as a daily routine. He woke up early morning; offer hazirī three times a daily, after *fazr* namaz to till 7.30, again, 10.30 to 11.30 and then again 4 clocks to till Maghrib prayer. She continues hopes will get soon.

Are you thinking visit any other temple or dargah? We are thinking so much, but where will we go, there is no alternative.

How do compromise with your religion? Do you read anything related to Islam?

Yes, I learn here few things like Makhdūm Pak *Rubai*, and Dua and how to perform ablutions (*wudu*). We use to read here Choti-Choti cheeje (small things). Sometimes she used to read

The woman herself told me that few things here learned while staying dargah, the how to perform ablutions and remembers the trickery of Makhdūm Pak. She used to read here Choti-choti cheeje (small things). Sometimes she reads Hanuman Chalisa and Makhdūm Pak rubai (practice of deception). She recalls, '*Kya kare Jo bhi khuch aata hai, sub padh lete hai. 'Baba to sub samajhte hai, kih hum log Hindu dhram se hai*'. (What we should do, whatever we know, read it. Baba (Makhdūm Ashraf) understands everything that we belong to Hindu religion).

After coming to the dargah, does it have an impact in your life?

No, there is no impact in our lives.

What is your experience being here from three years? How long you live here?

Experience Bahiya! What science says, work hard, till then does not get success. How to count experience, till then you do not get success. And not found, then it is useless. If you did your work and you went ahead. Then a person recognizes your hard work. If we get something then we will understand, the work in progress. So there is still hope.

Did you receive any Basharat, did you get dreams. As usual, happening to other patients

No, I did not receive Basharat or dreams. '*Sirf feel hota hai dard badh raha ghat raha hai!*'(What Only I feel the pain is getting high and low).

CASE 8: Zabir Shaikh:

Zabir is a married Muslim man, aged 40 years. He is graduated from Bareilly College, come from an urban area and belongs to a nuclear family. His family currently resides in Badarpur, South Delhi, where he was doing job in private company. Shaikh married at the age of twenty-five and he has one child, currently, his daughter is doing B.A. in History from Daulat Ram College, Delhi University. No history of possession in the family is reported earlier.

Zabir had come to dargah for treatment of mental distress. He was an afflicted spirit possession and his mind was not working properly. He arrived at dargah in 2014 for his treatment of spirit

possession. Since then he stays at dargah and he received some kind of benefits. Zabir is a regular visitor of dargah, and keep visits Makhdūm dargah for Ziyarat purpose. He recalls his experience that basically we have an attachment to the friend of God and had firm faith with Sufis and the elderly. He visits dargah constantly since childhood. He believes that rather than going to the Park or cinema, he prefers to go to the dargah, where he get some kind of mental satisfaction. Zabir often visit several dargah including Nizamuddīn, Mehrauli Sharīf, and Chirag Dehlvi. Before coming to Makhdūm Pak dargah, he went to Nizamuddīn dargah where he received some cure and relief. His wife visit Nizamuddin dargah every Thursday for ziyarat. It is not someone has told us.

Zabir arrived at the dargah with his wife and father-in-law. When I met him he was going to offer hazirī. The man himself told me that the arrival of dargah, grace of God and supplication of Makhdūm Pak, within twenty fives day the mental problem recovered. When I met him his condition is neither fits nor fully control. The man himself told me that the condition slowly has improved, but the devil is not getting rid of. The man still hopes well get soon. Zabir did not remember who did magic on him. He learned through Hazirī that his distant relatives had made magic on him. But Zabir does not trust on Hazirī, because he believes that if a devil speaks something wrong, then I do not see him. Then it cannot believe on this basis, because, he can say anything wrong and also the reason for fighting with each other. The man trusts only God and saints. But the complete case neither is fit nor better yet. The problem of mental disorder is getting improved, but till now diabolical act is not get rid of. But he hopes well get soon.

Zabir surmise that after coming to the dargah, his life has changed. When he was in Delhi, he used to regularly perform namaz despite working in a private sector. After coming to the dargah, he became even more religious. He does not a have beard, but now has a beard. He reminisces about early experience in the context of the dargah life.....I did not have anything and this is grace of Makhdūm Pak, because of him there is an arrangement of dal-roti. Otherwise, I did not have anything.

He prefers to avoid doing such things inside the courtyard of the dargah, which is prohibited in Islam. The man believes that inside dargah avoid doing wrong things because he afraid that staying in the bārgah of wali, we have to pious and to be good there. He tried to make it clear that whatever there is evil in it, we repent from sin in the bārgah of wali.

The man did not ask for any such vow. He believes that asking directly to saint, it is not right way.

I told him (Makhdūm Pak) that we have come to your place and why should I demand others. So I said to him, *Huzoor*, you called me come to your place, so you do some bestow to us and from which to start new business and we don't want to beg to someone. So I would say, whatever I have, because of his spirit. Of course, Allah only gives it. But Allah provide the means for achieve one's object. So I say that he provided the means. I did not have vigor to starts new shop'.

When I met him last time, he was waiting for order (*hukm*) from Makhdūm Pak. The man himself told me that the case has not been finalized yet, and his attempt is to make him request every day to finalize the case.

CASE 9: Salman Ansari, Lucknow:

Salman Ansari, who lives in Lucknow, and he is an embroidery worker and father of eight sons. His four sons studied in Hindi medium from 7th to 8th and his daughters studied till intermediate in Hindi medium school near his home. Ansari cannot read Quran, but he used to read and listens to the translation of Quran in Hindi version. He has memorized the few Quranic Ayat and used to recite in his prayer. He used to sit day after the prayer of *Asr* to listen to Hadīth like *FazialAamal*. Ansari believes in vow (*mannat*), but to pray two rakat namaz and pray to Allah. He does not believe to wear a *tawiz*. He offers *namaz* five times and *Fatiha* every Thursday in his house and he attends jalsa when it organized near to his home and he has no problem to offer namaz in any mosque. Moreover, Ansari does not have any problem to pray any Imam to any mosque. He believes that '*Quran to sabhi masjid me padhte hai, aur masjid sabhi Allah ka ghar hai. Aur Koran to ek hi hai*'. (Quran recites all the mosque and the mosques are all the houses of the God. And the Quran is the only one). He never chants Allah o Akbar. He thinks that chanting Allah o Akbar is not our job; he believes that these things are ritualistic, not permissible in Islam. Salman does not have a TV in his home, but he sometimes listens to Tariq Jamil lectures (*Taqree-re*) on YouTube and sometimes he listens to Nusrat Fateh Ali Qawwali. Salman prefers to go Tabligh Jamaat, but not every month. He spent three days in the tabligjamaat 25 years ago. Salman avoids celebrating the festival of Moharram and Chaliswa; he thinks these are the *bid'a* in Deobandi Islam. He explains that these festivals are not to celebrate, but to fast in the 9th and 10th Moharram. He thinks that celebrating Moharram and Chaliswa in not mandatory in Deobandi

Islam, the most important thing is to read Quran and to distribute foods to their neighbors, which are needy. He thinks that *Fatiha* can pray but not with *Malida*. He often celebrates *Eid* and *Bakrid*. His neighbors come to his house for sweet and have good terms (*Salaam, dua aurvehvaar*) but he never sends meat to his Hindu neighbors in the festival of Bakrid. He thinks that *Hum khuchachhaNahi Samajhte* (we do not understand anything good). On the other hand, his Hindu neighbors never invited to their festivals but his Hindu friends and neighbors invited to wedding party. He does not celebrate circumcision for his child; he thinks that *yeh aadmikegunjaishkeupar hai*. (It is depending upon the man income.) But he believes that celebrating Aqiqa⁴⁶⁹ is the matter of Sawab, *Aqiqa to Jaan ka sadqa hota hai, aur uski Zindagi Sahi kategi*. (The Aqiqa is the charity of life and life will furnish smoothly).

Ansari came to Makhdūm Ahsraf dargah last year Moharram, and he stayed only three days. Before coming to here he visited Deva Sharif, Barabanki and Nizamuddin Dargah, Delhi. Ansari narrated his story to visit Nizamuddin dargah. He visited Nizamuddin dargah for the purpose of ziyarat. He explains that while going to Saudi Arabia, he stayed one week at Nizamuddin area and he visited also Nizamuddin dargah for ziyarat. He came to know Makhdūm Pak dargah from his neighbors and friend. Having a problem with depression, (*Ghabrahat*), restiveness (*Bechaini*) and mental distress, his friends told him to visit Kichaucha Sharif dargah. Before coming to the dargah, he visited various hospitals and he continues to take allopathic medicine. He believes that someone made magic to him when he stays at the dargah of Makhdūm Ashraf, he feels very comfortable, when returning back to his home, the problem started. His daily ritual activities, to attend *Adalat* three times, to take bath at Neer Sharif and used to have Neer Sharif water, and sometime to light the lamp in his house. He came to know from Hazirī that one *Alim* (who used to incantations) to practiced on him. He believes that here (dargah) '*Jo aadmi shaitani kar deta hai, wo shaitan andar se bolne lagta hai*'. (Those men who practice on any person, the devil speak out from the human body?). He further states that '*dimag theek nahi rahta hai, aur yeha haziri se pata chal jaata hai, aur shaitaan khud hazri me byan deta hai*'. (The mind is not working properly and here came to know from hazirī and devil himself to depose in the time of hazirī?). The *chirag* (light) is very powerful and this *chirag* used to practice by Sarkar (Makhdūm Ashraf) in his own days, and *chirag* had made for coming days that used to practice

⁴⁶⁹ The Muslim ceremony of having the head of a new-born infant on the sixth day after, childbirth, or a feast given on that day.

sorcery and magic, will cut off from chirag. The devil is cut off from chirag. The devilish keeps distance from fire. We burn *chirag* for health recovery.

Ansari came to dargah this time on Wednesday, and he interested to stay maximum forty days. Here (dargah) will stay maximum forty days, if he (Makhdūm Ashraf) gives attention to me, will stay here Insallah, if the grace of God and blessings of Makhdūm Ashraf remained here, then Inshallah our plan to stay here for forty days. Whatever I am facing, it will be fine within forty days. He believes that Makhdūm Ashraf is a Walī of Allah. He further believes that Makhdūm Ashraf having *muakkil* (client) and through that *muakkil* to know what magician and devil have been controlled by human beings. He believes that our Walī is invisible but the god, who providence of graveyard. It is matter of destiny. When I go to home, my wife says that do not go there, you can check with a here to someone. But god knows whatever is the problem and his blessing and Dua brought here. The man who loves him, he brought here. He cures his patients. When I back home the problem starts again and if I stay here feels comfortable. When I was returning from the dargah, I met him a second time, he was interested in going home.

Analysis and Conclusion:

The chapter third and four attempted to narrate the story of everyday lives of Hindu-Muslim in the Makhdūm Pak dargah. The dargah is specialized in the sphere of sorcery and spirit possession. People here come to seek blessings from the saint and usually, they visits to dargah for the healing and spirit possession despite being examined by different doctors and exorcists. People from all walk of socio-economic and religious backgrounds make pilgrimage to get relief from poor health and other related problem in the life. However, many patients have helped to overcome their problems. During fieldwork, it was also seen that the people who were cured had not experienced complete relief, as since they prayed and *hazirī* to the saint's charisma. Otherwise, it was reported, their problems would recur or even become aggravated. After coming to the dargah, does it have an impact patient's life? Or did the visits to the shrine get satisfactory results? How people compromise with religion. Based on our observations and findings I would suggest that faith in kismet or fate etc. is religious factors that help the patients to reconcile their problems. Patients those who come to Makhdūm Pak dargah, usually suffer from psychological or psychiatric disorders and interpersonal problems and stress in life. It may be that after some time forgetting the suffering and having a similar situation, accepting it can be in the human

nature; but it can help when misfortune is seen as a fortune in life. Apart from this, noticeable changes in the behavior of the cordial atmosphere, emotional catharsis, and family members in dargah of Makhdūm Pak help all these sick people to realize health improvement.

There is a mark distinction between Hindu-Muslim while they come to the dargah for the healing and illness. For Hindu, generally they refer to the saint as the Baba or Sarkar, and for Muslim, they refer to them as the wali or friend of God and pious saint. For Hindus, the dargah is a healing for ritual and for Muslims; the dargah is a ritual for healing. Hindus, therefore do participate in *hazirī* their own terms, and sometimes they reads the Makhdūm Pak rubai and at the same time, they also reads Hanuman Chalisa and Gita. It is also important to determine the boundaries of Hindu participation. While Muslims explicitly adhere to the rules and a regulation governs the dargah custodian. When Muslims do participate in *hazirī*, they perform ablution and pray the namaz, whereas Hindus do their own ritual and follows their own religion. In case of Muslims, they make connections with the living descendant of the saint and thus have an exposure of the discourse of the Sufism. Whereas Hindus do not cultivate any direct connections with the living descendant of the saint and they have no interest to follow the Sufism. The people visits dargah particular Pak Makhdūm basically for the spirit possession and healing. The finding of these chapters suggest that both Hindu and Muslim have followed their own ritual and religion at the Makhdūm dargah and when it comes to norms and practices, there is a mark of boundaries.

The chapters third and fourth do not corroborate the argument by the Nandy's that traditional or folk religion promotes harmony and pluralism in the society. In the debate between Imtiaz Ahmad and Francis Robinson, our data supports Imtiaz Ahmad's broader assumption that so-called orthodox is not eating up the so-called heterodoxy. It is in my understanding that the way in which the mobility of community increases, changes in the context of the practices, because the community practicing with Sufism is now shifting in different directions.

Barelwi ulama and muftis' are not against the visiting dargah but they explicitly oppose the worship of saints and ritual and popular practices in the context of the dargah. It is important in the genealogy of Muslim debate about saint worship in India that one of the main issues has always been 'syncretism', or 'Hindu influence' and 'Hindu participation'. It is alleged that saint worship is similar to Hindu polytheism; this tradition is repeatedly rejected by the defenders of Islamic tradition. Reformists is not based on the faith that practice encourage among Hindu and

Muslim, but on the claim that it is an orthodox practice in continuity with Islamic past. Traditionalist denied that saint worship is syncretism. It does not mean that there is tolerance and harmony between the worship of saint and Hindu –Muslim practice as a result. The only thing that is clear from the Muslim debate is that coordination is rejected as a true deviation⁴⁷⁰.

⁴⁷⁰ Peter Van Deer, "Syncretism, Multiculturalism, and the Discourse of Tolerance", 194.

Chapter Five:

Barelwi Islam: Muftis and their Fatāwá on Customary and Popular Practices:

Abstract:

This chapter is built around four important themes. First theme of this chapter takes on what does mean by fatwa and the difference between fatwa and qadi in the fatwa literature (*section I*). The second theme takes on muftis and Barelwi fatwa literatures (*section II*). The third theme of this chapter defines the *bida* (innovation) and Sunnah. The chapter conceptualizes the meaning and interpretation of *bida* by Barelwi muftis and ulama. In addition, the chapter also defines how Deoband muftis and ulama have defined the concept of *bida*. The chapter also differentiated between Barelwi muftis and Deoband muftis on the interpretation of *bida* (*section III*). The fourth theme of this chapter looks at the Barelwi muftis and their fatwas on customary and popular practices. An important argument that this chapter makes is that did the Barelwi muftis reject ritual and popular practice as the form of *bida* in everyday lives of Muslim society? The purpose of this chapter is to elucidate the opinion of the Barelwi school muftis and ulama concerning the practices and beliefs demonstrated at the dargah of revered Sufi saint who embody the mystical faces to Islam.

Introduction:

Studies on fatāwá by orientalist and Islamic legal historians drew their attention on legal sources and their studies more focused on the forms and procedure of fatwās than with their context. The importance of fatwā in the study of the Muslim world has been noted by various scholars. Kaptein (2004), who studied fatwā and religious authority in the context of Indonesia, has shown that the concept of religious authority is certainly not static, but very much subject to change in the political, social and educational and religious landscape in Indonesia and as the result decline of the traditional voices of ulama through mass education and technological change⁴⁷¹. Heyd (1969) who studied the Ottoman fatwā and it is analyses the content, forms and issues of fatwā

⁴⁷¹ Nico J.G. Kaptein. "The voice of the Ulama Fatwa's and Religious Authority in Indonesia", *Arch.de sc.soc. des re*, 2004, 115-130.

during ottoman time⁴⁷². Masud studied fatwā discourse in the light of the *istifta* (Question). He suggests that the fatwā should be considered as a discussion on religious authority in the context of *madhab*, *taqlīd*, and *ijtihad*⁴⁷³. Layish, fatwā is a legal opinion of mufti that is an instrument to bring society closer to Sharia preview⁴⁷⁴. Agrama’s paper, “*Ethics, Tradition, Authority*” in which the role of fatwā has been explored in anthropological standpoint in the setting of Egyptian society. He explored how fatwā responded to everyday problems and issues in Egyptian Islamic legal tradition in present-times. He observes that muftis of al-Azhar Mosque in Cairo always wanted to felicitate those fatwā to people who had asked explanation of Islamic law in their personal life ranging from private to public life⁴⁷⁵. On the other hand, Caeiro comprehends that fatwa as a meeting point between legal theory and social practice⁴⁷⁶. Jakob Peterson pioneer works on fatwā, muftis and Darul iftā in the context of the Egyptian society. Some scholars who have studied fatwa, mufti and Darul-Iftā, the notable exception Jakob Peterson discovered the history of mufti and Darul Iftā of Egypt published in 1997⁴⁷⁷.

Messick, paper is based on the anthropological perspective, who studied muftis of Yemen on the close connection between Yemenite fatāwā and of classical legal texts⁴⁷⁸. Peters studied fatwā issued by the Egyptian grand mufti and observed closely that the mufti played an important role in ensuring correct practice in normative Islam⁴⁷⁹. Recently a remarkable study by Benzing, that was the sources of fatwas for the study of customs and traditions in the Muslim world. During the Ottoman era, Benzing discussed the value of fatwas for the social history of Anatolia⁴⁸⁰. He

⁴⁷² Urid Heyd. “Some Aspects of the Ottoman Fatwa”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 32, (1), 1969, 35-56.

⁴⁷³ Mohd. Khalid Masūd. “The Significance of Istifta in the Fatwā Discourse”. *Islamic Studies*,.48,No. (3), 2009, 341-366.

⁴⁷⁴ Aharon Layish. “The Fatwa as an instrument of Accommodation”. In *Islamic Legal Interpretation: Muftis and their Fatwa’s*, ed., Masud, Messick & Powers, Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1996, 278-85.

⁴⁷⁵ Hussein Ali Agrama. “Ethics, Tradition, Authority: Toward an Anthropology of the Fatwa”, *American Ethnologist*, 37, (1), 2010, 2-18.

⁴⁷⁶ Alexandre Caeiro. “The Shifting Moral Universes of the Islamic Tradition of Iftā: A Diachronic Study of Four *Adab al-fatwā* Manual”. *The Muslim World*, 96, (4). 2006, 661-85.

⁴⁷⁷ Jakob Peterson, *Defining Islam for the Egyptian State: Muftis and Fatwa’s of the Dār al-Iftā*, Leiden: Brill, 1997, pp,432

⁴⁷⁸ Brinkley Messick. “The Muftis, The text and the world: Legal interpretation in Yemen”, *Man*, 21 (1), 1986, 102-19.

⁴⁷⁹ Peters Rudolph, “Muhammad al-Abbasi al-Mahdi (D. 1897) Grand Mufti of Egypt, and His “al-Fatāwā al-Mahdiyya”, *Islamic Law and Society*, 1, (1). 1994, 66-82

⁴⁸⁰ Cited in Jakob Skovgaard-Petersen, *Defining Islam for the Egyptian State” Muftis and Fatwas of Dar al-Iftā*, Leiden: Brill, 1997, p,12

believes that fatwa can provide information related to the new inventions such as clock, fashions, new lifestyle, habits, and foods, etc. Al-Atawneh (2010) analyzed the Wahhābi fatwas in Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. He ascertained the history of fatwā and Darul iftā and underlined the nature, content, and methodology of Wahhabi fatāwā. Al Atawneh analyzed the changing lifestyles of Saudi society and mufti has faced this practical challenge through fatāwā⁴⁸¹.

The most relevant fatwa in the South Asian context has been studied by notable legal historian, orientalist, and anthropologist such as M.K. Masūd⁴⁸², Barbra D. Metcalf⁴⁸³, Usha Sanyal⁴⁸⁴ and most recently studied fatwa by Fareeha Khan⁴⁸⁵. Masud, Metcalf and Khan, their entire works is based on the Deoband School and on the other hand, Usha Sanyal and George C. Kozlowski works is limited to Barelwi School. Sanyal, one of the pioneer works on Barelwi movement, establishment of Barelwi institution and polemical debates between Deobandis and Wahhabis and on the other hand, George C. Kozlowski's paper related to Barelwi madrasa authority and Sharia, where it finds that Sharia has obviously changed, adapted itself to new social, political and economic circumstances while maintaining its independence from the state⁴⁸⁶. To date, there is no systematic study on the history of Darul-Iftā, fatawa, and muftis from the Barelwi School in the context of the Indian perspectives.

⁴⁸¹ Muhammad Al-Atawneh. *Wahhabi Islam Facing the Challenges of Modernity: Dar Al-Iftā in the Modern Saudi Sate*, Leiden: Brill, 2010.

⁴⁸² Mohd Khalid Masūd. *Trends in the interpretation of Islamic Law as reflected in the Fatāwā Literature of Deoband School: A Study of the attitude of the Ulama of Deoband to certain Social Problems and inventions*, Department of Islamic Studies McGill University, Unpublished Thesis, M.A, 1969.

⁴⁸³ Barbra Metcalf. *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.

⁴⁸⁴ Usha Sanyal pioneer works on Ahmed Raza Khan and his Movement. See, *Devotional Islam: Imam Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi and His Movement*, Delhi: Yoda Press, *Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi: In the Path of the Prophet*, Oxford: One World, 2010. "Are Wahhabis Kafir? Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi and his Sword of the Haramain". In *Islamic Legal Interpretation: Muftis and their Fatwa's*, ed. Masūd, Messick & Powers, Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1996, 204-13.

⁴⁸⁵ Khan analyzed the Maulana Thanwi's Fatwā on related to the parental right over children, see, "Maulana Thanwi's Fatwa on the limits of parental rights over children". In *Islam in South Asia in Practice*, ed. Barbra D. Metcalf, 305-316. And also her PhD dissertation, *Traditionalist Approaches to Sharīa reform: Maulana Ahsraf Ali Thanwi's Fatwa on Women's Right to Divorce*, Department of Near Eastern Studies, University of Michigan, Unpublished Dissertation, 2008.

⁴⁸⁶ George C. Kozlowski opine that authority seen as distinct from power, implies that an individual can indicate that a certain thing should be done with the hearers responding that they ought to exert themselves to see to it that it is done, but authority does not carry a survey that it will be done. In its turn influence can be distinguished from power and authority. Influence consist of being able say that something should be done and have people think that the thing is a pretty good idea. See, *Loyalty, Locality and Authority in several opinions (Fatāwā)* Delivered by the Mufti of the Jami'ah Nizamīyyah Madrasa, Hyderabad, India, *Modern Asian Studies*, 29, (4), 1995, 893-927

Why Barelwi School of Fatāwa:

According to a general perception, Barelwis are against the tenets of Islam as their muftis allow the celebration of customary and popular practices in everyday lives of Muslim society. This chapter attempts to analyze the fatwas of Barelwī School and tries to know whether Barelwī scripture, text, and fatwas permits and celebrates the ritual and customary practices. The chapter elaborates how the Barelwi muftis have employed the foundational text of Islam to condemn and reprehend against the customary and popular practices of the mainstream in everyday Muslim society. The purpose of this chapter is to comprehend trends in the interpretation of Islamic law and highlight the conflict between the Barelwi Islam and the perception of ‘other’. In this chapter, I ask one pertinent question, (a) did they (Barelwī muftis) reject customary and popular practices in everyday lives as the form of the *bid`a* (innovation). The chapter, examine the interaction between legal text and customary and popular practices, as Barelwis is considered as a believing in innovation by ‘other’. Therefore choose to follow Talal Asad in his description of Islam as a “discursive tradition”. Asad elaborates:

“Islam is neither a distinctive social structure nor a heterogeneous collection of beliefs, artifacts, customs, and morals. It is tradition. A tradition consists essentially of discourses that seek to instruct practitioners regarding the correct form and purpose of a given practice that, precisely because it is established, has a history. These discourses relate conceptually to a *past* (when the practice was instituted, and from which the knowledge of its point and proper performance has been transmitted) and a *future* (how the point of that practice can best be secured in the short or the long term, or why it should be modified or abandoned), through a *present* (how it links to other practices, institution, and social conditions)”⁴⁸⁷.

For this study, it is very difficult to study the entire fatāwá issued by muftis, in this case, the whole fatwa has been surveyed but for this chapter, we have selected few fatāwá those related to customary and popular practices in everyday life of Muslim society. Here I have listed some following fatwa’s those related to my objectives.

- a. The question related to the customary and popular practices in everyday lives of Muslim society.
- b. Question relating to the visiting the dargah or graves and woman and visiting shrine.
- c. Circumambulate (tawaf) kissing tomb and prostration on the grave.

⁴⁸⁷ Talal Asad. *The Idea of Anthropology of Islam*, Washington,DC: Georgetown University, Centre for Arab Studies, 1986,14.

- d. Providing food at the Mazar and constructing stone graves and constructing artificial graves.
- e. Putting sheet of cloth on the grave or offer sheet on the Mazar and light a lamp on the grave, placing flowers on the graves.
- f. Mawlid or Milad-un-Nabi: celebration of Muharram and Taziya procession. Celebrating urs to the saints. Seeking help or assistance from saint, a gathering for qawwali.

I. Defining Fatwā:

The literal meaning of fatwā is to know whether there is question-related to the order of the Sharia or not related to them. In other words, fatwā is meant to show religious commands and to describe Sharia and it is called fatwā. Moreover, a fatwā (*fatāwá*, pl.) is a non-binding piece of authoritative legal advice written by a qualified Muslim jurisconsult (*mufti*) in response to a specific question (*istifta*) posed by an individual questioner (*mustafti*)⁴⁸⁸. The *Istifta* work to provide fatwā, who seeks legal opinion and advice. If tā, it is generally pointed out, can be both verbal and written form, but the later is strongly recommended as there is less misunderstanding⁴⁸⁹.

As a matter of terminology, Muslim jurist differ in definition of fatwā. In accordance with *Usul al-fiqh*, the meaning of fatwā is to describe the God's command from the *sharīa* perspective. Nawab Siddiq Khan explicate that fatwā does not mean discussion and debate in accordance with law and Sharia, but it is also shows every day's problems and issues in present times⁴⁹⁰. Jakob Skovgaard-Petersen remark: fatwā not only help to manage people's behavior and make them Islamic but also brings about all kinds of human activities in the discipline of *fiqh*. Moreover, the fatwā and the mufti then are situated at the interface between worldly dealings and theorizing about them⁴⁹¹.

⁴⁸⁸ Masud, Messick and Powers. *Islamic Legal interpretation: Muftis and their Fatwas*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996.

⁴⁸⁹ Jakob Skovgaard-Petersen. *Defining Islam for the Egyptian State: Muftis and Fatwas of the Dar al-Iftā*, Leiden: Brill, 1997, 3.

⁴⁹⁰ Ahle-Hadīth aur fatwa Nawaisi: Ek Tarikihi Jaeza, 2.

⁴⁹¹ Jakob Skovgaard-Petersen. *Defining Islam for the Egyptian State: Muftis and Fatwas of the Dar al-Iftā*, Leiden: Brill, 1997,2.

Fatwā is based on the question (*istifta*) and questioner (*mustafti*) who produce in front of mufti. Therefore the mufti's work is to express his opinion according to Sharia and Islamic jurisprudence. There is no responsibility of mufti to bring witness and to check the question is right or wrong. Ahmed Raza Khan spells out that the muftis work is to adhere to the Sharia and to provide fatwā under the terms and conditions of Sharia⁴⁹².

Need a distinction between Mufti & Qadi:

A mufti is an authority who issues fatwas or religious opinions on points of Islamic law in response to questions posed to them regarding sharīa rulings. In contrast to qadi, or government –appointed judges who decide legal cases on an ad-hoc basis, mufti emerged as legal experts whose deliberations had legal value and who determined the acceptable range of opinion on concrete issues of Islamic law⁴⁹³. According to *Usul al-Qada*, there is no difference between *mufti* and Qadi, if there is difference between only in terms that Mufti informs us of Sharia, and *qadi* implement the law of Sharia. While in the Qada, qadi explains and investigate every incident and come to conclusion. The qadi does not enforce its wishes on it.

The concept of *fatwā* also distinguished from the *qada* in order to understand the clarification, meaning and its traits. It is generally perceived that while *qada* (court) is made by *qadi*, *fatwā* is created by a *mufti*. A *qadi* authority assigned by the state, whereas the *mufti* authority assigned by the peers⁴⁹⁴. In other words, the mufti authority is not assigned by the leader of the community, while the judges are appointed by the state or leader of the community. Another distinction made by Masud et al. that qadi appointed by the state with salaried officials who dispense justice, whereas mufti operate privately and unobtrusively without any ties to the political authorities⁴⁹⁵.

Fatwā not only dependent on Islamic jurisprudence but also depends on faith and worship, whereas qada is not related to faith and religious worship. There is no enforcement on *mustafti*

⁴⁹² Yasin Akhter Misbahi. *Imam Ahmed Raza Khan aur Radd Bidat w Munkirat*, Delhi: Rizvi Kitab Ghar, 1981.

⁴⁹³ James Broucek. "Mufti/Grand Mufti". In *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Islamic Political Thought*, ed. Gerhard Bowering, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013, 365.

⁴⁹⁴ Mooneer Goolam Fareed. "Mufti". In *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Modern Muslim World*, ed. Richard C.Martin, New York: McMillan Reference, 2004, p, 478.

⁴⁹⁵ Muhammad Khalid Masud, Brinkley Messick, David S. Powers. "Muftis, Fatāwā and Islamic Legal Interpretation". In *Islamic Legal Interpretation: Muftis and their Fatwas*, ed. M.K. Masud et al. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996, 3.

(the inquirer) by *ifta* (fatwā council) and there is no compulsion on *mustafti* to follow the fatwā. In qada, those who receive order from qadi, there is an implement the order and to adhere that order from the qadi. In other words, the act of mufti to describe the religious law and Sharia, while the act of qadi to implement the religious law. The qadi or judges deal only with issues of conflict between individuals or between the individual and the state, while mufti can be asked about issues ranging from proper ablution practices to the fundamental of the faith to the interpretation of obscure passages in jurisprudence texts-issue that would never be adjudicated in a court⁴⁹⁶. As Brinkley Messick describes,

“Their interpretative thrusts are diametrically opposed. What is “constructed” in a fatwa is an element of doctrine: a fatwa is concerned with and based upon doctrinal texts, although it requires the specifics of an actual case as its point of departure. What is “constructed” in a judgment is a segment of practice: a judgment is concerned with and based upon practical information although it requires a framework of doctrine as its point of reference. Fatwas use uncontested concrete descriptions as given instances necessitating interpretation in doctrine; judgments address the contested facts of cases as problematic instances that are themselves in need of interpretation. Fatwas and judgment are thus interpretative reciprocals; they come to rest at opposed point on the same hermeneutical circle”⁴⁹⁷.

II. Muftis & Barelwī Fatāwā Literatures:

Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi was persistent thinker-- narrator, exegete, an Islamic jurist and secured high position among ulama in South Asia, and well acquainted in all field of knowledge including worldly and religious sciences. In a short period of his life, he accomplished conspicuous works of the revival and renewal in theology. His biographer meticulously noted that Ahmed Raza’s work in the field of Hadīth and fatāwā are the source of inspiration and when ‘other’ ulama and muftis see his work get astonished. Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi (d.1340/1921) was the first mufti in the Barelwi School, who led the movement against the Deoband and Ahl-I Hadīth School of thought. Having vast knowledge in the field of rational sciences along with revealed knowledge, Ahmed Raza was proficient in the field of Islamic jurisprudence and excellent in the Hanafi jurisprudence. There is no doubt about his knowledge and an experience in jurisprudence, Ahmed Raza has contributed to the field of Hanafi law. His serious discussion and research in the field of jurisprudence, his *fatwa* and writings are still reputable sources for

⁴⁹⁶ Guy Burak. *The Second Formation of Islamic Law: The Hanafi School in the Early Ottoman Empire*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, 24.

⁴⁹⁷ Brinkley Messick. *The Calligraphic State: Textual Domination and History in a Muslim Society*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993,146.

the Barelwi School. His followers held him to be outstanding scholar of fiqh of his age, citing his fatāwá in particular for their extensive discussions of the jurisprudential foundations of the law⁴⁹⁸. He wrote more than two hundred books and booklets. His most famous work is fatāwá “*Alatāyā Alnabawīyyah Fi Alfatawa Alrizwīyah*” and that comprise into twelve volumes, and each volume comprises more than thousand pages. Ahmed Raza has reviewed new and old monograph or pamphlet (*risala*) which has not been done earlier. The plurality of references is seen in his writings, even at times, the number of references is more than two hundred. His main intentions in his writings in order to make an agreement between sources and successfully concluded the contradicting views between contradictions⁴⁹⁹. Ahmed Raza writings were characterized by an argumentative style, a piling up of reference upon reference to show simultaneously his intellectual superiority and the deficiencies of his opponents⁵⁰⁰. He distilled new problems related to Quran, hadīth and fiqh sources. He intelligently combined arguments, proof and consolidated at one place and reached the concluding point. Gūlam Rasūl Saedī writes about Ahmed Raza Khan’s contribution in the field of Hanafi jurisprudence,

‘Undoubtedly Ahmed Raza’s books are an encyclopedia of Hanafi fiqh, and a treasures of Islamic jurisprudence and his fatāwá are an important source of Barelwi muftis. When ulama studied the Ahmed Raza’s books and fatāwá, were astonished by the fascinating discussion, the shrewd and amazing style of writings, and the research and the view of his fiqh⁵⁰¹.’

Ahmed Raza spent more than fifty years in fatwa writings; he laid the foundation of Barelwi School of fatwa. One day he felt strongly that there is a need to set up a separate Darul-Iftā which is attached to his house in Bareilly city, to respond to each and every question to their followers and devotees. It was from here, that assisted by his closest and ablest students, he responded to the questions that came in daily from all over country⁵⁰². The task and responsibility was shared by Ahmed Raza and his students and disciples. Initially, no systematic arrangement was made to preserve and compile his works. His fatwas were initially maintained and preserved in registers, and later his fatwas were compiled into twelve volumes now existing

⁴⁹⁸ Barbara D. Metcalf. *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982,304.

⁴⁹⁹ Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi. *Ahkam-e-Shariat*, Bareilly: Qadri Kitab Ghar, 1994.

⁵⁰⁰ Barbara D. Metcalf. *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982,308

⁵⁰¹ Gulam Rasool Saedī. *Sharah Sahih Muslim*, Lahore: Fareed Book Stall, 2000.

⁵⁰² Usha Sanyal. *Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi: in the Path of the Prophet*, Oxford: One World, 2005, 71.

under the entitled, *Fatāwá Razawiyya*. Ahmed Raza not only laid down the principles of fatwa and compiled many *risalas* and books, but also invented the order and command from Quran and hadīth and prepared sources and references for the first generation mufti in Barelwi School. He shaped the Hanafi fiqh in a new way and gave strength to Hanafi jurisprudence compared to other legal schools of thought in modern South Asia⁵⁰³.

The second part of the Barelwi School of fatāwá was started and carried out by the Ahmed Raza students namely, Maulana Mushtafa Raza (d.1400/1981), Maulana Amjad Ali (d.1367/1948), Maulana Syed Shah Gulam Bihari, Maulana Zafaruddin Bihari, Maulana Naimuddin Moradabadi,(d.1367/1948) Hakim Syed Gaus Aziz and last but not least Maulana Nawab Mirza etc. Among them, Maulana Amjad Ali and Maulana Mustafa Raza Khan both were appointed by Ahmed Raza as the head of the Darul-Iftā and in charge of Darul-Qada. As Ahmed Raza writes that, both of them have not been appointed as mufti, rather, according to Sharia, they were also appointed to as a qadi and that their decision was subject to what Islam given to the qadi⁵⁰⁴.

Mufti Mustafa *fatāwá* was compiled by madrasa Manzar-I Islam entitled '*fatāwá Mushtafa*' and was published from Karachi and Bareilly Sharif in 1984. Mufti Amjad Ali was disciple of Ahmed Raza and he used to work under him and his task used to read every fatāwá coming from all over the world. Hereafter that he joined the madrasa, Manzar-e Islam. He not only worked in madrasa Manzar-e-Islam but also worked in different madrasas from Barelwī Maslak. After that, his fatāwá was compiled by his student entitled *Fatāwá Amjadiya*. Maulana Zafaruddin Bihari was close disciple of Ahmed Raza Khan and he has composed the biography of Ahmed Raza Khan in entitle '*Hayat Ala-Hazrat*'. Maulana Bihari had keen interest in the field of fiqh, Hadīth, and written the number of *fatāwá* from Bareilly and Patna. His fatāwá was compiled by Allama Sahel Sahasrami entitled '*Fatāwá Malikul Ulama*' Maulana Zafar Uddin Bihari (2005) published by Idarah Bareilly Sharif. Maulana Naimuddīn Moradabadi (1882-1948), was the student of the Ahmed Raza Khan and was a founding member of the madrasa Jamia Naimīya in Moradabad. The madrasa was established the department of Darul Iftā and issued the fatwas to the problems and issues related to the daily practices of Islamic tradition and Barelwi belief and creeds. Maulana Naimuddin Moradabadi was appointed to Allama Mufti Habibullah Naīmi (1917-1975)

⁵⁰³ Hasan Raza. *Faqīh Islam*, Karachi: Idara-e-Tasnefat Imam Ahmed Raza, .n.d. 116-300.

⁵⁰⁴ Mufti Amjad Ali. *Fatāwá Amjadiya*, Mau: Daira Al-Marroof Al-Amjadiya, 1996. Mohd Masood Ahmed. *Imam Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi Sartāj Al-Fuqha*, Karachi: Idarah Masoodia, 1996, 17.

as a Mufti and head of the Darul-Iftā and issued number of fatāwá, and subsequent his fatāwá was amassed by Maulana Saif Khalid Ashrafī entitled '*Habib al-Fatāwá*'. The third and fourth parts of the *fatāwá* literature, from Barelwi School, were started from madrasa Faizul Rasūl and Madrasa Ashrafia Mubarakpūr and madrasa Jamia Ashrafia.

There are some following fatāwá, who were compiled by different madrasas and muftis.

Mufti Abdul Mannān, *Fatāwá Bahr al ulūm*, (in Volumes)⁵⁰⁵

Mufti Amjad Ali, '*Fatāwá Amjadiya*' (In four Volumes').⁵⁰⁶

Mufti Jalaluddin Amjadī, '*Fatāwá Faizul Rasūl*' (in three Volumes)⁵⁰⁷

Mufti Habib Allāh Naīmi, '*Habib al-Fatāwá*' (in two Volumes)⁵⁰⁸

III. Bida and Sunnah:

The literal meaning *bid'a* is derived from Arabic language, which means that new things or new innovation which is opposes the Prophetic Sunna, is called bida. In other words, new things that is non-existent and applies in practices, which are called *Ibdah* in Arabic language. The technical term of bida, is just opposite of Sunna- just as Prophet Muhammad did. On the other hand, the word Sunna was in continuous use from the pre-Islamic era, meaning way, law, mode or conduct of life⁵⁰⁹. Goldziher has maintained that Sunna as the model behavior of the Prophet Muhammad. In other words, Sunna means nothing more than 'precedent', 'way of life'⁵¹⁰. Goldziher discerned that Sunna is an idea that Islam has adopted from Arab barbarism, and which means that the change in this new sphere has become one of the main pillars of the new system⁵¹¹.

⁵⁰⁵ Mufti Abdul Mannan Azmi. *Fatāwá Bahr al-ulūm*, Lahore: Shabbir Bradar, 2010.

⁵⁰⁶ Mufti Amjad Ali Azmi. *Fatāwá Amjadiya*, Mau: Daira Al-Marooof Al-Amjadiya, 1996.

⁵⁰⁷ Fatāwá Faizul Rasūl is the unique collection of fatāwá and the peculiarity of Hanafi law written by Mufti Jalaluddin. Fatāwá Faizul Rasūl is consists of two volumes and more than fifteen hundred fatāwá in each volume and less than two thousand pages. The first volume was published in 1991 and totals one thousand and twelve fatāwá (eighty three fatāwá written from Mufti Badruddin Ahmed Siddiqui and other Muftis), and more than seven hundred pages including introduction.

⁵⁰⁸ Mufti Muhammad Habib Ullah Naeemi. *Habib al-Fatāwá*, Lahore: Shabbir Bradar, 2005.

⁵⁰⁹ M. Mustafa al-Azami, *On Schacht's Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, Lahore: Suhail Academy, 2004, 31.

⁵¹⁰ Joseph Schacht. *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1950, 58

⁵¹¹ Goldziher. 'The Principle of Law in Islam' in *Historians History of the World*, London: Hooper, Vol. viii, 295.

Many writers have sought to define innovation (*bida*) without defining the Sunna, and have thus fallen into hopeless difficulties and conflicts with the primary textual evidence that contradicts their definition of innovation. If they had first defined the Sunna, they would have produced a criterion free of shortcoming. Sunna in both the language of the Arabs and the Sacred Law means way, as is illustrated by the words of the prophet, ‘He who inaugurates a good Sunna in Islam and he who introduces a bad Sunna in Islam. The way of the Prophet Muhammad in giving guidance, accepting and rejecting: that is the Sunna. For ‘good Sunna’ and ‘bad Sunna’ mean a good way or bad way, and cannot possibly mean anything else. Thus, the meaning of Sunna is not what most students, let alone ordinary people, understand; namely, that it is the prophetic hadīth, as when Sunna is contrasted with Quran, in distinguishing textual sources, or the opposite of the obligatory (as when Sunna, i.e. recommended, is contrasted with obligatory in legal contexts), since the former is a technical usage coined by hadīth scholars, while the latter is a technical usage coined by legal scholars and specialists in fundamentals of jurisprudence. Both of these are usages of later origin that are not what is meant by Sunna here. Rather, the Sunna of the Prophet is his way acting, ordering, accepting and rejecting and the way of his Rightly Guided Caliph, who followed his way of acting, ordering, accepting, and rejecting. So practices that are newly begun must be examined in the light of the Sunna of the Prophet and his way and path in acceptance or rejection⁵¹².

Bida, a belief or practice for which there is no precedent in the time of Prophet⁵¹³. The word bida has not been mentioned in the Quran itself, but, the forms of the same origin are found⁵¹⁴. Soon after the death of Prophet Muhammad, the origin of bidat and habits were spread in a course of time⁵¹⁵. From the third century onwards, bida literature has developed and began to include the terminology of bida in literary style⁵¹⁶, and it became a special term to indicate those practices without the precedent in the tradition of the Prophet⁵¹⁷. Later, a hadīth severely warned against innovation “the worst of all things are novelties”, every novelty is innovation (bida),

⁵¹² Nuh Ha Mim Keller. *The Concept of Bida in Islamic Sharia*, Cambridge: Muslim Academy Trust, 1999,3-4

⁵¹³ J.Robson. *Bid’a*. In *Encyclopedia of Islam*, ed. P. Bearman et al. Leiden: Brill,

https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/bida-SIM_1393

⁵¹⁴ Maribel Fierro. The Treatises against Innovations (Kutub al-bida), *Der Islam* (78), 1991, 205.

⁵¹⁵ Bernard Lewis. Some Observations on the Significance of Heresy in the History of Islam

⁵¹⁶ Vardit Rispler. Toward a New Understanding of the Term Bid’a, *Der Islam*, (68), 1991,321.

⁵¹⁷ Maribel Fierro. The Treatises against Innovations (Kutub al-bida), *Der Islam* (78), 1991, 205-6.

every innovation is error (*dalala*), and every innovation lead to hell⁵¹⁸. Goldziher perceived that *bida* is the opposite of the Sunnah and a synonym for *muhdath* or *hadath*, together with which it often appears in the parallelism of Arabic style⁵¹⁹. He mentions that Al-Shafi was first Islamic jurist, who formulated the term of *bidat* and later, distinguished between good and bad *bidat*⁵²⁰. Shatibi's book *al-Itisam* is specifically designed to discuss the problem of *bid'a*. He gives two definitions of *bida*. The first is a definition that does not include *adat*; the second includes both *'ibadat* and *adat*. The first definition is as follows. A way of (*tarīqa*) of innovation in religion (*din*) that resembles the way of the Sharia and which is intended to be followed in order to strive in the utmost toward obedience to Allah. The second definition replaces the phrase 'in order to strive...' with the following qualifying clause "with the same intentions that Sharia aims at"⁵²¹.

Al-Shafi stated that every *bida* was bad, but that everything new was not necessarily a *bida*: "there are two types of novelties (*muhdathat*). The first type is the novelty which contradicts the Quran, the Sunnah of the Prophet, the example of Companions and Successor (*athar*), or the consensus (*ijma*); this is an innovation which is an error. The second type is something new introduced which is not evil in itself and does not contradict the above-mentioned authorities; this is an unobjectionable novelty⁵²². J. Robson made a distinction between good and bad innovation:

"A distinction came to be made between a *bida* which was 'good' (*hasana*) or praiseworthy (*mahmuda*) and one which was 'bad' (*sayyi'a*) or blameworthy (*madhmuma*). Al-Shafi laid down the principle that any innovation which runs contrary to the Quran, the Sunna, *ijma*, *athar* (a tradition traced only to a Companion or a Follower) is an erring innovation, whereas any good thing introduced which does not run to any of these sources is praiseworthy".

Barelwi Muftis and Interpretation of Bida:

For Barelwis, not every innovation is forbidden; rather some innovation is necessary for the time required. It is say that every innovation is prohibited. Barelwi mufti usages that *bidat* in three meanings, the first, new thing which is invented after the Prophet Muhammad, second one, new faith which came into existence after the Prophets, and the last, every new thing that abrogates

⁵¹⁸ Ibid, 206.

⁵¹⁹ Ignaz Goldziher. *Muslim Studies*, Vol. II, London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 33-34.

⁵²⁰ Ibid, 36.

⁵²¹ Muhammad Khalid Masud. *Shatibi's Philosophy of Islamic Law*, New Delhi: Kitab Bhavan, 1997, 218-19.

⁵²² Maribel Fierro. The Treatises against Innovations (*Kutub al-bida*), *Der Islam* (78), 1991, 205-6.

the practice of Prophet Muhammad. As per Sharia, the meaning of bidat that is against the faith and good deeds, which were not prevalent in the time of the Prophet Muhammad, and later invented new things. Mufti has identified two types of bida in Sharia. The first is that bidat-e-etiqad and second one is that bidat-e-amal.

1. Bidat-e-etiqad: that is related to those bidat were invented in Islam after the Prophet Muhammad. For instance, Barelwis considered that Ahle-I-Hadīth and Deobandi are the bidat-e-etiqad, which came to existence after the Prophet Muhammad.
2. Bidat-e-amal: every work that has been developed after the Prophet Muhammad, whether it is related to the worldly objects or religious, is called bidat-e-amli.

Bidat-e-amli further is divided into two categories, one is bidat-e-hasana, and second that is bidat-e-sayyi'a.

Bidat-e-hasana: every new work, which is an acceptable innovation, does not collide with the practices of the Prophet Muhammad as recounted in the Islamic tradition. For instance: celebration of the birth anniversary of Prophet Muhammad⁵²³. Mufti was allowed only in the need for Sharia and on the basis of religious expediency can undertake bidat hasnah (acceptable innovation) which is permissible and appreciable and in some cases, it is obligatory (*wajib*).

Bidat-e-sayyi'a: means a bad and unacceptable innovation, which is against the Sunna or obliterates the practices of Prophet Muhammad. In other words, every new task that is against the nature of Islam (Deen) and changes the any order of religion and which is included on the basis of faith and by doing so, causing rewards and not doing is getting the divine punishment. For instance: use of loudspeaker in namaz⁵²⁴. The meaning of bidat *sayyi'a*, the innovation is that

⁵²³ There are three types of bidat hasnah, 1, permissible bidat, every new work that is not prohibited in Sharia and every good work is done without any intention 2, desirable bidat, every new work that is not forbidden in Sharia, and Muslim do for the good deeds, or any individual, who do for the with good intention, for instance: congregation of birth anniversary of Prophet Muhammad, or recite a fatiha at the saint tomb. By doing this, will get a reward of virtue and will not doing this, will not get sinner.

⁵²⁴ There are two types of bidat-e-sayyi'a: 1, unpleasant (makrūh) bidat, 2, forbidden or prohibited bidat. Imam Az-Uddin Bin Abd-Salam in his book '*Al-Qwaid*' divided *bid'a* into five categories, *Wajib* (obligatory) *Harām* (forbidden) *Makrūh* (detestable), *Mustahabb* (recommended) *Mubah* (indeterminate). Mulla Alī Qari in his book '*Mirqat Al-Mafatih Sharah Mishkat Al-Misbahi*' has defined *bidat Hasna* into three types, *bidat Jayej*, every new act, which is not permissible in Shari 'a and without any intention do it. *Bid'a Mustahabb*, every new act or practice, which has neither been 'forbidden nor permissible' but Muslim do it with the hope of reward. *Bid'a*

from which there is collide with the Sunnah and changes in order Sharia, it is called the *bidat sayyi'a*.

Abdul Haqq Muhaddis Dehlvi explained about '*bid'a hasana*' (acceptable innovation) and '*bid'a dalalat*' (bad innovation). He point out that the new things which come under the rules of the four principles, the Quran, the hadīth, Sharia and Sunna and this applies to qiyās, it is called *bid'a hasana*. On the other hand *bid'a dalalat* which things are against the practice of Sharia and Sunna is called the *bid'a dalalat* (bad innovation). Dehlvi has clearly made it that novelty or new innovations do not come under the *bid'a dalalat* unless there is no collision between the Sharia and new innovations. On the other hand, Ahmed Raza considered that Sunnah and bidat are not dependent on centuries, but it is based on the practice of Prophet Muhammad. The new works that is approved by the practices of the Prophet Muhammad, and it is based on the Sunnah in any period, and every new works which is not based on the tradition of Prophet in any period, it will not be Sunnah. At the same time, Ahmed Raza further explains that it is also wrong to say, every new works which is not come under the purview of Sunnah that is *bidat dalala* (bad innovation), because every new works which is not based on Sunnah that can be based on the recommended (*mustahabb*), neutral (*mubah*), and disapproved (*makrūh tanzihi*). According to Ahmed Raza, *bida dalala* which is come after the *makrūh tanzihi* (that is close to lawful acts), so it is invalid to circumscribe the Sunnah with *bidat dalala or sayyi'a* (bad innovation)⁵²⁵.

Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi declared that 'could not reject the new invention until it was certified that *bida* was not to collide with the Sunnāh and that *bida* was not come under the principle of fiqh and shariah'⁵²⁶. He was firmly believed that due to new invention, simply cannot be label to bid'a *dalala* or *sayyi'a*, by doing so, all the system of Islam will be bogged down. It is difficult to prove that Islam is the way of life and will act the last breath of life.

Deoband Muftis' and Interpretation of Bida:

Wajib, every new act which is not forbidden in the Shari'a and *bidat zalalat* into two types, *bid'a makrūh*, every novelty or innovation that causes the desertion of the Prophet Sunna. *Bid'a harām*, every new act or practice, which abandoned the essential things in Islam and who replaced the Sunna, see, Syed Mohammad Farooq, *Fazil Barelwi aur Umūr-e-Bidat*, Lahore: Raza Publication, 2009.

⁵²⁵ Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi. *Ahkam-e-Shariat*,

⁵²⁶ Yasin Akhter Misbahi. *Imam Ahmed Raza Aur Radd Bidat w Munkirat*, Delhi: Rizvi Kitab Ghar, 25-26.

Deoband concept of *bida* is very specific and limited. Metcalf noted that ‘Deoband weighed customs and beliefs related to Sufism, examining them and other issues in order to identify *bidat*, reprehensible innovation that was the antithesis of Prophetic tradition’. Deoband muftis’ defined *bidat* specifically as any practice regarded as *ibadat* (ritual) that in fact was not reported from the tradition⁵²⁷. Rashid Ahmed Gangohi borrowed the definition of *bidat* by Shah Ishaq (b.1196/1781), “any practice which is not reported from the salaf (ancestors) as ‘*ibadat* (a religious duty) if performed as ‘*ibadat* is *bidat*. It was on this basis that Gangohi did not agree to the classification of good and bad *bidat*’⁵²⁸. Muhammad Shah Ismail conceived of *bida* in three ways; first, as a practice that directly opposes or invalidates Sunna; second, as a practice done with same intent or regularity of the Sunna but not part of it, in other words, creating a kind of false or counter-religion alongside the Sunna; or third, making anything obligatory that is not explicitly condemned⁵²⁹. Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi referred to the definition of *bidat* ‘the comprehensive ruling regarding this is that any matter which is neither in part or whole from the Deen (Islam) and it is forced onto the Deen based on some flimsy doubt, this it is *bida*’. Thanvi provide authentic hadīth, “He who innovates something into our Deen, which is not part of it, is rejected”. Hence, the one is an innovation for the benefit of Islam and the other is an innovation into the detriment of the Islam⁵³⁰. Thanvi made a clear that the real meaning of *bidat* that is beneficial for the Islam would be classified a Prophetic tradition, and the innovation in the Deen (Islam) a *bida*⁵³¹.

Deoband muftis’ and Interpretation of Bida:

⁵²⁷ Barbara D. Metcalf. *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982, 148.

⁵²⁸ Muhammad Khalid Masud, *Trends in the Interpretation of Islamic Law: As Reflected in the Fatāwā Literature of Deoband School*, Unpublished Thesis, Institute of Islamic Studies McGill University, Montreal, 1969, 17-18.

⁵²⁹ Brannon D. Ingram, *Deoband Abroad: Sufism, Ethics and Polemics in a Global Islamic Movement*, Unpublished PhD dissertation, Department of Religious Studies, University of North California, 2011, 39.

⁵³⁰ فى = denote the ‘in’ and فى الدين = meaning, is an innovation in to the detriment of the Islam. ل = denote the ‘for’ and للدين = meaning, is an innovation for the benefit of Islam. Thanvi divided the invention into two types in Deen, one that is فى الدين related to the *bidat*. The second kind of invention that is للدين related to the any course or plan of action recognized by the authority. For instance; all things in Sufi *tarīqa* are covered under this course or plan of action, see, Ashraf Ali Thanvi. *Bidat ki Haqiqat aur Uske Ahkam w Masāil* compiled by Muhammad Iqbal Qureshi, Lahore: Islamiyat Publisher.

⁵³¹ Ashraf Ali Thanvi. *The Principles and Codes of Law in Hanafi Fiqh*, Translated by Mufti Afzal Hossen Elias, Karachi: Zam Zam Publishers, 2007, 61, Ashraf ALI Thanvi. *Bidat ki Haqiqat aur Uske Ahkam w Masāil*, compiled by Muhammad Iqbal Qureshi, Lahore: Islamiyat Publisher, n.a, 40.

The new matter which is not approved by the Quran, hadīth, Ijma, and Qiyās, and practice that matter as a religion (*Deen*) or getting rewards in the name of religion, it is called *bida*. For instance, to celebrate the ceremony marking the death anniversary of a saint, and recite the first sura of the Quran to pray for the dead, and celebration of votive ritual of praying for the dead and doing good deeds on their behalf with understanding the suitable and appraised. For Thanvi all these kinds of practices are not approve by the foundational text of Islam⁵³².

Thanvi further unraveled that, it should be realized that whatever acts were innovated after the passing of the *Khairul Quroon* (best in era) are categorized into two types: one is that whose initiative is new and some *ma'moor behe* (essential ordered act of the Shariah) is dependent upon it, where without this (innovation) this faculty of Deen will not function effectively. For instance; the compilation of Quran, Hadīth and establishment of madrasas and Khanaqahs were not present during the era of the Prophet Muhammad and these things are new initiatives after the death of Prophet Muhammad, and some essential part of Deen depends on (initiation of) these acts. Second category Thanvi made untangled than previous one, those things whose reason (*sabab*) is old. For example, the *sabab* of *Milad* (celebration of the birth anniversary of Prophet Muhammad), *taziya* (model of the tomb of Imam Hussain carried in processions during Muharram), *daswah* (10th day of Muharram), etc. are all old. The reason for the establishment of *Milad* is expression of happiness at the birth of Prophet Muhammad. This very *sabab* and reason was prevalent and also existing and also existent during the era of Prophet Muhammad and companion of the Prophet, but it was never celebrated by any of them. If the *sabab* was not present during the eras of the prophet, then at least we could have said that they had no cause to do it. But since the reason for holding *Milad* was also prevalent during that time, and neither did Prophet nor his companion even hold or encourage such activities, can we safely aver that this is *bida*. Since these innovations fall under the scope of the Hadīth, “whosoever innovates anything into our Deen, is not from amongst us”. That is, it is impermissible to participate and hold such

⁵³² The main objective of the Sharia is to construct human life on the basis of ma'rufat (virtues) and to cleanse it of the munkarat (vices). The term ma'rufat denotes all the virtues and good qualities that have always been accepted as “good” by the human conscience. Conversely, munkarat denotes all the sins and evils that have always been condemned by human nature as evil. In short, the ma'rufat are in harmony with human nature and its requirements in general and the munkarat are just the opposite. The Sharia gives a clear views of these ma'rufat and munkarat and states them as the norms to which the individual and social behavior should conform, see, chapter on Islamic Law, in Roxanne L. Euben, Muhammad Qasim Zaman, ed. *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought: Text and Contexts from Al-Banna to Bin Laden*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009, 93.

gatherings⁵³³. Another yardstick Thanvi recognized that a bida and that it is if the act is not established from the Quran, Sunna, ijma or Qiyās, and the participant deem it an act of the Shariah, then know that this is bida. After noting this definition, observe that urs, Fatiha, regarding any particular day a blessed and auspicious to make *ishale-swab*, etc. these actions are not regarded as part of the Islam⁵³⁴.

Four Types of Bidat: Bidat-e-sayyi'a, Bidat-e-Hasana, Bidat Haqeeqiya, and Bidat Sooriya:

The words from and in are clear indicates, and a *Haqiqi bidat* always remain a Bidat-e-sayyi'a. A Bidat-e-hasana is a bida in outer form (definition) only. In reality, owing to some (Shar'i) factor it can be classified a Sunnat. Thanvi pointed out that bidate-e-sayyi'a and haqeeqiya are the same and bidat-e-Hasana and bidatsooriya are the same bidat⁵³⁵.

Ashraf Ali Thanvi does not consider that Mustahabb (recommended) is bida. To regard it as necessary and binding is bida. If anyone regards a Mustahabb act as wajib, then is this not bida? Necessary, obligatory and wajib all have the same meaning⁵³⁶. For instance, to regard the distribution of sweetmeats' as necessary is a bida.

Both the Deoband and the Barelwi narratives on bidat draw inspiration from the same sources, thus the difference is primarily one of hermeneutics. For instance, Deoband muftis' who considered that every new invented thing are issue an order as *bidatdalala* and this new invented things are forbidden (*haram*) for them⁵³⁷. For the Barelwi muftis' *bidatdalala* have two kinds, one is *bidat makrūh* (disapproved) and second, that is *bidat haram* (forbidden). On the other hand, Deobandi muftis, who considered *bidatdalala* is only kind that is *haram*⁵³⁸. Therefore,

⁵³³ There is one other extraordinary difference between these two, and that is the proposers and advances of the former are (essentially) the elite (ulama) and the awaam (masses) are not included (as the initiators), whereas the advancers and initials of the latter are the masses (who are like sheep). And it is also they who always participate and spend therein. The celebration and initiation of mild was originated by a king. He was from the *awaam* and this practice remains perpetuated by the *awaam*. See, Ahsraf Ali Thanvi, *The Principles and Codes of Law in Hanafi Fiqh*, Translated by Mufti Afzal Hossen Elias, Karachi: Zam Zam Publishers, 2007,118-9.

⁵³⁴ Ibid, 119

⁵³⁵ Ibid, 123

⁵³⁶ Ahsraf Ali Thanvi. *The Principles and Codes of Law in Hanafi Fiqh*, Translated by Mufti Afzal Hossen Elias, Karachi: Zam Zam Publishers, 2007,123.

⁵³⁷ Mufti Rashid Ahmed Gangohi. *Fatāwā-e-Rashidiyah*, Lahore: Darul As'at, 155-56, .n.a.

⁵³⁸ Yasin Akhter Misbahi. *Imam Ahmed Raza aur Radd Bidat w Munkirat*, Delhi: Rizvi Kitab Ghar, 1981, pp,

Gangohi cited hadīth that, ‘Prophet Muhammad has declared that every bidat is bidatdalala’ (deviation from the right path). Metcalf noted that Deoband school concern was thus limited to a narrow but highly valued domain. It was this choice of focus, coupled with a concern for identifying a scripturalist standard that gave the Deobandi *fatāwá* their special characteristics⁵³⁹.

IV. Muftis and their Fatāwá on Customary and Popular Practices:

To Visit Dargah or Graves (Ziyarat-e-Quboor):

The Barelwi muftis have allowed the practice of visiting graves with the objective of remembering one’s own death as well as the hereafter, praying for the souls of the dead: and conveying the reward of some good acts to the dead (*isaal-e-sawab*). Moreover, muftis have allowed the visiting the graves to the wali (saint) in a certain condition that they declared fatwa there is good thing to visit shrine of the saint and recite fatiha there. But there is an illegitimate and misdeed those who practice the light a lamp, burn the lobān (frankincense) under the sign of Gaus Pak (Abdul Qadir Jilani). It is necessary for Muslims to keep away from such evil customs and ritual and follow the five times *namaz* (prayer) and *roza* (fasting) and received the pleasure of God and Messenger⁵⁴⁰. However mufti has condemned such practices and at the same time, it is a bad, forbidden and unacceptable innovation. Mufti has carefully instructed that in other places it has seen that laypeople that coming to the Mazar do some noises and beat the drum and take a procession in the name of the saint, it is prohibited and illegitimate.

- Al-Sawal: There is a rumours prevalent in public that to visit seven times in Ajmer Sharif, get one Hajj reward. Is it obligatory to practice these kinds of ritual in Islam or is it true in according to Sharia?
- Al-Jawab: visiting dargah Sharif of noble and eminence Sufis is permissible and virtuous. But the rumours are prevalent in public that to visiting Ajmer Sharif to get reward for a Hajj which is not a real thing. There is no provision and credibility in Islamic law⁵⁴¹.

⁵³⁹ Barbara D. Metcalf. *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982, 148.

⁵⁴⁰Mufti Jalaluddin Ahmed Amjadī. *Fatāwá Markaz Tarbiyat Iftā*, Basti: Faqīh-e-Millat Academy Darul Uloom Amjadiya Arshad Uloom, 2014, Vol. 1,390.

⁵⁴¹Mufti Mohd Amjad Ali Azmi. *Fatāwá Amjadiya*, Vol.4, 248.

Syed Shah Turab Al-Haqq Qadri explains that the tomb of saints is the centre of divine mercy and blessing. To fulfill the repentance and meet the demand, it is allowed go to the dargah and fulfill the requirement of the saint's tomb. Mufti declared that visiting graves is permissible and it's come under the Sunna.

Women and Visiting Shrine⁵⁴²:

Mufti declared fatwa that woman visiting to shrine is prohibited and illegitimate and there is no doubt that going to the tomb of saint is prohibited for woman. Mufti Amjadī cited the hadīth to support the argument, '*La'an Allah ziyarat al-qubūr*'; Allāh curses those women who make pilgrimage to the tomb. Because mufti provides some reasons that there is an amalgamation between men and women and possibility to creating some rift between them. On the other hand, Mufti Jālāl Uddin Amjadī mentions in his *Fatāwá Faqīh-e-Millat*, there is no doubt that the pilgrimage to the graves is prohibited to women⁵⁴³. In fact, one mustafti sought a legal opinion to mufti about visiting shrine to women to the tomb of Sufi Saint Khwaja Moinuddin Chisti is permissible or not. Mufti replied to those inquiries that not to ask whether it is permissible or not, rather it is ask how the God send it the curses on the women . When women starts journey towards the shrine, the God start curses on her and when it return back, it continue send the curses. Anyone who visited the tomb of Prophet Muhammad for the purpose of ziyarat, it would make intercession compulsory for them. Whoever did pilgrimage the Hajj and did not visit the tomb of Prophet Muhammad, there is no doubt that he did to injustice on them. Mufti has allowed women to go to the Prophet Muhammad tomb only when it comes with the purpose of Hajj and it is Sunnah. Here I have listed few questions response by the muftis:

- Al-Sawal: in what sense to says that women visits to dargah on the occasion of *Urs* or another time with clean or unclean, sitting there for the good wishes, and need, so sitting

⁵⁴² Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi. "Jumal an-Nūr fī Nahyi'n Nisā'an án Ziyāratil Qubūr, Risala no. 8". In *Fatāwá Razawiyya*, Lahore: Raza Foundation, Vol. 8.

⁵⁴³ Mufti Jālāl Uddin Ahmed Amjadī. *Fatāwá Faqīh-e-Millat*, Lahore: Shabbir Bradraz, 2005, Vol.1, 278.

dargah or graveyard is legitimate yes or no. if these things are bad, then that Sufi has the qualities of possession and vigour⁵⁴⁴.

Or

- Al-Sawal: And it is said that those who come to dargah Sharīf are the guest of saint. Is it right or wrong? And those who say that saints are unable to take possession and they provide the source and if they take possession then do not prevent women who perform a dance and sing a song in the courtyard of the dargah. And they say that these people who provide the sources are right or wrong and what is the answer for them.
- Mufti declared that it is not permitted for women to visit the tomb of a saint or to the grave of layman. Appearance in the tomb of saint is the guest of the saint, but woman are the uninvited guests of the saint. For man, it is right to take possession the saint's tomb, but not for women. But mufti laid down condition that the purpose of visiting shrine and seeking help only of the saint tomb is not permissible.
- Al-Sawal: Several areas are prepare the boat in the name of Khwaja Khīdr and women carry the boat and to make offer to Khīdr with prayers, and after prayers to kept the lamp (*Chirag*) and sweets (*halwā*) throw into the river. Is this kind practices are permissible in Islam.
- Al-jawab: Mufti declared in his fatwa that this is ignorant ritual, which is illegitimate and innovation (*bidat*). The Muslims should keep away from such things (rituals and innovation) and to make offering to saint and Isaal-e-sawab under the Sharia and Islamic law⁵⁴⁵.

Circumambulate (*tawaf*) kissing tomb and prostration on the grave:

Ahmed Raza Khan declared that of course, it is not permissible to circumambulation, kissing tomb and prostration on the grave. He allowed only the Holy tomb of the Prophet. Prostrating to anyone except God is forbidden (*haram*) in Sharia and Islam. He underlines the rule of going

⁵⁴⁴ Imam Ahmed Raza Khan Bareilly. *Ihkām-e-Shariat*, Bareilly: Qādri Kitab Ghar, 1994, pp, 155-60. , Mufti Jalaluddin Ahmed Amjadī. *Fatāwā Faizur Rasūl*, Siddarth Nagar: Darul Asha't Darul Ulūm Ahle-Sunnat Faizur Rasūl Brawan Sharīf, Vol. 2,631-32.

⁵⁴⁵ Mufti Jalaluddin Ahmed Amjadī. *Fatāwā Markaz Tarbiyat-e-Iftā*, Basti: Faqīh-e-Millat Academy Darul Uloom Amjadiya Arshad Uloom, 2014, Vol. 2, 674.

tomb or grave of a common man before offering Fatiha or makes dua at a distance of a few meters between the tomb or grave and laymen.

Ahmed Raza Khan in his short treatise on '*Sajda-e-Tazeemi in Fatāwá Razawiyya*' declared that bowing and prostrating is only for God. In other words, bowing so as to touch the ground with the forehead in adoration only for the God, besides this, prostrating or worshiping other than God, that is shirk and reverence of the saint and bowing to the saint, indeed it is forbidden and great sin⁵⁴⁶. Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi strictly prohibited the circumambulation of Mazar reverence, because reverence of circumambulation is only special for Ka'ba (the holiest place of Islam in Makkah). Do not kiss the Mazar, but he allowed only kissing the threshold as a gesture of respect, and it is permissible.

Scholar Views:

- According to Allama Nablisi, putting both hands on the Mazar and receive blessing from the saint is not any harm.
- According to Jame al-Fatāwá, having both hands on the Mazar is neither Sunna nor desirable, but we do not see any harm in doing this kind of practice. A good deed is depends on the intent, if the purpose is well, then deed will also be well. God is better known inside the person's soul.

Providing Food at the Mazar:

Usually, urs of time on the Mazar give feast to the visitors. The reality is that to spend money for the sake of God and provide feast to the visitors and needy, it is a reward for virtue. Mufti declared that spending money and providing feast in the name of saint, pray for a dead person's salvation. Mufti cited the vow and divided two types of vow. One is *nazar haqiqi* (real) that is only specific to God. The second one that is *nazar majazi* (virtual), which means that someone provide and offers a gift to saint's *isaal-e-sawab*⁵⁴⁷ and that gifts gives the God pleasure's, it is permissible. For instance, someone says that if some work is done, they will offer a *nazrana*

⁵⁴⁶ Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi. "Al-zabat al-zakia Itahreemsujud al-tahiyat". In *Fawata Razawiyya*, Lahore: Raza Foundation.

⁵⁴⁷ Votive ritual of praying for the dead and doing good deeds on their behalf of individual.

(gift)at the Mazar and distribute feasts to the needy people. The purpose of this to provide an *isaal-e-sawab* to the saint, and undoubtedly such thing allow to practice in Islam.

Ahadith:

- A companion asked a question related to the *isaal-e-swab* from the Prophet Muhammad, O Prophet Muhammad my mother has died. If we donate something, then it will be reward virtue. Prophet said yes, your charity will benefit them (Sahih al-Bukhari).
- The Prophet Muhammad said that the God declared O Adam, you spend a lot of money my right path, and I will grant you more money.

Scholars View:

- According to Shah Abdul Aziz declared in his fatwa that the reality of offering votive at a shrine is that the spending money and feast should transport to the soul of the saint. Aziz proved his point with authentic hadith that the purpose vow of rewards should reached to the soul of the saint and.

Constructing stone graves and constructing artificial graves:

Ahmed Raza Khan declared in his fatwa that the construction of stone grave can be build but not to dead body around but on the upside of the grave, which is legitimate and does not lead to shirk. He declared that it permissible with regard to the graves of the Sufis and ulama. On the other hand, mufti also declared a fatwa that the construction of artificial graves or Mazars for any saints or Auliya is forbidden and innovation (*bidat*). Nobody can build any artificial Mazars, whether related to the Sufi saint or other Pir or Murshid.⁵⁴⁸

- Al-Sawal: A man constructed artificial and hypothetical graves and spread some magnificence stories among the people. After that people offers a sheet over tomb and few day later people began to offers sweet, chicken and meat over the tomb. Later, people started demanding veneration on an artificial tomb. Is there such things permission in Sharia? Or

⁵⁴⁸ Imam Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi. *Ahkam-e-Shariat*, Bareilly: Qadri Kitab Ghar, 1994.

- Al-Sawal: constructing artificial saint tomb and offer sheet on the tomb, and recite the Fatiha there. Is it just permissible to respect and revere such a tomb?
- Al-Jawab: Mufti declared in his fatwa that inviting someone without any purpose on a tomb without grave and inviting for a ziyarat that is sin. When he keeps on insisting on it and continues invites them to visits the tomb, then he is a sinner. Mufti emphasized that construction of artificial graves is similar the grave of any saint that is illegitimate and innovation. If the people do not know the condition of the saint grave, whether it is related to the Muslim or non-Muslim, then it is forbidden to visit the grave⁵⁴⁹.

Putting sheets of cloth on the graves or Offer sheet on the Mazar:

Mufti declared in his fatwa that practice of offer sheet on the Mazar is permissible and it was followed by the companion of the Prophet Muhammad. He cited the argument of Allama Shami, offer sheet on the saint tomb is permissible. Shami provide logic that in the eyes of the lay people, the greatness of the majesty is manifest and that they do not consider insignificant him, rather receive grace humbleness and respect. Mufti also derived the source from *Tafsīr Rūh al-Bayan* in order to support his argument, building on the grave of ulama and saints and placing a sheet on the graves that is permissible. On the other hand, mufti emphasized in his fatwa that putting sheet of cloth on the graves is only permissible to noble saint or Auliya⁵⁵⁰. Ahmed Raza made it clear in his fatwa that there is only one sheet on the Mazar. He instructed that the person taking care of Mazar should remove the sheet and should provide it as a gift for the loyalty of the devotees or they can also provide the necessities to the poor⁵⁵¹.

Light a lamp on the grave:

It is not permissible for the layman to burn a lamp on the grave. Mufti declared that it is justified to light a lamp on the saint tomb, but on condition that if the tomb is situated on the side of the road. It is allowed light a lamp on the saint tomb for the expression of greatness. Mufti believes that lamp does not spread from light to the Mazar, because the purpose of the Mazar spread nūr (illumination), which has been received saint through the Prophet Muhammad⁵⁵². Mufti cited

⁵⁴⁹ Yasin Akhter Misbahi. *Imam Ahmed Raza aur Radd Bidat w Munkirat*, Delhi: Rizvi Kitab Ghar, 1981,312-15

⁵⁵⁰ Mufti Mohd Amjad Ali Azmi. *Fatāwā Amjadiya*, Mau: Daira Al-Marroof Al-Amjadiya, 1996.

⁵⁵¹ Imam Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi. *Ahkam-e-Shariat*, Bareilly: Qadri Kitab Ghar, 1994, 71.

⁵⁵² Mufti Abdul Manna Azmi. *Fatāwā Bāhrul Ulūm*, Lahore: Shabbir Bradarz, Vol. 1, 2010.

Ismail Haqq view on light a lamp on the Mazar, noted that it is advisable to light a lamp on the Mazar for the reverence of the saint.

Ahmed Raza Khan declared in his fatwa that it can burn a light on the grave in two situations, the first condition he explains that if mosque and Mazar are located in one place and where the Holy Quran recite and remembrance of God or Mazar it comes on the roadside, then it is permissible. The second condition is that it is permissible burn a light on the saint tomb for the reverence of the saint and people aware that tomb is belong to saint⁵⁵³.

According to Abdul Haqq Muhaddis Dehlvi, lighting a lamp or burning a candle near the tomb of the saint, it is come under the bow or reverence of saint tomb.

- Al-sawal: What is lamp of light in the mosque while already availability of electricity.
- Al-jawab: it's not permissible to light a lamp in mosque despite availability of light. There is a waste of time and money and work without any benefit⁵⁵⁴.

Placing flowers on the graves:

Mufti declared that placing flowers on grave to every Muslim, it is permissible and desirable. Placing flowers and green leaves on the graves as it provides fragrance and relief to the dead body and this tradition was followed by the Prophet Muhammad's companion. Barelwi muftis allowed this practice in light of an authentic hadīth, which states that the Prophet once placed a green leaf of a date-palm tree, broke into two pieces and put one on each grave and said that those get dried up, hopefully, their torture may be reduced⁵⁵⁵. Mufti cited the argument of Abdul Haqq Muhaddis Dehlvi on placing flowers on grave, Dehlvi, who agreed that placing flowers and green-leaf on graves with the intention that it would benefit the dead is allowed in Sharia. He provided authentic hadīth that it is legal to keep flowers, fragrances, and foliage on the grave.

Therefore, Islamic jurisdiction allowed placing flowers and fragrances on grave, it is a sign of good. According to mufti, the saint and his grave are the sign of God's religion and it is order of Qur'an is to revere the saint's tomb. Placing flowers on the graves that is reverence of the saint

⁵⁵³ Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi. *Ahkam-e-Shariat*, Bareilly: Qadri Kitab Ghar, 1994, 70.

⁵⁵⁴ Mufti Abdul Mannan Azmi. *Fatāwā Bahr al-ulūm*, Lahore: Shabbir Bradar, 2010, Vol. 1, 200.

⁵⁵⁵ Sahih al-Bukhari, Vol. I, Book 4, hadīth, 82, <https://sunnah.com/bukhari/4/82>.

and it is permissible doing this. On other hand mufti Amjadī in his fatwa allowed the placing flowers, green-leaf, and fragrance on graves, it is a sign of God. Further, he noted that by placing flowers on graves-the dead body receives a relief or reduces in punishment of sins that one suffers in grave. Therefore, placing flowers, green-leaf, and fragrance on the graves is permitted to every Muslims.

Mawlid or Milad-un-Nabi:

What is the reality of Milad Sharif and how did Barelwi ulama debate this issue and how they provided the source to defend to their argument and what is position of Barelwi ulama in this regards. The actual meaning of Milad Sharif to describes the events and tells the truth of birth anniversary of the Prophet Muhammad. On the celebration of the birth anniversary of the Prophet Muhammad, it can organize a Majlis to celebrate the events of the life of the Prophet or it can read and understand the stories of life alone, but whatever it will come under the circle of Sharia. Mufti emphasized that a Milad Sharif should be organized on the occasion of Prophet's Birthday related to the pleasure of the prophet Muhammad of sacred birthday. On the occasion, Mufti allowed distributing sweets, spraying the rose water, applying the fragrance; of course, it is not only desirable, but its day of blessing, and divine mercy, revelation.

Mufti has emphasized that doing haram things in the Majlis that is offense and sin. For instance, the woman recites the poem with high sound in praise of Prophet Muhammad and it heard to strangers who are strictly prohibited. Mufti lay down the condition celebrating Prophet birthday if one who recites the verse with the musical instrument in the praise of Prophet Muhammad; it is very sin and strictly prohibited doing this.

In fact, one mustafti asked a legal opinion to mufti on celebration of Prophet Muhammad birth. He asked, celebration of the anniversary of Prophet Muhammad's birth is innovation (*bidat*) and neither is celebrated during the period of Muhammad nor at the time of the companion. Every innovation is forbidden, therefore, the celebrating the anniversary of the birth Prophet Muhammad is also forbidden. Mufti expressed his opinion that every innovation is not illegitimate (haram), or saying Milad Sharif is innovation, it is ignorance. Mufti points out that for Muslims, every practices of Prophet Muhammad, apostles, companions of the Prophet Muhammad and predecessors as recounted in Islamic traditions. For Barelwis, these kinds of

practices are not innovation and celebrating Milad Sharif is acceptable innovation (*bidat hasnah*). Mufti cited Sahih Muslim hadith to support his argument on the birthday celebration of the Prophet Muhammad, he writes that the celebration of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday is to praise God by the keeping fast or offering charities to the needy and doing this, it is about the Prophetic Sunnah. Few fatāwá related to the celebration of Mawlid are listed below:

- Al-Sawal: Such practices are allowed in Sharia while playing music, dancing and clapping in gathering of Milad Sharif. Is there any possibility doing such things in Sharia on the occasion of Milad Sharif?
- Al-Jawab: By organizing Milad Sharif or procession, avoid such things which do not harm Sharia, and this is real Prophet Muhammad's love. So the purpose of Prophet Muhammad comes into the world, to remove darkness and ignorance and to oblige God's commandments, and remove low qualities of morality and applied the high quality. Celebrating the birthday of the Prophet or Milad Sharif should come as per Sharia law. According to Mufti, committing any kind of unlawful work during Milad Sharif is against the act according to the practice of Prophet Muhammad. The Milad Sharif's procession is neither required by Islam nor is the need of Ahle-Sunnat Wal Jamaat. But the practice of Milad Sharif is authorized as a symbol by Ahle-Sunnat in Indian Subcontinent. The practice of Milad Sharif, mufti allowed if the procession or gathering is free from the illegitimate things, innovation and despicable, he has established *istihbāb* or *istihsān* (recommendation). Which means this is the option, after attending in such a meeting, the god will reward him, If does not participate in such a meeting, then, will not get any sin.

Istihsān⁵⁵⁶ (judicial preference), jawāz (possibility) on Mawlid by Barelwi mufti:

⁵⁵⁶ Istihsān, in the literal meaning of the term, finds its roots in the word *hasan* (good) and means "to deem (something) good", but the legal significance of *istihsān* is elusive and has been the subject of debate even among Islamic jurists. Istihsān has never been maintained by Islamic jurists as reasoning based on equity independent of the Quran and the Sunna. Istihsān or judicial preference is sometimes considered a fifth, minor source of Islamic law, next to Quran, Sunna, *ijma*, and *qiyās*. It would seem to be a concept of particular importance when we discuss flexibility in Islamic law, for while there is considerable difference of opinion on the exact meaning of the term, it is generally agreed that it was an avenue for the relaxation of strict legal rules. John Makdisi in his article Legal Logic and Equity in Islamic Law, has summarized in details, where he pointed out that there is general tendency in western scholarship to equate *istihsān* with 'equity' (in natural law). Makdisi analyzed the few usulists who dealt the idea of *istihsān* in Islamic law.

In a gathering of Milad Sharif narrates the events of the life of the Prophet, and it also describes the qualities, habits, and virtues of the Prophet Muhammad, and this act of practice is not a new phenomena, which has been rejected by ‘other’. Because in Quran, there are also other prophets, such as Hazrat Musa, Hazrat Isa, and Hazrat Yahya, etc. have described the qualities, habits, and abilities of the apostles, and even Prophet Muhammad himself is mentioned.

Mufti cited the Quranic verse, say: in the grace of Allah and in His mercy –in that they should rejoice; it is better than that which they gather (Surah Yunus, 10:58). But as for the favor of your Lord, report it (Surah Ad-Duhaa, 93:11). Mufti believed that prophet Muhammad is God’s divine blessing and also God’s compassion, and at the same time, he considered that the birth of Prophet Muhammad is also God’s blessing and mercy. Inherent good disposition and commendable qualities in Prophet Muhammad is also God’s grace. Therefore, describing qualities and habits of the Prophet Muhammad in the gathering of Milad Sharif is correct according to the Quran⁵⁵⁷.

Mufti and Scholar views on Mawlid:

Mufti cited argument with the numbers of ulama, Islamic jurists, and narrator of hadīth, exegetes and Sufis, who supported the celebration of birth anniversary of the Prophet Muhammad, like, Imam Al-Suyuti, Ibn Hazar al-Haytami, Imam al-Sakhawi, Imam Ibn al-Jawzi, and Ibn Hajar al-`Asqalani.

- Ahmed Raza Khan declared in his fatāwá that the practice of celebrating the birth anniversary of the Prophet Muhammad on the twelfth day of the Rabi-ul-Awwal is permissible. According to Ahmed Raza Khan, on the occasion of Prophet Muhammad birthday, celebrating the birthday, reciting Quran, telling the stories of life events of the Prophet Muhammad and offers fatiha, distributing the foods, it is all about the reverence of the prophet Muhammad. Plenty of books have been written on the issue of Milad Sharif, and ulama have followed the same tradition. Therefore there is no need to lengthen any other argument or any other on such a topic. Further, he writes, the celebration of birthday of Prophet Muhammad has been inherited by the renowned scholars, and ulama and Islamic scholar continue retained this tradition and no one has

⁵⁵⁷ Gulam Rasūl Saedī. *Sharah Sahih Muslim*, Lahore: Fareed Book Stall, 2002.

refused to do such practices. Therefore, it is desirable to celebrate the birthday of Prophet Muhammad. Besides him, how it is possible who deserve the reverence of the Prophet Muhammad⁵⁵⁸.

- According to Haji Imdadullah Makki, ulama have disputed over the issue of Milad Sharif. Yet ulama is on the way to the prospect when the possibility already exists, there is no issue to celebrate Mawlid.
- Gulam Rasūl Saeedī writes that in accordance with the Ahle-Sunnat ulama, allowed to celebrate the Prophet Muhammad's birthday in the month of Rabi-Awwal, but it is permitted and desirable to describe the virtues, habits, and qualities of the Prophet Muhammad in the gathering of Milad. Apart from this, according to Saeedī, it is a tradition of Muslims to donate gifts, charities, and do good deed on behalf of Prophet Muhammad birthday⁵⁵⁹.
- Ibn Hajar al-Makki declared that celebrating Milad Sharif is an acceptable innovation that is desirable. He writes that on the occasion of Milad, the Holy Quran should be recited, donate the alms or charity, and recounts the story and practice of the Prophet Muhammad, and shunned such practice which is illegitimate and against the Sharia⁵⁶⁰.
- According to Abdul Haqq Muhaddis Dehlvi, Milad Sharif is very useful congregation. There are some benefits while doing such practice; the devotion of Muslim increases the love of Muhammad by hearing the virtues of Prophet Muhammad. Dehlvi explains that wanted to have strong affection with the Prophet Muhammad, it is necessary that the practice of the Prophet Muhammad be described in Milad Sharif⁵⁶¹.
- Imam Bukhari declared that the celebration of Milad Sharif were not prevalent during the time of Prophet and his companion but after that, the Muslim began to celebrate the Milad Sharif in every city and everywhere and make a propitiatory offering to remove a curse and gives charity to the needy people. By doing this, the god

⁵⁵⁸ Imam Ahmed Raza Khan Bareilwi. *Ahkam-e-Shariat*, Bareilly: Qadri Kitab Ghar, 1994. Yasin Akhter Misbahi, *Imam Ahmed Raza aur Radd Bidat w Munkirat*, Delhi: Rizvi Kitab Ghar, 1981.

⁵⁵⁹ Gulam Rasūl Saeedī. *Sharah Sahih Muslim*, Lahore: Fareed Book Stall, 2002,169.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid, 176.

⁵⁶¹ Mufti Naeem Yar Khan, *Ja Al Haq Waz haq-ul-Batal*, Lahore: Naimia Kutub Khana, 1966, 120-36.

Celebration of Muharram and Ta'ziya Procession⁵⁶².

Barelwi muftis declared in their fatwa that celebrating Muharram and the procession of *ta'ziya* is prohibited and innovation in Islam. According to mufti Muharram festival is the second name of the dislike, incorrect. Certainly celebration of Muharram is forbidden in Islam, haram, and innovation. Mufti suggested that celebration of Muharram and *taziya's* procession is the worst type of celebration in Islam. Taziya is forbidden in a way prevailing in society and it is an assemblage of innovations. Those who celebrate this festival are not called infidel, but this is the culprit. Mufti suggested that *taziya's* procession should avoid and not see towards that. According to mufti in the *ta'ziya* procession, dancing and beating drum on the occasion of Imam Hussein, which is against the Sharia and Islamic law and it is the festival of Yazidi (Shia). On the other hand, Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi in his Risala, '*Aaaly Alafada Pertazya Alhind w ubyan Shada*' has explored the importance of *ta'ziya*. He explained that the way of celebration of Muharram *ta'ziya*, music, and procession, etc. in India is not permissible. It is illegitimate, sin and *bidat*⁵⁶³. Here I have listed some of the fatāwá on Muharram and *ta'ziya* procession issued by Barelwi muftis on different occasion:

- Al-Sawal: Zaid said that the way practice of ta'ziyadari (...) is common tradition in India and they shaped the Imam Hussein mausoleum as the temple and they put the tomb at *Imam Baada* and beat the drum etc. And Bakar says that beating drum etc is legitimate. Further Bakar say that those who are supports of *ta'ziyadari* and shaping tomb of Imam

⁵⁶² The *ta'ziya* procession was celebrated for the first time in the region of Kufa in the name of Imam Hussein and where people showed happiness in the area of Kufa and Damascus and beaten up the drum on the occasion of martyrdom of Imam Hussein. Ta'ziya procession or juloos were started in India during the Timur period. It is generally seen that the procession of Ta'ziya is related to the story of Karbala and the tomb was used to make a replica of a Hussein's tomb. Imam Hussein was the martyred grandson of Prophet Muhammad, which is carried in processions during the festival of Muharram. People make a *taziya* in the month of Muharram and somehow make the model of the Imam Hussein's grave and take procession all over the city. People beat a drum with various sorts of semi-spherical drum and musical instruments. They patrol with much pomp and show to the *taziya*. It generally people consider make a vow to the *taziya*. They make two artificial graves inside *taziya*. Green sheet and red sheet cover with grave. The green cover sheet grave with indicate the tomb of Imam Hussein and red cover sheet grave to be a sign of Imam Hasan. And where they recite *fatiha* on the *sherbet* and *malida* (pounded meals cakes mixed with butter and sugar). They imagine that the recitation of *fatiha* on the grave of Imam Hussein and Hasan is the highest rank of sacred place in Islam. After that, on the tenth date of Muharram, the artificial graves is entomb in Karbala.

⁵⁶³ Imam Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi. '*Aaaly Alafada Pertazya Alhind w ubyan Shada*'

Hussein as temple are not Sunni and are not part of Ahle Sunnat Jamāt. Please provide the information that is on right track:

- Al-jawab: Zaid is on the right path. Of course, the tradition of *ta'ziyadari* in India is illegitimate and forbidden. It is obvious that as usual, they do not make the tomb of Imam Hussein, rather they prepare tomb as the temple shape and they are erringly understood as the mausoleum of Imam Hussein. And undoubtedly beating drum on the occasion of Muharram is legally illicit and it is forbidden. Bakar is ignorant and illiterate and he legitimizes the beating drum on the occasion of Moharram. If he truly supports those who say practice of *ta'ziyadari* and Muharram is permissible in Islam, are not Sunni, they are not also part of Ahle-Sunnat. Therefore repentance is necessary on him. Ulama of Ahle-Sunnat have been against the practice of *taz'iadari* and celebration of Muharram⁵⁶⁴.
- Al-Sawal: often people in India on the occasion of Muharram prepare a *ta'ziya* and make a vow, and offer a sweet over *ta'ziya*. Is it permissible to pray namaz behind such people? On the other hand, in Ahle-Sunnat Jamaat, women do not cook food and do not apply broom on the tenth day of Muharram. They say that they will prepare after burying the *ta'ziya*. They do not bath and do not change their clothes, and do not marry in the month of Muharram. In these days they only make offers alms in the name of Imam Hasan and Hussein. It is legal or illegal.
- Al-Jawab: celebrating Muharram and offer a sweet over *taziya ta'ziya* is innovation (*bida*) and it is related to the confession of faith and deviation of action. Praying namaz behind such people is strictly prohibited. Mufti declared that in the month of Muharram doing all these customary practices that is mourn and it is forbidden and ignorance. He explains that every month it can recite a Fatiha and provide charity for saints and Muslims⁵⁶⁵.
- Al-Sawal: on the eight day of Muharram attending the Shia majlis and listening the dirge (especially as a genre of poetry commemorating Imam Hussein's martyrdom) and receive the *niyaz* (dedicated thing) from there. It is justified to have food there. On the day of Muharram other Muslim also wears a green color cloth and black cloth is permissible on this regards.

⁵⁶⁴ Mufti Jalal Uddin Ahmed Amjadī. *Fatāwā Faizur Rasūl*, Siddarth Nagar: Darul Asha't Darul Ulūm Ahle-Sunnat Faizur Rasūl Brawan Sharīf, Vol. 2, 507-510.

⁵⁶⁵ Ahmed Raza Khan, *Ahkam-e-Shariat*, Bareilly: Qadri Kitab Ghar, 1994, 75.

- Al-Jawab: mufti declared that visiting Shia majlis and listening dirge on the day of Muharram is forbidden. He emphasized that do not take such kind any *niyaz* from there. According to mufti Shia *niyaz* is not a *niyaz*, and it is not free from something unclean or filthy.

Celebrating urs to the saints:

The literal meaning of urs is marriage. The urs technical term in Sufism is ceremony marking the death anniversary of a saint. The word urs is also derived from hadīth, in which Prophet Muhammad say, pious believer when answers all the questions of Munkar and Nakeer, then angel make a spacious grave and illumines the tomb with light. After that angel say to him, “you sleep like a bride whose beloved wakes up”.

The reality of urs is that every year performs ziyarat to any saint and recites the Quran and offer charities to the needy. Visit shrine for the Prophets and companion on a certain date and where offers *fatiha* and pay compliments and respects to them, this is actual meaning of urs. Mufti expresses his opinion in ‘*fatāwá-e-Amjadiya*’ about urs and *qawwali* that, do not practice such thing to lead contrary to Sharia such as, amalgamation of male and female, folk dance or beating drum and prostration in front of saint tomb, etc. It is unlawful and forbidden in Islam⁵⁶⁶. According to Ahmed Raza, such urs in which do not amalgamate between men and women, do not commit polytheistic and impiety, do not have fun and frolic and dance and music, it is legal and correct. Because the purpose of urs for the recitation of the Holy Quran and *aishal-e-sawab*. Such practice is permissible in Ahle-Sunnat⁵⁶⁷.

Mufti Amjad Ali allowed traveling to saint tomb, it is lawful. Pilgrims provide benefits for the saint tomb. If there is some evil or there is amalgamate between men and woman, then do not give up the ziyarat, because such circumstances do not cancel the sacred work, rather it should know that evil is evil and it’s possible to discard the bad things⁵⁶⁸.

Scholar views:

⁵⁶⁶ Mufti Amjad Ali Azmi. *Fatāwá-e-Amjadiya*, Mau: Daira Al-Marroof Al-Amjadiya, 1996.

⁵⁶⁷ Ahmed Raza Khan. *Ahkam-e-Shariat*, Bareilly: Qadri Kitab Ghar, 1994

⁵⁶⁸ Mufti Amjad Ali Azmi. *Bahar-e-Shariat*, Vol.4, 132.

- According to Shah Abdul Aziz, many people gather at the shrine and recite the Quran and after that offer Fatiha on sweets and feats to distribute among visitors. This method was not prevalent during the Prophet Muhammad and his companion. But if someone doing such kind of practices, then it will not harm⁵⁶⁹.
- Muftis cited Imdadullah Muhajir Makki fatwa in support of his argument; if someone organizes a festival or decorate Mazar with ornaments and adornment or show it with great pomp, then it is illegal. It does not mean that it is not allowed to gather or celebrate the saint urs, but it is permitted to practice in a simple way.
- Allama Nablisi declared that Aqsa mosque is a holy place for Muslims, where a lamp is lit for them, in a same way light a lamp on the saint tomb, it is permissible and lawful.

Seeking help or assistance from saint:

Barelwi declared that seeking help from saint and prophets is permissible and legitimate. While mufti explains that real aids come from the God. The saints and prophets are the helper of the God. Mufti differentiated between the worshipping the saint and seeking help from the saints. He elaborated that any ignorant Muslim will not considered the saint as the God. Mufti believes that the God is also helpful and also angel, apostles, and saints are the helper to the people. The difference is that God, who resolves the difficulties and is free from want and independent. The God is eternal, endless, infinite and limitless. Whereas saint, who receive power and charisma from the God, and saint charisma are limited and finite. According to Mufti Ahmed Yar Khan, seeking help from the apostles and saints or knowing the saints and the prophets, who meet the needs of anybody, this is not polytheism but it is according to God's will⁵⁷⁰.

Mufti cited the references of the Quranic verses and the views of other scholar for seeking help from the saints in order to support of his argument, 'Hazrat Isa sought help from friend⁵⁷¹', and O you who have believed, seek help through patience and prayer. Indeed, Allah is with the patient⁵⁷² and Hazrat Zulkarnain also sought help from the people and friends⁵⁷³. Mufti cited Abdul Aziz view on seeking help from saints,

⁵⁶⁹ Shah Abdul Aziz, *Fatāwā-e-Azizia*, Karachi: H.M Saeed Company, n.a,177-78.

⁵⁷⁰ Mufti Ahmed Yar Khan Naeemi. *Ja Al-Haqq*, Karachi: Naeemi Kutub Khana, 2012, 106.

⁵⁷¹ Quran, al-Imran, 52,

⁵⁷² Quran, al-Baqra, 153,

- According to Shah Abdul Aziz Muhaddis Dehlvi, it is important to understand that seeking help or assistance from creature and he does not know the manifestation of God's help, such kind of help is forbidden and that is polytheism. If the real intention towards the God and creature knows the manifestation of God's help and seeking help from God, this kind of assistance is permitted in Sharia. This kind of support has been provided to the seekers by the saints and in fact, this kind of assistance is not related to non-God. Rather it is related to God.

The real difference lies whether it can ask for help from saint alive or graves. In fact, it is clear that all the school of thoughts in theology of Islam have consensus about seeking help from Prophet Muhammad and apostles. Mufti declared that seeking help or assistance from the saint or Mazar that is shirk and forbidden. He described two types of seeking help or assistance. First one, that is haqiqi (real) and second one that is majazi (not real). Haqiqi means seeking help or considering from, who is omnipotent and which means that seeking help from the God. If someone seeking for help from other than God, that is shirk. Majazi means, simply requesting saints to pray to God on their side.

Vasila (source of mediation) and Tawassul (mediation):

The literal meaning of vasila, to achieve something by means of other it is called intercessor (Vasila). Whereas an object is made for the purpose of acquisition it is called tawassul. In other words, tawassul means to get pleasure and to reach God closure and make the entity a source that is dear to God and beloved⁵⁷⁴. In other words, mufti emphasized that getting closure to God through worshiping and good deeds. According to Ahmed Raza, the word of tawassul is for both good deeds and good entity. After their outer life and death with the saints and apostles, it is not only permissible to have tawassul with them, rather it is legitimate. Syed Qadri in his book on, '*mazarat-e-Auliya aur tawassul*', defined the word of vasila is related to both, pious lives and good deeds. It is permissible to Prophets and companion or with the God's friends in their Outward life. But after the death, it is lawful to be tawassul with them⁵⁷⁵.

⁵⁷³ Quran, al-Kahaf, 95

⁵⁷⁴ Gulam Rasūl Saeedī. *Sharah Sahih Muslim*, Lahore: Fareed Book Stall, 2000,54-56

⁵⁷⁵ Syed Turab Al-Haqq Qadri. *Mazarat-e-Auliya aur Tawassul*, Lahore: Zia-ul Quran Publications, n.d,1-53.

Mufti makes it clear that those Muslim who simply request Auliya (both dead and alive) to pray to God and their behalf is permissible and legitimate. The question arises here if the prophets and saints are unaware of the situations of the world, how can they receive greetings and congratulation from the individuals? In other words, after the death of a Muslim, one becomes unaware of the situations of the world. They do not fully know to the world. Barelwi believes that after death of saint or friends of God have concern about the world conditions. Saint or friends of God do aware of the conditions of the world. Mufti emphasizes the saint and Auliya are the path of great person and in that, they are the benevolence of the world and the hereafter⁵⁷⁶. Mufti Amjad Ali declared in his fatwa that, the saint never die, they alive with eternal life in their graves⁵⁷⁷.

A gathering for Qawwali:

Mufti declared that in the light of jurisprudence qawwali is not allowed to listen to flutes and other musical instrument played by the mouth. He emphasized that no Sufi order is free from Sharia or Chisti and Qadri's orders are no different from Sharia. Therefore nowadays Sufis did not get any source from Sharia in support of qawwali, and then they fabricated that Chisti order allowed the organizers to organize the event and listen to the qawwali. Mufti cited Chisti Sufi Nizamuddin Auliya book '*Fawiad ul-Fuad*', where Nizamuddin mentioned that Psalms are forbidden. He point out that the word '*sama*' is created confusion to others; they misuse the word in other context. The basic meaning of '*sama*' is to listen only. Mufti has unanimously allowed listen to a poetic genre exclusively for the praising God or poetry in praise of the Prophet Muhammad, and it is also allowed if there is no obscenity on love couplet. But if there is any foul language in poetry, then it is not permissible. Mufti underlined that *Sama* does not include the psalms music. If musical instrument associated with *Sama*, then it is impermissible. On the other hand, Ahmed Raza has explained distinctly in his risala, '*masāil-e-sama*' that qawwali is not allowed to listen with the psalms⁵⁷⁸. He was issued a Fatwa especially those who have a false impression that Chisti order or Nizamuddin Auliya who allowed the practice of qawwali with musical instruments. Ahmed Raza insisted that any Sufi order did not allow such type of practice, whether Chisti, Qadri Sufi order.

⁵⁷⁶ Mufti Abdul Mannan Azmi. *Fatāwā Bahr al-ulūm*, Lahore: Shabbir Bradar, 2010.

⁵⁷⁷ Mohammad. Amjad Ali Azmi. *Fatāwā Amjadiya*, Mau: Daira Al-marooif Al-Alamjadiya, 1996.

⁵⁷⁸ Ahmed Raza Khan. *Masāil-e-Sama*, in *Fatāwā Razawiyya*, 45-65.

Mufti Amjad Ali declared in his fatwa, '*Bahar-e-Shariat*', listening qawwali with psalms music and leap, jump and dancing on the occasion of saint urs are impressible. Such a gathering attending and sitting there, it is not permissible. Mufti points out that there is no such kind of sources are derived from in Sufis and theologians. He emphasized that merely this permission is that if someone reads poetry in praise of God or Prophet Muhammad, which is suitable to state of ecstasy and fervor, then this permission is allowed in this situation⁵⁷⁹. Here I have listed below few fatwas related to the qawwali;

- Al-Sawal: After evening prayers one of my friends told me that we will go to dargah, there is an urs, after that, we went there. We have seen that a large number people were gathered there and the way qawwali was being heard, and the Qawwal was beating drum and the trumpet was rigging. And few Qawwal and Pirs were appealing to poetry for the memory of saint, and even in the memory of Prophet Muhammad and Abdul Qadir Jilani. By doing all these things on the occasion of the saint urs, will the Prophet Muhammad and saints feels be happy? It is permissible in Sharia. And who took part in the qawwali program, do they get punished? Whether this type of qawwali is justified or not. If it is permissible, then in what way.
- Al-Jawab: Mufti declared that this type of qawwali is sinful. All who took part in qawwali program, they also sinner. Those who organized the qawwali are also sinner and the Qawwal, who took part in qawwali program are also sinner. Mufti cited the hadīth the Prophet Muhammad said that anyone who invites to carry out good deeds, and who follows it, gets an equal reward. The other, who invites to deviate from the right path, and whoever follows, they get same sins. Mufti has also cited in his fatwa Nizamuddin Auliya book, *Fawiad ul-Fuad* that, on the occasion of urs or any other day, organizing or it is haram to organize or listen to qawwali. Psalms music is also impermissible⁵⁸⁰.

Conclusion:

The chapter attempted to provide a complete forms of fatāwá was issued by the Barelwi muftis in the context of the rituals and customary practices. The major purpose of this chapter is to provide

⁵⁷⁹ Mufti Amjad Ali. *Bahar-e-Shariat*, Karachi: Maktaba al-Madina, 2008.

⁵⁸⁰ Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi. *Ahkam-I-Shariat*, Bareilly: Qadri Kitab Ghar, 1994, 60-62, Yasin Akhter Misbahi, *Imam Ahmed Raza aur Radd-e-Bidat*, Delhi: Rizvi Kitab Ghar, 1981, 264-67.

Barelwi Islam's fatwas in the context of Quran, Hadīth and Islamic jurisprudence. One of the findings of this chapter suggests that Barelwi Islam is not against the tenet of Islam. In fact, Barelwi muftis have issued fatāwá against the non-religious socio-cultural practices to condemn such practices in Muslim society, and they have emphasized that to strengthen their argument against the socio-cultural behavior is based on the Quran, hadīth and Islamic jurisprudence. Barelwi muftis emphasized that the popular practices in Islam cannot be supported by any educated reading of the source materials, be the Quran, and its commentaries, the prophetic tradition, or the early historical Islamic works. Muftis accentuate that those who carried out such acts in the name of God, and the Prophet Muhammad, in fact they do not followed neither God not prophetic tradition, but followed their own understanding and interpretation of Deen (religion). Furthermore, muftis emphasized that no textual justification for their acts can be found in the Quran and nor can be cite example of such acts in the life of Prophet Muhammad and companions.

The discussion in this section mostly includes those norms and popular practices, which have been condemned by Barelwi muftis in their fatāwá. Barelwi muftis have issued number of fatāwá on related to customs in daily practice, especially related to the non-religious socio-cultural practices in everyday lives of Muslim society. As the general conclusion, the chapter states that Barelwi muftis and ulama have interpreted the Hanafi fiqh law as the basis of the Islamic tradition that the letter of the law was more important than the general principles such as expediency and the public good. In other words, Barelwi muftis and ulama condemned those norms and practices which are against the Sunna and Islamic tradition. The chapter attempted to look at the attitude of Barelwi muftis towards the norms and popular practices in question, which is in line with their theoretical explanation of bida's concept. The issues of customary and ritual practices were disposed on the basis of bida and in this regard muftis issued fatwas either they clearly mentioned in the line with what is bida and what is Sunnah. This shows that the Barelwi muftis deployed their method to condemn the norms and practices based on the Hanafi jurisprudence.

Conclusion:

The thesis contributes a bit more understanding about Barelvi Islam and especially about the dargah. The thesis evolved in two ways, the first to understand the Barelvi Islam in general and to the second dargah in particular. The research has raised different sort of question to understand the interpretation of Barelvi Islam with the regards to the dargah and popular practices of Muslim in everyday lives. It is often believed that there is a strong correlation between Barelvi Islam and dargah practices. In other words, Barelvi Islam is often associated with tolerance, plural, moderate and assumptions are baseless. Based on analysis of textual and ethnography studied from Kichaucha Sharif dargah, the findings of the thesis show that there is no tie-in between Barelvi textual interpretation and popular practices.

The research shows that Barelvi is not against the tenets of Islam. Barelvi Islam is a traditional Islam, which is based on the Quran, Hadīth, Prophetic Sunnah and Hanafi fiqh. The present study has stated that Barelvi movement under the leadership of Ahmad Raza interpreted both Quran and Hadīth in such a way, that God specifically supported the view of Prophet Muhammad. Further, in his discussion about Prophet Muhammad, Ahmad Raza tends to appeal to the Qur'anic verse; God had gifted the Prophet with 'impossible' abilities, including knowledge of the Day of Judgment. Similarly, Ahmad Raza accepted the fact that the authority of Hadīth categorized as one of the weak, (including from Abu Dawood), which was related that the body of the Prophet did not decay after death, because God has forbidden the earth from consuming them⁵⁸¹.

The thesis take on first historical difference was on the idea of ontology of Ibn 'Arabi between Abd al-Razzaq Kashāni (b.650/1252) and Ala ad-dawla Simnānī (d.659/1262). Ala ad-Dawla Simnani was a follower of the Kubrawi order and the main opponent of the Ibn 'Arabi doctrine of *wahdat al-wujūd*. Kashāni was the proponent of the Ibn 'Arabi's idea of unity of being. Ibn 'Arabi, one of the most prolific writer, and philosopher as well as Sufi and has been considered one of erring mystical thinkers in the realm of mysticism. His works and ideas of unity of being still complete enigma for the theologians and scholars. The first chapter interrogated whether

⁵⁸¹ Usha Sanyal. *Devotional Islam and Politics in British India: Ahmad Raza Khan Barelvi and His Movement, 1870-1921*, 337.

Syed Ashraf Jahangir Simnani in line with Ibn ‘Arabi ontology or Ala ad-Dawla Simnani (d.659/1262) and Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddiya Sufi Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (d.1033/1624). The chapter shows that the first objection to Ibn ‘Arabi’s doctrine of unity of being was raised by Ala ad-Dawla Simnani. Afterward, the issue of unity of being engendered the relentless controversy between Ibn ‘Arabi and Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi in Indian subcontinent. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi and his school of thought continues iconoclastic about Ibn ‘Arabi ontology and unity of being. He vociferously castigated the Ibn ‘Arabi’s idea of unity of being and ontology and he seemingly placed him in the line between God and cosmos. In a nutshell, Ibn ‘Arabi is generally weighed in the form of a pantheist philosopher, and his concept of *wahdat al-wujūd* is believed to be that God and the cosmos were identical. The chapter shows that Ibn ‘Arabi has denied that God and cosmos were identical. The problem lies at Ibn ‘Arabi, not in oneness of existence, but the scholars typically interpreted that God and the world are identical; everything that exists constitutes a divine unity, as the pantheism believe. As Ibn ‘Arabi simply believes that there is unity of existence and that existence belongs to God. For Ibn ‘Arabi, those admirer non-existence, they are doing *shirk*.

The present study also revealed that Syed Ashraf Jahangir Simnani was in line with the Ibn ‘Arabi ontology. He categorically believed in absolute existence, he was somehow distinguished between God and the universe. The findings of the first chapter show that he blatantly spurned both unions with divine, and did not recognize unity with union and incarnation. For Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī, unity with union and incarnation are illusions. He believes that the intent of the mystic path is not substance of God with the union (*ittihad*); rather best thing about *sulūk* (pathway) is that the *sālik* (mystic or follower) reach the utmost limits. The absolute being is clearly manifest that there is no partner in God’s attribute. For instance, there is God but there is no partner in the creation of God. Hence absolute existence is denied the existence the other non-existence.

In order to understand the Barelwi movement, the second chapter takes on first contentious issues; it was both sides argued that whether God could make another prophet like the Prophet Muhammad or not. The heated argument between Fadl-I- Haqq Khairabadi and Shah Ismail led to the different direction to understand the nature of difference between two cusps of theologians. The gist of the Shah Ismail’s book, the God is impossible to create a prophet identical to the Prophet Muhammad. On the other hand, Khairabadi blatantly reviled the Shah

Ismail's position on the issue Muhammad ontological status, and cogently argued that God is not able create a prophet to similar to the Prophet Muhammad. It is interesting to note that it is a claim that hostility has always existed between Barelwi and other does not accord with this early document dealing with cooperation and mutual protection between two groups. The chapter second seems to suggest that Barelwi predecessors, which is included Abdul Haqq Muhaddis Dehlvi, Fadl-I-Haqq Khairabadi and Ahmed Raza, procured their interpretation on the nature of God, Muhammad's ontological status and status of saints', which is derived from the Ibn 'Arab. In short, Barelwis' are in line with Ibn 'Arabi and are more predisposed toward his ontology and metaphysics of being. Unlike the Deoband School, they tend to lean towards Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddiya Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (d.1033/1624) doctrine of *wahdat al-shuhūd* and Shah Ismail's book *Taqwiyyat ul-Iman*. Shah Ismail's book '*Taqwiyyat ul-Iman*' is considered by Deoband School to be his magnum opus. Contrary to the Barelvi School, it is believed that the book '*Taqwiyyat ul-Iman*' has been adopted to break the Islamic tradition. Barelwis believes that it is actually an emulation of the book 'Kitab al-tawhid' in the Indian version of Abdul Wahhab Najd. Barelwi ulama have usually referred to them as 'Wahhabi', inspired from the ideological thought of Abdul Wahhab Najd and Ibn Taimiyya and had active ties with Tariqa-e-Muhammadiya movement in the late 18th century. The Barelwis' categorically focus in the Prophet Muhammad as a role model and object of deep reverence unique in the late nineteenth century in north India. Similarly, Deoband School ulama explicitly comes under the Sufi tradition, also developed a deep intuition internal bond between the master and the disciple, saw Prophet Muhammad as the perfect exemplar and role of model of the Deobandis. Two major objectives were common in all the reformist movements, declared their aims 'as a return to past purity'⁵⁸² and looked to the Prophet Muhammad as quintessence. But all the movements wanted at least their loyalty recognized and they were mutual accusations of toadyism and disloyalty⁵⁸³. The difference lay in their understanding of what it meant, as a practical matter, to follow the Prophet's way or Sunna⁵⁸⁴.

⁵⁸² Kenneth Jones. *Socio-religious reform movement in British India*, 211.

⁵⁸³ Barbara D. Metcalf. *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900*, 356-376.

⁵⁸⁴ Usha Sanyal. *Devotional Islam and politics in British India: Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi and His Movement, 1870-1921*, 335.

Ahmad Raza Khan Barelwi envisioned Prophet Muhammad to be the most beloved of the prophets of God, after this, Muhammad must have been one of the messengers of Islam. One of the conspicuous things in the Barelwī movement was delegitimized the customary practices and the rejection of innovation (*bida*) and called for a return to traditional Islam as counterpart Deobandi and other groups, who had led reform movement in the South Asia. It is an axiomatic fact that the specific differences about ‘creed’ and ‘belief’ were existed before Barelwi movement. But it was not serious concern and there was no *maslaki* group among Muslims. However, the problems of the interpretation were the principles and fundamentals of Islam. The differences arose between the Barelwi and Deoband School was the main causes of the mode of interpretation, and in which Barelwi claim themselves that Deobandis were belittled the image of the Prophet Muhammad. Moreover Barelwi movement should not reduce in the context of the ritual and customary practices, but beyond this. The point here seems to suggest that polemic was erupted between the Barelwi and other, not related to ritual or customary practices alone, but it was the debated between the nature of God and possibility and impossibility of a peer of the Prophet Muhammad, attributing omnipresence and omniscience to the Prophet Muhammad, and what is correct form of practices in Islam. The polemical debate erupted between two groups; indeed it is precisely because these two groups so ‘similar’ in broad outline and that is why polemical debate so often personal. The finding of the thesis show that this controversy between Shah Ismail and Khairabadi was actually paved the emergence of the Barelwi movement in South Asia. The movement was emanated in the late 19th century, emphasized upon Islamic values and to revive and reform the correct practices of Islam and intended as a return to the path of Prophet Muhammad. The purpose of Barelwi reformist movement is to return correct practices of Islam, which has blended the ritual and customs with the Islamic tradition. The movement led by Ahmed Raza and his closets disciples were actively participated in colonial Muslim politics. The thesis do not corroborate often portray Sufi as the peaceful and apolitical and always make a distance from the worldly affairs, this thesis contributed that Barelwi or Sufis are not apolitical. They were more active during the colonial period. The findings of the second chapter do not corroborate with the Usha Sanyal (1982) where she stated that it is true that the ‘ulema’ of the *Ahle-Sunnat wa Jamaat* movement maintained a largely apolitical stance towards British rule in India and were not directly concerned with “Politics”⁵⁸⁵. Our finding shows that

⁵⁸⁵ Usha Sanyal. *Devotional Islam and Politics in British India*:

Barelwi movement and their leaders were concerned for 'politics' and have taken specific positions concerning the *Dar al-Harb* (house of war), Khilafat movement, non-cooperation movement and unity between Hindu-Muslim issues. For instance, Ahmed Raza categorically opposed the unity between Hindu-Muslim as a serious impediment of societal progress for Indian Muslims. In addition to this, Ahmed Raza's disciples including Maulana Kichauchwī and Syed Naimuddin Moradabadi were opposed to Mahatma Gandhi's idea of non-cooperation movement, even though they were also against the ideas of composite nationalism on ideological grounds. But with regards to the Khilafat movement, the Barelwi School ulama were intentionally and deliberately endorsed the Turkish caliph and even they accumulated funds and encouraged their followers and families to donate the funds for the Turkish caliph.

The research also stated that the leaders of the Barelwi movement do not see the distinction between religion and politics. In other words, Barelwi ulama do not see Islam as antagonistic to politics. They believed that politics should not constrain Islam and the role of Islam should not be limited in the field of politics. In other words, Barelwi ulama blended religion with politics. On the contrary, Maulana Azad and Maulana Madani conversely did not mix religion with politics. Allama Iqbal and Mawdudi, who were not only opposed to the idea of composite nationalism, propounded by the Deoband alim Maulana Madani. But also Ahmed Raza and his disciples categorically rejected the idea of nation-state on the basis of community, culture and language. He stoutly rejected all ideas of the Deoband form of nationalism. Ahmed Raza usually accomplice religious-social reform with political reform, because in his opinion Islam provides and covers all facets of life. He believed that Islam is not just a religion but a complete system of life, in which there is a set of ideas, institutions, culture and civilization. Barelwi ulama imagined the idea of nation-state on the grounds of Quran and Islamic jurisprudence. Maulana Kichauchwī vociferously demanded that Pakistan as an independent and free government, in which there will be Islamic government on the basis of Islamic jurisprudence and Sharia. He was inspired from the first ideal Islamic state established in the Medina city. Maulana Kichauchwī's idea of political thought is derived from the main source of the Quran and Islamic law, and this ultimate legal and constitutional authority is contained in God alone. He was a proponent of theocracy of nation-states is decided only by Islam and Islam covers all facets of life. The idea of political thought by Kichauchwī was more similar to Mawdudi. For Mawdudi, the notion is that nationalism is completely antithetical to Islam and the concept of Ummah for Mawdudi was given the first

priority in his idea of nation-states. Similarly, Maulana Kichauchwī was a prolific writer and active in the Barelwi movement, but his activism that was usually associated with revivalist leaders such as Maulana Mawdudi than Deobandi alim like Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani. In his writings on political matters, Maulana Kichauchwī takes a position very close to Maulana Mawdudi, the founder of Jamaat-e-Islami on the need for an Islamic state. The Barelwi movement share a looking-back to an ideal Islamic past and reconstituting this past in the present as the means to ensure a utopian vision for an Islamic future. The ideal past may be found in the period of the Prophet in Medina as constituting a perfect Islamic state in which politics and religion merged seamlessly⁵⁸⁶.

Barelwi associated with nineteenth-century reformist and mujaddid, Ahmad Raza, who led the Barelwi movement against the counter-attack of the various Wahhabi-influenced movements in the Indian subcontinent. Ahmed Raza won the grudging esteem respect of his disciples and students. His works and contributions are so reminiscent of Barelwi School in South Asia. Ahmed Raza's oeuvres generally received high acclaim from critics for their thoughtful description and veracious reflection of the society after his death in 1921. The ulama of Barelwi School, who were not only belonged to the Sufi family and but they have learned under the ulama and mufti. In other words, Barelwi ulama were developed not only to Hanafi madhab but to Sufi doctrine and discipline as well. Sufism provides both meaning to religious experience and the most intense of personal ties. Ahmed Raza see basic premise of Sufism that is purification, heart and obedience of Islamic law. Mysticism that is tough station (*maqām*) in Sufis, is accounting for inner development in the self. He is not distinguished between Sharia and mystical Sufi order. He sees tariqa is the tantamount to Sufism, and tariqa is the path, who follows in the path of Prophet Muhammad. Indeed, Ahmed Raza opposition to certain Sufi customs notably that of urs and pilgrimage directly challenged the centrality of the tombs and the networks of support for them. The thesis made abundantly clear; Barelwis define Sufism as absolutely indispensable to their understanding of Islam. Ahmad Raza considered that tariqa (Sufi path) and the Sharia (law) not necessarily opposites but necessary reciprocal. However, Ahmad Raza did not undermine the traditional tariqa structure but merely provided a common

⁵⁸⁶ Ron Geaves. "Tradition, Innovation, and Authentication: Replicating the "Ahl-e-Sunnat wa Jamaat" in Britain", *Comparative Islamic Studies*, 1. No. 1, 2005, 5.

umbrella identity which promoted Sufism and its sympathizers as the mainstream of Muslim tradition⁵⁸⁷.

The present research stated that Barelwi Sufism initiated by Ahmed Raza and he wrote extensively on the concept of saint (*wali*), pir and murid. In order to understand Sufism through writings of Ahmed Raza, he palpably emphasized the reverence of the saint from the lineage of the Prophet Muhammad. In his writings, Ahmed Raza categorically lay stressed on practical Sufism. The system of pirs and Syeds had drawn a line of demarcation between a pir and a murid. Syeds and pirs were given special consideration in the Barelwi School and other people not better than Syeds. Barelwi ulama enthusiastically continue espouse the concept of prophetic intermediacy and a hierarchy of a spiritual authority that continues endorse the supremacy of caste hierarchy. In other words, Barelwis, who maintain hierarchy and caste consciousness to uphold status in the society, and interlink their lineage from the first ideal, was Prophet Muhammad, companion of the Prophet Muhammad and unbroken lineage of saints. Barelwi ulama believed that saints are naturally born; his tradition must match with the Prophet Muhammad lineage. Ahmad Raza emphasized in his work, saints or pir genealogy must match with the Prophet Muhammad family. Other reformists movements such Deoband, Islam does not subscribe saint as the naturally born. The only difference was as between a pious man and an impious man, a doer of good and a doer of evil. But no social distinctions based on birth or wealth had any sanctions. Deoband declares that all the believers formed one brotherhood, and there is no place in Islam for any distinction of caste, descendent or race. All the Muslims were equal in the sight of God. In Islam nothing counted but personal merit based on personal efforts. I would argue that, tradition played an important role in Barelwi movement and for that matter in Muslim society-it is accommodative, rational, plural in nature and dynamic in terms of ideas and practices. When it comes to the status of saints or pirs, it demarcates boundaries between ‘us’ and ‘them’.

This chapter three and four are, indeed a quintessence of the empirical and in-depth study on different dimension of Hindu-Muslim lives at the Makhdūm Pak dargah, and their involvement in the *hazirī* and participation in everyday ritual activities. In the third chapter the question was asked why Hindu-Muslim turned to the dargah, who prefers to visits Makhdūm Pak dargah. In

⁵⁸⁷ Ron Geaves. “A Case of Cultural Binary Fission or Transglobal Sufism? The Transmigration of Sufism to Britain”. In *Sufis in Western Society: Global Networking and Locality*, ed. Ron Geaves, Markus Dressler and Gritt Klinkhammer. London: Routledge, 2009, 99.

order to understand the perception and nature of practices, it deployed the ethnographic methods, to understand the norms and practices of attendees in the dargah. The finding of this chapter suggest that the main purpose of the people visits Pak Makhdūm dargah to get relief and search for spirit possession and healing. Findings of this study revealed that majority of them have strong faith upon the blessings and charismatic power of the Syed Jahangir Ashraf Simnani. The data set revealed that most of the people visited Pak Makhdūm dargah due to suffering of spirit possession and sorcery and they believe that visiting dargah to get rid of their problems. The chapter also explored the controversy over visitation of shrine from theological perspective; the theologians do not oppose visiting to dargah. For instance, chapter shows that even Shah Wali Allah, Shah Abdul Aziz, Ashraf Ali Thanvi and Ahmed Raza Khan, they were vehemently against the worshiping of tombs and hence *shirk*, associating another with God. For them, dargah is the purpose for ziyarat and recites fatiha there, not for saint worship. For them, saint-worship is kinds of abominable *shirk* (idolatry) and associating with other that is polytheism. The findings of this chapter is corroborated with the Peter Van Deer, where he argued that ‘reformist Islam was against the saint-worship, because it is to be shirk, polytheism, and *bida*, an ‘innovation’ contrary to Sunna, the example of the Prophet. In Indian context, saint worship is often condemned as an imitation of Hindu polytheism. It is alleged that saint-worship is similar to Hindu polytheism, which is repeatedly rejected by defender of the practice. Their defense is not based on the belief that practice encourages harmony between Hindu and Muslims, but on the claim that it is an orthodox practice in continuity with the Islamic tradition’⁵⁸⁸.

In the chapter fourth applied qualitative approach to give respondents reflect their lives experience of the Hindu-Muslim at the Makhdūm Pak dargah. The chapter explored the case studies by the help of interviews, where it came to know the purpose of visiting Pak Makhdūm dargah. The chapter has explored that the everyday-lives of the dargah and how patients suffering from spirit possession and sorcery and how their cases trail ordeal and how they get justice in the Makhdūm Pak moral court. In addition to this, the chapter also explored the ritual practices around dargah and the nature of practices by the Hindu-Muslim. Findings of this chapter show that belief in kismet is religious factors that help patients cope with their problems. It has been observed that those who come to Makhdūm Pak dargah usually suffer from

⁵⁸⁸ Peter Van Deer. “Syncretism, Multiculturalism and the Discourse of Tolerance”, 193-4.

psychological or psychiatric disorders and interpersonal problems and stress in life. Dargah is the last hope for health treatment for those patients who are suffering from spirit possession and trance. Along with allopathic treatment, unsuccessful failure of poverty and pique and different interpretive models of illness worked to limit the choice of medical place and treatments on the dargah seem more appealing. The dargah offered the possibility of a charismatic power; it was constantly reinforced by the statements of other participants. The interesting thing is that some attendees have made an extraordinary ‘scenario’ everyday by staying permanently at the dargah, while other tried to recreate their living experience of the dargah at home. The main intention to create a ‘landscape’ is because it attracts the charismatic power of the saints, and attendees deliberately believe that by staying near dargah, it resolves initial problems of patients. It is axiomatic fact that the state has not seriously taken the health problem in India, and this is the main reason that attendees prefer to go to the dargah for treatment. Pfleiderer, who goes to says that women health problem is not taken seriously by the government, and that is the main reason women prefer to go to dargah for their treatment. She states that the problem of the mental health of the women are not taken seriously, and left to the indigenous and local healer, including, pirs, saints, Baba, and Ojha, people considered who are possessed of charismatic power, like Karamat⁵⁸⁹.

Chapter five on fatwas on customary and rituals practices issued by Barelwi muftis with the regard to correct practices of Islam under the normative of what is *bida* and Sunnah. The chapter tried to understand whether there is a correlation between the dargah ritual and Barelwi Islam.

The purpose of this chapter is to elucidate the opinion of the Barelwi school muftis and ulama concerning the practices and beliefs demonstrated at the dargah of revered Sufi saint who embody the mystical faces to Islam. One of the finding of this chapter suggest that Barelwi muftis are against the ‘saint-worship’ and ritual and popular practices. In fact, Barelwi muftis condemned and issued fatwas against the non-religious, socio-cultural practices and strengthened their argument against the socio-cultural behavior is based on the Quran, Hadith and Islamic jurisprudence. The chapter also explains the allegations made by ‘other’ Barelwi as innovators. The chapter rejected this kind of allegation and provides a difference in the very details between *bida* and Sunnah. It also provides the Barelwi and Deoband School interpretation of *bida* in the

⁵⁸⁹ Beatrix Pfleiderer. *The Red Thread: Healing Possession at a Muslim Shrine in North India*, New Delhi: Aakar, 2006. s

context of the Hanafi fiqh. The thesis did not find any single Barelwi alim or mufti who would readily admit and to support ‘worshipping’ graves.

Epilogue:

‘Sufi Islam’ vs. ‘Wahhabi’ Islam: All India Ulama & Masiakh Board:

On 20th March, 2016, was historic day for All India Ulama & Masiakh Board (AIUMB) and Barelwis in India. The AIUMB was organized a world conference at Ramlila ground, in its Sufi conference attended by large numbers of Sufi scholars from India and abroad and numbers of religious scholar and academician were also participated. The conference began with the term ‘Sufi’ Islam vs. ‘Wahhabi’ Islam (Barelwis do not see the difference between Deoband and Ahle-hadis School, they considered both of them as Wahhabi), trying to justify that Sufi Islam is peace-loving, tolerant and rejected violence and terrorism. The organization has rejected Wahhabi, Salafi and Deobandi Islam because in his perception and opinion, they have perpetuated violence and linked them with al Qaeda and Taliban. The resolution was passed by Barelwi ulama at Ramlila ground to remove the tag of terrorism and tried to associate with them terrorism and with the ideology of Wahhabi and Salafi.

“The conference has tried to tell the Indian government that so far the world in the line with Taliban’s Muslim. Today, Muslims search about Islam in the line with the Abdul Wahhab Najd ideology and his actions and ignored the veracious of Barelwi ulama. From this conference it tried to send the message to the international community that it has not been discovered about Islam, where real Islam is found. If want to know about true Islam, see the events of life of Moin uddin Chishti, Hazrat Nizamuddin, Ashraf Jahangir Simnani as an exemplary of Islam”⁵⁹⁰.

The first meeting of the All India Ulama & Masiakh Board (AIUMB) was held in 2005 at Qasbah Kichaucha, Ambedkar Nagar district, Uttar Pradesh, during annual urs of Syed Mukhtar Ashraf. All India Masiakh Board (AIMB) was established in 2006; headquarter is located in Jamia Nagar, an active and full fledged organization. Since 2006 the organization has been active and keeps organizing the seminars, conferences and *Jalsa* on terrorism and propagating Ahle-sunnat *maslak* in many parts, including UP, Bihar, Rajasthan and West Bengal. The first Sufi conference was held in 2011 in Moradabad organized by AIUMB president Maulana Syed Ashraf Kichauchwī. Kichauchwī, where he was publicly denounced Wahhabism and

⁵⁹⁰ Syed Mahmood Ashraf Jilani, Khutbat-e- Bhagalpur, Sunni Conference Bhagalpur, All India Ulama & Masiakh Board, 16 May, 2010.

categorically opposed the Congress party⁵⁹¹. They call Sunni Muslims to reject the hardliner Wahhabi extremism and could return the Sufi roots of Islam. The main objective of the Moradabad conference, which was held in 2011, where the patron wanted to tell the Indian and the state government that Indian Muslims are not only two school of thought, but there are three schools of thought, representing the first group Shia Muslims, which is almost two percent and the second group of Wahhabi Muslims is more than ten percent. Finally, the last group that is the largest group of Muslims is Sunni or Barelwi Muslims, the population is roughly more than eighty percent. Kichauchwī expressed in his opinion that when Wahhabi Muslim approaches to the government, they represent as the Sunni Muslim. The conference wanted to make clear that Sunni Muslims do not have any cordial and amity relationship with Wahhabi Muslims. The Sunni Muslims are not to maintain relations with Wahhabi or recent Sunni conference. But for the first time, Allama Fadl-I-Khairabadi denied contact with the Wahhabi Muslim. After that Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi issued a fatwa not to pray the namaz behind the Imam against Deobandi and Wahhabi. He further went to say that, friends we denied with them and have been denying till today. We are very well aware that, no Sunni Muslim offers prayer behind these Wahhabis, and then our government should know that when Sunni Muslims do not pray behind Wahhabi Imam, then how is it possible to have cordial relations with Wahhabis Muslims?⁵⁹² Another speaker in that conference where cautiously warned about Wahhabi Muslims. Tauqir Raza Khan Barelwi expressed his opinion that:

‘Although our elders have taught us that in the Muslim community, Wahhabi Muslims are the worst community. Wahhabi is an opportunist community. For the sake of Opportunism and waste of wealth and property, they also demonstrate shameless and non-human behavior for the honor and dignity for the Muslim community. Their history is full of incidents of non-human behavior and shameless in Makkah and Medina. Their history is very old. Whose story line corresponds with Rafizi and Khawarij during the Khilafat rule by the Hazrat Ali, and in contemporary times Wahhabi thought and ideology is coincide with the Taliban, Lashkar-e-Taiba, and Al-Qaida. In their hearts, Wahhabi organization and their representatives have soft corners for terrorism⁵⁹³.

The speaker led to conclude that these are ‘Wahhabis’ in Muslim community, believe that barbarism is in the form of their origin because they have inherited the blood of Muslims from

⁵⁹¹ Vidya Subramanian, Churn in Muslim Community over Wahhabi Charge, *The Hindu*, October, 20, 2011, <https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/churn-in-muslim-community-over-wahabi-charge/article2556098.ece>.

⁵⁹² Syed Muhammad Ashraf Miyan Kichauchwī, *Khutabat-e-Moradabad, Mahnama Jam-e-Noor*, 2016.

⁵⁹³ Maulana Tauqir Raza Khan Barelwi, *Khutbat-e-Moradabad, Elaania, All India Ulama & Masiakh Board*, 2016.

their hands 200 years ago by their Saudi Arabian Wahhabi counterparts. For the purpose of this analysis, the salience of the passage lies not in its grisliness, but in its construction of the other. Although “Saudi” is not connective, is not epiphenomenon. It carries its own meaning and is a powerful discourse in itself.

The AIUMB is the first Sufi Sunni organization in India after independence, which represents Sufi or ‘Barelwi’ Muslims and trying to bring all Khanqah or dargah at one platform. They try to send a message to the government that Sufi or ‘Barelwi’ represents the unity of Ahle-sunnat, and are the adherents of Sufi Islam (*Ahle-tasawwuf*). The main or primary objectives of the AIUMB is to provide legitimate share to Sufi Sunni Muslims in the policies and programs started by central and state government after the recommendations of Sachar committee and Ranganath Mishra commission. The slogan of this organization that is “*Hamey Wahhabiyon ka na Immamat kabool hai, na qayadat Kabul hai* (we reject the religious and political leadership of Wahhabis and Deobandis). The purpose of this conference to draw attention to the government that Sufism is the way to tackle terrorism and violence. At this stage Sufi ulama issued fatwa on terrorism and condemn it. They denied work of under leadership of Wahhabism because today these people trying to convince imamate under leadership of Wahhabism. AIUMB has rejected work under the leadership of Wahhabism, because these people are captured Waqf board, Hajj house, and over representation in state and central governments. They trying to replace other Muslim organizations want to become a mouthpiece of community. The major objective of the All India Ulama & Masiakh Board

There are two types of Muslim in India. Therefore, Muslims came to India in two different ways; first kind of Muslim influx from the abroad, mainly for the land and power, another kind of Muslim came to India for the Deen. The Muslims, who came to India for land and power, usually call them follower of the Babar Zahir uddin, and those Muslims who came to India for Deen, are called them adherent of the Moin uddin Chishti, and Hazrat Nizamuddin Awliyā. From onwards these two schools of thought have germinated. The first group of Muslims who were interested in land and power, and their leader Babar Zahir uddin, who is an ideal of Wahhabi, and another group of Muslims, was a follower of the Khwaja Moin uddin Chishti, who is a model of Barelwi, or Sufi Masiakh. Barelwi held Khwaja Moin uddin Chishti as the spiritual crowned head, the chief of a religious sect and the ideal of the community. The organization sees Khwaja Moin uddin Chishti as the role of model of non-violence, humanist and message of peace and unconditional love.

The main intentions of AIUMB, to find a political space in Indian Politics, and represents the spokesperson of the Barelwi/Sufi Masiakh in India. It should be seen from three interrelated

perspectives, namely, of a historically clash between ideas and opinion, and second, a struggle for social and economic resources, and third a race for legitimation.

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