

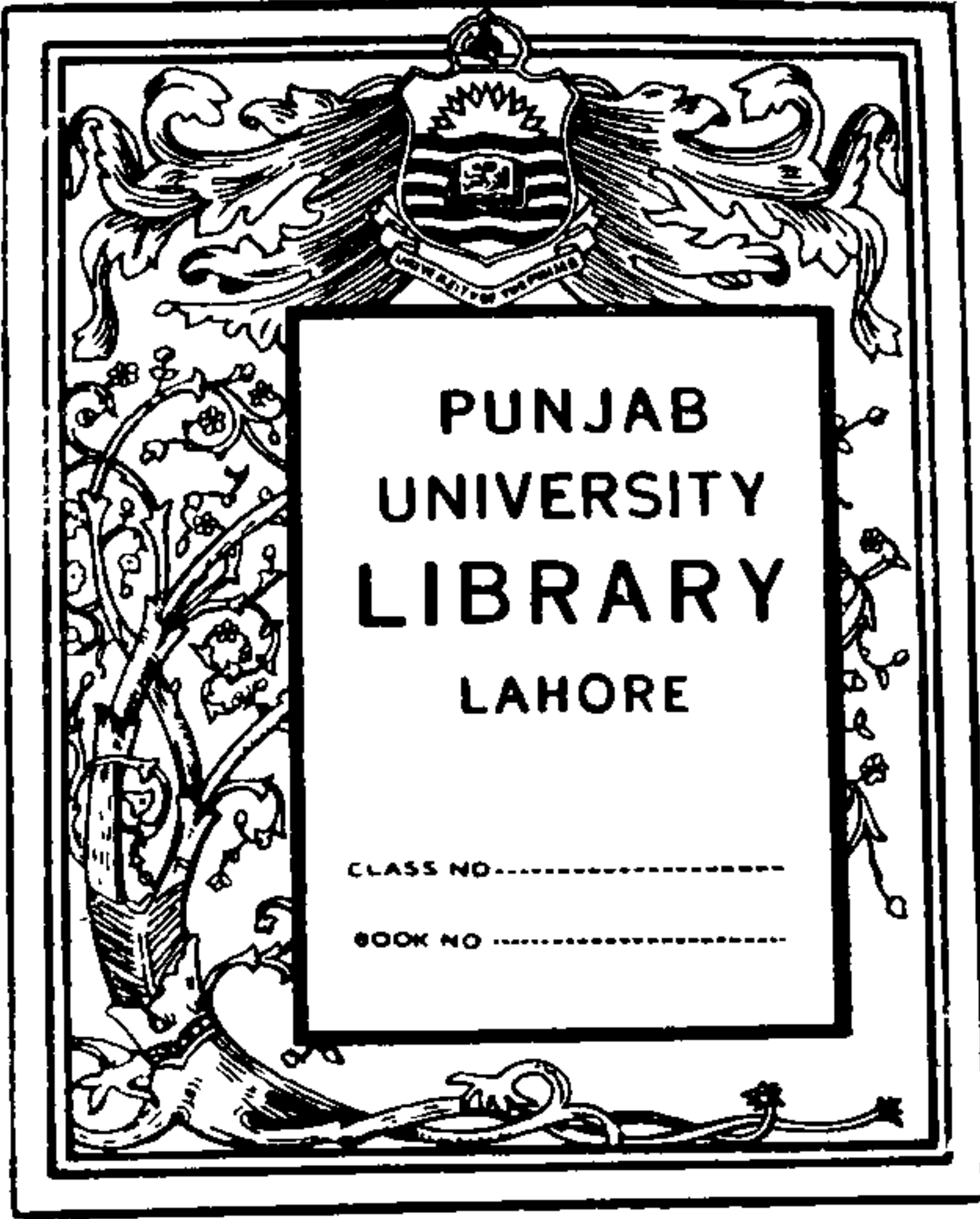


REMEMBRANCE

Proceedings of the
First Annual International
Milad an-Nabi Conference



Edited by A. A. Godley



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INTRODUCTION

Al-hamdu lillāhi rabb il-‘ālamīn.

Among many Muslims, celebrating the *Milād* or *Mawlid*—the birthday of Muḥammad, the Messenger of God ﷺ—is a controversial subject. Nevertheless the participants in the *First Annual International Milad an-Nabi* conference held in Chicago, 1994 all agreed that the controversy is unwarranted. Simply put, celebrating the *Milād* is harmonious with the principles of Islam. In holding this opinion, the participants agreed with the favorable opinions concerning the *Milād* expressed by great Islamic scholars of the past such as Ibn Taymiya, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziya, and Ibn Kathīr. Anyone wishing to research further the topic of the *Milād* and *Sharī‘a* should consult Shaykh Hisham Kabbani’s discussion of it in his *Innovation and True Belief: The Celebration of Mawlid*, 1994. For a summary of the history of *milād* ceremonies with examples drawn from a variety of Muslim societies and literatures, see Annemarie Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His Messenger*, 1985. In addition, the definitive treatment of the early history of the *mawlid* in Arab lands is the work of N. J. G. Kaptein, *Muḥammad’s Birthday Festival*, 1993.

Generally speaking, works in English on Islam and published by Muslim presses have neither measured up to the scholarly standards of the Muslim world nor to those set by Western Orientalists. Recently, however, these standards have been equaled or even surpassed by the separate publishing efforts of Noah Ha Mim Keller, Abdal Hakim Murad of the Islamic Texts Society, and Leonard Lewisohn of the Khaniqahi Ni‘matullāhī Press. Each has met or even exceeded the demands of both Islamic scholars and Western Orientalists. We hope that this volume, *Remembrance: Proceedings of the First Annual International Milad an-*

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Nabī Conference, will have come close to the high standards now being demanded for Islamic texts.

Unfortunately, the constraints of time did not allow the inclusion in this volume of many papers that were delivered at the *First Annual International Milad an-Nabī Conference*. We intend to remedy this by publishing a more complete edition of the proceedings as soon as possible.

In transliterating bibliographical material we have generally followed the guidelines of the Library of Congress, omitting, however, the *tā' marbūṭa* in pausal form.

We encourage you to notify the Naqshbandiya Foundation for Islamic Education of any errors in this publication. *Insha' Allāh*, we will be able to rectify our mistakes in subsequent editions. *Subhāna man lam yaj'al tarīqan ilá ma'rifatihī, illá bi-'ajzin 'an ma'rifatihī. Wa-ṣallá Allāhu 'alá sayyid il-mursalīn wa-'alá ālihī wa-ṣahbihi wa-sallim.*

—Ed.

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—ONE—

Islam: The Religion of Love
(*Dīn al-Maḥabba*)

Ahmed Mirza, M.D.
President
Naqshbandiya Foundation For Islamic Education

The Naqshbandiya Foundation is honored to host and sponsor the *First International Milad an-Nabi Conference 1994* in this great city of Chicago. We welcome you all with loving hearts, the scholars, Sufis, professors, *qaṣīda* and *na't* reciters, and participants—all lovers of Allah and His *Rasūl* ﷺ. This *Milād* gathering is a conference of love. Islam is a religion of love. Muslims are loving, kind, compassionate, tolerant, moderate, and positive thinking individuals who practice love and kindness toward others. A loving Muslim with a sensitive heart observes Islamic *adab*—a code of ethics and morality, a special spiritual courtesy. *Adab* should be applied to every aspect of life, and *Insha' Allāh* (God willing) we will observe the special *adab* for the *Milād* celebration. The theme of the conference is "Love of Allah ﷻ and His beloved Prophet ﷺ."

Love is an emotional state whose reality cannot be fully expressed in words. "*Wudd*" in Arabic means "the subtlest form of love."¹ It is mentioned in the Koran: *Inna lladhīna āmanū wa-‘amilū l-ṣāliḥāti sa-yaj‘alu lahumu r-raḥmānu wudda* (Verily, those who attain to

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faith and do righteous deeds will the All-Merciful endow with love) (Koran, *Maryam* 19:96). Here "wudd" (love) and "rahman," derived from the same root as *rahma* (mercy), are used together. *Wudd* is also mentioned in the Koran in a related form as a quality of Allah, *al-wadūd* (truly loving). In the following *āya*, *wadūd* (truly loving) and *ghufrān* (truly forgiving) are mentioned together: *Wa-huwa l-ghafūru l-wadūd* (And He alone is truly forgiving and loving) (Koran, *Burūj* 85:14). In addition to being a quality of Allah linked with forgiveness, in another *āya* *wadūd* is mentioned together with *rahīm* (all-merciful): *Wa-staghfirū rabbakum thumma tūbū ilayh. Inna rabbī rahīmun wadūd* (Ask your Sustainer to forgive you, and then turn towards Him in repentance—for, verily, my Sustainer is all-merciful, truly loving) (Koran, *Hūd* 11:90). *Al-Wadūd*, one of the "Beautiful Names of Allah" (*asmā' Allāh al-husnā*), means the source of Love.² In short, the significance of the Divine name *al-Wadūd* is that Allah has endowed human beings with an unlimited capacity to develop love.

Hubb in Arabic also means "love," and it too is mentioned in the Koran. *Walladhīna āmanū ashaddu ḥubban lillāh* (Those who have attained to faith love Allah more than anything else) (Koran, *Baqara* 2:165). Some have even asserted that the Prophet said, "*Al-Hubbu asāsī*" (Love is my foundation).³ Love is an essential part of our faith. We Muslims, therefore, love Allah ﷻ, who is the Creator of the universe (*Rabb al-ālamīn*). We love the Prophet ﷺ, who is "mercy for the universe" (*rahmatan lil-ālamīn*). Muslims also love Allah's creations and creatures.

Ishq, in Arabic, Persian, and Urdu means "ardent love" and is derived from the name "Ashiqa," a creeper plant, which grows rapidly and overcomes nearby plants. The implication of this derivation is that when love takes root in the heart of the lover, everything other than the Beloved, Allah ﷻ, is effaced.⁴

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Nothing other than the Beloved exists, and this is *'ishq i ilāhī* (love of Allah); it is the meaning of *Lā ilāha ill Allāh* (There is no god but God).

In addition to love of Allah ﷻ, "love" meaning *wudd*, *ḥubb*, and *'ishq* for our beloved Prophet ﷺ, is also the foundation of our faith, and this is *'Ishq i Rasūl* (love of the Prophet ﷺ) and the meaning of *Muḥammadun rasūl Allāh* (Muhammad is the messenger of God). The relationship of love of Allah and love of the Prophet is expressed in the following hadith mentioned by Muftī Muḥammad Amin al-Naqshbandī, a hadith that also illustrates the theme of our conference. "Reportedly somebody asked the Holy Prophet ﷺ 'O Apostle of Allah, when will I become a real and confirmed believer (*mu'min*)?' The Prophet ﷺ replied, 'When you will love Allah.' Then the questioner asked, 'My lord, when will I begin to love Allah?' The Prophet ﷺ responded, 'When you will love His Prophet ﷺ.' The questioner next asked, 'When will I begin loving his Prophet ﷺ?' The Prophet ﷺ answered, 'This will be when you obey his orders, follow in his footsteps, and observe his *Sunna*.'"⁵

The great Muslim poet and positive thinker Allāma Muḥammad Iqbāl said,

Dar dil-i muslim maqām-i Muṣṭafá ast
Abrū-yi mā zi nām-i Muṣṭafá ast.

In the heart of the Muslim is the station of the
Prophet

Our honor is from the name of the Prophet⁶

In the Muslim's heart there is a special place of respect and love for the Prophet ﷺ; and our honor, esteem, and identity are linked with His name. I would like to finish my paper with this prayer: O Allah, nourish me with Your love, and also nourish me with the love of those who can take me close to You!

Āmīn!

NOTES

1. The footnotes in this paper have been supplied by the editor. Ibn Qayyim defines "wudd" as follows: "Wudd is the quintessence of love (*khāliṣ al-ḥubb*), its most subtle and delicate degree" (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziya, *Rawḍat al-muḥibbīn* [Beirut: Dār al Kutub al-‘Ilmiya, n.d.], p. 46).

2. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziya noted two divergent views of the word "wadūd": one meaning "lover" and the other meaning "beloved" (Ibid., p. 47). Arabic lexicographers wrote that *al-wadūd*, applied to God, means "The [One Who is] loving toward his servants" (Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Qāsim Ibn al-Anbārī [d.328/940], in *Lisān al-‘Arab*) or, "[the One Who is loving] towards those who obey" (Bayḍāwī, in *Anwār al-tanzīl, sūra 85:14*) (Both cited by E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* [Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, reprint 1984], vol. 2, p. 2931). See also al-Ghazālī, *al-Maqṣad al-asnā*, trans. Robert Stade as *Ninety-nine Names of God* (Ibadan: Daystar Press, reprint 1974), pp. 91-92; and Daniel Gimaret, *Les noms divins en Islam* (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1988), p. 423-24.

3. Qādī Muḥammad Sulaymān Mansūrpūrī, *Mohammad: Mercy for the Universe*, trans. Sh. L. Abdul Rauf (Lahore: Sh. Mubarak Ali, n.d.), 226. Ghazālī notes that this was transmitted on the authority of ‘Alī (Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn* [Beirut: Dār al-Ma‘rifa, 1403/1982]), vol. 4, p. 361. ‘Irāqī, the well-known annotator of the ḥadīth of the *Ihyā’*, mentioned that he was unable to find a chain of transmission for it, but that Qādī ‘Iyād had cited it (Ibid., in its margins Zayn al-Dīn Abū al-Fadl ‘Abd al-Rahīm ibn al-Husayn al-‘Irāqī, *al-Mughnī ‘an ḥaml al-asfār*).

4. Ibn Manzūr, the famous Arabic lexicographer, wrote that "‘Ishq is ‘excessive love’... A lover is called an ‘āshiq because he wastes away—on account of the intensity of desire—just as the ‘ashaqa withers when it is cut; the ‘ashaqa being a bush that is verdant and then becomes brittle and yellowed" (Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, ed. ‘Abd Allāh ‘Alī al-Kabīr, et.

al. [Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, n.d.], vol. 4, p. 2958, s.v. "‘ishq.") Its derivation is discussed in Persian as follows. [‘*Ishq*] is derived from ‘*ashaqa*, which is a plant that winds around a tree, drinks the moisture of that tree, turns it yellow, and causes the leaves to fall. After a while the tree dies. Similarly, the lover (‘*āshiq*) "becomes ill, insane, or perishes" (Sayyid Ja‘far Sajjādī, *Farhang-i lughāt wa-iṣṭilḥāt wa ta‘bīrāt-i ‘arfānī* [Tehran: Kitābkhānah i Tahūrī, 1354 (solar)/1975], p. 332, s.v. ‘*ishq*). Mu‘in identifies the ‘*ashaqa* plant as the plant having the scientific name *Hedera helix*, which is a species of ivy (Muhammad Mu‘in, *Farhang-i fārsī, mutawassit* [Tehran: Mu‘assasah-i Intishārāt-i Amīr Kabīr, reprint 1362 [solar]/1983], vol. 2, p. 2304, s.v. "‘*ashaqa*"). For a discussion of ‘*ishq* by a western scholar see Joseph Bell, *Love Theory in Later Hanbalite Islam* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1979), pp. 162-67.

5. Al-Hājj Allāma Muftī Muḥammad Amīn, *Aab-e-Kauthar*, trans. Khursheed-uz-Zaman Hashemi (Muhammad-pura, Faisalabad [Pakistan]: Darul Uloom Ameenia Rizvia, n.d.), 28-29. His source is al-Jazūlī (Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān) (d. 869), *Dalā’il al-khayrāt*. See *Dalā’il al-khayrāt* in ‘Abd al-Qādir Zakī, ed., *al-Nafḥa al-‘aliya fī awrād al-Shādhiliya* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Mutanabbī, 1322), p. 54.

6. Iqbāl, *Asrār-i khudī*, line 350, cited in Annemarie Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His Messenger* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), p. 244.

—TWO—

Shāh Walī Allāh
and
Devotion to the Prophet

Marcia Hermansen, Ph.D.
Professor
San Diego State University

Devotion to the Prophet (ﷺ) played a prominent role in the thought and practice of Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi, a great Muslim scholar and thinker who died in 1176/1762. Shāh Walī Allāh was also a Naqshbandī Sufi with links to the Naqshbandīya-Mujaddidīya,¹ as well as to many other Sufi orders.² He is respected throughout the Muslim world and his works are still studied in Egypt, Iran, and Malaysia. In the sub-continent, all groups honor his contribution, including followers of the Deobandi school,³ the Ahl-e-hadith, and even Abū al-Aʿlā Mawdūdī, who has written of his contribution.⁴

**Works of Shāh Walī Allāh which concern the
Prophet ﷺ**

A number of Shāh Walī Allāh's lesser known works deal with the theme of devotion to the Prophet. Examples of such works are *Fuyūḍ al-ḥaramayn* (The Emanations of the Two Holy Cities), *Atyab al-nagham* (The Best of Melodious Recitations), and *al-Durr al-thamīn* (The Precious Pearl). This devotion is also demonstrated by the fact that early in his career he translated

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an abbreviated biography of the Prophet, *Nūr al-‘uyūn fī talkhīṣ siyar al-Amīn al-ma‘mūn* by Shaykh Abū al-Faḥ Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, from Arabic into Persian, giving it the title *Surūr al-makhzūn* (The Hidden Happiness).⁵

Some of these works refer specifically to practices of devotion in honor of the Prophet, including the celebration of the *mawlid* by Shāh Walī Allāh and his father, the Naqshbandī spiritual guide, Shāh ‘Abd al-Raḥīm (d. 1131/1719). Others reflect the process of communication which went on between the Sufi and the spirit of the Prophet in dreams and waking visions.

Fuyūd al-ḥaramayn

Fuyūd al-ḥaramayn was composed early in the career of Shāh Walī Allāh and reflects the Indian Naqshbandīya-Mujaddidīya Sufis tradition of compiling treatises containing the spiritual visions and dreams⁶ with which they were inspired during the performance of the pilgrimage to the Holy cities of Mecca and Medina.⁷

In this work Shāh Walī Allāh recounts these visions and the answers to spiritual questions which were provided to him during them. Many of the visions feature the spirit of the Prophet, whom he experiences as his spiritual guide.

In one section he specifically mentions attending a ceremony (*mawlid*) in honor of the Prophet's birthday while he was in Mecca for the *Hajj* season, 1144/1732.

"The light of Mercy (*rahmat*) is the strongest and is very apparent. Before this I had attended a blessed *mawlid* in Mecca in honor of the birthday of His Honored Presence, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him. People were reciting salutations and memorializing the remarkable signs which surrounded his noble birth and the visions which preceded his mission. Then I saw lights which flashed once, and I cannot say whether I perceived this with my physical sense of sight or with my spiritual insight, and God knows better

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which of them it was. I reflected upon these lights and I found that they came from the angels who are in charge of such apparitions and gatherings, and I saw that the lights of the angels are mixed with the lights of Mercy."⁸

A further report that concerns Shāh Walī Allāh and the commemoration of the *mawlid* is "As was my old custom on the 12th of Rabī' al-awwal, I read the Koran and had food distributed." He then reports on the blessings of such actions, which issue from the angels and the spirit of the Prophet.⁹

In the second volume of the author's most famous work, *Hujjat Allāh al-bāligha* (The Conclusive Proof from God), under the topic of Spiritual Practices (*iḥṣān*), specifically the form of remembrance (*dhikr*) of sending blessings on the Prophet, he discusses several well-known hadith on this theme:

The Prophet ﷺ said, "Whoever sends one salutation to me, I salute him in return ten times"¹⁰ and "The closest person to me on the Day of Resurrection will be the one who has sent the most salutations to me."¹¹ I say, "The inner meaning of these hadith is that human souls must turn to the divine states. There is nothing more effective in this [endeavor] than turning towards the lights of God's process of drawing nearer to us (*tadalliyāt*), turning towards the emblems of God on His earth, opening ourselves to receive them, and reflecting deeply on them and especially on the spirits of those who have drawn near to Allah. They are the best among the Higher Angels and are intermediaries of God's generosity to the people of the world, in the sense already mentioned. Remembering the Prophet ﷺ with reverence and seeking Allah's good things for him are a sound means of turning to God, due to their element of preventing deviation—in so far as a person is only remembering the Prophet in order to seek mercy for him from God the Exalted.

The spirits of the perfected ones, once they have separated from their physical bodies, become like a restrained wave. They are unshaken by a changing will

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or a chance motive, while the souls who are below them can become attached to them through concentrated zeal (*himma*) so that they become clothed in light from them and in a form appropriate to the spiritual.

This is what is expressed by his saying ﷺ "There is no person who sends *salāms* to me but that God returns my spirit to me so that I can return *salāms* to him."¹² I have witnessed such things on innumerable occasions during my voyage to Medina in the year 1144/1732.¹³

In *Fuyūd al-ḥaramayn* some of these occasions are recorded. *Fuyūd al-ḥaramayn* means "The Emanations of the Two Holy Cities," and the majority of the emanations refer to the person of the Prophet in the role of a spiritual guide who answers questions about Islamic doctrine and spiritual practice posed by the Sufi during waking visions and dreams. These demonstrate the sense of the Prophet as a living presence who continues to inspire and guide his followers directly. In some visions the Prophet mentions the high rank of the 'ulamā' (scholars) and the *muḥaddithūn* (scholars of hadith),¹⁴ and in a number of others he refers specifically to familiar conflicts which were causing tensions in the Muslim *umma* (community) at the time of Shāh Walī Allāh. Some of these issues were, for example, which of the legal schools should be preferred,¹⁵ the ranking of the early caliphs,¹⁶ and *waḥdat al-wujūd* (unity of existence) versus *waḥdat al-shuhūd* (unity of awareness).¹⁷ In his answers one sees the tendency to moderate and resolve such disputes, a tendency which Shāh Walī Allāh adopted in his major works, legal opinions, and *fatwās* (formal declarations about *sharī'a*).

Al-Durr al-thamīn

The treatise *al-Durr al-thamīn fī mubashsharāt al-Nabī al-āmin*¹⁸ is an unusual work since it contains forty reports which were received directly from the Prophet during the visionary experiences of either

Shāh Walī Allāh,¹⁹ his father, or his spiritual teachers. The first section records the compiler's own visionary experiences and repeats some of the visions found in the work, *Fuyūd al-ḥaramayn*. Two of the reports of his father's visionary experiences are especially relevant to the theme of this conference:

#16—The *durūd* (prayer of benediction) he received from his father: "My father commanded me to say the following salutation on the Prophet ﷺ, 'Allāhumma ṣallī 'alā muḥammadin al-nabī al-ummī wa-ālihi wa-bārik wa-sallim.' And I recited this in a dream and saw that the Prophet approved of this salutation."

#22—On the celebration of the *mawlid*: "My master, my father, informed me, saying, "On the *mawlid* days I used to have food prepared in honor of the Prophet ﷺ. One year I did not have anything to make the food with except fried chick peas, so I distributed these to the people. Then I saw him ﷺ with those chick peas in front of him, and he was smiling delightedly."

Aṭyab al-nagham

The work *Aṭyab al-nagham fī madḥ Sayyid al-‘arab wa-al-‘ajam* is comprised of four Arabic poems and their explanations in Persian, composed by the author at the request of his disciple, Muḥammad Āmin Kashmīrī.²⁰ He begins the work by stating, "This poor person, Walī Allāh, may God forgive him, says that praising the Master of the Prophets ﷺ and recording his outstanding traits (*manāqib*) are important ways of honoring his presence and remembering his Prophetic mission. Therefore I agreed to compose a *qāṣīda* (poem) on this topic."²¹ What follows is a description of each of these four poems:

1) The first *qāṣīda* is the one which he calls *Aṭyab al-nagham fī madḥ Sayyid al-‘arab wa-al-‘ajam* (The Best of Melodious Recitations in Praise of the Master of the Arabs and non-Arabs). He states that it resembles the Arabic *qāṣīda* of Sawād ibn Qārib,²² one of the

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Companions. The themes elucidated in the poem progress through twelve sections and feature difficult Arabic terms which are explained in the Persian commentary. The commentary is said to have been completed on 24 Rabī' al-thānī 1156 (17 June 1743).²³

2) The second of the Arabic poems is the "Hamziya," a form of verse in which every couplet ends in the letter "hamza" (the glottal stop of the Arabic alphabet). It is in the form of *na't* (a poem in praise of the Prophet). According to Baljon the poem was written in 1157/1745 and the commentary in 1177/1762.²⁴

3) The third is called a "tā'iya," a verse form in which every couplet ends in the letter "tā'."²⁵ Its orientation is mystical. In the commentary, Shāh Walī Allāh mentions the subtle spiritual centers (*latā'if*) and the stages of the spiritual evolution of the world (*adwār*).²⁶

4) The fourth is a "lāmīya," a verse form in which every couplet ends in the letter "lām."²⁷

The poem, "Atiyab al-nagham," is divided by the author into twelve sections. For each couplet he has provided a Persian commentary which explains the difficult words and the internal references to Koran or hadith.

The first section is the commencement of the poem, in which he mentions some difficult circumstances of the times, for which help must be sought from the spirit of the Prophet ﷺ.

The second section explains the most outstanding trait (*manqaba*) of the Prophet ﷺ, which is his intercession for the community on the Day of Judgment—as described in the *ṣaḥīḥ* (sound) hadith collections.

The third section puts forth some of the evidence (*dalā'il*)²⁸ of Muḥammad's ﷺ prophecy foretold by previous prophets such as Ibrāhīm, Ismā'īl, and 'Īsā (upon them be peace).

The fourth section clarifies another dimension of the evidence of prophecy, evidence gained by contem-

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plating the qualities (*shamā'il*)²⁹ and virtues of the Prophet ﷺ, such as the following: moderation of character, eloquence, bringing benefit to humanity, temperance, nobility, great zeal, courage, a forgiving nature, patience, asceticism, and so on.

Section five points out another type of evidence of prophecy which includes the situation of the Arabs and non-Arabs and their religions before the mission of the Prophet ﷺ. It reflects on the state of the "illiteracy" of the Prophet ﷺ and the fact that he did not frequent the company of scholars. The manner in which the Prophet ﷺ improved the situation of his people also constitutes a proof of his authenticity.

Section six explains yet another type of evidence that becomes apparent when reflecting on the divine law, which constitutes guidance for establishing worship, refining the soul, managing the household, and governing the state.

Section seven concerns the evidence of the Prophet's ﷺ miracles.

Section eight features a prayer for the family and companions of the Prophet ﷺ.

Section nine recalls and prays for the generations of Muslims who have firmly preserved the religion century after century.

Section ten discusses the love of the Prophet ﷺ and the *Uwaysi*³⁰ connection.

Section eleven completes the *qāṣīda* with a supplication (*ibtihāl*) for the Prophet ﷺ. In all, the poem and commentary are about twenty-three pages long.

In his work *al-Tafhīmāt al-ilāhiya*, Shāh Walī Allāh also discussed the practice of sending salutations to the Prophet:

"Praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds, and may salutations and blessings be upon our Master, Muhammad, and upon his family. If someone were to hold that

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"There is no benefit in sending salutations to the Prophet ﷺ, because the meaning of salutations is seeking mercy, ennobling, and confirming, and because the Prophet ﷺ has already reached a limit which cannot be surpassed, then this would be opposed to the [hadith] text which says "Whoever sends salutations to me once, I will salute him ten times."³¹ Thus this benefit returns to the one who sends salutations.³²

From this brief introduction we learn that Shāh Walī Allāh, who is recognized as one of the great Muslim scholars, both advocated and practiced sending salutations to the Prophet ﷺ, commemorating his noble birth, and experiencing him as a living presence and spiritual guide.

NOTES

1. Shāh Walī Allāh, *al-Tafhimāt al-ilāhiya* [(Sind: Shah Waliullah Academy, 1966).—ED], vol. 1, pp. 11-12 and *al-Intibāh fī salāsīl awliyā' Allāh*, (Karachi: 'Abbās Ktub Khānah, 1976 [reprint of 1344]), p. 5ff.

2. As mentioned in Shāh Walī Allāh, *al-Intibāh* and his other works.

3. On this see Barbara Daly Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982).

4. See for example Abū al-A'ālā Mawdūdī, *Tajdīd wa ihyā' al-dīn* (Rampur, 1954). At the same time it must be acknowledged that Mawdūdī tries to disengage the Sufism of Sirhindī and Shāh Walī Allāh from other aspects of their thought and activities (Abū al-A'ālā Mawdūdī, *A Short History of the Revivalist Movement in Islam*, trans. al-Ash'arī [Lahore: Islamic Publications, 1972], pp. 105ff and appendices).

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5. Shāh Walī Allāh, *Surūr al-makhzūn* (Lucknow: Maṭba'at al-Muṣṭafá, 1287 A.H.).

6. It should be pointed out that the Sufis did not consider these to be dreams in the common understanding of the term, since a distinction was not made between visionary experience in the waking state and visions which occurred during sleep, in which the dreamer was still considered to be in a conscious state rather than submerged in involuntary fantasy.

7. For example see Khwāja Muḥammad Ma'sūm (1599-1688), who made the pilgrimage in 1068/1657-58, *Hasanāt al-ḥaramayn* (N.p.); Shaikh 'Abd al Aḥad Waḥdat Sirhindī, *Latā'if al-Madaniya* (N.p.); and Muḥammad Āmin Badakhshī, *Natā'ij al-ḥaramayn* (completed in 1682).

8. Shāh Walī Allāh, *Fuyūd al-ḥaramayn* (Karachi: Muḥammad Sa'īd and Sons, n.d.), p. 80-81. This quotation is also cited by Muḥammad Shafī' Aukārvī in his *Barakāt-e-Milād sharīf* (Lahore: Diyā' al-Qur'ān, 1989), p. 8.

9. Muḥammad 'Āshiq, *al-Qawl al-Jalī*, Urdu trans. Hāfiz Taqī Anwār 'Alavī Kākorvī, (Kākorī, India: 1988), 97.

10. [Al Haythamī reported that Ṭabarānī included this hadith in his *al-Mu'jam al-awsaṭ*, on the authority of Anas ibn Mālik, who transmitted it from the Prophet. Ṭabarānī also stated that all of its transmitters were trustworthy ('Alī ibn Abī Bakr al-Haythamī, *Majma' al-zawā'id wa-manba' al-fawā'id* [Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, n.d.], vol. 10, p. 163)—ED.] Similar to Muslim, *Ṣaḥīh Muslim*, vol. 1, pp. 288-89, *ṣalāt* 11; and Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, vol. 2, p. 355, *witr* 21.

11. Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, vol. 2, pp. 354-55, *witr* 21.—ED.

12. Dārimī, *Sunan*, *manāsik* 96; Aḥmad ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 527.

13. Shāh Walī Allāh, *Hujjat Allāh al-bāligha*, ed. al-Sayyid Sābiq (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadīth, 1952-1953), p. 582.

14. Shāh Walī Allāh, *Fuyūd al-ḥaramayn*, pp. 139-143, #21.

15. *Ibid.* p. 144, #22; p. 184, #33.

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16. Ibid. p. 136-137, #19.
17. Ibid. pp. 21-25, #1.
18. Shāh Walī Allāh, *al-Durr al-thamīn fī mubashsharāt al-Nabī al-āmīn* (Delhi: Matba'at Ahmadi, 1899).
19. These same visions are recounted in Shāh Walī Allāh, *al-Tafhīmāt*, vol. 2, pp. 293-312, #247.
20. It is mentioned in a letter that Kashmirī was present at the time of Shāh Walī Allāh's sayings noted in his work *al-Qawl al-jalī*.
21. Shāh Walī Allāh, *Aṭyab al-nagham* (Delhi: Matba'at Mujtabā'i, 1307 A.H.).
22. Sawād Ibn Qārib had been a soothsayer (*kāhin*) in the pre-Islamic period. He died in Baṣra about the year 15 after the Hijra (Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Isāba fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba* [Cairo: Dār al-Nahḍa, 1970], vol. 3, p. 219-221 #3585). In one line of the poem, Shāh Walī Allāh paraphrases a line of Sawād: "*fa-kun lī shafī'an yawma lā dhū shafā'a, siwāka bi-maghnin 'an Sawād ibn Qārib*" (Shāh Walī Allāh, *Aṭyab*, p. 22; Ibn Hajar, p. 219).
23. J. M. S. Baljon, *Religion and Thought of Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī (1703-1762)* (Leiden: 1986), p. 11. Shāh Walī Allāh, *Aṭyab*, p. 23.
24. J. M. S. Baljon, p. 11; Shāh Walī Allāh, *Aṭyab*, p. 34.
25. The *tā'iya* is also printed without a commentary in Shāh Walī Allāh, *al-Tafhīmāt*, vol. 1, pp. 96-97, #30. It is believed to be an early composition.
26. The *latā'if* (subtle spiritual centers) are discussed in my paper, "Shāh Walī Allāh's Concept of the Subtle Spiritual Centers (*Latā'if*): A Sufi Model of Personhood and Self-Transformation," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 47, no. 1 (January 1988): pp. 1-25. The *adwār* refer to the idea that the spiritual capacity of humans develops through a spiritual history of humanity, in which eras are marked by the potential to awaken successively higher levels of being.

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27. Baljon suggests that the "*lāmiya*," was written before his journey to the Hijāz, since a verse is cited at the end of *fayḍ* #11, p. 114 of *Fuyūd al-ḥaramayn*. (Baljon, p. 10).

28. *Dalā'il al-nubūwa* is a genre dealing with the proofs of prophethood. For a discussion of this see Annemarie Schimmel *And Muhammad is His Messenger* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1985), p. 32ff.

29. Schimmel explains *shamā'il* as "literary expositions of the Prophet's lofty qualities and outward beauty" (Ibid., p. 33).

30. The term "*Uwaysī*" refers to Uways al-Qaranī, who lived in Yemen and became Muslim without ever physically meeting the Prophet. On the Sufi path, an *Uwaysī* initiation is one that occurs in the realm of the *malakūt* (suprasensible plane), not through the physical presence of teacher.

31. See above, note #10. There are similar versions in Muslim and Ibn Hanbal.

32. Shāh Walī Allāh, *al-Tafhīmāt*, vol. 1, p. 27ff. #11. This passage is referred to by Annemarie Schimmel, *Muhammad*, p. 94.

—THREE—

*The Naqshbandī Lineage
of
Shaykh Ma'şūm Naqshbandī*

A. A. Godlas, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor
University of Georgia

Although the various branches of the Naqshbandīya have had considerable historical impact throughout the world, that impact has not been felt in the United States—until recently. Now, American Muslims are growing disenchanted with the dry, rule-dominated, and often politically fixated versions of Islam that have dominated American Islamic centers and mosques for the last twenty years.¹ As a result, the Naqshbandīya and other traditional Sufi Orders are filling the void that exists in the lives and hearts of American Muslims.

One way in which the Sufi Orders are filling this void is by sponsoring events through which traditional Islamic devotion is returning to the hearts of Muslims. The most significant of these events is the celebration of the birthday of the Prophet ﷺ. The annual International Milad an-Nabi Conference held in Chicago, in which numerous Sufi orders and traditional Islamic scholars participate, is an important contribution to the renaissance of the Islamic heart.

The organization sponsoring the Annual International Milad Conference in Chicago is the Naqshbandiya Foundation for Islamic Education (NFIE).² In North

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America, the board of the Naqshbandiya Foundation consults with Shaykh Ma'sūm Naqshbandī on religious and spiritual matters.³ Consequently the spiritual lineage of Shaykh Ma'sūm should be of interest to Muslims and the general scholarly community. What follows consists of the names in Shaykh Ma'sūm's lineage (*silsila*) leading back to Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband—the shaykh from whom the Naqshbandī order takes its name—and then from Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn back to the Prophet ﷺ.

Scholars interested in researching the shaykhs of Shaykh Ma'sūm's lineage are advised to pursue the references that I have indicated in the notes to the lineage. In addition, the general reader is now fortunate in having at his or her disposal *The Naqshbandi Sufi Way: History and Guidebook of the Saints of the Golden Chain*. This is an easily readable work, part of which surveys most of Shaykh Ma'sūm's lineage, this lineage being the Naqshbandī-Khālidī *silsila* from the Prophet ﷺ to Mawlānā Khālid (d. 1242/1827).⁴ Readers who know Persian and are interested in the links between Shaykh Ma'sūm and Mawlānā Khālid of Baghdad, can read Tavakkulī's *Tārīkh-i taṣavvuf dar Kurdistān*.⁵

The chain of transmission (*silsila*) from Shaykh Ma'sūm Naqshbandī, leading back to Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband:

- 1) Shaykh Muḥammad Ma'sūm Diyā'ī Naqshbandī⁶
- 2) Shaykh Jamīl Naqshbandī (d. 1349/1930-31)⁷
- 3) 'Umar Diyā' al-Dīn (d. 1318/1900-1901)⁸
- 4) Muḥammad Bahā' al-Dīn (d. 1289/1872-73)⁹
- 5) 'Uthmān Sirāj al-Dīn (d. 1283/1866-67 or 1284/1868)¹⁰
- 6) Mawlānā Khālid (d. 1242/1827)
- 7) 'Abdallāh (Shāh Ghulām 'Alī) al-Dihlawī (d. 1240/1824)

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- 8) Shams al-Dīn Ḥabīb Allāh (Mīrzā Mazhar) Jān Jānān (d. 1195/1781)
- 9) al-Sayyid Nūr Muḥammad al-Badā'ūnī (d. 1135/1722-23)
- 10) al-Sayyid Muḥammad Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1095/1683-84)
- 11) Muḥammad Ma'sūm (d. 1079/1668)
- 12) al-Imām al-Rabbānī al-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Farūqī (d. 1034/1624)
- 13) Muḥammad Bāqī Billāh (d. 1012/1603)
- 14) Muḥammad Khwājakī Amkanakī (d. 1008/1599-1600)¹¹
- 15) Darwish Muḥammad (d. 970/1562)¹²
- 16) Muḥammad Qāḍī al-Zāhid (d. 936/1529)¹³
- 17) 'Ubayd Allāh Ahrār (d. 895/1490)
- 18) Ya'qūb al-Charkhī (d. 851/1447)
- 19) 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Attār (d. 802/1400)¹⁴
- 20) Bahā' al-Dīn al-Naqshband (d. 791/1389)

The Khwājagān chain of transmission traced back from Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband to the Prophet ﷺ.

- 20) Bahā' al-Dīn al-Naqshband (d. 791/1389)¹⁵
- 21) al-Sayyid Amīr Kulāl (d. 772/1371)
- 22) Muḥammad Bābā Sammāsī (d. 755/1354)
- 23) 'Alī al-Rāmītanī (d. 715/1316) or (721/1321)¹⁶
- 24) Maḥmūd Anjīr Faghnavī (d. 685/1286-87), (710/1310-11), or (715/1315-16)¹⁷
- 25) 'Arif Rīvgarī (d. 649/1251-52) or (d. 715/1315-16)¹⁸
- 26) 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Ghijduvānī (d. 575/1179) or (d. 617/1220)¹⁹
- 27) Yūsuf al-Hamadānī (d. 535/1140) or (d. 536/1141)²⁰
- 28) Abū 'Alī al-Fārmadī (d. 477/1084)²¹
- 29) Abū al-Hasan al-Kharaqānī (d. 425/1033)²²
- 30) Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī (d. 261/874) or (264/877-78)²³

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- 31) Ja'far al-Şādiq (d. 148/765)²⁴
- 32) Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr al-Şiddīq
(d. 107/725)²⁵
- 33) Salmān al-Fārsī (d. 36/656)²⁶
- 34) Abū Bakr al-Şiddīq (d. 13/634)
- 35) Muḥammad, the Messenger of Allāh ﷺ
(d. 11/632)

In tracing their lineages back to the Prophet ﷺ, the Naqshbandīya—and all traditional Sufi orders—affirm that the origins of Sufism derive from the quality of the consciousness and actions of the Prophet ﷺ. They assert, like Hazrat-i Data Ganj Bakhsh (Hujwīrī), that at the time of the first generations of Muslims, Sufism was a reality that did not have a separate and verbalized identity; Sufism and Islam were one and the same.²⁷ Furthermore, in tracing their lineages back to the Prophet ﷺ, Sufis affirm that Sufism is not a foreign import into Islam, that it is not some alien "innovation," but that it is a particular manifestation of inherently Islamic principles. All traditional Sufi lineages, all Naqshbandī lineages, including that of Shaykh Ma'şūm's, represent particular flowerings of the spirit of Islam.

NOTES

1. As Sufis such as Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jazā'irī (d. 1300/1883) have demonstrated, spirituality and political activity often go hand in hand (for al-Jazā'irī, see Zirīklī, vol. 4, pp. 45-46). Politically fixated Islam, on the other hand, becomes so focused on success that the desired political objective takes on deity-like proportions, as Allah recedes into the background. Traditional Sufis have advised against this.

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cautioning Muslims against what they have called *al-shirk al-khafī* (subtle polytheism).

2. The aim of the organization (NFIE) is to promote a general revival of Islamic spirituality, one which appreciates the various orders (*turuq*) and shaykhs, but which is not limited to any particular shaykh or order.

3. Personal communication from the NFIE board, July 10, 1995.

4. Shaykh Muhammad Hisham Kabbani, *The Naqshbandi Sufi Way: History and Guidebook of the Saints of the Golden Chain* (Chicago: Kazi Publications, 1995). The outstanding feature of this work is the detailed yet fascinating biographies of the Naqshbandi-Haqqani continuation of the lineage to its current head, Shaykh Nazim Adil al-Haqqani. Another work intended for the general public and comprising, in part, the Khwājagān section of the Naqshbandī lineage is *Masters of Wisdom of Central Asia*, this being a translation of the Turkish work, *Hacegan Hanedanı* (Hasan Shushud, *Masters of Wisdom of Central Asia*, trans. Muhtar Holland [Moorcote, Ellingstring, England: Coombe Springs Press, 1983]).

5. Muhammad Ra'ūf Tavakkulī, *Tārīkh-i taṣavvuf dar Kurdistān* (Tehran: Ishraqī, 1359 [solar]/1980 or before)

6. Shaykh Ma'sūm is the son of Shaykh Jamīl Naqshbandī (Ja'far Naqshbandī [a son of Shaykh Ma'sūm], telephone interview, August 15, 1995).

7. Shaykh Jamīl was one of five sons of Shaykh 'Umar Diyā' al-Dīn (see note eight, below). The well-known contemporary shaykh, Shaykh 'Uthmān Sirāj al-Dīn II, is the son of Shaykh Jamīl's eldest brother, Shaykh 'Alā' al-Dīn (Ja'far Naqshbandī, telephone interview, August 15, 1995; and Tavakkulī, p. 219).

8. Shaykh 'Umar had five sons: the eldest being 'Alā' al-Dīn, and then Najm al-Dīn; the three younger sons were Shaykh Jamīl, Kāmil, and Anwar ('Abdallāh Naqshbandī [a son of Shaykh Ma'sūm], telephone interview, August 17, 1995). Tavakkulī only mentions the two eldest sons of Shaykh 'Umar Diyā' al-Dīn: Shaykh 'Alā' al-Dīn and Shaykh Najm al-Dīn (Tavakkulī, p. 219). One of Shaykh 'Umar's most

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prominent disciples was Muḥammad Amīn (ibn Faṭḥ Allāh al-Irbilī) al-Kurdī (d. 1332/1914), the well-known shaykh and author of the popular Naqshbandī manual, *Tanwīr al-qulūb*. Shaykh Muḥammad Amīn wrote that his *silsila* went from his shaykh, 'Umar Diyā' al-Dīn, to Shaykh 'Umar's father, 'Uthmān Sirāj al-Dīn (d. 1283 or 84). From here on, his *silsila* is the same as Shaykh Ma'sūm's (Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī, *Tanwīr al-qulūb* [Aleppo: Dār al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1404/1983], p. 531; for Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī's biography see Zirīklī, vol. 6, p. 43).

9. After the passing of Muḥammad Bahā' al-Dīn, his younger brother 'Umar Diyā' al-Dīn (son of Shaykh 'Uthmān) succeeded him (Tavakkulī, p. 217-18). Tavakkulī also notes that "After Shaykh Muḥammad Bahā' al-Dīn, Shaykh Ḥusām al-Dīn guided aspirants" (Ibid., p. 219). Shaykh Ḥusām al-Dīn was the only son of Shaykh Muḥammad Bahā' al-Dīn (Ḥamīd Naqshbandī [a son of Shaykh Ma'sūm], telephone interview, August 17, 1995).

10. Two sons of Shaykh 'Uthmān succeeded him after he passed away. First, his son, Muḥammad Bahā' al-Dīn, was his immediate successor (Ibid., p. 217), and then 'Umar Diyā' al-Dīn (Ibid., p. 217-18).

11. Algar and Buehler read Muḥammad Amkanakī (Ḥamid Algar, "A Brief History of the Naqshbandī Order," in *Naqshbandis: Historical Development and Present Situation of a Muslim Mystical Order*, ed. Marc Gaborieau, Alexandre Popovic, and Thierry Zarcone [Istanbul: Editions Isis, 1990], p. 20; Arthur Buehler, "Charisma and Exemplar: Naqshbandī Spiritual Authority in the Panjab, 1857-1947," [Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1993]: p. 36a). Al-Khānī (d. 1318/1900), however, writes the *hamza*' beginning Shaykh Muḥammad's *nisba* as a *kasra*, and hence it would be pronounced "Imkanakī" ('Abd al-Majīd ibn Muḥammad al-Khānī, *Ḥadā'iq al-wardīya* [N.p., 1st ed. 1306; Damascus: 'Abd al-Wakīl al-Durūbī (?), reprint n.d.], p. 177); Buehler has informed me that in a recent publication in German, F. Meier has clarified much information on the early Naqshbandī *silsila*.

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12. Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of India* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1983), vol. 2, p. 187 and Buehler, p. 36a.

13. Rizvi, vol. 2, p. 187 and Buehler, p. 36a.

14. For this date see al-Khānī, p. 147. Buehler lists 803/1400.

15. Bahā' al-Dīn's direct initiation by the spiritual dimension (*rūḥānīya*) of 'Abd al-Khāliq Ghijduvānī is considered to be of greater significance than his initiation by shaykhs whom he physically met (Hamid Algar, "The Naqshbandī Order: A Preliminary Survey of Its History and Significance," *Studia Islamica* 44 [1976]: pp. 130-31).

16. Al-Khānī, Algar, Buehler, and Shaykh Hisham Kabbani read his name 'Alī al-Rāmītanī (as mentioned above in the text). Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī al-Ṣafī's (d. 939/1532-3) unvocalized reading, however, is al-Rāmīnī (he does not provide the vocalization of the "mīm") (Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Ḥusayn al-Ṣafī, *Rashahāt-i 'ayn al-hayāt*, ed. 'Alī Aṣghar Mu'īniyān [Tehran: Intishārāt-i Bunyād-i Nikūkārī-yi Nūriyānī, 1977], vol. 1, p. 62). For his version, Ahmad 'Irāqī sides with the *Rashahāt* 'Khwāja Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Pārsā'ī Bukhārā'ī, *Qudsiya*, ed. Ahmad Tahiri 'Irāqī [Tehran: Kitābkhānah-i Tahūrī, 1354 (solar)/1975], p. 37. With regard to his death date, Buehler and all of 'Irāqī's sources except Ṣafī state 721/1321 as his death date. Ṣafī, on the other hand, notes it as being 715/1316. Shaykh Hisham Kabbani, like 'Irāqī, includes both 715 and 721 as the possible dates of al-Rāmītanī's death (Kabbani, p. 147).

17. Algar reads "Anjīr" (the Persian pronunciation of the word meaning "fig" (Algar, "A Brief History," p. 9). Al-Khānī, however, prefers the Turkish pronunciation "Injīr" (Al-Khānī, p. 119). Buehler notes him as Maḥmūd Abū'l-Khayr Faghnavī (Buehler, p. 36a). Ahmad 'Irāqī has found the three possible death dates for Anjīr Faghnavī mentioned above: 685, 710, and 715 (Ahmad 'Irāqī, ed., p. 36). Buehler notes his death as being in 717/1317 (Buehler, p. 36a).

18. Ahmad 'Irāqī has found these two alternative dates (649 AH and 715 AH) for Rīvgarī's passing (Pārsā, p. 36). The year 649 AH seems more reasonable than Buehler's

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616/1219 (Buehler, 36a). With al-Ghijduvānī's passing being in 617/1220, if the disciple (Rīvgarī) had passed away prior to his shaykh, it probably would have been mentioned in the literature.

19. 'Irāqī notes that most of the sources assert the date of Ghijduvānī's passing to be 575/1179, but that Sa'īd Nafīsī considered the date to be 617/1220 ('Irāqī, p. 33). Shaykh Hisham sides with the majority of the traditional sources and affirms the earlier date, whereas Algar lists the later date (Kabbani, p. 135; and Algar, "A Brief History," p. 9).

20. Algar and Shaykh Hisham both list his passing as being in 1140 (Algar, "The Naqshbandī Order," p. 131; Kabbani, 117), but more recently Algar has stated the date to be 536/1141 (Algar, "A Brief History," p. 6). Because of the difficulty in dating the passing of many of the earlier figures, beyond Yūsuf al-Hamadānī I shall be content with simply providing a date and documenting my source.

21. Kabbani, p. 111.

22. J. T. P. De Bruijn, "Kharāqānī," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986), vol. 4, pp. 1057-1059. Kharāqānī's initiation from Biṣṭāmī, like Biṣṭāmī's from Ja'far al-Ṣādiq and Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband's from 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Ghijduvānī, was by way of a "spiritual" (*rūḥānīya*) connection. That is to say, it was obtained without the two men making contact in this world. See Algar, "The Naqshbandī Order," pp. 130-1, for a succinct discussion of the *rūḥānī* means of initiation.

23. H. Ritter, "Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986), vol. 1, pp. 162-63.

24. M. G. S. Hodgson, "Dja'far al-Ṣādiq," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986), vol. 2, pp. 374-375.

25. Khayr al-Dīn al-Zirīklī, *al-A'lām* (Beirut: Dār al-'Ilm lil-Malāyīn, 1986), vol. 5, p. 181. One of the virtues of Zirīklī is that he indicates his sources and provides adequate documentation. Thus the interested researcher can then easily consult the traditional sources.

26. Zirīklī, vol. 3, pp. 111-12; G. Levi della Vida wrote that the sources do not agree about the date of his death (G.

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Levi della Vida, "Salmān al-Fārisī," *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. H. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974], pp. 500-501).

27. "At the time of the companions (*ṣahāba*) and forebears (*salaf*), this name [Sufism] did not exist, but its meaning was present in everyone" (Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Uthmān al-Jullābī al-Hujwīrī, *Kashf al-mahjūb*, ed. V. A. Zuckovskij [Tehran: Kitābkhānah-i Tahūrī, reprint 1399/1979], p. 49; see also al-Hujwīrī, *The Kashf al-mahjūb*, trans. Reynold A. Nicholson [London: Luzac, reprint 1967], p. 44).

—FOUR—

*The Celebration of the
Birthday of the Prophet*

صلى الله
عليه وسلم

Shaykh Ma'sūm Naqshbandī

Translated by A. A. Godlas, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor
University of Georgia

In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful¹

All praise belongs to God, Who by His assistance exalts Islam, and Who, by His wrath, debases the worship of other things as gods. God is the One Who by His own command administers all affairs and Who by gratitude to Him perpetuates all bounties. God is the One Who leads the disbelievers on by His stratagems. By His generosity, God has put the final outcome in the hands of those who are conscious of God (*muttaqīn*), and He has enabled His religion to prevail over all other religions.

I praise Him for His exaltation of His saintly friends (*awliyā*) and for His help to those who assist Him. I bear witness that there is no god but God; He is one, without partner. I bear witness with the testimony of those who have purified their hearts through "affirming God's oneness" (*tawhīd*), by means of which they have pleased their Sustainer. And I bear witness that our master Muḥammad ﷺ is His servant and His messenger, the one whose Sustainer transported him by night from the *Masjid al-Ḥarām* to the *Masjid al-*

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Aqṣá.² From there, by means of God he ascended to the highest heavens, to the *Sidrat al-Muntahá*, the lotus tree in the highest heaven, which contains the paradise of refuge.³ May God send blessings and peace to him and to his successors, Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān, and ‘Alī.

I present my greetings and congratulations to my honorable brothers and sisters in attendance at this blessed festival of the birth of the supreme messenger, Muḥammad ﷺ. Praise and gratitude is due to God, that unrivaled Sustainer who has bestowed upon those responsible success at convening such a conference and festival to honor the birthday of the Seal of the Prophets ﷺ. I beseech God that all those who have taken the pains to organize this meeting will obtain the benefit of abundant reward and recompense for their efforts.

Let us begin with the noble āya, "O humankind, We created you from male and female, and we made you different peoples and tribes, so that you can endeavor to know one another. Indeed, the noblest of you, from the perspective of God, are the most conscious of God" (Koran, *Hujurāt* 49:13).

You should realize that this āya formally recognizes communities, peoples, and tribes. Nevertheless it simply acknowledges that social groupings are a means for people to get to know one another. In fact, from God's perspective (as this āya asserts) the only distinguishing virtue among people is the degree to which they are conscious of God. Moreover, this āya does not acknowledge the validity of political boundaries, which have been a cause of disunity among Muslims.

Today, we have gathered to celebrate the birth of the Messenger ﷺ, since God in his glorious speech has declared, "Indeed God bestowed a favor upon the believers when he raised up in their midst a messenger from among themselves to convey His signs (āyāt) unto them, to purify them, and to teach them the divine

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book as well as wisdom—whereas before that they were indeed, most obviously, lost in error" (Koran, *Al 'Imrān* 3:164). In this *āya*, [by endowing the Prophet with revelation] God bestowed upon the believers the favor of the mercy of guidance and hope.

"And in the Messenger of God you have a good model for everyone who hopes for God and the Last Day, and who remembers God unceasingly (*kathīran*)" (Koran, *Ahzāb* 33: 21). If one looks carefully [at the Prophet ﷺ as a "good model," one will see that] God has united in him all of the qualities of the major prophets, these qualities being as follows:

- 1) Noah's endurance of hardship
- 2) Abraham's emigrating
- 3) Moses' struggling against Pharoah
- 4) Jesus' asceticism, piety, and his detachment from the world.

Addressing the Messenger ﷺ, God said, "...and devote yourself to Him [meaning God] with utter devotion" (Koran, *Muzammil*, 73:9).⁴ Elsewhere God again addressed Muhammad ﷺ, "O Prophet, Indeed We sent you as a witness and bearer of good tidings, as a warner and summoner to God with His permission, and as an illuminating beacon" (Koran, *Ahzāb* 33: 45-46).

God endowed the Messenger ﷺ with the greatest everlasting and constant miracle, which is the Koran. And He delivered the following universal address to the *jinn* and human beings, an address that will apply until the Day of Resurrection: "Say, 'If all mankind and the *jinn* would come together and try to produce something like this Koran, they would not be able to produce it even if they were to exert all their strength in aiding one another!'" (Koran, *Isrā'* 17:88).

The miracles of the other prophets have disappeared with their deaths. The chilling of the fire for Abraham,⁵ the transforming into a serpent of Moses' staff,⁶ Jesus' giving life to the dead and curing those born blind and deaf,⁷ all of these miracles subdue

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[only] the physical senses. The miracle of the Koran, however, subdues the human mind and its thoughts. Numerous times we find in the Koran *āyāt* such as: "Indeed there are signs in that for a people who use their intelligence," "Will they not think!" and "Will they not use their intelligence?"⁸

My dear brothers and sisters, the birth and the mission of the Messenger ﷺ represent the critical point in the history of humanity. This is a clearly marked juncture between, on the one hand, the darkness of ignorance, superstitions, and ancient fables, and on the other, the light of knowledge and the nurturing of intelligence and human civilization. The juncture is marked by the first revelation revealed to the Messenger ﷺ: "Recite in the Name of your Sustainer who created, who created humankind from a clot. Recite, for your Sustainer is most generous, the one who taught humankind by the Pen, He taught humankind what they did not know" (Koran 'Alaq 96:1-5).

My dear brothers and sisters, there are three types of festivals: The first are festivals prescribed by *shari'a*, which involve ceremonies of worship such as prayer and *takbīr*,⁹ during which time Muslims also visit with one another, such as on Festival of the Breaking of the Fast ('Id al-Fitr) and the Festival of the Sacrifice ('Id al-Adhā). The second are festivals of respect, in which we honor the memory of great religious figures and celebrate our joy at their birth. And the third are festivals connected to the natural world, such as the celebration of the new year (*naw rūz*), which is a custom observed by people.

Since we—and all praise is due to God—are of the community of the Prophet ﷺ, we can celebrate the second type of festival, a festival of respect, at the birth of Muhammad ﷺ. In other words, by celebrating his birth, we can honor him, and show respect for the Di-

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vine Messenger who is the most noble of all created beings ﷺ.

The purpose of this *Milād* gathering is to celebrate a long-standing ceremony. It dates back to the first generations of Muslims, namely to the *tābi'ūn* (the successors--namely the generation who came after the companions of the Prophet [*ṣaḥāba*]). It is a festival that has continued to be a means of reminding the community of Islam of the teachings, outstanding qualities, and traditions of the Messenger ﷺ. And also it has been a way that Muslims have kept alive the awareness of both the tribulations of the noble Prophet of Islam ﷺ as well as the sacrifices his companions endured, in order to transmit the divine commands and instructions generation after generation all the way down to us.

I am both surprised and saddened that groups of Muslims who envision themselves as not being blind imitators criticize the celebration of the *Milād*, the festival of the birthday of the Messenger ﷺ. They say that they only accept the Koran, that they neither follow the first generations of Muslims nor the great religious leaders, the *mujtahid imāms* [who founded the schools of Islamic law].

The reply that can be given to these groups is that by following the Koran alone, one cannot even recite a single canonical prayer or pay *zakāt*. Although the Koran declares that one must perform canonical prayers and pay *zakāt*, neither does it give the number of *rak'ats*¹⁰ of our prayers nor the minimum amount of a commodity on which *zakāt* should be paid; none of these details are specified in the Koran. The same holds true for many religious responsibilities that derive from the principle religious duties and essential aspects of Muslim life, such as marriages. The companions, successors, the chief legal scholars of the first generations of Muslims (may God reward them with goodness) all recorded and explained the principles and particular

writes that the *isnād* is in the *Zahr al-firdaws* (vol 4, p. 183), and he cites the hadith on the authority of Abū Hurayrah (Shīrawayh ibn Shahrādār ibn Shīrawayh al-Daylamī, *al-Firdaws bi-al-ma'thūr al-khitāb*, ed. al-Sa'īd ibn Basyūnī Zaghlūl [Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiya, 1406/1986], vol. 5, p. 31).

24. In his *isnād*, Ibn Ṭāhir [al-Maqdisī ?] put Ibrāhīm in place of Abū Hurayrah and said that Ibrāhīm was "problematic or enigmatic" (*mu'dil*), and there is [a critical] view about him" (Zayn al-Dīn al-'Irāqī, *al-Mughnī*, vol. 2, p. 8). Both 'Irāqī's and Zabīdī's analyses are repeated in Abū 'Abd Allāh Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad al-Haddād, *Takhrīṭ aḥādīth lhyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* (al-Riyād: Dār al-'Āsimah, 1408/1987) vol. 2, p. 912.

25. Suyūṭī stated that the hadith was transmitted on the authority of Abū Hurayrah, but that Ibn Lāl noted that it was in Ṭabarānī and Bayhaqī, and that he considered it to be weak (Jalāl al-Dīn ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *Jāmi' al-aḥādīth lil-Jāmi' al-ṣaghīr wa-zawā'idih wa-al-Jāmi' al-kabīr*, ed. 'Abbās Aḥmad Ṣaqr (?) and Aḥmad 'Abd al-Jawwād (Damascus: Muḥammad Hāshim al-Kutubī, n.d.), vol. 7, p. 266). Many of the views of the classical scholars are summed up by the contemporary scholar, Ḥamdī 'Abd al-Majīd al-Salafī, Quḍā'ī's editor. He cites Suyūṭī in *al-Jāmi' al-kabīr* as relating the hadith to Ibn Lāl. Al-Salafī also notes that Bayhaqī considered it to be weak; and following Bayhaqī, he states that there are some unknown transmitters in its *isnād*. Nevertheless al-Salafī seems to have neglected 'Irāqī's positive comments on Quḍā'ī's *isnād* (Quḍā'ī, vol. 1, p. 408).

26. Pārsā, p. 28.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 137.

28. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Qazwīnī Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, ed. Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-'Ilmiya, n.d.), vol. 2, p. 1249, adab #55.

29. Being categorized as *ḥasan* (agreeable) meant in general that a hadith was acceptable, although it was not as credible as a *ṣaḥīḥ* (sound) hadith. A hadith was considered "gharīb" (strange), when it had only one narrator at one point in its *isnād* (Muḥammad Mustafa Azami, *Studies in Hadīth*

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All such divergent thoughts, deviations from the correct path, and breaking from tradition that have appeared in various periods of Islamic history have derived from the neglectfulness of Muslim rulers and governing councils. Specifically, these Muslim rulers and councils allowed people with false doctrines, together with their followers, to take root. Sadly, the bitter fruit deriving from those roots is now clear and obvious. The Prophet ﷺ declared, "What I fear most for my people are evil scholars."

Since the subject we are discussing is the festival of the birthday of the Prophet and his veneration, it is not inappropriate to mention a few lines from the poetry of Shaykh Sa'dī of Shīrāz.

God praised and venerated you
Gabriel [humbly] kissed the ground to magnify you

The high heavens are ashamed before your stature
You were created when Adam was still but water and
clay

From the beginning, the origin of existence was you
Everything that came into being derived from you

I do not know what to say about you
since you are beyond whatever I can say about you

In confirming you, sufficient is the exaltedness of "Were
it not for you [were it not for you, I would not have
created the cosmos]."

In praising you, sufficient are [the *sūrahs*] Ṭā Ha' and
Yā Sīn

How can this defective Sa'dī describe you?
May blessings be upon you, O Prophet, and peace!¹¹

O God, You guide whomever You wish. Do not lead us
astray! Do not let our hearts deviate after You have
guided us by Your benevolence and generosity and by

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the magnificence of Your Prophet, the Prophet of Mercy. Indeed, You are nearby, all-hearing; and You answer those who call upon You, O You who are the Most Merciful of All!

May your Sustainer, the Sustainer of exaltedness, be affirmed as transcending whatever can be said about Him. And may peace be upon all Divine Messengers. All praise belongs to God, the Sustainer of all worlds. May God send blessings upon the best of His creation, our master Muhammad, and upon His pure and inerrant family, at the beginning of all words and at their end. And upon you may God send peace, His mercy, and His blessings!

NOTES

1. Professor Hamid Algar and myself, independently of one another, each translated Shaykh Ma'sūm's talk. After becoming aware of this, Professor Algar kindly gave me permission to compare his translation with mine. Although I have utilized his translation to make some corrections and render some words more suitably, the responsibility for any mistakes and inadequacies rests with me. Similarly I have added all of the notes to Shaykh Ma'sūm's talk. Any shortcomings in these are mine alone.

2. In mentioning God's transporting the Prophet ﷺ by night, Shaykh Ma'sūm is referring to the *mi'rāj* (night journey) of the Prophet ﷺ. See Koran, *Isrā'* 17:1.

3. The prophet's becoming aware of the *Sidrat al-Muntahá*, the lotus tree in the highest heaven, is indicated in Koran, *Najm* 53: 13-16.

4. The first part of this *āya* is within brackets "[And remember the name of your Sustainer] and devote yourself to Him with utter devotion" (Koran, *Muzammil*, 73:9).

5. Koran, *Anbiyā'* 21:69.

6. Koran, *Shu'arā'* 26:45.

7. Koran, *Mā'ida* 5:110.

8. See, for example, Koran, *Ra'd*, 13:4; *Rūm* 30:8; and *Yā Sīn* 36:68.

9. *Takbīr*, literally meaning the "extolling" [of God], involves saying the phrase "*Allāhu akbar*" (God is greater!).

10. Each canonical prayer is comprised of a specified number of *rak'ats* or *rak'as*.

11. Sa'dī, *Kulliyāt-i Sa'dī*, ed. Muḥammad 'Alī Furūghī (Tehran: Mu'assasah-i Intishārāt-i Amīr Kabīr, reprint 1365/1986), pp. 204-205).

‘Īd of ‘Īds:
The Supreme Festival

Professor Dr. Muhammad Mas‘ud Ahmad, Ph.D

Beginning with the name of Allah, the Extremely Compassionate, the Merciful. The first thing created by Allah was the light (*nūr*) of the Holy Prophet ﷺ.¹ Then He blessed him with Prophethood,² and the process of *durūd-i sharīf* (litanies of blessing for the Prophet ﷺ) began. Angels were created who participated in *durūd* and *salām* (sending of blessings and peace to the Prophet ﷺ). When that light became manifest³ in this world, people also became part of this process.⁴ If we ponder this process we will realise that it too is a form of proclaiming and establishing a joyful celebration. *Allāhu Akbar* (God is great)!

From the very beginning of creation, remembrance of the Holy Prophet ﷺ has continuously occurred and been celebrated. Allah ﷻ shows infinite love for those whom He loves. He has declared their signs and symbols His own⁵ and has commanded his creation to exhibit the highest form of reverence for them.⁶ He has made their memorial days to be days worthy of His remembrance⁷ by commanding, "And remind them of the days of Allah."⁸ The birthday of the Holy Prophet is an important "day of Allah." The importance of this

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day can be ascertained from the Koran. With regard to *Ḥadrat* Yaḥyáؑ (John the Baptist), Allah states, "So peace be upon him the day he was born, the day he departed, and the day on which he will be raised again."⁹

The Holy Prophet ﷺ came into this material world on a Monday. As a mark of gratitude for this day, he used to fast every Monday. A *ṣaḥīḥ* hadith reports, "The Messenger of Allah ﷺ was asked about fasting on Monday. He replied, 'I was born on it and the revelation commenced on it.'"¹⁰ According to some traditions, the date of birth of the Holy Prophet ﷺ is 12 Rabī‘ al-awwal, 569 C.E.,¹¹ a date corroborated by proofs dating back almost four thousand years.¹² Hence, Monday, 12 Rabī‘ al-awwal, is especially connected to the Holy Prophet ﷺ.¹³ Therefore, because of the connection of this day to him, its celebration is a means of attaining moral and spiritual elevation.

Allah ﷻ declares, "Indeed Allah ﷻ bestowed a favour upon the believers when he raised up a Prophet in their midst" (Koran, *Āl ‘Imrān* 3:164). Favours are conferred so that they may be remembered and never forgotten. Moreover, Allah has also declared, "Say, 'In the bounty of God and in His mercy--in this, then, let them rejoice'" (Koran, *Yūnus* 10:58). The implication of these *āyāt* then, is that Allah ﷻ has commanded us to commemorate and celebrate the joyful beginning of the Prophet's mission.

Ḥadrat ‘Īsá (Jesus)ؑ said to Allah, "O our Sustainer, send us a 'table spread with food' (*mā’ida*) from heaven, that it may be an ‘īd (feast day) for us, for the first of us and for the last of us" (Koran, *al-Mā’ida* 5:114). Ponder over this: if *Ḥadrat* ‘Īsáؑ can celebrate a feast day (‘īd) on account of the coming down of a "table spread with food," should we not then celebrate the day when Allah ﷻ sent the very heart and essence of the bounty? Allah ﷻ declared the night on which the Holy Koran was sent to humankind to be

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better than a thousand months.¹⁴ Imagine then the greatness and loftiness of the night on which the living Koran (the Holy Prophet ﷺ) came down.¹⁵ If the Night of Power (*Laylat al-Qadr*) can be celebrated annually, then why should the night on which the pride of creation was born not be celebrated each year!

Allah ﷻ states, "Speak of the bounty of thy Lord" (Koran, *al-Duhā* 93:11). *Imām* Bukhārī رحمته الله (d. 256/870)¹⁶ states that the Holy Prophet ﷺ is the greatest bounty of Allah ﷻ,¹⁷ hence he should become the object of the most publicity. The Holy Prophet ﷺ himself spoke about his blessed birth from the pulpit.¹⁸ On his instruction some of his noble companions also described and publicized the Holy Prophet's ﷺ most excellent qualities.¹⁹ In the year 9 AH/630 C.E., on the occasion of returning from the battle of Tabūk, *Ḥadrat* ‘Abbās رضي الله عنه (d. 32/653),²⁰ the uncle of the Holy Prophet ﷺ, recited a poem on the birth of the Holy Prophet ﷺ, in his presence.²¹ On another occasion, the Holy Prophet ﷺ himself spread a cloak on the platform (*minbar*) on which *Ḥadrat* Hassān bin Thābit رضي الله عنه (d. 54/674)²² stood and sang an ode in his praise,²³ for which the Messenger of Allah ﷺ blessed him with a special prayer. All these true incidents are recorded in books of traditions (*ahādīth*).

Whenever *Ḥadrat-i Imām* Mālik bin Anas رضي الله عنه (d. 179/795)²⁴ would intend to speak about the Holy Prophet ﷺ with special words of praise, he would make particular preparations for it.²⁵ This practice has been perpetuated by our learned scholars (*‘ulamā’*) and pious sages, who continue to hold such august gatherings. On the eleventh of each month *Ḥadrat* Shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī رحمته الله (d. 561/1166)²⁶ would offer gifts in the name of the Holy Prophet ﷺ,²⁷ and this practice has been continued up to the present day. In addition, Ibn Taymīyah رحمته الله (d. 728/1328)²⁸ stated that devotees who hold *mīlād* gatherings will receive abundant blessings and rewards.²⁹

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Milād gatherings [for celebrating the Prophet's birth] are not something new; they have been celebrated for many centuries. The origin of these gatherings can be traced to the auspicious period of the Holy Prophet ﷺ.³⁰

In more recent times, *Ḥaḍrat-i Shāh ‘Abd al-Rahīm* ؒ (d. 1131/1719),³¹ father of *Ḥaḍrat-i Shāh Walī Allāh Muḥaddith Dihlawī* ؒ (d. 1176/1762),³² would hold *milād* gatherings annually. On such blessed occasions, he would prepare and distribute meals to the poor.³³ This was also the practice of *Shāh Walī Allāh* ؒ and his learned son, *Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Muḥaddith Dihlawī* ؒ (d. 1239/1824).³⁴ On every 12th of *Rabī‘ al-awwal*, they used to invite the masses to their *milād* gatherings, in which they would speak about the auspicious events related to the Holy Prophet's ﷺ birth. At the end of the celebration they would distribute food and sweetmeats.³⁵ Once *Ḥaḍrat-i Shāh Walī Allāh* ؒ attended a *milād* gathering in *Makka al-Mukarrama* (Mecca) in which he saw manifestations of light cascading down.³⁶

Hājj Imdād Allāh Muḥājir Makkī ؒ (d. 1317/1899),³⁷ the spiritual guide (*murshid*) of *Rashīd Aḥmad Gangohi* ؒ (d. 1905),³⁸ would hold *milād* gatherings each year as a means of obtaining salvation; during these gatherings, while in a standing position he would recite *ṣalawāt* and *salām* (prayers of blessings and peace for the Prophet ﷺ).³⁹ On the 12th of *Rabī‘ al-awwal* of each year, the grand Muftī, *Shāh Muḥammad Mazhar Allāh Dihlawī* ؒ, would hold *milād* gatherings in great splendour, continuing all night from *‘ishā* prayer until the *fajr* prayer, at dawn. *Ṣalawāt* and *salām* would be recited in a standing position, after which food and sweetmeats would be distributed.⁴⁰

As mentioned earlier, the importance of invoking blessings and peace for the Prophet ﷺ is stated in the Koran, which is understood as asserting that angels

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are at all times reciting *ṣalawāt* and *salām* in a standing position.⁴¹ Thus, this is the practice of the angels. In Madīna at the funeral bed of the Holy Prophet ﷺ, the angels, men and women, and even children offered *ṣalawāt* and *salām* in groups, for hours in a standing position. Seven hundred years ago, the celebrated scholar *Imām* Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī ؒ (d. 756/1355)⁴² was in a gathering of learned scholars in which the poetry of the Ḥassān of his time, *Imām* Ṣarṣarī (d. 656/1258),⁴³ was being recited. Upon hearing the verse in which the poet fervently urges the audience to stand at the time of the Holy Prophet's ﷺ august remembrance, all of the scholars stood in reverence.⁴⁴

In addition, *Ḥadrat-i* Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī ؒ (d. 1052/1642)⁴⁵ would recite *ṣalawāt* and *salām* (invocations of blessings and peace for the Prophet ﷺ) in a standing position, regarding these as a means of gaining Allah's acceptance of his deeds and prayers.⁴⁶ In the light of these facts, it should be clear that reciting *ṣalawāt* and *salām* is the practice of pious angels, companions of the Holy Prophet ﷺ, and sages of the Muslim *umma* (community).

The Holy Prophet ﷺ said, "Anything which is regarded as good by Muslims is regarded likewise by Allah."⁴⁷ Furthermore, the Holy Prophet ﷺ stated, "Whosoever introduces a good practice (*sunna hasana*) in Islam shall not only receive a reward for it, but the reward of those who act upon it."⁴⁸ He also commanded that one must remain at all times under the banner of *al-sawād al-a‘zam* (the great mass [of Muslims]),⁴⁹ which is the majority.⁵⁰ Therefore the actions of the Holy Prophet ﷺ, the noble companions, the successors (*tābi‘ūn*), the generations after the successors, and the pious sages illustrate the Islamic authenticity of organizing and celebrating the blessed birth of the Holy Prophet ﷺ.

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It is an inherent quality of love that a lover feels tremendous joy on hearing the praise of his beloved. Rather, it is even more correct to say that the heart of the lover yearns to praise and remember his beloved at all times. In addition, a lover is never offended by a person who is remembering his beloved. This would go against the nature of love. The truth of the matter is that genuine celebration lies in acting upon the *sunna* of our Holy Prophet ﷺ in every aspect of our lives, at all times. Thus, each year we should express boundless joy at the auspicious birth of the Holy Prophet ﷺ, in accordance with the practice of our illustrious predecessors, who have championed the cause of Islam. *Ḥadrat-i Shāh ‘Abd al-Ghanī Muḥaddith Dihlawī* (d. 1878) ⁵¹, the [hadith] teacher of Rashīd Aḥmad Gangohī ⁵², rightly said, "In celebrating the birth of the Holy Prophet ﷺ lies a person's complete felicity."⁵²

May Allah ﷻ bless us with the love of the Holy Prophet ﷺ, which will in turn mold and conform us to the *Sunna* (the example of the Prophet ﷺ), so that we can become a beacon of light for others. *Āmīn!*

NOTES

1. ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq Ibn Sayf al-Dīn al-Dihlawī, *Madārij al-nubūwa*, vol. 1, p. 2 [possibly the edition of Lucknow, 1867, mentioned in Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of India* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1983), vol. 2, pp. 89, 497; or the edition of Maktabah-i Nūriyah-i Raḍaviya, 1977. At the time of publication of the present volume, it was not possible to obtain the bibliographical data for some of the works cited by the author of this paper. Those works are noted with an asterisk "*".—ED].

2. ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq Ibn Sayf al-Dīn al-Dihlawī, *Ashi‘at al-lama‘āt*, p. 474 [This is his Persian commentary on the well-

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known hadith collection, *Mishkāt al-maṣābīh*. See A. A. Rīzvi, *A History of India*, vol. 2, pp. 88-89.—ED].

3. Koran, *al-Māʿida* 5:15 [O followers of the Bible (*Yā ahl al-kitāb*) Now there has come to you Our messenger Now there has come to you from Allah a light.—ED].

4. Koran, *al-Aḥzāb*, 33:56 [Verily, Allah and His angels bless the Prophet: [hence,] O you who have affirmed faith, bless him and send peace to him, in utter self-surrender.—ED].

5. Koran, *al-Baqara*, 2:158 [Behold, al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa are among Allah's symbols.] Asad notes "It was in remembrance of Hajar's extreme trial, and of her trust in God, that al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa had come to be regarded, even in pre-Islamic times, as symbols of faith and patience in adversity" (Muhammad Asad, *The Message of the Qurʾān* [Gibraltar: Dar al-Andalus, 1984], p. 32).—ED].

6. Koran, *al-Ḥajj* 22:32 [Anyone who honours Allah's symbols [shall know that,] verily, [the honouring of] these [symbols] derives from the God-consciousness (*taqwā*) in their hearts.—ED].

7. ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Khāzin, *Tafsīr al-Khāzin** and ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ahmad al-Nasafī, *Madārik** [possible editions are ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad Khāzin al-Baghdādī (d. 741/1340), *Tafsīr al-Khāzin* (*Lubāb al-taʿwīl fī maʿānī al-tanzīl*) (Beirut: Dar al-Maʿrifa, 1970) and Abū al-Barakāt ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ahmad ibn Maḥmūd al-Nasafī (d. 710/1310), *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-jalīl al-musammā bi-Madārik al-tanzīl wa-ḥaqāʾiq al-taʿwīl* (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-Umawīya, 1973?).—ED].

8. Koran, *Ibrāhīm* 14:5 [And indeed have We sent forth Moses with Our messages [and this]: "Lead your people out of the depths of darkness into the light, and remind them of the Days of Allah!"—ED].

9. The implication of the author is that just as Allah has noted the significance of the birthday of Hadrat Yaḥyá, so too (if not even more highly) He surely regards the birthday of the Prophet ﷺ.—ED].

10. ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba fī maʿrifat al-Ṣaḥāba*, vol. 1, pp. 21-22 [The ṣaḥīḥ hadith referred to here is also in Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, ed. Muḥammad

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Fu’ād ‘Abd al-Bāqī (reprint, Beirut: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, 1972), *bāb al-ṣiyām*, #198, vol. 2, p. 820.—ED].

11. In his biography of the Prophet ﷺ, Ibn Hishām (d. 218/834) noted, “Ibn Ishāq (d. 150/767, or possibly 151 or 152) wrote, ‘The Prophet ﷺ was born on Monday, 12th Rabī’ al-awwal, in the year of the elephant’ ” (Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawīya*, ed. Muṣṭafá al-Saqā, Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, and ‘Abd al-Hafīz Shiblī [Beirut: Dār al-Ma‘rifa, n.d.], vol. 1, p. 158, and A. Guillaume, trans., *The Life of Muhammad: A Translation of [Ibn] Ishāq’s Sīrat Rasūl Allāh* [Karachi: Oxford University Press, seventh printing 1982], p. 69). The editor of Suyūṭī’s *Husn al-maqṣad*, Muṣṭafá ‘Abd al-Qādir ‘Aṭā, states, “Our noble Prophet was born ... on the 12th day of Rabī’ al-awwal.” ‘Aṭā, however (without mentioning the year 569 CE), asserts that the year of the Prophet’s birth was 571 CE (Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Husn al-maqṣad fī ‘amal al-mawlid*, ed. Muṣṭafá ‘Abd al-Qādir ‘Aṭā [Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiya, 1405/1985] introduction, p. 12).—ED.

12. *Bhagavata Purana* (Ancient story of God), *skanda* (part) 12, chapter 2, *shloka* (verse), 18. [The *puranas*, literally “stories of old,” are a body of Hindu literature. Kinsley dates the *Bhagavata Purana* to the tenth-century [CE] (David Kinsley, *Hinduism* [Prentice-Hall: Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1982], pp. 18, 75). O’Flaherty, however, notes that “the *Puranas* are impossible to date with any accuracy, but ... all of them are later than the Epics [the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*] (Wendy Doniger O’Flaherty, *Textual Sources for the Study of Hinduism* [Totowa, NJ: Barnes & Noble, 1988], p. 65) See *The Bhagavata-purana*, trans. Ganesh Vasudeo Tagare (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976).—ED].

13. Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505)—one of Islam’s greatest scholars—quoting Ibn al-Hājī (d. 737/1336), gives four reasons why the birthday of the Prophet should be celebrated on a Monday during the month of Rabī’ al-awwal (Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Husn al-maqṣad fī ‘amal al-mawlid*, p. 67-68; N. J. G. Kaptein, *Muhammad’s Birthday Festival* [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993], p. 66.—ED).

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14. Koran, *al-Qadar* 97:1, 3 [Behold, from on high have We bestowed this [divine word] on the Night of Power. The Night of Power is better than a thousand months.—ED]

15. The understanding that the Prophet ﷺ is the living Koran is reflected in the following hadith: When asked about the character of the Prophet ﷺ, 'Ā'isha replied, "Have you not read the Koran?" The questioner (Sa'd ibn Hishām ibn 'Āmir) answered, "Yes." She then said, "Indeed, the character of the Prophet of Allah was the Koran" (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, bāb ṣalāt al-musāfirīn, #139, vol. 1, pp. 512-13).—ED

16. Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) is best known for his *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī*, the most authoritative collection of hadith. See *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. "Bukhārī" and Noah Ha Mim Keller, trans., *Umdat al-sālik—Reliance of the Traveller* (Dubai: Modern Printing Press, 1991) pp. 1043-44.—ED.

17. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī*, vol. 2, p. 566 [It is possible that the author is referring to the following tradition (*athar*) of 'Amr ibn Dīnār concerning the āya "Those who exchange the bounty of God for disbelief" (14:28): "He said, 'Such people are the Quraysh, and Muḥammad ﷺ is the bounty of God.'" (al-Bukhārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* (kitāb al-magāzī, bāb #7 (Qatl Abī Jahļ), vol. 4, p. 1462, #3758; Ahmad ibn 'Alī Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852), *Fath al-Bārī*, bāb #8 (Qatl Abī Jahļ), vol. 7, pp. 301, 303, #3977, Cairo: Dār al-Mar'ifa, n.d.; see also Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, trans. by M. M. Khan (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, n.d.), kitāb al-maghāzī, bab #7, vol. 5, pp. 210-11. Bayḍāwī (d. 685/1282 or 691/1391), in his highly regarded commentary on the Koran, states concerning *sūrat al-Duhā* 93:11 "What is meant by 'bounty' is 'prophethood' (*nubūwa*), and 'to speak of it (the bounty)' means 'to proclaim it' (*tablīgh*) (Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Bayḍāwī, *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-ta'wīl* [Jidda: Maṭbū'āt As'ad Muḥammad Sa'īd al-Hibāl (?) wa awlādih, 1305/1887-88], p. 802).—ED]

18. Tirmidhī, *Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 2, p. 201* [hadith not found; but see above for the hadith in which the Prophet states that he was born on a Monday.—ED].

19. Al-Zurqānī, vol. 1, p. 27 [Possibly Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Zurqānī (d. 1122/1710), *Sharḥ al-Zurqānī 'alā al-*

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Mawāhib al-Iaduniya lil-Qastalānī (Bulāq:1861 and Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-azhariya:1910), cited in ‘Abd al-Jabbār ‘Abd al-Rahmān, *Dhakhā’ir al-turāth al-‘arabī al-islāmī* (Baṣra: Maṭba‘at Jāmi‘at al-Baṣra, 1401/1981), vol. 1, p. 546).—ED].

20. ‘Abbās ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the paternal uncle of the Prophet ﷺ, was two years older than him and entered Islam before the conquest of Mecca. See Keller, *Reliance of the Traveller*, p. 1020 and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. “‘Abbās ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib,” vol. 1, p. 8-9.—ED.

21. Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), *Mawlid Rasūl Allāh*, pp. 29-30 [possibly the following edition: Isma‘īl ibn ‘Umar Ibn Kathīr, *Mawlid Rasūl Allāh*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Jadīd, 1961). The poem-- included in the editorial dedication of the edition of Suyūṭī’s *Husn al-maqṣad*--is as follows: “When you were born, the earth was shining, and the firmament barely contained your light; and we can pierce through, thanks to that radiance and light and path of guidance” (Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Husn al-maqṣad*, preface, p. 5) This translation is in Shaykh Hisham Kabbani, *Innovation and True Belief: the Celebration of Mawlid*, p. 10, quoting Suyūṭī, *Husn al-maqṣad*, p. 5 and Ibn Kathīr, *Mawlid*, p. 30].—ED]

22. Hassān bin Thābit, a companion of the Prophet and resident of Madīna, was renown as a poet, both during the *Jāhiliya* (pre-Islamic period) and after the advent of Islam (Khayr al-Dīn al-Zirīklī, *al-A‘lām* [Beirut: Dār al-‘Ilm lil-Malāyīn, 1986], vol. 2, p. 175-76).—ED.

23. *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī*, vol. 1, p. 65 [not located in Bukhārī. A hadith of similar import was related by ‘Ā’isha: “The Messenger of Allah ﷺ established a platform (*minbar*) for Hassān in the mosque so that Hassān could defend him with poetry. Then the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said, ‘Indeed Allah has supported Hassān with the Holy spirit for defending His messenger ﷺ’” (Aḥmad Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad* [Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1403/1983, reprint of Cairo ed., 1313/1896], vol. 6, p. 72). A version nearly identical to this is noted by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā*, ed. Shu‘ayb al-Arna‘ūt (Beirut: Mu‘assisat al-Risāla, 1412/1992), vol. 2, pp. 513-14. Bukhārī

does record a similar version in his chapter on "Poetry in the Mosque," in which the Prophet's instructing Ḥassān to reply on his behalf [to detractors] is stated along with the Prophet's prayer that God support Ḥassān with the Holy Spirit (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, trans. by M. M. Khan, ṣalāt, bāb 68, vol. 1, p. 264)—ED].

24. Mālik ibn Anas was the imām of the Mālikī *madhhab* (school of jurisprudence), which was named after him. He is also called the Imām of Madīna (*Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. "Mālik ibn Anas").—ED.

25. *Iqāmat al-qiyāma*, p. 44.*

26. ʿAbd al-Qādir Jilāni (d. 561/1166), a Ḥanbalī Sufī, was also famous as a preacher in Baghdad. The Qādirī Sufī order was named after him (*Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. "Abd al-Qādir")—ED.

27. *Qurraṭ al-nāzir*, p. 11.*

28. Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad Ibn Taymīya is mistakenly considered to be anti-Sufī. Although strongly critical of many Sufī doctrines and practices, evidence shows that he himself was a Sufī. See Keller, *Reliance of the Traveller*, pp. 1059-60 and Julian Baldick, *Mystical Islam* (New York: New York University Press, 1989), p. 93.—ED.

29. *Al-Durr al-thamīn*, p. 8 [Possibly Shāh Walī Allāh, *al-Durr al-thamīn fī mubashsharāt al-Nabī al-amīn*.* Relying on Imām Ibn Taymīya's collected *fatwās* (legal judgements), Shaykh Hisham Kabbani has also pointed out that Ibn Taymīya was in favor of *mawlid* celebrations. In Ibn Taymīya's words, "Honoring the birth of the Prophet ﷺ (*mawlid*) and celebrating it, as some people do, results in a great [spiritual] reward, because of their good intentions and their honoring the Prophet ﷺ" (Kabbani, *Mawlid*, p. 18, citing in Arabic and English translation Ibn Taymīya, *Majmaʿ fatāwī Ibn Taymīya*, n.p., n.d., vol. 23, p. 163 [translation is revised here)—ED].

30. As mentioned in the beginning of the text of this paper, the origin of commemorating the birth of the Prophet ﷺ can be traced back to the time of the Prophet ﷺ, using hadith as evidence. The *public* commemoration of the *mīlād*

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or *mawlid*, on the other hand, seems to have only begun in the 6th/12th century (Kabbani, *Mawlid*, p. 15).—ED.

31. Shāh ‘Abd al-Rahīm (d. 1131/1719) was initiated into the Naqshbandīya by Khwāja Khwurd (b. 1010/1601), the son of Khwāja Bāqī Billāh (d. 1012/1603), who was the shaykh of *Imām-i Rabbānī Mujaddid-i Alf-i Thānī* al-Sirhindī (d. 1034/1634). At the suggestion of Khwāja Khwurd (who was “an enthusiastic supporter of *waḥdat al-wujūd* [the unity of being]”), Shāh ‘Abd al-Rahīm became the disciple of another Naqshbandī, Ḥāfiẓ Sayyid ‘Abdallāh Akbarābādī. Like Khwāja Khwurd, Shāh ‘Abd al-Rahīm supported the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, believing that it was consistent with the Koran and hadith (Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. 2, p. 97, 249, 251).—ED.

32. For a useful summary of Shāh Walī Allāh’s life and doctrines, with particular emphasis on his understanding of *waḥdat al-wujūd* and *waḥdat al-shuhūd* (unity of contemplative witnessing) see Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. 2, p. 252-59.—ED.

33. *Iqtidā’ al-sirāt al-mustaqīm* * [A work with this title has been written by Ibn Taymiya. It is therefore possible that this work might be the source of the note concerning Ibn Taymiya in footnote 30.—ED].

34. Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (d. 1239/1824), who directed the school of his father (Shāh Walī Allāh) and grandfather after his father’s death, like his father was an adherent of the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* (Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. 2, p. 259-60).—ED.

35. *Al-Durr al-munazzam*, p. 89.*

36. Shāh Walīyullāh, *Fuyūḍ al-Ḥaramayn*, pp. 80-81.*

37. Ḥājj Imdād Allāh of Thānā Bhawan exerted a strong influence on the spiritual life of the scholars of Deoband. In 1857 he travelled from India and settled in Mecca. Hence he was known as *Muhājir Makkī* (the emigrant to Mecca). He was a Chistī of the Sābirīya branch (as was his disciple, Rashīd Ahmad of Gango). K. A. Nizami writes, “Many of the outstanding Indo-Muslim ‘ulamā’ of the post-1857 period... may be counted amongst his spiritual descendants. Almost all

the great ‘ulamā’ of Deoband are spiritually associated with the Chistīya *silsila* through him" (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., "Chistiyya," by K. A. Nizami, vol. 2, pp. 54-55). Although Chistī in their "*sulūk* (method of training)," Metcalf asserts that the Deobandi shaykhs often had initiations in many orders, and thus they "were not shaykhs of a single order" (Barbara Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982], p. 158).—ED.

38. Rashīd Ahmad Gangohī (1829-1905) was a scholar of hadith and *fiqh*, as well as one of the early chancellors (*muhtamim*) of the Islamic school of Deoband. On the other hand, he was a Chistī Sufi shaykh, who revered the great Sufis of the previous centuries, Sufis such as Bayāzīd-i Bistāmī, Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī, and Ja‘far al-Sādiq (who has traditionally been regarded as a central figure in the early history of Sufism, even though he is also the sixth Shi‘ite *Imām*). In addition to being an initiating Chistī shaykh, Rashīd Ahmad (and the other Deobandī shaykhs as well) considered himself to be in the Naqshbandī tradition of Shāh Walī Allāh (Barbara Metcalf, "Deoband," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, edited by John Esposito (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), vol. 1, p. 362-63; and Metcalf, *Islamic Revival*, p. 160).—ED.

39. *Fayṣala-yi haft mas‘ala ma‘a ta‘liqāt*, p. 111.*

40. *Tadhkira-yi Mazhar-i Mas‘ūd*, pp. 176-77.*

41. Koran, *al-Ṣāffāt* 37:1 ["Consider those arrayed in ranks." Asad notes that most traditional commenatators on the Koran interpret the first three *āyāt* of this *sūra* as referring to angels (Asad, *Message of the Qur‘ān*, p. 682). This is, for example, the interpretation given to the first two *āyāt* of this *sūra* by Suyūṭī, (Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, (Beirut: Dār al-Ma‘rifa, 1404/1984), p. 587].—ED.

42. ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Kāfī Taqī al-Dīn Al-Subkī (d. 756/1355), a well-known Egyptian Shāfi‘ī scholar and author, was regarded as the chief scholar of his age. One of his major works is the *Fatāwá al-Subkī*. His son, Tāj al-Dīn, the author of the *Ṭabaqāt al-Shafi‘īya*, was also an important

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scholar. For a concise biography of Imām Taqī al-Dīn, see Keller, *Reliance of the Traveller*, p. 1102.—ED.

43. Yahyá ibn Yūsuf al-Şarsarī (d. 656/1258) was a scholar of fiqh, a reciter, a literateur, a grammarian, and especially a poet. Because of his reputation as a poet, it is mentioned above that he was regarded as the Ḥassān of his time, since Ḥassān was seen to be the poet laureate of the Prophet ﷺ. See ‘Umar Ridā Kaḥḥāla, *Mu‘jam al-mu‘allifīn* (Beirut: Dār Ihyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, n.d.), vol. 13, pp. 236-37.—ED.

44. Iqāmat al-qiyāma.*

45. ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī (d. 1052/1642), a very influential Qādirīya Sufi and hadith scholar, was a prolific author with numerous disciples. Rizvi sees his Sufism as being “impregnated with an unceasing desire to reconcile the ‘exoteric’ with the ‘esoteric,’ the *sharī‘a* with the *ṭarīqa* (mystical training) and *fiqh* (jurisprudence) with *taṣawwuf* (Sufism) (Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. 2, p. 82-97).—ED.

46. [‘Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī,] *Akḥbār al-akhyār*,* [possibly Delhi: 1914], p. 624.

47. Imām Muḥammad, *Muwattā*, p. 104.* [With this citation the author may be refering to Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī’s recension of the *Muwattā* of Imām Mālik. The hadith is also found in *al-Mustadrak*. There al-Ḥākim considered its *isnād* (chain of transmission) to be *ṣaḥīḥ* (authentic), however its *isnād* only goes back to ‘Abdallāh Ibn Mas‘ūd. Thus it is not recorded as actually being said by the Prophet ﷺ (al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *al-Mustadrak ‘alá Ṣaḥīḥayn* [Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, n.d.], pp. 78-79. See also Ahmad ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 1, p. 379. In an extensive discussion of this purported hadith, al-Albānī considers its *isnād* to be *mawqūf* (stopping with a companion and lacking a transmission from the Prophet ﷺ) (Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, *Silsilat aḥādīth al-da‘īfa wa-al-mawḍū‘a* (Damascus: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1399), vol. 2, p. 17-19.—ED].

48. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 3, p. 718.* [A nearly identical hadith is in Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, ed. Muḥammad Fu‘ād ‘Abd al-Baqī, vol. 4, pp. 2059-60, ‘Ilm #15-16.—ED].

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49. *Mishkāt al-māṣābīh*, vol. 1, p. 58* [See Ibn Mājah "Indeed my community will not agree on an error. So when you see discord, your recourse is the great mass (*al-sawād al-a‘zam*)" (Ibn Mājah, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Qazwīnī, *Sunan*, ed. Muḥammad Fu‘ād ‘Abd al-Bāqī (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-‘Ilmīya, n.d.), vol. 2, p. 1303, *fitan* #8. For a discussion of its reliability, see the comments of ‘Irāqī reported in the editorial annotations to Ibn Mājah (Ibid)]

50. *Mishkāt al-māṣābīh*, vol. 1, p. 31* [see "Whoever ceases to obey, leaves the majority [of Muslims], and dies, dies a *Jāhiliya* death (ie. without any guidance)" Muslim, *Sahīh*, *imāra* #53, vol. 3, p. 1476-77; similar versions are in Bukhārī, *Sahīh*, trans. M. M. Khan, vol. 9, pp. 145-46, *fitan* #2 –ED]

51. Metcalf writes that Rashīd Aḥmad Gangohī studied hadith with Mawlawī ‘Abd al-Ghanī Naqshbandī. At one point she also notes that Mawlawī ‘Abd al-Ghanī succeeded Muḥammad Ishāq (d. 1846), who had succeeded ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, Shāh Waliyullāh’s son. The *Ahl-i hadīth*, however, accepted a different successor to Muḥammad Ishāq, Sayyid Nāzīr Ḥusayn (d. 1902) (Barbara Metcalf, *Islamic Revival*, pp. 71, 77, 276).—ED.

52. *Shifā‘ al-sā‘il*.*

*Hadith and the Qudsiya of
Khwāja Pārsā*

A. A. Godlas, Ph.D.

Assistant Professor
University of Georgia

Among various groups of Muslims in Islamic history, the Sufis have consistently been noted for their love of the Prophet ﷺ. One consequence of their love of the Prophet ﷺ has been their love of the words of the Prophet ﷺ—hadith. Thus Sufis such as Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband (d. 791/1389) and his commentator, Khwāja Muḥammad Pārsā (d. 822/1419) would mention hadith in their discourses. Our problem today is that critics have cast a veil of suspicion over the hadith that Sufis cite in their texts. Consequently, my goal in this paper is to lift this veil of suspicion from the Sufi use of hadith. Contrary to what one might think, I do not expect to show that all of the hadith used by Sufis are authentic. In fact the results of my research will show that some of the hadith that I will discuss are questionable. Nevertheless in understanding what is likely to be authentic or questionable, I can see three possible benefits: first, suspicion will be diminished; second, questionable hadith that do not contradict the Koran and the *sunna* (the accepted practice of the Prophet ﷺ) might then be appreciated as simply being expressions of the individual experience of

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Muslims; and third, without the veil of suspicion, authentic hadith will be appreciated, since they are the words of the beloved Prophet of Allāh ﷺ. Without the veil of suspicion, the words of the Prophet ﷺ will truly come to light.

All Muslims are directed to listen to the Prophet ﷺ tell them, "If you love God, then follow me, God will love you" (Koran, Āl 'Imrān 3:31). Muslims, in accordance with this āya (Koranic verse), have followed the Prophet ﷺ and his *sunna* both on account of their love for God, as well as so that God will love them in return. Often in Islamic history, Muslims have found that in following the Prophet ﷺ not only have they felt God's love for them that God promised them when He said, "and God will love you," but they also have found that their love for the Prophet ﷺ increases. Of course there are exceptions, and some of the earlier Sufis who focused solely on God no doubt saw love of the Prophet ﷺ as a threat to their love of God. Consequently we have accounts such as the following story of Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz (d. ca. 277/890) told by 'Attār (d. ca. 618/1221): "One night I saw the Prophet in my dream. He said, 'Do you love me?' I said, 'Forgive me, but the love of God has kept me busy from loving you.' Then the Prophet (echoing the Koran) replied, "Whoever loves God, loves me."¹ Clearly for al-Kharrāz "Say if you love God, then follow me" (Koran, Āl 'Imrān 3:31) translated into "love me." In other words, "Say, if you love God, then not only follow the Prophet ﷺ, but love him as well!" At this point it should be made clear that all that love of God obliged was *following* the Prophet ﷺ. Nevertheless, for some Muslims, in particular for the Sufis—the mystics of Islam—"to follow the Prophet ﷺ" meant "to love him."

From love of the Prophet ﷺ, there was only a short step to love of the words of the Prophet ﷺ. In particular, one way that Muslim authors have displayed their love of the Prophet ﷺ throughout the

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history of Islamic literature is by their love of hadith of the Prophet ﷺ.² Sufis are one group of Muslim authors who are no exception to this rule. It should go without saying that other motivations such as love of God, obedience, fear, and desire to transmit correct guidance also moved authors to include hadith in their texts. Nevertheless, just as love for the Prophet ﷺ and desire to follow him have always motivated Muslims to collect and study hadith, love for the "Beloved of Allāh" ﷺ has also motivated Muslims to relate topics of their concern to what he has said.³

One of the types of discourse where hadith play an important role is in Sufi texts. Sufi discourse is peppered with hadith. As a result of the importance of hadith and their proliferation in texts, one problem that arose is that it is not uncommon to find inauthentic but popularly accepted hadith used in Sufi texts.⁴ Two reasons—aside from unislamic intentions and simple ignorance—can account for the Sufis' use of hadith that were not well-authenticated: first, one reason has been to encourage piety (*targhīb*, lit. to instill desire) and discourage impiety (*tarhīb*, lit. to instill fear); and a second reason is the enthusiasm of the Sufis for the words of the Prophet ﷺ.

With regard to the first reason, some Sufis have felt justified in ascribing questionable hadith to the Prophet ﷺ, as long as such statements might have been said by him and can be used either to encourage Muslims to devote themselves to Allah ﷻ or to caution them against anything that is spiritually harmful.⁵ The genre of hadith literature called "*al-targhīb wa-al-tarhīb*" (instilling desire and fear) refers to this usage of hadith.⁶ A second reason for the Sufis use of questionable hadith involves their love for the Prophet ﷺ and enthusiasm for his words. We must remember that Muḥammad ﷺ is called the "beloved of God." As he is the beloved of God, he is beloved by the Sufis as well. Hence one hypothesis explaining the existence of

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questionable hadith in Sufi texts would be that when pious Sufis have seen a statement purporting to be a hadith from the "Beloved of God" ﷺ, they have felt enthusiasm for it and in the very least have felt free to use it in their works, provided that the following general criteria are met: first, its content must neither contradict the Koran and the sunnah, nor conflict with *ijmā'* (the collective opinion of the great Muslim scholars);⁷ and second, if not explicitly dealt with by the Koran, *sunna*, or *ijmā'*, its content must be in accord with truths that are unveiled within their heart to be correct (*mukāshifāt al-ḥaqā'iq*).⁸ As long as these criteria are met, Sufis have allowed their love of the Prophet ﷺ to move them to include in their works not only statements that are steeped in the perfume of the Prophet ﷺ, but words that only have a trace of his scent—for the Sufis, that trace is sufficient.⁹

Thus far, in order to provide some background for my subsequent discussion of hadith in the *Qudsīya* of Khwāja Muḥammad Pārsā, I have spoken of the relationship of love of God to following the Prophet ﷺ; from following the Prophet ﷺ to love of the Prophet ﷺ; from love of the Prophet ﷺ to love of the authentic words of the Prophet ﷺ, and from love of the authentic words of the Prophet ﷺ to love for words that merely are purported to have been said by the Prophet ﷺ. I have finally remarked that it is the Sufis who have often been among the vanguard of the Muslims to make this journey.

Sufism, however, is more than just the story of a lover in search of any trace of his or her Beloved. The concrete manifestation of Sufism in history first appeared in the 2nd century AH/8th century CE, when certain Muslims first became known as Sufis.¹⁰ Later, in the 6th AH/12th centuries CE, the Sufi orders emerged.¹¹ One order that crystallized in the 8th/14th century was the Naqshbandī order. The order gained its name from Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband, its founder,

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who was from Bukhārā. After having spent a number of years as a disciple of a several masters, Bahā' al-Dīn developed the teachings and practices of a lineage of shaykhs called the Khwājagān and began teaching others. One of his chief practices, which had apparently been transmitted to him in a vision and for which the Naqshbandī order came to be well-known, was the practice of the silent remembrance of God in the heart. After having trained a number of disciples and brought them to a degree of mastery, Bahā' al-Dīn passed away in 791/1389.¹²

Among his chief disciples was Khwāja Muḥammad Pārsā.¹³ Pārsā was so highly regarded by Bahā' al-Dīn that Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn, when speaking in the presence of a gathering of his disciples (*aṣḥāb*), addressed Khwāja Muḥammad by saying, "I have entrusted to you [three things:] the right (*ḥaqq*) [to be a shaykh], the trust (*amānat*) that reached me (lit. this weak man) from the masters (*khulafā'*) of the Khwājagān lineage (*khānidān*) (may Allah sanctify their spirits), and that which I have acquired on this path." During his final illness preceding his death, Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn also spoke about Khwāja Muḥammad in his absence, saying to those disciples who were present, "The purpose for my coming into being was his existence. I have trained him in the two methods, that of 'spiritual attraction' (*jadhba*) and 'disciplined striving' (*sulūk*). If he occupies himself [with these] a world will become illuminated by him."¹⁴

Pārsā was also a scholar of the religious sciences. Although he thought highly of the works of Ibn 'Arabī, his own works do not exhibit much direct influence from the Shaykh al-Akbar.¹⁵ At one point, charges were brought against him stating that he was transmitting hadith with questionable *isnāds*. He was exonerated, when, through somewhat miraculous means, he was able to demonstrate the authenticity of his *is-*

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nāds.¹⁶ He died in Medina, shortly after performing the rites of his second Hajj in 822/1419.

Pārsā wrote a number of works on Sufism, one of the most important of which, the *Qudsiya*, is the object of this study. The *Qudsiya*, a seventy page Persian work to which the remainder of this essay is related, takes its name from the *kalimāt-i qudsīya* (sacred sayings) which are the words of Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband. Surprisingly, however, the actual words of Bahā' al-Dīn are few in the *Qudsiyah*. The work largely consists of Pārsā's discussion and amplification of excerpts from the talks of Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband.¹⁷ In his discussion Pārsā cites a number of hadith of varying degrees of authenticity. My focus, then, at this point in this essay, is to discuss the quality of six of these hadith, as well as to clarify their function in the text of the *Qudsiya*.

I will now examine six of the twelve hadith that Pārsā cites in the course of his book. When discussing a hadith, I will put in chronological order the collections in which it is found, beginning with the earliest collection. This method will enrich our historical knowledge about these hadith and about the opinions of scholars regarding them.

In the text of the *Qudsiya* we find the hadith: *Ijma'ū waḍū'akum*,¹⁸ *jama'a Allāhu shamlakum* "Gather your water for wudū', and God will unite your scattered state of affairs."¹⁹

The earliest hadith collection in which I have located this hadith is the collection of Quḍā'ī (d. 454/1062), who listed the hadith with its complete *isnād* on the authority of Abū Hurayrah.²⁰ Bayhaqī (d. 458/1066), writing at about the same time as Quḍā'ī, noted that the *isnād* had some unknown transmitters. In addition, he stated that a similar hadith had been narrated, but with another *isnād*, which was weak.²¹ Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) included it in his *Ihyā'*.²² In

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addition, Daylamī (d. 509/1115), a contemporary of Ghazālī's, included it in his *Firdaws*.²³

‘Irāqī (d. 806/1404), the commentator on the hadith of the *Ihyá*, was aware of the hadith in Qudā‘ī's collection and stated that "there is nothing wrong with its *isnād*" (*lā ba’sa bihi*). On the other hand, he knew of another *isnād*, one recorded by Ibn Tāhir, but this *isnād* was weak.²⁴ Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) in his *al-Jāmi‘ al-kabīr* lists a hadith that is nearly identical, but notes that it was weak.²⁵ In summary, although a number of hadith scholars regarded this hadith as weak, the opinion was by no means unanimous, with ‘Irāqī even asserting its acceptability.

This hadith, *Ijma‘ū waḍū’akum, jama‘a Allāhu shamlakum* "Gather your water for wuḍū’, and God will unite your scattered state of affairs" functions in the *Qudsiya* as an introduction to a chapter on *dhikr*, the remembrance of God. Pārsā asserts that it points to the fact that one should combine an inner wuḍū‘ (ablution) with the outer wuḍū‘, so that one can gain inner steadfastness. And the key to gaining inner steadfastness he considers to be the negating all of one's spiritual and physical attachments through the remembrance of *Lā ilāha ill Allāh* (No god, but God). Thus Pārsā links the concept of an inner wuḍū‘ with the remembrance of God, which cleanses the heart. And furthermore, he see the hadith as pointing to the necessity of inwardly cleansing the heart with remembrance when one performs one's outer ablution.²⁶

The second hadith in the *Qudsiya* that I will examine concerns the primary means that Muslims have for waking up from the sleep of infatuation with other than God; this key factor is termed the remembrance of God. The hadith reads as follows: *Qāla rasūl Allāh ﷺ Afdal al-dhikr Lā ilāha ill Allāh wa-afdal al-du‘ā’ al-hamdu lillāh*. "The best method of remembering God

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is *Lā ilāha ill Allāh*, and the best supplication is *al-ḥamdu lillāh* (All praise is due to God).²⁷

Ibn Mājah (d. 273/887) includes it in his *Sunan*²⁸ as did Tirmidhī (d. 279/892) in his. Tirmidhī states, however, that the hadith is *ḥasan gharīb*. Nevertheless, as Azami points out, although *ḥasan* hadith are not of the highest quality, they can nevertheless be relied upon.²⁹ Ibn Hibbān (d. 354/965) included this hadith in his collection of sound hadith.³⁰ Al-Ḥākim (d. 405/1014) included it in his book *al-Mustadrak ‘alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* (Supplement to the Two Sound Collections), and regarded its *isnād* as being sound.³¹ Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) included it in the *Ihyā’*.³² And finally ‘Ajlūnī (d. 1162/1749) confirmed the verdicts of earlier scholars that this was a sound hadith.³³

As one might expect, in the *Qudsīya* the hadith *Afḍal al-dhikr Lā ilāha ill Allāh wa-afḍal al-du‘ā’ al-ḥamdu lillāh* "The best method of remembering God is *Lā ilāha ill Allāh*, and the best supplication is *al-ḥamdu lillāh*" frames a discussion of *dhikr* (remembrance of God). Since Pārsā's discussion is extraordinarily clear I will simply translate verbatim what he says at this point.

The form of this *dhikr* is comprised of negation [which is *Lā ilāha*], and affirmation, [which is *ill Allāh*]. In truth, the path to God is traveled by means of this *dhikr*. Travelers [, however,] become veiled as a result of forgetfulness. Essentially, the origin of veiling is the enjoyment of existent forms in the heart. In this enjoyment, God is negated and other than God is affirmed. But in accordance with the principle of "A cure is through a thing's opposite," by means of "*Lā ilāha ill Allāh*," (which is the "*kalima of tawḥīd*") "other than God" is negated and God is affirmed. Liberation from subtle *shirk* only comes about through constancy and persistent attunement to *Lā ilāha ill Allāh*.

So when remembering the negation "*Lā ilāha*," the one who is remembering must view all temporal things as transitory, without desiring them. While contemplating the meaning of the *dhikr*, one must negate all other

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thoughts. When affirming "ill Allāh," one must witness the pre-temporal Being of God as subsistent, as one's goal, the object of one's search, and one's beloved; ... By the negation "Lā ilāha," one must nullify whatever bonds exist in one's heart. And by the affirmation "ill Allāh" the love of God takes the place of one's old loves. Gradually the heart becomes freed of all desires; the existence of the rememberer becomes annihilated in the light of the remembrance; and the attachments of human nature drop away."³⁴

The third hadith being examined in this study—relating prophetology and love—reads as follows: *Qāla rasūl Allāh ﷺ "Inn Allāha 'azza wa-jalla 'ittakhadha Ibrāhīma khalīlan' (Koran, Nisā' 4:125) wa-Mūsā najīyan, wa-ttakhadhanī ḥabīban, thumma qāla [Allāhu]: wa-'izzatī la-uwthiranna ḥabībī 'alā khalīlī wa-najīyī."* The Prophet of Allah ﷺ said, "God chose Abraham as a dear friend and Moses as a confidant, and He chose me as a loved one. Then He [تعالى] said, 'I swear by My exaltedness, I certainly prefer My beloved one over My dear friend and My confidant.'"³⁵

The opinion of the scholars regarding this hadith is generally pessimistic. Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (d. 320/932) apparently traced the *isnād* of this hadith, as did Tabarānī (d. 360/971), who was reported to have regarded it as being weak.³⁶ In his *Shu'ab*, Bayhaqī (d. 458/1066) cited a complete *isnād* for this hadith, but he noted that one of the transmitters was Maslama ibn 'Ulay, who was considered by the scholars of hadith to be weak.³⁷ Daylamī (d. 509/1115) also included the hadith in his *Firdaws*.³⁸

Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1201) stated that the hadith was not sound, since Maslama was the sole transmitter at one point in the *isnād*. He supported his low opinion of Maslama by citing a number of other scholars who also rejected him.³⁹ Similarly, Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) in his *al-La'ālī*, related Ibn al-Jawzī's opinion that the hadith was not sound and that Maslama was rejected

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by the scholars of hadith. Then, moving away from Ibn al-Jawzī's stance, Suyūṭī attempted to put the hadith in a better light by stating that Bayhaqī had included it in his *Shu'ab* and that Maslama was among the transmitters upon whom Ibn Mājah had relied.⁴⁰

Writing a half century after Suyūṭī, Ibn 'Irāq (d. 963/1556) to some degree sided with Ibn al-Jawzī and stated that the hadith was not sound. He reiterated the criticism of Maslama. Nevertheless, wrote Ibn 'Irāq, "Although [Maslama]...was considered to be weak, he was not invalidated by an accusation of being a liar, and was among the transmitters relied upon by Ibn Mājah."⁴¹ In other words Ibn 'Irāq seemed to follow Suyūṭī in attempting not to dismiss the hadith entirely. In short, although the *isnād* of this hadith is problematic, it was not a cause for the hadith to be universally rejected by the scholars of hadith.

Since Khwāja Pārsā mentions the previously examined hadith and the following hadith (the fourth of this study) in the same context, I will discuss the reliability of the following hadith now, and then discuss the role of both these hadith in the *Qudsiya: Qāla rasūl Allāh ﷺ*, "Ammā ba'd, fa-inn Allāha 'azza wa-jalla ittakhadha ṣāhibakum khalīlan. Law kuntu muttakhidhan aḥadan khalīlān lattakhadhtu Abā Bakr khalīlan." The Prophet ﷺ said, "Indeed God adopted your companion (referring to himself) as a "dear friend" (*khalīl*). If I were to adopt someone as a dear friend, I would take Abu Bakr as a dear friend."⁴²

This is an indisputable sound hadith that is found in a similar form in a number of the most highly regarded hadith collections. Among the hadith collections in which it is found is Bukhārī (d. 256/870), Muslim (d. 261/875), and a number of other important hadith collections such as Tirmidhī, Ibn Mājah, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, and Dārimī.⁴³

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Pārsā uses this hadith and the one that I discussed previously in order to identify the two stations (*maqāms*) of "khullat," namely, the two stations involved in "being a dear friend," which are the highest degrees of "being a lover" (*muḥibbī*) and "being a beloved one" (*maḥbūbī*). He maintains that the hadith discussed earlier (concerning Abraham ؑ, Moses ؑ, and Muhammad ﷺ) refers to the degree of "being a lover" (*muḥibbī*), while this hadith (with reference to Abū Bakr) expresses the highest degree of "being a beloved one" (*maḥbūbī*). Pārsā emphasizes that no one can share in this degree with the Prophet ﷺ. He identifies this ultimate point and this degree of perfection as the praiseworthy station (*maqām maḥmūd*).

In addition, for Pārsā, this hadith indicates that Abū Bakr ؓ is the most perfect, knowledgeable, virtuous, and magnificent of the *awliyā'* (saints). The reason he gives for this is that Abū Bakr ؓ possessed extraordinary saintliness (*wilāya*) and esoteric knowledge (*ilm-i bāṭin*)- -which Pārsā emphasizes is knowledge of God.

The fifth hadith of Khwāja Muḥammad's that I will examine concerns the relationship between spirituality and natural human qualities: *Qāla rasūl Allāh ﷺ: Innamā anā basharun mithlukum aghḍabu kamā yaghḍabu al-basharu wa-arḍá kamā yardá al-bashar*. The Prophet of God ﷺ said, "I am only a man like you. I get angry like men get angry and I become content like men become content."⁴⁴

This hadith is nearly identical to a hadith in the *Sahīḥ* of Muslim (d. 261/875); the meaning is virtually the same.⁴⁵ Also, the phrase *Innamā anā basharun mithlukum* "I am only a man like you" is found repeatedly in many hadith collections, ranging from the *ṣahīḥ* collections of Muslim and Bukhārī to other collections compiled with less stringent criteria. In addition, Ibn Hanbal (d. 241/855) and Abū Dāwud (d. 275/889)

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have versions identical to the section of the hadith on the Prophet's anger.⁴⁶ Consequently, the sense of this hadith from the *Qudsiya* is sound, although there is a very minor difference in wording between it and comparable hadith in the sound collections.

One fear that non-Sufis have often had of Sufis is that the Sufi veneration of the Prophet would lead them into worship of Muḥammad ﷺ. Nevertheless, Sufis such as Pārsā were not in danger of forgetting the very concrete humanness of the Messenger. In spite of his love for the Prophet, one way in which he clearly expressed that he still saw the Prophet as a man was by his citation of this hadith.

The context in which he discusses the hadith is his explanation for the fact that passing away from self (*fanā'*) and abiding in God (*baqā'*) do not eliminate natural urges. Here Khwāja Pārsā cites a poem to illustrate his point:

*Mūsá andar dirakht ātish dīd
Sabzar mīshud ān dirakht az nār
Shavat-u hīrṣ-i mard-i ṣāhib dil
Hamchinīn dān-u hamchenīn engār*

Moses saw a fire in a tree
That tree became greener due to the fire
This is the way you should understand
the lust and appetite of the one
who possesses a real heart.

We may understand this by contrasting Moses' tree with an ordinary tree. Most trees, if fire reaches them, will burn up. This, however, does not happen to one who has a sufficient degree of the spirituality of Moses, ﷺ, or Muḥammad ﷺ. Similarly most people who become filled with desires are consumed by them and become spiritually lost. But for people who truly possess a heart, their natural urges will increase their spirituality and vice-versa.⁴⁷ I will end this section with Pārsā's own conclusion: "After the people of gno-

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sis have passed away in God and reached the degree of abiding in God, whatever they see and know, they see and know within themselves, and their bewilderment is within their own being. As Allāh ﷻ declares: *wa-fī anfusikum afalā tubṣirūn* 'Will you not look within your selves?' (Koran, *Dhāriyāt* 51:21). 'Whoever knows his self, knows His Lord.'⁴⁸

Although the Prophet ﷺ is a human being in many ways like everyone else, he surpasses the rest of humanity in terms of his awareness of God. The sixth and final ḥadith of Pārsā's that I will discuss concerns this difference in consciousness: *Qāla rasūl Allāh: ﷺ Anā 'alamukum billāhi wa-akhshākum lillāh*. The Prophet of God ﷺ said, "Out of all of you, I am the most knowledgeable with regard to God and the most in awe of God."⁴⁹

There are no differences in meaning, and only extremely slight differences in wording, between this ḥadith and versions in well-respected ḥadith collections. Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) has a nearly identical version.⁵⁰ Bukhārī (d. 256/869) includes two similar versions in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, one of which is as follows: *Inna atqākum wa-a'lamakum billāhi anā* "Indeed out of all of you the most God-conscious and most knowledgeable of God is I."⁵¹ The other version is *Innī la-a'lamuhum billāhi wa-ashadduhum la-hu khashyatan* "Indeed out of all of them, I am the most knowledgeable of God, and the most in awe of him."⁵² This latter version is also in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim (d. 261/875).⁵³ In short, the meaning of the version of this ḥadith in the *Qudsiya* is sound, although there are a few very minor differences in wording between it and versions in *ṣaḥīḥ* and other highly regarded collections.

Khwāja Pārsā relates this ḥadith to a discussion of his in which he compares normal people, who are caught up in fear and grief, with *awliyā'* (God's saints), who instead experience awe and astonishment vis-à-

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vis God. He states that the saints have completely surrendered their being to whatever God wills; and that they have totally cleansed themselves of any physical or spiritual self interest. Since grief arises only in response to a past or present physical or spiritual loss, and since fear arises only in response to such a loss in the future, saints cannot fear or grieve; because—as he has stated—they have no physical or spiritual self-interest to lose. Having already surrendered their existence to God, there is nothing that can be taken from them. For Pārsā this is the sense of "God's saints will not fear, nor will they grieve" (Koran, Yūnus 10:62).

Pārsā understands sainthood to be the stage of being where aspirants have passed away from their selves in God (*fanā' fillāh*), and where they abide through God (*baqā' billāh*), after completely passing away from all physical and spiritual desires and attachments. When saints have surrendered all of these attachments, instead of fear and grief they experience awe and astonishment at the magnificence and grandeur of God. And it is in reference to the awe such saints experience that Khwāja Pārsā cites the Prophet ﷺ as saying, "Out of all of you, I am the most knowledgeable with regard to God and the most in awe of God."

In conclusion, the six hadith that we have culled from the *Qudsīya* of Khwāja Muḥammad Pārsā were either sound or nearly identical in form to sound hadith, while being identical to them in meaning. Two hadith out of the six had transmitters of dubious reliability. Yet hadith scholars did not unanimously reject these *isnāds*. We do not know if Khwāja Pārsā was aware of the questionable nature of those hadith that had dubious *isnāds*. Nevertheless, since he was a religious scholar (*'ālim*) it is likely that he knew that the questionable hadith were not in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections; yet he cited them anyway. He cited them, I would

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propose, at least in part because of his love for the Prophet ﷺ.

I would like to emphasize that for Muslims such as Khwāja Pārsā, love of God led them to follow the Prophet ﷺ. By following the Prophet ﷺ, they became drawn into loving the Prophet ﷺ. From love of the Prophet ﷺ, they came to love his words, even sometimes if they did not have scientific proof that he said them. Even today such Muslims, in love with the Prophet ﷺ, continue to repeat words that he only might have said, simply because those words have a hint of his fragrance.

NOTES

1. Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), p. 214, citing Farīd al-Dīn 'Attār, *Tadhkirat al-awliyā'*, ed. Reynold Nicholson (London and Leiden: 1905-7), vol. 2, p. 41; A. J. Arberry, trans., *Muslim Saints and Mystics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), p. 220; Farīd al-Dīn 'Attār, *Tadhkirat al-awliyā'*, ed. Muḥammad Isti'lāmī (Tehran: Kitābfurūshī-yi Zavvār, reprint 1363 [solar]/1984), p. 457.

2. Schimmel has pointed out that Muslims feel closer to the Prophet by listening to his hadith: "he [the faithful Muslim] ... feels that occupation with Prophetic traditions [hadith] brings him in close contact with the Prophet, so that, as it were, he sees him and hears his voice" (Annemarie Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His Messenger* [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985], p. 28).

3. Furūzānfar's compilation of the hadith included by Rumi in his masterpiece, the *Mathnavī*, illustrates the great importance that hadith had for Rumi (Badī' al-Zamān Furūzānfar, *Aḥādīth-i Mathnavī* [Tehran: Mu'assasah-i Intishārāt-i Amīr Kabīr, 1361 (solar)/1982]). Dr. Javad Nurbakhsh, the current shaykh of the Ni'matullāhī Sufi order

most active in the West, has published two compilations of hadith that reoccur throughout Sufi literature (Javad Nurbakhsh, *Traditions of the Prophet* [New York: Khaniqahi Nimatullahi Publications, 1981 (vol. 1) and 1983 (vol. 2)]).

4. Zayn al-Dīn 'Irāqī (d. 806/1404), in his well known and highly regarded analysis of the hadith included by Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) in his *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, points out numerous instances of questionable hadith in the *Ihyā'* (Zayn al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl 'Abd al-Rahīm ibn al-Ḥusayn al-'Irāqī, *al-Mughnī 'an ḥaml al-asfār*, in the margins of Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* [Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 1403/1982]). In addition, almost all compilations of weak or fabricated hadith—while comprised of dubious hadith used in varieties of contexts—also contain numerous hadith commonly found in Sufi texts. One example of such works is Mullā 'Alī al-Qārī Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Sultān, *al-Asrār al-marfū'a fī al-akhbār al-mawḍū'a, al-ma'rūf bi-al-Mawḍū'āt al-kubrā*, ed. Muḥammad ibn Luṭfī al-Ṣabbāgh, (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, reprint 1406/1986).

5. For a concise summary of the legality in Islam of ascribing statements of dubious authenticity to the Prophet ﷺ see Noah Ha Mim Keller, trans., *Reliance of the Traveller* (Dubai: Modern Printing Press, 1991), p. 658 and 954-57. Evidence for the fact that many Sufi writers, such as Ghazālī, have knowingly used dubious hadith for *targhib* and *tarhib* is that they had studied and thoroughly knew the *ṣaḥīh* collections, or at least had access to them. Yet in spite of this, in their own writings they still used hadīth that were not in the *ṣaḥīh* collections. Even today traditional '*ulamā'* (scholars) in the Muslim world use questionable hadith in certain circumstances for spiritually justifiable purposes.

The writer of this essay has witnessed one incident in which the statement "Whoever has no shaykh, Satan is his shaykh" was ascribed by an '*ālim* to the Prophet ﷺ for the purposes of both encouraging the one to whom it was addressed to accept the guidance of any shaykh and discouraging him from becoming a victim of the guile of Satan. This is certainly the intent in a recent Sufi text, where it is included as a hadith (Nurbakhsh, vol. 1, p. 68, and Furūzānfar, p. 30).

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citing ‘Abd al-Latīf ibn ‘Abd Allāh ‘Abbāsī, *Latā’if-i ma‘navī* [Hind: N.p.], p. 60). Moreover because the statement in question can easily be interpreted as being harmonious with Koranic texts and the sunna, and because it has traditionally been used by Sufis to encourage discipleship (although not in the form of a hadith), the *faqīh* who stated it cannot be faulted, from the perspective of traditional Sufism. In Sufi texts, an early form of the dubious hadith discussed above is Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī’s statement, “Whoever has no master (*ustādh*), his guide (*imām*) is Satan” (‘Abd al-Karīm al-Qushayrī, *al-Risāla al-Qushayrīya fī ‘ilm al-taṣawwuf*, ed. Ma‘rūf Zurayq (?) and ‘Alī ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Baltah’jī (?) [Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1410/1990] p. 380; and its commentary by Muṣṭafá al-‘Arūsī, *Natā’ij al-afkār al-qudsīya*, n.p., 1290; Damascus: ‘Abd al-Wakīl al-Durūbī and Yā Sīn ‘Arafa, reprint n.d. | vol. 4, p. 209).

6. In spite of what one might assume from my discussion of hadith of encouragement (*targhīb*) and discouragement (*tarrīb*), a cursory investigation will show that most of the hadith compiled in the work of al-Munḍhirī (d. 656/1258)—the primary book dealing with spiritual encouragement and discouragement—seem to be well-attested (Abū Muḥammad Zakī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-‘Azīm ibn ‘Abd al-Qawī al-Munḍhirī, *al-Targhīb wa-al-tarrīb min al-ḥadīth al-sharīf*, ed. Muṣṭafá Muḥammad ‘Umāra and ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī [Beirut: al-Maktaba al-‘Aṣriya, 1408/1987]).

7. For a more complete discussion of textual (*matn*) criticism of hadith and the conditions necessary for a text’s acceptance or rejection, see Muḥammad Zubayr Siddīqī, *Hadīth Literature: Its Origin, Development & Special Features*, ed. Abdal Hakīm Murad (Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, 2nd edition 1993), p. 113-14.

8. Traditionally one of the functions of a Sufi shaykh was to confirm or deny the validity of these inner discoveries or unveilings (*mukāshafāt*) of their disciples. ‘Ajlūnī (d. 1162/1749) (for him see Zirīklī, vol. 1, p. 325), a compiler of one of the better known collections of popular but often dubious hadith, reported, “Muḥīy al-Dīn [Ibn ‘Arabī] said, ‘Although this hadith [‘Whoever knows his “self” knows his “Lord”] is not attested to by means of a chain of transmis-

sion, for us it is attested to by means of "unveiling" (*kashf*)" (Ismā'īl ibn Muḥammad al-ʿAjlūnī, *Kashf al-khafā' wa-muzīl al-ilbās*, ed. Ahmad al-Qalāsh (?) [Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, reprint 1399/1979], vol. 2, p. 343).

9. Although Sufi texts often include hadith, they rarely contain their *isnāds*. One of the foremost exceptions to the general tendency of Sufi authors to omit *isnāds* (chains of transmission) from their Sufi works is Sulamī (d. 412/1021) in his *Tabaqāt al-Ṣūfiya*. In addition to being one of the most significant early Sufi authors, Sulamī was also a hadith scholar who figures in many of the *isnāds* of hadith compiled by al-Bayhaqī (d. 458/1066) (Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī, *Tabaqāt al-Ṣūfiya*, ed. Nūr al-Dīn Shurayba [Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, reprint 1406/1986]; Abū Bakr Ahmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā* [Cairo: Dār al-Fikr, n.d.]).

10. Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, p. 14. Western scholars now generally agree that because the early Muslim mystics and ascetics wore woolen garments, the word Sufi (which literally means "woolen" or "related to wool") was applied to them (Schimmel, p. 31). The best overall study of Sufism in English is Schimmel's *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*. For the reader of Arabic, the contemporary work that to my knowledge is the best documented presentation of traditional Sufi doctrine and method is Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿIsā, *Ḥaqāʾiq ʿan al-Taṣawwuf* (Aleppo: Maktabat al-ʿIrfān, reprint 1414/1993).

11. For a comprehensive history of the Sufi orders (*ṭuruq* [pl.], *ṭarīqat* [sing.]), see J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (London: Oxford, 1971). It has unfortunately been out of print for several years. An updated version should be published, one including the modern history of the orders noted in Alexandre Popovic and Gilles Veinstein, *Les Ordres Mystiques Dans L'Islam: Cheminements et situation actuelle* (Paris: Editions de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1986).

12. Hamid Algar, "The Naqshbandī Order. A Preliminary Survey of Its History and Significance," *Studia Islamica* 44 (1976), pp. 123-52, and Hamid Algar, "Bahā' al-Dīn

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Naqshband," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. An attractive history of the Naqshbandiyya written for the general public is Shaykh Muhammad Hisham Kabbani's, *The Naqshbandi Sufi Way: History and Guidebook of the Saints of the Golden Chain* (Chicago: Kazi Publications, 1995).

13. Ahmad 'Irāqī has written a concise summary of Khwāja Pārsā's life and works (Khwāja Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Pārsā'i Bukhārā'i, *Qudsiya*, edited by Ahmad Tahiri 'Irāqī [Tehran: Kitābkhānah-i Tahūrī, 1354 (solar)/1975], preface, pp. 65-76.

14. For both accounts of Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn's statements concerning Khwāja Pārsā see Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Ḥusayn al-Safī (d. 939/1532-33), *Rashaḥāt-i 'ayn al-hayāt*, ed. 'Alī Asghar Mu'iniyān [Tehran: Intishārāt-i Bunyād-i Nīkūkārī-yi Nūriyānī, 1977], vol. 1, p. 103, 104-5. These narratives are almost identical to those of Jāmī (d. 899/1492) ('Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī, *Nafahāt al-uns*, ed. Mahdī Tawhidī'pūr [Tehran: Kitābfurūshī-yi Maḥmūdī], 392). Taṣköprüzade (d. 968/1561) simplifies the accounts and translates them from Persian into Arabic ('Isām al-Dīn Abū al-Khayr Ahmad ibn Muṣṭafā [Taṣköprüzade], *Shaqā'iq al-nu'māniya fī 'ulamā' al-dawla al-'uthmāniya*, ed. Ahmad Subhī Firāt [Istanbul: Jāmī'at Istānbūl, 1405], p. 254).

15. Hamid Algar, "Reflections of Ibn 'Arabī in Early Naqshbandī Tradition," *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society* 10 (1991): pp. 46-50.

16. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ṣafī states that during the reign of Mīrzā Ulugh Beg, Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Jazarī (d. 833/1429) (for his biography see Zirīklī, vol. 7, p. 45-46) was conducting a general investigation and rectification of the *isnāds* in circulation in Transoxania. In the course of this general investigation, he examined Khwāja Pārsā's *isnāds* (Ṣafī, vol. 1, pp. 106-108); for Ahmad 'Irāqī's summary of this narrative see Pārsā, preface, pp. 67-68.

17. See 'Irāqī's preface for his informative study of the *Qudsiya* (Pārsā, preface, pp. 77-80).

18. Zabīdī (d. 1205/1790) reads *waḍū'* with a *fatha*, meaning "the water with which one performs wuḍū'"

(Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Murtadā al-Ḥusaynī al-Wāsiṭī al-Zabīdī, *Ithāf al-sāda al-muttaqīn bi-sharḥ Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* [Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, n.d.] vol. 5, p. 230).

19. Pārsā, p. 28. A more complete version of the ḥadīth is as follows: *Lā tarfa'ū al-tast hattā yatuffa. Ijma'ū waḍū'akum, jama'a Allāhu shamlakum.* "Do not raise the wash basin until it becomes nearly empty. [Then] gather your water for *wuḍū'*, and God will unite your scattered state of affairs" (E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* [Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, 1984], vol. 2, p. 1600).

20. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Salāma al-Qudā'ī, *Musnad al-Shihāb*, ed. Ḥamdī 'Abd al-Majīd al-Salafī (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risālah, 1405/1985), vol. 1, p. 408. Instead of "*waḍū'*," the text reads "*wuḍū'*."

21. Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī al-Bayhaqī (d. 458/1066), *Shu'ab al-īmān*, ed. Abū Ḥājir Muḥammad al-Sa'īd ibn Basyūnī Zaghlūl (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiya, 1410/1990), vol. 5, p. 71. The ḥadīth is numbered incorrectly in the index. The correct number is #5819, not #1819.

22. Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 1403/1982), vol. 2, p. 8. Although, strictly speaking, the *Ihyā'* cannot be considered a work in the genre of ḥadīth collections, nevertheless, because of the large numbers of ḥadīth that it includes and because of the analysis of its ḥadīth by 'Irāqī, I have included it along with the other works, which are largely ḥadīth collections.

23. Daylamī lists the complete version of the ḥadīth on the authority of Abū Hurayrah, but he does not include an *isnād*. His *Firdaws* (of which there are two editions, one titled *Kitāb Firdaws al-akhbār* and the other *Firdaws bi-ma'thūr*) however, does not include *isnāds*. Al-Zimurli and al-Baghdādī, the editors of *Kitāb Firdaws al-akhbār*, simply mention that the ḥadīth is in Qudā'ī and go on to repeat the note supplied by Qudā'ī's editor (Shīrawayh ibn Shahrādār ibn Shīrawayh al-Daylamī, *Kitāb Firdaws al-akhbār bi-ma'thūr al-khiṭāb*, ed. Fawwāz Aḥmad al-Zimurli and Muḥammad al-Muqassim bi-Allāh al-Baghdādī [Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1407/1987], vol. 5, p. 179). Zaghlūl, the editor of *Firdaws bi-ma'thūr*,

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ways of observing the divine commands and following the manner in which the Prophet ﷺ lived.

These groups that criticize the celebration of the *Milād*, even though they see themselves as not being blind imitators, nevertheless they too follow their own leaders. Can such people, who have appeared only recently—relative to the history of Islam—perceive Islam better than the companions, successors, and the founding scholars of the schools of Islamic law, those whose vast knowledge and piety enabled them to make legal judgments? Are such people who break with Islamic tradition better able to interpret and comment on the Koran? Were people like *Imām Ja'far-i Ṣādiq* (d. 148/765), *Shaykh Ḥasan-i Baṣrī* (d. 110/728), the greatest legal scholars, and those who followed such as *Muḥammad-i Ghazālī* (d. 505/1111), *Junayd-i Baghdādī* (d. 298/910), and thousands like them, can these people be considered to be polytheists, to be among those that worship gods besides God? Have they not perceived Islam and the true teachings of Islam correctly?

In order to understand these groups that criticize the festival of the birthday of the Prophet, the words well known among the Arabs apply, "Don't ask about the man, ask about his friends!" It is sad to say that some superficial scholars who follow the doctrine of these groups are silent and make no criticism of celebrations commemorating the anniversary of the coming to power of certain rulers, or celebrations of their birthdays, at which time huge amounts are spent from the treasury of Muslims in order to have ostentatious festivals. Yet such scholars consider the festival of the birthday of the greatest Divine Messenger ﷺ to be an innovation and to be prohibited, the very Messenger ﷺ about whom God declared, "We only sent you as a mercy for the beings of the world" (Koran, *Anbiyā'* 21:107).

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Methodology and Literature [Indianapolis, American Trust Publications, 1977], p. 43, 61 and Siddiqi, pp. 66-67). In the case of this ḥadīth, the sole narrator at one point was Mūsā ibn Ibrāhīm. After him a number of narrators transmitted the ḥadīth, among whom was ‘Alī ibn al-Madīnī (Abū ‘Īsā Muḥammad ibn ‘Īsā ibn Sūra al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ* [*Sunan al-Tirmidhī*], ed. Ahmad Muḥammad Shākir (Cairo Muṣṭafá al-Bābī al-Halabī, 1398/1978), vol. 5, p. 462, #3383).

30. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn Balbān al-Fārsī (d. 739/1339), *al-Iḥsān bi-tartīb Ṣaḥīḥ Ibn Hibbān*, ed. Kamāl Yūsuf al-Hūt (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiya, 1407/1987), vol. 2, p. 104.

31. Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥākīm al-Naysābūrī, *al-Mustadrak ‘alá Ṣaḥīḥayn* (Beirut, Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, n.d.), vol. 1, p. 498.

32. Ghazālī, vol. 4, p. 82. ‘Irāqī (d. 806/1404) notes that Tirmidhī called this ḥadīth *ḥasan* (agreeable). Also he states that the ḥadīth was included in the works of al-Nasā‘ī (*al-Yawm wa-al-layla*), Ibn Hibbān, and Ibn Mājah (‘Irāqī, vol. 4, p. 82). Mundhirī (d. 656/1258) states that Ibn Mājah, Nasā‘ī, al-Ḥākīm, and Ibn Hibbān all included it in their collections, mentioning in particular that al-Ḥākīm stated that its *isnād* was sound. In addition Mundhirī notes that in all of these collections the ḥadīth was transmitted on the authority of Jābir ibn ‘Abd Allāh to Ṭalḥah ibn Kharrāsh (Mundhirī, vol. 2, p. 415).

33. ‘Ajlūnī adds, "the meaning of saying *‘al-hamdu lillāh* is the best supplication' is that it is the best way to begin and end a supplication" (‘Ajlūnī, vol. 1, p. 172).

34. Pārsā, p. 34.

35. Ibid., p. 14.

36. Although Madanī (d. 1200/1785) states that al-Ḥākīm al-Tirmidhī traced its *isnād*, I was unable to locate the ḥadīth in the index to al-Ḥākīm al-Tirmidhī's *Nawādir al-uṣūl* (his primary work on ḥadīth). Madanī also noted that the ḥadīth was in Ṭabarānī's *al-Mu‘jam al-kabīr* and that Daylamī and Ibn ‘Asākir had traced the ḥadīth to Abū Hurayrah (Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Madanī, *al-Ithāfāt al-saniya fī*

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al-ahādīth al-qudsīya, ed. Maḥmūd Amin al-Nawāwī [Beirut: Dār al-Jil, n.d.] p. 97).

37. Bayhaqī, *Shu'ab*, vol. 2, p. 185.

38. Daylamī, ed. Zimurlī, vol. 1, p. 512 and ed. Zaghlūl, vol. 1, p. 422. According to Zimurlī and Baghdādī (the editors of the *Kitāb Firdaws al-akhbār*) Ibn Ḥajar did not include the *is-nād* of this hadith in his commentary on the *Firdaws*, entitled *Tasdīd al-qaws* (Daylamī, ed. Zimurlī, vol. 1, p. 512 #1721).

39. Ibn al-Jawzī wrote, "The hadith is not sound; the only one who transmitted it from Zayd ibn Wāqid was Maslama [ibn 'Ulay al-Khushanī]." Subsequently he noted that Yaḥyá said that Maslama was not credible (*laysa bi-shay'*) and that Nasā'ī, Dāraqutnī, and Azadī said he was rejected (*matrūk*) by the scholars (Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Faraj 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-Mawḍū'āt* [Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1386/1969], vol. 1, p. 290). For Maslama see Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmā' al-rijāl*, ed. Suhayl Zakār, Ahmad 'Alī 'Abīd, and Ḥasan Ahmad Āghā (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1414/1994), vol. 18, pp. 102-4.

40. Jalāl al-Dīn ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *al-La'ālī al-maṣnū'ah fī al-ahādīth al-mawḍū'ah* (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifah, 1403/1983) vol. 1, p. 272.

41. Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Irāq al-Kinānī, *Tanzīh al-sharī'a al-marfū'a 'an al-akhbār al-shanī'a al-mawḍū'a*, ed. 'Abd al-Wahhāb 'Abd al-Laṭīf and 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ṣiddīq (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiya, reprint 1401/1981), vol. 1, p. 333.

42. Pārsā, p. 14.

43. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīh al-Bukhārī*, ed. Muṣṭafá Dabīb al-Bughā (Damascus: Dār Ibn Kathīr, 1410/1990), vol. 3, p. 1338, *faḍā'il al-ṣaḥāba*, bāb 5; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīh al-Bukhārī*, trans. M. M. Khan (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, n.d.), vol. 5, pp. 6-7; Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīh Muslim*, ed. Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī (Reprint, Beirut: Dār Ihyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1972), vol. 4, pp. 1854-56, *faḍā'il al-ṣaḥāba*, bāb 1, #2-7. For other references see A. J. Wensinck, *Concordance et Indices de la Tradition Musulmane* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), vol. 2, p. 57.

44. Pārsā, p. 62.

45. Muslim's version is as follows: *Innamā anā basharun Ardā kamā yardā al-basharu wa-aghḍabu kamā yaghḍabu al-basharu*. "I am only a man. I become content like men become content. And I get angry like men become angry" (Muslim, vol. 4, pp. 2009-10, *birr* 95). There are two significant differences between Muslim's version and that of Pārsā's. First, Muslim's version does not include the phrase "*mithlukum*" (like you), although it occurs elsewhere in Muslim. And second, the order of the remainder of the hadith has been reversed. Pārsā's hadith speaks first of the Prophet's human anger, and the second speaks of his human contentment. Muslim on the other hand reverses this order.

46. Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad* (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1403/1983, reprint of Cairo ed., 1313/1896), vol. 2, p. 243; vol. 5, p. 437; and vol. 6, p. 52; Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ash'ath ibn Ishāq al-Azadī al-Sijistānī, *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, ed. Ahmad Sa'd 'Alī (Cairo: Muṣṭafá al-Bābī al-Halabī, 1403/1983), vol. 2, p. 566.

47. Ahmad 'Irāqī, citing the *Rashahāt*, echoes this point in saying that the human qualities and desires of a spiritually advanced person do not hinder or obstruct their awareness of God (Pārsā, p. 143).

48. "Whoever knows his self, knows His Lord" is often said to be a hadith, but there is no known *isnād* for it that is traceable to the Prophet ﷺ. See note #8 above.

49. Pārsā, p. 57.

50. *Wa-Allāhi innī la-a'lamukum billāhi—'azza wa jalla—wa-akhshākum lahu*. "By God, indeed out of all of you I am most knowledgeable about God—may He be exalted and glorified—and most in awe of Him" (Ibn Hanbal, vol. 6, p. 122).

51. Bukhārī, ed. Muṣṭafá Dabīb, vol. 1, p. 16, *īmān*, *bāb* 11.

52. Ibid., vol. 5, p. 2263, *adab*, *bāb* 72.

53. Muslim, vol. 4, p. 1829, *fadā'il*, *bāb* 35, #127-28.

MAULOUD

by Abd al Hayy Moore, 1984

part 1: STARTING FROM HERE

Starting from here
in order to find the heart that
 passes through station after station
on its way to the goal,

in order to see the flashing reflection in which,
against the whole starry background of the
 seen and unseen cosmos,
the light of the Illuminated One, Muhammad,
-- beside whom there are only shadows --
shows,

no action needed,
no gesture of ours but the
whole rapidly fluttering celluloid motion-picture
threaded atomically through all the
 slits in the universe
at once
so that all scenes
at once
flash past
and are entirely resolved --

to see, to suddenly, with no guile, face
 to face, with no preconceived
cartoon however serious, no projected
experiential image, but rather

MAULOD

an image from himself alone beamed
outward to us from the innermost vantage

that the whole light burst forth
upon our shores in wave after wave of
pure resplendence, flowering flood after
gush of foam in which each
bubble is a picture and each
picture inside is exact --

that the shine of the Sent One,
Beloved Prophet Muhammad,
whose edges are
self's edges themselves,
edgeness itself, whose

total vastness is that in which we
sit or stand, by canyon's rim or
twilit grim protruberance
out like a peninsula into the oceans of the heart
in terrestrial turbulence or
sky's overturned
concave bowl of stars, all floating so lacyly
apart, held by fine webs of
traceries finer than the
finest thought of fineness,

that subtlest influence
that keeps things from snapping apart
and drifting off into alien spaces --

O Muhammad!
that face of his
bent from First Light
over his hands in his lap,
under the Tree of Loyalty,

MAULOU

that being he was,
under the cloud that always
shadowed him
shading him --

that transmitter he was
of stature and nobility
to the creature of Reality
most loved by God
but grovelling in idolatry,

that Light that went ahead,
having been
the first Light shed
from the first burst
from nothing but:
Be! And it is!

Being for us, having been from then,
the ultimate Word from the primordial Sea!

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Ahmed Mirza, M.D.

- ★ DIPLOMAT - AMERICAN BOARD OF INTERNAL MEDICINE AND GASTROENTEROLOGY
- ★ MEDICAL DIRECTOR - DIGESTIVE DISEASE CENTER, SAINT FRANCIS MEDICAL CENTER
- ★ CLINICAL ASSISTANT PROFESSOR, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS COLLEGE OF MEDICINE AT PEORIA

J. Steven Burdick, M.D.

- ★ DIPLOMAT - AMERICAN BOARD OF INTERNAL MEDICINE AND GASTROENTEROLOGY
- ★ ASSISTANT CLINICAL PROFESSOR, MEDICAL COLLEGE OF WISCONSIN AT MILWAUKEE
- ★ CLINICAL ASSISTANT PROFESSOR, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS COLLEGE OF MEDICINE AT PEORIA



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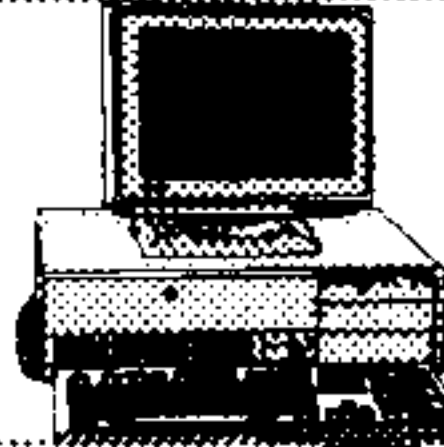
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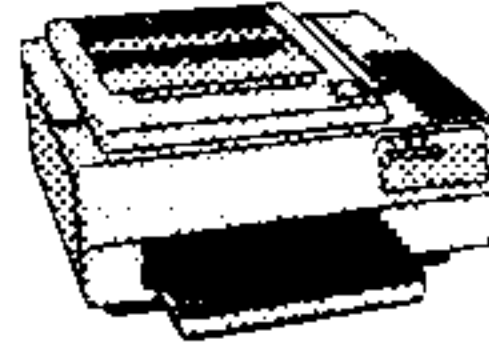
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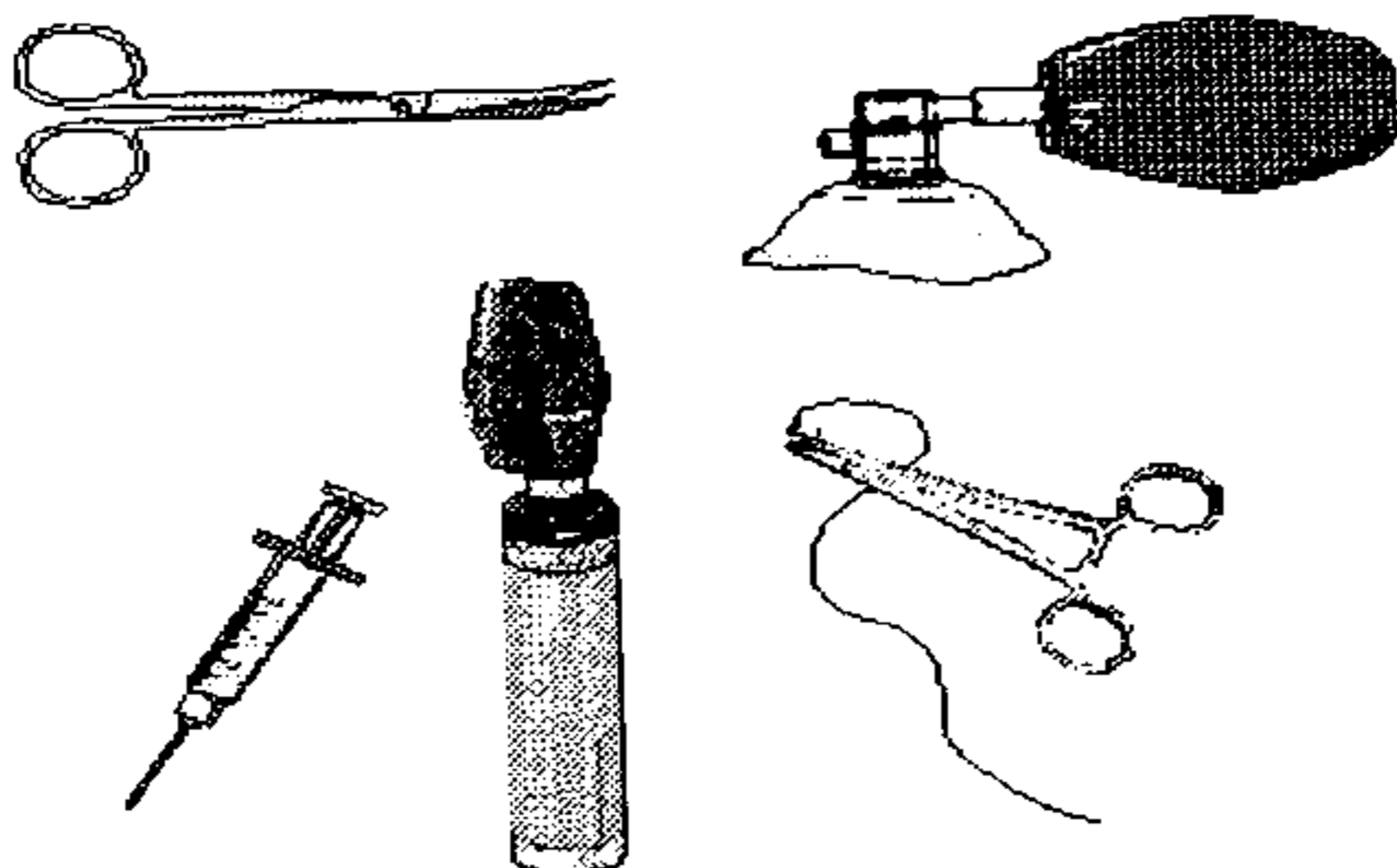


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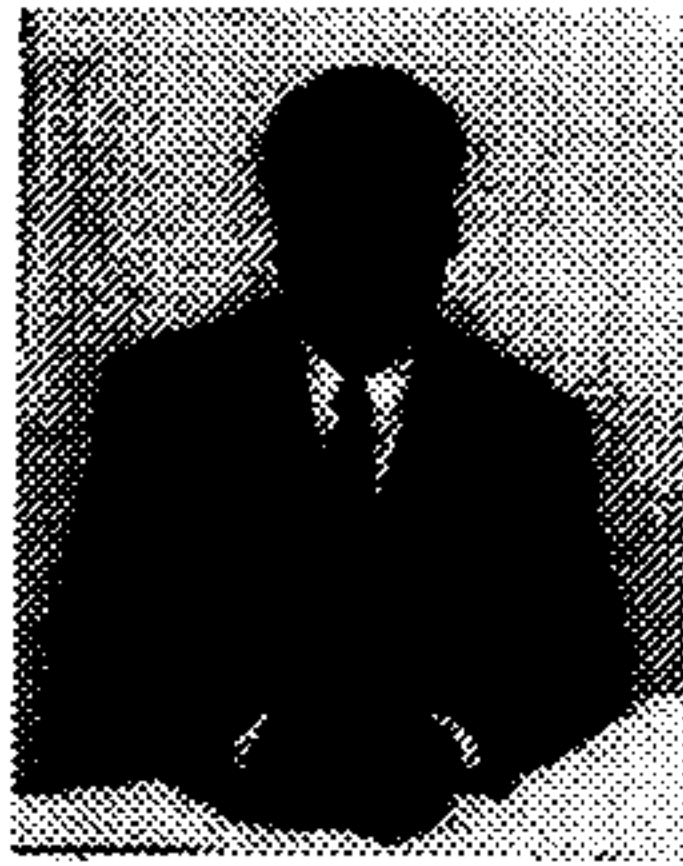


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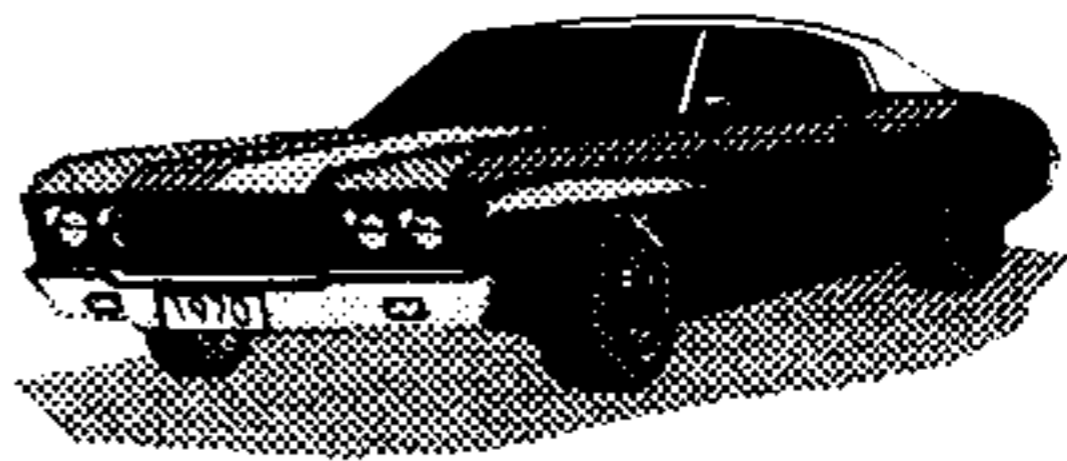
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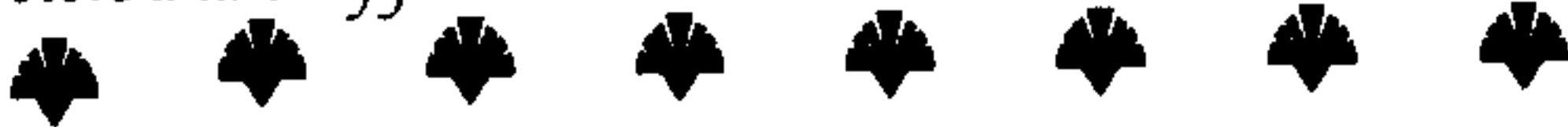
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