

RAVSHANIYYA MOVEMENT

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by

S.A.A. RIZVI

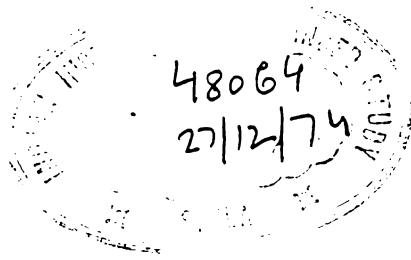
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RAWSHANIYYA MOVEMENT

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S. A. A. RIZVI

Rawshaniyya or Rawshānī movement which started as a pantheistic Sufic movement among the restless Afghān tribes, known as Pakhtūns in the modern political jargon and inhabiting the areas lying in between the political Durand Line and river Indus, subsequently took a militant form and assumed the role of a movement for the liberation of Afghān tribes against the rule of the Mughals even under its founder, Bāyazīd Rawshānā'ī. It gained adherents in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries on account of religious as also for political reasons. Due to fulminations of the orthodox Sunnis that thundered against them and the Mughal forces seeking to extend their control over the plains and passages through the mountains leading to Kābul, they were never able to lead a peaceful life but the trials and tribulations only sharpened their power of resistance. Bāyazīd united tribal sentiments in a surge of enthusiasm that carried all before it. Internal jealousies and mutual dissensions spelt failure and the movement came to a macabre end but a strange mingling of pride and lamentation always dominated the minds of the Afghāns. The author of *Dabistān-i-Maṣāhib*, compiled in Shāh Jahān's reign (1628-1658), himself heard Pērī Sulṭān, who later on received the title of Zū'lfaqār Khān say: "When by order of Sa'īd Khān, I visited the family of 'Abdul Qādir (to obtain their surrender) I took with me large variety of victuals and drinks so that they might be seduced through their effect. One day an aged Afghān, after having tasted sweetmeats, rose on his legs and said, 'O 'Abdul Qādir! From the time of your honoured ancestors, never the foot of a Mughal reached this place; the gentleman who has now come intends to seduce you with garments red and yellow, and with victuals pleasing and sweet, which are coveted by those who are slaves of their belly, but which are abhorrent to the rule of *darviṣhes*; the best measure therefore is to put him to death, as an example to terrify others from coming here'. But 'Abdul Qādir and his mother Bībi 'Alā'ī, the daughter of Miyān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, did not agree to it. On the day when 'Abdul Qādir entered the camp of Sa'īd Khān, his horse was frightened at the noise of kettle drums and

horns, and dashed from amid the crowd to one side. An Afghān observed, 'The horse executes what the Lord Miyān Rawshān had ordered but you do not; be sure you shall suffer from the aftersickness of this desertion'. 'Abdul Qādir said, 'What has Miyān ordered?'. The Afghān replied, 'To keep at a distance and to beware of the Mughals'." ¹ The editor of *Ḥāl Nāma*, an autobiography of Bāyazīd Rawshānā'ī, compiled in the early years of Aurangzēb's reign (1658-1707), summed up the panorama of the movement thus, "The four generations of Bayazīd ruled over Afghān tribes and remained on terms of war with the Mughals for about seventy years. Sometimes they came out victorious and sometimes they lost. Most of the Afghān tribes on the other hand struggled once or twice but submitted later on. None of the enemies could overpower the Rawshānā'īs. It was on account of their mutual dissensions that they deserted each other and joined the Mughals". ²

Bāyazīd Rawshānā'ī

Bāyazīd Anṣārī, popularly known as Bāyazīd Rawshānā'ī, was the son of Qāzī 'Abdullāh and the grandson of Qāzī Shaiḵh Muḥammad, the son of Shaiḵh Bāyazīd Parindā (a flyer or a bird).³ The family descended from Shaiḵh Sirāj-ud-Dīn Anṣārī ⁴, a descendant of Abū Ayyūb Anṣārī, a devoted companion of Prophet Muḥammad, in whose house he stayed at Medina after his emigration. The family rose to heights of eminence amongst the Afghāns on account of the learning and piety of its members. They lived in Kānīgurām situated in the heart of Maḥsūd Wazīristān, in the upper Baddar Valley at a height of about 7,000 feet. The father of 'Abdullāh, Shaiḵh Muḥammad was a successful businessman. Of the brothers of 'Abdullāh, Khudādād lived at Bhirā while he himself resided in Kānīgurām. Bāyazīd was born of 'Abdullāh's second wife Aymana ⁵, the only daughter of a pious and rich man Ḥājī Abā Bakr who resided at Jallandhar in the Punjab. According to the editor of *Ḥāl Nāma*, the *jadd* (grandfathers) of Aymana and 'Abdullāh were real brothers. The father of 'Abdullāh, Shaiḵh Muḥammad once reached Jallandhar in connection with trade and stayed in the house of Ḥājī Abā Bakr. The manners of the host's family highly impressed the guest and he pressed him to marry his daughter to one of his twelve sons and went to the extent of agreeing to the condition of Aymana's parents that the bride need not be sent to the mountains. Shaiḵh Muḥammad's son who was also named Muḥammad married Ḥājī Abā Bakr's

daughter at Jallandhar.⁶ Two daughters were born to him but after some time Muḥammad died. Subsequently ‘Abdullāh reached Jallandhar and married his brother’s widow Aymana. Bāyazīd was born at Jallandhar. It is probably on account of his birth there that he was known as a Hindustānī⁷ (Indian).

Bāyazīd was barely forty days old when ‘Abdullāh left for his homeland leaving his wife and son at Jallandhar due to Aymana’s refusal to accompany him in the mountainous regions. ‘Abdullāh had another wife Fāṭima in his homeland. A son and three daughters were born to him from his first wife. However, he used to send provisions and other necessities of life to Bāyazīd’s mother in Jallandhar.⁸

During Bābur’s invasion of Bhīra in February 1519, some of the Bhīra people were molested by the Mughal soldiers.⁹ Bābur’s efforts to restore confidence among the Afghāns seems to have made little headway and his hold over the territory was strongly resisted by them. Khudādād also appears to have suffered some loss during one of the Mughal raids and he left Bhīra for Jallandhar with his family in about 1525. Bāyazīd’s mother extended a warm welcome to them. Khudādād had three daughters. He betrothed one of them to Bāyazīd who seems to have been born shortly before the emigration of Khudādād.¹⁰ The Afghān rule of India came to an end after the defeat of Ibrahīm Lōdī at the battlefield of Pānīpat (20 April 1526). Their leaders shifted to the eastern part of India and Bihār became one of their strongholds under Sultān Maḥmūd Lōdī son of Sultān Sikandar Lōdī. Khudādād also left for Bihār. Bāyazīd’s mother stayed at Jallandhar for some time but subsequently she had also to migrate to Bihār.¹¹ After some time ‘Abdullāh deputed one Maḥmūd to bring the mother of Bāyazīd and the family of Khudādād to Kānīgurām. When Maḥmūd reached Khudādād, he informed him that the Mughals had established their outposts at different places and it was not possible for them to reach Kānīgurām safely. They could later on accompany some caravan going to the mountainous region. Meanwhile the Afghāns were attacked by the Mughals. The Afghān families scattered to different directions to find refuge. A large number of them lost their life on account of hunger and thirst during their hazardous trekking. The remaining ones wended their way towards Tīrhut where a large number of them fell ill. A few of them met their death. These calamities engendered a desperate mood in the Afghāns and they resolved upon launching a united attack on the Mughals rather than to thin their own ranks under miserable conditions. About

fourteen thousand Afghāns are said to have attacked a force of eighteen thousand Mughals. Dividing themselves into two forces, one wing of the Afghān archers and swordsmen forged ahead for a head-on collision with the Mughals while the other with match-locks lay in ambush. Under a planned strategy, the Afghān archers began to beat a slow retreat before the mighty onslaught of the Mughals till the latter came within the range of the Afghāns lying in ambush, who suddenly fired the volleys of matchlocks over the Mughals. The retreating Afghāns turned back and attacked the Mughals. About six thousand Mughals were killed and many of them were drowned in the river. The Afghāns reoccupied Bihār and the scattered families hastened back to their original homes. They attributed their victory to the blessings of Khudādād and offered considerable gifts to him, which relieved his family of privations and sufferings.¹² The effects of the victory were, however, very short-lived for the Afghāns were attacked again by the Mughals probably under Bābur and were routed. Bihār again passed into the occupation of the Mughals and the Afghān families took refuge in different directions.

Khudādād and the family of ‘Abdullāh accompanied a caravan leaving for the mountainous region but on reaching Qanauj, they were detained by Mahdī Khawājā, the brother-in-law of¹³ Bābur. When he came to know of the fact that they were Afghāns, he ordered their general loot and annihilation. Khudādād with a large number of Afghāns escaped only after proving that they were Anṣārīs¹⁴ and had nothing to do with the Afghāns. Later on the leaders of the caravan sent a *peshkash* (quit-rent) of seven lakh *tankās* to Bābur with an *arzdāsh*t (petition). The Emperor allowed them to pass through his frontiers unmolested. Thus Shaikh Khudādād and the mother of Bāyazīd reached Kānīgurām after braving hazardous odds.¹⁵

‘Abdullāh gave some portion of his belongings to Khudādād just to enable him to establish himself and betrothed his daughter to Ismā‘il the son of Khudādād. To the great misfortune of Bāyazīd and his mother, the first wife of ‘Abdullāh, Fāṭima by name, and her son Ya‘qūb could not tolerate Bāyazīd and his mother’s presence in Kānīgurām. ‘Abdullāh took the side of Fāṭima and Ya‘qūb. The life became hellish for Bāyazīd and his mother and they were compelled to leave Kānīgurām for Jallandhar. But the slender financial resources of Bāyazīd’s mother forced her to dispatch Bāyazīd back to his father at Kānīgurām, only to be treated as an unwelcome member of the house. He was then merely a child of seven years, but he too was not

spared all those indignities, which had been his mother's lot, at the hands of his step-mother and step-brother. Khudādād detested the treatment meted out to Bāyazīd. He therefore left for Betūr with the intention of calling Bāyazīd there with his family soon after settling down himself there. To the great misfortune of Bāyazīd, Khudādād was killed there by an enemy of his host who mistook him for the owner of the house. Khudādād's premature death deprived Bāyazīd of the only source he could look to for some help and thus he was forced to pass his days in miserable circumstances.¹⁶ 'Abdullāh was also greatly moved but he could not help Bāyazīd in the face of the opposition of his wife and her son. He explained to Bāyazīd his inability to help him and advised him to win over his opponents to his cause by devoted service to them. Bāyazīd accordingly began to serve them with increasing humility. This softened down their hostility and 'Abdullāh could send him to the school of his own pupil Mullā Pāyandā.¹⁷

Bāyazīd was earnestly devoted to his studies and religious exercises. When he had finished the study of the *Qur'ān* within a short period, his father, in keeping with the prevailing Afghān custom, was supposed to arrange for a feast to his classmates and presents for his teacher. But how could 'Abdullāh see his way through with a hostile Fāṭima? It was a severe hurt to Bāyazīd's pride. Fāṭima could not brook the idea of allowing higher education to Bāyazīd. With a view to distracting him from his studies, she assigned him sundry jobs to do. Helpless in the teeth of opposition of his wife, 'Abdullāh could do nothing but to advise Bāyazīd to have *Qur'ān* as his companion at every place so that he could study it in his leisure hours.

Bāyazīd was meditative and inquisitive from his very childhood. The torments of hell always kept him terrified. He, consequently, was inclined towards leading a pious life. Illegal food, lies and mischievous deeds were abhorrent to his nature. He served his father, teacher, *'ulamā*, *faqīrs* and guests, who came to his house, with great devotion. All sorts of formal prayers and devotional exercises were performed by him with increasing sincerity. He was humane, tolerant and possessed great forbearance. If he went out to tend his own cattle, he did not mind looking after the cattle of others. Whenever sent to keep watch over fields, he gladly looked after the fields of others.¹⁸ Presuming himself to be the greatest of the sinners, he boldly confessed his sins, and sought the Almighty's forgiveness. He regularly read *Qur'ān* and studied preliminary works of Islāmic law and theology

with care.¹⁹ Gradually he commenced giving vent to truth without mental reservation. To the question of a local saint, Khwāja Ismā‘il, which of the two he loved more—the faith or the world; he frankly admitted that he loved the world more since he devoted much of his time in mundane affairs.²⁰ Music always put him into a state of mystical trance and he had an impassioned love for it so much so that even his father’s strong disapproval and opposition could not withhold him from lending his ears to the sweet notes of music.²¹ The domestic chores assigned to him by his step-mother left him with little time to devote to the acquisition of knowledge. He, therefore, left Kānīgūrām, with a view to proceeding to Mecca. But four days later he was brought back by his father who insisted that he should study under him for he was regarded by the Afghāns as a teacher of repute.²²

Later on ‘Abdullāh took him to various places for trade which began to prosper and brought them good returns. By now Bāyazīd was sixteen and was grown up enough to manage things on his own.²³ The persistent hostility and rough treatment of his step-mother forced him to seek establishing himself separately and independently of his father. ‘Abdullāh did not agree to his son’s request for a division of property which, the latter claimed, was acquired by their joint efforts. It was, however, after great persuasions and intercessions of his relations and influential men like Ismā‘il who were favourably inclined towards the claim of Bāyazīd that ‘Abdullāh reluctantly apportioned Bāyazīd’s share; but even this step failed to bring differences and quarrel to an end.²⁴

An utter sense of frustration goaded Bāyazīd on to resolving upon secretly putting an end to the life of Ya‘qūb whom he considered to be the main source of all his troubles. Seeing Ya‘qūb enjoying a sound sleep on a high mountain cliff, Bāyazīd decided to throw Ya‘qūb into the lap of death by pushing him into the ditch, but the thought of retribution on the day of Judgment stayed his hands off the murderous assault. Besides, a sudden stroke of wisdom purged his heart of all evil intentions against Ya‘qūb and he deemed it unprofitable to persist in his quarrel with ‘Abdullāh and Ya‘qūb for worldly goods.²⁵

He was in those days studying *Qudūrī* and *Lubāb-ul-Akhhār* with ‘Abdullāh. He visualised the risk of imbibing the habits of his teacher in him if he continued his studies under him. He, therefore, took to trading independently. His honesty and fair dealings crowned him with considerable success. One of his uncles, Shaikh Ḥasan, married

his daughter to him and the friends and relations of ‘Abdullāh began to visit Bāyazīd’s house to the latter’s great satisfaction. He tried to please ‘Abdullāh too but in vain.²⁶

According to Ākhund Darwīza, it was during these sojourns that Bāyazīd came in contact with Indian Yōgīs at Jallandhar and was imbued with metempsychosis. One Mullā Sulaimān, by name, a *mulhid*, presumably an Ismā‘īlī, is also said to have impressed upon him his own Ismā‘īlī ideology.²⁷ Though *Hāl Nāma* makes no mention of extraneous influences over him, his sojourns to different lands and his contacts with the people of diverse views and beliefs seem to have widened his mental outlook and he started concentrating more and more on the nature of Ultimate Reality.

He had studied elementary works on theology but avoided the study of advanced works on *fiqh* for he did not like to take up the career of a *qāzī*. He was gradually convinced of the idea that a perfect religious guide was indispensable for the acquisition of the Divine Realities.²⁸ The mountainous region was inhabited by a number of religious guides who undertook the task of guiding the people on account of either knowledge of *sharī‘at* or owing to their have descended from some eminent *pīr* (religious guide). Some of them had acquired eminence due to the wealth and riches which they had amassed. They could afford him no spiritual satisfaction. He began to seriously ponder over the qualities which a *pīr* was required to possess. A conviction took root in his mind that none could attain the status of a *pīr* unless he had full acquaintance with the knowledge possessed by the prophets. He believed that a *pīr* enjoyed the same status in his tribe which a prophet possessed amongst his *‘ummat* (followers).²⁹

Meanwhile, his cousin Shaikh Ismā‘īl, son of Khudādād saw a vision in which his father informed him that a certain book contained *Ism i-A‘zam*³⁰ and that its repetition in seclusion would bring great spiritual benefits to him. Shaikh Ismā‘īl accordingly performed many *chillās*³¹ in seclusion in a dark cell, repeating the *Ism i-A‘zam*. Constant vigils, starvations and performance of *zīkr*³² worked up such a profound spiritual change in him that he laid claims to showing the Almighty to anyone who sought to undergo the rigorous and austere religious exercises as were practised by him. The simple-hearted and unsophisticated Afghāns looked askance at his claims. They believed that God could be seen by the blessed in paradise but seeing His vision in this world was unthinkable to them. The *‘ulamā*

and *mashā'ikh* approached 'Abdullāh to prevail upon Ismā'il, who was his nephew as well as his son-in-law, to give up his wild claims or else to allow them to kill him on account of his heresy. 'Abdullāh did not yield to their request. He asked them to leave him to his lot for he was bound to meet with divine wrath.

Three people are said to have performed ascetic exercises as prescribed by Shaiḫ Ismā'il and gained insight into Divine Mysteries. He rode successfully over the tide of opposition of 'ulamā and *mashā'ikh*, and achieved immense popularity. Obviously Shaiḫ Ismā'il was the only man tallying with Bāyazīd's conception of a perfect guide and he became highly enamoured of him.³³

He begged leave of his father to perform *taṭba*³⁴ at Ismā'il's hands and to become his disciple. 'Abdullāh did not relish the idea of his son becoming a disciple of his nephew when he was himself acknowledged as most learned of all the sons of Shaiḫ Muḥammad. He, therefore, advised him to become the disciple of a descendant of Shaiḫ Bahā-ud-Dīn Zakariya³⁵ who resided at Multān. Bāyazīd was in no mood to accept this advice.³⁶ Much distressed and mortified at his father's opposition, he took to wandering about in wilderness. While moving about in this predicament he received inspiration that as the Almighty heard everything, he should repeat the *kalima*³⁷ in his heart and indulge in *ẓikr-i-ḫafī*.³⁸ Meanwhile an invisible voice informed him that the *kalima* of *sharī'at*, (*Lā Ilāhā*) meant that there is no God but Allāh, that of *ṭarīqat* meant that nothing should be yearned except Allāh, whereas that of *ḥaqīqat* stipulated that there does exist nothing in both the worlds except Allāh. Bāyazīd devoted himself to the repetition of *kalima* in accordance with *pās-i-anfās*³⁹ for three or four years and was confirmed in his belief that nothing but Allāh existed, either in this world or in the world to come. Wherever he would cast his eyes, his spiritual eyes would catch the glimpse of the Almighty.⁴⁰

He continued in this state of *ma'rifat* and *ḥaqīqat* for some time until one night when he was going to sleep he was accorded the position of *qurbat* (nearness) which enabled him to perceive and feel every voice as if it emanated from Allāh.⁴¹ He felt himself to have been enjoined upon by the Almighty not to disclose the secret of his having attained the stage of *qurbat*. He returned thanks to the Almighty for having taken him out of the state of darkness (*tārīkī*) to that of light (*rawshan'ī*) and to have guided him on to the light of vision of Almighty from the darkness of blind ignorance, to the light of nearness from the

gloom of separation, to the light of constant *ẓikr* and the knowledge of *Zūt* (Being) from the darkness of oblivion and ignorance.⁴²

He devoted a few years to strenuous repetition of the silent *ẓikr*, until he realized as if he were being asked by a Divine Voice to explain as to what he meant by *mʿarifāt*. He observed, “O Almighty! To which ever direction I turn or what ever object I see, I perceive Thine existence in each with the eyes of heart. Whatever voice I hear, I find it as Thine own voice. Whatever in this world or in the world to come, I find, I take it to be existing through Thine *wujūd*.” He again felt he had been asked to account for his own existence if he regarded everything existing through the *wujūd* of the Almighty. Bāyazīd replied, “O God! My existence is dependent on Thine *wujūd*, and has no separate entity”. The Divine Voice then asked him to explain as to why he said that he saw Him or recognised Him when he did not discriminate between his own existence and that of the *wujūd* of the Almighty. That remark established the fact that there were two beings, one of the Almighty and the other that of his own. Bāyazīd could find no answer to this question. He scratched his head to strike at an answer to the problem and pondered over it. In his predicament he heard a Divine Voice enjoining upon him to declare, “O Bāyazīd! Say ‘O God! I see Thee, through Thee and recognise Thee through Thee’ ”. This voice made Bāyazīd realise that the above stage was undoubtedly higher than that of the *qurbāt* and the aforesaid realization was loftier than his earlier attainments. This led him to the stage of *waṣlat* from that of *qurbāt*. In this state he realized his own existence submerged in that of the Almighty and found everything which existed as identical with the *wujūd* of God. He found himself hearing the voice of Almighty through Him. He experienced his own existence to have disappeared and realized that everything was done and moved by Him.⁴³

This stage also did not set Bāyazīd’s mind at rest and he constantly mixed with *darwīshes* and saints and served them with increasing devotion. He, however, never revealed his own attainments to anyone. After traversing all the stages from *sharīʿat* to *waṣlat* in about eleven years,⁴⁴ he felt himself to have been directed to commence the repetition of *Ism-i-Aʿẓam* to pave his way to the permanent acquisition of the stage of *tawḥīd*. After some time whichever voice he heard he found it pronouncing *Ism-i-ʿAẓam*. In this stage he underwent the thrilling experience of having realized the secrets of the knowledge of the Divine Essence. These strange experiences enhanced his mental tension for he was conscious of his own shortcomings in regard to

learning and righteousness, and knew that he did not possess such other qualities as warranted the bestowal of such a lofty grace on him. This conflict was again resolved on account of his constant meditation. He was commanded to merge his own existence into the Divine Essence and regard nothing but His Being as existent. He was also ordained to obliterate all the considerations of 'I' and 'Thee' from his mind, and realise that he was one with God.

He devoted the Friday nights to the repetition of *Ism-i-'Azam* in a cell in wilderness and remained absorbed in that state until the *ẓuhr* (mid-day) prayers with only short breaks.⁴⁵ Once, after similar devotional exercises, he reached a spring and wished to take a bath.⁴⁶ Just then he heard a Divine Voice telling him that the bath of *sharī'at* implied keeping the body clean from phenomenal pollution; the bath of *ṭarīqat* was to get the heart rid of the temptations of carnal self and Satan and to shun the sins; the bath of *ḥaqīqat* consisted in weaning the heart away from everything but Almighty and in being constantly absorbed to the thought of God; the bath of *ma'rifat* sought to create a strong and firm belief in the existence of Almighty; the bath of *qurbat* enjoined upon the seeker to shut the ears to all the voices but that of God; and to comprehend the praise of the Almighty repeated by every object of the phenomenal world; the bath of *waṣlat* amounted to the realisation that nothing but the Being of Almighty existed in the phenomenal world; and the bath of *waḥdat* insisted on being imbued with the attributes of God. He was, therefore, ordained to select the bath of *waḥdat* for himself so that he might be endowed with the attributes possessed by Almighty. This brought him to the critical stage of the advisability of performing the formal prayers, for that amounted to the realization of a sort of duality between the Creator and the created. A Divine Inspiration prompted him to attach no particular importance to formal prayers of the believers and to perform the prayers of the prophets which implied that the devotee should regard himself one with the Almighty. He should do nothing either for his own self or for others. None else but God Almighty be regarded as a Reality. The editor of *Hāl Nāma* has supported Bāyazīd by extensively quoting from the aphorisms of *Shaiḫ* 'Abdul Qādir Jilānī (d. 1166 A.D.) and from the *Maṣnawī* of Maulānā Rūm.⁴⁷ (d. 1273 A.D.), but the claims were too extravagant and wild for the orthodox theologians to tolerate. A system which sought to emphasise the meditation at the expense of formal prayers was nothing but heresy to them.

Bāyazīd had by this time completed the 40th year of his age. He retired to a cell for some time to perform vigil, reduced his diet and kept himself occupied in the repetition of *Isṁ-i-‘Azam. Namāz* in its formal form was also not given up. It was followed by the repetition of *z̤ikr*.⁴⁸ Though he subsequently returned home due to the persuasions of two of his friends Ḥasan and ‘Uṣmān, he did not give up the routine that he had of late adopted. He claimed during this period to have had revealed all the secrets of God, and bestowed such knowledge as enabled him to discern the inner conditions of a living being. He noticed some pious men of repute, earlier regarded by him as perfect saints, steeped in *shirk*, some in *kufr* and some in hypocrisy.⁴⁹ This shook his faith in their claims. His outspokenness earned for him the hostility of ‘ulamā, *ṣūfīs* and *darwīshes*.⁵⁰ At this stage he felt himself, in accordance with his own wishes, to have obtained the knowledge of the inner condition of hearts of different people. He came to believe that the first state related to carnal or inordinate desires and led the believers to the mundane affairs. The second was related to Satan and led the people to sins. The third was concerned with the heart itself and led the people to the obedience of Almighty and ensured paradise for them. The fourth was related to the (purified) soul and led the people to *ma‘rifat* and vision of Almighty. Bāyazīd composed a *qaṣīda* (elegy) giving a detailed description of all the stages of the development of the heart of human beings.⁵¹

On account of being constantly absorbed in *z̤ikr* and meditation, Bāyazīd neither mixed with people nor did he hold conversations with them. His wife Bibī Shamsū did not approve of his way of life and was uneasy due to the apprehension that Bāyazīd, left to himself, might become a *qalandar* and say good-bye to the worldly pursuits. She prevailed upon him to earn his livelihood. Bāyazīd was also tired of his life in Kānīgurām. He left his house with a caravan of merchants apparently to eke out his livelihood but in reality with the hope of coming in contact with some Perfect Spiritual Guide.⁵²

He reached Qandāhār where he was informed of a *qalandar* who had neither come out of his cell for the past three years nor had indulged in conversation with anyone else. Bairam Khān⁵³ had posted his guards there to protect him against those who sought to disturb him in their own interest. Bāyazīd went to his cell only to return to his camp without obtaining an access to him. He considered him to be a fruitless tree incapable as such of benefiting anyone. The same day the *mutṣaddīs*⁵⁴ of Bairam Khān, dividing the belongings of the

merchants into six parts, took off five portions as *zakāt* of *rābdārī* ⁵⁵ and left only one portion with the merchants. Of the goods of Bāyazīd they took only two-thirds, leaving one-third with him. The leaders of the caravan, together with Bāyazīd, approached Bairam *Khān* for the redress of their grievances but did not succeed. Meanwhile, Bāyazīd felt himself to have been divinely instructed to abandon worldly pursuits and go back to his native land to stay there for five years in his home in retirement with absolutely no desire to enter into worldly life.⁵⁶ He returned to Kānigurām and wished to leave once more for Hindustān in quest of some Perfect Spiritual Guide but forsook the idea when reminded by his wife of the Divine Ordinance to stay at home for five years. He shifted to an underground cell prepared by him for meditation. While living in this state he received a Divine Inspiration that if some true devotee approached him he should ungrudgingly lead him to the correct path so that many lamps might be lighted from one lamp.⁵⁷ His wife Bibī *Shamsū* ⁵⁸ was first to offer herself to be enrolled as a disciple and was admitted to the cell to live a life of austerity and meditation. ‘Alī *Sher Barkī* of Kānigurām, an ironsmith and man of considerable piety, who already held Bāyazīd in great respect, volunteered to undergo arduous ascetic exercises as prescribed by him. He was also admitted to the same cell. ‘Alī *Sher*’s presence in the cell prevented Bibī *Shamsū* from moving out freely during day time, but ultimately Bāyazīd allowed her to move about in the presence of ‘Alī *Sher* with veil on her face and was asked by Bāyazīd to treat him as a brother.⁵⁹ Bāyazīd did not discourage such promiscuous mixing among both the sexes of his disciples. *Ākhund Darwīza* in his own derisive style says, “Whenever he found anyone inclined towards his own self, he suffered him to mix in promiscuous assemblies; forgetting that sensuality is like a fire hidden in stone”.⁶⁰ He ascribed Bāyazīd’s success to the free rope said to have been given by him to his disciples for licentiousness.

In the first instance Bibī *Shamsū*, ‘Alī *Sher* and *Shādī Khān* and *Nek Bakht* two other disciples of Bāyazīd completed a *chilla*, which was followed by the distribution of sweets among friends and relatives; but ‘Abdullāh did not approve of his activities particularly the freedom which he had allowed to his wife, who was ‘Abdullāh’s niece.⁶¹ Ultimately he paid a visit to his son who is said to have informed him, “It should be a matter of great satisfaction for you to see your son elevated to such spiritual eminence. I implore you to warn me if you find me acting against the injunctions of the *Qur’ān*

and *Ḥadīs*”.⁶² He also told ‘Abdullāh that his wife always appeared veiled before his disciples and that he enjoined *ẓikr-i-khafī* upon them. ‘Abdullāh was astonished to see his son quote *Qur’ān* and *Ḥadīs* in defence of his contentions for he had never taught him the works which Bāyazīd had mastered. He, however, tried in vain to persuade his son to practise only the formal rules of *sharī‘at*. The ranks of Bāyazīd’s disciples began to swell, a circumstance which was sufficient to excite the feelings of jealousy and ill-will against him in the hearts of contemporary saints and religious guides who started a campaign of vilification against Bāyazīd and his followers, but their tactics failed in the initial stages. Bāyazīd ultimately ordered his disciples to keep their tenets strictly secret from their enemies and warned them of the risk of substituting in their hearts the light of *m‘arifāt* with the darkness in the event of acting contrary to his instructions.⁶³ ‘Uṣmān, son of Mannā, one of the most inveterate enemies of Bāyazīd, sought to dissuade the people from joining the ranks of Bāyazīd’s disciples by telling some that being ascetics and saints themselves they needed no Bāyazīd, while impressing upon others the futility of having a *pīr* being *‘ālims* themselves.⁶⁴ The affluent section of the society could not embrace the life of poverty and austerity. ‘Uṣmān’s tactics seemed to have the desired effect, for Bāyazīd felt increasingly disheartened but his drooping spirits were cheered up allegedly by a Divine Voice which bade him call the people to Almighty and lead them to the right path.⁶⁵ He began to preach his mission of *tawḥīd* openly. He found none of his contemporaries on the right path. The rulers according to him, indulged in mutual quarrels and the Muslims were sacrificed at the altar of their selfish designs. The *pīrs* were interested in nothing but amassing wealth and riches in the name of guiding people. *Darwīshes* and *‘ālims* too had lost every regard for the spirit of religion and faith. He pondered over their inner condition and finally decided not to hesitate in declaring the truth, howsoever bitter it might be. He cautioned the Muslims that none of them were acting in accordance with the tenets of *Qur’ān* and *Ḥadīs*. This amounted to condemning all those as heretics who did not give ear to his teachings. His tirades irritated ‘Uṣmān and the other enemies of Bāyazīd; so they approached his father, who was also a Qāzī and sought redress against the wild allegations which his son had been making. ‘Abdullāh sent his disciples to Bāyazīd to dissuade him from making his wild assertions but they were struck dumb with his subtle and effective

arguments. They enrolled themselves as the disciples of Bāyazīd.⁶⁶

He and his disciples are said to have received a Divine Call that Bāyazīd should be called as *Miyān Rawshān* or *Pīr-i-Rawshān*. This raised a great hue and cry among his opponents and they refused to give any weight to them for Bāyazīd himself was not formally initiated to *ṣūfi* discipline by any recognised saint.⁶⁷ Bāyazīd informed the disciples of his father, some of whom were again deputed by him to verify the truth of his claims, that he initiated his disciples to the secrets of *tawhīd* and added that it was very easy to call Him one but exceedingly difficult to understand Him as one. ‘Alī Sher also informed ‘Abdullāh about the four injunctions which he had received from Bāyazīd thus, “I am required to serve the cause of Islām and shun the sins. Secondly I have to avoid heedlessness and indulge in *zīkr*. Thirdly I must avoid ignorance after being initiated into the subtleties of *tawhīd*. Fourthly I am required to abstain from behaving ill-manneredly after having been directed to the path of right manners”.⁶⁸ Due to his popularity, his cousin Muḥammad, brother of Shaiḫ Ismā‘īl who had a considerable following among the Dawr⁶⁹ tribe also became his disciple and came forward with the declaration that due to the *chilla* performed by him under the direction of Bāyazīd, he had acquired the stages of *qurbat*, *waṣlat* and *waḥdat* while under his own brother, Shaiḫ Ismā‘īl, he could acquire only the stage of *m‘arifat*.⁷⁰ He also tried to persuade ‘Abdullāh and his son Ya‘qūb to follow Bāyazīd but they did not yield to his persuasions.⁷¹ All those who came in contact with Bāyazīd found themselves completely changed men after performing *chilla* under his guidance. Excessive religious exercises and deep meditation transported them to a different kind of spiritual world which they or their preceptor found difficult to define in theological terminology. After some time he appointed Muḥammad as his *ḫalīfā* and christening him as ‘Muḥammad Kamāl’; passed over to him the right to initiate only those as disciples who were sincerely devoted to him. “If a disciple were to catch hold of your hand, tell him that he is holding the hand of *Pīr-i-Rawshān*. Don’t call yourself a *pīr* but should assert that there is only one *Pīr* and I am initiating disciples for him and guiding them on behalf of the *Pīr*. I am his deputy. There cannot be more than one *quṭb*”⁷² in an age.”

Muḥammad obtained considerable success in his mission as a *ḫalīfā* of Bāyazīd.⁷³ His other disciples too led a number of people to the stage of *m‘arifat* and to the knowledge of *tawhīd*. Bāyazīd’s

sweeping generalization branding the believers and the contemporary *pīrs* as hypocrites brewed a storm of opposition against him. In retaliation a number of *‘alims* and saints together with ‘Abdullāh declared Bāyazīd a lunatic and assembled at his house with a view to imprisoning him. Bāyazīd’s adherents also collected together.⁷⁴ A debate was arranged. The eminent people of the town sat in the middle just to ward off any direct collision between the two factions.⁷⁵ To each of the questions put by his opponents regarding Islāmic faith and the laws of *shari‘at*, Bāyazīd gave prompt replies supported with verses from *Qur‘ān* and popular traditions on the subject. He gave a clear exposition of the conditions in which the performance of *namāz*, *rōzā*, *zakāt* and *haj* could be treated as legal and profitable. He also defined all the eight stages of spiritual development which he allegorically explained. But Bāyazīd’s explanation did not afford satisfaction either to his adversaries or to his father ‘Abdullāh and his brother Ya‘qūb.⁷⁶ Ya‘qūb and others girt their loins to kill or imprison him, but the stubborn opposition of Bāyazīd’s disciples foiled their attempts. However, his enemies continued to call him mad and a heretic. They accused him of possessing an inadequate and superficial knowledge of religious principles and *shari‘at*; of making unjustifiable claims of being a guide though he was not formally appointed *khalīfā* by a *pīr*; of wrongly claiming to have received Divine Inspiration; of condemning the Muslims as hypocrites and of disobeying the behests of his parents and relatives.⁷⁷

Bāyazīd persistently reiterated that a *bādī* was a guide and he, as one of them, sought to show the path of Prophet Muḥammad. Similarly he also guided the seekers on the right lines. He, like Prophet Muḥammad, called the people towards the Almighty hence the path of both was identical.⁷⁸ Once Malik Lōdī, Maulānā Zakariya and his son Aḥmad enquired the cause of his parents’ dissatisfaction with him. He replied, “They want me to indulge in worldly pursuits and give up the path of faith. I claim that the act of my guidance is free from falsehood because I pull the people out from blindness, deafness, dumbness and *shirk* and lead them towards *tawḥīd*. God will protect everyone who shall follow me”.⁷⁹ He also gave an explanation for the firm attitude adopted by him. He attributed his earlier restricted outspokenness to his being initiated into the preliminary stage of *ma‘rifat*, but after being acquainted with *tawḥīd* he invited the people towards the correct path with conviction and courage as he found the living being engrossed in *shirk*.⁸⁰ Maulānā Zakariya

claiming to have the knowledge of *ma'rifat* and *tawhīd* wished to test him in these branches. Bāyazīd told him that Zakariya should first enquire about *sharī'at* and proceed step by step for no explanation of *ma'rifat* could be given without an adequate understanding of its initial stage, i.e. *sharī'at*.⁸¹ To the son of Maulānā Zakariya his reply was that his *pīr* was Prophet Muḥammad. He likened himself to Uwais who obtained profound spiritual benefits from the Almighty due to Prophet Muḥammad's blessings, without coming into his contact. As the mission of different apostles of God was revealed to them through Gabriel, the successors of prophets also obtained Divine Inspiration from Him. He added, "*Ilhām* (Divine Inspiration) is not confined to the prophets alone, but it is a light which helps in seeing the reality of every phenomenal object. *Ilhām* is associated with *walīs* (saints) while *wahy* (Divine Revelation) with prophets. Those who are incapable of seeing the Lord in the world with the eyes of heart, cannot see Him in the next world".⁸²

After their complete discomfiture at arguments with Bāyazīd, Maulānā Zakariya decided to have recourse to arms and cow him down with violence, but the fear of Bāyazīd's followers restrained him from behaving rashly. They, due to the intercession of certain tribal leaders, offered to make compromise on the following conditions:

1. Bāyazīd should not accuse the believers of being engrossed in *shirk*;
2. He should not accuse them of being *mumāfiqs* (hypocrites);
3. He should desist from claiming to have been visited by Gabriel.
4. He should not accuse people of being engrossed in darkness;
5. He should make no claims of being a *Mahdī*.

Maulānā Zakariya challenged Bāyazīd's claims of being acquainted with the secrets of heart and capable of divulging the same, by offering to become his disciple if he found his claim to be true. Bāyazīd, who perceived a sort of dynamic character in the science of heart, replied, "I am able to find out the secrets of hearts, but there is no heart in you. Had you possessed a heart, I could have informed you about its state of affairs". Maulānā Zakariya asserted, "I offer myself to be killed. If a heart comes forth of my body, Bāyazīd should be put to death so that the people may get rid of his vicious teachings, and if no heart comes out he can be spared and the believers may enter into his discipleship". Bāyazīd retorted, "The heart you speak of will

come forth of a calf, or a kid if it is killed but that lump of flesh is not the heart. The *Ḥadīṣ* tells, 'The heart of the faithful is more elevated than the empyrean heaven; and more spacious than the extent of the ninth heaven'. And again, 'I could neither enter the earth nor the heaven but the heart of the believers'. And again, 'Hearts bear witness to hearts' ".⁸³ The tribal leaders said, "How can the truth of the respective claims be finally decided?" Bāyazīd replied, "There are seven towns in this *wilāyat* (territory). Let one man from one of these join me and practise devotional exercises for forty days and nights under me. Likewise, one man for a similar period of time should associate himself with other *'ālims*. After the expiry of the stipulated period both should be subjected to a severe test with a view to finding out as to who had acquired greater benefits". To those who took exceptions to his prescribing hard ascetic exercises, he replied that nothing could be achieved without undergoing hardships.⁸⁴ A person named Malik Mīrzā said, "O Bāyazīd! Don't accuse the believers of ignorance. One who obtains guidance from you cannot forsake you, but one who has no faith in you cannot tread on the path shown by you through violence". Bāyazīd replied, "I shall put an example before you. A number of persons are asleep in a house. Accidentally it catches fire. Just then one of them gets up. Now should he wake up the others or not?" His opponents said, "Those who are asleep should certainly be awakened". Bāyazīd instantly retorted, "I find everyone fallen into the slumber of forgetfulness. I want to shake them off this state of stupor to save them from being consumed by the fire of heedlessness".⁸⁵

For about three years Bāyazīd resisted the onslaughts of arguments hurled at him but subsequently yielded in the face of mounting opposition to his claims. This submission brought considerable change in his attitude and behaviour. Formerly he did not even greet anyone for he considered everyone polluted with *shirk*, but later on he began to greet the people. He declared:

- “1. I don't claim that Gabriel comes to me but I do assert that I receive inspiration from Him;
2. I don't claim to be a Mahdī; I only claim to be a guide (*bādī*);
3. I don't say that all the people are *munāfiqs* and *kāfirs*; I simply maintain that all those who are made *munāfiqs* or *kāfirs* by Al-mighty would remain as such to the eyes of others.”⁸⁶

Adjustments and compromises of this type are frequently noticeable

in the career of Bāyazīd but it appears that he never gave up the claims of assuming the status of a perfect guide, reaching well near the status of a *Mahdī*.⁸⁷ Nor were his opponents ever satisfied with his interpretations and expositions. He, however, highly impressed his contemporaries with his piety. He acted as an *Imām* and did not request for any remuneration, taught *Qur'ān* and other theological works without expecting anything in return for it. Free from worldly avarice he was contented with whatever Almighty bestowed upon him.⁸⁸

After completing the period of five years' retirement he moved out of his residence. The occasion was celebrated by his followers with joyful festivities.⁸⁹ Later on he reached Sang Tāwī, a place lying at a distance of one day's journey from Kānīgūrām, where a large number of followers of both sexes flocked to him. People enquired of Bāyazīd about the piety of Shaiḵh 'Uryā, a grandson of Ḥājī Wāṣil a celebrated and resourceful saint of the locality. Bāyazīd replied that none could become a *pīr* on account of simply being descended from a *pīr*. "A *pīr* is one who is acquainted with the knowledge possessed by the Prophet Muḥammad and can direct his disciples to the path of God".⁹⁰

His outspokenness estranged him from Shaiḵh 'Uryā who became one of his strongest opponents. He did not make only the tribal leaders hostile to Bāyazīd, but also mobilised the opinion against him at Kānīgūrām too. Bāyazīd, though running a high temperature, had therefore to leave Sang Tāwī for Kānīgūrām in increasingly distressing circumstances.⁹¹

Shaiḵh 'Uryā's letter had already been received by the tribal leaders of Kānīgūrām with the result that Bāyazīd had hardly stepped on to the soil of his homeland when he was faced with a number of plots against him. Bāyazīd had, meanwhile, softened down his attitude to some extent and had ceased to be harsh to his opponents. But this did not earn for him the desired respite from his adversaries—the *'alīms* and other religious dignitaries.⁹² Shaiḵh 'Uryā prevailed upon the tribal leaders of Kānīgūrām to expel him from the town. Bāyazīd accordingly left the town with his wife, Bibī Shamsū, their son Shaiḵh 'Umar, daughter Kamāl Khātūn and some other ladies and companions.⁹³ Some of the people of the town, however, later on succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between Bāyazīd and his father and persuaded him to live with his father and elder brother for some time. He was also made to pay a visit to Shaiḵh 'Uryā together with

his brother Ya'qūb though against the wishes of his companions and followers. The opposition subsided a little. Bāyazīd evinced due consideration and respect to his father and Ya'qūb, but his own popularity indirectly fed their envious feelings towards him.⁹⁴ 'Abdullāh began to insist that Bāyazīd should perform *nafl*⁹⁵ prayers; Bāyazīd on the other hand, insisted on the performance of obligatory prayers and *ẓikr-i-khafi* which enabled him and his followers to meditate on the Almighty. They did not, however, leave any stone unturned in making their actions and behaviour conform to *shari'at* so as to reconcile themselves with their adversaries.⁹⁶ The respite was temporary and Bāyazīd had ultimately to retire to a place in the vicinity of Bētūr where his *khalifā* Muḥammad Kamāl lived. In the course of his sojourns, contrary to the prevailing Afghān customs, which did not find it objectionable on the part of the theologians to obtain food forcibly from those who were unable to resist, Bāyazīd's followers abstained from obtaining the articles of their needs from the inhabitants of the locality without their permission. Their modesty, forbearance and performance of obligatory prayers highly impressed the unassuming Afghāns. Bāyazīd built a dark cell like a temple near the mosque of the town and bade his followers sit there. They were required to perform the congregational prayers in the mosque and later on retire to the cell for *ẓikr* and meditation.⁹⁷ After some time he, at the invitation of the Dawrīs of the Tochī Valley in the northern Wazīristān, moved there. He exhibited a number of miracles in that territory.⁹⁸ After some trivial opposition in the initial stages a large number of Dawrīs accepted him as perfect guide and Pīr-i-Rawshan or Miyān Rawshan.⁹⁹ His mission seems to have received favourable response even outside the regions inhabited by the Afghāns. *Khalifā* Maudūd and Mullā Arzānī reached from Hindustān and became his disciples. *Khalifā* Maudūd compiled a treatise entitled *Maqṣūd ut-Ṭālibīn* and Mullā Arzānī¹⁰⁰ wrote *Mir'āt-ul-Mubtaqqiqīn* together with a *Divān* in *Pashṭū*. *Khalifā* Maudūd belonged to the Tarīn tribe of Afghāns and resided at Sarhind where he lies buried.¹⁰¹

He deputed one of his disciples *Shaikh* Bāyazīd brother of *Shaikh* Ni'mat Dawrī to *Tirāh*¹⁰² who converted many of the Orakzīs¹⁰³, *Tirāhis* and *Āfrīdīs*¹⁰⁴ to the tenets of the Master. From *Tirāh* he moved to the land of *Bangash* on *Kōhāt* and *Kurram*. After considerable resistance a number of saints and theologians embraced *Rawshanā'ī* tenets. Bāyazīd later on moved to *Tirāh* and despatched a

detailed narrative of his activities to Bāyazīd Rawṣhanā'ī.¹⁰⁵ Meanwhile, a Mughal force from Pēshāwar suddenly attacked the Orakzīs and Bāyazīd was done to death by them. Bāyazīd Rawṣhanā'ī, however, on receipt of the letter of his *khālīfā*, decided to repair to Tīrāh and summoned his family from *Kanīgurām*.¹⁰⁶ Meanwhile, Mohmandzīs of Pēshāwar and adjacent borders became enamoured of Bāyazīd's teachings and they invited him to visit their land.¹⁰⁷ He, therefore, set off for Tīrāh via Bangash where he was accorded a warm reception. At Tīrāh, Orakzīs, Āfrīdīs and other people of Tīrāh, who had embraced Rawṣhanā'ī tenets, welcomed him with great enthusiasm.¹⁰⁸ Thence he proceeded towards Sarban and reached Pēshāwar where he stayed with Malik Shānī, the leader of the Kḥalīl tribe. Most of the people of his tribe accepted Bāyazīd as their spiritual guide. Members of the Kḥalīl, Mohmand and Dāwūdzī tribes flocked to Bāyazīd in ones and two daily to become his disciples. He obtained converts to his ideas and beliefs among Mohmandzīs, Gagyānīs and Yūsufzīs, Tu'īs and Ṣāfis.¹⁰⁹ The Rawṣhanā'ī movement appears to have obtained considerable popularity amongst the Mohmandzīs due to Mullā Dawlat Khān's conversion to the Rawṣhanā'ī tenets. Ākḥund Darwīzā has severely condemned his baneful influence over the Afghāns of the locality which, according to him, became an ultimate cause of the decline of Islāmic orthodoxy there.¹¹⁰ Malik Ḥabīb Bakhīl, a leader of the Kḥalīl tribe, however, turned into one of his inveterate adversaries there.¹¹¹ He approached Jānīsh Khān ¹¹² *ṣubedār* of Pēshāwar on behalf of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm and strongly complained against Bāyazīd's heresies, portending him to be a potent danger to their rule. Jānīsh Khān deputed some scholars who were his companions to make investigations, but they are said to have returned convinced of the piety and religiosity of Bāyazīd. Ḥabīb Bakhīl collected twelve thousand rupees to bribe Jānīsh Khān, but he had already decided to join the services of Akbar. He, therefore, advised him to approach Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm ¹¹³, foster brother of Akbar and ruler of Kabul (1554-1583). Ḥabīb Bakhīl saw the *wazīrs* and nobles of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm and succeeded in getting Bāyazīd summoned to Kābul.

On his way to Kābul, Bāyazīd converted a sizable section of Tu'īs to his discipleship. Ḥabīb Bakhīl persuaded the nobles of Mīrzā Ḥakīm to prevail upon their ruler to allow Bāyazīd to be done to death without any investigation; but Mīrzā Ḥakīm did not yield. He summoned Bāyazīd to his presence and later sent him to Qāzī Khān,

the *qāzi* of Kābul, with a view to getting the allegations investigated.¹¹⁴ Bāyazīd had a series of discussions with Qāzi Khān and explained to him, “I only claim to be a *bādī* (guide) and direct the people to the path of *tawhīd* and save them from error, ignorance and *shirk*. Those who bear envy towards me accuse me of claiming myself as *Mahdī* instead of *bādī* and Prophet instead of a *walī*”. Qāzi Khān enquired of Bāyazīd if he claimed to be receiving *wahys*. Bāyazīd replied in the negative, but affirmed that he received *ilhām* and heard Divine Calls. Qāzi Khān further enquired as to how he differentiated between *waswasa*¹¹⁵ and *ilhām*, between the Divine Call and the call of Satan. Bāyazīd replied that the verses from *Qur’ān*, *Hadīṣ* and aphorisms of the saints were the sole criteria for the differentiation.¹¹⁶ To the question if he claimed to have received *wahy* and compiled a book entitled *Chihl Subyān*, Bāyazīd replied, “It is a baseless allegation for I claim that Almighty has inspired a book into my heart entitled *Khair-ul-Bayān* which comprises forty *bayāns* (chapters). It may be compared with *Ghawṣiyya*¹¹⁷ compiled by Ghawṣ-ul-A‘zam on the basis of Divine Inspiration, but the people do not differentiate between *wahy* and *ilhām*.”¹¹⁸

Bāyazīd further added in reply to a query of Qāzi Khān that he had acquired spiritual perfections through Prophet Muḥammad direct and was an *Uwaisī*.¹¹⁹ No guide or teacher had taught him the knowledge which he propounded. Qāzi Khān was convinced of the piety and righteousness of Bāyazīd so much so that he personally took him to Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm and spoke in highly appreciative terms of his eminence to Mirzā. Ākhund Darwīza almost corroborating the event says, “He exhibited a profound veneration for the *sharī‘at*, practised its ordinances very strictly; strongly refuted his previous utterances so much so that everyone came to have a pity on him.¹²⁰ He heavily bribed some of the *wazīrs* of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm and obtained his liberation.”¹²¹ It seems that bribes were used by both the factions. According to the editor of *Ḥāl Nāma*, which has hardly any iota of truth, Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm was so highly impressed of Bāyazīd that he decided to become his disciple. The *wazīrs* and nobles of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, however, explained to him, “Afghāns have been the subjects of the Mughals and have always been fighting against us. If you were to enrol yourself amongst the disciples of Bāyazīd, he would not allow us to realise *khārāj* (revenues) from the Afghāns and it would become impossible for us to rule over them. If you do not give up your intentions we would

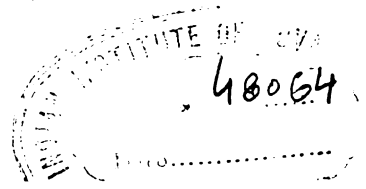
retire to India and serve Akbar." In view of their threats Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm dismissed Bāyazīd with honour. He returned to Pēshāwar¹²². Meanwhile, Jānish Khān had been replaced by Ma‘ṣūm Khān. Bāyazīd settled down with the Mohmandzī tribe and gained considerable popularity with them. He contracted blood relationships with influential men of the tribe.¹²³ Of the two leaders of Mohmandzīs, Pāyandā Khān and Pahār Khān, Bāyazīd married his daughter Kamāl Khātūn to ‘Alī Khān son of Pāyanda Khān, and his son ‘Umar to the daughter of Pahār Khān. He married his son Jalāl-ud-Dīn nicknamed as Jalālā to the daughter of Māmā Khān, another prominent leader of the tribe. Datī, a lady wielding considerable influence among the tribe, Bāyazīd took as his own wife.¹²⁴ He sent Maudūd as his *khālīfā* or *dā‘ī* to Qandāhār and to the people of the Kāsī tribe. Shīn-wāris and Mohmandzīs swelled the ranks of his followers.¹²⁵

He deputed many other men of pleasing eloquence and profound knowledge in music as his *khālīfās* to different Baloch tribes and to other places. A centre was established by them at Saiyidpūr near Ḥaydarābād Sindh. Bāyazīd himself moved to Kalla Dher in Ḥaṣht-nagar and deputed his emissaries to all the rulers of the neighbouring countries.¹²⁶ He sent his *khālīfā* Daulat Khān with a book written by him named *Sirāt-ut-Tawbīd* to Akbar who, in turn, is said to have received the messenger with due regard and dignified him with a robe of honour.¹²⁷ One, Yūsuf, was deputed as *khālīfā* with a treatise entitled *Khair-ut-Ṭalībīn* to the court of Mirzā Sulaimān of Badakhshān. Mirzā asked the *‘ulamā* of his court to discuss with the messenger and critically study Bāyazīd’s teachings. They are said to have returned with a fairly high estimate of Bāyazīd’s teachings, so much so that Mirzā Sulaimān sent a message to Bāyazīd that he regarded himself as one of his disciples.¹²⁸ Bāyazīd deputed some of his *khālīfās* to Balkh and Bokhārā too. One of them named Arzānī was deputed by him to Hindustān probably to the eastern part of India.¹²⁹ His teachings gained considerable popularity in the homeland of Afghāns and its vicinity, though the account of the impressions which the Rawshanā’īs are said to have made over Akbar and Mirzā Sulaimān appears to be unfounded and exaggerated.

It appears that some of his followers interpreted his mystical and allegorical teachings very literally. Members of the Tu‘ī tribe went to the extent of believing that the Day of Judgment had arrived. Under the inspiration of their leader ‘Abdul Karīm they gave up their worldly pursuits, collected all their belongings, chattels and

provisions at one place so that they should be able to devote themselves to meditation together, and should thus await the approach of the Day of Judgment. All the inhabitants of the village, men and women, retired to a mosque and started keeping themselves occupied in fasting, night vigils and *ẓikr-i-khafi*.¹³⁰ At this time a caravan of merchants from Hindustān happened to pass that way. They felt it repulsive to their mind to allow the members of the caravan to be engrossed in worldly pursuits and thus waste their energies especially when the Day of Judgment was so near. They attacked the caravan, the occupants of which thought that Bāyazīd had taken up arms against them. They fled towards Kābul. The tribesmen piled together the goods and chattels of the caravan and for some time made these the target of their arrows. Later on they got all the merchandise trampled under the hooves of their horses.¹³¹ The merchants lodged a complaint against the tribe with Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm who deputed a force of five hundred horsemen to set the matter right. The tribesmen also took up arms against them. There were only fifteen horsemen among them. The dust raised by the galloping horses gave an illusion to the Mughals of there being a huge army to attack them. They took to their heels but they came to know of the reality very soon. They turned back, killed all of them, imprisoned their families and took them to Kābul.¹³²

When Bāyazīd was informed of the incident, he wrote a letter of apology to Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm and explained to him that the Tu'is had gone mad and that they had suffered the consequences of their lunacy. He requested Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm to release the innocent prisoners. *Wazīrs* and nobles of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm were not convinced with the explanation, and they said to him, "We had previously warned you that Bāyazīd will not allow us to imprison the families of Afghāns." They convinced him that the Tu'is had attacked the caravan at Bāyazīd's instigations and it was imperative on his part to nip the mischief in the bud. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm issued a *farmān* to Ma'sūm Khān¹³³ to either imprison Bāyazīd or to kill him. When the orders were received by Ma'sūm Khān, Pāyandā Khān and Pahār Khān, the leaders of Mohmandzīs were present there. Pahār Khān immediately asked Pāyandā Khān to reach Bāyazīd post haste and inform him of the orders before the Mughal forces attacked him. Bāyazīd had to leave for the land of Yūsufzīs.¹³⁴ In the beginning Mohmandzīs also accompanied him but later on due to the persuasions of Pahār Khān, who was released



by Ma‘šūm Khān on the condition that he would make the Afghāns return to their homeland, some of the Mohmandzīs left the company of Bāyazīd and repaired to their own land.¹³⁵ Ma‘šūm Khān attacked Bāyazīd with a force of Mughals and Afghān tribal leaders. Bāyazīd had only 313 followers with him but in a desperate action, the Mughals were defeated and fell back on Pēshāwar. Bāyazīd named the place as Āghāzpūr, to commemorate the beginning of the armed struggle against the Mughals. Those who took part in the battle were named as Āghāzpuris by him.¹³⁶ The author of *Dabistān-i-Maṣāhib* says, “It is said that Bāyazīd received a Divine Command to take up arms against all those who were not acquainted with God but he did not comply with the Divine Command repeatedly for three times. Ultimately he was peremptorily ordered to start fighting. Unable to resist, he girt himself for the war against them in battlefields.”¹³⁷

He left for Tīrāh and Khaibar. The governor of Pēshāwar again invaded Tīrāh only to be defeated by Orakzīs, Āfrīdīs and Tīrāhīs. Shortly afterwards they discovered that the Mughal infiltrators entered Tīrāh on account of the connivance of the inhabitants of that territory. Rawshānā’īs tried to make short work of them. The plan leaked out and the Tīrāhīs took up arms against the Master. Bāyazīd feigned a conciliatory attitude; wrote to his former adherents, “You have grossly sinned by drawing your sword against your *pīr* and by imputing wrong motives to him. In order to show repentance you should present yourself to kiss my feet with your hands tied.”¹³⁸ Three hundred and twenty Tīrāhīs on account of their folly came out of the fort and were executed in cold blood by Bāyazīd. Afterwards he spelt ruin and destruction to the entire Tīrāh. Some of the Tīrāhīs escaped to Ningrahār. Tīrāh became a stronghold of the Rawshānā’īs. Afterwards Bāyazīd proceeded to Ningrahār with a few thousand foot and horsemen and attacked the village Barwār. Muḥsin Khān Ghāzi led an expedition against him from Jalālābād with sixty horsemen and fell upon the Rawshānā’īs suddenly. Bāyazīd was finally defeated at Torragha; fled on foot and died of exhaustion at Kāla Pāni in the vicinity of Haṣht Nagar. He breathed his last in 980H/1572-73 A.D., two and a half years after the commencement of the armed struggle against the Mughals.¹³⁹ Yūsufzīs and a number of other tribes, hostile to the Mughals, sincerely supported him and he was regarded as a leader of the liberation of Afghāns against the dominance of the Mughals. He seems to have gone to the extent of declaring that he sought to invade India and overthrow the empire of Akbar.

He acquired horses from merchants on loan promising to pay them after the conquest of India.

NOTES

¹ *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib* (Lucknow 1904) Pp. 310-311.

² ‘Alī Muḥammad bin Abā Bakr Qandāhārī: *Hāl Nāma* (Subhānu’llāh manuscripts, ‘Alīgath Muslim University Library) F. 465b.

³ It is said that he used to offer prayers at Mecca very frequently, a legend ascribed to a number of saints, hence the title, Parindā. (*Hāl Nāmā* F. 2b).

⁴ The following genealogy is given in *Hāl Nāma* (Ff. 2b-3a) Shaiḵh Bāyazīd, son of ‘Abdullāh Qāzī, son of Shaiḵh Muḥammad, son of Shaiḵh Bāyazīd Parindā, son of Shaiḵh Muḥammad, son of Shaiḵh Sirāj ud-Dīn, son of Chirāgh ud-Dīn, son of Shaiḵh Maulānā Ibrāhīm Dāniṣhmand, son of Shaiḵhzādā Ḥamza, son of Khwājā Maḥmūd, son of Shaiḵh Dāwūd, son of Shaiḵh Shams ud-Dīn, son of Shaiḵh Khalīl, son of Shaiḵh Luqmān, son Shaiḵh Khudādād, son of Shaiḵh Maṣṣūr, son of Shaiḵh Muḥammad, son of Khwājā Zāhid, son of Muḥammad Anṣārī, son of Shaiḵh Maṣṣūr Muḥammad, son of Shaiḵh Aḥmad, son of Shaiḵhzādā, son of Khwājā Ayyub Anṣārī. According to *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*, Shaiḵh Sirāj ud-Dīn Anṣārī was the seventh ancestor of Bāyazīd (P. 304).

⁵ The author of *Dabistan-i-Mazāhib*, on the authority of *Hāl Nāma*, mentioned her name as Banīn (variants Nabīn or Tabīn) (*Dabistān-i-Mazāhib* P. 304).

⁶ *Hāl Nāma*, Ff. 5a-5b.

⁷ Nizām ud-Dīn Aḥmad, the author of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* says, “In former times a Hindustānī came among a tribe of the Afghāns and promulgated a heretical and heterodox religion and made many of the fools of the country his disciples and gave to himself the name of Pīr-i-Rawshān. (Nizām-ud-Dīn Aḥmad: *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* Vol. II (Bib. Ind.) P. 398, Mullā ‘Abdul Qādir Badāūni: “*Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh* Vol. II (Bib. Ind.) P. 349; Shaiḵh Farīd Bhakkari: *Zakḥirat-ul-Khawānīn*, (Ḥabībganj Collections, ‘Alīgarh Muslim University Library; Ms.) F. 84b.

⁸ *Hāl Nāma* F. 6a.

⁹ Babur himself says, “As it was represented to me that some of the soldiery were behaving without sense and were laying hands on Bhīra people, persons were sent who caused some of those senseless people to meet their death-dom, of others slit the noses and led them round the camp”. A. S. Beveridge: *The Bābur Nāma in English* Vol. I (London 1922) P. 383.

¹⁰ *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib* P. 304.

¹¹ *Hāl Nāma* F. 6b.

¹² *Hāl Nāma* Ff. 7b, 8a.

The author of *Hāl Nāma* appears to have given an exaggerated account of the battle as also the comparative strength of the Mughal and Afghan forces. But Sulṭān Maḥmūd, as a head of the Afghan confederacy, had undoubtedly established a firm hold over Bihār and had collected about 10,000 Afghāns. They had occupied the eastern regions as far as Lucknow, a contingency which compelled Bābur to march towards the East, early in 1529 and to reconquer the parts which had passed under the control of the Afghāns. (*Bābur Nāma in English* Vol. II PP. 639-689).

¹³ *Hāl Nāma* has only *dāmād* (*Hāl Nāma* F. 8b). Maḥdī Khwājā was assigned Etāwah by Bābur and apparently Qanauj too was under him. (*Bābur Nāma in English* Vol. II Pp. 644-686).

¹⁴ This confirms Āḳhund Darwīza’s contention that Anṣārīs were not of the Afghān origin. (*Tazkirat-ul-Abrār Wa’l Ashrār* (Delhi 1892, P. 137).

¹⁵ *Hāl Nāma* Ff. 8b-9a.

- ¹⁶ *Hāl Nāma* F. 10a.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.* F. 11a; *Tazkirat-ul-Abrār Wa'l Ashrār* P. 137.
- ¹⁸ *Hāl Nāma* Ff. 13b-14a, *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib* P. 304.
- ¹⁹ *Hāl Nāma* F. 14a.
- ²⁰ *Hāl Nāma* F. 14b.
- ²¹ *Hāl Nāma* Ff. 15b-16b.
- ²² *Ibid.* Ff. 17a-18b.
- ²³ *Ibid.* F. 18b, Bāyazīd: *Sirāt-ut-Ṭawhīd* (Rāmpur, Raza Library Ms. Pp. 30-33).
- ²⁴ *Hāl Nāma* Ff. 21a-22a.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.* Ff. 26b-27b.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.* Ff. 29a-30a. According to Ākhund Darwīza, Bāyazīd married an Afghān lady named Shamsi in Jallandhar (*Tazkirat-ul-Abrār Wa'l Ashrār* P. 137).
- ²⁷ *Tazkirat-ul-Abrār Wa'l Ashrār* P. 137. *Makḥzan-ul-Islām*, India Office, London, Ethé 2633, F. 101b, Ethé 2467, F. 102a; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Supp. 1220, F. 136a; British Museum London, Or. 6724, F. 118a, Or. 4234, F. 130b.
- ²⁸ *Hāl Nāma* Ff. 32b-33a.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.* F. 33b.
- ³⁰ The mysterious name of God, which is not known to anyone.
- ³¹ The forty days of lent, during which the *ṣūfīs* had either to shut themselves up in their cells, or remain at home.
- ³² Zikr: Literally "Remembering". The act of devotion, which is practised by the various religious orders. Zikrs, are of two kinds: *ziker-i-jalī*, that which is recited aloud and *ziker-i-khafi*, that which is performed either with a low voice or mentally. T. P. Hughes: *A Dictionary of Islam*, P. 703.
- ³³ *Hāl Nāma* F. 36b.
- ³⁴ A vow of repentance.
- ³⁵ He was a prominent saint of Suhrawardī order and wielded immense influence in Multān, its neighbourhood, Sindh, and parts of the Punjab. Sultān Shams ud-Dīn Ilutmish (1210-1235 A.D.) held him in great esteem and the Shaikh had amassed fabulous wealth due to the state patronage. He died on 7 Ṣafar 661 H/21 December, 1262 A.D.) (Jamālī: *Siyar-ut-ʿArifīn* (Delhi 1893, Pp. 103-106).
- ³⁶ *Hāl Nāma* F. 37a, *Ṣirāt-ut-Ṭawhīd* Pp. 39-42; *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib* P. 304.
- ³⁷ The Muslim confession of faith, i.e. "There is no God but God, and Muḥammad is apostle of God."
- ³⁸ *Hāl Nāma* F. 40b.
- ³⁹ Guarding or holding the inspirations and respirations. It generally amounts to a complete control of one's self.
- ⁴⁰ *Hāl Nāma* F. 46b.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.* F. 47a.
- ⁴² *Ibid.* Ff. 46a-47b.
- ⁴³ *Hāl Nāma* F. 48a-49a.
- ⁴⁴ *Hāl Nāma* Ff. 60a-62b.
- ⁴⁵ *Sirāt-ut-Ṭawhīd* F. 86a.
- ⁴⁶ *Hāl Nāma* F. 64a.
- ⁴⁷ *Hāl Nāma* F. 66b.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.* F. 68b.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.* F. 71b.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.* Ff. 72-74a.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.* Ff. 74b-75b.
- ⁵² *Hāl Nāma* Ff. 78b-79a.
- ⁵³ Qandahar was assigned to Bairam Khān by Humāyūn in November 1545

which remained in his possession until December 1554 when he proceeded to India with Humāyūn for its conquest.

⁵⁴ Tax collectors.

⁵⁵ A kind of tax levied on merchants.

⁵⁶ *Hāl Nāma* Ff. 80b-81a.

⁵⁷ *Hāl Nāma* F. 83a.

⁵⁸ This has also been concocted to strike a similarity between Prophet Muḥammad and Bāyazīd for Khadīja, the wife of the Prophet also was first to accept Muḥammad as an apostle of God.

⁵⁹ *Hāl Nāma* Ff. 85a-85b.

⁶⁰ *Tazkirat ul-Abrār Wa'l Ashrār* P. 138.

⁶¹ *Hāl Nāma* F. 86b.

⁶² *Ibid.* F. 87a.

⁶³ *Ibid.* F. 91a.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* F. 92b.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* F. 95a.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* F. 97b-99a.

⁶⁷ *Hāl Nāma* Ff. 100b-101a.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* F. 104a.

⁶⁹ Tribes which now inhabit the Tōchī Valley and the Bannū plain.

⁷⁰ *Hāl Nāma* F. 104a.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* Ff. 105a-110a.

⁷² *Quṭb* occupies the highest place in *ṣūfi* hierarchy. Hujwīrī says, "Of those who have power to loose and to bind and are the officers of the Divine court there are three hundred, called *Akhyār*, and forty, called *Abdāl* and seven, called *Abrār*, and four, called *Awṭād* and three called *Nuqabā*, and one called *Quṭb* or *Ghaus*". (Nicholson R. A.: *The Kashf ul-Mahjūb* (London 1936) P. 214.

⁷³ *Hāl Nāma* F. 121a.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* F. 125a.

⁷⁵ *Hāl Nāma* F. 136a.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* Ff. 140a-145b.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* F. 151a.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* Ff. 154a-155a.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* Ff. 157a.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* Ff. 157b-158a.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* Ff. 158b.

⁸² *Hāl Nāma* F. 159a.

⁸³ *Hāl Nāma* Ff. 166a-166b; *Dabistān i-Mazāhib* P. 306.

⁸⁴ *Hāl Nāma* Ff. 167b-168a.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* Ff. 168b-169a.

⁸⁶ *Hāl Nāma* F. 171a.

⁸⁷ For a discussion on *Mahdī* and *Mahdawi* movement in India—see, Rizvi, S.A.A.: *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. (Agra 1965), Pp. 68-135.

⁸⁸ *Hāl Nāma* F. 171b.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* F. 172a.

⁹⁰ *Hāl Nāma* F. 174a.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* Ff. 179a-180a.

⁹² *Ibid.* F. 185a.

⁹³ *Ibid.* F. 188b.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* Ff. 193a-194b.

⁹⁵ A term applied to such acts of devotion as are not enjoined by the teaching of Prophet Muḥammad, or by his example, but are performed for spiritual benefits.

⁹⁶ *Hāl Nama* Ff. 197b-198b.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* F. 211b.

⁹⁸ One of the many miracles attributed to him is as follows: 'One night Bāyazīd was reading a book. When the oil in the lamp had been consumed the flame died out. Bāyazīd asked his servant to pour oil into the lamp. The servant reported that there was no oil in the house. Bāyazīd asked him to pour water in place of oil into the lamp. The servant did as was asked to do. The lamp was again burning and Bāyazīd could read the book in the light without any difficulty. This, according to the editor of *Hāl Nāma* strengthened the belief of the people in his being Pir-i-Rawshan. Aba Bakr has also quoted the following apocryphal tradition from *Tazkira-i-Jabāngīr Bāds̄hāb*, not available in the *Tuzūk* or in other works written during the period. According to it when Pir-i-Rawshan took out a book to read in the dark night, he kept it before his face. The light from his face enabled him to read the book easily. (Ff. 219b-220a).

⁹⁹ *Hāl Nāma* Ff. 215b-220a.

¹⁰⁰ Mullā Arzānī was a scholar of considerable eminence. He could express himself in Afghānī (Pashtū), Persian, Arabic and Hindawī. Ākhund Darwīza's tirades regarding his heretical views tend to show that he held liberal religious tendencies even long before coming in contact with Bāyazīd. He became a staunch follower of Bāyazīd but, according to Ākhund Darwīza, he preferred to desert Bāyazīd when the latter took to a career of pillage and plunder. He subsequently retired to India. (*Tazkirat ul-Abrār Wa'l Ashrār* P. 149).

¹⁰¹ *Hāl Nāma* F. 220b.

¹⁰² "Tirāh is a hill country 32 *Kos* long (i.e. from East to West) and 12 broad. On the East is Peshawār, West Maidān, North Bārā, South the district of Qandāhār. It has defiles full of ups and downs and difficult of traverse." (Beveridge, H.: *The Akbar Nāma of Abūl Faḡl*, P. 781). In the footnote, Beveridge writes, "Tirāh is S.S.W. of Pēshāwar. It was the seat of the campaign of 1897. There is a map of Tirāh in Yate's life of Col. J. Haughton, Murray, 1900".

¹⁰³ Karlanri Pathāns inhabiting South Tirāh.

¹⁰⁴ Karlanri Pathāns inhabiting North Tirāh, Bazār, Khaibar and Kōhāt Pass.

¹⁰⁵ *Hāl Nāma* Ff. 231b-233a.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* F. 235a.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* F. 238b.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* F. 239b.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* F. 262a.

¹¹⁰ *Tazkirat ul-Abrār Wa'l Ashrār* P. 153.

¹¹¹ *Hāl Nāma* Ff. 263a-264b.

¹¹² *Jānīsh Babādur*: He was at first in the service of Mīrza Muḥammad Ḥakīm of Kābul. After the death of his master, he came with his sons to India. Soon after, he served under Zain Khān Kōkā against the Yūsufzīs, and saved Zain's life in the Khibar catastrophe. In the 35th year of Akbar's reign he served under the Khān Khānān in Thathah, and returned with him in the 38th year to Court. Later on he served in the Dakhin. He died in the 46th year of Akbar's reign (1601-2 A.D.). (Blochmann, H; and Phillot, D. C.: *The Ā'in-i-Akbarī by Abūl Faḡl 'Allāmī* Pp. 537-38).

¹¹³ *Hāl Nāma* Ff. 263a-265a.

¹¹⁴ *Hāl Nāma* F. 265b.

¹¹⁵ An evil inspiration.

¹¹⁶ *Hāl Nāma* F. 267a.

¹¹⁷ A treatise on the principal teachings of Shaikh Abū Muḥammad Muhyaldīn Saiyid Abdul Qādir Jilānī, entitled *Ghaus-ul-Āzam* (d. 1166 A.D.) the celebrated

founder of the Qādīrī order. He also wrote another work on principles of *ṣūfism* entitled *Futūḥ al-Ghaib*.

¹¹⁸ *Ḥāl Nāma* F. 267b.

¹¹⁹ Uwais al-Qaranī lived in the time of Prophet Muḥammad but was prevented from seeing him, firstly by the ecstasy which overmastered him, and secondly by duty to his mother. The Prophet is said to have remarked to his companions: "There is a man at Qaran, called Uwais, who at the Resurrection will intercede for a multitude of my people, as many as the sheep of Rābi'ā and Mizār." Then turning to 'Umar and 'Alī, he said: "You will see him. He is a lowly man, of middle height, and hairy: on his left side there is a white spot, as large as a *dirhem*, which is not from leprosy (*pisti*), and he has a similar spot on the palm of his hand. When you see him, give him my greeting, and bid him pray for my people." A number of ascetic sayings and aphorisms are ascribed to him. (Nicholson, R. A.: *The Kashf al-Mahjūb by Hujwiri* (London 1936), Pp. 83-84. *Lūfīs* who do not belong to any particular order, and claim to have received direct inspiration from Prophet Muḥammad or some other eminent saint are known as Uwaisīs.

¹²⁰ *Tazkirat-ul-Abrār Wa'l Ashrār* P. 153.

¹²¹ The author of *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib* has quoted the following account on the authority of Mīrzā Shāh Muḥammad entitled *Ghaṣṣi Khān*. "It was in 949H/1542-43 A.D. that Mīyān Rawshān gained strength and established his religion. My father Shāh Beg Khān Arghūn, surnamed Khān Daurān said that he had seen Mīyān Bāyazīd before he took up arms against the Mughals. He was brought to the court of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm and the (*'ulamā*) were confounded in the religious debates with him. He was inevitably given leave to depart." (*Dabistān-i-Mazāhib* P. 309).

¹²² *Ḥāl Nāma* F. 269.

¹²³ *Ibid.* Ff. 271a-272b.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* F. 281b.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* Ff. 282a-288b. For his popularity see *Tazkirat ul-Abrār Wa'l Ashrār* Pp. 146-148.

¹²⁶ Ākhund Darwīza: *Makḥḥẓan ul-Islām* (India Office, London, Ethe 2633) F. 104b *Tazkirat ul-Abrār Wa'l Ashrār* P. 153.

¹²⁷ *Ḥāl Nāma* F. 291b.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* Ff. 292a-293a.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.* F. 293b.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.* F. 294b.

¹³¹ *Ibid.* F. 296a.

¹³² *Ibid.* F. 296b.

¹³³ Apparently Ma'ṣūm Khān Kābulī, a foster brother (Kōkā) of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. Having been involved in quarrels with Khwājā Ḥasan Naqshbandī who had married the widow of Mīr Shāh Abūl Ma'ālī, Ma'ṣūm Khān in the 20th year (1575-76 A.D.) went to Akbar and was made a commander of five hundred (Blochmann and Phillot: *The Ā'in-i-Akbari* P. 476, note no. 1.)

¹³⁴ *Ḥāl Nāma* F. 298.

¹³⁵ *Ḥāl Nāma* F. 299a.

¹³⁶ *Ḥāl Nāma* F. 300b.

¹³⁷ *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib* P. 309.

¹³⁸ *Tazkirat-ul-Abrār Wa'l Ashrār* Pp. 154-155.

¹³⁹ *Ḥāl Nāma* F. 301b.

BY

S. A. A. RIZVI

II

TEACHINGS OF BĀYAZĪD

An exaggerated notion of the importance of *Pir-i-Kāmil* (Perfect Religious Guide) was the hub of Bāyazid's teachings. Righteousness and Divine worship were of no avail unless Gnosis of God (*ma'rifat*) was acquired. Thus it was imperative on the part of the true believer that he should seek for a perfect guide and reach the secrets of Gnosis of God under his guidance. He is said to have caused two signets to be formed, which he had assumed. On the first was following inscription:

Glory to Thee, the King, the Creator,
Who hath distinguished the world of light from that of fire,
Bāyazid Anṣārī.

On the other signet ran the following inscription:

The humble Bāyazid,
The guide of those who err.¹

According to Ākhund Darwīza, Bāyazid used the first in his Divine capacity and the second in the capacity of a prophet. The pressure of his adversaries compelled Bāyazid to make changes and modifications in his claims from time to time, but it appears that he was regarded as nothing short of a Prophet or a *Mabdī* by his credulous followers. He considered that the character of a Shaiikh was no inheritance and lineage or riches did not influence him at all. God made him a perfect guide and inspired into his heart the esoteric knowledge possessed by the apostles and saints of eminence.

The claim of bringing the neophytes from darkness to light or a belief that God Himself is light² and reveals Himself as such in the world is not foreign to the *ṣūfīs*. The light belongs to the Invisible and the darkness to the phenomenal world, the two indistinguishably blended together. The neophytes are required to separate the light

* Part I is to be found in *Abr-Nabrain* Vol. VI pp. 63-91.

from the darkness. This can be achieved only under the guidance of a perfect *pīr* who is an embodiment of Divine attributes. Bāyazīd had not studied *ṣūfīsm* systematically. He selected parables from elementary works on *taṣawwuf* and from his own environment and based his teachings on Divine inspiration. The hearts of the saints are invariably purified and receptive to the flashing out of the Divine Light on the soul.³ In claiming himself as a Pir-i-Rawshān or the director of those who brought others from darkness to light, he was neither original nor can he be condemned as a heretic. Ākhund Darwīza could also not help raising the slogan of the inevitability of a perfect *pīr* and a true guide who could lead the people of the mountainous regions to the right path. As a matter of fact, the religious life without the assistance of a *pīr* was unthinkable in those days in that region. Ākhund Darwīza and Bāyazīd both condemned the ignorance of the contemporary *‘ālims* and *ṣūfīs* who resided in the locality and sang the glories of their own righteousness and perfection. The unassuming and simple-hearted Afghāns were unable to find out the truth of the claims of different factions. They flocked to the ranks of Bāyazīd in greater numbers, for he catered to their spiritual needs in a most straightforward manner and sought to uphold their national pride. In the initial stages he tried to arouse men to the observance of the ordinances of *sharī‘at* earnestly and preached the Wrath to come on the Day of Judgment with strong warmth of feeling. *Tawba* (repentance) was regarded as the starting point of the orientation of the neophyte and he was required to turn wholly towards God, expelling all the wayward impulses of his heart. He had to observe a very high ethical standard. God’s attributes of ‘very forgiving and merciful’ were brought home to his mind and a *chilla* or forty days of Lent was prescribed. They had to shut themselves in their cells, perform assiduous repetition of the name of God silently (*ḡikr-i-khāfi*) and devote themselves to fasting and penitence. Assemblies of music and dance, which they were required to attend, provoked among them a sort of artificial ecstasy and at the end of the stipulated period they realised that they were submerged in the attributes of the Divine Essence. Throughout their life, they were required to believe that their heart was confronted by that of the *Pīr-i-Kāmil* and all the spiritual benefits were acquired by them through his blessing.

The different stages of *sulūk* or mystical journey are known by well defined terms and the sole object of *ṣūfīsm* is to lead the wandering soul onward with conscious endeavour until it reaches the desired

goal of *fanā* (passing away of human attributes through Union with God). Shaikh ‘Azīz bin Muḥammad al-nasafī (d. 661 H/1263 A.D.), who increasingly influenced the thought content of the *ṣūfīs* of succeeding generations, specified eight stages in his work entitled *Maqṣad-ul-Aqṣā*, which a neophyte had to traverse before he reached the stage of *fanā*. According to most of the Iranian and Indian *ṣūfīs*, the first stage is humanity (*nāsūt*) which requires the disciple to live according to the Law (*shari‘at*), and observe all rites, customs and precepts of his religion. The second is the nature of angels (*malakūt*) for which there is the pathway of purity (*ṭarīqat*). The third is the possession of power (*jabrūt*) for which there is gnosis (*ma‘rifat*) and the fourth is extinction (*fanā*), for which there is truth (*ḥaqīqat*).⁴ Bāyazīd seems to have obtained the following stages of spiritual perfection in some popular handbook of *ṣūfīsm*.

1. *Shari‘at* (The Law)
2. *Ṭarīqat* (The Path)
3. *Ḥaqīqat* (The Truth)
4. *Ma‘rifat* (The Gnosis of God)
5. *Qurbat* (The Nearness to God)
6. *Waṣlat* (The Union with God)
7. *Waḥdat* (The Oneness with God)
8. *Sukūnat* (The Tranquillity)

He explained these stages allegorically and symbolically. It seems that he borrowed this peculiar method of approach from the Ismā‘īlis. He even called his *khalīfā a dā‘ī*. Multān and Manṣūra owed allegiance to the Fāṭimid Caliphs from 373 H/983 A.D. for more than a century. Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī (d. 1030 A.D.) and Mu‘izz-ud-Dīn Muḥammad bin Sām (d. 1206 A.D.) made constant raids against them and their political power was liquidated by the end of the twelfth century A.D., but a large number of them went underground. They freely mixed with Hindu *yūgīs* and Muslim *ṣūfīs* and imbued them with their ideologies. Bāyazīd mixed with all sorts of religious teachers and drew upon their ideologies, but the basic framework of his movement was essentially a pantheistic *ṣūfīsm*.

He laid considerable emphasis on the importance of *shari‘at*, gave a detailed account of the rules of ablutions, *namāz*, *rōza*, *zakāt* and *haj* in his *Khair-ul-Bayān* and did not deviate an inch from other handbooks on the subject, pointing out the difference between the ablution of *namāz* (prayers prescribed by Law) or *rōza* (fasting) or *zakāt* (alms

given according to Muslim Law, by way of purifying or securing a blessing to the rest of one's possessions) and *haj* (pilgrimage) of *sharī'at* from their counterpart in *ḥaqīqat*, *ma'rīfat*, *qurbat*, *waṣlat*, *waḥdat* and *sukūnat*.

The distinctions of all the stages were incisively defined with appropriate illustrations by Bāyazīd in all the works written by him, but none of them can eclipse *Širā' ut-Tawḥīd* in regard to clarity of thought and exposition. In this work, though he laid considerable emphasis on the pursuance of *sharī'at*, he advised the neophytes that the prophets and saints reached the stage of *ṭarīqat* only after proceeding ahead of *sharī'at*, so they should also not rest content with the observance of the obligatory religious ordinances and make their way to *ṭarīqat* by acquiring the knowledge of heart. At this stage they should yearn for the obedience of Divine Ordinances in the same way as the angels did. This process sprang from the right side of the heart.⁵

Regarding *ḥaqīqat* he wrote, "The prophets and saints were never satisfied with *ṭarīqat* alone and proceeding onward reached the stage of *ḥaqīqat*. At this stage they remained fully occupied with *zīker-i-khāfi*, did not conceive that all that existed in the phenomenal and Invisible world was different from the Divine Essence, but considered everything one with the Incomparable Being. You should also not rest content with the stage of *ṭarīqat* but make your way towards the stage of *ḥaqīqat* and keep yourself absorbed in *zīker-i-khāfi*. Let not a single moment of yours pass without being absorbed in thought of the Almighty. Increasing concentration on *zīker* will help you believe that there does exist nothing in the world unconnected with the Almighty; everything is one with God."⁶

Elaborating *ma'rīfat* he wrote, "The prophets and saints made their way to *ma'rīfat* from *ḥaqīqat*. At this stage they, opening the eyes of their heart, perceived and recognised the Divine Essence. To be more exact, they perceived in everything round about them the existence of the Incomparable Being. They perceived and recognised Divine Reality. You should also strive for the acquisition of the stage of *ma'rīfat* after you have reached the stage of *ḥaqīqat*. At this stage you, like them opening the eyes of heart, will be able to perceive the Incomparable Being, to comprehend and recognise the truth and to attain the Divine knowledge."⁷

Describing the stage of *qurbat* he says, "The prophets and the saints after going across the stage of *ma'rīfat* stepped to *qurbat*, and recognised the voice of God and His *tasbīḥ*.⁸ They then attained His near-

ness and heard His voice. You should also, therefore, not cry a halt at the stage of *ma'rifat*, but continue your march to the stage of *qurbat* with all earnestness and be able to recognise the truth of the Divine Voice. You should consider that some voices spring from His mercy and some from His fury. Do not consider either mercy or fury separate from Divine Essence and obtain (the secret of) His *tashih*. This will bring you nearer to Him and enable you to hear His voice.”⁹

Regarding the stage of *waṣlat* he wrote, “The prophets and saints proceeding from the stage of *qurbat* truthfully yearned for *waṣlat* and at this stage they submerged their own existence in the Divine Essence and forsook their own being. Thus they heard His voice from Him, perceived the Divine Essence through Him and indulged in conversation with Him. Acting likewise you should also not remain contented with the stage of *qurbat* but continuing your onward ascent, truthfully yearn for the stage of *waṣlat*. Annihilate your own existence in the Divine Essence; hear His voice from Him, see His Being through Him and indulge in conversation with Him.”¹⁰

Giving an account of *waḥdat* he says, “The prophets and saints going forward to their mystical ascent, truthfully yearned for the stage of *waḥdat* and sought to annihilate themselves in *tanḥīd*. This enabled them to taste the wine of heaven¹¹ even before death and obtain an eternal life. Keeping step with them you should rid yourself of the discourses of *shirk* (partnership to God) and concentrate on discourses relating to *tanḥīd*.”¹²

In the *risāla* (treatise) to the rulers he struck a note of warning to them, advised them to avoid the habits of *Satan*, *musbriks*¹³ and *munāfiqs*, and asked them to imbibe the habits of the prophets, true and sincere spiritual guides, so that they might proceed towards light (*Rawshani*) from darkness (*tāriki*). Emphasising the importance of Gnosis, he informed them that wherever ‘Divine worship’ or ‘worshipper’ was mentioned in the *Qur'an*, it actually meant *ma'rifat* and those who had attained it. He informed them, “Knowledge is divided into two groups; phenomenal and esoteric. The phenomenal knowledge is acquired through a teacher and the esoteric one is imparted by the perfect guide. There are several stages to the path of *tanḥīd* and each stage is full of innumerable difficulties. It is, therefore, essential for the neophyte that he should seek to acquire the esoteric knowledge.¹⁴ The road to *tanḥīd* is not confined to a particular direction and if one considers it as such, one is bound to become a *kāfir*. The path of *tanḥīd* is straight and lies within the reach of the neophytes.

Obedience to a perfect guide amounts to the obedience to a prophet (Muḥammad), and obedience to Prophet (Muḥammad) amounts to obedience to God.”¹⁵

Dilating upon *sukūnat* he wrote, “It is the stage reached by the prophet and apostles of God. Those who attain this stage, find themselves protected from all types of unlawful acts and do not find peace either in their bodily comforts or in formal modes of prayers.¹⁶ They find themselves one with the Almighty. No stage is higher than that of *Sukūnat* in so far as the ‘spiritual ascent or progress is concerned.’ He claimed that all types of darkness, be they related to *kufr*, hypocrisy, heedlessness or misguidance, could be dispelled through stepping into his footsteps and that the neophytes were to acquire light of truth, guidance and insight into the mysteries of Divine Essence.¹⁷ He also sought to ensure that righteousness and the highest spiritual attainments were invariably within the reach of the seekers provided that they possessed requisite aptitude and spiritual yearnings.¹⁸ He compared the aptitude of the neophytes with a horse and concluded that whosoever possessed a strong horse, reached his destination rapidly. A man with real aptitude could traverse all the stages under his guidance or that of his *ḵhalīfas* within a week or so, but those who were devoid of it could not achieve their goal for years.¹⁹

It is clear from all of his works that he did not regard these stages as independent of each other. The doors of *ṭarīqat* were opened to those who acted in accordance with the knowledge of *sharī‘at*, the doors of *ḥaqīqat* opened to those who acted in accordance with the knowledge of *ṭarīqat*, and the doors of *ma‘rifat* flung open to those who acted in accordance with the knowledge of *ḥaqīqat*. He preached that a formal observance of religious obligation was only the beginning of the arduous spiritual journey; *ḡīkr-i-ḵhāfī* in utter absorption and hard ascetic exercises was the only source of obtaining spiritual eminence.

The Orthodox Reaction

The movement to oppose the activities of Bāyazīd was organised by Saiyid ‘Alī Tirmizī and Āḵhund Darwīza. The ancestor of Saiyid ‘Alī, known as Pīr Babā, originally belonged to Tirmiz²⁰ but later on settled down in Qunduz.²¹ He descended from a sister of Tīmūr. His father Qambar ‘Alī held high government posts and was known as Amīr Nazar Bahādur, but his grandfather Saiyid Aḥmad Yūsuf led a saintly life and did not care for the worldly pursuits. Saiyid Alī Tir-

mizī acquired education and training to lead a saintly life under him and was initiated into the Kubrawī order. The father of Saiyid ‘Alī Tirmizī came to India together with Humāyūn in 1526 where Saiyid ‘Alī evinced no interest in worldly pursuits.²² He rather felt himself attracted towards the saintly life and spiritual yearnings. This swing towards spirituality became marked when, under the impulse of a mystic trance subsequent to his visit to the tomb of Shaikh Sharaf-ud-Dīn Pānīpatī²³, he left his parents to lead a saintly life. He subsequently came in contact with Shaikh Sālār Rūmī of Ajmēr who advised him to concentrate on scholastic learning together with spiritual pursuits. He encouraged him to move to the mountainous regions. Saiyid ‘Alī thence moved to Kāshmir and settled down near Dawūd Pindī known as Gujarat-i-naw. When Humāyūn, after his defeat at the hands of Sher Shāh, set off towards the Punjāb and Sindh (1540 A.D.), the father of Saiyid ‘Alī met his son and was all praise over his attainments in the realm of saintly life. Saiyid ‘Alī married amongst the Yūsufzīs and subsequently settled down there.²⁴ From Banhīr in the territory of Yūsufzīs he, together with his disciple, Ākhund Darwīza, organised a strong opposition to the Rawshaniyyās. In the debates that followed, the controversy seems to have been chiefly raised and managed by Ākhund Darwīza. The hostility between Shaikh ‘Umar and the Yūsufzīs, and later on between Jalāl-ud-Dīn and his successors and the Mughals, mainly accounted for the popularity of Ākhund Darwīza at a subsequent stage. He bitterly lamented his failures and ascribed them to the lack of state patronage.²⁵

According to Ākhund Darwīza, Bāyazīd’s heresy consisted in the following theses:

1. All the existing objects and created beings are Divine in Essence.²⁶
2. Rawshaniyyās are the manifestations of the Divine attributes.²⁷
3. The *Pīr* occupies the status of a Prophet, sometimes of the Deity Himself. Greatest of all sins is the disobedience to the *Pīr*.²⁸
4. Rawshaniyyās relegate the *shari‘at* to secondary importance and do not realise that all that contradicts *shari‘at* is *kufīr* (heresy).²⁹
5. Rawshaniyyās do not perform obligatory prayers, fasting, pilgrimage and *ḡakāt*. Illegal food, heinous crimes like assassination, robbery and adultery are legalised; theologians and theological knowledge are ridiculed and the shaving of beards is permitted.³⁰
6. Bāyazīd appointed ladies as *khalīfās*. and attracted sensualists, rogues and vagabonds to his mission.³¹

7. Rawshaniyyās believe in the transmigration of soul and claim that the beliefs regarding the Day of Judgment, paradise and hell are not corroborated by authentic traditions.³²

8. The *Qur'an* and *Ḥadīṣ* are not to be interpreted literally but according to a secret and allegorical meaning. Only those who have acquired religious perfection can interpret the correct symbolical meaning of the *Qur'an* and *Ḥadīṣ*.³³

9. They interpret the religious truth in accordance with the taste and liking of the neophytes³⁴, indulge in conversation with Afghāns and Hindūs in their respective languages and prescribe *zīkr* in the language of the neophytes.³⁵

10. Bāyazīd claimed that he received *wilāy* from the Almighty and compiled a book entitled *Khair-ul-Bayān* in collaboration with Mullā Arzānī, comprising unintelligible and incorrect expressions and misrepresentation of religious truths, in Persian, Paṣhto, Arabic and Hindi.³⁶

Ākhund Darwīza ascribed the success of Bāyazīd's mission to promiscuous mixing of both the sexes. In fact, the beginners were enclosed separately and allotted separate hours for religious instruction. This fact is also supported by *Ḥāl Nāma* according to which Bāyazīd had allowed one of his disciples to perform devotional exercises in the same cell where his wife lived; the disciple treating her as his sister. He was intensely devoted to music and dance, which brought untold suffering to him in his early career. Singing, dancing and clapping the hands after the fashion of the majority of the *ṣūfīs* made his devotional exercises exceedingly popular to the great chagrin and annoyance of Saiyid 'Alī Tirmizī and Ākhund Darwīza. Outstepping the bounds of moderation in undertakings of this type cannot be ruled out and there could not have been a dearth of people who joined Bāyazīd's ranks with a view to obtaining a free rope for licentiousness. Similarly, Bāyazīd branded all those as beasts who were ever busy seeking satisfaction of their carnal desires; but such an attitude on his part did not necessarily mean that he stood for the outright slaughter of all those who were not prepared to be enrolled as his disciples. The failure of the '*ulamā* to discuss the theological problems with him, contributed in a large measure to his success. Even a learned man like Ākhund Darwīza stooped down, in the absence of a systematic approach to refute the teachings of Bāyazīd, to the level of starting a campaign of slander and vilification against him. *Makḥḥan-i-Afghānī*,

Tazkirat-ul-Abrār Wa'l-Ashrār and other works of Ākhund Darwīza seek to explain the theological problems in an exceedingly orthodox and dogmatic fashion. His brother Muḥammad Aṣghar and his son Karīm Dād also collaborated with him, and poured outrageous invectives on Bāyazīd which were utilised by the Mughals, hostile to the Afghāns, for their own ends, but these hardly moved the Afghāns. One of the poems of Mullā Aṣghar may be quoted as a summary of the alleged teachings of Bāyazīd which they desired the people to implicitly believe.

“Listen O friend I said the Prophet, as he
 was one day sitting in the mosque,
 Verily, the angel Gabriel came to me, by
 the favour of the good God.
 Then Gabriel, the messenger of the good
 God told me,
 That after five hundred years, seventy
 three sects would be formed among my people;
 Heretics there are of many sorts, but a powerful
 one is *Tārīkī*.
 He claims the authority of Gabriel, and
 is the enemy of the Prophet.
 This *Tārīkī* is like a counterfeit coin that
 has nothing but the stamps of gold;
 This *Tārīkī*, when he offers *namāz*, performs
 no *wazīf*.
 He would not perform this, were it not that the
 people may believe in him,
 O *Tārīkī*! agent of Satan, this is your glory,
 That you are inimical to the learned (*‘ulamā*).
 Is there anyone, O, accursed! who is hostile
 to the learned, like you.
 Seize hold of the bridle reins of the learned (*‘ulamā*)
 and they will conduct you in the true path.
 Listen to the dictates of the learned, for they
 are the light of a country.
 Therefore, ye people, great and small, lay hold on
 the bridle reins of the learned (*‘ulamā*).³⁷

NOTES (II)

- ¹ *Tazkirat-ul-Abrār Wa'l-Ashrār* P. 146.
- ² *Qur'an*, Sura XXIV 35, Sura XXXIII 45; LXI 8 sq; LXIV 8.
- ³ Ghazālī: *Ihyā ‘Ulūm al-Dīn* (Cairo 1311 H) VII Pp. 244, 264; ‘*Azīz bin Muḥammad al-nasafī*: ‘*Aqāid* (Cairo 1321 H) P. 40.
- ⁴ Hughes, T.P.: *A Dictionary of Islam* P. 40.
- ⁵ *Ṣirāt-ut-Tawḥīd* (Razā Library Rāmpur, India Ms.) Pp. 11-12, 279-283.

- ⁶ *Ibid.* Pp. 14, 217, 293.
⁷ *Ibid.* Pp. 17, 221, 315-323.
⁸ Celebrating the praises of God.
⁹ *Ibid.* Pp. 19, 225, 391-400.
¹⁰ *Ibid.* Pp. 20, 234, 405-408.
¹¹ *Sharāb-i-ṭabūra*
¹² *Ṣirāt-ut-Tawḥīd* Pp. 22, 239.
¹³ One who believes in a plurality of gods, a polytheist.
¹⁴ *Ṣirāt-ut-Tawḥīd* Pp. 128-140.
¹⁵ *Ibid* Pp. 141-143.
¹⁶ *Ibid.* Pp. 411-12.
¹⁷ *Ibid.* Pp. 418-19.
¹⁸ *Ibid* P. 422.
¹⁹ *Ibid* P. 424.
²⁰ Tirmiz, a town on the north bank of the Āmū Daryā near the mouth of the Surkhān.
²¹ Northern limit of Kābul.
²² *Tazkīrat-ul-Abrār Wa'l-Aṣhrār* P. 11.
²³ Shāikh Sharaf-ud-Dīn Bū 'Alī or Abū 'Alī Qalander Pānīpatī was a highly respected saint and exercised immense influence over his contemporaries. He is said to have died in Pānīpat on 9 Ramazān, 724 H/30 August, 1324 A.D. Shāikh 'Abdul Ḥaq Muḥaddiṣ Dehlawī; *Akḥbār-ul-Akḥyār* Delhi 1332 H, Pp. 129-131.
²⁴ *Tazkīrat-ul-Abrār Wa'l-Aṣhrār* Pp. 14-20.
²⁵ *Ibid.* P. 151.
²⁶ *Tazkīrat-ul-Abrār Wa'l-Aṣhrār* P. 139.
²⁷ *Ibid.* P. 146.
²⁸ *Ibid.* Pp. 140-141.
²⁹ *Ibid.* P. 143.
³⁰ *Ibid.* P. 146.
³¹ *Ibid* P. 147.
³² *Ibid.* P. 151.
³³ *Ibid* Pp. 142-143.
³⁴ *Ibid.* P. 140.
³⁵ *Ibid.* P. 138.
³⁶ *Ibid* P. 148.
³⁷ Lcyden, S.S.: *On the Roshenian Sect (Asiatic Research, 1812)* P. 309.

III

SUCCESSORS OF BĀYAZĪD

Shāikh 'Umar

Bāyazīd had five sons, Shāikh 'Umar, Khair-ud-Dīn, Nūr-ud-Dīn, Kamāl-ud-Dīn and Jalāl-ud-Dīn, from his wife Bibi Shamsū and one son Dawlat from another wife. The Rawshaniyyās claimed that Shāikh 'Umar possessed the qualities of Abū Bakr in him, Khair-ud-Dīn that of 'Ālī, Nūr-ud-Dīn that of 'Uṣmān, Jalāl-ud-Dīn that of 'Umar, and Kamāl-ud-Dīn was like the remaining companions.¹ Bāyazīd was succeeded

by his eldest son Shaikh ‘Umar but he failed to retain his hold over the Yūsufzīs for long. The main cause of grievance, according to *Ḥāl Nāma*, lay in the protection the Yūsufzīs offered to the Gūjars who were thought guilty of the attempt to remove the coffin of Bāyazīd from the grave.² Shaikh ‘Umar took out the coffin from the graveyard and carried it with him wherever he went. In the initial stages they obtained considerable success but, finding the Yūsufzīs hostile to their cause, the Rawshaniyyās made their way to the land of the Dilzāk tribe in the Hashnagar territory, but the Yūsufzīs did not allow them to retire peacefully to that land. They were hotly chased by them and it was after several skirmishes that they reached the river Sind and sent a message to the leaders of the Dilzāk tribe requesting them to provide asylum for them in their land. In order to separate the sons of Bāyazīd from their followers, Dilzāks, who were inwardly hostile to the Rawshaniyyās, informed them first of all to let the sons of Bāyazīd cross the river and later on they would help others cross it.³ Rawshaniyyās sent Nūr-ud-Dīn with some others in advance. The Dilzāks not only imprisoned Nūr-ud-Dīn and attacked the Rawshaniyyās, but also stopped the supply of provisions to them and obtained a firm hold over all the routes. The Rawshaniyyās were entrapped. The Dilzāks invited the Yūsufzīs also to help them annihilate the Rawshaniyyās. Kāfirs also joined the Dilzāks and Yūsufzīs.⁴ To cope with this threat, Shaikh ‘Umar divided his followers into three wings and deputed each of them against his enemies. He himself crossed the river with the coffin. The troops which were deputed by Shaikh ‘Umar made no headway in their attempt to defeat their enemies. Perforce they beat a retreat and assembled together near Shaikh ‘Umar. A large number of the Rawshaniyyās including Jalāl-ud-Dīn fell as captives into the hands of the Dilzāks, but ultimately managed to escape from there.⁵ Shaikh ‘Umar was killed by the Dilzāks and the coffin of Bāyazīd was thrown by them into the river. They severed the head of Shaikh ‘Umar and sent it to the Yūsufzīs.⁶ Subsequently Khair-ud-Dīn, most chivalrous of all the sons of Bāyazīd, was done to death. Nūr-ud-Dīn who was able to make good his escape, was killed by Gūjars. According to the compiler of *Ḥāl Nāma* the incident occurred on ‘*āshūrā* 989 H’ 14 February, 1581 A.D.

Jalāl-ud-Dīn (Jalālā)

Jalāl-ud-Dīn, a lad of fifteen or sixteen,⁸ then succeeded Shaikh ‘Umar. He recovered the coffin of Bāyazīd and buried it in Betūr

near the grave of Muḥammad Kamāl. It subsequently became a place of pilgrimage for the Rawshaniyyās.

When Akbar marched back from his expedition against Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm and halted at Peshāwar at the end of August 1581, Jalāl-ud-Dīn with a band of four hundred followers paid his respects to the Emperor. "The king received them graciously," says Monserrate, "and promised them freedom to follow their religion and customs, and to obey and revere the son of their prophet (as they called him). He held that if he granted them this freedom they would remain constantly in their own districts." Monserrate laments that Akbar cared little that in allowing everyone to follow his own religion he was in reality violating all.⁹ Besides the grant of freedom of worship in accordance with one's own conscience which was Akbar's cherished principle, he seems to have found it advantageous to make the Rawshaniyyās a tool to check the growing menace of the Yūsufzīs. He detained Jalāl-ud-Dīn with him and deputed Zain Khān with other *amīrs* against Yūsufzīs and some other *amīrs* against the Dilzāks. According to *Ḥāl Nāma*, Jalāl-ud-Dīn stayed with Akbar for about a year.¹⁰

The followers of Bāyazīd seemed to have realised that the honour and respect shown to them by Akbar was transitory and likely to vanish after the annihilation of the Yūsufzīs. Their mutual hostilities were advantageous to the Mughals and contrary to the spirit of the movement of Bāyazīd. They accordingly persuaded Jalāl-ud-Dīn to leave the Mughal camp. He also agreed to retire to his homeland together with his followers; but the author of *Ḥāl Nāma* in order to absolve Jalāl-ud-Dīn of the responsibility of willingly deserting the Mughals, has accused his followers of short-sightedness in breaking away from the Mughals and administering some drug to Jalāl-ud-Dīn which benumbed his senses, and enabled his followers to take him away from Akbar's camp in an unconscious state. On regaining consciousness, he is said to have expressed his desire to return but his followers prevailed upon him to say good-bye to the Mughals for ever.¹¹ They moved to Tīrāh, reorganised themselves and commenced making depredations against the Mughals, so much so that they blocked the passage of Shāh Rukh Mirzā near 'Alī Masjid when he was proceeding to seek asylum with Akbar at the end of 1584. It was with great difficulty that the Mirzā could be escorted to the imperial court.¹² The Khaibar route remained closed on account of their depredations, and special efforts had again to be made by the

Mughals to escort the children of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, who were proceeding to the imperial court at the end of 1585, after the death of their father¹³ (12 *Shābān* 993 H/ 30 July 1585 A.D.). In order to take more stern measures to check their depredations, and to bring the Afghān tribes of the frontier under proper control, Akbar assigned the governorship of Kābul to Mān Singh in December 1585. He was ordered to stay for some days near Khaibar and chastise the Rawshaniyyās, but he appears to have attained little success.¹⁴ Jalāl-ud-Dīn and his band of followers organised themselves into an invincible block of Afghān freedom fighters. Early in 994 H/1586 A.D., Mir Quraish, the ambassador of ‘Abdullāh Khān, the ruler of Tūrān, and Nazār Be, an important noble of ‘Abdullāh Khān, who had long held Balkh in *jāgīr*, had to face great hardships in passing through the Khaibar, so much so that Mubārak Nohānī, Ghazī Khān and others had to be deputed under the command of Shaikh Farid Bukhārī Bakhshī Bēgī to escort the visitors.¹⁵

This state of affairs could not be tolerated for long. Akbar reached Lahore in person on 27 May 1586 with a view to camping there for some time. Abū'l-Faḍl says, “The idea of most people was that the world’s Khedive would not turn his rein till he arrived at Fathpūr. But the sovereign of an awakened heart did not yield to such a wish, and the pleasant palaces of that city did not engage his heart. His sole thought was that he would stay for a while in the Punjāb, and would give peace to the Zābuli land (Afghānistān), cleanse Swād and Bājaur of the stain of rebellion, uproot the thorn of the *Tarikians* (the Rawshaniyyās) from Tīrāh and Bangash, seize the garden of Kāshmir, bring the populous country of Tattā (Sindh) within the empire. Furthermore, should the ruler of Tūrān remove the foot of friendliness, he would send a glorious army thither, and follow it up in person.”¹⁶

On account of his presence at Lahore the Afghān tribes were also played off against each other, and despite the efforts of Jalāl-ud-Dīn a united front of Afghān tribes against the Mughals could never be forged satisfactorily. Meanwhile, Saiyid Ḥāmid Bukhārī, formerly an important noble of the Sulṭāns of Gujarāt, was deputed by Akbar to Peshāwar and was commissioned to guard the road to Afghānistān. He did not take adequate pains in the discharge of his duties, and entirely depended on an old officer of the place, Mūsā, by name. The highhandedness of Mūsā estranged the Mohmand and Ghōrī tribes from the Mughals and drove them into the camp of Jalāl-ud-Dīn.

They attacked the Peshāwar fort with a force of about 20,000 men on foot and 5,000 horsemen.¹⁷ Saiyid Ḥāmid, without making adequate enquiries about the strength of the enemies, sallied out with 150 men, hotly engaged the invaders and fell fighting bravely together with forty of his relatives. Afterwards, the Afghāns invested the fort. Saiyid Ḥāmid's young son, Saiyid Kamāl with a few men stood and fought resolutely and defended it. On receipt of this intelligence Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram, Shaikh Farīd Bukhārī, Tāsh Beg Khān and many other nobles were deputed by Akbar in the end of November 1586, under the command of Zain Khān Kokaltāsh, to crush the power of the Rawshaniyyās. Rājā Mān Singh was also alerted. Madhū Singh, son of Rājā Bhagwān Dās, was specially directed to march from the *thānā* of Langarkōt¹⁸ to Begrām before the arrival of the imperial army.¹⁹ Since there was some delay in the arrival of the army of Zain Khān Kokaltāsh who was despatched from the imperial court, Mān Singh set out from Kābul with a view to getting to Tīrāh by the route of Narwān²⁰ and to attacking the Afrīdīs from there. By the same route Mān Singh intended to reach 'Alī Masjid in order to effect a junction between the two imperial armies and to open the road. Sākīt Singh, son of Mān Singh Darbārī, and Zain-ud-Dīn 'Alī who were going to Kābul, hastened off to Peshāwar, the moment they heard about the catastrophe confronting Saiyid Ḥāmid Bukhārī. The roads being closed, they were forced to halt there. Also, Madhū Singh had arrived nearby to attack with the troops of Rājā Bhagwān Dās.

About December 13, 1586 Mān Singh marched rapidly from Pesh Būlāq²¹ and reached Bāzarak after a hazardous journey. Chastising the Āfrīdīs, they marched by the defile of Chāhār Chōbah²² and climbed the hills. They passed by the dwelling places of the Ghōrī tribe, who purchased their safety by making submission. When they came into the defiles at about two *kōs* from 'Alī Masjid, Jalāl-ud-Dīn appeared from behind, and the Afghāns attacked them from every side. The Mughal forces were placed in great difficulty. A reinforcement was immediately despatched by Rājā Mān Singh, which relieved the Mughals of the pressure of the Afghān attack. Leaving his eldest son Jagat Singh with the rearguard, Mān Singh himself headed on towards 'Alī Masjid. Rawshaniyyās again gathered from all sides and were in an advantageous position. The peculiar nature of the mountainous region proved hazardous to the imperialists. The battlefield provided them no protection against the flying arrows and rolling stones of the enemies, nor did it contain a plain to enable the imperia-

lists to fight a pitched battle. Hectic efforts were made from both sides to gain an upper hand. The Rawshaniyyās were ultimately defeated and forced to beat a retreat by the narrow defiles. Crowned with victory, the Mughals proceeded towards 'Alī Masjid. Jalāl-ud-Dīn with his constant Mughal reinforcements was forced to order a dispersal of his forces. About this time Zain Khān arrived with his army, and their efforts to dislodge the Rawshaniyyās were renewed with increasing vigour.²³

Jalāl-ud-Dīn escaped towards Bangash with Āfridis, Orakzīs and Ghōri Khail. Mān Singh did not pursue him but returned to Jamrūd near the Khaibar ravine. He was accordingly censured by Akbar for his inactivity and Muṭṭalib Khān, son of Budāgh Khān, was deputed by him with an army against the Rawshaniyyās by the route of Bangash. Mān Singh was ordered to march from Peshāwar (April 1587). The imperial forces under Muṭṭalib Khān on reaching the Indus near Sambālā were joined by Zangī Khān and other heads of the Niyāzī clan, who lived in the vicinity. The Mughals crossed the Chawpārā²⁴ ferry and reached the villages of the 'Isākhēl. Firūz Khān, Jamāl, 'Alī and other leaders of the 'Isākhēl joined the Mughals. Most of them were of the opinion that they should march up to Bangash by Dawr and Naghz, and from there hasten to the abodes of the Rawshaniyyās. At the same time a Rawshaniyyā named Jamāl Tārikī deserted to the Mughals. Under his guidance the imperial forces commanded by Muṭṭalib Khān decided to travel through Ābdarā, a defile between Banū and Dār Samand²⁵ which is the source of the Bangash river. Jalāl-ud-Dīn was staying at a rugged spot in his stronghold Lucāk, three *kōs* from Dār Samand. In the beginning of August 1587, Rawshaniyyās made a surprise attack on the Mughals with 1,000 cavalry and 15,000 foot. A fierce battle took place culminating in the utter rout of the Rawshaniyyās. Meanwhile, the intelligence of the arrival of the Jamrūd army deputed by Mān Singh was also received, and the Rawshaniyyās could not hazard a night attack on the Mughals. Jalāl-ud-Dīn fled towards Rājgal in Tīrah, the homeland of the Āfridis of Firūz Khail. The Bangash tribe completely deserted Jalāl-ud-Dīn from the foot of the pass and joined 'Abdul Muṭṭalib Khān.²⁶ They were detained for some time in the Mughal camp, but were later on allowed to leave for their homelands. Some of the Orakzīs and Āfridis, who had also got tired of the company of Jalāl-ud-Dīn, joined the Mughals. The Ghōris also went over to the Mughals.

The strength of the Yūsufzīs too could not remain intact by that

time²⁷ and it gave way under the shattering blows of the imperialists; still they did not hesitate to fish in the troubled waters. Jalāl-ud-Dīn reached from the defiles of Tīrāh to the Yūsufzīs, who were formerly his inveterate enemies, and found shelter with them. Akbar ordered Zain Khān to proceed with his forces towards Swād and Bājaur. Instructions were issued to the armies of Jamrūd and Bangash, calling upon them to apply themselves individually or severally to the task of capturing the ring-leader of the Rawshaniyyās, exercising at the same time every precaution to prevent his escaping in that direction. Ismā‘īl Qulī was deputed to keep a watch over Hashtnagar. Ṣādiq Khān and some other Mughal officers were sent from the court to take positions on the plain of Swād, in order to pounce upon and capture Jalāl-ud-Dīn from whichever side he emerged. Rawshaniyyās and Yūsufzīs fortified the Nawāga‘ī pass²⁸ and prepared for battle. The imperialists marched by Dānishkōl and built a fort at the apex of the three roads to Bājaur and there was some fighting. Jalāl-ud-Dīn taking advantage of the differences between Ismā‘īl Qulī and Ṣādiq, the two Mughal nobles guiding the operations, escaped and hurried off to Tīrāh. Akbar thereupon appointed Āṣaf Khān in the place of Ismā‘īl Qulī.²⁹ Ṣādiq was commissioned to overthrow the Rawshaniyyās in Tīrāh. He did not think it advisable to enter the defiles, but appointed men to keep watch on every side. Shāh Beg built a fort in the village of Bārā (South West of Peshāwar); Aḥmad Beg and Muḥammad Qulī remained on guard in Maidān (West Tīrāh); Shāham Jalā‘īr, ‘Alī Muḥammad Alif and others served in Jangal (West Kōhāt).³⁰ A considerable number of the Āfrīdīs and Orakzīs deserted to the Mughals. Āṣaf Khān cut off the supply of cloth, salt and soap, etc. which reached Tīrāh from Peshāwar and thus pressed the Āfrīdīs and Orakzīs, who were left with Jalāl-ud-Dīn, either to arrest Jalāl-ud-Dīn or expel him from their land and hand over some of the members of the family of Jalāl-ud-Dīn to them so that they might be utilised in obtaining the submission of Jalāl-ud-Dīn. The Āfrīdīs thereupon decided to arrest Aḥad Dād, son of Shaikh ‘Umar and nephew of Jalāl-ud-Dīn, together with his mother Zulaikhā and some other members of the family, and hand them over to the Mughals. The Āfrīdīs and Orakzīs were so domineering that Jalāl-ud-Dīn could not oppose them.³¹ He escaped to Tūrān³² by the route of Kānīgūrām (4 October 1588). His family retired to Bājaur but after some time left for Qandāhār. Kāsīs welcomed them and they stayed there for some time with the grandfather of the compiler of *Hāl Nāma*.³³

Jalāl-ud-Dīn persuaded ‘Abdullāh Khān Ūzbek to give him a reinforcement on the condition that he would conquer territories west of Nilāb to Kābul on his behalf; but he did not find it advisable to give up cordial diplomatic relations with Akbar who was staying near his western frontiers. On the other hand, he wished to hand over Jalāl-ud-Dīn to the Emperor. Jalāl-ud-Dīn got scent of ‘Abdullāh Khān’s plans, consequently he escaped to Tīrāh once again.³⁴ Assembling his adherents there he began to stir up strife in the defiles there. Āfridīs and Orakzīs again joined him. After a respite of about four years, Āṣaf Khān, Sa‘īd Khān Gakhar and a few other nobles were sent off from the court on the New Year’s day of the 37th Divine year (11 March 1592) against the Rawshaniyyās. An order was issued that the *jagīrdārs* of Sindh and Peshāwar should be mobilized to join the Mughal forces heading towards Tīrāh. Qāsim Khān, who was ordered to collect the Afghān army and proceed from Kābul to chastise Jalāl-ud-Dīn, failed to stick to his command for long, and on receiving a report regarding the dispersal of the Afghāns, returned back to Kābul without achieving any success worth the name.³⁵ Āṣaf Khān and the other officers did not move out of the country, but finding Akbar engaged in subduing Kāshmir, the Gagyāni tribe and the Mohmandzīs joined the Rawshaniyyās and Yūsufzīs, and proceeded towards Peshāwar with a view to getting possession of the whole of that country. Suddenly, Zain Khān Kokaltāsh arrived forcing the tribal confederacy to liquidate. Yūsufzīs and Rawshaniyyās reached the hill country of Bājaur under the command of Waḥdat ‘Alī. Jalāl-ud-Dīn left his family at Bājaur and went off to Tīrāh. In July 1592, Zain Khān proceeded towards Bājaur. Rawshaniyyās and their associates escaped to the land of the Kāfirs. In a short time Zain Khān occupied the hill country bounded on the east by Swād, on the west by Kūnār and Nūrkal, on the north by Kāshghar and Badakhshān and on the south by Bājaur. In order to strengthen his position he built forts at each stage, traversed the mountains and closed the doors for night attacks.³⁶

At the end of November 1592, Akbar on his return from Kāshmir halted at Rohtās. Enquiries were made from Zain Khān and other officers who were deputed to extirpate the Rawshaniyyās; regarding the progress of the operations, Akbar reached the decision that the expedition was too unimportant to require his presence at Attock.³⁷

The Rawshaniyyās, however, fearlessly persisted in their depredations. Zain Khān advised Qāsim Khān to proceed via Bāzarak to the

mountainous region, and directed the imperial forces of Bangāsh to come from that quarter. Zain Khān himself set off for Kābul by the Ilam pass.³⁸ Near Gagyānis, Āsaf Khān came in from Bangash and accompanied him. At Bigrām, Khawājā Shams-ud-Dīn and other officers joined him. Zain Khān took up his quarters at the Pass. Accompanied by Kābul troops, Qāsim Khān proceeded to Tīrāh by way of Bāzarak. Āfridīs and Orakzīs submitted to the Mughals. Jalāl-ud-Dīn left Tīrāh and escaped to the territories of the Kāfirs. Jalāl-ud-Dīn's son-in-law Waḥdat 'Alī, with the help of the Yūsufzīs, overran parts of the territory of the Kāfirs and ransacked the fort of Kānshān. Zain Khān left Qāsim Khān at Jalālābād, and Muḥammad Qulī and Ḥamzā Beg Aṭāliq in Bigrām. Taking with him Āsaf Khān, Khawājā Shams-ud-Dīn, Sa'īd Khān Ghakar, Takhtā Beg and others, he proceeded towards Kānshān. Before the Rawshaniyyās could cross the Kābul river, the Mughal troops forestalled them and blocked their road. They had to beat a hasty retreat towards the hills of Tīrāh. The imperialists did not chase them and entered the Kāfir country by the route of Shāhzādī with a view to chastising Waḥdat 'Alī. Near the village Kandī Kahār they built a new bridge over the Bājaur river³⁹, for the older one was destroyed by the Rawshaniyyās. They proceeded towards Kānshān through a very perilous route and narrow defiles. The Kānshān fort fell to the imperialists after a number of skirmishes (May 1593).⁴⁰ The loss of this fort demoralised the Rawshaniyyās and their strength was completely shattered. The Mughals laid waste all the bridges in the surrounding country. Many Kāfir leaders and Yūsufzīs surrendered. Waḥdat 'Alī could not hold out on his own and surrendered. Four hundred of the Rawshaniyyās and their allies were killed while as many as seven of them were taken captive. The remaining ones managed to scatter into parties, leaving thus the country to Kāshghar and Badakhshān to be conquered by the Mughals.

The Rawshaniyyās, however, retrieved their position by March 1596 and made depredations as far as Khaibar. Qulij Khān was deputed to restore order in that region. After restoring order at Kābul, he proceeded towards Tīrāh through difficult passes from Bāzarak. The Āfridī leaders reaffirmed their loyalty to the Mughals and Qulij Khān proceeded to Peshāwar. He wished to enter the country of Tīrāh by Ilam pass, but the difficult ravine prevented him from doing so. Thence he proceeded to Kōhāt but the difficult route compelled him to go by Bangash. He came to Kharmabā.⁴¹ In a slight skirmish he

defeated the Rawshaniyyās. Here he laid the foundation of a fort. The Rawshaniyyās erected a stockade and prepared for battle. The Mughals discovered a secret path. When Jalāl-ud-Dīn became aware of this, he exerted himself to close the road, but did not succeed; he retired to inaccessible defiles without giving battle, but persisted in his efforts to harass the Mughals.⁴²

In August 1601 he set off for Ghazni and suddenly swooped down upon the fort. Sharif Khān, the commander of the fort, could not withstand the fierce onslaught of the Rawshaniyyās. He was killed together with his other associates. The fort was given to plunder by them but they did not molest the inhabitants of the town. Next day thousands of *hazārās* reaching Ghazni invaded the fort but could not harm the Rawshaniyyās. On their representation that they were traders and had reached there to purchase and sell horses, the Rawshaniyyās allowed them to enter the town. Jalāl-ud-Dīn, however, did not stay in the fort for more than three to seven days. While on his return journey he was attacked by the *hazārās* and subsequently killed. A large number of the Rawshaniyyās also fell dead in the battlefield. The dead body of Jalāl-ud-Dīn was hacked to pieces. His head was sent to Akbar and his bones were subsequently buried by *hazārās*. Abū'l Fazl concluded the episode with the remark that for a long time numerous soldiers were deputed to punish him. Some years before, Zain Khan and a number of brave men led expeditions against him. By the strength of the good fortune of His Majesty some unknown persons performed the job.⁴³

Jalāl-ud-Dīn was a man of rare organising capacity. He organised the Afghāns against fearful odds and achieved considerable success in his mission. Though many a time the Mughals won the Orakzīs, Āfridis and Mohmandzīs to their side, they were never able to retain their loyalty for long. Even the Yūsufzīs, who were strongly opposed to the Rawshaniyyās in the beginning, ultimately joined Jalāl-ud-Dīn. He tried to persuade even 'Abdullāh Khān Ūzbek to reopen hostilities against the Mughals, but could not succeed before the inexhaustible fund of energy of Akbar and also his resourcefulness. During his lifetime the religious controversies and polemics lost much of their vigour. The orthodox Sunnis condemned him as misguided (*Pir-i-tāriki*) and a potent danger to the faith, but this did not adversely affect the solidarity of the Afghāns which Jalāl-ud-Dīn sought to establish against the dominance of the Mughals. The spiritual side of the movement was kept alive through discourses on *Khair-ul-Bayān*

and *Maqṣūd-ul-Mōminīn*, which were attended by the Rawshaniyyās with increasing devotion; but the political considerations were the motive force behind the success of the movement against the Mughals.

Aḥad Dād, son of Shaikh ‘Umar, generally known as Aḥad, after succeeding Jalāl-ud-Dīn girt up his loins to uproot the *baẓārās*. After some time he invaded the country as far as Ghōr in the vicinity of Kānīgurām. Subsequent to it, he undertook the invasion of Jalālābād. Chīn Qulij, son of Qulij Khān, whom Akbar had commissioned to subdue and dislodge Aḥad Dād, marched against him but met with defeat. Abā Bakr, the father of the compiler of *Hāl Nāma*, was also with him. Later on, Qāsim Khān attacked Aḥad Dād only to be defeated by the latter. Afterwards Aḥad Dād marched upon Kābul and besieged it. Most of the Afghān tribes offered their allegiance to Aḥad Dād, who deputed Abā Bakr to the frontiers of Kābul. He remained there for some time, and encountered the Mughal troops on several occasions but no harm was done to him. When he returned to Aḥad Dād he was honoured with the title of Khān and obtained the ring of the Master as a gift. Abā Bakr received other military command too, and made a number of raids against the Mughals in which, according to his own son, he always came out victorious. Aḥad Dād started levying *khārāj* on caravans that passed through Khaibar.

The successes that Abā Bakr achieved in the raids against the Mughals brought him into the limelight and established his fame as an important military commander pushing Aḥad Dād into the background. Aḥad Dād’s followers complained to him that the constant victories of Abā Bakr had adversely affected his prestige and reputation. Aḥad Dād, therefore, decided to invade Kābul himself but Ilāhdād son of Jalāl-ud-Dīn, who later on joined the Mughals and was given the title of Rashīd Khān by Jahāngīr, opposed Aḥad Dād’s plan of taking the supreme command of the battle into his own hands, but he paid no heed to his suggestions and marched upon Kābul at the head of 1,200 soldiers. Shāh Beg Khān, the governor of Kābul, who did not have sufficient force, commenced wasting his time in excessive drinking in order to lull the Afghāns into inactivity. Aḥad Dād invaded the fort. His well-wishers induced him to retire from there and turn the victory to their advantage. Aḥad Dād, on the advice of some other short-sighted counsellors, decided to pass through the Kābul river and plunder the tribes settled there. When the Afghān army, quite inexperienced in the art of crossing the river, had scattered, Shāh Beg attacked them. Aḥad Dād took to flight and reached Char-

khanī with great difficulty with only a handful of followers. Thence he sent Abā Bakr with an army towards the frontiers of Kābul. The army of Bāla Bangash, comprising the Afghans and Mughals, assembled there and gave battle but Abā Bakr gained an important victory. Getting intelligence of the defeat of the Mughals, Shāh Bēg Khān, invaded Charkhānī but had to retire, unsuccessfully.⁴⁴

Co-operation between Aḥad Dād and Ilāhdād, son of Jalāl-ud-Dīn, did not last for long. Ilāhdād surrendered to Shāh Beg Khān, who sent him together with his son, Šāhib Dād, a child of three or four, to Jahāngīr. A number of other eminent Rawshaniyyās also followed him. Karīm Dād, a son of Jalāl-ud-Dīn, and Pir Dād, son of Kamāl-ud-Dīn, and Abā Bakr also deserted Aḥad Dād.⁴⁵ Ilāhdād was granted a *manṣab* (rank) of 1,000 *zāt* and 600 *sawār*, and is mentioned as having received a jewelled dagger in the 10th year of Jahāngīr's reign⁴⁶ (1615-1616 A.D.) and 10,000 rupees in the 11th year⁴⁷ (1616-1617 A.D.). In the same year he was honoured with the title of 'Khān' and his *manṣab* was raised to 2,000 *zāt* and 1,000 *sawār*.⁴⁸ In the 12th year of the reign (1617-1618 A.D.), he was distinguished with the title of 'Rashīd Khān' together with the conferment of a *parm-narm* (*shāwl*).⁴⁹

Despite serious dissensions among the Afghāns, Aḥad Dād invaded Charkhānī. He did not give up his efforts and the routes to Kābul remained in precarious condition due to the depredations of the Rawshaniyyās for a considerable period of time. In the 12th year of Jahāngīr's reign, Mahābat Khān, the governor of Kābul and Bangash, paid homage to Jahāngīr at Nālchā near Māndū and at his request a robe of honour, a horse, an elephant and a jewelled dagger were conferred on Ilāhdād (Rashīd Khān) and he was commissioned to assist Mahābat Khān.⁵⁰ Mahābat Khān deputed him to Tirāh against Aḥad Dād. After a number of skirmishes Aḥad Dād retired toward the Wazīr and Jadrān mountains through the connivance of Ilāhdād and Rawshaniyyā supporters of the Mughals. Sharp differences arose between Mahābat Khān and Ilāhdād⁵¹, culminating in the desertion of the cause of the Mughals by Ilāhdād in 1619-20 A.D. Jahāngīr in a tone of despondency and resentment writes: "One of the occurrences of this time is the revolt of Allāhdād, son of Jalāl, the Afghān. The details of this are that when Mahābat Khān obtained leave to go and take possession of Bangash and overthrow the Afghāns, from an idea that that wretch would do some service, in return for the favours and kindness I had conferred on him, he prayed that he might take him with him. As the natural tendency of such ungrateful men, who do

not recognize what is right, tends to enmity and malevolence, by way of precaution it was decided to send his son and brother to the Court that they might be as hostages. After the arrival there of his son and brother, I, by way of comforting them did them all kinds of kindness, but, as they have said:

‘The blanket of fortune that has been woven black
cannot be whitened even by the waters of Zamzam
and Kauşar.’

From the day on which he arrived in that country, the signs of rascality and want of recognition of the right began to be apparent on the cheeks of his affairs, and Mahābat Khān, in order to control matters, did not lose from his hand the rope of forbearance until, at this time, he sent a force under the leadership of his son against a band of Afghāns, and sent Allāhādād with him. When they reached the proposed place, from the enmity and malevolence of the aforesaid, that attack did not succeed, and they returned with their aim uncompleted. The evil dispositioned Allāhādād, from a suspicion lest this time Mahābat Khān should abandon his method of conciliation, and ascertain the real state of affairs, and that he should be caught in recompense for his evil deeds, lifted up the veil of reverence, and betrayed involuntarily the faithlessness to his salt, which he had till then concealed. When I heard from Mahābat Khān’s letter the true state of affairs, I ordered them to imprison his son and brother in the fort of Gwalior. As it happened (Jalāl Tārīkī), the father of this wretch had also fled from the service of the late king, and for years passed his time in thieving and highway robbery, until he was caught in the recompense of his own evil deeds. It is hoped that this rascal will also soon obtain the reward of his bad actions.’⁵²

Ilāhdād again joined Aḥad Dād, but even their combined and sustained efforts proved of no avail, and in the 14th year of Jahāngīr’s reign Amānullāh, son of Mahābat Khān, inflicted a crushing defeat on them.⁵³ Ilāhdād did not find much advantage in staying with the Afghāns so he petitioned for pardon through the prime minister I’timād-ud-Daulā, who was hostile to Mahābat Khān. *Parganā* of Shamsābād (near Agrā) was assigned to him in 1620 A.D.⁵⁴ He was forgiven and a *manṣab* of 2,500 *zāt* and 2,000 *sawar* conferred on him in 1620-1621.⁵⁵

After the reconciliation of Ilāhdād with the Emperor, Aḥad Dād retired to Tīrāh. Mahābat Khān deputed a strong force against him.

Aḥad Dād was at that time near Mastūrā pass which he had strongly fortified. The Orakzīs fought stubbornly under Aḥad Dād and the Mughals were defeated. Large booty fell to the hands of Aḥad Dād. Mahābat Khān again assembled Āfrīdīs and deputed a Mughal force against Aḥad Dād, who ultimately retired to Lawaghār mountains near Banū. After the transfer of Mahābat Khān from Kābul, his successor Zafar Khān assembled the Afghān and the Mughal forces and marched against Lawaghār. Aḥad Dād was besieged for six months and was killed after a number of minor skirmishes in 1034 H/1624-25 A.D.⁵⁶

The author of *Dabistān-i-Maẓāhib* says, "It is alleged that before the day of his death, which they call the day of Union, Miyyān Aḥad Dād opened the book *Khair-ul-Bayān* and, having read in it, said to his associates: 'Tomorrow is my day of Union.' It happened as he had predicted." Credulous Muslims appear to have assigned a place of honour to Aḥad Dād soon after his death. A pious person from Kābul is said to have told the author of *Dabistān-i-Maẓāhib*, "On the day of Aḥad Dād's death I rejoiced, and spoke ill of him; at night I saw in a vision my spiritual guide, who forbade me to do so, and observed that the sacred text, 'Declare that God is one' applies to Aḥad Dād. And his disciples named Aḥad Dād as Aḥad (the One)."⁵⁷

'Abdul Qādir

His son and successor 'Abdul Qādir, who was twelve or thirteen years old, escaped with his mother. They reached Tīrāh and sought protection with the Orakzīs and remained in concealment for about a year. After Jahāngīr's death, the Mughal *thanedārs*, who were posted near Tīrāh, retired to Peshāwar and the Orakzīs installed 'Abdul Qādir as the successor of Aḥad Dād and offered their allegiance to him. Āfrīdīs also joined him. They organised an army at Tīrāh and entered Bangash where some other tribes also joined them. They attacked Jalāl Khān Ghakar, who was stationed at Hankū. Mohmandzīs also joined the Rawshaniyyās and the ranks of 'Abdul Qādir swelled to great numbers. Jalāl Khān was defeated and his forces were dispersed by the Rawshaniyyās. It was with great difficulty that he could escape. 'Abdul Qādir stayed there for some time. Zafar Khān was at that time stationed in Peshāwar. Āfrīdīs blocked the highways and made it difficult for Zafar Khān to cross the Khaibar on his way to Kābul. Emboldened by the success of the Rawshaniyyās, Ghōrī Khails and Mohmandzīs also began to flock to their standards in greater numbers.

They invested Peshāwar fort under ‘Abdul Qādir and laid the town waste. Orakzīs and Āfrīdis did not see eye to eye with the Ghōrī Khails; hence some of them convinced Karīm Dād, son of Jalāl-ud-Dīn, regarding the deceptive role which the Ghōrī Khails were about to play and induced him to desert them, taking ‘Abdul Qādir too with him. They promised to accept him as their leader in place of ‘Abdul Qādir in case he did not follow him since ‘Abdul Qādir was only a young and inexperienced lad. Due to the desertion of Karīm Dād, ‘Abdul Qādir had also to follow him despite the entreaties of the Ghōrī Khails who tried to convince him in vain that they had almost conquered the fort. Shāh Jahān took effective steps to suppress the Rawshaniyyās in the second year of his reign (1038 H/1628-9 A.D.), but they remained quite active until the third year of his reign. Sa‘īd Khān, the Mughal commander of Peshāwar fort expelled the Rawshaniyyās after a number of skirmishes there.⁵⁸ ‘Abdul Qādir retired to Tīrāh. The Ghōrī Khails also made peace with Sa‘īd Khān who was subsequently promoted to the governorship of Kābul by Shāh Jahān. The Rawshaniyyās were divided into two factions. Some collaborated with ‘Abdul Qādir and the others sided with Karīm Dād. Consequently, ‘Abdul Qādir had to pass his days in inactivity at Tīrāh. Ilāhdād, entitled Rashīd Khān, convinced ‘Abdul Qādir, through his letters that in view of the mutual dissension among the Afghāns there was no use in persisting to fight against the Mughals. Shāh Jahān is said to have offered ‘Abdul Qādir a *manṣab* of 3,000 provided that he stayed at the Court; alternatively he was promised a *manṣab* of 2,000 if he retired to Kābul. Ultimately a *manṣab* of 1,600 horses was given to him in 1043 H/1633-34 A.D. ‘Abdul Qādir left for Kābul and stayed for some time at Peshāwar, where he breathed his last in 1044 H/1634-35 A.D. at an age of about twenty-five.⁵⁹ Other members of the family of Aḥad Dād received rewards and honours in 1047 H/1637-38 A.D.; Karīm Dād who had taken refuge with the Mohmands but had subsequently moved to the land of Bangash, was captured by the Jalālīs. They surrendered him to Muḥammad Ya‘qūb Kāshmirī, the agent of Sa‘īd Khān. He was executed in 1048 H/1638-39 A.D.⁶⁰

Shāh Jahān and Awrangzeb exhibited due considerations to the Rawshaniyyās who had submitted to the Mughals and migrated to India. Some of them joined Rashīd Khān in the Deccan, where he was posted, and were allowed complete liberty to follow the tenets of

Bāyazīd, which divorced of the political struggle, corresponded closely to pantheistic *ṣūfism*. Shaiḫ Farid Bhakkārī, the author of *Zakḥīrat-ul-Ḳhawānīn*, a biographical dictionary of the Mughal nobles who lived from the days of Akbar to Shāh Jahān, did not hesitate in calling his patron, Rashīd Khān, a perfect man, on account of his liberality and munificence.⁶¹ The movement petered out in its birth-place too. Dr. Leyden wrote in 1812, "Having been the founder of a heretical sect, which attained a very formidable degree of power, and was suppressed with extreme difficulty, his (Bāyazīd's) works have been proscribed and his army regarded with horror among the greater number of the Afghāns, while the adherents of the sect, who still exist, are confined to the wildest and most inaccessible districts, concealing their books, and their tenets with equal care. In Peshāwar, they are supposed to hold secret meetings, by night, at an ancient edifice, with a dome where Bāyazīd formerly resided, and at which pious Muslims, as they pass by the ruins, generally cast stones, in token of their abhorrence, accompanied with fervent imprecations and curses on their founders."⁶² H. G. Raverty, an important authority on the history and culture of the Afghāns says, "The Karlanrī Afghāns, generally, were disciples of Pir-i-Rōshan, particularly those of the Bangash who even up to the present day, either openly or in secret still follow his doctrines; hence English writers, unacquainted with the facts and differences between the two doctrines, style them Shī'as, but the Shī'as regard them as heretics, though they are not so bitter against them as the Sunnīs are."⁶³ The movement received further setback in the nineteenth century, due to the reformist and revivalist activities of Saiyid Aḥmad Shahīd of Rae Bareli (d. 1246 H/1831) and his successors, in the region.

The cultural and literary activities found considerable impetus among the Afghāns during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries on account of the Rawshaniyyās. Bāyazīd invented several dance tunes which were recited by him and his followers regularly. They threw them into ecstasies and they felt increasingly attracted toward the Divine Essence. Miyān Kastūrī, the musician of Aḥad Dād always accompanied him.⁶⁴ *Ḳhair-ul-Bayān* of Bāyazīd is one of the oldest Pashtō works that is extant. One of his grandsons, Mīrzā, was a gifted poet in Pashtō. Abā Bakr, the father of the editor of *Ḥāl Nāma* also composed Pashtō verses. Other eminent Rawshaniyyās produced rich mystical Pashtō poetry. The orthodox opponent of the Rawshaniyyās, Āḳhund Darwīza also compiled *Makḥḥzan-i-Afghānī* in Pashtō.

NOTES (III)

¹ *Hāl Nāma* Ff. 324b-325a

² *Ibid.* F. 308a. According to Ākhund Darwīza a sizable section of the Yūsufzīs submitted to Shaiḫ ‘Umar and paid ‘*uṣṣr* (tithe) and *ḵharāj* (revenue) to him. Rawshaniyyās, power-drunk as they were, annihilated the cattle of Ḥamzā Khān Akūzī who had not submitted to them. On account of this act of outrage, the entire tribe of Ḥamzā took up arms against them. They defeated the followers of Ḥamzā twice, but were ultimately put to rout. Shaiḫ ‘Umar and Khair-ud-Dīn were despatched to hell by the Dilzāks; Mohmandzīs made short work of Nūr-ud-Dīn. Jalāl-ud-Dīn was wounded and was offered protection by Āmāzīs. The Rawshaniyyās were annihilated by the Yusufzīs; their families were imprisoned and the wife of *Pir-i-Tārik* was handed over to the professional dancers. The coffin of Bāyazīd was broken open. Some of his bones were burnt and some were thrown into the river. (*Tazḳirat-ul-Abrār Wa’l Ashrār* Pp.155-146)

³ *Hāl Nāma* F. 314a.

⁴ *Ibid.* Ff. 314b-315a.

⁵ *Ibid.* F. 318b.

⁶ *Ibid.* F. 319b.

⁷ The ‘*āshūrā* (10th Muḥarram) appears to have been chosen by the compiler to draw a similarity between the martyrdom of the sons of Bāyazīd and that of Imām Ḥusain, the grandson of Prophet Muḥammad, who was mercilessly done to death together with a handful of his followers by a huge force deputed by Yazīd on 10 Muḥarram 61 H/10 October 680 A.D.

⁸ *Hāl Nāma* Ff. 330b. According to *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* and *Muntakhab-ut-Tawāriḵh*, he was at that time fourteen years old. (*Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* Vol. II, P. 398, ‘Abdul Qādir Badāūnī; *Muntakhab-ut-tawāriḵh* Vol. II, P. 349)

⁹ J. S. Hoyland and S. N. Bannerjee: *The Commentary of Father Monserrate* (Oxford University Press, 1922) Pp. 141-142. According to *Hāl Nāma*, Akbar having heard of the incident marched from Lāhōre, reached Attock and issued the *farmāns* to the effect that none of the family of *Pir-i-Rawḥan* be molested (*Hāl Nāma* F. 331b).

¹⁰ *Hāl Nāma* F. 333b. According to Nizām-ud-Dīn Aḥmad, he fled after remaining a few days in attendance on the Emperor. This appears to be more plausible. (*Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Bib. Ind.) Vol. II, P. 398.

¹¹ *Hāl Nāma* Ff. 334b-335a.

¹² Abū’l-Fazl: *Akbar Nāma* Vol. III (Bib. Ind.) P. 446.

¹³ *Ibid.* P. 473.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* P. 479, *Hāl Nāma* F. 335a.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* P. 479, *Hāl Nāma* F. 336a.

¹⁶ Beveridge, H.: *The Akbar Nāma of Abū’l Fazl* Vol. III (Bib. Ind.) P. 748.

¹⁷ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Bib. Ind.) Vol. II, P. 404; Badāūnī: *Muntakhab ut-Tawāriḵh* (Bib. Ind.) Vol. II, Pp. 353-355; *Hāl Nāma* F. 335a-337a; *Akbar Nāma* Pp. 510-511.

¹⁸ Langar is marked on Map No. 32 of I.G. Atlas, East of Indus and South of Attock. But according to Badāūnī, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawāriḵh* Vol II — (Lowe P. 366) Madhū was then at Ohind (i.e. Und) which is on the west bank of the Indus and 15 miles above Attock (Beveridge, H.: *Akbar Nāma* Vol. III, P. 778 footnote No. 2).

¹⁹ *Akbar Nāma* Vol. III, Pp. 510-511.

²⁰ Probably Mardānak. Beveridge, H.: *The Akbar Nāma of Abū’l Fazl* Pp. 781-782, footnote No. 2)

²¹ Beveridge says, “I have not identified the Shādī ravine. The word occurs twice, viz. at pp. 513 and 514, and each time is succeeded by the word *ekbārgī*.”

It is possible that this last word is a clerical error for Bagadī, and the ravine be the Shādī Bagadī gorge of the *Imperial Gazetteer* VIII. 125 and the Shādī Bariān, or Wolf's mouth of Col. Hanna's Second Afghān War, II. 7. The Shādī Bagadī is a gorge N. Jamrūd and is marked on Scott's Reconnaissance map of the Khaibar, but Mān Singh would hardly come by it if he was going to 'Alī Masjid. But perhaps his idea was to turn the Khaibar.

It seems to me doubtful if Mān Singh went from Pesh Būlāq by the Khaibar. It seems as if it would have been unnecessary to do so to get at Tirāh. He probably went there direct and came to 'Alī Masjid by the east end of the pass, eventually passing through the Khaibar when joined by the troops from India, and when he went to escort Mirzā Sulaiman. I do not know where the Chār Chōbā Pass mentioned on p. 513 is. The Chōrā mentioned further on may be the Chōrā road mentioned by Mohan Lāl, ed. 1846, p. 59, who says it is passable for camels and horses. Bāzārak mentioned in text may be the place marked on the maps as Bāzār, west of Jamrūd. Both Pesh Būlāq and Bāzār are marked on the map of the Survey operations during the campaign of 1878-79." (Beveridge: *The Akbar Nāma of Abū'l Faḡl* Pp. 781-782, footnote No. 2).

²² Marked on Elphinstone's map some fifteen or twenty miles south of Jalalābād.

²³ *Akbar Nāma* Pp. 513-514, Beveridge, H., Vol. III Pp. 782-784; *Ḥāl Nāma* Ff. 337a-342a.

²⁴ It is nearly due S. of Peshāwar and at the end of the salt Range.

²⁵ N. of Thāl and S.S.W. of Peshāwar.

²⁶ *Akbar Nāma* III Pp. 520-522, Beveridge III Pp. 794-796.

²⁷ *Akbar Nāma* III, Pp. 524-525.

²⁸ Nawālā in the text but a variant Nawāga'ī is correct. It is a village in Bājaur (Beveridge III, P. 802).

²⁹ *Akbar Nāma* III Pp. 525-526; Beveridge III Pp. 801-803.

³⁰ Janki in original but according to Beveridge Jangal West Kōhāt. (Beveridge III P. 809).

³¹ *Ḥāl Nāma* Ff. 342-343a.

³² *Akbar Nāma* Vol. III, P. 531.

³³ *Ḥāl Nāma* F. 344a.

³⁴ *Ibid.* Ff. 344b-343a.

³⁵ *Akbar Nāma* III P. 607.

³⁶ *Ibid.* P. 625.

³⁷ *Ibid.* P. 630.

³⁸ "This seems to be the 'Ailūm range of Elphinstone. It was apparently a Pass into the Tirāh territory. Or it may be the Shah 'Ālam ferry on the Kābūl river. That river is also called the Shāh 'Ālam." (Beveridge: *Akbar Nāma of Abū'l Faḡl* Vol. III, P. 982, note No. 4).

³⁹ Probably Kashkar or Chitral river.

⁴⁰ Beveridge: *The Akbar Nāma of Abū'l Faḡl* Pp. 982-984.

⁴¹ *Akbar Nāma* III Pp. 639-641; Beveridge III Pp. 982-985.

⁴² *Akbar Nāma* III P. 702.

⁴³ *Ibid.* P. 776; *Ḥāl Nāma* Ff. 360a — 364 b.

⁴⁴ *Ḥāl Nāma* Ff. 365a-404b.

⁴⁵ *Hal Nama* F. 405a-407b.

⁴⁶ *Tuzuk-i-Jabāngiri* (English translation by Rogers, A. and Beveridge, H.; London 1909-1914) vol. I P. 295.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* Vol. I, P. 321.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* Vol. I, P. 324.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* Vol. I, P. 390

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* Vol. I, P. 402; *Ḥāl Nāma* Ff. 408a-408b.

- ⁵¹ *Hāl Nāma* Ff. 409b-413b.
⁵² *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers and Beveridge) Vol. II, P. 85.
⁵³ *Ibid.* Vol. II, P. 99.
⁵⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. II, P. 120.
⁵⁵ *Ibid.* Vol. II, P. 153.
⁵⁶ *Hāl Nāma* Ff. 445a-456a.
⁵⁷ *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib* P. 310.
⁵⁸ Muḥammad Ṣālih Kanbō Lāhaurī: *‘Amal-i-Ṣālih* (Bib. Ind.) Vol. I, P. 71.
⁵⁹ *Hāl Nāma* Ff. 459a-466b.
⁶⁰ *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib* P. 311.
⁶¹ Shaikh Farīd Bhakkārī: *Zakḥirat-ul-Khawānīn* (‘Aligarh Muslim University Library, Ḥabībgaṅg Ms.) Pp. 85b-86a.
⁶² J. Leyden: On the Roṣhēnian Sect and its Founder, Bāyazīd Anṣārī (*Asiatic Researches*, XI, 1812) P. 363.
⁶³ Raverty, H. H.: *Notes on Afghānistān* P. 389.
⁶⁴ *Hāl Namā* F. 466b.

IV

SOURCES

The present studies on the Rawshaniyyā movement are mainly based on a brief account of the movement given in *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*, the works of Ākhund Darwīza and of the Muḡhal chronicles. Recently, Professor Muḥammad Ṣhāfī of the Punjāb (Pākistān) based his article on Bāyazīd, published in the *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, on a number of works written by Bāyazīd. The Punjāb University Library copy of *Hāl Nāma* utilised by him was transcribed by a careless copyist from the Subḥānnullāh manuscript of ‘Aligarh University library. He had no access to the *Khair-ul-Bayān*, preserved in the Razā library Rāmpūr, India.¹ The sources for the study of the Rawshaniyyā movement may be classified into following categories.

1. Works of Bāyazīd and his followers.
2. Works of the theologians hostile to Bāyazīd.
3. Works written at the Muḡhal court.

Works of Bāyazīd

Ṣirāṭ-ut-Tawḥīd embodies the doctrines of Bāyazīd; its copies were sent to the contemporary rulers and important theologians by Bāyazīd through his emissaries. It was written in Persian and like all the works of Bāyazīd is interspersed with verses of *Qur’ān* and quotations from *ahādīṣ* and the sayings of eminent saints. He did not apply himself to the task of verifying the authenticity of the traditions and the sayings.

It is not divided into chapters but the subject matter may be broadly classified into the following sections:

1. Autobiographical portion
2. Main teachings of Bāyazīd
3. A treatise (*risāla*) in the form of a longer letter addressed to the contemporary rulers.

The autobiographical portion is mixed up with his main tenets in the text and is quite brief. It deals with his parentage, early education, and quest for *pīr-i-kāmil*, his journey to Qandāhār, his return to his homeland where he spent five years in seclusion. All through the work, he pointedly emphasised the need of a perfect guide or *pīr-i-kāmil* whom he considered indispensable for the attainment of *Tawhīd*, a stage reached only by the prophets and eminent saints. The contemporary saints came in for severe criticism in this treatise and he accused them of having adorned the shop of fraud and deceit. Defining *'ulmā-i-ākḥrat* he observed, "They tread the path of God, have an insight into the truth of every affair and are physicians of the ailing heart. A true *'ālim* stands on his own intrinsic value and does not depend on the people for being addressed as an *'ālim*." ² In the end he explained the stages of *shariat*, *ṭarīqat*, *ḥaqīqat*, *ma'rifat*, *qurbat*, *wahdat*, *waslat* and *sukūmat* in separate chapters. Overemphasising the importance of *zīkr-i-kḥafī* and the control of breath, he regarded the *zīkr-i-kḥafī* to be the *zīkr* of heart and enjoined upon the seekers to remember the Almighty in every breath that issued forth from his mouth. The contemporary rulers were, in particular, required to perform *tawba* at the hands of a perfect guide. It goes without saying that they were urged to accept him as a *Pīr-i-Kāmil* and to follow his tenets.

Ḥāl Nāma is an autobiography of Bāyazīd Rawshānā'ī. The manuscript available at 'Aligarh³ is not a copy of the original *Ḥāl Nāma* but is its amplified version. It was edited by 'Ali Muḥammad 'Muḥlis', son of Abā Bakr Qandāhārī, at the request of his friends who pointed out to him that the available copies of the *Ḥāl Nāma* of Bāyazīd comprised considerable interpolations and did not embody the account of the sons and grandsons of Bāyazīd and their armed struggle against the Mughals. He, therefore, undertook the compilation of the present edition in simple and intelligible language. It is not clear if the original was written in Persian or Pashtō. Possibly Bāyazīd wrote it in both the languages. 'Ali Muḥammad preferred to edit and amplify it in Persian for the benefit of the Afghān migrants to India.

The compiler's father, Abā Bakr, belonged to Qandāhār and entered the service of Jalāl-ud-Dīn in his youth and soon endeared himself to the Master and his family through devoted service. Jalāl-ud-Dīn sent him twice or thrice to Bibī Kamāl Khātūn who was kept under guards in Lahore by Akbar. He met her secretly and at her request took Khairullāh and Mirzā Jānī, two of her infant sons, to Jalāl-ud-Dīn from Lahore at great personal risks. He was later on transferred by Jalāl-ud-Dīn to the service of his son, Ilāhdād (Rashīd Khān), but he always remained devoted to Jalāl-ud-Dīn. He reached India with Rashīd Khān and served him very sincerely. 'Alī Muḥammad has referred to many instances when Jahāngīr showed special consideration towards his father. During the rebellion of Prince Khurram (later on Shāh Jahān), Abā Bakr, according to the author, was appointed by Emperor Jahāngīr as one of his hundred body-guards. Much against his will, Abā Bakr accompanied Mahābot Khān who was commissioned by Jahāngīr to subdue the rebellion of Khurram. He was later on taken by Bāqīr Khān under him, who was appointed governor of Orissa by Prince Parwīz and breathed his last in Mednīpur shortly after the death of Aḥad Dād. He compiled a number of *qaṣīdās* embodying the account of the exploits of Aḥad Dād against the Mughal forces and a Pashtō work entitled *Sirāj-ul-Ārifīn*. He remained loyal to the family of Bāyazīd throughout his life. The news of the death of Aḥad Dād gave him a rude shock which hastened his death. His eldest son, Khawājā Muḥammad, settled down in Orissa while the younger 'Alī Muḥammad, joined Rashīd Khān who continued to enjoy his spiritual leadership amongst the Afghāns with whom the real teachings of Bāyazīd were in great demand. He edited the *Hāl Nāma* in the early years of Awrangzeb's reign (1658-1707 A.D.). It comprises an account of the ancestors of Bāyazīd, his birth and early education, the hostile attitude of his step-mother and brother towards him, his inclination towards religious and spiritual life, his quest for a perfect guide, his receiving inspiration for declaring himself *Pīr-i-Kāmil* (perfect Guide) and *Pīr-i-Rawshan*, his mission to lead people from *tārikī* (darkness) to *Rawshnī* (light); the stages of the mystic journey: *sharī'at*, *ṭarīqat*, *ḥaqīqat*, *ma'rīfat*, *qurbat*, *waṣlat*, *wahdat*, and *sukūnat*; the oppositon of contemporary 'ulamā and *ṣūfīs*, his popularity, success and death.

It also contains an account of the activities of Jalāl-ud-Dīn, nicknamed as Jalālā Tārikī, and other sons and disciples of Bāyazīd, their extraordinary success in organising the Afghān tribes against the Mughals and the battles fought by them against their adversaries at

different places and finally, the ultimate end of Jalālā. It also deals with the activities of Aḥad Dād, son of Shaikh ‘Umar, a cousin and successor of Jalālā, his hostilities against the Mughals, dissensions in the ranks of the Rawshaniyyās, and the separation of Ilāhdād, son of Jalālā, from Aḥad Dād and his submission to the Emperor Jahāngīr. The activities of Ilāhdād and Aḥad Dād are discussed at some length. The adventurous deeds of Rashīd Khān, whose protégé the author was, have been given in great detail. The work has thus become an important source for the study of some aspects of the Mughal history, particularly for an account of the court rivalries under Jahāngīr. The earlier portion of the work dealing with Bāyazīd’s life tallies with the outlines of the autobiography of Bāyazīd available in *Ṣirāt-ut-Tawḥīd*. It is exceedingly deficient in dates and faulty in arrangement. Though the work was written in India under the Mughals, the Afghāns’ opposition to them has in no way been glossed over and their exploits have been given without mental reservations. Besides the teachings of Bāyazīd which it gives at some length, it explains the attitude of Bāyazīd towards basic theological problems of the Muslims. The editor had a fair command over Persian and possessed a facile pen.

Khair-ul-Bayān

Of all the works written by Bāyazīd the most popular was *Khair-ul-Bayān*^A (the excellence of discussion) which was nicknamed as *Sharr-ul-Bayān* (the depravity of discussion) by his opponents. The Rawshaniyyās regarded it as a sacred book of their faith and kept it always with them for obtaining religious benefits from it. Bāyazīd also willed that his disciples should follow the teachings embodied in the work carefully throughout their life. The work comprises questions and answers and was written in Arabic, Persian, Pashtō and Hindī. It embodies the traditional form of the praise of God and salutation to Prophet Muḥammad, accepting him to be the last of the prophets. It says that Bāyazīd received an injunction from the Almighty to write *Khair-ul-Bayān* so that people might read the work. To this he observed, “I am the humblest of all the human beings and an *ummī* (illiterate) and consider myself to be the greatest of all sinners and malefactors of Muḥammad’s *ummat* (followers). My prayers seeking forgiveness for myself and my followers have been answered by the Almighty with the assurance of their approval, and I have received Divine injunctions to call the people towards Him. I have been instructed not to care for the criticisms of the people for they do not

spare even the prophets from ridicule. A Divine voice said: 'You are being given wisdom and light and the right to perform *ijtihād* (legal or theological decisions) in all the matters relating to Islām. Previously prophets wrote books in the language which their followers spoke but though an illiterate, you are taught four languages.'⁵

The work comprises an account of death, Day of Judgment, *širaṭ* and *mizān*, but without any mention of transmigration of soul or similar un-Islāmic beliefs. It gives an account of *ghusl*⁶, *taiyammum*⁷, *wazū*,⁸ *namāz*, their classifications and formalities, *rōzā*, *zakāt* and *haj* of *sharī'at* from their counterparts in *farīqat*, *haqīqat*, *ma'rifat*, *qurbat*, *waṣlat*, *wahdat* and *sukūmat*. However, he sharply differentiated between *sharī'at* and *farīqat*; *sharī'at* according to him is the speech and *farīqat* 'the action' of prophets, and a disinclination towards *farīqat* amounts to showing disregard for 'the action' of prophets.⁹ The mechanical recitation of *Qur'ān* and performance of *namāz*, etc. are discouraged, and the importance of *zīkr* is emphasised throughout the work. Like all other works written by him, various mystic stages and their importance are explained at some length.

It is written in a simple Persian; the sentences occasionally incomplete and unintelligible.¹⁰ Like all his other works it also contains profuse quotations from *Qur'ān*, *aḥādīṣ* and sayings of different saints. Shaikh Farid Bahkkarī, the author of *Zakḥīrat-ul-Khawānīm* and a protégé of Rashid Khān, says, "The work deals with the principles of *Wahdat-ul-wajūd* (pantheism). Lucid arguments and decisive reasoning based on *Qur'ān*, *aḥādīṣ* and aphorisms of the revered personalities of the past have been reproduced in this work. Verily, it is a rare type of composition. Whosoever studies it with a sense of justice would surely be benefited by it."¹¹ The Pashtō version of the work is, however of great literary importance. G. M. Oslo says, "*Khair-ul-Bayān* is the most ancient work hitherto known in Pashtō, and it is of interest as well for the history of this language, as on account of its being an original work of the famous heretic."¹²

Maqṣūd-ul-Mōminīn

*Maqṣūd-ul-Mōminīn*¹³ was written by Bāyazīd in Arabic at the request of his son, Shaikh 'Umar. It is divided into the following chapters:

1. Knowledge of *wa'z* (preaching and exhortations) *taḥiyat* (salutation) and *manqabat* (praise of the Prophet and his companions, etc.).

2. Knowledge of the light of wisdom and its various degrees.
3. Knowledge of *imān* (faith) and its branches.
4. Knowledge of fear and punishment.
5. Knowledge of hope and reward from the Almighty.
6. Knowledge of inordinate desire and its baneful effects.
7. Knowledge of Satan, his treachery and his leading the people astray.
8. Knowledge of heart and its characteristics.
9. Knowledge of soul and satisfaction accruing from it.
10. Knowledge of phenomenal world, its roots and branches.
11. Knowledge of *ākhīrat* (Invisible world) its permanency, and grace.
12. Knowledge of *tawakkul* (trust in God) and resignation.
13. Knowledge of *tawba* (repentance) and abstaining from things forbidden by *sharā'*.
14. Knowledge of *sharī'at* and Lawful and Unlawful acts.
15. Knowledge of *ṭarīqat*, quest for its understanding, its tests and the purification of body.
16. Knowledge of *ḥaqīqat*, and the purification of heart.
17. Knowledge of *ma'rīfat*, the vision of (God) and purification of heart.
18. Knowledge of *qurbat*, hearing (of God's voice) and its grace.
19. Knowledge of *wahdat*, its general description.
20. Knowledge of *waṣlat*, its secrets.
21. Knowledge of *sukūmat*, its benefits and pleasures accruing from it.

Bāyazīd described himself as the smallest, most insignificant and helpless of all the followers of Muḥammad's religion and declared that the most profound of all the exhortations were available in the *Qur'ān* and considered those who invited people towards the Almighty as most righteous. The account of *ṭarīqat*, *ḥaqīqat*, *ma'rīfat*, *qurbat*, *waṣlat*, *wahdat* and *sukūmat* conform to similar descriptions of the topic in the works written by him.

Works of Bāyazīd's Opponents

Makbẓan-ūl-Islām or *Makbẓan-i-Afghānī* or *Makbẓan-i-Pash̄to* or *Makbẓan-i-Ashrār* was compiled by Ākhūnd Darwīza (d. 1048 H/1638-39), son of Ākhūnd Gadā Nīngrahārī, a disciple of Mīr Saiyid 'Alī Tirmizī, popularly known as Pīr Bābā, with a view to refuting

the teachings of Bāyazīd and comprises a detailed account of orthodox religious observance and theological problems of the Muslims. "It appears to have been originally composed by Darwēzah in nine sections or *Bāyans* (in Pashtō) with Persian prefaces and an introductory chapter containing an exposition of verses from the *Kor'ān* and Arabic prayers. It was subsequently enlarged by additional matter contributed by Karīm Dād, the son of Darwēzah, Mullā Aṣghar, the author's brother, and Muḥammad 'Abdu'l-Ḥalīm, the son of 'Abdullāh and grandson of Darwēzah. Finally the whole was compiled, revised and re-arranged in its present popular form in 1024 H (1615 A.D.) by Abdu'l Karīm, another son of Darwēzah. In the present copy (Or. 6724, British Museum, London) this additional matter appears as a supplement at the conclusion of Darwēzah's eight *bayāns*; in the following copies, and also in the manuscripts in the India Office Library, it is incorporated in the original work, with alterations, additions, abbreviations and under various methods of arrangement."¹⁴ Dr. Leyden says, "*The Makbẓan Afghāni*, of which he, Darwīzah, is the principal author, is a miscellaneous compilation in the ritual and moral practices of Islam, composed in Pashtū or Afghān language, in a style of measured prose. The texture of the work is of a very loose and unconnected nature; so that the different chapters of which it consists admit of easy transposition; a circumstance which has given rise to great diversity of arrangement and variety of readings."¹⁵ The work was very popular among the orthodox and its manuscripts are available in all the important libraries of Europe, India and Pākistān, either in Persian and Pashtō mixed or entirely in Persian.

*Taẓkirat-ul-Abrār Wa'l-Ashrār*¹⁶ written by Akhund Darwīza is a work of varied contents. In the main it deals with the alleged heretical practices and the condemnation of their founders who had obtained a firm footing in the land of the Afghāns. It also gives an account of the orthodox Islāmic practices from the puritan orthodox point of view. The author laments over the want of state patronage for the propagation of the orthodox Sunnī creed and finds this the main cause of the success of heresy amongst the Afghāns. The work gives a detailed account of the efforts made by the author and his preceptor, Saiyid 'Alī Tirmizī, towards the eradication of the heretical practices. The *Shī'as* and the Rawshaniyyās have been ruthlessly condemned by the author. His approach towards the Saiyids also appears to be strange. According to him, his preceptor Saiyid 'Alī Tirmizī is said to have

declared that a Saiyid could very rarely be a Sunnī. Ākhund Darwīza, therefore, advised his followers not to have a blind faith in the Saiyids, and that their teachings should be examined in the light of the accepted principles of Sunnī faith.¹⁷ He also unleashed his accusations against the contemporary 'ulamā and *ṣūfīs* and condemned them for their ignorance and susceptibility to heretical practices. The office of a saint could not, according to him, be inherited from the forefathers and it required personal piety and righteousness.

He has neither given a connected account of the teachings of Bāyazīd Rawshānā'ī nor has he systematically dealt with the life of Bāyazīd. It is written in a rambling style without the least coherence. Even in his condemnation of the tenets of Bāyazīd, the author does not hesitate to contradict himself and offer flimsy excuses and far-fetched interpretations regarding the popularity of the contemporary religious practices.

*Irshād-ut-Ṭālibīn*¹⁸ is a comprehensive work on Islāmic theology, its rites and dogmas, by Ākhund Darwīza. It mentions the Rawshāniyyās, Shī'as and heretics only in passing.

Works Written at the Mughal Court

*Akbar Nāma*¹⁹ written by Akbar's secretary, Shaikh Abdū'l Faḡl 'Allāmī, completed in 1004 H/1596 A.D., gives a detailed account of the struggle of the Mughals with the Rawshāniyyās. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*²⁰ written by Khwaja Nizām-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Bakhshī in 1001 H/1592-93 A.D., and *Mumtakhab-ut-Tawārikh*²¹ written by Mullā 'Abdul Qādir bin Mulūk Shāh Badāūnī in ca 1004 H/1595-96 A.D., *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī*²² or *Tarikh-i-Firishṭa* written by Muḥammad Qāsim Hindū Shāh Firishṭa in ca 1015 H/1606-7 A.D., comprise a brief account of the activities of the Rawshāniyyās and the efforts made by the Mughals to suppress them. The autobiography of Emperor Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*,²³ deals with the efforts of the Mughals to suppress the Rawshāniyyās very systematically, under the accounts of different years of the Emperor's reign. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbō Lāhaurī, in *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*²⁴ deals with Shāh Jahān's efforts to suppress the Rawshāniyyās at some length. The work was completed in 1070 H/1659-60. The official historian of Shāh Jahān, 'Abdul Ḥamid Lāhaurī, gave only a brief account of the Rawshāniyyās in *Pādshah Nāma*.²⁵ Shaikh Farīd bin Shaikh Ma'rūf Bukhārī, the author of *ẓakbīrat-ul-Khawānīn*,²⁶ comprising the biographical accounts of the Mughal nobles who lived from the time of Akbar to Shāh Jahān, was a protégé of Ilāhdād entit-

led Rashīd Khān. He has given a sympathetic account of the Rawshaniyyās. Shāh Nawāz Khān Awrangābādī, the author of *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*,²⁷ a detailed biographical dictionary of the Indian Timurīds, gave an account of the Rawshaniyyās on the basis of the works of the Mughal chroniclers and *ẓakḥīrat-ul-Khawānīn. Commentarius* of Father Monserrate, who accompanied Akbar from Fathpur Sikrī to Peshāwar in 1501, though not written at the Mughal court, embodies an exceedingly valuable account of the attitude of Akbar to the Rawshaniyyās and to other religious and secretarian controversies.

NOTES IV

¹ The Razā Library Rāmpur (India) manuscript is undated, but it appears to have been copied in the eighteenth century in *nasta'liq* within gold and coloured ruled borders. Pages 2 and 3 are illuminated. It comprises 425 pages with eleven lines to the page. Muḥammad 'Abdu'l-Shakūr published the work in 1952 from Pēshāwar. The edition is based on a copy slightly defective in the beginning.

² *Sīrat-ut-Tawḥīd* P. 195.

³ Subḥānullāh Collections, 'Aligarh Muslim University, 'Aligarh, India.

⁴ The manuscript in the Razā Library Rāmpur is a Persian version and was apparently copied in early eighteenth century in *nasta'liq*. It comprises 137 folios and 13 lines to a page; size 8.7" x 6.3"; 6.3" x 3.8". A copy of the Pashtō version of *Khair-ul-Bayān* was lent by someone to Sir E. Denison Ross but is not traceable now. It was noticed by Professor G. Morgentierne Oslo in the New Indian Antiquary, Vol. I. A microfilm copy of the Pashtō version is available in the British Museum, London, which seems to have been photographed from the copy lent out to Professor Ross. Arabic and Hindi versions were seemingly not in demand and disappeared very soon.

⁵ *Khair-ul-Bayān* Ff. 5a-8b.

⁶ Ablutions.

⁷ Performing *ḥaḍḡ* with sand instead of water, when the latter cannot be obtained.

⁸ A sacred ablution performed before prayer, which consists in washing first the hands, then the mouth inside, then throwing the water on the forehead, washing the face, the arms, and lastly the feet.

⁹ *Khair-ul-Bayān* F. 99b.

¹⁰ He was severely criticised by Ākhund Darwīza for the incongruity and want of proper syntactical relationships in his sentences. *Tazkīrat-ul-Abrār Wa'l Ashrār* P. 148.

¹¹ Shaiḫ Farīd Bhakkārī: *Zakhīrat-ul-Khawānīn* (Ḥabībganj, 'Aligarh Muslim University) F. 84b.

¹² G. Morgentierne Oslo: *Notes on an old Pashto Manuscript, containing the Khair-ul-Bayān of Bāyazīd Ansārī* (New Indian Antiquary Vol. I.)

¹³ The manuscript in the Razā Library Rāmpur comprises 141 folios. The Persian translation of the Arabic text is given under each line. Size 8.3" x 5.5"; 6.7" x 2.8". Lines to the page — 14. A copy of the work is available in the Aṣafīyya Library Hyderabad (Andhra Pradesh, India); another one belongs to Professor Muḥammad Shafī of Punjab (Pākistān).

¹⁴ Blumhardt, J. F.: *Catalogue of the Marāthī, Gujarātī, Bengālī, Assāmesē, Oryā,*

Pushtū and Sindhī Manuscripts in the Library of British Museum (London) 1905. Ms. 2 (Or. 6724), Cf. Or. 4234, Or. 396, Add. 27312, Ethé, H; *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, (Oxford) 1903. Manuscripts, Ethé 2632 and 2633 to 2637, Blochet: *Bibliothèque Nationale Paris*; Supplement 1220, Cambridge University, Or. 606 (9)

¹⁵ Leyden, J.: On the Roshenian Sect and its Founder, Bayazid Ansari (*Asiatic Researches*, XI, London 1812).

¹⁶ Published at Delhi in 1892.

¹⁷ *Tazkirat-ul-Abrār Wa'l-Ashrār* P. 15.

¹⁸ Published by Anwār Muḥammadi Press, Lucknow (Undated)

¹⁹ *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta 1873-1887; English translation by H. Beveridge; (Bib. Ind.) Calcutta 1897-1921.

²⁰ (Bib. Ind.) Calcutta 1913-1931; English translation by B. De (Bib. Ind.) Calcutta 1913-1936.

²¹ (Bib. Ind.) Calcutta 1864-69; English translation of Vol. II by Lowc, W. H. (Bib. Ind.) Calcutta 1884-98.

²² Bombay 1831-32, Lucknow 1281 H/1864-65.

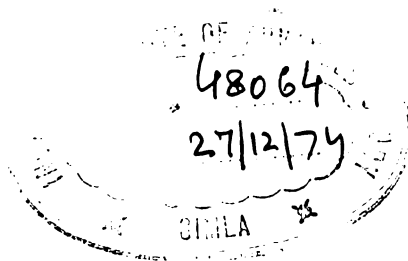
²³ *Toozuk-i-Jehageeree* with Muḥammad Hādī's continuation, edited by Syud Aḥmad, Ghazīpūr and 'Aligarh 1863-64; English translation by Rogers, A. and Beveridge, H. (London 1909-1914)

²⁴ (Bib. Ind.) Calcutta 1912-1938.

²⁵ (Bib. Ind.) 1866-1872.

²⁶ Ḥabibganj manuscript, 'Aligarh University Library, Vol. I comprising an account of the nobles of Akbar's reign. Published by the Pākistān Historical Society, Karāchi 1961.

²⁷ (Bib. Ind.) Calcutta 1887-1891.



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