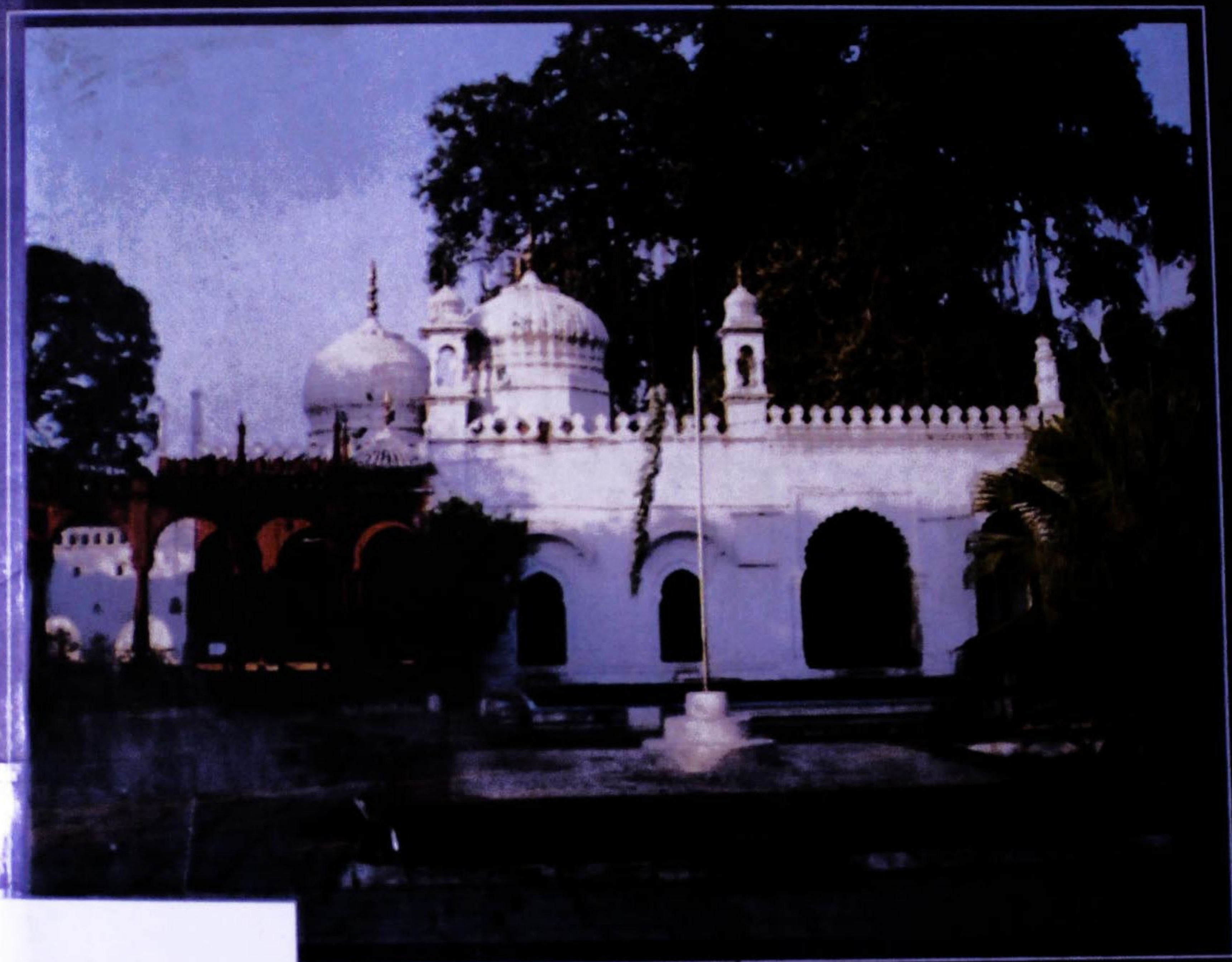


# SUFIS AND SOLDIERS IN AWRANGZEB'S DECCAN



MON DIGBY

OXFORD



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Bal-a Shah Mahmud

7/1/2006

Sufis and Soldiers  
in Awrangzeb's Deccan

Malfúzát-i Naqshbandiyya

Translated from the Persian  
and with an Introduction

by

SIMON DIGBY

93/1/2006  
DATA ENTERED

New Delhi

7/1/2006

OXFORD  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

YMCA Library Building, Jai Singh Road, New Delhi 110 001

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford. It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship, and education by publishing worldwide in

Oxford New York

Auckland Bangkok Buenos Aires Cape Town Chennai  
Dar es Salaam Delhi Hong Kong Istanbul Karachi Kolkata  
Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Mumbai Nairobi  
São Paulo Shanghai Singapore Taipei Tokyo Toronto

Oxford is a registered trade mark of Oxford University Press  
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Published in India  
By Oxford University Press, New Delhi

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First published 2001  
Second impression 2002

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ISBN 019 5644611

Typeset in Naurang (Times Roman)  
By Guru Typograph Technology, New Delhi 110045  
Printed in India at Rashtriya Printers, Delhi 110 032  
Published by Manzar Khan, Oxford University Press  
YMCA Library Building, Jai Singh Road, New Delhi 110 001

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## Preface

It is my hope that some of the contents of the work here translated from Persian into English will interest readers who are not professional historians of India, of Central Asia, or of Islam. The following notes are provided mainly for their benefit.

Two related classes of Persian (and Indo-Persian) devotional literature record and describe the activities and pronouncements of Sufi religious guides, of the medieval period and down to modern times. The genres are classified as *malfúzát* (a term related to the Arabic *lafz*, "a word") and *tadhkiras* (similarly related to *dhikr*, "recollection"). The first genre is a record of the words, the conversations and sometimes more formal discourses usually of a single Sufi shaykh or pír, while the *tadhkira* consists of remembered biographical narratives as well as pronouncements, often of a number of Sufi shaykhs in a common lineage or *silsila* ("chain").

The work of which this is a translation is called *Malfúzát-i Naqshbandiyya*, but it is more truly a *tadhkira*. It can be called a collection of *malfúzát* by a straining of the etymology, because it contains a large number of anecdotes narrated by informants, with a few that are recalled posthumously as told by the second of the two holy men who are its principal subjects, and a few remembered utterances of the first of these holy men.

These two related genres of hagiographical record became established in the Persian language by the twelfth Christian (or sixth Muslim) century. An important example survives from the territories of the Ghaznavid sultans, who ruled in what is now Afghanistan, and spearheaded the advance of Muslim rule and ascendancy in northern India. The compilation of *malfúzát* and *tadhkiras* in Persian soon took root in the Sultanates of late medieval India, incidentally providing us with information on social life not available from any other surviving source. Particularly notable examples of both genres survive regarding the activities of the Chishti shaykhs of Delhi in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and

their contemporaries the Firdawsi shaykhs of Bihar (who derived from the Kubrawi tradition of Central Asia). By the fifteenth century works of these genres of Sufi literature began to be compiled in many areas of India, including the Deccan, to which the great Chishtí Shaykh Sayyid Muhammad Gesúdaráz migrated.

Outside the boundaries of Iran proper, the genre also took root in Central Asia, dominated by warlike people of Mongol or Turkish stock, who had accepted Islam and had acquired a Persianized culture. Tadhkira works were produced concerning holy men of the Yasawi, Kubrawi and Naqshbandí silsilas. Edificatory biographies of earlier Naqshbandí holy men were studied and discussed in the late seventeenth century hospice at Awrangabad that is at the centre of our story, and provided models for its personae to imitate.

Rivalry had existed among the Sufi silsilas from the time when, around the twelfth century, they became highly organized in eastern Islamic lands. In the fifteenth century the Naqshbandí silsila became dominant in the portion of Central Asia variously called Turan or Turkistan (meaning the land of the Turks) and Transoxania or Máwará'n-nahr (meaning the land beyond the river Oxus or Jaihun).

The sixteenth century founder of the Mughal state in India, Zahir al-Din Muhammad Bábur, came from this region. Through the next two centuries the Mughal emperors of India retained strong links of sentiment and culture with their ancient homeland and its people, and they continued to speak its language within their family. The Mughal imperial family remembered the devotion of the founder of their empire, Bábur, to one of the greatest of the Naqshbandí holy men, Khwája 'Ubayd Alláh Ahrár, and they retained marital and warm social relations with the lineages of the great Naqshbandí khwájas. At the beginning of the eighteenth century a leading Indian Chishti Shaykh, writing to his chosen disciple, exhorted him to be careful of the Naqshbandís, and to remember that this was the silsila of the Mughal emperors.

In India, immigrants from Central Asia were lumped together as Turanis, though "back home" (which the Turanis called Wilayat) they came from different ethnic and occupational backgrounds. Over two centuries from the establishment of the Indian Mughals a stream of Turani adventurers, among them men of religion as well as a predominance of soldiers, descended the passes of the Hindukush and the Khaybar to try their fortunes or fulfil their destinies in the Indian subcontinent.

It is against this historical background that the work that is here translated was compiled at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The principal individuals whose activities, circumstances and mental states are

described are two holy men and their full-time disciples; but beyond these religious personages it provides a wealth of information about an extended clientele engaged in secular livelihood in the Deccan and elsewhere in India. Many of these were soldiers who had recently come down from Turkistan or Transoxania, or were from the first generation of their descendants born in India.

The *Malfúzát-i Naqshbandiyya* is a saintly biography of a high order and a record of piety and religious practices. It is also an exemplar of the art of narrative, with some admirable examples of vigorous and evocative story-telling. But beyond this it is of great value for its information, which sheds light on the social and material history of its period. There is a political aspect to it, for no other source so clearly depicts the social bonds and self-help of the Turani community in the Deccan, and its network of military recruitment. Nor would one suspect from any other source the existence of an institution which cared for orphans and homeless children of the community, and individuals from it suffering from severe mental or emotional breakdown. It has information on bewitchment and madness, on the stylized emotional life of a bachelor group of darwishes, and psychological topics: the relation of pain to ecstasy, prophetic and symbolic dreams, and "oceanic" visions of divine immanence embodied in the pír.

The *Malfúzát-i Naqshbandiyya* also provides an interesting body of information about health and sickness (mainly it must be confessed the latter). It has many descriptions of diet, clothing and lodging, and of the modest luxuries that were available in the Awrangabad bazaar. The value of these references is increased because they relate to a more modest level of society and standard of living than what is to be found in the chronicles of emperors, nawwábs and rajas.

Nevertheless, many of the soldiers and servants of the Mughal government, who figure in anecdotes in the work or themselves related them, can be traced in the histories of the reigns of Awrangzeb and his successors on the Mughal throne, and in the biographical *tadhkiras* of Mughal amírs of the period. By reference to these sources the content of many of the anecdotes in this account can be dated exactly. By this comparison, and by cross-reference to other anecdotes in the work referring to the same figures or narrated by them, a detailed picture can be assembled of the political background in which this Sufi establishment functioned.

The patterns that the anecdotes display will be familiar to anyone who has worked on Sufi biographical literature, and many of these patterns, particularly narrations of miraculous events, will be almost equally familiar to students of other varieties of hagiographical literature: Buddhist,

Hindu and Christian as well as Muslim. What distinguishes the *Malfúzát-i Naqshbandiyya* among Sufi hagiographical works is that the anecdotes in aggregate build up an extraordinary and vivid picture of the activities and character of the founder of a Sufi religious community, and of the pattern of life in the community that he founded: "ideas, life-furniture, whole workings and ways." Within that community united by common piety and shared beliefs, the diversity of the characters of the individual followers is delineated in a lively and moving manner. Through the later portions of the work an impression is conveyed of the gently dominant personality of Bábá Sháh Musáfir, not without his share of human failings, but a figure of great compassion, dignity and enterprise that must command our respect and admiration.

The *Malfúzát-i Naqshbandiyya* brings to mind a hagiographical work composed in another continent and in a different religious tradition, the Chronicle of Jocelyn of Brakelond written in England in the twelfth century. In it the character of the individuals in a religious community in all their variations is depicted with similar clarity; individuals who possessed a not wholly dissimilar attitude to existence in life and after death. There is a similar wealth of detail about their "life-furniture", as Thomas Carlyle termed it in the quotation given above. The character of the gerent of the monastery, Abbot Samson, is depicted with a similar mixture of awe, affection and acute and critical observation.

In the original lithographed Persian text, transcribed in elegant nasta'liq almost devoid of headings, it is difficult to locate items of information for which one is searching. In the presentation of this translation I have kept the chapter headings of the otherwise unsignposted original. These sometimes indicate what is not immediately obvious: the reason why apparently diverse anecdotes have been grouped together; for instance Chapter Seven, where a large collection is gathered under the heading of Bábá Musáfir's powers of kashf ("discovery"), embracing clairvoyance, foreknowledge and the finding of hidden things, and leading to the power to influence faraway or future events, and sometimes (in the minds of believers) to distant presence or bilocation.

This arrangement has led to chapters of contrasting length, with a particularly long Chapter Nine, a collection of biographies of prominent disciples (though in general excluding those who did not abandon secular livelihoods).

Apart from the original chapter headings and some sparse rubrics that I have translated (marked by inverted commas), in the course of the



chapters, for the convenience of readers I have divided off the individual anecdotes, and numbered them consecutively within the chapters in which they occur, and I have provided a descriptive heading for each anecdote. This will enable readers to locate more easily the topics that evoke their interest.

I have aimed at simplicity in my transliterations, omitting diacritical marks as irrelevant for most readers and superfluous for skilled linguists. I have made an exception in the indication of long vowels that serve as a guide to pronunciation, for which there are no distinguishing letters in the English or Roman alphabet. I have also indicated the Arabic letter 'ayn, as it is often related to the structure and levels of meaning of words of Arabic origin. In transliterations from the Persian I have employed the vowels current throughout the eastern diffusion of the language beyond the boundaries of Iran proper, common to Central Asia and India. This topic is clouded by confusion today, when much research and publication, particularly outside India, is under the influence of modern Iranian teaching and patronage. For an elucidation of the eastern varieties of Persian the reader can do no better than turn to Colonel Phillott's great *Higher Persian Grammar*, produced many years ago for the Calcutta Board of Examiners.

There is a saying that "the translator is a betrayer" (*traduttore traditore*). It is well for a translator to be aware that he has constantly to make choices of vocabulary and style, and that something of the inherent essence of the original comes from the language in which it is expressed, and will be lost as a result of his choices. Inevitably any choice that the translator makes involves losses as well as gains. Ideally, by wide reading, he should be able to recognize the nuances of the language from which he is translating, and be able to place them in their specific historical and geographic contexts. He should be equally aware of the resonances of the language into which he is translating. In recently published translations from the Persian this has not invariably been the case, either in India or abroad.

There is also the delicate question of what is "natural" in the language into which the writer is translating, and what will be intellectually and emotionally acceptable to his readers. In this respect he also cannot escape from his own limitations of temperament and conditioning. A translator cannot be wholly "faithful"; he can only be "faithful in his fashion".

Hence I should say something of the choices that I have made as a translator. What I have often striven to exploit are the matching, parallel

or analogous sentiments when drawing on the rich associations of two grand, ancient and historically conscious literary traditions, Persian and English. Yet similarity in phrase, sentiment or expression does not reach the mystic goal of identity in essence, which by nature is inachievable.

I have been sparing in the inclusion and "literal" rendering of honorifics applied to religious or secular persons or objects of respect and reverence. In English these epithets have the effect of trivializing rather than enhancing their subjects. I have referred throughout to the two principal figures as Bábá Palangposh and Bábá Musáfir, not Bábá Sháh Palangposh and Bábá Sháh Musáfir, or any longer titles. This does not imply any lack of reverence or admiration for their achievement.

It often happens that turns of phrase or patterns of sentiment in such a devotional text as the *Malfúzát-i Naqshbandiyya*, written two and a half centuries ago, can be more aptly paralleled in old-fashioned pre-modern English idioms, whether of the literary language or enduring in common speech, than they can be in contemporary neo-academic prose replete with novel and cumbersome word-formations. I have not hesitated to draw upon older and often simpler words and turns of phrase, which, while they are at least equally intelligible, remain more vigorous, elegant and appropriate to this context. Both English and Persian are languages with a long history and long historical memory. They possess lexical and syntactical storehouses on which the translator and his educated readers can draw.

From this the questions arise of whose English and for whom? Nowadays we are conscious of many varieties of English, and not a few "Indian varieties of English", called IVE by professional analysts. Now the text that I have translated was written in India. It reflects its period of Indian history and the Indian environment in which it was written. It reveals a multitude of details about this period and environment. It is a collection of narratives often superbly told; and I hope that some of their quality as literature may survive my translation. The *Malfúzát-i Naqsh-bandiyya* can be regarded as a significant part of the Indian heritage, which in translation will now be accessible to a larger class of educated Indian readers. It is with a consideration of these as my core public that I undertook this translation, rather than the non-Indian student, "specialist" or "generalist" or academic commentator, for whom slightly distorting translations and expositions of the most familiar features of life in the subcontinent are thought necessary.

For this reason I have not hesitated to use, though not on "lakhs" or

“crores” of occasions, Indian words that have in the past been naturalized in the English language, which sometimes first came into it as long ago as the time when this text was written. For the same reason I have not included a vocabulary of Muslim religious terms. In these lexical fields those who cannot guess the sense from the context can turn for more adequate and extended explanations than I can provide to such traditional guidebooks as Hughes’ *Dictionary of Islam* or *The Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam*, and to Yule and Burnell’s *Hobson-Jobson*. When I include the Persian words of the original text in parentheses, it is so that scholars conversant with Persian and with “Indian Varieties of Persian” (which perhaps we can call IVP) can appreciate the ambiguities involved in the rendering.

Many of anecdotes would become more intelligible from an expository commentary, which would elucidate the great variety of topics and themes that occur in the anecdotes of the *Malfūzāt-i Naqshbandiyya*: Muslim religious observances; Sufi practices; processes of thought, conventions of behaviour and sentiment; anecdotal patterns; popular beliefs and practices; miracles and magic; harmful and beneficent possession, foreknowledge and bilocation; diet, disease, patterns of death and life-spans; relations between holy men and their followers and donors; the political background of “the Mughal Deccan” and its military campaigns against the former independent sultanates and the Marathas; the individual military careers and the common political ambitions of the Turani clientele of the two bábás; and a multitude of diverse but often interrelated topics that are referred to in this text.

However such a commentary, which must endeavour to cope with the needs of readers with a variety of preoccupations and interests, and with varying levels of expertise and information, cannot be provided in the compressed form of a few brief notes. It is my hope to provide a second volume of commentary to accompany this translation.

Of many academic friends who have encouraged and sustained me through the years, I should like to recall three names: A.H. Morton, in whose own readings from the *Şafwat al-şafá’* and the hagiology of the ancestors of the Safavid rulers of Iran I have often experienced the pleasurable shock of the unexpectedly familiar; Marc Gaborieau, who has shown an enduring and sympathetic interest in my work, and is the main, if not the only, begetter of the present translation—for it was he who invited me to the lively conference on the Naqshbandis held in Paris in May 1985, which made me turn again to the text of the *Malfūzāt-i*

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*Naqshbandiyya* and decide to translate it; and Professor Muzaffar Alam in Delhi, who led me to submit this translation for publication.

In conclusion I should like to dedicate this work to the memory of a friend of my youth, an obscure descendant of one of the Turani adventurers who came to Awrangabad.

*al-majāz qanṭáratu'l-ḥaqíqa*

“Earthly affection is a bridge to the love of God.”

SIMON DIGBY

*Jersey, Channel Islands*

*1 January 2000*

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### 1. **The great tank of the takya at Awrangabad**

The water-supply reaches the takya from the reservoir constructed by Awrangzeb. It still drives the water-mill (Pañchakkí) that gives to the takya its common name (cf. Introduction, p. 1; Chapter III.11, pp. 66–7; Chapter VII.24, pp. 126–8). When it looked as if the city would be plundered by the Marathas in 1707, the cooking-pots were hastily thrown into the tank (cf. Chapter VII.19, p. 123). The great tank was more splendidly rebuilt in AD 1750, three and a half decades after Bábá Musáfir's death (cf. Chapter VIII.6, pp. 172–3). The large and ancient trees reflect Bábá Musáfir's concern with plantation.

### 2. **Relic-room of the takya: bows, arrows, a rosary and glazed dishes**

A number of relics associated with Bábá Musáfir and the early days of the takya are preserved and on display. These include the shirts said to have been brought by Bábá Musáfir from Mecca (cf. Chapter II.16, p. 62). To the left and right of the top shelf in this photograph are compound bows, unstrung, of the type carried by horse-archers in Central Asia and Mughal India. In the centre are arrows in their quivers. A rosary of 99 large wooden beads representing the names of Alláh is one of several that have been preserved in the takya. On the ground below are pottery dishes with overall green and brown glazes, and sometimes a ribbed curvetto. These are local imitations of Chinese celadon dishes. Chinese ceramic wares were on sale in Awrangabad (cf. Chapter IX.1.5, p. 177).

### 3. **Relic room of the takya: a Martabání jar for storing provisions**

These large dark-glazed jars with lug-handles were probably made in Kilns in South-East Asia, and take their name from the port where they were transhipped for export across the Bay of Bengal. They were used for storing grains or liquids, often in religious establishments in India where examples still survive (cf. Chapter VII.62, p. 159).

**4. A late seventeenth century Sufi shaykh in the Deccan**

Courtesy of the Salar Jang Museum, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh.

This painting has been assigned to Golconda, but a number of features such as the patterned carpet and the young Mughal nobleman holding a book to the left of the picture suggest that it should be re-attributed to the Mughal–Deccani school of painters who were working at Awrangabad.

We cannot identify with certainty the shaykh who is presiding over this small musical party in the wilderness, but details parallel descriptions in the *Malfúzá-t-i Naqshbandiyya*. Music was played in the camps of Bábá Palangposh on *tambúrs* like the instrument depicted in this painting (cf. Chapter v.2, p. 74). Bábá Musáfir was a skilled musician in his youth, and was fond of listening to music in his old age (cf. Chapter II.1, pp. 50-1; Chapter VIII.3, p. 171). The dog listening to the music with evident pleasure at the bottom of the picture would not be out of place. The founder of the silsila Khwája Bahá' al-Dín Naqshband, spoke very highly of a dog which accompanied him. One of Bábá Musáfir's khalífas, Sháh 'Arab, made friends with the dogs of Awrangabad and fed them from his begging-bowl (cf. Chapter IX.16.16, p. 237).

**5. Awrangzeb and Prince Kámbaksh: a bazaar painting, c. AD 1700**

This painting, reproduced for its contemporary iconic evidence, represents the cheapest level of popular Mughal bazaar production, probably in the city of Awrangabad itself. The painting preceded an almost complete Rágamálá series in the same style and inscribed in Persian in the same rough hand. It was accompanied by a similar version of a well-known Mughal subject of a horse being shod in the presence of its rider.

In the painting the young prince who has just attained manhood stands before the throne where the aged emperor is seated with his head bent and a Qur'án in his hands. Awrangzeb felt much affection for Kámbaksh, his youngest son, who was mentally unstable; and in his last years the emperor was concerned to protect him from his brothers. Prince Kámbaksh was also popular with the Turani soldiery, and many of the devotees of Bábá Palangposh and Bábá Musáfir served in his contingent. It is likely that the original owner of these cheap paintings was such a Turani soldier.

**6. Darwishes in Bukhara: Nineteenth century**

From E. Schuyler, *Turkistan*, London 1876, Vol. II, frontispiece.

In this closely observed drawing by the Russian artist Verestchagine the two Central Asian darwishes are over a century and a half later than the darwishes from Central Asia in the *Malfúzát-i Naqshbandiyya*. Their quilted and fur-lined clothes reflect the severe cold of the Central Asian climate. The “faqírs of Wilayat” were usually more scantily clad when they lived in India (cf. Chapter vi.1, pp. 99–100; Chapter ix.12.1, p. 233; cf. also the darwísh seated to the shaykh’s left in Fig. 4). However fur clothing was still sometimes worn in Awrangabad (cf. Chapter ix.22.5, pp. 248–9).

### **Front cover**

The illustration on the front cover shows the tomb where Bábá Palangposh and Bábá Musáfír are buried, within the takya at Awrangabad immediately behind the west wall of the mosque.

Photos by the author, other than Fig. 4.

Photo of the author (on back cover)  
by Ravi Pandit

## Sufis and Soldiers in Awrangzeb's Deccan

Visitors to Awrangabad in the western Deccan often come to admire the masterpieces of ancient Indian painting and sculpture in the Buddhist and Brahmanical caves of Ajanta and Ellora, and other caves close to Awrangabad itself. They may note the great rock-fortress of Dawlatabad with the single fifteenth century minaret nearby. From the dusty town of Awrangabad itself they may retain some memory of the late-seventeenth century domed tomb of Rabí'a Dawráni Rabí'a ("the Rabí'a of her age"), wife of the Mughal emperor Awrangzeb, which is generally but somewhat unfairly dismissed as an inferior copy of the Taj Mahal at Agra. They may also recall an unusual municipal garden set by a deep water-course close to the principal hotels, in which stand a mosque and other Muslim buildings of elegant design, now surfaced in white stucco, in a picturesque setting of a *chute d'eau*, a large tank of water and old and shady trees. The complex is known as the Panchakkí or watermill.<sup>1</sup>

This complex of buildings, dating largely from AD 1690 to 1730, is one of the most architecturally distinguished and beautiful examples of a *khánqáh* or *takya* extant in South Asia. Sayyid Mubáriz al-Dín Rif'at, author of a local guidebook, commented in 1956 that nothing was remembered in local tradition about its founder other than his name, Bábá Sháh Musáfir (literally "Traveller King").<sup>2</sup> Beyond this an eighteenth-century writer with local connections, Ghulám 'Alí Ázád Bilgrámí, included brief notices of Bábá Sháh Musáfir in his *Ma'áthir al-kirám*, in a section otherwise devoted to Sufis connected with his home town of Bilgram in northern India.<sup>3</sup> Fortunately at the *takya* a single copy of an account prepared by Sháh Musáfir's successor, Sháh Mahmúd, survived till the time around 1916, when the management of the property was taken over by the Endowment Department of the State of Hyderabad.<sup>4</sup> There is an absence of

manuscript copies of the work in public collections or among collateral kin still resident at the takya, but a lithographed edition of the Persian text from the manuscript that then survived was printed at the orders of the Endowment Department in 1358/1939–40.<sup>5</sup>

THE CIRCUMSTANCES  
AND DATE OF COMPOSITION

Though this text is loosely called *Malfúz-i Naqshbandiyya* and *Malfúzát-i Naqshbandiyya*, in genre it is not a malfúz, recording the conversations of a Sufi shaykh, but a tadhkira or collection of biographical anecdotes. In its textual tradition the edition follows a manuscript transcribed in 1241/1826<sup>6</sup> evidently from a working draft of the author. With commendable accuracy the lithograph transmits some lacunae originally intended to be filled in later, e.g. the year of the death of a particular shaykh. The author refers to himself as the faqír Mahmúd, and from internal evidence it is beyond question that he was Bábá Sháh Mahmúd, the chosen successor or sajjáda-nashín of Bábá Sháh Musáfir.<sup>7</sup>

Bábá Musáfir died in 1126/1714.<sup>8</sup> Shortly after this, probably in the following five years, Bábá Mahmúd encouraged another writer to compile a tadhkira regarding Bábá Musáfir, and a beginning was made.<sup>9</sup> Some materials from this initial effort appear to survive in the text as it now exists, and they may furnish an explanation for the confused narrative sequence of the earlier part of the work.<sup>10</sup> Bábá Mahmúd also mentions that his notice of the visions seen by a prominent disciple, Hájjí Áshúr, are taken from a written account provided by the latter.<sup>11</sup> Three examples of letters which passed to and from the takya are also included.<sup>12</sup> Bábá Mahmúd himself finally undertook the tasks of compilation and composition after hopes of finding another author had been disappointed, at a time when other direct informants were still alive and memories of life in the takya in the latter years of Bábá Musáfir were still fresh. Bábá Mahmúd himself, on the evidence of a date-verse, survived to a considerable age and died in 1175/1762;<sup>13</sup> but the last date mentioned in the tadhkira is 1145/1733.<sup>14</sup> Numerous references to Nizám al-Mulk Ásaf Jáh (d. 1748), first of the emerging Hyderabad dynasty, indicate dates of composition after his consolidation of his power in the Deccan around 1720. There are references to events in northern India in the earlier years of the emperor Muhammad Sháh's reign (r 1719–48), but none to the invasion of Nádir Sháh and the sack of Delhi in 1739, before which Nizám al-Mulk, once more in northern India, played a prominent part.<sup>15</sup> This suggests a *terminus ante quem* for the latest additions to the work.

## THE CENTRAL ASIAN BACKGROUND

The aspects of the previous experience of Bábá Sháh Musáfir and Bábá Sháh Palangposh and most of their followers before they came to the Deccan, and the Central Asian background, the models and inheritance of these Naqshbandí Sufi shaykhs, are surveyed in Appendix A of the forthcoming *Commentary*.

Almost all the principal characters described in the *tadhkira* were recent immigrants from Transoxania, particularly the environs of Balkh and Bukhara. They were mostly from the settled or "Tájík" population, even though they were commonly called "Mughals" or "Turks" in the Indian ethnic classification of the time. The immigrants often had enjoyed an elementary education in a *maktab* or children's school in Balkh or Bukhara, and there are many instances in the accounts of the *tadhkira* of wandering darwishes and troopers in the Indian Mughal army who were comparatively well-educated men. Their Naqshbandí affiliations often derived from the villages or townships where they or their fathers were born, often the sites of Naqshbandí tombs, as well as from the shaykhs to whom they resorted in their youth in Transoxania. Their models of behaviour derived from the great Naqshbandí *khwájas* of the fifteenth century and their successors in the same area. A further Central Asian element which has been somewhat underplayed in our source is a Kubrawi connection which has been subordinated to the Naqshbandí.

This Central Asian influence extends to the idioms of the lively Persian style in which the *Malfúzát-i Naqshbandiyya* was composed, and to the patterns of anecdotes as well as the technical vocabulary.<sup>16</sup> Anecdotal and stylistic parallels to the *Malfúzát-i Naqshbandiyya* may be noted in the most widely read fifteenth-century Central Asian Naqshbandí *tadhkira*, the *Rashahát-i 'Ayn al-hayát* of Káshifí. That *tadhkira*, as well as the *Nafahát al-uns* of Jámí, were commonly studied and expounded in the *takya* of Bábá Musáfir at Awrangabad.<sup>17</sup> Both the behaviour of the Bábá and anecdotes told about their behaviour can be seen to be modelled on examples found in the *Rashahát*.<sup>18</sup>

An examination of this direct Central Asian tradition of the *takya* at Awrangabad may lead to some correction of perspective, already adumbrated by Friedmann, in the historical view which attributes an overwhelming contemporary revivifying influence on Naqshbandí and other Sufi movements in seventeenth-century India to Shaykh Ahmad Sarhindi and the *khánqáh* or *takya* at Sarhind.<sup>19</sup> In our text there is not a single reference to Shaykh Ahmad Sarhindi. Moreover, though there are many

references to faqírs travelling to and fro between the Deccan and Transoxania over a period of forty years, and of their passing through Shahjahanabad (Delhi) and Lahore, and even of the places where they lodged in these cities, there is not a single mention of a visit to the takya of Sarhind.<sup>20</sup> The *tadhkiras* regarding Shaykh Ahmad Sarhindi, his family and disciples, the *Zubdat al-maqámát* and *Hazarát al-quds* (though like Sarhindi's own *Maktúbát* they share some Naqshbandí lexical items with our text) show few points of other than fortuitous resemblance to it and contain no allusion to any of the darwíshes who figure in it.

Bearing in mind the work's date and its place of composition we are better able to understand its historical and geographical perspective. The two principal subjects, both natives of Ghijduwan near Bukhara, came to the Indian subcontinent at a date which is fixed by the Mughal emperor Awrangzeb's campaign, waged from Hasan Abdal, against the Afghans, namely 1674–75.<sup>21</sup> After some years in which they both travelled extensively in India as well as went on pilgrimage to Arabia, the two bábás established themselves in contrasting roles in the Deccan, against the background of Mughal ambitions in the Deccan and the presence of the emperor Awrangzeb and his armies there. They came to the Deccan when the annexation of the older sultanates of Bijapur and Golkonda was about to take place, and lived there through the rise of the threat to Mughal power posed by the Marathas. The elder shaykh, Bábá Palangposh, became a travelling pír attending to the spiritual and supernatural needs of a military force, later an army, commanded by the Mughal general Ghází al-Dín Khán Feroz Jang. The younger shaykh, Bábá Musáfír, turned to the task of establishing a takya or khánqáh at the regional administrative capital of Awrangabad, which had been laid out and populated by Mughal incomers about forty years earlier.<sup>22</sup>

When Bábá Palangposh died in 1699 his corpse was brought to the takya founded by his khalífa, Bábá Musáfír, at Awrangabad.<sup>23</sup> Bábá Musáfír, despite his name, stayed put in Awrangabad until his death in 1714.<sup>24</sup> The author of the *tadhkira* was an orphan boy brought up and educated in the takya.<sup>25</sup> The personalities and happenings at the takya in the last decades of Bábá Musáfír's life are seen in sharp detail, often as if with the eye of a small child. By then the takya was well established, and many of the servitors and disciples had grown old. The illnesses and infirmities of old age are frequently mentioned and there are numerous and pathetic deathbed scenes.<sup>26</sup> Some of the muríds of both bábás had received khiláfat and licence to set out from the takya to distant parts,



where they might themselves attract a circle of muríds and followers. Reports, usually brief, of their distant travels often figure in the concluding portion of the text.<sup>27</sup>

Events more distant in time and space are less sharply perceived. In marked contrast to the circumstantiality of accounts of life in the takya in Bábá Musáfir's old age, the sketches of the early life of Bábá Palangposh and Bábá Musáfir are scanty in detail, formulaic and legendary, and are related in an inflated and bathetic prose style which, fortunately, seldom recurs later in the work.<sup>28</sup> One characteristic anecdote shows Bábá Palangposh wandering through desert and meeting the Prophet Khizr, who gives him arrows to slay a beast described in consecutive sentences as a lion and a leopard, of which the bábá then dons the skin which gives him his soubriquet Palangposh ("leopard-clad").<sup>29</sup> The account of Bábá Musáfir's initial and irresistible attraction to Bábá Palangposh when he was a school-boy at a maktab is contradicted by Ázád's statements that he was originally a disciple of Mír 'Atá Alláh Sáktarí of the Kubraví silsila and that he first met Bábá Palangposh in Kábul. From this it would appear that the story of the passionate pursuit by Bábá Musáfir of the footsteps of Bábá Palangposh is mythical, as indeed is suggested by the detail of Bábá Musáfir's delay at Ghorí, acting as tutor to the son of a local notable.<sup>30</sup> The sequence of events in the anecdotes of the two bábás after they arrived from Central Asia and then at Hasan Abdal up to the time they both came to settle in the Deccan also appears confused, but may reflect an involved though not unsystematic course of wanderings.<sup>31</sup>

Through the seventeenth century, and even after the death of Bábá Musáfir in 1714, there was a trail which led from Bukhara and Balkh to Awrangabad and the Deccan. Kabul, Peshawur or Rohtasgarh, Lahore and the new Mughal city of Delhi (Shahjahanabad) were staging posts, and many faqírs, often in bands, travelled along this route.<sup>32</sup> At the end of our period qalandars stayed at the madrasa built by Ghází al-Dín Khán Feroz Jang at Shahjahanabad,<sup>33</sup> and at the khánqáh established at Delhi by a khalífa of Bábá Musáfir.<sup>34</sup> Against the common pattern of emigration to the rich lands of India, Naqshbandí shaykhs and faqírs, as well as other Turani figures of note, often went on the return journey back to Central Asia.<sup>35</sup>

Central Asia beyond the Oxus, together with the settlements that lay on the southern bank of that river and were under the same political control, is simply called Wilayat ("the country") in our source, and this reflects the conversational usage of the word which later came to mean

Great Britain and Europe.<sup>36</sup> Wilayat had acquired for many speakers the characteristics of a far-off, dimly remembered homeland; and there was a blurring of differences of social status in the sense of common identity of immigrants from the same area. Thus Khwája Zakariyá' Samarqandí, a descendant of "Makhdúm-i A'zam" and a pillar of Turani emigré society in Awrangabad,<sup>37</sup> is reproached by a cousin for taking off his turban to show respect to Bábá Musáfir, "a faqir whom no one knew in Wilayat, nor his forefathers."<sup>38</sup>

THE SETTING: AWRANGABAD IN THE  
LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Though there are anecdotes in *Malfúz-i Naqshbandiyya* regarding campaigns of the Mughal soldiery in the Deccan, military camps, and travel along the roads of the Deccan, the most numerous anecdotes are those of life at the takya and in the town of Awrangabad.

Though one may be wary regarding theories about "frontier society", derived mainly from the North American nineteenth century experience, to areas and epochs in the Islamic world, Awrangabad at this period has many of the characteristics of a colonial town.<sup>39</sup> The *Malfúzát-i Naqshbandiyya* is not our only source regarding its social life. The *Nuskha-i dilkushá* of Bhím Sen, a north Indian Hindu from a family in official employment who himself came to Awrangabad at the age of eight, describes the polite official society of the new Mughal town, its diversions and preoccupations, in terms similar to those of many anecdotes in our text.<sup>40</sup> The historian Kháfí Khán too, whose work includes personal reminiscences, provides similar details.<sup>41</sup> No single figure other than the emperor Awrangzeb, the royal princes and the great officers of state are common to all three accounts, but there are some curious correspondences. Thus the dancing boy called Kábulí, who attracted the attentions of at least two of Bábá Musáfir's followers, may have been an offspring of one of the four hundred dancing girls and prostitutes of Kabul and Lahore whom Bhím Sen mentions as having been brought to Awrangabad by Mahábat Khán.<sup>42</sup> The Venetian Manucci also presents a picture of polite society in Awrangabad and was on terms of amity with one of the grand immigrants mentioned in our text. He was evidently there around the time of the Bábá's first visit in 1679. At the house of an Irani amír Manucci witnessed a comically disastrous alchemical experiment.<sup>43</sup>

In all these accounts Awrangabad appears as the urban centre for Mughal military operations in the Deccan. It was governed by a corps of

Mughal officials headed by a hákim (commandant) and it was surrounded by suburbs with the appellation -púra.<sup>44</sup> These were originally laid out on a communal or regimental basis corresponding to the ethnic composition of the Mughal army of annexation, often planned to accommodate the troops of a particular commander and their families. Thus there were suburbs named Jaisingpura and Jaswantpura, named after the Rajput generals Jai Singh of Amber and Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur. It was also a feature of the urban life of Awrangabad that Mughal officials and soldiers often maintained a quasi-permanent household there and left their families at the settlement when they received distant postings or went on military campaigns. Among the ethnic groups employed in the Mughal army in the Deccan there were large numbers of immigrants from Transoxania. As noted above, they were referred to as Turanis, by contrast with the Íranis from Safavid Persia, or loosely as Mughals. In Awrangabad many of these Turanis lived in Mughalpura, which is frequently mentioned in our text.<sup>45</sup>

We have noted the blurring of ethnic distinction between Central Asian Turk and Tajik among the immigrants. There was also no absolute division between the military adventurers and soldiers, on the one hand, and men of a high degree of traditional Islamic learning and sharif descent, on the other. Men from both categories could abandon their employment and join the immediate entourage around the Naqshbandí bábás.<sup>46</sup>

The distinction between soldiers and shaykhs is transcended by the three generations of a prominent family from Transoxania who rose to rule in the Deccan from the eighteenth to the twentieth century and figure prominently in our text. Their lineage was traced to Shaykh Shiháb al-Din Suhrawardi of Baghdad and they had held high offices under the Uzbek rulers of Transoxania. Khwája 'Ábid came to India during the reign of Sháh Jahán and served both as sadr al-sudúr (chief administrator of religious patronage) and as a military commander. His son Gházi al-Dín Khán Bahádur Feroz Jang, who came as a young man from Central Asia, was an outstanding general and governor, and enjoyed high rank through three decades. He consolidated a local influence in the Deccan that was to benefit his son Nizám al-Mulk Ásaf Jáh. The latter played a leading part in the politics of the Mughal court after it had moved back from the Deccan to northern India in the early-eighteenth century. Nizám al-Mulk emerged as the effective ruler of the Deccan, bequeathing his territorial power to his descendants, the Nizáms of Haydarabad.<sup>47</sup> Other recent immigrants from Central Asia were prominent military

commanders and held high offices of the Mughal state in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century. Many of them appear in the narratives as clients of the Naqshbandí bábás. Some of the most influential, notably Muhammad Amín Khán and 'Abd al-Samad Khán, were related by birth or marriage to the nascent Ásafiyya dynasty.<sup>48</sup> Many of the others were however of sufficient importance to be mentioned in the histories of the period, and to find a place in the great biographical dictionary of the Mughal "nobility", the *Ma'áthir al-umará'*.<sup>49</sup>

Like the popular impression of the dominance of the Sarhindís, the image of the nature of Naqshbandí influence in South Asia that is current in modern historical writing finds little corroboration in this account of the activities of Bábá Palangposh, Bábá Musáfir and their followers in the Deccan. There is no record at all of the proselytizing or conversion of non-Muslims. There is in our text but one reference to a single Hindu, apart from Raja Sáhú and his generals. This man was a revenue official terrorized by a disciple of Bábá Musáfir into abandoning a post.<sup>50</sup> One may reflect that this man was of the same class as the historian Bhím Sen, whose account of society at Awrangabad we have mentioned. The Maratha war-bands are simply called "ghaním", and the same term is applied to rebellious people—Muslim, Afghans, as well as to the Qalmáqs, probably Shamanist or Lamaist Oirat Mongols, back in Central Asia, against whom "the army of Islám" (*lashkar-i islám*) proceeds.<sup>51</sup> By contrast with the lack of mention of Hinduism, there are denigratory references to rafz (Shi'ism), one of which relates without disapproval the planned murder of a Shi'a in Kabul.<sup>52</sup> There is only one recognizable native Deccani Muslim mentioned in the entire collection of narratives. Such a "man of the country" was Bábá Musáfir's first devotee in Awrangabad, who brought him rice at the site where he established his takya.<sup>53</sup> Almost all the characters who figure in the narratives and bear any ethnic or geographical identification are recent immigrants from Central Asia or of the first generation of the descendants of such immigrants born in northern India (e.g. Peshawur, Patna).<sup>54</sup> The exceptions are themselves from the north-west borders of India, Afghans and Kashmiris. We are told regarding the local influence of Bábá Musáfir:

He always offered prayers [*namáz*] in congregation. Many of the Afghans and Kashmiris and the like of these, who were in the neighbourhood of the takya and never even knew the name of prayer, through the guidance of that perfect instructor came into the path of the worship of God and were present at all the five times of prayer, to the extent that all their children used to observe the prayers.<sup>55</sup>

After their arrival in the Deccan Bábá Palangposh and Bábá Musáfir, in their different ways, adopted the roles of pírs to Central Asian immigrants like themselves. Bábá Palangposh specifically laid claim to such a role: "With regard to anyone who comes down from the pass of Hindu-kush in this direction, I know who he was and what he did in Wilayat: and how he used to earn his living and what he is going to do in Hindostan."<sup>56</sup>

The two bábás differed from one another in lifestyle and temperament, though their activities were evidently complementary to each other in enhancing their influence. Differences appear to have arisen between them in the first period of their association at Hasan Abdal, where Bábá Musáfir expressed the opinion that Bábá Palangposh demeaned himself by association with Mughal grandees. The difference was resolved by a vision of much blood, indicating that Bábá Palangposh was a lion whose prey would nourish lesser beasts.<sup>57</sup> With this evident tension and contrast of character between the two bábás, the compiler carefully describes how Bábá Palangposh granted khiláfat to Bábá Musáfir upon their first visit to Awrangabad.<sup>58</sup>

Another expression of this perceived tension is in an anecdote with satirical overtones recorded by Ázád Bilgrámí.<sup>59</sup> The anecdote reveals that Bábá Palangposh and Bábá Musáfir were known among their older khalífas and associates by the nicknames of Íshán-i kalán and Íshán-i khwurd ("big Íshán" and "little Íshán"). It was at Lahore that Ázád appears to have met 'Abd al-Rahim, a senior khalífa of Bábá Musáfir. The latter related to him that he had once been sent by Bábá Musáfir to Bábá Palangposh, then in the army of Ghází al-Dín Khán. On the journey he had a dream, in which he saw himself jostled between a small but vigorous elephant pushing on in front and a large elephant proceeding at a stately pace behind him. The rear elephant was the stronger. He identified the elephants as Bábá Palangposh and Bábá Musáfir. The imagery of the dream reflects the rather peppery and pushing character of Bábá Palangposh and the quieter strength of Bábá Musáfir, both of which characteristics are visible in the anecdotes of the *Malfúzát-i Naqshbandiyya*. 'Abd al-Rahim felt impelled to mention the dream to Bábá Palangposh. The latter reacted by quoting a hadíth to the effect that God did not distinguish between his messengers.

What was common to the two bábás was considerable acceptance and success in the roles which they had adopted. Perception of this is evident in a comment of Bábá Palangposh, also quoted by Ázád Bilgrámí. Bábá Palangposh stated that he had given leave (i.e. granted khiláfat) to

sixteen people, who had gone their way without trace, but Sháh Musáfir had made manifest Palangposh's own shaykhhood (shaykhí-yi má záhir kard).<sup>60</sup>

It was the younger of the two, Bábá Musáfir, who first established his position in the Deccan by selecting the site of his takya and attracting the devotees and offerings for its development. Our author Bábá Mahmúd provides a romantic but not fantastic account of the initial stages of this development.<sup>61</sup>

Bábá Musáfir had returned from his Hajj (pilgrimage) by way of Surat to Awrangabad. He was ill with fever, and stayed at the takya of one Sháh 'Ináyat, but was turned out by the latter on these grounds: "Hazrat is a Mughal; and people think that Mughal faqírs have ashrafís (gold coins) with them. Let nothing happen from which the hákim (commandant) of the town causes me trouble!"

Sháh Musáfir lay down on the banks of the watercourse for some hours, and then made his way to a small mosque roofed with matting. It was inhabited by a majdhúb (mad) darwísh, and by gamblers and drinkers of bhang (cannabis). The darwísh welcomed him, saying: "I have acted as watchman: now you have come yourself!"

The darwísh then took himself away, and Bábá Musáfir cleared up the implements of the bhang-drinkers. He was noticed by one Hájjí Jamíl, "a man of the place", who brought him boiled rice. Then a young man called Mu'min Beg offered to tile the roof. Next Khwája Muhammad Dhákir rode by, going out hunting. He was "a man from Wilayat, son-in-law of the late Jamíl Beg Khán, of whom a quarter [púra] and a mosque and a tank are today situated in the city." Other faqírs joined Bábá Musáfir, and Muhammad Dhákir offered to build a bungalow (banglá) to lodge them. More devotees began to come, all Central Asian residents of the town of Awrangabad. A mud enclosing-wall was built, and then the mosque was rebuilt at the expense of a soldier in Prince Muhammad Kámbakhsh's army. The constructions that followed were: a private chamber for Bábá Musáfir, a waterwheel from the step-well, and finally a water channel from the city reservoir to a large ablution tank.

The narrative then passes, after an account of Bábá Musáfir's lack of personal possessions, to descriptions of the school for orphans which he established, of his provision for widows and other helpless women (which included sending his faqírs to put up matting on their roofs); and of his visits to the sick, to funerals and in response to other invitations.<sup>62</sup>

Mahmúd's narrative here switches, as we shall do, to a consideration

of the activities of Bábá Palangposh. He suddenly arrived in Awrangabad, having set off from Hasan Abdal on the north-west frontier with faqírs accompanying him. He had left behind such faqírs of his band as had fallen ill at the various stages of his journey and was himself suffering from gripes. Bábá Musáfir urged him to stop and rest, but he proclaimed his intention of pressing on. In a vision he had received a command to protect the army of Mír Shiháb al-Dín, the future Ghází al-Dín Khán, then a commander of 400.<sup>63</sup>

Bábá Palangposh spent the remainder of his life "guarding the army" of Ghází al-Dín Khán. From the point of view of the author of the *Malfúzát-i Naqshbandiyya* the rise of Ghází al-Dín Khán to greatness was the result of Bábá Palangposh's spiritual aid.<sup>64</sup>

From the arrival of Bábá Palangposh the star of his felicity was brought to the apex of fortune. In whatever direction he turned to confront the armies of the enemy, he was victorious over them with a small body of men, even though they were thousands. He was continually fortunate in his increases in rank; until, after the passage of time, he reached the limit of 7,000, which is the highest rank of amírs. He was distinguished with the titles of Ghází al-Dín Khán Bahádur Feroz Jang; and he was placed above other high amírs, of whom twenty-two had the honour of nawbat.<sup>65</sup>

When Bábá Palangposh was on his deathbed, he informed Ghází al-Dín Khán: "Until now prayer for your army and requesting aid [from God] for it was entrusted to me by the Holy Ones [buzurgán, i.e. the Naqshbandí khwájas]. Now I have consigned you and your army to God!"<sup>66</sup>

Bábá Palangposh's principal role was as a military pír, acting as an aid in battle through the force of his tawajjuh ("attention"). Before joining Ghází al-Dín Khán he is recorded as having exercised this power on two occasions: once in Wilayat, when Yalangtosh, minister of the Uzbek Sultan Nadhr Muhammad Khán routed the Qalmáqs,<sup>67</sup> and once when "Mughal Khán" (Aghur Khán) put the Afghans to flight shortly after Bábá Palangposh's arrival in south Asia.<sup>68</sup> We are told that the day after Bábá Palangposh joined the army of Mír Shiháb al-Dín (Ghází al-Dín Khán), the fort which the latter was besieging fell to him.<sup>69</sup> Bábá Palangposh was generally believed to go ahead of the advancing bands of Ghází al-Dín's force, loosing his arrows. At the height of the battle each band used to see him fighting beside them, and after their return they would argue about this: " 'I was with you all!' he tells them."<sup>70</sup>

Bábá Palangposh's aid on one occasion quells a rising flood about to engulf the imperial camp beside the banks of the river Bhima,<sup>71</sup> and on

another the recollection of the jamál (beauty) of his face saves an individual from drowning in the river Bhíma.<sup>72</sup> A distinguished Turani officer, captured by the Marathas and imprisoned in a "high and strong fortress" (an apt description of the great Maratha hill-forts of the Deccan) beholds the bábá in a dream and is inexplicably released by his captors.<sup>73</sup>

The protective role of Bábá Palangposh extends to the family of Ghází al-Dín Khán. He is found in a position of honour in the marriage of the youthful Mír Qamar al-Dín, the future ruler Nizám al-Mulk Ásaf Jáh. The boy washes Palangposh's hands with water from an ewer, and then Palangposh supervises a circle of darwishes performing dhikr, circumabulating them on the outside of the circle "in his normal way". The force of their breath extinguishes all the lights on the great lamp in the centre, which is an ill omen for the longevity of the boy; but Bábá Palangposh, breathing from the distance outside the circle, causes the wicks to reignite.<sup>74</sup>

On Bábá Palangposh's visits to the bazaar his servitors are ordered by him to pay many times the prices asked, and he is followed on such excursions by a large crowd of widows and of the poor hoping for alms.<sup>75</sup> Back at his camp there is another scene of largesse, with dishes of choice food being cooked and distributed, and a choice of edifying entertainment:<sup>76</sup>

On one side accomplished men of letters and skilful poets, seated together, conducted disputations and poetic contests, so that the noise of their disputation would reach his blessed ear. Then he would rise from his place, and approach them smiling, and graciously enquire: "What are you discussing?"

Then they would submit their preoccupation, and Hazrat would promptly say two or three words that would pacify them all, and they would agree. On another side musicians brought the hearts of listeners to ecstasy with sweet melodies, singing and playing the tambúr [long-pecked lute] and other instruments.<sup>76</sup>

On the march, the progress of Bábá Palangposh resembled that of a great Mughal amír, except that his retinue was of darwishes:

At the time of striking camp, in the vanguard before the cavalcade there were carried up on the backs of porters seventy or eighty or up to nearly a hundred clay tubs of flowering trees; and these porters received wages every day, even more than what was due to them. Wherever he encamped, he found instantly laid out the "rose-garden of Iram". Apart from those who visited out of piety, many people came to see the rose-garden; and all carried away enjoyable memories from the benefits of his favours.

Around 150 to 200 men, faqírs of Wilayat, bearing quivers, went beside his bridle. Another band, bareheaded and barefoot, who had nothing but a single loincloth on their bodies, acquired felicity by looking after the horses and camels and other tasks.<sup>77</sup>



Allowing for the romantic hyperbole of the narrator, it is clear that considerable sums must have come as offerings for the support of such an entourage. After the remonstrance of Bábá Musáfir, delivered at Hasan Abdal, against Bábá Palangposh frequenting the company of the worldly and the wealthy, Bábá Palangposh expressed his own view of his relationship with them: "I am licensed and appointed by God—may He be exalted and glorified!—to take money from the wealthy and bestow it upon the indigent."<sup>78</sup>

A large number of anecdotes about Bábá Palangposh relate to his assiduous collection of money and other offerings. The rationale is that such offerings will secure benefits to the donor and success in his undertakings,<sup>79</sup> will relieve his needs,<sup>80</sup> or will avert disaster which is impending over him.<sup>81</sup> Withholding such offerings is likely to result in injury befalling the reluctant donor.<sup>82</sup> If Bábá Palangposh is unwilling to accept an offering, or by chance prevented from accepting it, this may be because the donor is predestined to suffer injury.<sup>83</sup> Bábá Palangposh has foreknowledge of the offerings which have been vowed to him or to the spirits of the the Naqshbandí khwájas.<sup>84</sup> After such a vow has been made he is likely to meet the donor upon the highway, and he will not be satisfied until the amount which has been vowed, of which he has foreknowledge, is proffered.<sup>85</sup> The donors in these narratives are soldiers or officials, often of identifiable Central Asian origin. Gifts of horses are made to him, and they are also made to Bábá Musáfir.<sup>86</sup> On one occasion the offering which has been vowed to Bábá Palangposh is of one leg of a horse, i.e. a quarter of its market value.<sup>87</sup>

Ghází al-Dín was not spared such demands for offerings, nor the consequences of their refusal. It is related that on one occasion when he was pursuing the Marathas, Ghází al-Dín Khán refused to give an offering (*nadhr*) to Bábá Palangposh, arguing that he himself was the descendant of a great shaykh (Shiháb al-Dín 'Umar Suhrawardi) and the aid of the spirits of Holy Men (i.e. the Naqshbandí khwájas) would certainly be on his side. He was then severely defeated and he repented. Some of his soldiers, who had as it were on this occasion insured themselves by making offerings, came back from the campaign safe and sound.<sup>88</sup> In another anecdote, which is not confirmed by more credible historical sources, when (during the smallpox epidemic of 1689) Ghází al-Dín's eyes were infected, Bábá Palangposh told him that if he offered a present of the gigantic sum of two lakhs of rupees (Rs 200,000) his eyes would be cured; but the khán did not grasp this opportunity and remained silent, with the inevitable consequences.<sup>89</sup> The loss of Ghází al-Dín's sight is well attested in historical sources.<sup>90</sup> For two decades after his blindness this

indomitable figure continued his successful career as a general on the battlefield and as a provincial governor. The anecdote is as improbable as it is infelicitous.<sup>91</sup>

Bábá Palangposh continued to accompany the army of Ghází al-Dín until his own death in 1699. Ghází al-Dín Khán himself hastened to visit Bábá Palangposh on his deathbed while on the march to Gulbarga. After parting from him he is said to have sent an offering of two thousand rupees, which exactly covered Bábá Palangposh's current debts to creditors.<sup>92</sup>

After Bábá Palangposh's death, the bier containing his corpse was carried from Gulbarga to Awrangabad, where he was buried in the takya of Bábá Musáfir, and a tomb was erected.<sup>93</sup> This interment of a pír in the khánqáh or takya of a disciple at some distance from his place of death is unusual. It brought an additional source of charisma to the precinct. In the remaining years of his life Bábá Musáfir would order followers to resort to the tomb, or would approve their intention of doing so.<sup>94</sup> Sháh Qalandar is ordered to retreat there to concentrate his "attention" (tawajjuh) towards a specific end, the discovery, at the request of the future Nizám al-Mulk and Muhammad Amín Khán, of which of the royal princes would be victorious in the struggle for the throne after the death of the emperor Awrangzeb.<sup>95</sup>

The description of Bábá Musáfir's daily regimen given by the author of the *Malfúzát-i Naqshbandiyya* contrasts sharply with his previous depiction of the triumphal progress of Bábá Palangposh. It is closer to the traditional image of quietist Sufi piety:

He passed most nights in wakefulness. It was his regular habit that after midnight he would come out of his room and go once or twice around the whole of the takya. He would come up to everyone and pause for a moment, and then pass on; and no one was aware of his passing.

When the last watch of the night remained, he would sit in front of the qibla, sometimes in his room and sometimes in the mosque, when all the companions would seek grace [by joining him]. When the true dawn came he would order the muezzin to say the call to prayer; and again he would sit before the qibla, and would perform the prayer in congregation and return to his chamber.<sup>96</sup>

And moreover:

... friends and companions would be engaged in mediation [muráqaba] in the mosque until the time of the morning prayer. After the morning prayer, Hazrat would go to the bungalow, taking the book of the *Mathnaví-i Ma'naví* in his hand. The companions were present at the exposition of the *Mathnaví*. Shaykh 'Abd

Alláh, a student and a poet from Balkh, recited the *Mathnaví* and the others listened. If a difficult [passage] occurred, men of learning like Mawlavi Zahir al-Din and Ákhond Mir 'Abd Alláh Badakhshí and others who were present would discuss it among themselves. If the difficulty remained unsolved, Bábá Musáfir would say a few words that would satisfy everyone. The study of the *Mathnaví* went on till mid-morning. After that Bábá Musáfir would go to his chamber, and everyone else to their own homes.

After two hours Bábá Musáfir again renewed his wazú and would be engaged in his room in the study of tafsír and hadith . . . until close to midday. When the time came for the siesta which is prescribed, he rested for an hour or two. Then he got up and, after renewing his wazú, went to the mosque.

When the others had arrived he said the prayer in congregation and then once more returned to his chamber, where he studied the books of shaykhs [i.e. Sufi tadhkiras] like the *Tadhkirat al-awliyá'*, the *Nafahát [al-uns]* and the *Rashahát [-i 'Ayn al-hayát]* and others, till close on mid-afternoon. After this he renewed his wazú and went for the afternoon prayer, in which all the companions joined. After this Mir 'Arab, or others before his time, would read aloud the book *Silsilat al-'arifín*, or one of the other books which have been mentioned above, and Bábá Musáfir would expound its meaning. The companions who were engaged in interior recitation profited greatly from this in their inward pursuits until the sunset prayer.<sup>97</sup>

And so it continues:

After this Bábá Musáfir went inside his chamber. There was no lamp in the room, except for the calls of nature as is prescribed. Before the late evening prayer he went into the mosque and waited for the congregation, with whom he performed the prayer. He would stay in the mosque and say takbir over the cloaks of those of the faqirs who brought them there for the purpose.

Then he went back to his chamber, and the servitor who was in attendance would leave after applying surma to his eyes, and Hazrat would put a chain of the door from the inside.

Hazrat's time was passed in this way; and for thirty or thirty-five years the takbir at the commencement of prayer was never omitted. From this one may realize how strictly he obeyed and observed the practice [sunnat] of the Prophet.

Although his favour was sought by Nizám al-Mulk, son of Ghází al-Din Khán, and by others of the same military clientele who had resorted to Bábá Palangposh, Bábá Musáfir remained constantly resident in the takya, and appears in his later years never to have travelled farther than was necessary to participate in a ceremony, a feast or a funeral, or to visit a disciple's garden or the bedside of the sick.<sup>98</sup> The senior khalífa of Bábá Musáfir, Mir Mahmúd, was killed in battle, accompanying the fawjdár (military commandant) of the town of Karnul,<sup>99</sup> and two elder

figures, Sháh Qalandar and Bábá Názir, both disciples of Bábá Palangposh, accepted invitations to accompany Nawwáb Nizám al-Mulk.<sup>100</sup> The sole recorded occasion of Bábá Musáfir's direct participation in a military engagement was during a Maratha attack on Awrangabad after the emperor Awrangzeb's death in 1707. His role on this occasion contrasts with that ascribed to Bábá Palangposh on the battlefield.<sup>101</sup>

When the raiding party of the Marathas had plundered several of the suburbs (púras) of the city, Bábá Musáfir summoned the servitor who supervised the day-to-day running of the takya and ordered the books in the takya to be sent inside the walled city for safekeeping and the cooking pots to be thrown into the tank. He passed the night fully dressed, seated with his companions in the mosque. The author adds a characteristic detail that in the morning he shared out among the companions a box of dates prepared with honey, which had been sent by a muríd with an Ottoman name. Then the guards of the bastion close to the takya, who were muríds of his, suggested, while they were entrenching, that it would be best if he went inside the city walls.

Bábá Musáfir said that—God willing—it would turn out well. They should stay put in their entrenchment. He himself, wearing a green cloak with a headband of a dove-gray colour around his hair, and with a lúngí firmly tied around his waist in which was stuck a dagger, with rags upon his feet and a lance in his hand, set out for the 'Idgáh. He was accompanied by a band of faqírs, men of learning and grantholders.

After mentioning the reassurance given by Bábá Musáfir, the author relates with a touch of complacency the creditable performance of members of the settled urban religious community as members of a "Home Guard" or volunteer militia:

One or two of the enemy were wounded. Then they turned and passed to the second gate of Qutbpura. At the gateway there Sháh Khádim, Khwája Qutb al-Din and the pírzáda of the Baluches were stationed with some others. Sháh Khádim hit two of the horses of the enemy with his gunfire, and Khwája Qutb al-Dín also wounded several men with shooting.<sup>102</sup>

By contrast with many of the anecdotes about Bábá Palangposh, those regarding Bábá Musáfir in Awrangabad abound in sharp circumstantial detail, particularly when they are set in the last period of his life. The compiler's desire to provide a record for posterity leads to the inclusion of long narrative descriptions, edificatory indeed in their presentation of "holy living and holy dying" but almost devoid of miraculous elements.

Of this kind is the description of Bábá Musáfir's own final illness, tended by the author, as well as the descriptions of numerous other deathbed scenes and descriptions of the infirmities of old age.<sup>103</sup>

In these narratives the pathos is heightened by the personal situation of the immigrant faqírs, growing old together in an alien land: and by the situation of the author himself, who had grown up amid these elder and usually celibate settlers and wanderers, and was living and writing in an age when the political and social forces which gave a *raison d'être* to the *takya* had lost their impetus.

Other passages of Mahmúd's narrative lack this pathetic or edificatory tone, but provide valuable evidence of idiosyncratic behaviour. One may give the instance of his account of the career of Mír Muhammad Yúsuf, a boy who like himself had been brought up by Bábá Musáfir. To Bábá Musáfir's disappointment, he rejected Sufi instruction. Mír Muhammad Yúsuf wished to become a soldier, but settled to the career of a formal 'álim and teacher. What is noteworthy in this account is that no terrible retribution overtakes him when he flouts Bábá Musáfir's will, nor even when he replies pertly to him.<sup>104</sup>

Other anecdotes devoid of a supernatural element concern the beneficent role of the pír in society. They demonstrate the efficiency of the organization of the *takya*, which is also attested by the well-planned building programme and the planting and watering of vines and of shady and fruit-bearing trees.<sup>105</sup> Grain to feed the inhabitants of the *takya* was stored in large jars.<sup>106</sup> Bábá Musáfir's care for orphan children led to the maintenance of a school in the *takya* with a much travelled master of some distinction. "The ákhond was a pillar of my *takya*," Bábá Musáfir lamented after his death.<sup>107</sup> Some pupils, including our author, attained a respectable level of learning.<sup>108</sup> The provisions made for helping widows and other unprotected women equally appear to have been of a practical character.<sup>109</sup> The families of a number of muríds who had abandoned careers in the imperial Mughal service at times also sought Bábá Musáfir's aid and mediation.<sup>110</sup>

Several examples are recorded of the mediation of both Bábá Palangposh and Bábá Musáfir with the civil authorities when their own adherents or members of the Turanian community fell into difficulties. When one of the faqírs of Bábá Palangposh had been stabbed to death by a boy at whom he had been gazing, Bábá Palangposh sent away the police guard on the house of the boy's relations. He averted demands for retaliation, and after the funeral he invested the boy and his uncles with robes

and prescribed penance.<sup>111</sup> Bábá Musáfir advised an Afghan muríd who had killed the slave of a Mughal to hide for a couple of days before visiting the former owner, who then "dismissed him with abundant reassurance."<sup>112</sup> A muríd called Háfiz Muhammad Qásim, after disobeying Bábá Musáfir, had the misfortune to kill his wife by throwing a pot at her, and was arrested; but Bábá Musáfir "went and had the háfiz released from prison."<sup>113</sup> On the same or another occasion, when the háfiz had been imprisoned, Bábá Musáfir visited a pillar of Turanian society in Awrangabad, Khwája 'Abd al-Walí Samarqandí, and asked him to intercede for this man's release, urging that he himself wished to listen to him playing music. The khwája's refusal to do so led Bábá Musáfir to remark that he "had set Háfiz Qásim free", but would not deliver the khwája from the illness from which he was then suffering. The háfiz was released and the khwája died.<sup>114</sup>

Discipline was maintained in the takya and in the vicinity outside its walls. While in some cases impolite, idle or impious behaviour was followed by the retribution of fate,<sup>115</sup> in others chastisement was administered at Bábá Musáfir's orders, or by his own hand. "His enforcement of observances and prohibitions of the forbidden were such that if a drunkard happened to pass beneath the walls of the takya and this became known to Hazrat, he would himself take a scourge in his hand and administer the legal chastisement, no matter who it was."<sup>116</sup> In spite of such chastisements occasional attempts were made by inhabitants of the takya to evade Bábá Musáfir's prohibitions on drinking, smoking tobacco and summoning dancing-boys.<sup>117</sup>

Many anecdotes refer to the problems of the day-to-day administration of the takya at Awrangabad, and in the establishment of Bábá Palangposh on the march in the Deccan. Service in the kitchen and attendance on the personal needs of the pír in such offices as ewer-bearer were duties assigned to newly admitted muríds.<sup>118</sup> Other routine tasks included cleaning and sweeping, drawing water from the step-well, procuring firewood and carrying stones for the building operations.<sup>119</sup> Senior khádims (servitors) administered the takya and maintained discipline within it. At Awrangabad particular khádims, called Sháh Kúchak and Sháh Khádim, appear to have played this organizational and supervisory role in succession.<sup>120</sup> At the end of Bábá Musáfir's life it was largely entrusted to his delegated successor, Sháh Mahmúd, compiler of the *Malfúzát-i Naqshbandiyya*.<sup>121</sup>

It is initially surprising that such wandering darwishes as Bábá Palangposh and Bábá Musáfir should themselves manifest the powers

of organization necessary for the roles they played in the Deccan. However, though the information in the *Malfúzát-i Naqshbandiyya* about their early lives is vague, scanty and contradictory, it is clear that both the *bábás* had visited the shrines of some of the great Naqshbandí *khwájas* of their homeland.<sup>122</sup> In Ghijduwán, *Bábá Palangposh* is said to have been a *muríd* of Shaykh Darwísh 'Azízán, attending upon him for a number of years.<sup>123</sup> Regarding the latter, *Ázád Bilgrámí* states that he was known as the "second Ahrár",<sup>124</sup> possibly, we may conjecture, on account of the numerous villages (*qaryát*) in his possession. One of the villages (*yake az dehát*) of Ghijduwán was the birthplace of *Bábá Musáfir*, and he may have grown up familiar with the spectacle of the efficient management of a large *khánqáh*, even if he did not serve as a *muríd* in a Naqshbandí *khánqáh*. He may also have learnt such lessons at the Kubravi centre at *Sáktar*,<sup>125</sup> or from his stay in a considerable establishment of *Mirza Háshim* in *Balkh*.<sup>126</sup>

If sometimes the *darwísh* was a solitary wanderer, at other times large bands of *darwíshes* travelled together, and this must have required organization and discipline. In our text there is a description of such a band of about seventy *darwíshes* encamped at a *takya* near *Kabul*.<sup>127</sup> If the means of support in the form of offerings or recurring grants were forthcoming, with such training the problems of organizing either a travelling entourage around a *pír* or a settled *takya* were not insurmountable.

Anecdotes in the *Malfúzát-i Naqshbandiyya* showing the exercise of supernatural powers are numerous, but most of these can be divided according to a simple typology. There are anecdotes of revelation or discovery, of retribution and of intervention in the natural course of events. A few anecdotes combine more than one of these features.

Numerous anecdotes are demonstrations of supernatural or paranormal powers which attest that the *bábá* is indeed a genuine *pír* or *walí*. The deployment of these powers leads, in a favourite phrase of our author, to an "increase of attachment" (*izdiyád-i i'tiqád*). Of a generally beneficent kind are simply anecdotes of *kashf* ("discovery"), a term which includes thought-reading and clairvoyance, the knowledge of occurrences in distant places or in the future.<sup>128</sup>

Knowledge of what is passing through the mind of a visitor, or of thoughts that have earlier passed through his mind, are effective in inducing a strong allegiance to the *pír*. An example is recorded by the compiler, told by a high Mughal officer, *Muhammad Ghiyáth Khán Bahádur*. The latter had entered the *takya* while engaged in pursuing the *Marathas* near *Awrangabad*. This was during the recitation of the *khatm* of the

Naqshbandí khwájas, with a circular cloth spread beneath the beads. The visitor mentally resolved to have a similar cloth made for his own use in performing the ritual, whereupon the cloth before them was presented to him by Bábá Musáfir.<sup>129</sup>

Foreknowledge of the outcome of events is of the greatest value to a politician, and we may believe the detail of the future Nizám al-Mulk Ásaf Jáh and his cousin Muhammad Amín Khán calling upon Bábá Musáfir to obtain a prediction of the outcome of the war of succession which occurred on the death of the emperor Awrangzeb. After an initial well-justified reluctance, Bábá Musáfir made a senior darwísh, Sháh Qalandar, sit in the tomb of Bábá Palangposh and "turn his attention" to the question. At length Sháh Qalandar saw a vision, in which a jewelled dagger was placed in his hand. This dagger then flew out of his grasp in the direction of Hindostan (often used in this text specifically for *northern* India). Nizám al-Mulk and Muhammad Amín Khán set out northwards ultimately to join the successful contender, the emperor Bahádur Sha. at his camp.<sup>130</sup>

Another group of anecdotes with a similar purpose, namely to make manifest the power of the pír, are those of retribution which follows disobedience or disrespect shown towards him. In the account of Bábá Musáfir such retributory anecdotes are not so numerous as the anecdotes which concern the misfortunes of those who failed to make offerings to Bábá Palangposh; but they nevertheless include some awesome examples. There is the case of the idler when the great tank of the takya was being constructed, and Bábá Musáfir himself was handing out bricks and mortar. The idler, Sháh Faqírá, pretended that he had an injury to his leg. The following day a monstrous swelling appeared upon the leg and discharged pus, and a few days later he was dead.<sup>131</sup>

Many anecdotes concern the role of the pír as a "remover of obstacles" (*mushkil-kushá*); an averter of dangers and difficulties. This role can be exercised by the application of the *tawajjuh* ("attention") of the pír or of a follower to whom he has delegated this task. It can also be exercised by the appearance of the pír to a follower in a dream, or through *rábita*, a technique of mental recall of the image of the pír taught to disciples. Bábá Musáfir, unlike Palangposh, does not accompany the troops in campaigns or on the battlefield, but he protects his adherents from afar. A traveller passes unseen through marauding bands of Marathas when he takes refuge in "recollection of the Shaykh" and beholds before his eyes his blessed form.<sup>132</sup> By reciting the *khatm* of the khwájas followed by *fátiha* Bábá Musáfir relieves the commandant of a fortress from an attack of the Marathas which was taking place at the time of the



recitation.<sup>133</sup> A coat given as tabarruk to a muríd protects him through his military campaigns, and a sleeve is handed on by the recipient to another devotee, for whom it performs a similar function.<sup>134</sup> The obstacle removed may be one to advancement in a military career or towards more prosperous circumstances. A soldier who in Bábá Musáfir's presence repents from drinking wine and watching dancing girls is promised the unexpected gift of a fine horse of a kind he covets.<sup>135</sup> A well-connected soldier who has changed his profession and has become a successful trader reflects that the seventy feasts which he has given in Bábá Musáfir's name have each been abundantly repaid in profits.<sup>136</sup>

The internal obstacles removed by the pír include those of muríds who have found a blockage in their spiritual path.<sup>137</sup> There are many anecdotes of healing, including the cure of evil possession by Jinns,<sup>138</sup> and of madness induced by the dhikr taught by evil or heretical instructors.<sup>139</sup> A fever of the compiler is cured at the tomb of Bábá Palangposh,<sup>140</sup> and other illnesses are relieved by Bábá Musáfir prescribing the consumption of a dish of kedgerree (khichrí) which Palangposh favoured,<sup>141</sup> by the gift of an amulet,<sup>142</sup> or simply by a pronouncement of the shaykh.<sup>143</sup> In one case, a bone stuck in the throat is coughed up at the sufferer's recollection of the pír.<sup>144</sup>

The closing portion of the *Malfúzát-i Naqshbandiyya*, more than a third of the whole, is filled with notices of the khalífas and other friends.<sup>145</sup> It begins with those who had received khiláfat from Bábá Musáfir himself, followed by other close and senior member of the circle of darwishes, including some who had received khiláfat from Bábá Palangposh. A number of entries concern muríds of Bábá Musáfir who were not full-time darwishes resident at the takya, but are included on account of their exalted Naqshbandí lineage or their high position in society in Awrangabad. Thus there is an entry on the muftí of Awrangabad who was a muríd, but it is devoid of biographical details regarding him.<sup>146</sup> The last three notices are of Naqshbandí khwájás resident at Awrangabad who were descendants of Makhdúm-i A'zam.<sup>147</sup> Two of these were maintained on handsome pensions by the emperor Awrangzeb.<sup>148</sup> The third, who was considered to have died because he did not intercede for the imprisoned muríd of Bábá Musáfir mentioned above, was indebted and lived frugally.<sup>149</sup> Another Naqshbandí khwája, a former mansabdár, also lived like a faqír, but on a comfortable allowance from the emperor of three rupees a day. He was a muríd of Bábá Musáfir and wore a khirqah from him. This khwája was the brother of the sadr (officer in charge of religious grants) in Awrangabad. They were descendants of 'Alim Shaykh 'Azizán, the grandfather of the general Gházi al-Din Khán.<sup>150</sup> Another

descendant of the Naqshbandí khwájas is described as both a faqír and a muríd of Bábá Musáfir, but he appears to come from a less influential lineage.<sup>151</sup>

The notices of the khalífas and muríds who were living the life of darwishes show that, while they were all of Central Asian descent, the pattern of recruitment was not uniform. Some had joined the darwishes in extreme youth. Bábá Musáfir himself was an orphan who left home for a maktab in Bukhara at the age of seven.<sup>152</sup> Sháh Khádim is said to have left home at a similar age.<sup>153</sup> Sháh Kúchak was evidently an orphan,<sup>154</sup> as was Sháh Qalandar, who left home at the age of twelve, though he apparently stayed with an uncle before joining a band of darwishes bound for the Deccan.<sup>155</sup>

By the early decades of the eighteenth century, among the less numerous entrants of the younger generation, recruitment could be from the male children educated in the takya itself.<sup>156</sup> The compiler, who does not include his own autobiography, was also brought up in the takya.<sup>157</sup> Of these children we have already noted the case of Mír Muhammad Yúsuf, who rejected the Sufi life, though on his deathbed he maintained a dubious claim of khirqa of discipleship and was grudgingly allowed burial in the takya precinct by the compiler of *Malfúz-i Naqshbandiyya*, Sháh Mahmúd.<sup>158</sup> Something of the animosity of boyhood rivalry, competing for the affection of Bábá Musáfir, may be visible in Sháh Mahmúd's references to Muhammad Yúsuf. Hájjí 'Áshúr, whose visions are recorded in the tadhkira, was a boy of Turkish descent brought up by Bábá Musáfir; and another boy brought up by Bábá Musáfir attained the high post of 'arzbegi (chief secretary) to Nizám al-Mulk.<sup>159</sup>

Others of the khalífas and principal muríds, who entered the Sufi life in young adulthood, generally around the age of eighteen or twenty, had previously embarked on careers in the Mughal imperial service, usually as mounted soldiers.<sup>160</sup> Apart from ordinary cavalymen, there are references to muríds in the siege-artillery and the horse-archers.<sup>161</sup> Mughal troopers were men of high social status, recruited by patronage and with a career open to the talents.<sup>162</sup> Frequently they had male relations in higher ranks and families concerned about their pay and prospects,<sup>163</sup> as well as obligations brought about by arranged marriages with daughters of families of equal status within the immigrant community.<sup>164</sup> Some of these young men "opted out" at the beginning of their promising careers and joined the ranks of the faqírs.

Several of the subjects of these biographical notices at an impulse abandoned their service in the Mughal army and came to the takya, either

selling their horses and effects or presenting them as an offering.<sup>165</sup> Among these cases was the second khalífa of Bábá Musáfir, 'Abd al-Rahím; and he was followed on this course by his brother Hájjí 'Abd al-Karím.<sup>166</sup> There are references to the mother and sister of this pair, who were taken for a long residence in Mecca, then back to the Deccan and onwards to northern India, where the brothers established a khánqáh or takya at Lahore.<sup>167</sup> The bride of 'Abd al-Rahím disappears from the story after her mother has been punished by fate for her evil tongue.<sup>168</sup> A similar case is that of Sayyid Mír 'Arab, a sayyid from the Sar-i Pul quarter of Balkh, who was serving in the siege-artillery of Awrangzeb and had apparently married the daughter of his commanding officer. When he abandoned the military for the religious life, his wife and family came to remonstrate with Bábá Musáfir. They retained some control of this disciple and, when the emperor Bahádur Sháh returned from the Deccan to northern India in 1709, they took him with them in the imperial train.<sup>169</sup>

The patterns of travel revealed by these biographical notices show that the journeyings of individuals were not much impeded by political obstacles in the eastern Islamic world in the late seventeenth century. The travels recorded may be accepted as genuine except for a suspect first Hajj and other possibly mythical details in the remote early movements of Bábá Palangposh.<sup>170</sup> There is possibly also confusion in the account of the latter's early visit to Awrangabad and his repeated movements to and from Hasan Abdal.<sup>171</sup> Bábá Palangposh is stated to have performed an early pilgrimage from Transoxania via Mashhad.<sup>172</sup> The overland route through Safavid Iran was not entirely closed at this period, for two other darwishes are said to have performed the Hajj from Transoxania through Isfahán in Safavid (and Shi'a) Iran,<sup>173</sup> and Bábá Musáfir is stated to have performed the Hajj *overland* from Gujarat, i.e. presumably through Makran and Fars.<sup>174</sup> What would appear to be wild hearsay regarding the travels of one darwish, Sháh Haydar Táshkandí, to western lands receives partial confirmation in Ottoman sources.<sup>175</sup>

In the narratives of the *Malfúzát-i Naqshbandiyya* there is also information about conditions of travel. Of the travellers Khwája Zakariyá' (no. 22 above) was an aristocrat travelling with an entourage. Our text mentions that one stage after his final ceremonious departure from Awrangabad, because he was feeling the cold, he sent back word to Bábá Musáfir to forward to him a fur coat.<sup>176</sup> The imperial troopers who turned towards Bábá Musáfir rode across the Deccan, sometimes alone but more often with companions; the journey was not safe from attacks by the Marathas.<sup>177</sup> Sháh 'Arab (no. 17 above) travelled from Jinji to Galgala

riding an ox.<sup>178</sup> The mother and sisters of 'Abd al-Rahim and 'Abd al-Karim (nos. 4 and 5 above) travelled by bullock-cart from Awrangabad to northern India.<sup>179</sup> Most of the darwishes, if they had not attained positions of respect and authority, must have travelled on foot like the 150 or 200 "faqirs of Wilayat" who accompanied the stirrup of Bábá Palangposh.<sup>180</sup> Bábá Musáfir, travelling on foot, is said to have carried a waterskin on his overland journey of forty stages from Surat to Mecca, though this may be a hagiographical embellishment.<sup>181</sup> Sháh 'Arab similarly walked from Mecca to Medina with a waterskin, though he had the means to go on horseback.<sup>182</sup> One darwish came on foot from Surat to Awrangabad when he was ready to die.<sup>183</sup> Like earlier Sufi travellers, Sháh Qalandar had a dream of being abandoned in the desert without a habitation in sight.<sup>184</sup>

A vivid description of a travelling band of darwishes and of their staging posts occurs in the personal narrative of Sháh Qalandar. A band of "cloak-wearers" performing "loud recitation" (dhikr-i jahr) arrived at a village near Qunduz and told the narrator, then a twelve-year-old boy, of the holiness of Bábá Palangposh in the Deccan. After they had left the village, he ran off to join them, and caught up with them some days later. "Hazrat is in the Deccan," the faqirs then remarked to him. "You are small, and it would be impossible for you to travel such vast distances. For this reason we did not think that you should join us; but now you should not leave our company."<sup>185</sup>

Sháh Qalandar's narrative continues:

In the company of the faqirs I reached Kabul. Outside the gate of the city there is a takya of a faqir called Murtazá Sháh Anandi. It is a verdant place with good air, and the faqirs encamped there. Every day they went out sightseeing towards the city, and I washed and swept their lodging-place, and filled the vessels with water and put them [in their place]. I was occupied with this until the faqirs returned.

At the end of the day they came back, and each one of them out of affection brought an apple or some other fruit for me. At night each one lit a candle in front of him. There were about seventy of them and there was a wonderful glitter from the candles. After they had all come back and settled in their own places, I used to go out and beg. What God provided I passed on to the faqirs; and it was shared out and I myself ate a portion with them.<sup>186</sup>

After six months had passed in this manner at Kabul, Sháh Qalandar with several older faqirs separated from the main band and set out to join Bábá Palangposh in the Deccan. Sháh Qalandar, although he was given

a khirqa by them in the name of Palangposh, at this point complains of ill-treatment by the older faqírs. At the fort of Rohtasgarh on the Indus the boy was also severely beaten by "a Mughal" for wandering too far inside an apparently deserted mansion while calling out for alms.<sup>187</sup> Shortly after this, at a takya in Wazirabad, "the disparagement, abuse and violence of the faqírs towards [himself] passed all bounds". In the morning when they set out he refused to accompany them, telling them: "If they had other ideas, I would go to Lahore and tell the faqírs there of their violence and abuse, and we would see what they said."<sup>188</sup>

From Sháh Qalandar's narrative a picture emerges of a well-established network of takyas and caravanserais where up to seventy or more travelling faqírs could stay, though at the end of the seventeenth century possibly Shahjahanabad was still not so well provided as Lahore or Kabul,<sup>189</sup> a deficiency which was perhaps remedied by the building of the madrasa of Ghází al-Dín Khán.<sup>190</sup> Elsewhere the solitary traveller often sought to stay in the local mosque. Thus we are told that Bábá Musáfir stayed in the mosque at Ghorí in Afghanistan until a local notable invited him to teach his son.<sup>191</sup> During his early travels in India Bábá Musáfir would lodge in local mosques, but at one place the common people (mardum-i 'awámm) threw him out.<sup>192</sup> When Bábá Musáfir went on pilgrimage to Mecca, at Surat he was forbidden to stay in a mosque by the muezzzin and preacher (khatíb) because he was suffering from a skin disease. "An educated and kindly man", who passed him on his way to prayer, took him home and cared for him till his recovery.<sup>193</sup>

Some measure of discipline was maintained among the travelling bands of faqírs. The group who passed through Qunduz initially tried to discourage the boy Sháh Qalandar from joining them, evidently because he had relations living there who would object. "Do your relations give their permission?" the faqírs asked.<sup>194</sup>

At a major staging-post along the trail, complaints could be heard and settled among the faqírs themselves, as is evident from Sháh Qalandar's threat to bring his ill-treatment to the attention of the faqírs at Lahore.<sup>195</sup>

Such bands of wayfaring darwishes appear to have continued the tradition of groups of travelling qalandars, who were particularly prominent in the thirteenth century.<sup>196</sup> Such a connection was acknowledged by the inclusion of a Qalandarí shajara (pedigree) along with that of the Naqshbandí tariqas in the *Malfúzát-i Naqshbandiyya*,<sup>197</sup> and by the appellation bábá borne by the principal figures. As among earlier qalandars, celibacy was the norm in these travelling bands, as well as among those

who settled in the takya in Awrangabad. Bábá Musáfir, Bábá Palangposh and such of their muríds as had been recruited as children into the life of wandering darwishes generally remained celibate throughout their lives. Khwája Muhammad Sa'íd (no. 6 above) was an exceptional case. He married when he left Awrangabad and set up a takya of his own in Shahjahanabad. However he was a former imperial trooper, recruited as a young adult.<sup>198</sup> There is a reference to a qalandar with an adolescent son. He was among the less approved inhabitants of the takya, and their presence there may have been tolerated on account of the services of his brother.<sup>199</sup>

The band described by Sháh Qalandar had not only adopted a Naqshbandí allegiance. It also appears to have entirely abandoned the violent antinomian tradition and disorderly behaviour characteristic of earlier qalandars. Perhaps a trace of this earlier violence can be inferred from the description of the fate of the murderer of Sháh Qalandar at Haydarabad in 1730. "The boy who had been driving away the flies came outside and cried out that the man who was going off had killed the sháh. Faqírs thronged around the man on every side, and he was ready to fight. At this moment a crazy faqír had a spade in his hand, and he quickly came and brought it down upon his head. Other faqírs also battered his head and killed him."<sup>200</sup>

There is no mention of the peculiar garb and impedimenta, the leather and irons of the earlier qalandars. Muríds, including Bábá Musáfir himself, were naked but for a lúng (loonghee or sarong) in their first period of service,<sup>201</sup> and so were naked faqírs, who, in company with perhaps more clothed "faqírs of Wilayat", ran beside the stirrup of Bábá Palangposh.<sup>202</sup> Some respected darwishes remained thus clad for the rest of their lives, among them Sháh Kúchak, principal administrator of Bábá Musáfir's takya.<sup>203</sup> In the takya the faqírs wore cloaks (khirqa) and "winding-sheets" (kafaní), which were possibly identical with the blankets (kamal, galím) also mentioned.<sup>204</sup> These clothes were washed by an inmate of the takya, a khádim (servitor) appointed to this task.<sup>205</sup> On the acceptance of a muríd there was an initiation ceremony involving the candidate carrying round a bowl of water, from which the pír and other elders (buzurgán) drank in turn, after which the remainder was drunk by the candidate.<sup>206</sup>

The picture of communal life in the takya at Awrangabad given by the *Malfúzát-i Naqshbandiyya* is of a flourishing and well-organized community. The buildings which still stand are evidence of the vigour of the

impulse which went into the development of the takya in the decades following its establishment. Bábá Sháh Mahmúd continued to direct the programme of building,<sup>207</sup> and the composition of *Malfúzát-i Naqshbandiyya* itself bears witness to his ability and piety. For some decades after his succession the shrine continued to enjoy the patronage of the first Nizám of Hyderabad and his high officers. All this might have led to the establishment of a thriving Naqshbandí centre. Instead the takya, like many other Sufi shrines in the subcontinent, gradually assumed the appearance of a private domain of the sajjáda-nashíns, who were descendants of Sháh Mahmúd, physical or adopted, and enjoyed the usufruct of the land-grants assigned for its maintenance. The last of these male descendants of Sháh Mahmúd to enjoy these rights was locally noted for the splendour of his style of life and for his care in maintaining the garden and grounds of the takya. He died without issue in 1916, survived by his two widows and collateral kin. The maintenance of the takya was taken over by the Awqáf Department of the Government of Hyderabad, who assigned funds for its maintenance and appointed a local Management Committee headed by the provincial governor (súbadár), and later by the Collector of the district.<sup>208</sup>

In spite of this expropriation by the Nizám's government, collaterals of the family survived, inheriting the claims to the sajjáda of spiritual authority and the control of the tombs, occupying a havelí or mansion in the takya and still enjoying usufruct of some of the original land-grants. When I visited the Panchakkí in 1995, dhikr was still performed at the tomb of Sháh Musáfir.<sup>209</sup>

We can only speculate on the reasons for the withering away of this promising offshoot of such a vigorous silsila as the Naqshbandiyya. During the period of the foundation and growth of the takya, the pattern of settlement at Awrangabad made it unnecessary for Bábá Musáfir and his dependants to seek material support outside the ethnic group of immigrants to which the founders belonged. This may be contrasted with the development of the silsila at Sarhind and proliferation outwards from Sarhind during the lifetime of Shaykh Ahmad and his sons. The spread was accompanied by an Indianization of the personnel of the silsila. Some of the khalífas and muríds, like Shaykh Ahmad himself, came from Muslim religious families long established in the Indian subcontinent, who often had earlier links with locally established tariqas. Their secular supporters also came from a range of the dominant groups of Mughal society. Moreover it is clear from the reactions of those who

were not sympathetic to them that the Sarhindis were actively concerned to promote their own influence in the wider Muslim community.<sup>210</sup>

The proliferation of the Sarhindi branch of the Naqshbandí silsila, which was probably aided by the circulation of a coherent body of teaching in the form of *maktúbát* or epistles,<sup>211</sup> resulted less from a charismatic appeal to the Muslim masses than from its acceptability to members of the old-established educated élite. By contrast Indian Muslims of high status, Hindostani or Deccani, were not likely to be drawn into what came to look like a foreigners' club, and, one may reflect, a club for the elderly, for wandering darwishes who wished to rest from their wanderings. A place, as one of them put it, to which he was carrying his bones on his own legs for burial,<sup>212</sup> for it had become the one fixed resting-place for peripatetic faqírs from Transoxania who had gone to the Deccan. Bábá Palangposh's bones had been carried to the takya for interment.<sup>213</sup> The case of the relics of his khalífa Sháh Qalandar is similar. When the latter was murdered in the revived capital of Haydarabad in 1730, his funeral procession was accompanied by a great crowd of the urban population, as well as by the personal representative of Nizám al-Mulk. His tomb might have become the object of a cult in that city, but instead the body was sent to the takya at Awrangabad for burial.<sup>214</sup>

If the organization of this branch of the tariqa lacked appeal to a wider section of the élite social groups, local circumstances were also against the development of the takya into a popular cult-centre among the Muslim masses. In the vicinity of Awrangabad were the burial-places of the fourteenth-century Chishtí shaykhs Burhán al-Dín and Zayn al-Dín and the poet Amír Hasan Dehlavi. The emperor Awrangzeb, among all his dynasty renowned for his Islamic piety, elected to be buried close to them. The tomb of Sayyid Rájú Qattál, the father of the most revered Sufi of the Deccan, Sayyid Muhammad Gesúdaráz, was also in the vicinity.<sup>215</sup> 'Urs and other festivals were celebrated at these Chishtí shrines. The enduring popular memory of the historical connection of the Chishtí silsila with the establishment of the Muslim presence in the Indian environment gave these tombs a charisma which the alien takya could not rival. Ázád Bilgrámí, who rather surprisingly included in his *Ma'áthir al-kirám* the notices on which we have drawn above of Bábá Palangposh and Bábá Musáfir, and also wrote the date-verse of the death of Bábá Sháh Mahmúd,<sup>216</sup> does not even mention the takya in his *Rawzat al-awliyá'*, an account of the Suri tombs of the neighbourhood of Awrangabad, mainly devoted to the dargáhs of these earlier Chishtí shaykhs.<sup>217</sup>

As we have noted, Bábá Palangposh and Bábá Musáfir never married, and many of the senior darwishes who had been recruited as boys



in Transoxania preserved the qalandarí custom of celibacy. A minor source of recruitment was from orphans reared at the takya;<sup>218</sup> but if the darwishes ceased to arrive from Central Asia, the resident khádim population may have diminished in numbers or vigour. This weakening of the link with Transoxania and adjacent territories probably occurred in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, when the flow of immigrant Turanian adventurers in search of opportunities under the Mughal government also diminished. This was the consequence of changing political conditions, most notably the fragmentation of the Mughal imperium, the material decay of the Central Asian khanates and the disruption of the long-distance routes.<sup>219</sup>

Symptomatic of the failure of this branch of the Naqshbandí tariqa to develop local roots is the failure to establish subordinate takyas that survived in the Deccan. Individual darwishes were invited away from Awrangabad to accompany Nizám al-Mulk or other Turanian officers, conscious of the barakat conveyed by the presence of the bábás. Ghází al-Dín Khán in his old age had built one such darwish, Sháh Názir, a takya probably in Ellichpur;<sup>220</sup> but Sháh Názir did not remain in it when Ghází al-Dín Khán himself was transferred. The others, like Bábá Palangposh rather than Bábá Musáfir, laid no foundations in the lands of the Deccan. There were muríds and khalífas who left to found takyas and acquire muríds of their own, but they turned their steps northwards, to Delhi, Lahore, Kashmir and Badakhshan.<sup>221</sup>

Nevertheless it is arguable that the activities of the Naqshbandí bábás had a political influence on the course of Indian history when the central authority of the Mughal emperors decayed. The provision by the bábás of spiritual and material care for immigrant Turani soldiers of fortune served to concentrate their attention, ambitions and hopes on the Deccan as a new homeland in India. This may have been a significant aid to Chín Qilich Khán, Nizám al-Mulk, the third generation of his Samarqandi family to have been employed there, in his successful attempt to recover control of the area in the face of opposition both from the parties at the Mughal court and of some groups of the Marathas. From Awrangabad his control was extended to Haydarabad. His heirs of the Ásafíyya dynasty of Haydarabad and the courtly and religious culture that their state supported, which retained traces of of the Turani ancestral background of the first Nizám and his followers, have contributed an element to the diverse heritage of India today.

## NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

[*MN* = *Malfúzát-i Naqshbandiyya*. Chapter and section numbers of the English translation are indicated before the page numbers below.]

1. See (Hyderabad State Government), *Gazetter of Aurangabad*, Bombay 1884, pp. 598–9.

2. S.M. Rif'at, *Panchakkí Awrangábád*, Hyderabad, Deccan 1956, p. 8. Information which derives directly from the *Malfúzát-i Naqshbandiyya*, then still unprinted, is reproduced in the Hyderabad State Government's *Gazetteer of Aurangabad*, Bombay 1884, pp. 389–91.

3. Bilgrámí, *Ma'áthir al-kirám* (Storey no. 1360 (2)), Agra/Hyderabad 1910, pp. 171–4.

4. Rif'at, pp. 25–6.

5. (Bábá Sháh Mahmúd), *Malfúzát-i Naqshbandiyya: hálát-i Hazrat Bábá Sháh Musáfir Sáhib* (Hyderabad, Deccan), Nizámat-i Umúr-i Madhhabí-yi Sarkár-i 'Áli, AH 1358. See the brief Urdu preface by 'Alí al-Dín Aḥmad. The scribe of this accurately written lithograph gives his name as Sayyid Haydar Bádsháh Qádirí al-Hasaní. The abbreviation *MN* will be used in citations made below.

6. The colophon is reproduced in the lithograph, *MN*, text, p. 176.

7. *MN*, i.1, p. 39; vii.71, 72, pp. 166–9; ix.6.7, pp. 212–13.

8. *MN*, vii.72, p. 169. 9. *MN*, i.1, p. 39.

10. Thus the account of the deathbed of Sháh Palangposh occurs after an initial brief collection of anecdotes regarding him (Chapter I, pp. 47–8), and the major group of anecdotes regarding his activities in the Deccan are inserted much later (Chapter V, pp. 73–98).

11. *MN*, ix.6, p. 208–9. 12. *MN*, vii.7, pp. 113–14; ix.4.5, pp. 192–3.

13. Rif'at, p. 25.

14. *MN*, vii.65, p. 160. Some verses with a chronogram yielding 1162/AD 1750 appear to be a subsequent insertion; *MN*, viii.6, pp. 172–3.

15. Y. Husain, *The First Nizám: The Life and Times of Nizámu' l-Mulk Ásaf Jáh I*, 2nd ed., Bombay 1963, pp. 115s.

16. E.g. *ghaybat*, *ifáqat*, *tawajjuh*. Cf. M. Chodkiewicz, "Quelques aspects des techniques spirituelles des Naqshbandís" in *Naqshbandis: Cheminesments et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musulman*, ed. M. Gaborieau, A. Popovic and T. Zarcone, Istanbul/Paris 1990, pp. 69–82.

17. See the description of the manner in which Bábá Musáfir passed his days; *MN*, vi.8, pp. 104–5, quoted below.

18. Anecdotes as well actual behaviour can be seen as modelled on stories told in the *Rashhát 'ayn al-hayát*. I have used the good modern edition of this work, which is greatly superior to the nineteenth century lithographic printings by Naval Kishor; 2 vols., ed. A.A. Mo'iniyán, Tehran Pahlavi era 2536.

19. See Y. Friedmann, *Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi: An outline of his thought and a study of his image in the eyes of posterity*, McGill University 1971, pp. 87–102.

20. The presence of the Sarhindís in Awrangabad and at Awrangzeb's camp

in the Deccan at different times in the late-seventeenth century is well attested. Their ideas and activities were causing contention there: see Friedmann, pp. 7, 8, 94, 118; Kalím Alláh Sháhjahánábádí, Delhi, Matba'-i Yúsufi, 1301/1884, maktúb 49, p. 55. Against this background the omission of any mention of the Sarhindís in the *Malfúzát-i Naqshbandiyya* may be interpreted as a deliberate taciturnity.

21. J. Sarkar, *A Short History of Aurangzib*, reprint New Delhi 1979, p. 412. The dates of many incidents recorded in the *Malfúzát-i Naqshbandiyya* can be fixed by synchronisms with the histories of Awrangzeb's reign and those of his successors.

22. The adjacent settlement of Khirki was laid out by Malik 'Ambar in 1610. In 1637 the Mughal emperor Shah Jahán came to Dawlatabad with his seventeen-year-old son Awrangzeb and left him to administer newly annexed territories in the Deccan: Saksena, *History of Shah Jahán*, Allahabad 1962, p. 147. In the years before Awrangzeb was recalled in 1644 the settlement named after him was laid out: Bhím Sen, tr. Khobrekár, pp. 10, 66. In 1652, during his second viceroyalty of the Deccan, Awrangzeb again took up residence there. "There he began to weave the web of his rebellion, including the destruction of his father and his brothers": Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, ed. W. Irvine, London 1906-8, I, p. 188. After Awrangzeb returned to the Deccan in 1682 until his death in 1707 he seldom resided at Awrangabad but it served as the administrative capital and imperial treasury while the emperor lived in military camps. Foreign travellers bear witness to its prosperity in this period, and Kalím Alláh Sháhjahánábádí remarks that for some time it had had a larger population than other cities: *Maktúbat-i Kalimi*, maktúb 69, p. 65; H. Das, *The Norris Embassy to Aurangzib*, Calcutta 1959, pp. 24-46. Awrangabad declined in importance with the return of the court of the Mughal emperor to Delhi after 1707, but served as the main base for Nizám al-Mulk in his struggle for mastery in the Deccan after 1713. After Nizám al-Mulk took Haydarabad in 1724 it declined in importance.

23. *MN*, I.15, pp. 47-8; IX.5.17, pp. 206-7

24. *MN*, VII.1-72, pp. 109-69. His date of death is given on p. 169.

25. *MN*, VII.43, p. 146.

26. *MN*, VII.22, pp. 125-6; VII.72, pp. 167-9; IX.12.4, p. 225; IX.16.6, p. 231; IX.18.2, pp. 239-40.

27. See the biographical itineraries in Appendix C in the forthcoming *Commentary*.

28. *MN*, I.2-15, pp. 40-8. They also differ from the stories collected by Ghulám 'Alí Ázád Bilgrámi; *Ma'áthir al-kirám*, p. 172. For a reconstruction of the early life of Bába Palangposh and its chronology see Appendix A in the forthcoming *Commentary*.

29. *MN*, I.7, p. 42-3.      30. *MN*, II.2, pp. 50-1.

31. *MN*, II.8-11, pp. 57-8; II.14-16, pp. 59-62. These questions are discussed in Appendix A and Appendix C of the forthcoming *Commentary*.

32. *MN*, IX.5.2-9, pp. 195-200.

33. *MN*, ix.5.3, pp. 195–6. The Madrasa became the old buildings of Delhi College outside the Ajmer Gate of Shajahanabad (today's "Old Delhi").

34. *MN*, ix.9.1, p. 216.

35. See Appendices A and C of the forthcoming *Commentary*.

36. H. Yule and A.C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. W. Crooke, London 1903, pp. 93–4, 487.

37. "Makhdúm-i A'zam" ("most puissant lord") of the Naqshbandís is Khwájagí Aḥmad Kásání of Dahbid (Dahpid) near Samarqand d. 1542), though this honorific is also applied to a shaykh of the Kubrawi silsila, Hájjí Muhammad Khabúshání. The Naqshbandí khwájas of Makhdúm-i A'zam's family appear to have exerted a greater influence than other lineages going back to Khwája 'Ubayd Alláh Ahrár. They became actual rulers in Badakhshan and Eastern Turkistan. Of this family Khwája Zakariyá, of whom a biographical sketch and anecdotes appear in *MN*, who resided in Awrangabad on a handsome stipend from the emperor Awrangzeb, was father-in-law of two leading Turani commanders in the Deccan, and he was uncle of another; *Ma'áthir al-Umará'*, tr. 1, 308. Information regarding Makhdúm-i A'zam Kásání is not found in available published *tadhkiras*. A historical study of the influence and ramifications of the khwájas of Dahbid is a desideratum. For a brief description of the "fine Khanka" at Dahbid, see A. Vambéry, *Travels in Central Asia*, 1864, reprint New Delhi 1996, p. 214. Bábá Palangposh's Naqshbandí lineage goes back through three transmissions to Makhdúm-i A'zam.

38. *MN*, IX.22.6, p. 249. These social divisions are discussed in Appendix A of the forthcoming *Commentary*.

39. S.F. Dale, *Islamic Society of the South Asian Frontier: The Mapillas of Malabar, 1498–1922*, Oxford 1980, pp. 1–6.

40. *Nuskha-i dilkushá* (= Storey *Persian literature*, no. 7501, I, p. 188. Ms: B.M. Or. 23. English translation, *Tarikh-i-dilkasha* [sic] (tr. J. Sarkar), ed. V.G. Khobrekar, Bombay, Dept. of Archives, Maharashtra, n.d. circa 1971. For a discussion of Bhím Sen's environment, see J.F. Richards, "Norms of comportment among imperial Mughal officers", in B.D. Metcalf, ed., *Moral Conduct and authority: The place of adab in South Asian Islam*, Berkeley 1984, pp. 255–89.

41. *Muntakhab al-lubáb* (= Storey, no. 627, I, pp. 460–701; Text, Calcutta, Bibliotheca Indica, 1860–74; English translation of this portion: S. Moinul Haq, Karachi 1975.

42. *MN*, vii.35, p. 139; vii.42, p. 145. Bhím Sen, *Nuskha-i dilkushá*, B.M. Or. 23, f. 53B; tr. Sarkar, p. 84.

43. N. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, ii.347–8; iv, pp. 157–8. For the Irani amír Amánat Khán Khwáfí at Awrangabad, see *Ma'áthir al-Umará'*, tr. H. Beveridge, I, pp. 224–8.

44. The word is also used as a freestanding noun (Pl. *púraját*) in local Persian sources of the period; cf. Kháfí Khán, I, p. 273; *MN*, pp. 21, 67.

45. As is evident from many anecdotes in the *Malfúzát-i Naqshbandiyya*, the

Turanians were a turbulent community. Even troops under the command of the generals Gházi al-Dín and his cousin Muhammad Amin Khán indulged in looting. For a scandalous case of rioting and looting by Turanian troops newly arrived in Awrangabad, see Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, III, pp. 497–8. For the arrival of "men of Wilayat" in the Deccan and the network by which they obtained official employment, see *MN*, VII.12, p. 117. For Bába Palangposh's statement of his role as their pír, *MN*, V.31, p. 96.

46. Cf. Khwája 'Álím, descendant of one of the earlier Naqshbandí khwájas and muríd in the takya at Awrangabad; *MN*, IX.14, pp. 227–8. Sayyid Niyáz Khán, mansabdar, a descendant of buzurgs of Samarqand and a relation of Gházi al-Dín Khán, was an 'álim engaged in daily teaching in Awrangabad; *MN*, V.5, p. 77.

47. For the ancestry of the dynasty and the stages of its rise, see Y. Husain, pp. 1–66. In most modern accounts emphasis is not placed on the fact that they were Sufi shaykhs as well as 'álims. Awrangzeb himself had to tell Gházi al-Dín Khán that Commanders of 7000 do not possess karámat (the supernormal powers of Sufi shaykhs); *Ahkám-i 'Álamgíri*, ed. J. Sarkar, Calcutta n.d., p. 44.

48. *MN*, V.13–15, pp. 82–4; VII.23, pp. 126–7; IX.3.4, p. 186. W. Irvine, *Later Mughals*, reprint, New Delhi 1971, I, pp. 189, 263–4. Muhammad Amin Khán was a cousin of Nizám al-Mulk and nephew of Khwája 'Ábid. 'Abd al-Samad Khán, súbadar of the Panjab and a descendant of Khwája 'Ubayd Alláh Ahrár, had married into the latter's family.

49. Many can be identified from references in the great Mughal biographical compendium, Sháhnáváz Khán's *Ma'áthir al-Umará*.

50. *MN*, VII.48, p. 150. One may note two further references, to the sin of watching kanchanis, a term which indicates north Indian dancing girls, who would have moved south with the Mughal armies; *MN*, VII.57, p. 155; and to a Hindu seen in a dream, *MN*, VII.59, pp. 157–8.

51. *MN*, I.11, pp. 44–5; II.7, pp. 56–7. 52. *MN*, I.9, p. 44; IX.6.7, pp. 212–13.

53. *MN*, III.4, p. 64.

54. Cf. the khalífas 'Abd al-Rahim and Muhammad Sa'id, *MN*, IX.2, p. 181; IX.4, p. 190.

55. *MN*, VI.7, pp. 103–4.

56. *MN*, V.31, p. 96. The Chishtí shaykh Kalim Alláh, writing from Delhi to his disciple Nizám al-Dín at Awrangabad, remarks that "these Túranis" are all totally attached to the Naqshbandí silsila; and they attach no weight to any other silsila; *Maktúbat-i Kalimi*, maktúbs 72, 99, pp. 67, 90.

57. *MN*, II.15, pp. 60–1. 58. *MN*, II.13, p. 59.

59. Bilgrámi, *Ma'áthir al-kirám*, p. 173.

60. Bilgrámi, *Ma'áthir al-kirám*, p. 174. 61. *MN*, III.2–10, pp. 63–6.

62. *MN*, III.13–15, pp. 67–8.

63. *MN*, IV.1–3, pp. 24–5. The details regarding Gházi al-Dín's rank and title enable us to date Bába Palangposh's arrival to 1683.

64. Ázád Bilgrámí expresses a similar view of his role, *Ma'áthir al-kirám*, p. 173: "In Hindostan he was appointed to guard the army of Nawwáb Ghází al-Dín Khán."

65. *MN*, iv.5, p. 71. Nawbat is the right, granted by the emperor, to have drums beaten.

66. *MN*, i.15, p. 18. 67. *MN*, i.11, pp. 44-5. 68. *MN*, ii.7, pp. 56-7.

69. *MN*, iv.4, p. 71. 70. *MN*, iv.6, p. 72.

71. *MN*, i.13, pp. 46-7. The river Kistna in the text, but the reference is to the lashkar at Brahmapuri/Islampuri on the Bhima.

72. *MN*, v.23, p. 89. Such jamál is frequently attributed by Sufi devotees to their pír.

73. *MN*, v.25, p. 91.

74. *MN*, v.13, pp. 82-3. If this anecdote has a historical basis, the age of the boy is underestimated.

75. *MN*, v.2, pp. 73-4.

76. *MN*, v.2, pp. 73-4.

77. *MN*, v.3, p. 74.

78. *MN*, ii.15, pp. 60-1.

79. *MN*, v.6, 7, 8, pp. 77-80.

80. *MN*, v.17, p. 85.

81. *MN*, v.15, p. 84; v.21, pp. 87-8; v.23, pp. 88-9; v.33, pp. 96-7.

82. *MN*, v.21, pp. 87-8; v.27, p. 92.

83. *MN*, v.9, p. 80.

84. *MN*, i.12, pp. 45-6.

85. *MN*, v.7.9, pp. 78-80.

86. *MN*, v.5, pp. 76-7; vii.10, pp. 115-16. A close parallel to these anecdotes of the taking of nadhr from troopers is recorded in a similar environment, geographically close and a few decades earlier. At Burhanpur, the previous Mughal outpost in the Deccan, a disciple has vowed nadhr to Muhammad Háshim, a khalifa of Shaykh Ahmad Sarhindí, if he succeeds in selling his horse; Badr al-Dín Sarhindí, *Hazarát al-quds*, Lahore 1971, pp. 382-3.

87. *MN*, vii.9, p. 115. 88. *MN*, v.24, pp. 89-90. 89. *MN*, v.27, p. 92.

90. Y. Husain, p. 22; Sháhnawáz Khán *Ma'áthir al-Umará*, text, ii, p. 875. The epidemic broke out at the end of 1688 in Bijapur.

91. The narrator of the anecdote, Sháh Khádím, was probably also a victim of the same epidemic, but recovered. That it was a bubonic plague seems established by references to swellings under the armpits; *MN*, vii.20, p. 124. Manucci, a great retailer of slanderous gossip, tells a current tale of Ghází al-Dín having been blinded by the emperor; *Storia do Mogor*, ii, pp. 314-15. This is denied by Sháhnawáz Khán, *Ma'áthir al-Umará*, ii, p. 875.

92. *MN*, i.15, pp. 47-8.

93. *MN*, vii.8, p. 114; ix.5.17, pp. 206-7.

94. *MN*, vii.8, pp. 114-15; vii.45, pp. 147-8.

95. *MN*, vii.41; pp. 144-5.

96. *MN*, vi.8, pp. 104-5.

97. *MN*, vi.8, pp. 104-5. Of the tadhkiras mentioned, the *Rashhát* (= Storey no. 1277) remains the primary source for the life of the Naqshbandí khwája 'Ubayd Alláh Ahrár. The *Tadhkirat al-awliyá'* may not be the well-known work of that name by or ascribed to Faríd al-Dín 'Attár (Storey no. 1250). An important khalifa of Ahrár, Mawláná Muhammad Qází, wrote a work of the same name

(Storey no. 1278 (2)). The latter is also the author of the last work mentioned, the *Silsilat al-'arīfīn* (Storey no. 1278 (1), another *tadhkira* concerning Khwāja 'Ubayd Allāh Ahrār. However, two further references suggest that the *Tadhkirat al-awliyā'* is the better-known work of that name; *MN*, vi.8, p. 113.

98. The anecdotes of Bábá Musáfir's travels in *MN*, ii.1-8, pp. 48-57; ii.16, pp. 61-2; iii.1, p. 63, all manifestly refer to the time before his founding of the *takya*. Ázád Bilgrámí tells us that after settling at Awrangabad "till his last breath he did not arise", *Ma'áthir al-kirám*, p. 175.

99. *MN*, ix.1.7, pp. 178-9.

100. *MN*, ix.5.15, p. 204; ix.13.2, p. 226. Later Sháh Názir accompanied Nawwáb 'Abd al-Samad Khán in the Panjab on his campaign against the Sikhs; *MN*, ix.13.4, p. 227.

101. *MN*, vii.19, pp. 122-4. 102. *MN*, vii.19, pp. 122-4.

103. *MN*, vii.22, pp. 125-6; vii.72, pp. 167-9; ix.12.4, p. 225; ix.16.11, pp. 234-5; ix.18.2, pp. 239-40; ix.19.3, pp. 241-2.

104. *MN*, vii.65, pp. 160-3.

105. *MN*, ix.1.5, pp. 177-8; ix.12.1, pp. 223-4; ix.16.9, pp. 233-4.

106. *MN*, vii.62, p. 159. 107. *MN*, ix.17, pp. 206-7.

108. On the level of education in the *takya*, cf. the story of Mír Muhammad Yúsuf's books, *MN*, vii.26, pp. 129-30; Hájjí Hasan 'Arzbegi, *MN*, vii.33, p. 138.

109. *MN*, vi.10, pp. 105-6. 110. *MN*, ix.9.1, 3, p. 216.

111. *MN*, v.10, pp. 80-1. 112. *MN*, vii.39, p. 142.

113. *MN*, viii.2, pp. 170-1. 114. *MN*, viii.3, p. 171.

115. *MN*, vii.24, pp. 127-8.

116. *MN*, vi.5, p. 103; vii.35, p. 139; vii.42, pp. 145-6; ix.16.8, p. 233.

117. *MN*, vi.6, p. 103; vii.42, pp. 145-6; vii.47, p. 149. Bábá Musáfir's attitude to tobacco differed from that of Bábá Palangposh. He describes how, when he was *muríd* of the latter, he was obliged continually to tend the pipes and knead the tobacco of *faqirs* of the entourage.

118. *MN*, ix.5.13, pp. 202-3; ix.10.1, p. 217.

119. *MN*, i.3, p. 41; ix.12.1, pp. 223-4; ix.16.9, pp. 233-4.

120. *MN*, vii.19, p. 123; vii.35, p. 139; ix.12.1, 2, pp. 223-4.

121. *MN*, vii.62, p. 159. The narrator is evidently Bábá Sháh Mahmúd, not the teller of the previous anecdote.

122. *MN*, ii.2, p. 50.

123. Twelve years according to *MN*, i.4, pp. 41-2, which is probably an exaggeration.

124. Ázád, *Ma'áthir al-kirám*, p. 171. 125. *Ibid.*, p. 174.

126. *MN*, ii.2, p. 50. 127. *MN*, ix.5.3, pp. 195-6.

128. Cf. Bábá Musáfir's own remarks, *MN*, vii.5, p. 112.

129. *MN*, vii.52, pp. 152-3. 130. *MN*, vii.41, pp. 142-5.

131. *MN*, vii.24, pp. 127-8. 132. *MN*, v.38, pp. 141-2.

133. *MN*, v.17, pp. 120-2. 134. *MN*, vii.66, p. 163.

135. *MN*, vii.57, pp. 155-6. 136. *MN*, viii.1, p. 170.

137. *MN*, vii.6, pp. 112–13.      138. *MN*, vii.31, pp. 136–7.  
 139. *MN*, vii.27, pp. 130–2.      140. *MN*, vii.45, pp. 147–8.  
 141. *MN*, vii.44, p. 147; ix.20.6, p. 244. In the latter case there is a transference of the illness, a phenomenon found elsewhere in *MN* and in other Naqshbandí circles.  
 142. *MN*, vii.54, 55, pp. 153–4.      143. *MN*, vii.61, p. 158.  
 144. *MN*, vii.67, pp. 163–4.  
 145. *MN*, ix.1–24, pp. 174–250.  
 146. *MN*, ix.15, p. 228.      147. *MN*, ix.22, 23, 24, pp. 246–50.  
 148. *MN*, ix.1.5, pp. 177–8; ix.22.1, p. 246; ix.24, p. 250.  
 149. *MN*, viii.3, p. 171.  
 150. *MN*, vii.1, p. 109; vii.41, p. 143; ix.18, pp. 238–9.  
 151. *MN*, ix.14, p. 227. Khwāja 'Álam was a descendant of Khwāja 'Alá' al-Dín 'Attár.  
 152. *MN*, ii.1, p. 49.      153. *MN*, ix.10, p. 217.  
 154. *MN*, ix.12, p. 223.      155. *MN*, ix.5.1, p. 194.  
 156. For the school in the takya, see *MN*, vii.56, p. 154; ix.17, p. 237.  
 157. *MN*, vii.15, p. 120; vii.43, p. 146.      158. *MN*, vii.65, pp. 160–3.  
 159. *MN*, vii.33, p. 138; ix.17, p. 237.  
 160. *MN*, ix.2.2, pp. 182–3; ix.3.1, p. 184; ix.4, p. 190; ix.9, pp. 215–16; ix.16, pp. 228–9; ix.20, p. 242. The last man was in the service of Chín Qilich Khán Nizám al-Mulk, but it may be inferred that he was a soldier.  
 161. *MN*, ix.7, p. 213; ix.9, p. 215. For a brother of a darwísh in the contingent of mace-bearers (gurzbardárán), see *MN*, ix.10.7, p. 220.  
 162. W. Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, London 1903, p. 11: "Service in the cavalry was socially an honourable profession; thus a common trooper was looked upon as being, to some extent, a gentleman, and such men, even when illiterate, often rose to the highest positions." For an example of the network of recruitment among the Turanian immigrants, in which devotion to a common pír played a part, see *MN*, vii.12, pp. 117–18.  
 163. *MN*, ix.9.1, p. 216.  
 164. *MN*, ix.2.2, pp. 182–3; ix.9, p. 216.  
 165. *MN*, ix.3.1, p. 184; ix.16.3, 5, pp. 229–31.  
 166. *MN*, ix.2 and ix.3, pp. 181–9.  
 167. *MN*, ix.3.3, p. 185; ix.3.5–6, pp. 186–7; ix.3.8, pp. 188–9.  
 168. *MN*, ix.2.2, p. 183.  
 169. *MN*, ix.9.1, 3, pp. 215–17.      170. *MN*, i.9–10, p. 44.  
 171. *MN*, ii.8–14, pp. 57–60; iv.1, p. 69.      172. *MN*, i.9, p. 44.  
 173. *MN*, ii.4, p. 54; ix.17, p. 237.      174. *MN*, ii.16, pp. 61–2.  
 175. *MN*, ix.21.1, p. 244.      176. *MN*, ix.22.5, p. 248.  
 177. *MN*, vii.17, pp. 120–2; vii.30, pp. 135–6; vii.38, p. 141.  
 178. *MN*, ix.16.3, pp. 229–30.      179. *MN*, ix.3.8, p. 189.  
 180. *MN*, v.3, p. 74.      181. *MN*, ii.16, pp. 61–2.



182. *MN*, ix.16.12, p. 235.                      183. *MN*, ix.19.3, p. 241.  
 184. *MN*, ix.5.7, p. 199.                        185. *MN*, ix.5.2, p. 195.  
 186. *MN*, ix.5.3, pp. 195–6.                    187. *MN*, ix.5.4, p. 197.  
 188. *MN*, ix.5.5, p. 197.                        189. *MN*, ix.5.8, p. 199.  
 190. *MN*, ix.5.3–5, p. 196; ix.20–5, p. 243. See note 34 above.  
 191. *MN*, ii.2, p. 51.                              192. *MN*, vi.12, p. 107.  
 193. *MN*, ii.16, p. 61.                            194. *MN*, ix.5.2, p. 195.

195. *MN*, ix.5.5, p. 197.  
 196. See S. Digby, "Qalandars and related groups; elements of social deviance in the religious life of the Delhi sultanate of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries", in Y. Friedmann, ed., *Islam in Asia*, vol. 1, *South Asia*, Jerusalem 1984, pp. 60–108.

197. *MN*, ii.4, pp. 54–5.                        198. *MN*, ix.4.1, p. 191.  
 199. *MN*, vii.46, p. 149.                        200. *MN*, ix.5.16, pp. 205–6.  
 201. *MN*, vi.1, pp. 99–100.                    202. *MN*, v.3, p. 74.  
 203. *MN*, ix.12.1, p. 223.                    204. *MN*, vi.3, p. 102; ix.16.4, p. 230.  
 205. *MN*, ix.16.4, p. 230.

206. *MN*, vi.3, p. 102. A similar ceremony existed among the bands of the Futuwwa in earlier centuries, for which Sasanian and even more ancient antecedents have been suggested. See R.J. Baldick, "The Iranian Origin of the Futuwwa", *Annali del Istituto Orientale*, vol. 50, Napoli, 1990, pp. 345–61.

207. *MN*, vii.29, p. 135; viii.6, pp. 172–3. The verses composed on the completion of the last project contain a chronogram yielding the date 1162/1750, 17 years later than any other date mentioned in *Malfūzāt-i Naqshbandiyya*.

208. S.M. Rif'at, pp. 25–6.

209. Assets of the family were the subject of a lawsuit which at the time when Rif'at wrote had dragged on for a quarter of a century. In 1995 when I revisited the shrine Sayyid Shāh Yūsuf al-Dīn Maghribi was sajjāda-nashin, but I learn that he has since passed away. The income from the Phulmari property, which is mentioned in *MN*, has been devoted to a local Muslim school.

210. Cf. the remarks of Awrangzeb in his order to the Qāzī of Awrangabad, reproduced in Friedmann, Appendix B, p. 118; and Kalīm Allāh Chishtī Shājahānābādī's remarks to his disciple Nizām al-Dīn at Awrangabad regarding the presence of Sarhindī shaykhs returned from Hajj at the emperor's own camp; *Maktūbat-i Kalimi*, maktūb 49, p. 55.

211. Awrangzeb, in his order to curb their activities, refers to the propagation (tarwīj) of the *Maktūbat*, Friedmann, p. 118.

212. *MN*, ix.19.3, p. 241.                        213. *MN*, ix.5.17, pp. 206–7.

214. *MN*, ix.5.16, p. 206.

215. For visits to these Chishti tombs at Khuldabad by Ghāzī al-Dīn Khān, Bābā Palangposh, Bābā Musāfir and their followers, see *MN*, v.30, pp. 93–5; vii.25, pp. 128–9, ix.16.10, p. 234.

216. Rif'at, p. 25.

217. Storey no. 1362 (1), i, pp. 1024–5; Urdu tr. by S. 'Abd al-Majid, entitled *Nafahát al-asfiyá'*, Haydarabad, Deccan, Karimí Press, 1345 Fasli.

218. *MN*, vii.33, p. 138; vii.43, pp. 146–7; vii.65, pp. 160–1; vii.66, p. 163; ix.6, p. 208. Those whom we can trace were the children of Turanian immigrants.

219. I am not aware of any convincing analysis of the decay of communications, both cultural and material, which occurred between the regions of the eastern Islamic world at this period.

220. *MN*, ix.13.2, p. 226. A takya at the village of Phulmari near Awrangabad was merely a temporary residence for Sháh Qalandar or other faqirs when they went to collect the revenues; *MN*, ix.5.18, p. 207.

221. See Appendix C, nos 4, 5, 6, 9 and 10 in the forthcoming *Commentary*.

## CHAPTER I

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# The Life of Bábá Sa'íd, called Palangposh

### I.1. PROEM IN THE NAME OF ALLÁH, THE MERCIFUL, THE COMPASSIONATE

Praise be to His Friend and Blessings upon His Prophet Muhammad, after which:

This suppliant of the court of the Befriender [*al-Wudúid*—God], the faqír Mahmúd, the least of those that kiss the dust and are lifted from that dust by the gatherer of truths and knowledge, the treasury of secrets and sages, the traveller of the path of the /Sufi/ way, the voyager along the paths of the truth, Hazrat Sháh Musáfir—may God sanctify his secret—had wished since some while to bring within the compass of composition a portion of the /spiritual/ states, comprising blessings, of Hazrat Íshán. Wherever the words Hazrat Íshán are used /in this work/, they refer to /Sháh Musáfir/.

Before this a person aware of truths, Shaykh Fazl Alláh ibn Shaykh 'Atá' Alláh Naqshbandí, who possessed a connection of plenitude and blessing from Hazrat Íshán, had asked him in his lifetime for his permission to gather together a portion of Hazrat's noble "states" [i.e. for permission to compose an account]; but because of the humility and desire for oblivion which were innate in /Sháh Musáfir/, he did not receive permission.

This humble one [i.e. the writer] /also/ hoped for the fulfilment of this desire [that such an account be written] from that Khán of elevated pomp, treasury of learning and eloquence, 'Ináyat Beg Khán, who was one of the especial muríds [disciples] of Hazrat Íshán, and had passed the finger of acceptance across his eyes and had commenced this noble task; but in the course of it he had to travel towards Hindostan [northern India], and the completion of this desire remained in retard.

After some years, with the Lord aiding me, the desire of achieving this aim came to the boil within my heart. Other people among the intimates of Hazrat Íshán, especially that refuge of sayyidhood Mír 'Abd Alláh, son of that Mír of clear intellect, Mír Muhammad Táhir Harátí, who was one of the especial muríds of Hazrat and had since childhood been reared in that sight which acts like alchemy, pressed and instigated and brought /my/ feeble intellect to the gathering and completion.

So I began: and Alláh is the granter of success!

I.2. NOTICE OF BÁBÁ QUL MAZÍD, MAY GOD  
SANCTIFY HIS SECRET

He was from the settlement of Ghijduwán, which is in the neighbourhood of the "Cupola of Islam" Bukhara. The city of Bukhara is so well known as not to need description. The blessed tomb of Khwája Bahá' al-Haqq wa' l-Dín Naqshband is there. By God! As Mawláná 'Abd al-Rahmán Jámí says:

The coin which was struck in Yathrib and Bathá  
Was struck in Bukhara for the last time.  
From the line [inscription] of that coin none other  
was benefited  
Than the pure [unengraved] heart of the Sháh-i Naqshband  
["engraver king"].  
That pure nature [jewel] may not be in just any place;  
The mine for it must be the pure soil of Bukhara.

Hazrat Bábá Qul Mazíd had the rank of Polestar from the Eternal. His religious Path was the malámatí. His tongue spoke heedless and unintelligible words, and during the acme of senselessness he was full of sense in the remembrance of God. Providence dictated that his spiritual attraction [jadhba] should have an influence on the heart of that true sayyid Hazrat Bábá Sháh Sa'íd . . . who followed him like a shadow never apart for a moment, in the hope of becoming his disciple. Excessive independence made Bábá Qul Mazíd refuse this request; but the greater Bábá Qul Mazíd's independence, the more the desire of Bábá Sa'íd increased.

Some time had passed in this manner, until one night when Bábá Qul Mazíd was in his chamber in one of the colleges of Bukhara. After going inside the room he had closed the door. Hazrat Bábá Sa'íd "Palangposh" [for the epithet, see below] was standing outside until, after a long while, Bábá Qul Mazíd opened the door and said:

"Who is it?"

"The faqír of Your Holiness," Bábá Sa'íd replied.

Out of kindness Bábá Qul Mazíd opened the door and let him into the room. Bábá Qul Mazíd spoke some intoxicated words in the manner of the malámatis, and Bábá Sa'íd understood those words as heavenly tidings of felicity regarding his own state. The strength of his belief did not slacken by a hair's breadth, but was increased thereby. Bábá Qul Mazíd then favoured the face of his intended disciple with a glance of graciousness and acceptance; and, passing the hand of guidance upon his head, he clad him in the robe [khirqah] of darwíshhood; and he taught divine dhikr [formula of recitation], which Bábá Sa'íd performed with appropriate gestures of reverence towards the Holy Prophet.

Bábá Sa'íd remained in the grace-giving company of Bábá Qul Mazíd; but as the latter's departure to the realm of union with God was drawing near, he consigned Bábá Sa'íd to the service of Hazrat Shaykh Darwísh 'Azizán.

### 1.3. BÁBÁ SA'ÍD SERVES SHAYKH DARWÍSH 'AZÍZÁN

Shaykh Darwísh 'Azizán was a follower of the same pír as Bábá Qul Mazíd. He was . . . adorned with spiritual graces, one of the saints of the age . . . The holy men of that age were all of them his followers, and the remainder of the inhabitants of Ghijduwán had made their professions of allegiance towards him; and till the present day his tomb brings aid and comfort to the servants of God.

In the service of that sun of the spiritual sphere Bábá Sa'íd performed the task of carrying the ewer, and was engaged in providing the water of purification [wazú]. Not many days had passed in this manner when on one occasion the shaykh was engaged in performing his ablutions, and Bábá Sa'íd was pouring the water on his blessed hands, and the shaykh said: "Muhammad Sa'íd, know that Bábá Qul Mazíd—may God enlighten his proofs—has departed from this perishable world to the world everlasting!"

From where he was Bábá Sa'íd immediately hurried to the college where Bábá Qul Mazíd resided, reciting with the tongue of ecstasy this refrain, "We are content with the will of God!" After completing the preparations for burial, laying the shroud and performing the funeral prayer, Bábá Sa'íd returned to wait upon Shaykh Darwísh 'Azizán.

### 1.4. BÁBÁ SA'ÍD IS GIVEN LEAVE TO DEPART

Bábá Sa'íd was engaged for twelve years in acquiring grace, as were

other disciples who waited on the shaykh, and he reached a stage of perfection. One day Shaykh Darwīsh 'Azízán, who was riding on a litter, was crossing a river. Bábá Sa'íd and the other muríds were carrying the litter, and the thought occurred to him: "Other muríds from the power [barakat] of the grace-effecting glance of Hazrat 'Azízán have reached perfection; have I too become something or not?"

Reflecting on this for a moment, he cast down the anchor from the ship of his heart, and stopped in the water. The other muríds followed his action and came to a halt. Hazrat 'Azízán said: "Why do you not carry the litter today?"

"Sháh Sa'íd is standing still," they replied.

When the shaykh asked him the reason for his standing still, Bábá Sa'íd inquired: "Hazrat, have I also reached some place like the other disciples?"

The shaykh gave him the tidings: "It is some time since you became united to God!"

After this he taught him something of discourses of divine mysteries, and gave him leave to depart.

#### 15. BÁBÁ SA'ÍD SETS OUT

When Bábá Sa'íd had received leave from Shaykh Darwīsh 'Azízán, he turned the face of his intention towards the land of Tashkent, and wandered around like Majnún in the love of a Divine Laylá. Having broken the chain of his attachments to people of worldly pursuits, he joined himself to the contemplation of the beauty which does not pass away.

#### 16. BÁBÁ SA'ÍD MEETS WITH KHIZR

After a while Khwāja Khizr—upon whom be peace—met him and conveyed the auspicious tidings: "O Sa'íd al-Dín wa'l-Dunyá ['Fortunate of the faith and of the world'], the time of your nakedness has passed. Now is the time when you shall clothe yourself with the special dress of honour [khil'at] of proximity to God!"

#### 17. BÁBÁ SA'ÍD SLAYS THE BEAST AND GAINS THE NAME "PALANGPOSH" ["LEOPARD-CLAD"]

Khwāja Khizr gave him a bow with two arrows and told him: "In this very wilderness you will encounter a mighty lion. Hunt it and make of its skin a coat for yourself!"

That Lion of the Sacred Law, that Leviathan of the Sea of Truth acted in accordance with the command of Khizr—upon whom be peace! When the skin of the lion clothed his blessed figure, it was as if the shining sun had brought honour to the Mansion of Leo. Thereafter Bábá Sa'id always clothed himself with the skin of this leopard [palang], and all over the world he became famous as Bábá Palangposh ["Wearer of the Leopard"].

1.8. BÁBÁ PALANGPOSH COMES TO  
TASHKENT AND IS INITIATED IN THE  
KUBRAWIYYA PATH

Out of that wilderness Bábá Sa'id came to Tashkent and stayed in the khánqáh of a Turkish shaykh called Sayyid Ibráhím, who was engaged in loud recitation [dhikr-i jahr] in the Kubrawiyya Path [tariqa]. This sayyid through inner vision [kashf] had become aware of his arrival; and he told his khalifas [deputies] and darwishes: "A darwish of accomplishments, hungry from a long journey, is honouring us with a visit. Make food ready for him!"

When Bábá Palangposh arrived, food was brought before him with full ceremony, and he ate to satisfy the concern of his host. After this he observed that the servitors of the latter were carrying loads of firewood for the kitchen. Straightway he rose from his place and brought a single great load on his back from the wilderness, which could not have been carried by ten strong young men, thus relieving the servitors of that place of their task.

Then that holy man [Sayyid Ibráhím] brought forward on the meal-cloth of articulation and the tray of . . . [word omitted], a collation of spiritual maxims [fawá'id]. He said: "Since . . . God . . . has bestowed on you an especial delicacy from the delicatessen of the exalted Order of the Naqshbandiyya, and you have been given leave and licensed by the travellers of /that/ Path, if you /also/ take away a taste of this appetizing Order [i.e. the Kubrawiyya], it will be 'light upon light'!"

Bábá Palangposh considered the matter for a moment and excused himself from accepting. "For in the fixed path of my Masters [khwájagán, i.e. the Naqshbandí pirs] there is great jealousy. Let no ill befall from the choice of another Order!"

The holy sayyid said: "An omen should be taken for you and me, and 'attention should be turned' to the Pure Spirits [the Naqshbandí khwájas], so that what is seen in a vision may be acted upon."

During the time of their "turning of attention" towards the Pure Spirits, they beheld that a noble band of spirits had come in awe and splendour to the gate of the khánqáh. They had uprooted the trees and placed ladders against the wall of the khánqáh. When /Sayyid Ibráhím and Bábá Palangposh/ saw this, they immediately came out of the khánqáh and inquired from these honourable personages the reason for all this pomp and awe. These holy ones replied: "We are looking for Muhammad Sa'íd Palangposh."

"I have told him," the Sayyid said, "about the Path of loud recitation [dhikr-i jahr]."

When the submission of the sayyid reached their ears, after a moment's hesitation they gave their permission. In the morning the sayyid said to Sháh Palangposh: "What you witnessed during the night I also witnessed."

After this he committed to the other's memory some secrets out of the hidden things of the Kubrawiyya Path, so that Bábá Palangposh added to the ways of the Naqshbandiyya Path those of the Jahriyya [Kubrawiyya] and kept them.

#### 19. BÁBÁ PALANGPOSH VISITS MASHHAD

After the benefit of these gifts he set out from that place with the intention of performing pilgrimage [hajj] by way of Iran to the two Holy Places [haramayn]. When he had traversed the distance, he reached the holy /city of/ Mashhad. /There/ some of the ráfizís ["refusers", i.e. Shi'as] pressed around him like dogs of the bazaar vainly barking when they see a leopard; and like a leopard he sprang upon them.

Once again they pressed hard upon him all together, but Sháh Palangposh took refuge in the radiant tomb . . . of Hazrat 'Alí Músá Razá, by whose help and aid no harm befell him. The sight of that effulgent tomb brought light to his eyes and joy to his heart, and after receiving this great gift from that exalted source he stayed for one night.

#### 110. BÁBÁ PALANGPOSH'S VISITS TO MECCA AND MEDINA

In the morning he went forward. He was ennobled in this world and the next by visiting the Two Holy Places [Mecca and Medina], after which he returned to the "Cupola of Islám" Bukhara.

#### 111. THE MADMAN IN THE BATTLE AGAINST THE QALMÁQS

After a while Yalangtosh, the wazír of Nadhr Muhammad Khán, who was



ruler at that time [in Balkh], resorted to /Bábá Palangposh/ and declared: "The Qalmáqs with large armies have created a disturbance in the territories of this kingdom, and the King has appointed me to oppose them and drive them out. Will Hazrat please 'turn his attention' and send one of the darwishes to accompany /us/, so that by the power of Hazrat's aid victory in this campaign may be assured with ease!"

Bábá Palangposh ordered a servitor [khádim] to accompany them. He was a mad-looking faqír employed in his service as a water-carrier. Bábá Palangposh told him to occupy himself with prayer [du'á].

"Hazrat," the man replied, "I am a witless man, and do now know well how to wash my hands and clean my teeth and perform wazú. What do I know about 'turning my attention' or making prayers [du'á] /for an outcome/?"

"Obey what I order," Bábá Palangposh said.

Then, after reciting fátiha, he sent the madman to accompany the wazír. The wazír came face to face with the enemy and engaged in battle. The madman had gone to sleep in his usual way on top of a hillock behind the army, and the enemy pressed sorely. The wazír had recourse to Bábá Palangposh, and the latter, becoming aware of this from his inner vision, cried out: "Madman, why are you asleep? I sent you to aid, not to sleep."

The madman awoke immediately, and he saw that Hazrat Palangposh was right in the van of the army. He was saying to the madman: "Strike the raiders!"

The madman took up stones in his hand and under his arm, and attacked the army of the raiders. By God's aid the army of the Qalmáqs suffered defeat and fled. The wazír obtained a great victory, gathered much booty and went back. He bowed his head before Hazrat Bábá, and brought an offering [nahr] of a beautiful young girl. Hazrat gave her to the madman, saying: "You have done much labour; receive its reward!"

The madman did not accept this, saying: "I was not even aware of what happened; and of what use is a girl?"

In the end he set her free.

#### 112 FOREKNOWLEDGE OF OFFERINGS

Mírzá Muhammad Amin Beg related that he had heard from Mír Imám Kúlábí: I had not met Bábá Palangposh; and I had heard that if someone resolved upon an offering in his mind and Hazrat Bábá met with him, he would say: "Give me the present [nahr] which you have!"

He would also name the amount of it. I said to myself that there were

such men in the past, but nowadays they did not exist. So in my heart I resolved upon a nadhr of seven rupees to Hazrat Sháh-i Naqshband; and I put this sum in the pocket of my short coat [níma] and kept it there.

One day I was going out riding somewhere with some companions, and Bábá Palangposh appeared in front /of us/. My friends who were with me dismounted and greeted him, and I also did so. He turned to me and said: "Give /me/ the present which you have!"

I took a half rupee from the pocket of my garment [jáma] and offered it to him. He said: "This is not the nadhr. My nadhr is in the pocket of your coat [níma]."

I took it out of the pocket and offered it to Hazrat. He said: "Come to the takya in the evening, when halwá [sweetmeat] will be ready."

He said this and disappeared. I asked my companions who he was, and they replied that he was Bábá Sháh Palangposh. I thought in my heart: "How much halwá is there going to be for seven rupees?"

In the evening I went with my companions to Bábá Palangposh and I saw that there was a great concourse present, with Commanders of 5000, Commanders of 400, and countless people. There were many cooking pots filled with halwá, which was served to everyone.

This event increased my faith in him.

### 1.13. A FLOOD IN THE DECCAN

Muhammad Amín Beg Hisárí Qárí, one of his disciples, related: Once the emperor 'Álamgír [Aurangzeb] was in Brahmápurí. The river Kistna was in flood, and the whole military camp [lashkar] was close to being submerged. No one had any thought other than concern for his own safety; so much so that a thatch roof was floating in the river, on top of which a man was seated with a mouse, a cat and a snake, all upon the same piece of thatch. These are all enemies of one another, but remained at peace.

The /personal/ tent and the audience tent [dawlat-khána] of the emperor were close to being submerged. The emperor summoned the qází [religious judge] of the army to proclaim to the river: "Do you not fear God that you bring ruin on the world?"

The emperor wrote out a prayer [du'á] with his own hand and gave it to the qází. The qází went to the bank and threw it into the river; but in spite of this the river was not calmed but continued to rise.

In these circumstances I "turned my attention" towards Hazrat Bábá Palangposh. The moment that I did so I had a vision [ghaybate] in which

I saw that his face appeared once in the midst of the river as the waves were raging most fiercely. /His/ Qurayshí cap was visible, and then he sank down again into the river. A second time his face as far as the neck appeared above the flood, and then sank again. /Then/ his blessed face appeared for the third time.

At this moment, shaking, I came to my senses, and I saw that the water of the river had gone down by a span. After an hour this had grown to a yard, and after a while the water settled to its former level, and people were delivered from this calamity.

#### I.14. THE START AND FLOW OF RECITATION IN THE HEART

Mír Muhammad Rafi' Khutlání related: It occurred to my mind that when the pír gives a muríd an "occupation" [shughl—words to recite], how does the recitation of the heart start to flow? Then, when I came to Hazrat Bábá Palangposh, one day he ordered me to act as imám in the mid-afternoon prayer. After performing prayer [namáz] it was the custom of Bábá Palangposh to sit in meditation [muráqaba] facing the qibla [prayer-niche]. I also went into meditation, turning towards him.

Suddenly my heart entered into dhikr [recitation]. In this occupation I lost consciousness of myself; and for a period of six months the dhikr flowed in my heart. One day Hazrat looked towards me and said: "The meaning of 'the instruction of the pír' [talqín-i pír] is that, at the mere 'turning of the attention' of the pír, the dhikr of the heart begins to flow."

#### I.15. THE LAST DAYS OF BÁBÁ PALANGPOSH

The martyred sháh [Sháh Qalandar] used to relate: At the end of his life Bábá Palangposh became very infirm. In that state . . . consciousness was a moving river. He would start to grow better, and then the illness would return. Time and again he came back to his senses. This cycle recurred three times in one month.

The martyred sháh also said: It was evident to us that without doubt Hazrat had the power of choice /of living or dying/. One day he said to me: "I have the choice. If I wish to do so, I will stay alive; and, if I so wish, I will leave this world."

Hazrat added: "To die is right. I must go!"

That day the army moved camp. By the road there was a hillock /where/ they set down Hazrat's palankeen [páلكí] in the shade of a tree.

I was attending him, and he said: "For some while I have accompanied Ghází al-Dín Khán; I have to see him."

At that moment the couriers [harkáras] of the nawwáb [Ghází al-Dín Khán] arrived and announced that the nawwáb was coming to attend. The nawwáb came, and although he had been far away from Bábá Palangposh, he arrived as fast as he could. To us it seemed that the veins of the earth were drawn out that the nawwáb arrived with such speed. After kissing /Hazrat's/ feet he observed the courtesies of a muríd-like attachment.

Hazrat said: "Sit down!"

The nawwáb sat down, and Bábá Palangposh said: "Until now prayer for your army and requesting aid for it was entrusted to me by the Holy Ones [buzurgán, i.e. the Naqshbandí khwájas]. Now I have consigned you and your army to God."

He then gave the nawwáb leave to depart. The nawwáb, weeping, took his leave and departed, and he sent an offering of two thousand rupees. Bábá Palangposh recited fátiha. As his debts amounted to two thousand rupees, he ordered /this sum/ to be given to his creditors.

The same day, after reaching the camping place [manzil], he took his departure from the perishable world. /It was/ Thursday, 7 Ramazán of the Hijrí year 1110 [9 March 1699].

As the instances of revelations [mukáshafát] and miracles [karámát] of Bábá Palangposh are beyond human estimation, this much will suffice for the awareness of the sincere. Some examples of his trust in God, his submission to God's will, his holy poverty, his qalandar-like way of life and exemplary behaviour will be recorded in order of time and place.

## Bábá Palangposh and Bábá Musáfir: Their Travels and Arrival in the Deccan

### II.1. BÁBÁ SHÁH MUSÁFIR'S EARLY LIFE AND HIS MEETING WITH BÁBÁ PALANGPOSH

Now we come to present the stages leading to grace of that Leader of the Law and the Path, that Guide to the Truth and Knowledge, Emperor of the realms of spiritual dominion, Khedive of the throne-place of solicitude, Hazrat Bábá Sháh Musáfir, upon whom be the Mercy and acceptance!

It should not remain hidden that: His father was from the line [Sufi order] of the Kubrawiyya and his mother from a family of Sayyids [descendants of the Prophet]. They lived in one of the villages of Ghijduwán. As his father and mother died when he was very young, he was brought up by his maternal aunt. When he was seven years old the call to God was engendered in his heart. So he asked his aunt for leave to depart. At the moment of farewell she tweaked the corner of his ear and said to him by way of advice: "Take care, part of my heart! For in the time of childhood there are so many difficult events in store!"

So she entrusted him to God.

Hazrat Íshán [that is to say Sháh Musáfir] took heed of his aunt's words. He set foot in the "Cupola of Islám" Bukhara. He was occupied in acquiring learning before a teacher in a children's school in the city, which was situated in the Passage of the Muhammadís over the river, inside the mosque of Shaykh Pír Muhammad.

One day Hazrat Bábá Palangposh visited this place and was standing under the shade of a mulberry tree opposite the mosque. An inner attraction stole away Bábá Musáfir's heart. Since the fruit of longing and love was but newly sprouted on the date-palm of his nature—in accordance

with the saying "there is a time for everything"—its ripening was delayed to a later time, because he could not get away from his schoolfellows; but it occurred again, and then, the third time that Bábá Palangposh came, his heart was so drawn by inner attraction towards him that he ran after him unaware and willy-nilly, and went along with him like a man's own shadow.

Three others out of the schoolfellows of Bábá Musáfir profited from the benevolent gaze of Baba Palangposh. One, called Muhammad Ma'súm Hájjí, performed the greater pilgrimage and became wazír [minister] of the ruler of the day. Another became a deeply learned man, and a third became one of the shaykhs of the age; /while/ Hazrat Íshán [Bábá Musáfir], after he came to Hindostan, attained the rank of spiritual rule [waláyat], as will be related after this.

II.2. "AN ACCOUNT OF THE DEPARTURE OF  
HAZRAT SHÁH PALANGPOSH TO VISIT THE  
TOMB OF THE KING OF MEN HAZRAT MURTAZÁ 'ALÍ  
MAY GOD HONOUR HIM! AND OF HIS DEPARTURE  
FOR BALKH, THE MOTHER OF CITIES, AND OF HIS GOING  
FROM THERE TO HINDOSTAN BY WAY OF  
KABUL: AND OF THE DEPARTURE OF HAZRAT ÍSHÁN  
[BÁBÁ MUSÁFIR] FOLLOWING HIM"

Around that time Bábá Palangposh decided to visit the radiant tomb of . . . the Commander of the Faithful Murtazá 'Alí . . . and had set out from the "Cupola of Islám" Bukhara to the "Mother of Cities" Balkh. Immediately Bábá Musáfir got news of this, he set out in precipitate pursuit "like a ball which knows not head from foot".

/Bábá Musáfir went/ by way of the town of Hisar, where he had the felicity of circumambulating . . . [the tomb of . . . Khwája 'Alá' al-Dín 'Attár, son-in-law of] . . . Bahá' al-Dín Naqshband, "the Remover of Difficulties" . . ., after which he entered the "Mother of Cities" [Balkh]. One week before him Sháh Palangposh had attained the honour of kissing the threshold of . . . [the tomb of the Commandar of the Faithful 'Alí] and he went to the settlement of Ghorí and thence to Kabul. So /Bábá Musáfir/ too . . . [visited the tomb of Hazrat 'Alí] . . . and decided to go onward.

At this time he happened to stop for sustenance at the auspicious serai of . . . [the sayyid] . . . Mírzá Háshimí. He stayed there for some days of the month of Ramazán, serving the latter in the tasks of water and ablutions [wazú], and keeping the curtain of the private chamber. Since Hazrat Íshán [Bábá Musáfir] had a perfect command of the art of music, much of the time at the command of the shaykh [Mírzá Háshimí] he gladdened

the latter's heart with the playing of airs and accumulated the shaykh's prayers [du'á] on his behalf. The shaykh in the days of fasting had chosen the "retirement of forty days".

After Ramazán Hazrat Íshán [Bábá Musáfir] made preparations for travel and sought leave from this shaykh. Although it was not the wish of that holy sayyid that he should depart, since Bábá Musáfir was drawn by spiritual attraction [jadhba] he was obliged to let him leave. He said: "I was not content at /the prospect of/ your leaving, but what can I do! Your lot is with that Sháh ['king', i.e. Bábá Palangposh] who knows the heart."

Hazrat Íshán parted from the shaykh and came to the settlement of Ghorí where he stopped at a mosque. It happened that one of the notables, a man of sensibility, met him in that mosque and most courteously brought him to his own house, where he made a request. "I have a son," he said, "whom I should like to entrust to you for teaching and education."

Hazrat Íshán had pursued his studies in Bukhara as far as the *Sharh-i Mullá*. In accordance with the saying "earthly love is a bridge to heavenly love", his fancy inclined towards the boy, who was beautiful, and he stayed there for some time engaged in teaching him. After this, drawn on by the spiritual attraction of Bábá Palangposh, he went forth on his way.

When he arrived at the capital of Kabul, he heard that Bábá Palangposh had gone on to Peshawur. When he reached Peshawur, he got news that he had gone on to Hasan Abdal. At Hasan Abdal he joined /Bábá Palangposh's/ service, stretching the hand of the profession of discipleship to the hem of /the garment of/ guidance and making the tongue of ecstasy resound upon this theme:

Verse:

Other than your threshold there is no place of refuge for me in the world.  
Other than this portal there is no resting place for my head.

Bábá Palangposh told Sháh Muhammad Amín, a darwísh who was one of his especial muríds: "A cap and a khirqa [Sufi cloak] must be prepared for him!"

At his orders he prepared and brought the cap and cloak, and Bábá Palangposh with his own blessed hand put upon the head and upon the body of Hazrat Íshán this cap and khirqa of dedication [irádat].

II 3 "NOTICE OF THE KHIRQA AND THE  
INSTRUCTION OF THE NOBLE ORDER  
OF THE NAQSHBANDIYYA"

It should not be concealed that: Regarding what various people have said

about the donning of a cloak [khirqa] by Hazrat Khwája Bahá' al-Dín Naqshband not being attested in books, if by khirqa a cloak in that form is meant, and if it is a particularized description, /or/ if the meaning of khirqa is simply a "garment", whether it is a tunic or a turban or a hat—in the latter case there is no doubt that the donning of a khirqa [by Khwája Bahá' al-Dín Naqshband] is mentioned in the books of shaykhs, and it is well known among the people of the Path. /As regards/ what is written in khiláfat-námas [patents of succession], that so-and-so has donned a khirqa of khiláfat [succession] from so-and-so, the meaning is simply a garment here.

Mawláná 'Alí the son of Mawláná Husayn, the author of the *Tafsír-i Husayní*, has mentioned in the *Rashahát* [*'ayn al-hayát* ("Drops of the Fountain of Life")], that Hazrat the Polestar of shaykhs Khwája Muhammad Pársá—may God sanctify his secret!—who was the muhaddith of his time and rests in Medina the Illuminated, recorded in his own hand that Khwája Abú Yúsuf Hamadání . . . went to Baghdad at the age of eighteen and learnt the science of fiqh [jurisprudence] from Hazrat Abú Isháq the legist and reached a high degree in the science of nazar; and he became a high authority in the legal school of the imám Abú Hanífa Kúfí. He taught in Isfahan and Bukhara, and was recognized in 'Iraq, Khurasan, Khwarazm and Transoxania. He dwelt for a while on the hill of Uhud, and put on a khirqa from the hand of Shaykh 'Abd Alláh Júní . . . In tasawwuf [Sufism] his lineage was from Hazrat Shaykh 'Abd Alláh Júní and from Hazrat Shaykh Hasan Simnání. He was born in the year 532 [Hijri = AD 1137–8].

Since the author of the *Rashahát* has recorded the donning of the khirqa of Hazrat Khwája Abú Yúsuf Hamadání in this manner, it is shining evidence and decisive proof for us followers on the highroad of devotion of the choice and adherence to a Path [taríqa, a Sufi lineage] of that Presence [Khwája Bahá' al-Dín Naqshband].

Thus Hazrat Íshán Bábá Musáfír—may God sanctify his secret!—was the muríd of Hazrat Bábá Sháh Sa'id Palangposh—may God sanctify his secret! The latter was the muríd of Hazrat Shaykh Darwísh 'Azízán Ghijduwání, who was the muríd of Hazrat Mawláná Páyanda Akhsíkati; who was the muríd of Hazrat Mír Khwurd Balkhí; who was the muríd of Hazrat Makhdúm-i A'zam; who was the muríd of Hazrat Mawláná Muhammad Qázi; and he was the muríd of Hazrat Násir al-Dín Khwája 'Ubayd Alláh Ahrár; who was the muríd of Hazrat Mawláná Ya'qúb Charkhí; who was the muríd of Khwája Bahá' al-Haqq wa'l-Dín Naqshband



“Mushkil kushá” [“the remover of difficulties”]; and he was the muríd of Hazrat Amír Kulál; who was the muríd of Hazrat Bábá Samasí; who was the muríd of Khwája ‘Alí Rámtíní; who was the muríd of Khwája Mahmúd Anjírfaqhnawí; who was the muríd of Hazrat Khwája ‘Árif Rívgarí; who was the muríd of Hazrat Khwája ‘Abd al-Kháliq Ghijduwání; who was the muríd of Hazrat Khwája Abú Yúsuf Hamadání; who was the muríd of Hazrat Shaykh Abu ‘Alí Fármadí Túsí; who was the muríd of Hazrat Shaykh Abu’ l-Hasan Kharraqání; who was the muríd of Hazrat Sultán Báyzíd Bustámí; who was the muríd of Hazrat Imám Ja’far Sádiq—may God sanctify their secrets!

Hazrat Imám Ja’far Sádiq had two connections. One is that he was the muríd of his own father Hazrat Imám Muhammad Báqir; who was the muríd of his own father the Imám Zayn al-‘Ábidín; who was the muríd of his father the Imám Husayn; who was the muríd of his father the Commander of the Faithful ‘Alí—God honour him and may he be pleased with them! And he was the muríd of Hazrat the Chief of Creation Muhammad the Messenger—God’s blessing and salvation upon him and his family and companions!

The other /connection/ of Hazrat Imám Ja’far Sádiq is to the father of his mother Hazrat Qásim, the son of Muhammad, the son of Abú Bakr Siddíq. Hazrat Qásim was one of the seven faqíhs [legists] and he had a connection of inner devotion to Salmán Fárisí. The latter, in spite of attaining the companionship of Hazrat the Refuge of Prophethood [Muhammad] . . . , took his interior connection from Hazrat Abú Bakr, the Commander of the Faithful.

Hazrat Abu’l Qásim Gurgání also had a connection of interior devotion to Shaykh Abú’ Uthmán Ma’arrí; and he to Shaykh Abú ‘Alí Kátib, and he to Shaykh Abú ‘Alí Rúdbarí, and he to Shaykh Junayd Baghdádí; and he to Shaykh Sarí Saqatí; and he to Shaykh Ma’rúf Karkhí.

Shaykh Ma’rúf Karkhí had two connections. The first was to Hazrat Shaykh Dá’úd Táyyí; and he to Hazrat Shaykh Habíb ‘Ajami; and he to Hazrat Shaykh Hasan Basrí—may God sanctify their secrets! And he to the Commander of the Faithful ‘Alí—may God honour him! And he to Hazrat the Refuge of Prophethood [Muhammad]—the best of blessings upon him and the most perfect of salutations!

The second /connection/ of Hazrat Shaykh Ma’rúf Karkhí was of devotion to Imám ‘Alí Músá Razá; and his devotion to his father Hazrat Imám Músá Kázim; and his to his father Imám Ja’far Sádiq—may God be pleased with them! And so on to the end of it.

II.4. A PEDIGREE OF THE QALANDAR LINEAGE  
BROUGHT FROM BALKH TO  
AWRANGABAD

The Cream of the Accomplished, the pilgrim to the Holy Places, Bábá Hájjí 'Abd al-Rahím, who donned a khirqa from the hands of Bábá Qul Mazíd and has a reputed takya in the "Mother of Cities" Balkh, whose supernatural powers are more visible than the sun, has written a treatise on the bestowal of khirqas and caps [of discipleship]. His son-in-law Khwájá Mu'min out of sincere attachment put on *in absentia* a khirqa in Hazrat Íshán's [Bábá Musáfir's] name. After going on pilgrimage by way of Isfahan to the two Holy Places, he came of from there to the city of Awrangabad, where he arrived in the takya after the death of /Bábá Musáfir/. /There/ he put on a khirqa from the hands of Bábá Sháh Khádim, and especial muríd of /Bábá Musáfir/, and /then/ returned to the land [wilayat] of Máwará' l-nahr [Transoxania].

In Shahjahanabad [Delhi] he met the martyred Sháh Qalandar, who was one of the sincerely devoted muríds of Sháh Palangposh, and after the death of the latter had brought an interior devotion to the service of Hazrat Íshán [Bábá Musáfir] and reached the rank of accomplishment. /Khwájá Mu'min/ gave to the martyred sháh [Sháh Qalandar] a transcript of a document of the chain of transmission [silila] of the khirqa which he had carried away from the wilayat of Balkh, /just/ as it was written. /Sháh Qalandar/ brought it to the blessed takya [at Awrangabad]. It is reproduced below:

Hazrat Íshán Bábá Musáfir donned a khirqa from Hazrat Bábá Sa'id Palangposh; the latter donned a khirqa from Bábá Qul Mazíd; he from Hazrat Chu'in 'Azizán; he from Hazrat Shams al-Dín Qalandar; he from Hazrat Mír Jamál al-Dín Qalandar; he from Hazrat Mír Ghiyáth al-Dín Qalandar; he from Hazrat Mír Nasir al-Dín Qalandar; he from Hazrat Mír Hamid al-Dín Qalandar; he from Hazrat Rukh al-Dín Qalandar; he from Hazrat Sayyid Bughráy Qalandar; he from Sayyid Ibráhím Qalandar; he from Hazrat Duzdawár [?] Qalandar; he from Hazrat Sháh Ni'mat Alláh Qalandar; he from Hazrat Tayyib Sháh Qalandar; he from Hazrat Mír Surkh Qalandar; he from Hazrat Sháh Zakariyá; he from Hazrat Sháh Nasim Qalandar; he from Hazrat Sayyid Muzaffar Qalandar; he from Hazrat Sayyid 'Abd al-Qádir Jilání; he from Sayyid Abú Ahmad Abdal; he from Hazrat Sultán Farasnáfa; he from Hazrat Sháh Husayn; he from Hazrat Sultán Ibráhím; he from Hazrat Ádham Saqqá'; he from Hazrat Shaykh Ma'rúf Karkhí; he from Hazrat Imám Músá Kázim; he from

Hazrat Imám Ja'far Sádiq; he from Hazrat Imám Muhammad Báqir; he from Hazrat Imám Zayn al-'Ábidín; he from Hazrat Imám Husayn; he from Hazrat 'Alí, the Commander of the Faithful—may God honour him! And he from Hazrat the Seal of Prophecy Muhammad the Chosen—God's blessing and salvation upon Him.!

II.5. ANOTHER LINK BETWEEN THE DECCAN AND  
WILAYAT: THE BESTOWAL OF A CLOAK

Another account of the clothing of a khirqa by Bábá Qul Mazíd has been heard from the tongue of the late Perceiver of Truths Sháh Khádím and from /that of/ the Refuge of Martyrdom Sháh Qalandar, to this effect:

Bábá Qul Mazíd and Hazrat Sayyid Ján Muhammad were brothers together in the /Sufi/ Path. They had put on khirqas from Hazrat Shaykh Chu'ín. Bábá Hájjí 'Abd al-Rahím stayed for a while in the service of Sayyid Ján Muhammad. When the latter died, Bábá Hájjí 'Abd al-Rahím was away at the time of the funeral prayer, and remained away for a while. The khirqa of the late sayyid was held as a trust. Many of the muríds and khalífas of the late sayyid sought it, /but/ Bábá Qul Mazíd gave it to none. He kept it as a trust until after a long interval the sound of praises of God and of the Holy Prophet reached his ears in the city of Bukhara. He asked Sháh Palangposh, who was present:

“Whose voice is that?”

“It is the city of 'Abd al-Rahím,” /he replied/.

“Bring him!” he said.

When Bábá Palangposh brought him, Bábá Qul Mazíd said:

“Do not cease from this praise yet!”

He seated him face to face with himself, and turned his “interior attention” upon his condition. He was thus engaged from the middle of the morning till the late afternoon, /the time of/ evening prayer. He brought the hájjí through all the stages [maqámát] and took him to the accomplished state. The hájjí had fallen down unconscious, in such manner that from the attraction [jadhb] of the “attention” of /Bábá Qul Mazíd/ the corner of the mouth of the hájjí grew crooked. For the rest of his life the mark of this crookedness was apparent on his lip, and the saliva flowed. When the hájjí came to his senses, Bábá Qul Mazíd asked for the khirqa of the late sayyid from the hand of Sháh Palangposh and said:

“Clothe Hájjí 'Abd al-Rahím and gird his waist!”

At this command Sháh Palangposh clothed Hájjí 'Abd al-Rahím in the khirqa and tied his waist. In this manner Bábá Qul Mazíd is the píir of the

Path of Hájjí 'Abd al-Rahím, and Sháh Palangposh is the latter's elder brother in the Path. In the road of faqr ["poverty"—faqírhood], one who in accordance with the command of his Guide, with his own hand clothes someone with a khirqa and ties his waist himself also ranks as a pír.

In observance of the courtesies of this /relationship/, Hájjí 'Abd al-Rahím sent his grown up son 'Abd al-Karím from the city of Balkh to the Deccan in the service of Sháh Palangposh. In those days Sháh Palangposh was at Bahádurgarh. Sháh 'Abd al-Karím came to him and served him for some time. He bore away garments from Sháh Palangposh, and wore the khirqa of license [ijázat] and deputyship [khiláfat]. He was given leave by Sháh Palangposh to depart, and he came to Awrangabad, where he attended /Bábá Musáfir/. He then set out for Wilayat.

#### II.6. CONTINUATION OF THE NARRATIVE OF THE TRAVELS OF SHÁH PALANGPOSH AND SHÁH MUSÁFIR

When Hazrat Íshán [Bábá Musáfir] had brought to hand the thread of exterior and interior connection with Hazrat Bábá Palangposh, in accordance with their connection from the Day of Creation [i.e. had become the disciple of Bábá Palangposh and was eternally attached to him], Bábá Palangposh was drawn back by the love of his homeland, and set out to return from the settlement of Hasan Abdal by way of Jalalabad to Trans-oxania [Má wará' l-nahr].

#### II.7. THE ROUT OF THE AFGHANS NEAR HASAN ABDAL

At that time Muhammad Awrangzeb 'Álamgír, the emperor of India, was in Hasan Abdal. A body of Afghans, more numerous than ants or locusts, had turned rebellious in that area. Two or three great amírs, Muhammad Amín Khán and others, who one after another had been appointed to defend the district and expel them, had been defeated and looted. At the orders of the Shadow of God [the emperor], Mughal Khán had been despatched to chastise them; and he had come /to Hasan Abdal/, where he had stopped. The onslaught of the Afghans prevented him from coming out.

At this time Sháh Palangposh happened to arrive there. That night he saw in a dream that the army of Islám was standing opposite the enemy [ghaním], and a dark veil like a cloud hung over the army of Mughal Khán. At this moment a band of the Pure Spirits [of the Naqshbandí

khwájas] came to /his/ aid. They ordered Sháh Palangposh to lift the veil from the face of the army of Islám, and to inform Mughal Khán of this event.

The veil of darkness was immediately put aside by a radiant hand from the army of Islám, and it passed over to cover the head of that trouble-making band. In the morning Hazrat Bábá said: "Write to the khán that the Pure Spirits are his helpers and his aiders, and that they have commanded me to inform him of this fact!"

The khán, who had been much perturbed, was glad at these tidings, and asked if he might serve /Bábá Palangposh/. Bábá Palangposh graciously came to visit the house of the khán, who, after receiving him with due courtesy, offered a present [niyáz] of one thousand rupees, and requested his aid. Hazrat recited fátiha for his welfare.

On the following day the khán rode out, and the Afghans, though they pressed heavily at the outset, by God's aid were defeated in the end. They took to flight and were dispersed, killed or wounded. The khán returned with much plunder, and presented a horse and two thousand rupees.

When Bábá Palangposh intended to return to Wilayat, tidings came from the spiritual world ['álam-i rúhání]: "Stay in the land of Hind [India] and benefit the inhabitants of that land by your guidance and teaching!"

#### II 8 BÁBÁ PALANGPOSH VISITS KASHMIR

/Bábá Palangposh/ therefore refrained from setting out for Wilayat and went to visit Kashmir. He stayed there for a while, and a body of the notables, shaykhs, men of learning, and sayyids of that city [Srinagar] drew benefit from attending on him. Till this day their children, who have heard of the graces and blessings of /Sháh Palangposh/ from their elders, are sincere followers. In Kashmir Sháh Muhammad Amín was /one of his/ close khádims [servitors] and darwishes, as was Sháh Ghaní, a perfected muríd and learned poet. ....

#### II 9 FURTHER TRAVELS OF BÁBÁ MUSÁFIR AND BÁBÁ PALANGPOSH

Bábá Musáfir, after taking leave from Bábá Palangposh, intended to visit Bengal and its neighbourhood. After a while Bábá Musáfir, with the intention of visiting that country, had asked leave to depart; and Bábá Palangposh, reflecting on the advantages which are acquired by travel, gave him leave. /Bábá Palangposh/ himself set out a second time towards the two Holy Places. On the way, in the lesser Gujarat [= Gujrat town in

the Panjab], he met with that Knower of Mysteries Sháh Dawlá. /Then/ he came to Ahmadabad in Gujarat, and from there to the shore of the sea which he set out to cross.

#### II.10. A TRANCE ON SHIPBOARD

During the voyage Bábá Palangposh went and sat at the side of the ship. At this time he experienced a trance [ghaybate], and was so completely absorbed that Sháh Ján Muhammad, a perfectly accomplished man and especial muríd who was present, from excessive worry was trembling like a wave, and as a precaution stood behind his back ready to save him if he fell. After a long while Bábá Palangposh raised his head from meditation. When . . . [he perceived this] . . . he looked towards Sháh Ján Muhammad and [recited this couplet of his own composition]:

Verse:

My heart is an ocean, my body a fish, contemplation the pearl of that sea  
From every wave of which thousands appear like the "white hand" [of Moses].

Sháh Ján Muhammad, much ashamed at his own alarm, stood in front of Bábá Palangposh with hands folded in respect and acknowledging his fault.

#### II.11. BÁBÁ PALANGPOSH VISITS HASAN ABDAL AGAIN AND IS JOINED BY BÁBÁ MUSÁFIR IN AWRANGABAD

In short Bábá Palangposh, after his pilgrimage to the Holy Places, returned to Hindostan, and went by way of Hasan Abdal and the "Abode of the Caliphate" Shahjahanabad to the "Auspicious Foundation" of Awrangabad, which is the greatest of the provincial capitals of the Deccan. He arrived at the time when the prince Muhammad Mu'azzam Bahádur Sháh was názim [Governor] there. He stayed in the takya of Sháh 'Ináyat Darwish, which is situated on the bank of the stream [nála] of Qutbpura.

The same week he was joined by Hazrat Íshán /Bábá Musáfir/ who had travelled in Bengal and Jagannath [Puri] and Orissa; and had come by way of Jinji and Tanjore to Haydarabad and Awrangabad: and a gathering of great and small folk of the city hastened to behold him and receive grace.

#### II.12. THE SPRINKLING OF THE ROSEWATER

Just at this time a merchant had brought rosewater of the best quality and

otto [‘itr] of roses to sell in the camp of the prince; but there were no buyers. He came to Bábá Palangposh and told him of the state of affairs. Hazrat told him to bring /his stock/. He brought it and /Sháh Palangposh/ bought it. Faqírs, men of education and the small and great folk of the town were present attending on him. Bábá Palangposh told a faqír to climb a tamarind tree, and sprinkle the rosewater and rose-essence on all the throng who were present; and he did this. Some rosewater yet remained, and he told the faqírs to wet their khirqas with it.

Thus in a flash he distributed the rosewater and essence. These were worth a considerable sum, and the merchant and those present were astonished; /but/ the money to pay for it immediately arrived “from the Unseen” [az ghayb—i.e. as an unexpected offering]; and he bestowed it on the merchant, who in the blink of an eye had gathered his full profit, and returned to his homeland.

#### II.13 BÁBÁ PALANGPOSH BESTOWS KHILÁFAT ON BÁBÁ MUSÁFIR

After this Sháh Palangposh graciously called Sháh Musáfir close to him. The latter out of politeness came forward some paces and stopped. Bábá Palangposh told him to come closer and he went further forward. The third time, quoting the saying “a command is above politeness”, Sháh Palangposh rose to greet him, grasped his hand, and bringing him forward to the top of the dais, made him sit down beside him. He /then/ placed the cap from his own head on the head of Sháh Musáfir, and he honoured him with his khiláfat [deputyship]. To the many muríds and khádims, faqírs, men of learning and great and small folk he said: “Esteeming him to be in my place, indeed better than me, you should observe towards him the devotion and obedience which you have towards me!”

#### II.14 BÁBÁ PALANGPOSH IN HASAN ABDAL THE CHASTENING OF SHARIF KHÁN

Some time later Bábá Palangposh set out for Hindostan [north India]. He stayed for a while in Hasan Abdal and Hazrat Íshán [Bábá Musáfir] accompanied him. Sharíf Khán resided there, who had come from Wilayat to Hindostan in the reign of the emperor Sháhjahán, and had attained high mansab [rank] and the title of Khán. As he had expressed his sincere attachment to /Sháh Palangposh/, the latter used to go to his house from time to time.

One day Bábá Palangposh happened to visit his assembly. A number

of amírs were present, when a possessed [majdhúb] darwísh entered, who did not rise up in politeness for any of these powerful people. /Sháh Palangposh/, rising up to honour that majdhúb, brought him with the greatest respect to sit higher than any of the people in the assembly. This behaviour vexed the khán, who was soiled by worldly contacts. On a pretext he asked Sháh Palangposh: "In what station does Your Honour [hazrat] hold the band of faqírs to stand by comparison with people of the world?"

That Leopard [palang] of the wilds of independence said: "I do not reckon you and all these people of consequence who are in your company as equal to one hair of the head of a qalandar."

The khán was perturbed. Hazrat /Bábá Palangposh/ rose in full awe and went back to his own place. On the third day the khán went out somewhere. He came to the top of a declivity, when suddenly his palankeen went awry and toppled over. The khán fell from it and broke his arm.

Verse:

We have often experienced retribution in this tavern:  
Whoever quarreled with those who drink the lees fell over.

The khán was chastened. Postponing going elsewhere, he came to attend on Sháh Palangposh. He asked forgiveness, offering as a gift [niyáz] a horse which he kept for a spare mount, and three thousand rupees in cash.

#### II.15. OBJECTIONS OF BÁBÁ MUSÁFIR: BÁBÁ PALANGPOSH EXPLAINS HIS ROLE IN REDISTRIBUTING WEALTH

Hazrat Íshán, that is to say Bábá Musáfir, out of his devotion to /Bábá Palangposh/, could not restrain himself and submitted: "Hazrat is one of the privileged ones of the court [of God], and with a glance of his favour can bestow a kingly power and crown on the head of a destitute man. With this power what need is there for him to set foot in the houses of worldly people?"

/Sháh Palangposh/ replied: "If your heart does not desire it, after this I will not go /to visit/ anywhere."

Then for three days and nights Bábá Palangposh sat there and did not rise. On the fourth day he went to the washing-place to renew his wazú, and when he came out he said: "Go and see what the state is!"

Hazrat Íshán went in there and looked, and he saw that a lot of blood had flowed, as if seven or eight sheep had their throats cut. Then Sháh Palangposh spoke again:



I have been licensed and appointed by God—may He be exalted and glorified!—to take money from the wealthy for my visiting /them/ and bestow it upon the indigent. Truly the lion goes out in search of food after three days, when his hunger has grown. He does not set up his authority over lesser animals until he has brought a massive prey into his claws. After eating something, he leaves what remains for those beneath him like jackals and foxes and so on, and in his accustomed manner turns back to his rest!

In short Hazrat Bábá Palangposh, when he visited any man of wealth, secured his obedience so that out of attachments he made offerings; and Hazrat used to share these out among the poor and the indigent.

#### II.16. BÁBÁ MUSÁFIR'S PILGRIMAGE TO MECCA

After some time Hazrat Íshán [Bábá Musáfir] took leave from Sháh Palangposh and set out on the journey to the two Holy Places. By way of Thattha and Bhakkar he came to the town of Surat. There he approached the Jámi' Masjid [Chief Mosque] where he wished to stay. His body was wasted from the dust on the road and he was suffering severely from the disease of itching and fever, and for this reason the preacher [khatíb] and the muezzin forbade him to enter. He was obliged to stop outside the mosque.

He had rested there for some while when the qází of that place, who was an educated and kindly man, came for the prayer. Discerning /Bábá Musáfir's/ state of affairs, he bore him with all honour to his own house and looked after him for several days until he was completely recovered. He then asked if he could put together the provision for Bábá Musáfir to travel by sea. Bábá Musáfir did not accept, and he set out with a caravan travelling overland, a route of forty stages.

Bábá Musáfir traversed the stages in the company of an Afghan of accomplishments. Hazrat Íshán distributed water to the poor of the caravan from a waterskin which he had beneath his arm. His food for these forty days was one seer [áthár] of bájra [millet] which was entrusted to his companion. He would give him a handful when he was overcome with hunger and take a handful for himself; and from his own handful he would also give some to him. What with all this labour and hardship, the heat of the air and the dearth of water, the shifting sand and the length of the stages, he would travel upon the road through the whole night and one watch of the following day, and through the whole of the twenty-four hours he would not rest for more than six.

Hazrat Íshán related with the tongue of sincerity: One day when we

encamped in the midday heat I had put my head beneath a branch of a thorn bush. A Turk in the caravan had cooked some food which he was eating. With a spoon he scraped the burnt food from the bottom of the pan, and a little came out of it. He took this morsel and waited to give it to a dog if one should come along. The dog of my appetite had an overwhelming desire to ask for that morsel from the Turk, /but/ as I had firmly bound the neck of its longing with the collar of patience, it found no chance to move. Yet the Turk guessed its state and said: "O Darwísh, do you want this burnt morsel?"

"Yes," I replied.

The Turk gave the burnt morsel into the hand of Bábá Musáfir. The latter related: "When I had put that morsel into my mouth, the dog of my appetite considered that such a delicacy had never been presented /to it/ in its whole life!"

Amid such severe hardships he passed the stages /of the journey/ until he reached the place of his desire, and laid his head in a corner. A darwísh called Sháh Majnún came there, one of the followers of Sháh Palangposh, who /therefore/ was a fellow disciple of Hazrat Íshán. He had come on pilgrimage with 'Abid Khán, a descendant of 'Álim Shaykh 'Azizán and the Sadr al-Sudúr [chief religious administrator] of the army of the emperor of Hindostan, Muhammad Awrangzeb; and he had remained there in Mecca.

/Sháh Majnún/ took Hazrat Íshán to a house where . . . the Holy Prophet . . . had eaten camel's trotters; and he took out two or three rupees which he had in a purse, bought some soup [shorba] and a small loaf [kulícha] of bread, which was expensive because of scarcity, and ate in company with a group who were accompanying him. As Hazrat Íshán was eating after fasting for a long time, weakness overcame him for a while, and the effect of heat ran through his body like ants. When a little strength returned, he performed the visit [ziyárat—to the Ka'ba]. After this he went to 'Arafat, and, having acquired the merit of hajj [pilgrimage], he came to Miná. As buying and selling is prescribed there and he had nothing in his bundle [bisát], he sold a scarf which was around his waist for three qarsh [copper coins], and distributed the money among the poor and faqírs.

## CHAPTER III

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# Bábá Musáfir Settles in Awrangabad

### III 1 BĀBĀ MUSĀFIR IS DRAWN BACK TO INDIA

After visiting Medina, he turned /back/ towards the land of Hindostan. He related: As I had undergone much hardship, I used from my own experience to imagine the condition of every poor traveller. It occurred to me that I would go to Wilayat [Transoxania] and build a hut by the side of the highway; and I would sow a bed of melons [fálíz] and keep a jar of water ready, and I would live there. /But/ the affection of my pír and true Guide was in my case so comprehensive that, when I intended to go to Wilayat, it was as if Sháh Palangposh had fastened an iron chain around my neck and was drawing me back to the land of Hind [India].

### III 2 BĀBĀ MUSĀFIR RETURNS TO AWRANGABAD

Inevitably after crossing the sea he went by way of the port of Surat to Awrangabad, where he entered the takya of Sháh 'Ináyat. He fell violently ill with fever. Sháh 'Ináyat was apprehensive and said: "Hazrat is a Mughal, and people think that Mughal faqírs have ashrafís [gold coins] with them. Let nothing happen from which the hákim [commandant] of the town causes me trouble!"

### III 3 BĀBĀ MUSĀFIR FINDS THE SITE OF HIS TAKYA

At the height of his illness Bábá Musáfir left /the takya of Sháh 'Ináyat/ and lay for some hours by the banks of the stream [nala], after which he rose and very slowly made his way into a mosque roofed with straw

[khas] on the bank of the stream, where nowadays the blessed takya stands.

There was a possessed [majdhúb] darwísh called Sháh Shírín, and educated man and a muhaddith of his time, from whom many supernatural happenings were manifest to men, and pillars /of society/ of the city were his followers. He lived in this mosque, where a band of gamblers and bhang-drinkers played games and kneaded bhang [*Cannabis sativa*]. This majdhúb rose up to greet him and said: "Welcome! This place is yours. For a time I have acted as watchman, /but/ now you have come yourself. 'The water has come, purification with sand [tayammum] is over!' "

When he had said this and duly saluted /Bábá Musáfir/, he went off to Sultanganj and took up residence there.

#### III.4. THE FOUNDING OF THE TAKYA

Bábá Musáfir cleared away the instruments of kneading bhang, and made the place clean and stayed there. After making the call to prayer he offered his prayers, sometimes alone and sometimes with two people who had come from somewhere. It usually happened that he passed five or ten or fifteen days without food. No one had news of his "states" and he never rose up from his place.

Hájjí Jamíl, a man from the people of the country [khitta], came to wait upon him, and joined in prayer; and after two or three days he used to bring some boiled or parched rice for Bábá Musáfir. Hazrat would eat it and it would suffice him. A period passed in this manner in straightened circumstances.

#### III.5. TILING THE MOSQUE ROOF

A young man called Mu'min Beg came and out of attachment was engaged in serving him. He submitted: "If you so order, I will make a roof of tiles for the mosque, which is covered with straw."

Sháh Musáfir agreed, and he roofed the mosque with tiles. Around that time Khwájá Muhammad Dhákir sometimes used to pass this mosque when he went hunting. He was a man from Wilayat [Central Asia] who was son-in-law of the late Jamíl Beg Khán, from whom there are situated today within the town a quarter [púra] and a tank and mosque. One day he got news that someone was residing there, and he came and attended. Often he would come in the morning and evening.

Shortly afterwards Sháh Ahmad and, after Sháh Ahmad, Bábá Sháh Khádím, Mullá Khámosh, Mír Mahmúd, Sháh 'Arab, Sháh Kúchak, Khalífa 'Abd al-Rahím, Khalífa Khwája Muhammad Sa'id and Khalífa Hájjí 'Abd al-Karím came and "carried his shoes". The spiritual "states" [ahwál] of these personages will be recorded below. After this several other people who had come from Wilayat were engaged in his service.

#### III.6. BUILDING OF THE BUNGALOW

Khwája Muhammad Dhákir submitted: "The mosque is cramped, and a number of faqírs are here. If it is commanded, I will build a bungalow [banglá] for the faqírs."

"You may do so," Bábá Musáfir replied.  
/So/ he built the bungalow.

#### III.7. MORE VISITORS TO THE TAKYA

Khwája Abu'l-Ma'ání was an educated man, a poet and an acquaintance of the emperor. He was a teacher of the mosque of Jamíl Beg Khán, and he was the instructor of Khwája Muhammad Dhákir. In former times his ancestors had administrated the tomb of Hazrat Sháh-i Mardán ["King of Men" 'Alí] . . . in the "Mother of Cities" Balkh. When he heard that Khwája Muhammad Dhákir was a frequent visitor to Bábá Musáfir, he also came to see him. He often came to attend on him and sat down. After this the notables of the city, one by one, came to attend on Bábá Musáfir.

A man called Hájjí 'Abd al-Kháliq, who was one of the notables of Mughalpura, showed a firm belief in Bábá Musáfir. In those days 200 rupees had arrived from somewhere as a present [nadh] to that presence [án hazrat]; and 'Abd al-Kháliq suggested: "The mosque has no enclosing wall, and is situated on the lowest ground, level with the stream. If it is commanded, I will raise the site and make an enclosure [compound] around it, so that the way is closed to the coming and going of animals."

#### III.8. THE SITE IS ENCLOSED AND THE MOSQUE REBUILT

Bábá Musáfir entrusted the money to the hájjí, who constructed a mud enclosing wall. Some years later a young man called Mírzá 'Arab Beg attended and studied something. After a while he left and entered /the imperial/ service with a good appointment in the army of Prince Muhammad Kámbakhsh, and commanded a band. He submitted: "The mosque

is small, and it has unbaked walls and a roof of tiles. I would hope to make it somewhat broader and roof it /properly/; and I will make walls of baked brick."

Hazrat said: "So be it!"

So he enlarged the mosque to a length of fifteen yards [gaz] and a breadth of six yards, and he set up an enclosing wall of baked brick; and a follower laid out the chamber where Hazrat himself used to live.

### III.9. CONSTRUCTION OF THE STEP WELL

After this Sayyid . . . Mír Muhammad Táhir Harátí, a descendant of Khwája 'Abd Alláh Ansárí, who was a distinguished muríd and khádim [servitor] asked if he might make a well for the ablutions of the faqírs. After it was dug, water came out and he constructed a large bá'olí [step-well].

### III.10. ERECTION OF THE WATERWHEEL

After this Táhir Beg Táshkandí, who was a large trader whose brothers enjoyed high ranks [mansab] in the imperial service, submitted: "The faqírs are put to discomfort when they perform wazú. I wish to set up a Persian wheel [*mot-i ábí*], so that water comes out of the bá'olí into a tank [hawz]."

So he bought an ox and set up a waterwheel and laid out a tank in the takya.

### III.11. THE SUPPLY OF WATER FROM THE RESERVOIR

After this a eunuch of the emperor called Khwája Manzúr, who was a handsome and able young person nicknamed Mahbúb Bádsháh ["Beloved King"], came to the takya and was present in the congregation at the time of /the recitation of/ the khatm of the khwájas. As he was somewhat ill, he asked for /a recitation of/ fátiha for his restoration to health. After he grew well by God's grace, he brought a sum as offering [nadh] and suggested: "If it is commanded, I will submit a request to the emperor, and obtain his order for a channel of water from the /city/ reservoir [táláb]. It is my hope that one of Hazrat's faqírs may accompany me to remind me."

A darwísh called Hájjí Qurbán, one of the intimate darwíshes and a man of ability in all affairs, was despatched to accompany him. Khwája Manzúr submitted his reports of the matter and received an imperial

order, after which he wanted to construct the channel. But the trader Táhir Beg submitted that he had made the tank, and he hoped that he might also construct the channel. So he spent a sum of money and had the channel constructed; and the water came from the reservoir [táláb] to the tank [hawz].

III.12. "NOTICE OF THE ESPECIAL STATES OF  
BÁBÁ SHÁH MUSÁFIR"

Although an account of the condition of holy poverty, trust /in God/, submission, generosity and other praiseworthy acts and miraculous graces of Bábá Musáfir is beyond the capacity of description, a little out of much will be set down by the pen as information for sincere seekers.

In accordance with the saying of the Holy Prophet—"Be as a stranger in the world and as a traveller on a road, and count yourself one of those in their graves!"—years of /Bábá Musáfir's/ holy life were passed in such manner that he owned nothing other than a single shirt on his body, a mat beneath his feet and one ewer [for purification]; and he had sworn to God that he would never cook anything for himself nor ask for anything at his own inclination. Whatever came to him from the Unseen [az ghayb] he distributed among the poor and the needy, taking but a portion of it for himself. He never bought a garment [jáma] or a turban; and if /one of these/ arrived from somewhere, he would wear it as a loan for two or three days, and then pass it on to one of the needy. One of the numerous miracles of Bábá Musáfir was that when he took a shirt off from his body, it fitted whatever person he gave it to and never needed alteration.

III.13. THE SCHOOL FOR ORPHANS

A great number of orphans received nourishment from his universal generosity. Ákhond Mullá Khámosh was appointed to occupy himself for the sake of God with their education and unbringing, so that through Bábá Musáfir's generosity several thousand orphans reached the stage of perfection [completed their education] and produced writings [were literate].

III.14. PROVISION FOR WIDOWS AND OTHER  
HELPLESS WOMEN

Many widows and weak ones [women] had daily fixed allowances from Bábá Musáfir, and at his orders the faqirs brought water to the houses of

all of them. More than 300 rupees a month was allotted to them. Bábá Musáfir /himself/ had nothing in any way fixed or assigned for his /own/ expenditure; and /so/ he went to the houses of the worldly [for contributions]. Provision for all these expenses came from the Unseen, and was duly spent.

In the rainy season he gave many of the widows matted roof coverings which he had bought. The faqírs, following his orders, carried the mats [chhapparha] on their backs. They brought them and put them on their houses, and coated their walls with clay.

### III.15. VISITS TO THE SICK, AND ATTENDING FUNERALS AND INVITATIONS

He also went to the houses of the poor to inquire after the sick; and he used to go to funerals and to feasts. One day during the days of fasting Mughal Khán, who was súbádár of Awrangabad, came to attend on Bábá Musáfir and submitted: "I went to send food for Hazrat and the faqírs."

Hazrat agreed, /but/ before Mughal Khán came, a gardener called Ikh-lás, who was a believer in Bábá Musáfir, had prepared a feast in his house, and /Bábá Musáfir/ had gone to his house. He was a poor man, whose home was but a hut roofed with thatch [khas]. Hazrat ate the barley bread and the spinach which had been cooked in the house of the gardener. He told the gardener to share out among the faqírs and others who were present in the gathering the food that Mughal Khán had sent. This was with his servants there and was abundant and elaborate. Bábá Musáfir did not eat of it himself.



## Bábá Palangposh Joins the Army of Nawwáb Ghází al-Dín Khán in the Deccan

### IV.1 "NOTICE OF THE COMING OF BÁBÁ PALANGPOSH FROM HASAN ABDÁL TO AWRANGABAD CLOSE TO BÁBÁ MUSÁFIR AND OF HIS GOING TO THE ARMY OF MIR SHIHÁB AL-DÍN"

*/Bábá Musáfír/* lived in this manner, trusting in God with hope, belief and worship. Suddenly the news reached */him/* that Bábá Palangposh was coming, and was not far away. Bábá Musáfír said: "It is a long way from Hasan Abdal to Awrangabad, and no news of his journey has come up till now. I am astonished to hear that he is near!"

Bábá Palangposh arrived after some days, and he stayed in the bungalow beside the stream. He was ill with gripes [pechash]. Of the faqírs who were with him, some had remained behind at Shahjahanabad, some in Sironj, a number in Ujjayn and Burhanpur, and Sháh Názir and Bábá Manzúr in Fardapur. In this manner they had stopped behind on account of illnesses, while some had arrived with Bábá Palangposh.

*/Bábá Musáfír related/*: One two or three hours had passed after his arrival here when he said: "Make the preparations for a journey, for tomorrow we will travel onwards!"

I submitted: "The enemies of Hazrat [polite circumlocution] have the illness of gripes, and the faqírs have been left behind at various places; and the rains are falling very heavily. You should stay here for a while. After the rains have finished, proceed in whatever direction your mind inclines!"

### IV.2 BÁBÁ PALANGPOSH TELLS OF HIS MISSION IN THE DECCAN

He said: "As you are pressing me to stay, listen! One dawn in Hasan Abdal I had a vision. The holy gathering of the leader of the Prophets

[Muhammad] . . . appeared. Before this on a number of occasions I had beheld that Hazrat Abú Bakr . . . and Hazrat 'Umar . . . were on the right side of the Holy Prophet, and Hazrat 'Uthmán . . . and Hazrat 'Alí . . . on his left. This time I beheld all four of them on the left hand of the Prophet, and on his right side there was standing a man of medium height, of mature age [du múya], with a naked sword in his hand."

I wished to kiss the feet of the Prophet, but he made a sign with his right hand and said in Arabic: "First pay your respects [ziyárat kuníd] to Sayyid Hamza!"

I /then/ knew that he was Sayyid Hamza. I performed the kissing of his feet, and he cried out:

"Muhammad Sa'íd!"

"I am here!" I cried.

"Take this sword," he said, "and go to the army of Mír Shiháb al-Dín in the land of the Deccan!"

He gave the sword into my hand, and following his command I set out for the Deccan. I do not know in what direction the land of the Deccan lies, nor who is Mír Shiháb al-Dín!

Bábá Musáfir related: When Bábá Palangposh had narrated his vision, I put in order the necessities of the journey, and on the morrow he left. After passing /some/ stages, he chanced to stop at a mosque which was beside the camp of Mír Shiháb al-Dín. He asked whose camp it was, and people told him—that it was the camp of Mír Shiháb al-Dín, son of 'Ábid Khán, the sadr al-sudúr [chief religious administrator] of the emperor 'Álamgír [Aurangzeb].

#### IV.3. THE DREAM OF MÍR SHIHÁB AL-DÍN

Mír Shiháb al-dín at that time had the rank [mansab] of /commander of / 400. With a contingent of imperial troops and a body of companions of his father he had been appointed by the emperor to reduce one of the fortresses of the Deccan. He was worried about the length of this operation, which was as yet uncompleted. That night he saw in a dream that a man with the form of Bábá Palangposh appeared and said: "Why are you worried?"

/Mír Shiháb al-Dín/ told him of the state of affairs, and Bábá Palangposh took his hand in his own and brought him with him some steps in the direction of the fortress: and he said: "This is the road to the gate of the fortress."

In the morning Mír Shiháb al-Dín awoke and asked his companions: "Has anyone seen a darwísh like this?"

IV.4. BÁBÁ PALANGPOSH MEETS  
MÍR SHIHÁB AL-DÍN

One of his companions, who was called 'Abduh Chihra-Áqásí, revealed that a holy man with this appearance had on the previous day come into the mosque behind the camp. The mír rose and went to attend on Bábá Palangposh. He approached him politely and saw with his own eyes the beautiful form of the shaykh which he had beheld in his dream.

He took Bábá Palangposh to his encampment [dera], and the following day the fortress was conquered. Immediately after the victory /Mír Shihab al-Dín/ was honoured by the emperor with an increase in his mansab and with the title of Shiháb al-Dín Khán.

IV.5. THE RISE OF MÍR SHIHÁB AL-DÍN,  
NAWWÁB GHÁZÍ AL-DÍN KHÁN BAHÁDUR,  
FÉROZ JANG

From the arrival of Bábá Palangposh the star of /Mír Shiháb al-Dín's/ felicity was brought to the apex of fortune. In whatsoever direction he turned to confront the armies of the enemy, with /but/ a small body of men he was victorious over them; and he was also constantly fortunate in his increases of rank [mansab], until after the passage of time he reached the limit of 7000, which is the highest rank of amírs; and he was distinguished with the title of Ghází al-Dín Bahádur Feroz Jang; and he was placed above other high amírs, of whom 22 had the right of nawbat [ceremonial music].

IV.6. BABA PALANGPOSH IN THE WARS OF  
GHÁZÍ AL-DÍN KHÁN

With 40,000 men under his command /Ghází al-Dín Khán/ was appointed to pursue the enemy separately with his own forces and attack them wherever they spread out. /When his forces/ went to war, they saw that Hazrat Bábá Palangposh always went forward in front of the army of Islám and would loose arrows upon the army of unbelievers. When /Ghází al-Din's men/ saw his blessed beauty, even though their numbers were small, they would launch themselves courageously upon the foe and gain the victory.

As they returned homewards, one would say, "Hazrat was with our band!" And another would say, "He was along with us!" And a third, "He had turned to help us!" When the men of the army of Islám had returned after the victory, they would come and ask: "Who was it that Hazrat was with in this fight?"

And he would say: "I was with all of you!"

#### IV.7. AN ANECDOTE OF KHWÁJA BAHÁ' AL-DÍN NAQSHBAND

The truth of this narrative is supported by the story of . . . Hazrat Bahá' al-Dín Naqshband "Mushkil Kushá" ["Remover of Difficulties"] . . . Once during the days of fasting [Ramazán], /various/ inhabitants of Bukhara had given seventy invitations [to a meal after sundown] to Khwája Naqshband. Hazrat was present at the same time at each of these places, and people saw him with their own eyes.

#### IV.8. AN ANECDOTE OF AMÍR KULÁL

Hazrat Amír Kulál had never gone anywhere away from Bukhara, nor had he in an outward manner gone to Mecca; but every year he was present in that blessed place, where he had a khánqáh, and a large number of the people, great and small, had become his followers. In the year when he died the people there did not find him among the pilgrims, and in their desire /to see him/ they came to Bukhara. When they heard the news of his death, they wept and lamented. People asked them how they knew him, and they replied: "Hazrat used to be present with the caravan of the hajj every year in the Holy Places: and he had a khánqáh which still exists. We are his muríds and servants."

This story is included in the maqámát of that holy man.

## CHAPTER V

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# The Practice of Bábá Palangposh

### V.1. BÁBÁ PALANGPOSH VISITS THE BAZAAR

To return to the story, Hazrat Bábá was for a time with the army of Gházi al-Dín Bahádur Feroz Jang. A multitude of people, both faqírs and folk of the world heaped up stores of material and spiritual desire from the treasury of his universal grace. The considerable sums which came as offerings [nadh] were all spent on the poor and on faqírs, widows and orphans. Arab horses and suchlike, presented by amírs, he sent to the takya so that the darwíshes might be fed.

When he went to visit the chawk [bazaar] and came to the shop of the baker, he gave double the price for all the bread he saw and sent it to the takya. Likewise at the sellers of oil and fruit and other traders, he bought whatever there was for more than the price and put it to use. As regards every poor man or weak woman who brought goods to the bazaar and was seen by Hazrat, if they asked for a price of four annas, Hazrat would say to the servitor who was with him: "How cheap he [or she] is selling it! Give him four rupees!"

The servitor would object: "He says four annas, and that is dear enough!"

And Hazrat would say: "He says four rupees. Give it, for at that price it is very cheap!"

### V.2 THE ENTOURAGE OF BÁBÁ PALANGPOSH

A large crowd of widows and of the poor who longed for his universal bounty stood by the side of the road where Hazrat would come, exposing their goods before his gaze and receiving full profit. In every lane and

corner and road wherever he saw the poor and the lame, the uncared-for, the blind and the sick, he would tell the faqírs: "Take something to this sick man who is in this place, or to that cripple in that lane!"

Apart from this, many widows and poor people got one or two rupees daily. Normally two or three thousand rupees were spent in a week "for snacks and coffee" [baráyi nán-futúr qahwa]. A whole world of beggars and the rich, widows and weak women benefited from the pleasant and fancy food which was cooked; and always there was "the Feast of Bughrá," and "the Feast of Rashála," and "the Picture of the Mullá".

On the one side accomplished men of education and skilful poets conducted learned discussions or mushá'iras [poetic competitions], so that the noise of their disputation would reach his blessed ear. He would rise from his place and approach them smiling graciously, and inquire: "What are you discussing?" And they would submit their preoccupation, and Hazrat would promptly say two or three words which would pacify them all, and they would agree. On another side musicians brought the hearts of listeners to ecstasy with their singing and their playing of the long-necked lute [tambúr] and other instruments.

### V.3. THE ENTOURAGE OF BÁBÁ PALANGPOSH ON THE MARCH

At the time of striking camp, in the vanguard before the cavalcade there, were carried on the backs of porters seventy or eighty or up to nearly a hundred clay tubs of flowering trees. These porters received wages every day, even more than was due to them. Wherever Bábá Palangposh encamped, he found "the rose-garden of Iram" instantly laid out. Apart from those who visited out of piety, many people came to see the rose-garden; and all carried away enjoyable memories from the benefits of this favour.

Around 150 to 200 men, faqírs of Wilayat, wearing quivers, went beside his bridle. Another band, bareheaded and barefoot, who had nothing but a single loincloth on their bodies, acquired felicity by looking after the horses and camels and other tasks.

There was a particular faqír called Sháh Ni'mat who at the time of the cavalcade carried on his back a sunshade of peacock feathers, which was extremely heavy, and he went along beside that Sun of Noble Traits. /Even/ if the distance traversed was 20 or 25 karohs, he continued to perform his task with agility and dexterity. After /Bábá Palangposh/ dismounted Sháh Ni'mat was also continually present at such tasks as carrying of the waterpot, and like a madman he was never separated from the Radiant Presence for a moment.

These faqírs, as they were seekers of God and believers in Hazrat Palangposh, considered the hardships by night and day to be the best of comforts and heaped up the treasure of the last days. Bábá Palangposh, as his were a broad way and a generous nature, in accordance with the path of the qalandars and with peace towards the rest of mankind, bestowed the glance of his compassion upon all, whether stranger or acquaintance, king or beggar. If but a portion of this was set down in a detailed way, whole volumes were not sufficient to contain it.

V.4. BĀBĀ PALANGPOSH'S INTERVENTION  
IN THE AFFAIRS OF RÚM

Mír Ismá'íl, of the men of Tashkent, who was a disciple /of Bábá Palangposh/, said: One day Bábá Palangposh was sitting on a dais [kursí]. Mighty amírs and a group of people, noble and common, were present in the assembly, and the parterre [khiyábán] of flowers was blooming. Hazrat called for coffee. Sháh Khákí, who from the time of childhood had been brought up by Bábá Palangposh, held the post of coffee-cook and made excellent coffee; so much so that Nawwáb Ghází al-Dín Khán Bahádur used to ask for coffee from Bábá Palangposh and would drink it eagerly, and his own servants could not make it so well.

Sháh Khákí filled a cup and offered it to Bábá Palangposh. The moment he took the cup of coffee in his hand the colour of his face was altered and he went into meditation [muráqaba]. The cup of coffee was close to falling from his hand onto the ground. Those present were astonished and did not have the presumption to take the cup of coffee from his hand. Hájjí Bí Muhammad, who was an especial servitor and a khalífa, took it from his hand. After a while Hazrat came back to his senses. The people in the gathering asked the hájjí to inquire from Hazrat what had taken place. The hájjí did so, and he replied: "What concern is this of yours?"

The hájjí repeated the question and received the same answer. The third time, when the companions persisted and the hájjí asked emphatically, Bábá Palangposh said: "A man of my acquaintance, who has the rank of ghawth in the land of Rúm, has become the object of an accusation by the men of learning there, who have laid /this accusation/ before the Sultan and wish to kill him. He in his inner self asked for aid from me, and so I went there. By God's grace and the help of the Holy Prophet . . . I delivered him from the hands of the wrong-headed."

There were those present who wrote down the date and the month and the year, which they kept; and they asked everyone who came from the

land of Rúm. After two years a group came from that land and upon their being questioned they revealed that the ruler of those parts, led on by men of learning, had sought to kill a darwísh who dwelt there and had the rank of ghawth. A holy man had appeared from the Unseen, and had by persuasive counsel removed the suspicion that the ruler held with regard to that darwísh, who had attained deliverance from misfortune.

“Now that we have come here,” /they said/, “we behold that noble personage here!”

And they pointed out Bábá Palangposh. The day and the month and the year which had been written down were found to be in accordance with the information of this group.

V.5. SAYYID NIYÁZ KHÁN LEARNS  
TO GIVE AN OFFERING

The Refuge of Excellence Mullá ‘Abd al-Wahháb Bukhárí and Hájjí Qásim Balkhí Dawlatábádí recall: One day after the dawn prayer Bábá Palangposh rose from his place and, after the cry of “Hú!” had come from his tongue, he set out on the road. Before the faqírs could ask him, he went in haste to the house of Sayyid Niyáz Khán . . . , who was one of the descendants of the holy men of Samarqand and a relation of Ghází al-Dín Khán Feroz Jang. Sayyid Niyáz Khán welcomed him and called for coffee. /Baba Palangposh/ said:

“Son of a great family, give something as nadhr [offering] to darwíshes!”

He replied: “I have no nadhr.”

Again Bábá Palangposh said:

“Give something!”

Again he received the same reply. He /then/ said: “If you don’t give today, you will give tomorrow.”

After that Bábá Palangposh went back home. The night the khán saw in a dream that a large number of people had gathered and they were running after one another. He asked why they were running and they replied: “The ghawth has come to this land and people are going to visit him.”

The khán ran along with them, and he saw that a great audience-tent [saráparda] had been set up, and that many holy men, clad in green or in white or in patchwork cloaks, were seated within the tent. In the midst of them Bábá Palangposh had his place on a high dais. /Sayyid Niyáz Khán/ asked: “Who is the ghawth among them?”



They pointed out /Bábá Palangposh/, and the khán realized that he had the rank of ghawth. In his dream he resolved in his heart to give a nadhr of a good horse and 200 rupees.

In the morning Bábá Palangposh rose from his place. He gave a cry of "Hú!", as was his habit at the time of going out, and /then/ set out. Now there was a darwish /called/ Sháh Názir, who was one of the faqírs of Hájjí 'Abd al-Rahím . . . and had put on a cloak [khirqa] from the latter. Hájjí 'Abd al-Rahím had sent him to acquire perfection in the service of Bábá Palangposh, so that he ran beside the bridle of Hazrat for a while and performed other services. After severe austerities he acquired spiritual perfection and became a muríd of Hazrat, from whom he received a cloak [khirqa] of khiláfat, and thereafter was called Khalífa Sháh Názir. Sháh Názir asked where Hazrat was going, and he replied: "I am going to the house of Sayyid Niyáz Khán."

Sháh Názir submitted: "After the manner in which the khán came forward [i.e. received you] yesterday, you are visiting him again?"

"I am going myself today," he replied.

When he reached his house, the khán was engaged in teaching. When he saw Hazrat, he put off the lesson; and after welcoming him he sat down and called for coffee. Since men of learning ['ulamá'] have not much belief in faqírs, he considered the vision of the night like other dreams and showed negligence and sat silent. Hazrat said: "Son of a great family, you don't bring the present which you offered last night!"

The khán rose and fell at his blessed feet asking forgiveness. He offered a nadhr of a piebald dark bay horse with double stirrups [?], 200 rupees and several bolts of cloth.

For the rest of his life Sayyid Niyáz Khán remained a devoted believer in Bábá Palangposh and continually performed services. He came out and bestowed a splendid robe [khil'at] on the sweeper /of the takya/. The author also saw the horse, which was in Bábá Palangposh's use and was given by him to Mír Ajall.

#### V 6. A TRADER IN CLOTH FROM BENGAL

Mír Ismá'il Tashkandí also related: Once Hazrat went to the bazaar and I was beside his stirrup. He passed by the shop of a trader who had brought a large stock of cloth and other goods from Bengal. This man had been for a while in the camp of the emperor and no one had bought his goods. He had come back to the camp of Gházi al-Dín Khán, and here

also his goods had not sold, till he was content to accept half price, /saying/: "If anyone will buy, I will give them!"

Bábá Palangposh said to the trader: "Madman, give something as nadhr to darwishes!"

/The trader/ submitted: "I am a merchant, and it is some time that I have been away from my family and children. I have been wandering, distressed and disappointed, for nearly two years."

/Bábá Palangposh/ said: "You have the choice. If you give a present [nadhr] to darwishes, your work will reach a conclusion. If not, so be it!"

He said this, and turned away from the shop. The trader by God's aid took some bolts of cloth in his hand and ran up behind him till he reached him, and offered the bolts. Bábá Palangposh accepted them and, in his usual way when he accepted nadhr, he said: "In the name of God! God is great!" And he brought his hand down over his beard; and then he went home.

The following day the trader brought as nadhr much cloth, many bolts of it, oil, abundant rice and a sum of money; and he said: "Yesterday, thanks to Hazrat's auspicious visit, traders came from places and bought all my stock at double the price; and by the comprehensive benevolence of Hazrat I obtained a greater profit than expected. I intend to return to my homeland."

Hazrat accepted the offering; and after reciting fátiha pronounced the blessed name "God is great!" And he gave him leave to depart.

#### V.7. THE FALCONER'S GLOVE

A man called Subhán-Qulí Beg revealed: There was a poor Mughal who had come to the camp of Khán Feroz Jang [Ghází al-Dín Khán]. He had brought some toothbrushes [miswák] and falconer's gloves and horse-whips to sell. No buyer appeared, and he was left distressed, until finally he sold me four whips for one rupee and two falconer's gloves for another rupee.

I took all of these to the bazaar to sell, when suddenly Bábá Palangposh appeared. He had a Qurayshí /cap/ on his head, and was followed by a personable and handsome young man who had a hawk [shikara] on his hand. It occurred to me that other than these goods, which I had bought with the hope of profit, I had nothing with me [dar bisát, "in my bundle"]. Hazrat would see them and would want to take them away from me; from where was I going to get their price? Bábá Palangposh came nearer and said: "You madman, are you selling a falconer's glove?"

Out of shame in his presence I could not deny it. I gave the falconer's glove into his hand, and he took it and bestowed it on the young man who had the hawk, saying: "Put this glove on your hand!"

The glove fitted his hand very neatly and well. Then /Bábá Palangposh/ said to me: "From where did you buy this glove?"

"I bought it from a Mughal fellow," I said.

After this I was worried where I would get its price. At this moment a poor wretch came up and passed by. He was wearing an old garment in tatters. Bábá Palangposh's gaze fell on him and he cried out: "You madman, where are you going? Bring my present [nadhr] which you have vowed!"

The old man put his hand under his arm and untied a knot of old cloth to bring out a rupee, which he offered as nadhr; and Hazrat bestowed it on me. I was ashamed of my thoughts, and Hazrat looked at me and said: "You doubter, where are you from?"

"From Bukhara," I said.

"That is the reason why you are a doubter!" he said.

After this I asked that poor man: "You appear to be in the depths of poverty. You don't have clothes that are all right. From where did you bring the rupee?"

"A difficulty had confronted me," he revealed, "and I made a vow that if the difficulty was solved I would bring a rupee as nadhr to Hazrat Bábá Palangposh. After the difficulty was solved, I put aside one rupee; and for some time I had been looking for Hazrat. Just now when I saw Hazrat the matter was obliterated from my mind. Hazrat demanded that nadhr and took it."

#### V 8 "ANOTHER /STORY/": MONEY IN A HANDKERCHIEF

A man called Mir 'Abd al-Qádir said: Once I was distressed and without money, and I had borrowed two rupees from somewhere. With one rupee I bought necessities [? tangchahá], and I kept the other rupee with me as I went along. Suddenly on the road I met Hazrat Bábá Palangposh, and he said: "You madman, bring the rupee that you have!"

In my heart I was perturbed, because with much effort I had borrowed that rupee and Hazrat wanted me to give that rupee as nadhr. Hazrat said: "In the name of God! God is great! If you give one, you will be given ten."

After I left him I was going along the road past the mansion [deorhi] of Nawwáb Feroz Jang. Ziyá' Beg, the dárogha of the haft-chawki [guard

post] of Nawwáb Feroz Jang, was seated there. He summoned me and I went and sat down beside him.

Ziyá' Beg /then/ went to the nawwáb, and I saw that a handkerchief had fallen down in front of him and something was tied in the knot of it. After three hours had passed Ziyá' Beg came out from inside /the mansion/ and asked me: "What is this [i.e. Why are you still here]?"

"A cloth had fallen," I said.

"Bring it out!" he said, and I did so. When I opened the knot, ten rupees and six coppers [fulús] came out.

"Take them," said Ziyá' Beg, "for you appear to be very broke. God has given them to you from the Unseen!"

#### V.9. "ANOTHER /STORY/": THE GIFT OF A LEG OF A HORSE

Mír 'Abd al-Qádir also related: There was a young man called Lutf Alláh Beg, who had a horse. It had been sick almost to death; and in his heart he had made a vow that, if the horse got better, he would give one leg of its four legs as nadhr to Hazrat. The horse got well, but Lutf Alláh Beg, who was a reckless young man, neglected /his vow/. One day he was going somewhere and I was with him. We met Hazrat on the road, who said: "You madman, you have made a nadhr of a leg of a horse!"

Lutf Alláh Beg was amazed and said: "I am bringing it."

He brought 150 rupees, which was the price of one leg, and presented it to Hazrat.

#### V.10. THE MURDER OF A DARWÍSH BY A BOY

Wásil Beg Qandín was a good-looking youth in Mughalpura. A faqír named Sháh 'Abd Alláh, one of the faqírs of Bábá Palangposh, who took a fancy to him, constantly passed by the lane /where he lived/, crying out "Haqq Alláh! Ján Alláh!" The boys of the same age used to say in mockery: "Your lover has come!"

These words weighed heavily on the mind of the boy. One day that Majnún [crazed lover, i.e. the faqír] was standing at the door of his sweetheart with his back to the wall, waiting for a glimpse. About half the day passed thus, and when the youth came out of the house the children cried: "Look! The man who is crazy about you is standing there!"

The youth grew angry and said harsh words to him, but the darwísh gave no reply. The boy, out of an excess of rage, stabbed him in the belly

with a dagger; and the darwísh surrendered his soul to God, attaining the rank of martyrdom.

Out of fear the boy and his uncles fled and hid themselves. The hákim of the town set his own men as a guard [chawki] over the house. /Now/ Hazrat Bábá Palangposh had gone on a visit [ziyárat] to the radiant tomb of Sháh Burhán al-Dín Awliyá . . . and a faqír was present who went to attend on Hazrat and inform him of the matter. Hazrat came /back/ to the town, and at the head of that martyr of love pronounced: "Do not be a lover, Friends! They are slain, Friends!"

A great number of the Mughal faqírs were resolved upon legal retaliation [qisas] for the killing and pressed hard /for this/. Hazrat forbade all of them. He removed the police guard from the house and summoned the boy and his uncles. With the greatest kindness Hazrat placed his hand on the head of the boy and consoled him, and he also calmed his uncles. Then he ordered that the bier of the martyr should be brought to its final resting-place, and he himself accompanied the bier. A large crowd of faqírs, men of education, poets and others formed a circle around the bier and went along chanting "The Picture of the Mullá"; and in their presence Hazrat recited this quatrain:

The world from your beauty is made fair, fair,  
And from your absence is murderous, murderous.  
We do not take the blood-money for our murder from anyone;  
The blood of all lovers is a flowing stream, stream.

All those who accompanied the bier wept copiously like a cloud, and the blessed eyes of Hazrat were also filled with tears. The boy and his uncles went on in the front, wailing and heaping dust on their heads; and upon every road along which the bier passed there was not a man who did not weep. In this manner the bier of one who had put his life in jeopardy from the sword of love was brought to the graveyard and buried.

After the interment /Bábá Palangposh/ bestowed on the boy an elaborate robe of honour, and bestowed other robes on the uncles, and gave them leave to depart. He commanded the boy to go on Friday eves to the tomb of that disconsolate lover and recite fátiha. The boy went every night of Friday to his resting-place, and would recite fátiha and weep.

The occurrence of this event became a cause of increase in the sincerity of the devotion of /Bábá Palangposh's/ followers.

#### V II THE GREAT LAMP

At night in the assemblies of Hazrat Bábá Palangposh it was the custom

to light a great lamp of copper, which was filled with about two seers [áthár] of oil with twenty or thirty wicks burning. One of those nights a writing came to Hazrat. To study it he ordered Sháh Qalandar the martyr, who was present, to bring the lamp.

The lampstand was brimful of hot oil. He took up the handle [dasta] in his hand and brought it. While he was carrying it, some of the burning oil fell on his hand; and from the burn an exclamation of shock [sadá-i churchur] reached the ears of all those in the assembly. They thought that his hand had been burnt, but he with complete firmness did not put the lamp down from his hand. After /Hazrat/ had examined the document, he put down the lamp in the place from which he had brought it.

When his hand was examined, there was no trace of a burn upon it.

#### V.12. ANOTHER TALE OF A LAMP

The martyred sháh [Sháh Qalandar] used to relate: One night the lamp was lit in Hazrat's chamber. He was sitting outside the chamber and I came out from it. He said: "Put out the light!"

I blew it out and turned my back and intended to come out. Someone from the Unseen [az ghayb] placed his hands on either side of my temples and turned my head round in the direction of the lamp. I saw that the lamp which I had put out was alight and burning.

#### V.13. THE MARRIAGE OF THE FUTURE NAWWAB NIZAM AL-MULK

Mír Qamar al-Dín, the son of Khán Feroz Jang, had an assembly for his marriage arranged by his father when he was seven years old. When the guests had gathered, the father ordered the boy to bring an ewer [áftába] and basin [dast-shú'í]. The boy washed the hands of Bábá Palangposh and of one or two others who were sitting near him. After this the servants washed the hands of other people in the assembly. After the food was finished, the khán asked /Bábá Palangposh/: "From the kindness of Hazrat it is my hope that he will form a circle of dhikr [recitation] and will make a prayer [du'a] on behalf of the boy."

The faqírs, following Hazrat's orders, formed a circle and began to engage in dhikr. The khán, with a group of his brothers, among them Hámid Khán, Mahámid Khán, 'Abd al-Rahím Khán and Ri'áyat Khán, as well as other amírs who were in the assembly, entered the circle. Hazrat, as was his wont at the time of a circle of dhikr, cried out "Hú! Hú!" and revolved round the circle outside it.

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In the middle of the circle a great lamp had been lit as an emblem of the ascendant fortune of the boy, who had been made to sit close to the lamp. In the great amount of dhikr people breathed out too much, and the lights of the lamp were extinguished one by one. Khán Feroz Jang and everyone else in the assembly were distressed at the dying of the lamp, which was an omen of the fortune of the boy. Hazrat, in spite of the fact that he was outside the circle and the lamp /therefore/ farther away from him, immediately brought his hand up to his mouth and, crying "Hú!", drew out a breath towards the lamp. The lamp that had gone out burnt brighter than before.

After the circle of dhikr was over, Khán Feroz Jang fell at Bábá Palangposh's feet and also cast the boy before him. Hazrat placed the hand of kindness on the head of the boy and recited fátiha for his long life [takmíl-i 'umr] and fortune [dawlat]. All those present in the assembly said: "May it be blessed!"

It is from the effect of the barakat [blessing, power] of the "breaths" [anfás] of Hazrat/Bábá Palangposh/ that Mír Qamar al-Dín was honoured by the emperor [Awrangzeb] 'Álamgír with a high mansab and with the title of Qamar al-Dín Khán, and later with the title of Chín Qilich Khán Bahádur, and that he became chief among his high amírs; and today, in the reign of the emperor Muhammad Sháh, grandson of 'Álamgír, he has the title of Nizám al-Mulk Ásaf Jáh, and illumines the throne of government in ruling over the whole of the clime of the Deccan.

#### V.14. THREE FAQÍRS AT THE SIEGE OF JÚNDGARH

The martyred sháh [Sháh Qalandar] also related: Khán Feroz Jang, at the emperor's command, was engaged in a campaign to capture the fortress of Júndgarh, and the siege had drawn on for a while. The khán submitted to Bábá Palangposh: "It is some time that I have been active in hostilities besieging the fort. Because of the delay the emperor is writing to spur me on. I hope that there may be a 'turning of /your/ attention', so that victory in this affair may come swiftly."

Hazrat said: "Order your men to set up a qanát [screened enclosure] beneath the fort!"

It was set up and Hazrat ordered three of the faqírs to sit in the qanát and be occupied with prayer [du'á']. They said: "We don't rightly know how to perform ritual ablutions [tahárat]: what do we know of 'turning our attention' and making prayers?"

"What does that concern you?" he replied. "Go and sit /there/!"

All three faqirs went and sat /there/. One of them was a bhang-drinker, and the second took opium and the third was subject to a defect. After three days Khán Feroz Jang sent a message stating that, in spite of the faqirs being seated there, until then the matter had not reached a conclusion. Let Hazrat himself "turn his attention" to it. Bábá Palangposh told the messenger: "Go and see what the faqirs are doing!"

The messenger went there and came back to Bábá Palangposh and submitted: "One of them has gone to sleep with his breast towards heaven and his back on the ground. The second is also sleeping in his normal manner, while the third is sitting, lost to himself, smoking tobacco."

Hazrat said to him: "Convey the tidings to the nawwáb that the fort has been taken!"

The nawwáb was astonished when he heard this news. /Then/ his men brought news that the people of the fort had fled and the fort was empty. The nawwáb brought the fort into his own possession and rendered thanks to Bábá Palangposh.

#### V.15. NADHR WITHHELD AND CALAMITY BEFALLS

There was a young man called, 'Abd Alláh Beg, who had a very fine horse. He was riding somewhere when he passed by the tent [dera] of Bábá Palangposh. Hazrat said: "You madman, where are you going? You have a nadhr?"

"I have not," he said.

Again Bábá Palangposh said: "Give the nadhr!"

"I have not got one," he replied.

A third time Bábá Palangposh said: "Give the nadhr which you have!"

Again he received the same answer. He /then/ said: "You have the choice. It is for me to ask three times, no more."

The young man went on from there and said to his friends: "Hazrat takes nadhr from people by force."

When he had gone part of the way, his horse suddenly stumbled and fell to the ground, and its leg was broken. Weeping and wailing the young man came /to Bábá Palangposh/ and told him. He said: "The calamity has come upon you. I told you to give a nadhr. If you had given one, the calamity would have been averted. As you did not give /one/, what was to happen has happened. Now what remedy /is there/?"



V.16. AN INTRUSION  
INTO BÁBÁ PALANGPOSH'S TENT

Khalífa 'Abd al-Rahím, who was one of the especial khalífas of Bábá Sháh Musáfir, said: Once when I was in service [in the imperial army], I pitched my tent close to the tent of Hazrat Bábá Palangposh. One day around midday two or three young men /who were/ sceptics thought that they would at that moment go and see what Hazrat was doing. He lying inside his tent, and these /young men/ recklessly lifted the curtain /of the door/. The moment that they had lifted it they fell back in fear and trembling. Hazrat called out to them and summoned them close to him, and spoke some words in a mild and kind way. He said: "It is not good to test the band of darwishes, or to come before them impolitely."

After that he allowed them to depart.

Hazrat Khalífa ['Abd al-Rahím] added: I summoned these young men back to me and I asked them: "Why did you fall back so fast, and come out in fear and trembling?"

They said: "When we lifted the curtain, we saw that a great tiger lay asleep on the charpoy. He opened his eyes like /the eyes of/ a peacock's tail, full of blood, and he waved his tail, making an umbrella [chatr] of it. At this sight we grew afraid and retreated and fled. Then Hazrat summoned us; and we saw that on the charpoy there was no tiger, but Hazrat himself."

After this occurrence they showed themselves truly submissive in Hazrat's service.

V.17. A NADHR LEADS TO A LAND GRANT

Ri'ayát Khán, brother of Muhammad Amín Khán, said:

Once when I was in the army of Khán Feroz Jang I was in a very distressed state. I came to Bábá Palangposh and I complained of my distress. He said: "If you give me a nadhr you will obtain release."

I borrowed twelve rupees and offered them as nadhr. The following day the emperor 'Álamgír, without my asking, signed a document granting a granting a jágir of 12,000 rupees and despatched it. From the barakat [power, blessing] of Hazrat my affairs got into order.

V.18. A DARWISH IN A GRAVEYARD

One of the servitors of Bábá Palangposh said: While Hazrat was in Gulbarga, most Friday eves he went to visit the tomb of Sayyid Muhammad

Gesúdaráz. One night it had grown late and everyone had gone to sleep. Hazrat rose and woke me and set out. I followed Hazrat, who went from the habitations to the graveyard. Seated in the graveyard was a darwísh of radiant countenance. When he saw Hazrat, he rose to greet him and embraced him. Together they bent their heads in meditation [muráqaba]; and I sat in a corner.

After a long while they raised their heads from meditation. The darwísh said to Hazrat: "Will you eat something?"

"Yes," he replied.

The darwísh put on to the food-cloth [sufra] a jar filled with water which he had beside him and dry barley bread which was some weeks old. After wetting that dry bread with the water they ate it together. They gave me a piece of the bread, and I put some of it into my mouth, but it was so dry and hard that, however much I chewed, I could not get it down my throat. So I put it under my arm.

After they had eaten the two holy men were in meditation until the end of the night. When it was morning, they said farewell to one another, and Hazrat turned to go back home. He said to me: "Ask something from this darwísh!"

Because I was young, I considered that darwísh had nothing on his cloth other than dry barley-bread. What was he going to give me? When Hazrat came close to home, he asked me: "Did you ask for something from the darwísh?"

"No," I said.

"You unlucky one!" he said. "He bestows whatever you ask from him."

It then occurred to me to go back immediately and ask for something. That morning I went there, but however much I searched, I did not find him. I then realized that he was one of the Men of the Unseen [rijál al-ghayb] who had come to sit with Hazrat.

#### V.19 A HORSE GIVEN TO A SELLER OF FRUIT

A large number of the servitors of Bábá Palangposh recalled: In the days when Hazrat was in Kabul, one of the faqírs took out a grand horse, which was worth a thousand rupees, to water it. At a fruitseller's shop in the bazaar he saw that there were some very good grapes. His heart longed to eat grapes and, as he had no money, he left the horse with the gardener [bághbán: market-gardener-fruitseller], and he took five seers [áthár] of grapes from him. He then went into a corner and fell asleep.

When the servitors of Bábá Palangposh did not see the horse, they made inquiries; and it became clear that this faqír had taken the horse off to water it. When they asked him, he replied: "The horse is tied up at the shop of such-and-such a fruitseller."

When they went to the gardener [fruitseller, cf. above] and asked, he replied that such-and-such a faqír had left it with him as a pledge in exchange for five seers of grapes. The servitors went to Bábá Palangposh and informed him of what had happened. Hazrat, when he heard of the matter, was much pleased. He summoned the faqír, exclaiming: "How kind! Well done!"

And he gave the horse to the gardener.

#### V. 20. A GRANDMOTHER'S HOSPITALITY

The grandmother of Khwája Ibráhím, who was a grandson of the late Jamíl Beg Khán, said: Hazrat Bábá Palangposh used to honour my home with a visit every two or three days. Once four or five days had passed, and I said: "It is a while since Hazrat Bábá has called."

Immediately at that moment Hazrat appeared, and he said: "You recalled me, so here I am! Give the nadhr which you have!"

Whatever I had I offered as nadhr.

#### V. 21. NADHR IS NOT OFFERED FOR NOTHING

An Afghan called Pír Muhammad, whose father was a sincere servitor [khádim], said: One of the servitors of Hazrat came to wait upon him.

Hazrat said: "Give the present [nadhr]!"

"I haven't got one."

Again he said: "Give something!"

"I haven't anything," he replied.

When he refused for the third time, Hazrat thrust his hand into the man's pocket, and the man said: "I have kept a small sum for a necessary expense."

Hazrat brought that small sum of money out of the pocket and held on to it. Hazrat Íshán, that is to say Bábá Musáfír, submitted: "Hazrat, this man says he has kept /this/ small sum for a necessary purpose. It is not proper to take it."

Bábá Palangposh said: "If you don't think so, I won't take it."

So he gave it back. When the man went back home he was struck by

a very severe fever, and he was close to death; indeed he was in his death-agony and his relations wept and lamented. In that delirium the man saw in a dream that a mighty calamity confronted him and sought to destroy him. Hazrat Bábá Palangposh appeared /in the dream/ and said: "I had taken a nadhr from him, but granted it back to him."

Immediately when Hazrat said this the calamity passed from his head, and he made a complete recovery.

Pír Muhammad /further/ relates: I was present the following day attending on Hazrat, when the man came to him. Weeping and wailing he fell at Hazrat's feet, and properly thanked him. He gave back what Hazrat had originally taken from his pocket, and offered double that amount as nadhr.

Hazrat, turning towards him, said: "I do not take nadhr from anyone for nothing. If I had taken the nadhr at that time, the calamity would never have confronted him."

#### V.22. MAKING A MAN GOD

Pír Muhammad also related: One day in the takya of Sháh 'Ináyat /Bábá Palangposh/ was in a state of spiritual joy and enthusiasm. He was standing beneath a neem tree [*Butea frondosa*]. A man who was one of the sincere devotees came to him, and /Bábá Palangposh/ said: "Come forward, so that I may make you God!"

Hazrat Íshán [Bábá Musáfir] was present and asked: "Can God's creation ever become God?"

"Yes, it can," Bábá Palangposh replied.

It appears to the feeble intellect of this least one [i.e. the compiler] that the Men of God are manifestation of the works and secrets of God—may He be exalted!—and that the meaning of "to become God" is that diverse attributes of the Divinity are made manifest in the words and deeds of His friends; and it is possible for them to release someone else from his selfhood by their spiritual attention.

#### V.23. SAVED FROM DROWNING

Mullá 'Abd al-Wahháb related: Hazrat [Bábá Palangposh] was in the settlement of Chamarkonda, at the takya of . . . the sayyid . . . Mír Sharíf Samarqandí. Khán Feroz Jang had despatched an army to chastise the raiders [i.e. the Marathas] and I was among those sent. I sought leave from Hazrat to go, and he said: "Stay! Why are you going?"

I again asked leave to depart, and I received the same answer. At the third request he made the same pronouncement. After that I submitted: "The disturbance of the raiders is great, and my companions have already set out. If it is your command, I shall go to join them."

"I forbid you," he said, "/but/ you are going. May God be your keeper and may it turn out well!"

After taking leave I set out. On the bank of the river Bírma [= Bhíma] I embarked on a boat. Water came into the boat, which nearly sank. There were other people on the boat, who threw themselves into the river. I also did so, and I struck out with my arms and legs [swimming]. There was a strong current which drew me along and brought me to a whirlpool. The whirlpool drew me /down/ once and flung me out. Then it drew me under a second time and again flung me out. The third time /it drew me under/ I had lost my strength and was about to perish; /but/ it passed through my mind that it was for this reason that Hazrat had forbidden me /to leave/. Therefore I had fallen into this predicament. I brought to my mind the thought of the beauty [jámál] of my pír; and by the grace of God and by the spiritual "attention" of my pír the whirlpool threw me out again close to the bank.

I saw that Khwája Muhammad Ayyúb, grandson of the late Jamíl Beg Khán, had reached the bank after great exertions. I called out to him to grasp my hand, /but/ he was preoccupied with his state and did not come at my cry for help. By the assistance of /Bábá Palangposh/ the turbulence of the river had become the means of my preservation. Of the people in the boat some were drowned and a number reached safety.

V.24. GHĀZĪ AL-DĪN KHĀN REFUSES TO OFFER  
NADHR AND IS DEFEATED

A great number of sincere devotees related: Once a band of the enemy had carried off the state elephants [filán-i sarkár] of the emperor 'Álamgír. From the imperial presence Khán Feroz Jang was despatched to chastise them. He told /Bábá Palangposh/ about it, who said: "May it be blessed!"

On the following day he came to take leave of Bábá Palangposh, who said: "Last night I saw in a dream that the Hand of the Unseen [dast-i ghayb] is aiding the enemy. Give a nadhr for God's sake, so that the calamity may be lifted!"

Khán Feroz Jang replied: "I also am from the family of Hazrat Shaykh Shiháb al-Din Suhrawardí. The opponents are a band of unbelievers. The help of the Spirits of the Great will certainly be on my side, /and/ I shall return victorious."

Hazrat said: "Yet you do not bear in mind what happened to the pure imáms . . . , who were parts of the heart of the Prophet of God, and in spite of this such a fate befell them! Giving something in the Path of God averts calamity."

A curtain of negligence had fallen before the vision of the far-seeing intellect of the khán. Hazrat said: "We have told what was to your advantage. Now it is in your hands."

/The khán/ took his leave from Hazrat and departed. Hazrat said to Ayman Beg and others of the sincere devotees: "Give nadhr for your own good!"

They offered nadhr according to their condition. He also told Khanjar Khán, who was a believer. The latter submitted: "Whenever I return, I will offer /it/."

After this Bábá Palangposh enjoined on all his devotees: "You must be very careful!"

The khán gave battle to the enemy. The rebels pressed hard from all sides and surrounded the army of the khán. Of the companions of Khán Feroz Jang around 10,000 Mughal horsemen attained martyrdom. Khanjar Khán and a great number of the others were wounded, and the army of the khán was routed. At that time the nawwáb [the khán] remembered the nadhr which Bábá Palangposh had demanded /and thought/: "If I had given it, this disaster would not have happened."

/Khán Feroz Jang/ came to /Bábá Palangposh/ and fell at his feet, and many times he asked for forgiveness; and Khanjar Khán offered nadhr for the preservation of his life. Ayman Beg and the others [who had given nadhr] returned safe and sound and offered their thanks. After this the khán /Feroz Jang/ heeded and observed whatever Bábá Palangposh said.

#### V.25. RELEASE FROM A MARATHA FORTRESS

Rahím Khán Bahádur, son of Ísh Muhammad Bí Nayman, whose father was the hákim of Samarqand, had gone on pilgrimage to Mecca with his father, accompanying 'Abd al-'Aziz Khán Bahádur, the sovereign of Turan. The father of Rahím Khán and the monarch died at that Holy Place, and Rahím Khán came from there to the land of Hindostan, where he was honoured by the emperor [Aurangzeb] 'Álamgír with a mansab [rank] and the title of khán. He revealed:

Once Khán Feroz Jang had despatched me to pursue the enemy [ghaním = the Marathas], I gave battle to them. The troops of the enemy were

numerous and our force was small. After much fighting they overpowered us. Most of my companions were killed or wounded, and I was taken prisoner. They imprisoned me with a collar and chains in a high and strong mountain fortress. For a while I endured afflictions. My hair and nails grew long, and I was more troubled by lice than can be told. I was close to death.

One day when I was in this state I thought: "Hazrat Bábá Palangposh was very kind to me and 'turned his attention' to my states. It is strange that although he is /still/ alive, this misfortune has befallen me. Alas that during this period I have not resorted to him!"

With this thought I turned my attention towards /him/. That very moment I had a vision [ghaybat]: Hazrat Bábá Palangposh was seated on a dais [kursí]. A great number of darwishes, amírs and others were standing attending on him; and Sháh Hudhud, one of his especial servitors, was standing in his presence. He made a sign to me to come before Hazrat. I looked, and Hazrat also signalled /to me/ to come.

When I rose, I saw that there was a dark and narrow lane intervening, and I could not pass over there. Hazrat said: "Come this way!"

Then I came to my senses and I wondered how, with these heavy chains, I would find release from the hands of the unbelievers. On the third day, by Hazrat's aid, they themselves opened the collar from my neck and the chains from my hands and feet. They released me and took me back to the camp [lashkar] of Khán Feroz Jang.

#### V 26. A HEALING DREAM

'Abd al-Rahím Khán related: Once I had a severe illness. Ya'qúb BÍ was also sick, who was a leading amír of the land of Turan. He had come to Hindostan and had been elevated to rank [mansab] and honours [marátib], and held an appointment under Khán Feroz Jang. I made a supplication to Hazrat for the restoration of my health. That night I saw in a dream that a holy man of venerable appearance [du múya] and radiant face was present somewhere, and Hazrat Bábá Palangposh was seated politely in his presence. Ya'qúb BÍ was also seated in a corner with many bamboo canes under his arm, and I too was holding a long bamboo cane in my hand. The holy man said to me: "Give me the bamboo!"

"I am holding just this one cane," I submitted, "and Ya'qúb BÍ has got lots of bamboos."

A second time he commanded me, and I made the same submission. The third time Bábá Palangposh looked towards me and made a sign to

give /him/ the bamboo. So I gave the bamboo into the hands of that holy man.

By the grace of Hazrat, when I awoke in the morning I was completely recovered, and Ya'qúb BÍ was dead.

V.27. THE BLINDNESS  
OF GHÁZÍ AL-DÍN KHÁN

Sháh Khádím, one of the especial muríds [disciples] of Hazrat Íshán [Bábá Musáfír] used to recall: In the time when Khán Feroz Jang was stricken with pain in his eyes and went blind, one day Bábá Palangposh visited his house to inquire how he was. I also was in attendance. Khán Feroz Jang sat politely at his service and made the request: "It is my hope that Hazrat will 'turn his attention' to the matter of my eyesight."

For a while /Bábá Palangposh/ lowered his head into the shirt of reflection. He pronounced: "If you give nadhr of two lakhs of rupees [Rs 2,00,000], your eyes will be cured."

He said this three times. Khán Feroz Jang heard these words and remained silent. Hazrat bent his head in meditation; and after a long while he rose from beside the khán.

Sháh Khádím added: I looked towards Hazrat. His blessed face had undergone a change. The hair of his eyebrows and beard stood rigid, and his blessed eyes were full of blood like /those of/ a peacock's feathers/. When he had gone some way along the road, he turned towards me and said: "Madman, how good it was that he did not agree to the nadhr!"

Upon the road he repeated these words three times. After he had come back to his own place, his state remained altered in the same way. Inside the courtyard of the house he paced around; and again he looked at me and said several times: "Madman! How good it was that he did not agree to the nadhr!"

/While he was/ in this state the khán sent one of his men to wait upon Hazrat, and submitted that two lakhs of rupees were there. Hazrat said: "The time has passed. 'Time is a sword that severs.' "

Sháh Khádím said: If Khán Feroz Jang had agreed to the nadhr at the beginning, his eyes would certainly have been cured; but, as this was not God's will, he delayed.

V.28. A SAYING OF  
KHWÁJA BAHÁ AL-DÍN NAQSHBAND

One day someone recited the following couplet in the presence of Khwája Bahá al-Dín Naqshband:



Verse:

When the blanket of a man's luck has been woven black,  
It cannot be made white by the felicity of the resolve of men.

Hazrat Khwája [Bahá' al-Dín], his zeal alerted, said: "It can be! It can be!"

V.29. AUTHORIAL VANITY CORRECTED

Mullá Ján Muhammad, one of the especial khalífas of Hazrat Bábá Palangposh, dwelt for a while in the settlement of Navsari close to the port of Surat. For several years he had spent abundant labour in the composition of two books. The thought was in his mind that he would offer the two books to Hazrat, who would devote especial attention towards him. When he placed the books before his blessed gaze, some faqírs happened to be bringing loads of scrubwood for the rose-walk. Hazrat said to the mullá: "Mullá! What have you been doing? Go and bring some scrubwood!"

The mullá left the books and went to bring the wood. Hazrat gave one book to the waterman and the other to the sweeper. The mullá observed this when he returned. As he had laboured hard in their composition, this upset him very much. He came into Hazrat's presence and stood there. Hazrat, turning to the companions, said: "The mullá has made two idols for himself! We broke those idols!"

Then he looked towards the servitors who were bringing scrubwood with bare hands and feet, and he said to the mullá: "That is work that they are doing!"

The mullá acknowledging his fault, put aside the pride which he had in his mind. Other friends gave money and bought back the books from the waterman and sweeper.

V.30. BÁBÁ PALANGPOSH VISITS  
THE TOMBS AT RAWZA AND IS RECEIVED  
BY BÁBÁ MUSÁFIR

Sháh Khádim and Sháh 'Arab and many others of those who were especially devoted used to relate: Once after he had lost his sight Khán Feroz Jang came from the fort of Bahadurgarh, known as Pirgaon, intending to visit the tomb of Hazrat Burhán al-awliyá' [Burhán al-Dín Gharib] . . . Hazrat Khwája 'Abd al-Walí Dehbídí, to whom many of the amírs were devoted, together with Hazrat Khwája Yádgár and . . . Hazrat Ákhond Mullá Zahir al-Dín, the tutor of Mir Qamar al-Dín, son of Khán Feroz

Jang, who now bears the titles of Nawwáb Ásaf Jáh and Nizám al-Mulk, and a group of men of letters and notables went out [from Awrangabad] to receive him.

Hazrat Bábá Palangposh was accompanying the camp [lashkar] of the khán. He too, after visiting the blessed resting-place of Hazrat Burhán al-Dín Awliyá', turned to visit the resting-place of Hazrat Sháh Zayn al-Haqq. He had reached the gateway of the tomb, when he met Sayyid Niyáz Khán who was coming out after visiting the tomb. /Bábá Palangposh/ asked him where he had gone, and he replied that he had gone to visit the tomb of Sháh Zayn al-Haqq. Out of kindness /Bábá Palangposh/ took his hand in his own blessed hand and said: "Come and I will teach you the manners [ádáb] of visiting holy graves or places [ziyárat]."

They came to that place: and he rubbed his blessed cheek upon the ground and swept that auspicious threshold with his noble beard, and he said to Sayyid Niyáz Khán: "Son of Sayyids, this is the way of visiting [ziyarat]."

After this he went to the encampment [dera] of Khán Feroz Jang. A group of amírs, men of learning and accomplishments, notables and others were present. Each rose to greet him, and Khán Feroz Jang /himself/ came forward to honour him. He set him down on his own dais and himself sat down politely. Afterwards Khán Feroz Jang brought up the names of all the people in the town with whom he was acquainted, and asked his men: "Has so-and-so come to see me?"

"Yes," they would reply.

He then inquired about Hazrat Íshán, that is to say Bábá Musáfir. The servants replied: "He has not come."

The khán turned to Hazrat Bábá Palangposh and asked: "Has Sháh Musáfir not come to see you either?"

"I am going to see him," he replied.

After /Bábá Palangposh/ had mounted his horse, he set out for the city [Aurangabad]. Hazrat Íshán [Bábá Musáfir] was in the takya, sitting beneath a mulberry tree and blossoms, and his waist was ungirt. The moment that he heard the tidings of that the True Preceptor [Bábá Palangposh], out of his senses from longing he rose from his place and ran out barefoot to receive him.

The servitors when they got the news went out on his trail and speedily caught up with Hazrat Íshán. Sháh Kúchak and Sháh 'Arab brought with them his turban, his saddlebags and his horse. Running all the way they caught up with him at the 'Ídgáh. Bábá Musáfir put on the turban and the tunic, and also put the shoes on his feet, mounted the horse and set forth.

During this time a strange thing occurred. When Bába Musáfir out of his great longing was hastening bareheaded and barefoot to receive Bába Palangposh, the latter had reached the head of the ghaut of Dawlata-bad. Knowing of this by "interior discovery" [kashf-i batin], /Bába Palangposh/ out of his great favour dismounted from his horse and went forward on foot. When Bába Musáfir put on his turban and tunic, that same moment Bába Palangposh also mounted his horse and turned aside the reins of his "attention".

When his cavalcade came into view, Bába Musáfir dismounted and went forward on foot. As he came close, Bába Palangposh also dismounted. Bába Musáfir cast his head upon the blessed feet /of Bába Palangposh/, and Bába Palangposh lifted his head up and took him in his arms. For a while they embraced one another, and from the overflowing of love tears fell from the eyes of both holy men and all their companions. The signs of the love of those two holy men so affected men's hearts that whosoever passed that way was amazed to behold that state; and tears flowed from men's eyes and they were lost to such an extent that the road was blocked by a great crowd.

After a long embrace both holy men sat down beneath a fig tree in the grave-enclosure of Sháh Qásim Barri, and they drank coffee. As Bába Palangposh wished to set out, he said: "Mount your horse!"

Sháh Musáfir submitted: "My hope is to go along beside the stirrup of felicity!"

"Mount!" said /Bába Palangposh/, and the other again made the same submission. The third time he gave the order emphatically, and they mounted and went back to the blessed takya. The tent of Bába Palangposh had been set up beneath two coral trees [dirakht-i pángra] which were in the courtyard of the mosque.

As long as he remained there /Bába Palangposh/ told /his/ faqirs not to tell stories nor give instruction, and to refrain from loud dhikr [recitation]. He also cautioned the children who accompanied him not to be naughty.

Once at midday Bába Palangposh was sitting bareheaded. Bába Musáfir, thinking that he was at his siesta, came out of his chamber and saw him seated in this manner, and immediately went back into his room. Bába Palangposh, to show honour to Bába Musáfir, put on his turban and sat down /again/.

To one of his devotees who asked him regarding the status of Bába Musáfir, Bába Palangposh replied: "Muhammad Musáfir is a murid who is higher than his pír."

## V.31. THE PARISH OF BĀBĀ PALANGPOSH

Hazrat Íshán [Bábá Musáfir] used to relate time and again:

Sometimes Bábá Palangposh used to grow awesome. He would sit upon his dais [kursí], and from among the men who had come and were sitting there after committing sins he would look towards someone who was guilty of such actions and say: "Friends think that I have no knowledge of their acts, whereas /in fact/, with regard to anyone who comes down from the pass [kotal] of Hindukush in this direction, I know who he was and what he did in Wilayat; and how he used to earn his living and what he is going to do in Hindostan [India]."

## V.32. BĀBĀ PALANGPOSH'S NIGHTLY VIGILS

The martyred sháh [Sháh Qalandar] used to say: It was the rule of Bábá Palangposh that after the late evening prayer he used to sit outside. After an hour, more or less, he would retire inside the curtain /of his tent/, and would appear to lie down. People thought that Hazrat was sleeping, but when everyone /else/ had fallen asleep, he would come out. After renewing his ablutions he would go inside the curtain again.

One night the thought occurred to me that Hazrat renewed his wazú every night after people had gone to sleep; had his blessed head been passing any time at rest? That night I did not go to sleep. When everyone was asleep and Hazrat in his usual way came out and went in /again/ after renewing his wazú, I lifted up a corner of the curtain and looked in. I saw that he was seated in front of the qibla [prayer-niche]. Through the whole night until the dawn I saw him seated in the same manner. Every night I thus beheld that Hazrat did not sleep at all; and although I was observing this secretly, Hazrat knew of it by "inner discovery" [kashf-i bātin], and one day he said to me: "One should not test the 'states' of holy men thus!"

## V.33. SAVED FROM TWO FIGHTING HORSES

There was a man called Khwāja 'Abd al-Rahmán, who said that a man told /him/: I was in the camp [lashkar] of Khán Feroz Jang, /when/ one day I came face to face with Hazrat Bábá Palangposh on the road. Hazrat came up to the me and said:

"You have something /for me/!"

"I have not," I said.

He put his hand to my waist, and in it he grasped a girdle [fúta] worth thirty rupees which I had at my waist.

“You liar!” he said. “Is this nothing then?”

And he pulled the girdle from my waist by force. I could say nothing, but /afterwards/ I was troubled in my heart because Hazrat was taking things from people by force. At that moment a war-horse, which had bridled and thrown its rider, rushed towards me and overpowered my horse. I fell between the two horses, which were kicking one another.

In this state I saw that Bábá Palangposh formed a ring around me, making a shield out of his two hands so that the kicks could not reach me. After this people came from the sides and drew the horses off me. I went to wait upon Hazrat and he said: “Madman, I do not take anything from anyone for nothing!”

And he showed me the palms of his hands, and I saw that they were bruised blue from the force of the kicks of the horses.

V.34. OBLIVIOUS OF  
TWELVE DAYS FASTING

A darwish called ‘Abd al-Ghaffár said that he had heard from Mullá ‘Abd al-Wahháb: One day Hazrat Bábá Palangposh said: “A pain contorts me and I do not know why.”

He reflected and after a while he said: “Today is the twelfth day since I /last/ ate anything. Perhaps these are the pains of hunger which have overcome me.”

He summoned his servitor, who was called Sháh Hudhud, and ordered: “Have you anything to eat?”

The latter submitted: “There is some uncooked rice. If it is ordered, I will make it ready.”

“You are free to do so,” he said.

Sháh Hudhud made it ready and brought it. Hazrat made a group of children sit down with him. He /himself/ ate two or three mouthfuls, and the rest was eaten by the children.

Sháh Hudhud said: I know that for twelve days Hazrat had not lifted a finger towards food. After violent hunger assailed /him/, he realized that he had not eaten.

Hájjí ‘Abd al-Wahháb remarked: Hazrat was so absorbed that he had no knowledge of whether he had eaten or not. After finding out he did not take more than two or three mouthfuls.

V.35. A DREAM OF A “MUST” CAMEL

Hájjí ‘Abd al-Ghaffár said that a Mughal boy used to relate about his

father that his father told him one night: "Every time that Hazrat Bábá Palangposh meets me, he wants a nadhr of five rupees or ten rupees. Even if he is a walí, why does he demand nadhr?"

He made this kind of complaint about Hazrat before me. Then he fell asleep, and he awoke after a while, saying, "Oh! Oh!"

I asked the reason for his sighing after he had woken up. He said: "I saw in a dream that a must camel had come up to me. It had opened its mouth and wished to bite off my head. At that moment Hazrat Bábá Palangposh appeared. He had a staff in his hand, and with this staff he drove the camel away from my head. In that dream I made a nadhr to Hazrat of ten rupees."

Hájji 'Abd al-Ghaffár added what the son of that Mughal had told him: The following morning Bábá Palangposh came to our house, and came inside, crying out "Hú!" He told my father: "Give my nadhr of ten rupees!"

My father offered him the ten rupees, and he then said: "Did you see the camel and the staff which I had in my hand?"

My father, acknowledging his fault, fell at his blessed feet.

\* \* \*

*(Conclusion of the Anecdotes of Bábá Palangposh)*

“The States of Hazrat Íshán,  
that is to say Bábá Musáfir—May God  
Sanctify His Secret!”

VII. IN THE SERVICE OF  
BÁBÁ PALANGPOSH

Hazrat Íshán [Bábá Musáfir] often used to say: In the service of my pír and preceptor I used not to be aware of /the difference of/ night from day and day from night, and I had no heed of sleep or food. I showed such zeal in every work that no one else's turn came; and in every task that Hazrat Bábá Palangposh ordered I was the first to come forward, hastening with all speed. In this haste my foot would catch in the corner of the blanket /which I wore/, and I used to trip and fall; and people would laugh. I would get up immediately and go hurrying on and perform the service.

The servitor [khádim] of the kitchen used to provide everyone with food. He would keep my portion aside; and, /once/ when I had finished my tasks around nine o'clock in the evening, I wanted to eat something. At that moment a beggar cried out, and Hazrat said: “Muhammad Musáfir, you will have eaten something: give your own portion to this mendicant!”

I gave my own share to him and stayed hungry myself. The same thing happened on the second day and on the third day till I had passed a whole week without eating; and I did not swerve by a hair's breadth from fulfilling my task. Hazrat was aware of this, but he trained me in this way. /Some of/ those people who were in his service smoked tobacco; indeed many of the faqirs were smokers of tobacco. I served them all and I filled up the tobacco /in the bowls of the pipes/ to the extent that from excessive kneading of tobacco the skin of the palms of my hands was rubbed off and the blood flowed. In spite of this I did not cease from this task. The hair on my head and my nails grew long. I did not have the leisure to cut my hair. Day and night, bareheaded and barefoot, I was present in /Bábá Palangposh's/ service. I had one old loonghee [lúng] on my waist for

decency's sake, which grew two fingers thick from the patches that were sewn on it. Many lice had come to live in it.

One day Hazrat was going out somewhere. All the faqírs went beside his stirrup, and I was left to watch over the camp [dera]. There was a man among the devotees called 'Abd Alláh Chihra-Áqásí, whose tent [khayma] always stood close to the tent of Hazrat. He saw my state, and brought out a pyjama [i.e. trousers] from his bundle, and said: "Wear this, and leave your loonghee in the sun for a while to get rid of the lice!"

I did not agree to this, but after much pressing I put on his garment and spread out the loonghee in the sun. Before this I could not sleep because of the lice, and I was unable to lie down /stretched out/ at full length because of the need to keep my privities covered. After I had taken off the loonghee, my mind was calmed with regard to the lice and to stretching out my legs. I put a stone beneath my head /for pillow/ and lay with my feet stretched out in the shadow of the tent [dera].

At that moment the cavalcade of Hazrat arrived, and I had not the time to get up. /So/ I lay there with my eyes closed. Hazrat gave a very sharp glance at me and passed by. When he had entered the tent I rose with all speed and came and stood at his service. He looked towards me with a poisonous smile and said: "Wearing this pyjama, and stretching one's legs at leisure and sleeping at ease in the shade—and keeping the desire to seek God again!"

#### VI.2. BĀBĀ MUSĀFĪR ON HOLY POVERTY

Often when Bábá Musáfír was holding converse with the companions he would say on the matter of poverty [faqr]: Faqr has three letters [i.e. *FQR*]. *F* indicates fáqa [fasting], *Q* qaná'at [contentment] and *R* riyázat [ascetic exercises]. The man who cultivates these three qualities within himself makes the noun faqr appropriate /when applied to himself/. The name of faqír [noun of agent from the same root] is correctly applied to the man who cultivates these three qualities within himself, for the Pride of the Prophets [Muhammad] . . . has said: "Al-faqr fakhrí [Poverty is my pride]!" In whose lot will it be?

He also used to say: A faqír has a throat [halqe] and a cloak [dalaqe]. Every time something passes /down/ his throat, his appetite is calm; and when once he dons a khirqa which has been strongly fashioned, his mind is concentrated so that no cause for distraction [tashwísh] remains. When a darwísh becomes without distraction, he becomes a walí.

Hazrat Íshán, that is to say Bábá Musáfír, addressing this least one



[i.e. the compiler] also said: Begging for one's own appetite is absolutely forbidden. All the authorities are in agreement that the darwísh should ask /for alms/ at a time when three or four days have passed in fasting and he may be impeded in his worship. Then he should rise up from his place and go around three doorways or seven doorways. If God causes him to receive something, he should return home. Equally he should return if he gets nothing, and sit for another three days, with the foot of patience curled back under /the hem of/ the tunic of contentment.

VI.3. BĀBĀ MUSĀFIR ON THE MAKING  
OF A FAQÍR

Hazrat Íshán, that is to say Sháh Musáfir, also used to say: Nowadays we faqírs have become many, /but/ in former times there were few who were faqírs. They did not make anyone a faqír, other than someone who was well endowed in the world, but whose heart felt loathing for the goods of the world; who, abandoning his attachments, turned to the service of a Perfect Guide [murshid-i kámíl]; whom that Guide did not at first accept, yet he would remain at the gate of the pír in sincere devotion for a time, and would endure many hardships. Then the pír, glancing towards him, would say: "Come along from time to time!"

He would consider these words from the tongue of the pír to be among the signs of his own good fortune, and would perform services. After a further interval the beauty of his attachment would be put to the test, and the pír would graciously command his employment as a sweeper. After he had performed this task, /the pír/ would assign him that of making ready the brickbats for istinjá' [cleansing after urination]. If in this service he also found him true, he would assign the task of cleaning the place of necessity [the latrine]. Considering these tasks to be his good fortune, /the disciple/ would perform them with heart and soul until by stages he would attain the felicity of service in the kitchen.

He would never go to the kitchen without wazú [ritual ablutions]. For tasting the salt in the food he would first come to his Guide and take permission; and the pír would say a grace [takbír], and then he would taste the salt from the pot. When the food was ready he would take permission from the pír and bring it out and spread the meal-cloth [sufrá].

In short the seeker would at no time be negligent, and would always dwell in cleanliness and ritual purity until out of his purity of heart the mouthful that he ate would be safe and free from defilement and the temptations of the Devil. As his exterior was groomed, so God would make his interior bright, for "the visible supplies an indication of the hidden."

/Bábá Musáfir/ also used to say: The way of faqírs of former times was that whenever they [the muríds] came to attend upon the pír, they did not do anything superfluous or out of place, nor did they speak loudly. If someone wanted fire or something /else/, he went to door to the cookhouse [matbakh] and struck the door-knocker [halqa-i dar]. The servitor would ask /what he wanted/, and he would say: "I want fire!" After the servitor had given permission he would enter and take the fire.

And he used to say: The muríd in the proximity of the pír is /like one/ dead. He acts as the pír commands, for it is said: "The muríd in the hands of the shaykh is as the corpse in the hands of the washer /of the dead/."

He also used to say: The servitor [khádim] brings the muríd to attend on the pír, and makes him stand /there/. The muríd should possess nothing but a single loonghee [lúng]. The khádim in accordance with the order of the pír, should make ready a winding-sheet [kafane] and place it before the pír, and the pír will recite fátiha. The khádim will /then/ clothe the muríd in the winding-sheet. Verily the muríd is dead [i.e. to the world]; and for this reason he is clothed in the winding-sheet of the dead. One who is dead never raises his head in hot temper or violence or conceit.

After the muríd puts on the winding-sheet the khádim brings a bowl of water and gives it to the muríd, who brings it to the pír. The pír takes a draught from it, after which the muríd carries the bowl round to all who are present in the assembly, and each of them drinks a little of the water. The khádim, with the pír's permission, seats the muríd in the shade, and gives him the water that remains in the cup to drink, in order that, by the blessing [barakat] of the leaving of his elders [buzurgán], God may grant the muríd an interior cleansing; for "the leavings of the faithful are a cure."

#### VI.4. THE AUSTERITIES OF BÁBÁ MUSÁFIR

If a detailed account of the severe austerities and blissful states of Hazrat Íshán were presented it would grow lengthy. Accordingly /but/ a little of this is related for the benefit of seekers.

Hazrat Íshán had sworn to God that he would not wish for anything out of his own inclination; and he never desired anything for himself. What came from the Unseen [az ghayb, i.e. unexpectedly] he ordered this servitor [the compiler] to distribute among the congregation of the faqírs, the deserving and others; and he himself remained hungry. From excess of hunger his blessed head would go round /and/ then he would say: "Is there anything to eat?"

The lowly faqír [the compiler] would bring a piece of dried bread

which was there and place it before him. Because of the hardness of the bread and the weakness of his teeth he was unable to chew it; and I would bring a cup of water and put it before him. Hazrat would sit on his two knees in the approved manner and eat the bread after moistening it with the water.

Several times I suggested to him, as did other devotees, that if a quarter seer [páo áthár] of rice was cooked for him, it would not matter. He looked towards me and said: "On the morrow of the Resurrection do you wish to put me to shame before God and the Prophet of God . . . because I gave bread to faqírs and the destitute, and myself ate rice? This borrowed life, which is but for two or three days, will pass away."

The author repented and was ashamed of his suggestion.

#### VI.5. BĀBĀ MUSĀFIR'S ENFORCEMENT OF RELIGIOUS LAW

Hazrat Íshán's fear of God and his austerities were beyond the strength of man. His enforcement of observances and prohibition of the forbidden were such that if a drunkard happened to pass beneath the walls of the takya and this became known to Hazrat, he would himself take a scourge in his hand and administer the legal chastisement, no matter who it was. Many of the wicked who were in Mughalpura stopped going along the road beside the takya. As the matter of Hazrat's enforcement of observance was widely known, not one of these wicked men was able to pass by the blessed takya.

#### VI.6. THE TOBACCO SMOKERS

Some of the faqírs also used to be smokers of tobacco, but they could not even mention the name of tobacco in his presence; but once they knew that Hazrat was in his chamber or had gone to renew his wazú, they would secretly draw some puffs and immediately hide away in a corner the vessels for smoking tobacco. If these happened to be spotted by him, he would break the chilám [bowl for burning tobacco] and the huqqa [water-filled base] upon their heads and after beating them would drive them from the takya. They would bring some of the great men [akábir, sc. of Awrangabad] to intercede, and would ask pardon for their faults.

#### VI.7. BĀBĀ MUSĀFIR'S PUBLIC PERFORMANCE OF PRAYER

He always offered prayers [namáz] in congregation. Many of the Afghans and Kashmiris and the like of these, who were in the neighbourhood

of the takya and never even knew the name of prayer, through the guidance of that Perfect Instructor came into the Path of God's worship and were present at all the five times of prayer, to the extent that /even/ their children used to perform the prayers.

Hazrat always used to come into the mosque before the time of prayer and would sit waiting for people.

#### VI.8. BĀBĀ MUSĀFIR'S DAILY REGIMEN

Bābā Musāfir passed most nights in wakefulness, and it was his fixed habit to come out of his room after midnight and go once or twice round the takya. He would come up to each person, pause for a moment and pass on: and no one was aware of his passage.

When the last watch of the night remained, he would sit in front of the qibla, sometimes in his room and sometimes in the mosque, when all the companions would seek grace /by joining him/. When the true dawn came, he would order the muezzin to say the call to prayer; and again he would sit before the qibla and would perform the prayer in congregation and /then/ return to his chamber. Companions like Mír Mahmūd—God's mercy upon him!—and Khalífa 'Abd al-Rahmán, Khwāja Muhammad Sa'id, Hájjí 'Abd al-Karím, Khalífa Hájjí, 'Áshúr, the martyred sháh [Sháh Qalandar], Hájjí 'Árif and Ákhond Mullá Mushfiqí, who nowadays is still alive in /the town/ called Fayzabad in Badakhshán, as well as other friends and companions were engaged in meditation [muráqaba] in the mosque until the time of morning prayer.

After the morning prayer Hazrat would go to the bungalow, taking the book of the *Mathnaví-i Ma'naví* in his hand. The companions were present at the exposition of the *Mathnaví*. Shaykh 'Abd Alláh, a student [tálib 'ilm] and poet from Balkh recited the *Mathnaví*, and the others listened. If a difficult /passage/ occurred, men of learning like Mawlaví Zahír al-Dín and Ákhond Mír 'Abd Alláh Badakhshí and others who were present discussed and argued it among themselves. If the difficulty remained unsolved, Bābā Musāfir would say two or three words which would satisfy everyone. The study of the *Mathnaví* went on till mid-morning. After that Bābā Musāfir would go to his chamber, and everyone else to their homes.

After two hours Bābā Musāfir renewed his wazú and would be engaged in his room in the study of tafsír and hadíth of the Prophet . . . until close to midday. When the time came for the siesta, which is prescribed, he rested for an hour or two. Then he got up and, after renewing his wazú, went to the mosque.

When the others had arrived, he said the prayer in congregation and then once more returned to his chamber, where he studied the books of the shaykhs, such as the *Tadhkirat al-awliyá'*, the *Nafahát [al-uns]* and the *Rashahát [‘ayn-i hayát]* and others, till close on mid-afternoon. After this Mír ‘Arab, or others before his time, would read aloud the book *Silsilat al-‘arifín*, or one of the other books which have been mentioned above, and Bábá Musáfir would expound its meaning. The companions who were engaged in interior recitation [shughl-i batin] profited from this in their inward pursuits until the sunset prayer.

After this Bábá Musáfir went inside his chamber, and the servitor who was in attendance would leave after applying surma to his eyes, and Hazrat would put a chain on the door from the inside.

Hazrat’s time was passed in this way; and for thirty or thirty-five years the takbír of the commencement of prayer was never omitted. From this one may realize how strictly he obeyed and observed the practice [sunnat] of the Prophet.

#### VI.9. BĀBA MUSĀFIR’S LACK OF WORLDLY POSSESSIONS

Hazrat had no fixed /income/ from anywhere. The sums daily expended on the poor, on orphans and widows and in addition, what was fixed [their allowances] of cash and cloth and such like used to come from the Unseen [az ghayb]. These were spent on the same day. No beggar who came went away empty handed. In spite of all these charges he himself spent his time in holy poverty [faqr] and spiritual exercises.

#### VI.10. HIS CELIBACY, AND KINDNESS TO ORPHANS, WIDOWS AND THE SICK

According to the hadith of the Prophet . . . which is in /the collection of/ Bukhári: “The best of men in the lattermost time is lightly burdened.” It was asked: ‘O Messenger of God, what is lightly burdened?’ He said: “He who has not wife nor child.”

Bábá Musáfir always lived celibate and apart, and did not marry. He showed much kindness to young children and orphans, and placed the hand of favour on their heads. He would look towards the companions who were attending him and would recite this couplet of his own composition:

Verse:

Every boy I saw I called my son:  
I am destitute because I have orphans.

In the days of Muharram and in the first month of Rabí' he would invite the orphans and young ones. He would sit them down close to him and stretch out the hand of compassion over their heads. His blessed eyes would fill with tears, and he would give them fruit and money, whatever was present, and /then/ send them away.

Many widows who had no one /to look after them/ would send word about their needs to Hazrat, and if these were of proper concern to him he would turn his attention to their fulfilment. If they concerned others, he would assign /the task/ to the faqírs, and the faqírs would settle them.

He went to the houses of the poor to visit the sick and for funeral prayers. If he got news that a poor man was ill, or a sick man sent word to him, he would that very moment set out; and he would sit by his pillow and stretch out the hand of kindness over his head. The sick man would gather inner and outward strength from the potency of the favour of Hazrat, and would be gladdened and cured. Whenever he heard of a man's death—and it might often be two karohs [five miles] away from the takya—he would go /there/; and he would order the faqírs /to perform/ the washing /of the corpse/ and other rites. They would fulfil /these tasks/, considering /them to be/ their own good fortune.

/Bábá Musáfir/ also said: "A faqír should not own anything. If God . . . sends something from somewhere, he should spend it immediately. If anything remains, it is the custom of a faqír not to keep it with him; so that if by God's will he should die that very night, nothing would be found in his possession. This has been the way of faqírs of former times."

#### VI. 11. THOSE WHO FIND AND THOSE WHO DO NOT FIND

Hájjí Qásim relates: One day Hazrat Íshán was collating [muqábala mífar-múdad] the book of the *Mathnaví*, and I was attending upon him. In the course of this a man came and asked in the Hindí language: "One often hears people say, 'So-and-so has found; so-and-so did not find.' The meaning of this saying is not clear to me."

Hazrat said: "I have heard the same as you have heard, but the true meaning of 'has found' and 'Did not find' is not understood."

After a while the man asked the same question again, and Hazrat gave

the same answer. Hazrat took up the book in his hand and said: "O Man, what you say is not like this book which I can show you. This is a matter which does not become clear by exposition."

The man grew silent, took his leave and departed. After a while a young man of righteous appearance, on whose countenance the marks of spiritual discipline were visible, came to attend upon Hazrat and greeted him; and he sat down with all humility and politeness by the shoe-rack [kafsh-gáh]. After a moment he brought out from his purse the offering [niyáze] that he had, passed it /to Bábá Musáfir/ and made request for /the recitation of/ fátiha. Then he took his leave and went away. After his departure Hazrat turned to the companions and said: "On this young man there is the mark of 'has found' and on that fellow the mark of 'did not find.' "

#### VI.12. BÁBÁ MUSÁFIR'S TRAVELS IN SOUTH ASIA: INJURY AND BREAKTHROUGH

Bábá Musáfir also related: In the days when I had taken leave of my True Guide [Bábá Palangposh] and set out on my travels, I journeyed through Thattha and Bhakkar and Bengal and Orissa and Jagannath [Puri], as far as the land of the Deccan. At every stage or place where I arrived, I lodged in the mosque. At each place I where I arrived, I lodged in the mosque. At each place I chanced to meet with good people, who received me with solicitude and love; /but/ in a certain place I met with common people [mardum-i 'awámm] who forbade me to lodge in the mosque, and hurt me and took me out. In the measure of the external injury which I suffered, I found a breakthrough [kusháyish] in my inner quest.

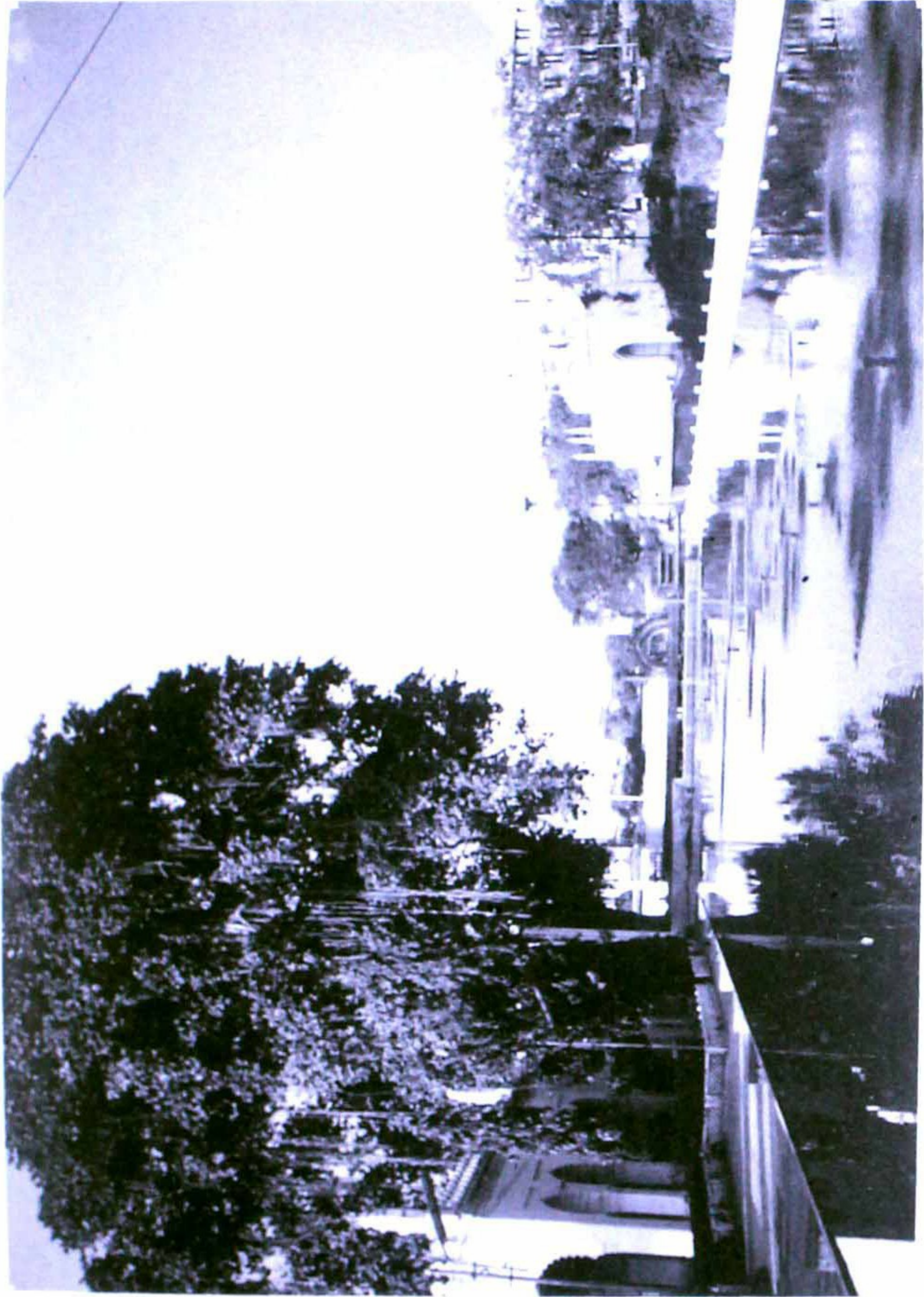
#### VI.13. THE MISBEHAVIOUR OF BÁBÁ PALANGPOSH'S CHILDREN AND BÁBÁ MUSÁFIR'S PROGRESS

Bábá Musáfir also used to say: Sháh Sabá and Mír Iláhyár and other adopted sons [pissar-khwándahá] had set up a heap of mud [khák-toda] /as target/ and were playing at archery. Generally at midday or in the early afternoon, when Hazrat, that is to say Bábá Palangposh, had gone to his private chamber, these fellows would summon me. I would not go, /but/ they would drag me out by force and set me on top /of the mound/.

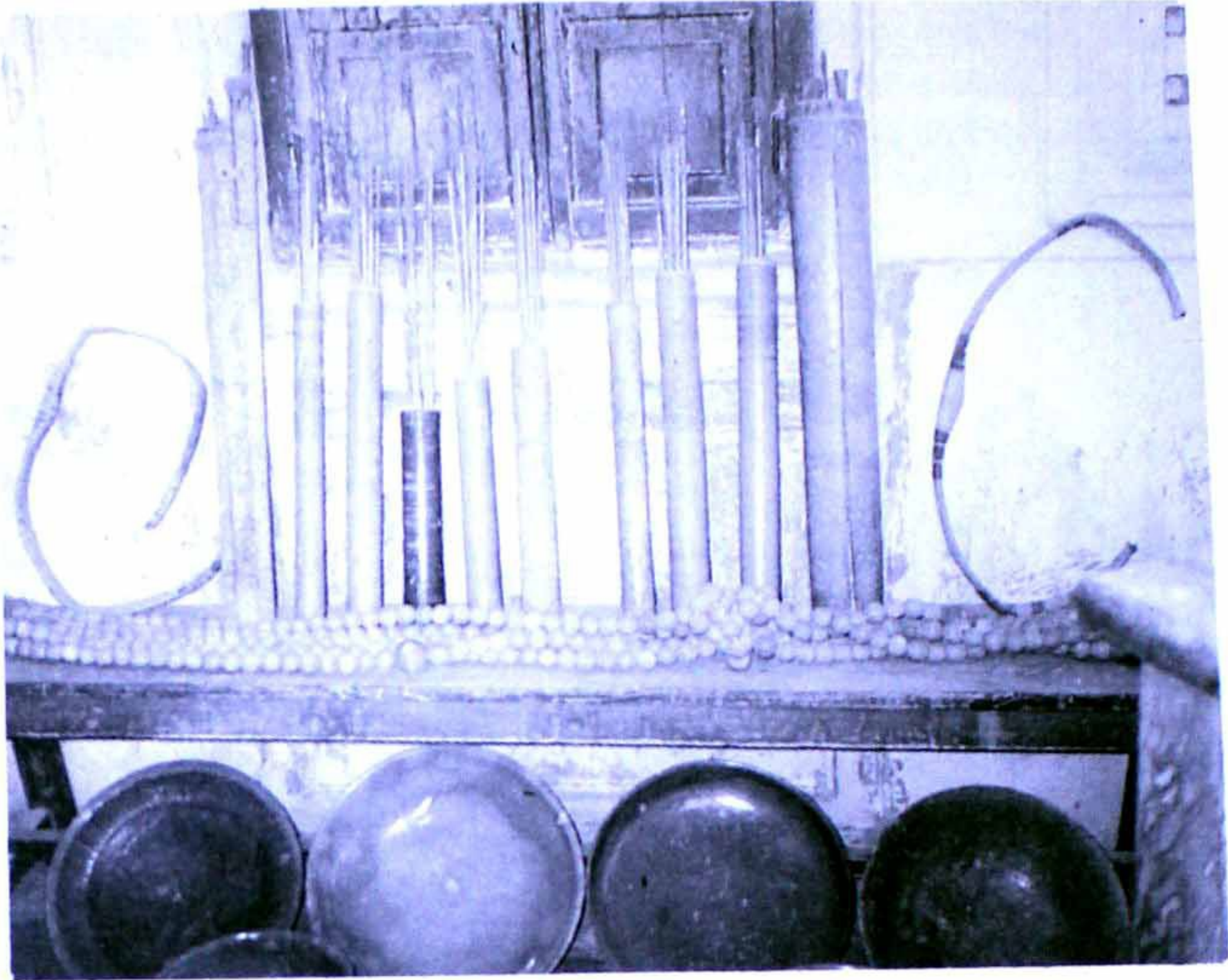
They would give a sign to a fellow who would straightway beat me violently on the back or the waist, and I would fall down helpless on the

ground and roll and tumble to the bottom, /at which/ they would laugh. As I gave first consideration to the service of Hazrat, I suffered whatever they did and said nothing. The affliction which I endured externally at this time became, as regards my interior state, a cause of progress and complete fulfilment.





1. The great tank of the takya at Awrangabad



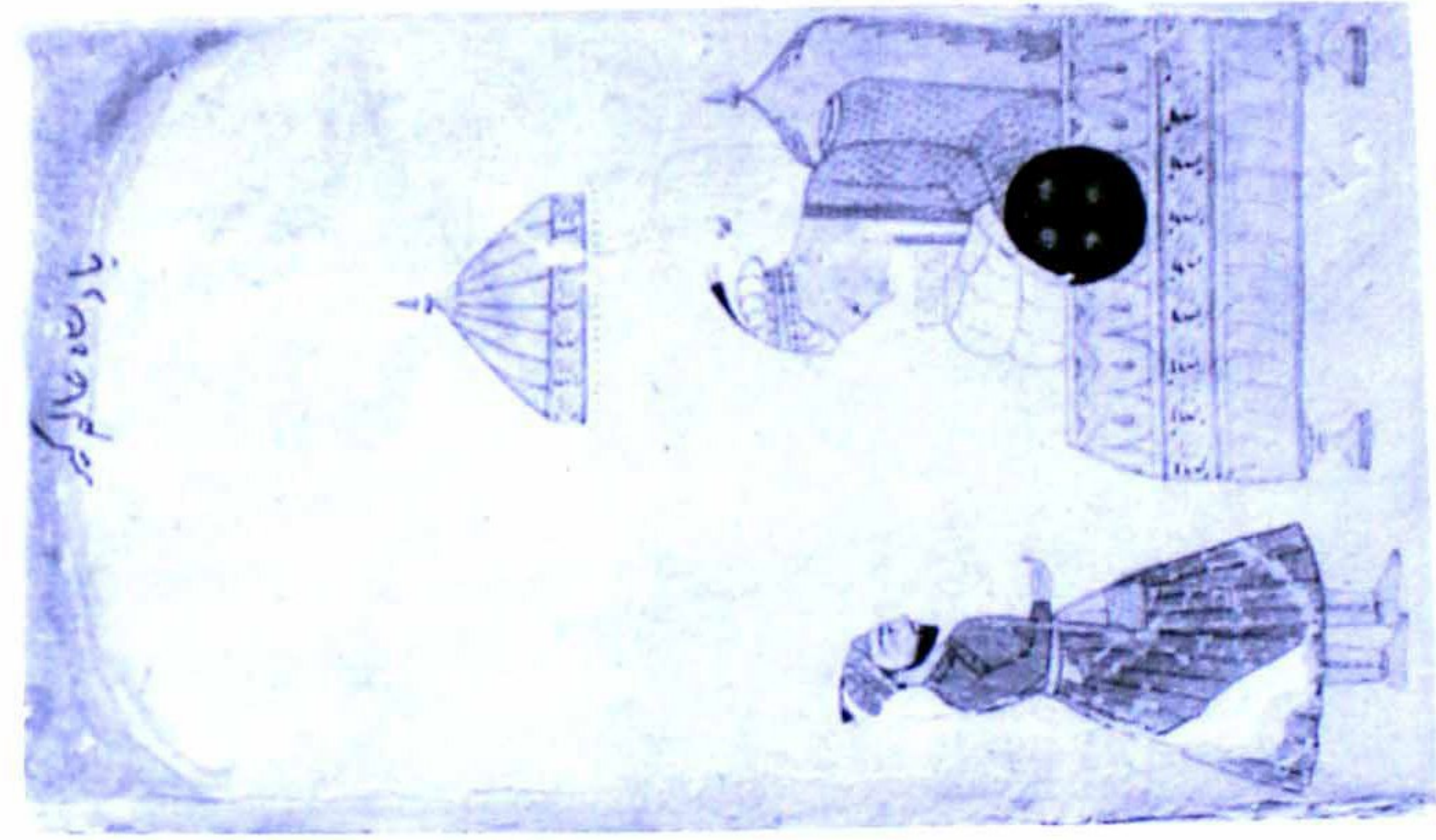
2. Relic room of the takya: bows, arrows, a rosary and glazed dishes



3. Relic room of the takya: a Martabani jar for storing provisions



4 A late seventeenth century Sufi shaykh in the Deccan



5. Awrangzeb and Prince Kambakhsh: a bazaar  
painting c. AD 1700



6. Darwishes in Bukhara: Nineteenth century

“Notice of the Powers of  
Discovery of Hazrat Íshán, that is  
to say Bábá Musáfir”

VII.1. A PREDICTION OF DEATH.  
THE CONTINGENT AND THE INEVITABLE

Khwája Mír Sháh Samarqandí ‘Alíyábádí was a patrilineal cousin of Khán Feroz Jang and was formerly a mansabdár of the emperor ‘Álamgír [Awrangzeb]. Later he abandoned the imperial service, enrolled as a disciple of Hazrat Íshán and put on a khirqa [disciple’s cloak]. He related:

One day Hazrat Íshán came out of his chamber and went to the bank of the watercourse [nála] and was standing there. In those days Mír Muhammad Táhir Haratí, who was one of his especial disciples, had a severe illness which had drawn out. It suddenly occurred to me that the saints [buzurgán] of former days had “turned their attentions” to the cases of their disciples. If an illness befell /one/, they took it upon themselves and the sick man was cured. Mír Muhammad Táhir, who was a favourite disciple of Hazrat, had been ill for a while and Hazrat did not “turn attention.”

I put the thought out of my mind, but the same thought occurred once again. Again I rejected it, but it recurred a third time. At that moment Hazrat glanced at me and set out towards his chamber. He had reached the door of the chamber and had raised the chick [chigh, door-blind], when he said: “Fate [ajall] is of two kinds. One is fate suspended. Whenever this befalls someone, it can be turned aside by the ‘attention’ of the saints of God, by benefactions and alms. The other /kind/ is fate which is sealed, on which the prophets and saints and their like have no influence. It cannot be averted by ‘attention’. Fate which is sealed has come forward for Mír Muhammad Táhir. He will die after three days, but—praise be to God!—he will take his faith with him intact.”

The Khwája added: "Mír Muhammad Táhir joined the mercy of God after three days."

#### VII.2. THE BESTOWAL OF A SON

Bábá Sháh Khádim and Ákhond Mullá Sayf al-Dín /both/ related: Mír Muhammad Táhir had no children and longed for a child. One day, following human nature, he came sorrowfully to /Bábá Musáfir/. He took off the turban from his head and the clothes from his body, and bound a loonghee [lúng] on his waist, and he submitted: "I want to distribute my money and possessions to darwishes, and /myself/ put on the cloak of darwishhood. I hope that this will be agreed."

Hazrat asked the reason for this decision. He submitted: "I have no child."

Hazrat put his hand to his beard for a while and lowered his head into the collar of meditation [muráqaba]. /Then/ he said: "After some time I will give you a reply about this."

The mír took leave from Hazrat and went home. From the attention of Bábá Musáfir that same night the hope of a child came to pass in the mír's house, and it was born after nine months. On that occasion Hazrat said to the mír: "We accepted the money and the goods which you were offering [nadh'r míkardíd] that day, and we bestowed a son."

The mír offered [nadh'r kard] that auspicious heir [khalaf-i bá-sa'ádat] to be /Bábá Musáfir's/ titular son [farzand] and servitor [khádim].

#### VII.3. INTERCESSION FOR THE SICK

Khwája Muhammad 'Ábid, a nobly-born merchant of Kashmir who bears the title of qází and is an especial muríd of Hazrat Íshán, was once very ill. Hazrat visited his sickbed several times. One day when the illness had reached its height, people came to Hazrat and suggested that the khwája was in a very poor way. Immediately he heard this Hazrat went to the khwája's house; this least one [in kamína, the compiler] was at his stirrup. When Hazrat arrived he observed the condition of the khwája, and he saw that he was in his death agony with no further hope of life. Out of the compassion which he had for the khwája his blessed eyes filled with tears, and he meditated for a moment. Then he told those who were present to recite fátiha for the restoration of health.

After the fátiha he went back home. As it was Thursday, after the mid-afternoon prayer he recited the khatm of the khwájas, but his thoughts

were much disturbed. All the companions expected that at any moment the news would come of the death /of Khwája Muhammad 'Ábid/.

The following morning after performing the dawn prayer, Hazrat left his chamber with all haste and told the author: "The great khwája [Bahá' al-Dín Naqshband]—may God sanctify his secret!—with a cangue [pálhang] thrown on his neck urged with humble supplication at God's court the case on behalf of a Musalmán. Last night I too sought for hope regarding the healing of Muhammad 'Ábid, and He in His sublimity granted him to me. Go and get news!"

The writer went there, and he saw that the khwája, who the day before had been in a state of delirium, thanks to the attention of Hazrat was no longer feverish and was completely restored to health. He had called for food to eat. The writer reported this when he returned to Hazrat. Thrice Hazrat said "praise be to God!" How pleasantly the sweet-tongued poet Barhaman sings:

Verse:

O rain cloud of spring, why should the greensward give thanks for your abundance

When thorn and rose alike are nourished by you?

#### VII.4. RENEWAL OF A LAND ASSIGNMENT

Khwája Muhammad 'Ábid related: The place of Qassábkhhera, which by imperial order [farmán, rescript] was assigned for the expenditure of Hazrat's faqírs, had been resumed in the time of the governorship [súbadarí] of Dá'úd Khán by his mutasaddís [accountants]. One day when I had the honour of waiting on Hazrat, he said to me: "Are you an acquaintance of Shaykh 'Abd al-Salám, the Governor's mutasaddí?"

"I have an old acquaintanceship," I replied.

"Go to him," he told /me/, "and get a note [chitthí] of exemption for the place and bring it!"

It occurred to me that I did not have such a strong connection with /'Abd al-Salám/ that he would accept my suggestion. Hazrat said: "By God's grace this will work."

When I reached the house of the mutasaddí, he was inside the building. Previously when I used to go /there/ I would sit for a while, until his servants informed /him/. As soon as I came, the same instant, he summoned me to him in private, and graciously inquired from me the reason of my coming. Immediately he had heard from my tongue the report about the place, he wrote the note [chitthí] and after appending his seal [muhr

karda] gave it into my hands. I took it and brought it to Hazrat, who recited this couplet [bayt]:

Verse:

My work is performed by this revolving dome [of the heavens];  
Whatever gets done gets done by the resolution of men.

#### VII.5. CONCERNING THE POWER OF DISCOVERY

Mírzá Muhammad Amín Beg was an especial servitor [khádim] of Hazrat Íshán. /He was/ the nephew of Khalífa 'Abd al-Rahim, one of the close khalífas of Hazrat, and as a child had been brought up in the shelter of Hazrat's benevolence. He related:

One of the servitors of Hazrat, who experienced a "discovery" [kashf], related it to Hazrat. Hazrat said: I do not consider this an accomplishment [kamál], since the power of discovery comes from spiritual exercises [riyázat]. Anyone who performs such exercises becomes possessed of the power of discovery. This advance is not lasting, as the moment that rust takes hold /of a mirror/, the beholding of a reflection is hindered by it. The state of real and intrinsic accomplishment [sc. in the power of discovery /kashf] suffers no decline, and that it the characteristic of /the one who is/ united [muwahhad], who, cut off from mankind, has obliterated his own selfhood and is joined to God [wásil bi-Haqq]. When he has attained this lofty rank, he becomes safe and free from the fear of diminution and the calamity of decline, like water which, while it is in a cup, remains the water of the cup, but once it is thrown into the ocean becomes of the ocean's essence.

#### VII.6. A BREAKTHROUGH ON THE SPIRITUAL PATH

Mírzá Muhammad Amín Beg related /what he had heard/ from Khwája Muhammad Sa'íd, who was one of the khalífas of /Bábá Musáfir/: Once in /my/ internal progress a great constriction [qabz] occurred. Hazrat from his power of discovery became aware of this and commanded: "Go to the chawk [bazaar]!"

So the khwája [Muhammad Sa'íd] went out, and as he was coming back he had not got as far as the mosque of Jamíl Beg Khán, /when/ by the power of the "attention" of Hazrat he obtained a complete release and found a "breakthrough" [kusháyish].

As he said: Before I had reached the takya in the space of a blink of



an eye I went up to the fourth heaven and looked around [sayr kardam]. When I was so fortunate as to wait upon Hazrat, he graciously looked at me and said: "Your breakthrough was just in this!"

Khalífa Abd al-Rahím heard of this advance, and said: "I attained this rank after a period of two years and you, through the favour of Hazrat, have attained it in the blink of an eye."

#### VII.7. CORRESPONDENCE REGARDING A SPIRITUAL CONSTRICTION

Sayyid Iláh-diyá, the tutor of Muhammad Yár Khán, who was subadár [governor] of Shahjahanabad [Delhi], was a sayyid and deeply learned scholar of his time. The longing to seek God was born in him. At that time Khwája Muhammad Sa'id, khalífa of Bábá Musáfir, was in Shahjahanabad. Sayyid Iláh-diyá came to attend upon the khwája and became a disciple. The khwája prescribed an "occupation" [shughl] for him.

He was occupied with this for a while when an internal constriction occurred to him. However much the khwája turned his attention to his case, no release occurred. Finally the khwája said to the sayyid: "Write a memorandum ['arzdáshte] to Hazrat Íshán, and I shall write a letter to Sháh Mahmúd"—that is to say the humble compiler. "If God wills, by the power of the blessed pronouncements [anfás, 'breaths'] of Hazrat a complete breakthrough [kusháyish] will take place."

So the sayyid wrote the submission to /Bábá Musáfir/, and the khwája penned his own letter to the author, to the effect that: A noble sayyid and scholar, by name Sayyid Iláh-diyá, for some time has *in absentia* professed devotion to Hazrat and has become a muríd. I had prescribed for him an "occupation" in which he was engaged; /but/ in his interior life a "constriction" [qabz] has now occurred. He has written a memorandum for Hazrat's attention. /Please/ submit this letter /together/ with the memorandum of the sayyid to the blessed gaze at a good moment, and send the answer that you obtain.

The least slave [i.e. the author Sháh Mahmúd] submitted the letter with the memorandum for Hazrat to peruse. Hazrat studied the memorandum together with the letter with especial attention and said: "Bring paper and the pencase [qalamdán]!"

/The author/ brought the paper and pencase. Hazrat with his own hand wrote a script in answer to them, which is reproduced here for the benefit of students: May felicity in this world and the world to come be the lot of the Refuge of Nobility, my son Khwája Muhammad Sa'id . . . ! Thereafter: It does not remain hidden that the last hour has come for this weak

and aged man, a fount of blame and sin. Through lack of stamina he cannot attend to any matter. If perchance some matter of difficulty befalls a companion or friend who makes a submission, there is no other resource than "turning attention" towards the Pure Spirits of the great [the deceased Naqshbandí khwájás] and reciting fátiha. There is also no one of the friends who will solve the matter for him. Since Sayyid Iláh-diyá has written and despatched /the memorandum/, it is strange that you, the brothers who are there [in Shahjahanabad] have not turned your /own/ attention to this kind of requests, and have not solved them, /but instead/ send them here. At this moment you should devote careful examination and attention, and endeavour and strive for /their/ works to go forward, just as Hazrat the great khwája [Bahá' al-Dín Naqshband] devoted /his/ attentions. If with this nothing happens, one is borne before God with a cangue around the neck and barefoot, with prayers and lamenting and supplication. Praise be to God, you are /still/ young! Works should be accomplished by you, /so that/ the servants of God derive benefit from you! You should undertake austerities and choose hunger and vigils! Youth is a blessing.

Verse:

Each thorn that there is does not become full of roses  
Until it endures the hardships of the cold of winter.

Without the endurance of hardship ease is not found. This is ever God's way. Thus we /ourselves/ wandered vainly in our youth, travelling bareheaded and barefoot through the lands of men, in the hope that perchance we might find favour in the eyes of the Friend among friends; and this did not happen. From that time a weariness entered my constitution that has affected me now in old age, /and/ I have grown very weak. In any case it is a matter for thanksgiving. Besides this, O my son, you must consider this old man, who has accomplished nothing, as one who is dead; and you must strive that no faqír who enters your company should depart in any manner without profit.

VII 8 AN ARRANGEMENT TO PASS THE NIGHT  
IN THE TOMB OF BÁBÁ PALANGPOSH

Mír 'Abd al-Qadir related: In the days when I was studying under Mawlaví Zahír al-Dín, the bier of Hazrat Bábabá Sháh Palangposh—may God sanctify his secret!—was brought from Gulbarga to Awrangabad and interred.

In my heart I resolved that as that night was Friday eve, I would go to the takya and enter into /the performance of/ the khatm. I would see Bábá Sháh Musáfir and I would also pass the night at the tomb of Hazrat Bábá Palangposh.

I went from my house to the takya. After completing the khatm and the late evening prayer Hazrat Íshán turned back to his chamber. He looked towards me, and summoned Sháh Kúchak and told him: "Spread a mat inside the holy tomb for Mír 'Abd al-Qádir!"

He himself /then/ went inside his chamber. I had not in fact revealed my intention to anyone.

This circumstance was a cause for the increase of my attachment.

VII.9. CONCERNING THE UNITY OF BEING:  
A CONFIRMATORY DREAM

Mír 'Abd al-Qádir also said: One day a discussion arose among the students regarding the Unity of Being [wahdat al-wujúd]. Everyone said something from his own point of view. That very night I saw Hazrat Íshán in a dream. I greeted him and I laid before him the same problems of the Unity of being, asking him: "Is my /own/ statement correct, or the opinion of the others?"

Hazrat replied: "What you understood is correct."

VII.10. ONE TOLD IN A DREAM TO BECOME  
BÁBÁ MUSÁFIR'S DISCIPLE

Mír Ajall, who bears the title of Hizabr Jang, related: I was very sick in Shahjahanabad, to such a degree that I was close to death and no hope of life remained. I saw in a dream that Hazrat Khwája [Bahá' al-Dín] Naqshband . . . appeared and told me: "You should repent and become a muríd [disciple] of Muhammad Musáfir!"

"He is in the Deccan," I submitted, "and I am here. How can I become his disciple?"

"One of his disciples," he said, "called Khwája Muhammad Sa'id, is here as his deputy [khalífa]."

I made my profession of discipleship to Khalífa Khwája Muhammad Sa'id, and in my heart I vowed the gift [nadh'r] of a horse to Hazrat Íshán [Bábá Musáfir]. After a while I came to Awrangabad in the Deccan. My uncle Khwája 'Arab Sháh held the post of sadr [religious administrator]

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of Awrangabad. I gave a detailed account of my illness to my uncle and of the occurrence of the dream; and I told him that I had the horse as nadhr to Hazrat my Guide, and I wished to present it to him. As my uncle did not have much belief in Hazrat Íshán, or in any darwísh, he forbade me, saying: "Why are you giving him a horse? Entrust it to me, and after selling it I will divide the proceeds among men of learning and other deserving people."

However much I argued, my uncle forbade me. Finally I was obliged to say: "If in truth he turns out to be my pír, he will himself ask for his horse from me."

So the following day I went to /Bábá Musáfir/. He smiled and said: "Aren't you going to give /me/ the horse of my nadhr?"

I presented the horse and made a renewal of my profession of attachment. My uncle heard of this affair and he then professed a firm belief in Hazrat and joined the group of his sincere devotees. Later he became a muríd.

#### VII.11. THE GARDEN BY THE RIVER

The late Mansúr Khán, who had formerly held the post of subadár [governor] of Awrangabad, was superseded after a time. He had a garden on the banks of the river Harsul, which he had pledged to Khwája Muhammad 'Ábid, one of the especial muríds of Hazrat, for the sum of 3000 rupees.

One day the khwája came to /Bábá Musáfir/ and suggested that he should deign to pay a visit to the garden. Hazrat accepted and went there. In the middle of the garden an earthen platform had been set up, with mango trees at two corners and jámun trees at the other two. /Bábá Musáfir/ was delighted at the sight of these fine trees, and he performed the midday prayers on the platform beneath them. Afterwards he went to renew his wazú on the banks of the river Harsul, where he performed two *rak'ats* [prostrations] of prayer. Then he returned to the platform, where he performed the afternoon prayer, and read fátiha for Muhammad 'Ábid. He said that the garden would flourish.

It is said that after Bábá Musáfir's death, some time later the owners redeemed the garden from Khwája Muhammad 'Ábid and sold it to Muhammad Ghiyáth al-Dín Khán. An enclosing wall was built and a fine báradarí [pavilion] was erected on the spot where Bábá Musáfir had performed the midday and afternoon prayers. A stone structure was also built on the banks of the river where he had performed the two *rak'ats* in thanks for his ablution, and this yet remains. An elder has said:

Verse:

If you wash your face in the river, the spines [thorns] of a fish will become  
a rose;  
And if you spread your hair in the desert, the wilderness will become full of  
hyacinths.

VII. 12. EMPLOYMENT FOR MEN OF WILAYAT  
IN THE DECCAN

Mirzá Muhammad Amín Beg related that a man called Qul Muhammad Beg used to say: At the time when I came from Wilayat I arrived at the head of the well-known pass. I was tired and sat on a ledge of stone. I saw that two men appeared in the wilderness and passed by me; and they said to me: "Go to the kingdom of the Deccan!"

After I came to the Deccan I saw Hazrat Íshán in the "Auspicious Foundation" [Awrangabad], and he was one of the two men whom I had seen /there/. At Hazrat's threshold I became a muríd. When I took leave of Hazrat after a while I reached the camp of Ghází al-Dín Khán, and saw /there/ Hazrat Bábá Palangposh, whom I had seen at the head of the pass. After some time I went with the intention of /finding/ employment [nawkarí] in the army [lashkar] of Prince Muhammad Kámbakhsh. Hazrat Íshán had written a recommendation [sifárishe] on my behalf to 'Arab Beg Khán, who was one of the sincere muríds and was in the complete confidence of the prince. I delivered the letter of recommendation. The khán kissed it and rubbed it on one his eyes, and said: "It is a strange time that you have come for employment! At present the prince is dismissing his servants. By the blessing [barakat] of the "attention" of Hazrat hope is strong that your employment may take place; and as your clients two or three other men may /also/ be employed. The khán informed the muta-saddís of the prince's administration [sarkár] about the case, and they said: "The prince is turning away old servants: what place is there for him to maintain new men?"

The man said: "On the following day I went for audience before the prince and paid my respects. With much kindness the prince placed his hand upon my shoulder and spoke to me as he was passing. He asked me to tell /him/ whatever fresh news I had, and I submitted: 'My pír has written to me a recommendation for the employment of one of his muríds.' "

"What is the name of your pír?" the prince asked.

I revealed the blessed name of Hazrat, with the result that as soon as he heard the noble name he said: "Bring him /here/!"

Qul Muhammad Beg relates: The khán brought me to the presence of the prince and made me stand there [procured my employment]. He also got two or three others enrolled who for a while had been in distressed conditions hoping for employment. The prince fixed my mansab and that of each of the other three at 100. By the blessings of the favours of Hazrat in a short while I became comfortable in my circumstances.

'Arab Beg Khán used to say: "Your chance came by Hazrat's aid alone: otherwise it would not have been possible."

#### VII.13. "THE MAN WITH TWO SHIRTS IS ACCURSED"

The Mírzá used to relate: At the time when the building of the báolí [step-well] was going on, the faqírs were bringing the stone and clay. Hazrat was sitting by the side of the báolí. Since his body was extremely weak he was wearing one shirt [payráhan, tunic, smock] over another. Then a man of ascetic appearance came and greeted him and sat down. He looked towards Hazrat and said: "O Accursed One, why did you not greet me /with reverence/? For I am a sayyid."

Hazrat said to him in a mild manner: "I have indeed been negligent: forgive me!"

He added: "What I am wearing is a loan. It does not belong to me."

No one grasped the mystery which had passed between them. The faqírs ground their teeth and wished to tear the man limb from limb if they got a chance, but out of fear of Hazrat they could do nothing. Hazrat told Sháh Kúchak to get sherbet and bread ready for the /sayyid/, who consumed these and took his leave.

Hazrat turned towards the faqírs and said: "Why do his words upset you? When he said 'accursed', he spoke truly; for it is recorded /that the Prophet said/: 'The owner of two shirts is accursed!' Since he saw two shirts on my body, he called me 'accursed'."

#### VII.14. EXHILARANTS AND THE THORN OF THE HEMP PLANT

Mír Ismá'íl Táshkandí used to say: Hazrat had prescribed an interior "occupation" [shughl] and I was engaged in this. One day I went to wander in the bazaar [chawk]. /There/ one of my acquaintances gave me something like black molasses [qand-i siyáh] and said: "This is a sweet. Eat it!"



As he pressed me a great deal, I took it from his hand and ate it. After an interval I experienced a state in myself. In my heart I was worried lest as a result of my "occupation" this interior condition was my lot. In this state I came to the blessed takya.

I saw Hazrat seated on the dais [kursí] beneath the grapevine. Most of the companions were in attendance around the dais. I wanted to take myself to a corner away from the blessed gaze. His glance fell upon me and he said: "Today your brain appears full of wind."

I stood at his service acknowledging my fault. Hazrat said: A holy man had a muríd and had taught him dhikr [recitation]. He was always in a state of purity [wazú] and a light was engendered within him. One day as he was going along the road a thorn pierced his foot. He took the thorn out from his foot and left it in a hole, and came to wait upon /his/ shaykh. His "states" were altered. The shaykh inquired: "A change has taken place in your 'states'; what happened to you when you went out of the khánqáh today?"

He submitted: "A thorn pierced my foot. I drew it out from my foot and left it in a hole in the wall. Nothing else occurred."

The shaykh ordered: "Go and see what thorn it is!"

Following the shaykh's command, he took the thorn out from the wall and saw that the thorn was from a stalk of hemp [bhang, *Cannabis sativa*]. He came to the shaykh and informed /him/. The shaykh said: "The alteration of your 'states' was from this cause."

Mír Ismá'íl used to say: "After Hazrat had related this anecdote I realized that that the black molasses was an exhilarant [mufarrih]. I was ashamed at my conceit. In my heart I repented and that folly straightway left me."

VII 15. IN HIS YOUTH THE COMPILER HAS  
AN IMPULSE

Verse:

Whatever a young man sees in a mirror  
An old man [pír] sees in a baked brick.

This couplet is one composed by elders [buzurgán]. It is included in most reliable treatises. It is /relevant to/ the narrative of the condition of this least one [the compiler].

I had seen this couplet in books and had often heard it on the tongues of elders. Through a lack of perception I did not grasp it until one day Hazrat Íshán was renewing his wazú and I was pouring the water on the

blessed hand. After renewing his wazú he went to the mosque. I myself came out from the takya and was standing beneath a neem-tree [*Butea frondosa*].

As I was in my first youth and the beginning of the time of puberty—and elders have called the beginning of youth the height of folly—from the strength of the ignorance of youth it occurred to me to go to a place and commit an unworthy act. At that moment Hazrat sent someone summoning me into the blessed presence. He asked: “Where were you?”

“Outside the takya,” I said.

“Did you have someone with you,” he asked, “or were you alone?”

“I was alone,” I said.

He said: “Have you not heard that the Messenger of God—upon whom be God’s blessing and salvation—has said, ‘Beware of the places of blame!’ ”

When I heard this saying from the tongue of the True Guide, in my heart I was ashamed. I grasped the meaning of this couplet:

Verse:

Whatever the young man sees in a mirror  
The old man [pír] sees in a baked brick.

#### VII.16. “A NOTICE OF THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISE OF HAZRAT ÍSHÁN”

This least insignificant one [the compiler] has heard time and again from the pearl-dropping tongue of Hazrat Íshán, who stated: To reach God is very difficult. Act so that you can make a place for yourself in the heart of a Man by serving or by any path there may be. For the hearts of the Men of God are a place of the vision of God. Whensoever such a person obtains a place /for himself/ in the hearts of these /Men of God/ by sincere service and firm belief, it is as if he has entered into the vision of God.

He also said: In former days there were more of the righteous [siddíq] in the band of darwishes and fewer hypocrites [zindíq]. Nowadays there are more hypocrites and the righteous are difficult to find; but one must serve many out of the hypocrites in the hope that perhaps a righteous person may come to hand, by the blessing [barakat] of serving whom one’s object may be attained.

#### VII.17. DISTANT AID IN A SIEGE BY MARATHAS

Mirzá Muhammad Amin Beg recalled: Once ‘Arab Beg Khán was appointed by the emperor to the posts of amín and fawjdár [military

commander] of the sarkár of Khargon [Bijagarh in the súbá of Malwa]. He went to this district and I also accompanied him. He delegated the administration of the pargana of Sanáwar to me as his deputy. I left him and set out towards the place.

Upon the road I met with Khwája Muhammad Sa'íd and Sháh Qalandar, who after leaving /Bábá Musáfir/'s presence were going to Hindostan [northern India]. They wanted to go by another route, but I strongly urged them that even if they had to go to Hindostan they should accompany me to Sanáwar, and should go on from there.

They came with me to Sanáwar, and after a while they postponed their setting out for Hindostan. In company together we came to 'Arab Beg Khán in the town of Khargon. After two or three days the raiders [ghaním, the Marathas] with a force of around one lakh of horsemen reached the town and besieged it. The town had no enclosing wall, and the people there used to bring their water from the river Narbada some distance away.

The siege of the raiders lasted for a week. The khán and the townspeople experienced great hardship, with hunger oppressing them at this time.

/The compiler/ recalls: At midday Hazrat Íshán came out of his chamber. The colour of his face was much altered. He renewed his wazú and entered the mosque. The companions all came and sat in a circle attending him. Hazrat said: "It is a while since 'Arab Beg Khán left, and no news has come. My mind is worried."

After performing the prayer [namáz] he sent for the meal-cloth for khatm. After reciting the khatm of the [Naqshbandí] khwájas he began the fátiha. During the fátiha there came out from his blessed tongue: "Recite fátiha for the well being of 'Arab Beg and the confounding of the infidels!"

After the conclusion of fátiha he said to the friends: "Turn your attention to the circumstances of 'Arab Beg Khán!"

Those present were astonished. For what was the cause for performing the khatm, and what was the meaning of reciting prayer [du'á] of this kind?

Some days later Sháh Qalandar abandoned his intention of /going to/ Hindostan and returned to attend on Bábá Musáfir. After paying his respects he revealed the circumstances of the siege by the raiders [Marathas]. They reckoned the day /of the week/ and the date and the time; and it was the very day and time when Hazrat had turned his attention to the khatm and the fátiha. From the barakat [power] of his blessed "breaths" [anfás] the calamity had been averted from the head of the khán.

When Mírzá Muhammad Amín Beg arrived, he related: At the height of the siege, when the enemy had attacked and come close to the citadel [qil'acha], Khwája Muhammad Sa'id, who was accompanying him [sc. "me"], took up a handful of dust from the ground, recited something and breathed upon it in his palm, and threw it over the infidels. The moment that he threw the dust they all turned back and vanished from sight, abandoning the siege. After two or three hours the news came that Najábat Khán, the subadár of the "Auspicious Foundation" [Awrangabad] had been despatched by the emperor and had arrived within twelve karohs of the town. This was all from the power [barakat] of the "attention" of Hazrat. The siege of the raiders was lifted, and thereafter the army of the emperor also arrived.

#### VII.18. IMPOLITENESS OVER A DANCING BOY

'Abd Alláh Beg and Ghayúr Beg were full brothers, and both fancied a dancing boy. Then a man called Sálih Beg also became involved with the boy. Enmity was engendered between these two brothers, and Sálih Beg, and on both sides they were ready for war. This news reached Bábá Musáfir. As all three of them were devoted to Hazrat, he summoned 'Abd Alláh Beg and said by way of advice: "You are a good man and one of the well-born. Domestic strife is unbecoming: desist from this behaviour!"

'Abd Alláh Beg could say nothing at that time and he agreed, in accordance with Hazrat's command. When he went home, he sent Hazrat a dish with a cover upon it. When Hazrat lifted the cover, he saw a knife and a melon in the middle of it. His composure was much upset when he saw this. Two or three times he said with his blessed tongue: "He treats me like this!"

Not many days had passed when 'Abd Alláh Beg was transferred to /the contingent of/ Himmat Khán Bahádur, and left here. Together with him he was slain in the war with the Marathas.

#### VII.19. A MARATHA ATTACK ON AWRANGABAD

Rája Sáhú, son of Sambhá, grandson of Sívá[jí], the leader of the raiders [ghaním], was a prisoner of the emperor 'Álamgír; /but/ when Muhammad A'zam Sháh set out for Hindostan after the death of the emperor, Dhu'l-Fiqár Khán Bahádur, who was mír bakshí, suggested to the prince that he should release him from captivity.

The raja was allowed to depart from the banks of the river Narbada towards the Deccan, and he arrived close to Awrangabad with a huge army. He encamped beside the tomb of Sháh Núr Hammámí. During the next two or three days he plundered the suburbs outside the city such as Bajipura, Jaswantpura and so on, and carried off lakhs of plunder. On the fourth day it was the turn of Qutbpura, Jaysinghpura and Begampura.

Bábá Musáfir summoned Sháh Kúchak and told him to "fetter the knee of the camel," placing his trust in God. He should take all the bound volumes and leave them in a place inside the city. Sháh Kúchak took the books and left them in the chamber of Mír Yúsuf in the mosque of Jamíl Beg Khán. He also ordered that the cooking pots of the takya should be thrown inside the tank.

He himself passed the night fully dressed, sitting in the mosque and "turning attention". The companions were also seated in their places. There was a box of dates, which a man called Chelebí Efendí Mustafá, who had become a muríd, had sent to Bábá Musáfir. In the morning Bábá Musáfir turned to the author and asked where Sháh Kúchak was? I summoned Sháh Kúchak and /Bábá Musáfir/ said: "There is a hadíth of the Prophet, 'Something given as alms extinguishes the wrath of the Lord.' What I have in the house is a box of dates prepared with honey. Bring it and share it among the faqírs!"

/So/ that morning Sháh Kúchak immediately took the dates out from the box and shared them out among the faqírs.

The emperor's men arrived at the fort [city walls] after the mid-morning prayer and entrenched /there/. Mansúr Khán, the military commandant [názim] of the city, had offered Shádí Beg and Rawshan Beg, the officers commanding the archers, who were muríds of Bábá Musáfir, to the bastion which faces the takya. They put up a tent on top of the bastion and settled in. They came to Bábá Musáfir, and they suggested that the imperial forces were few and the enemy were many. Most of the suburbs had been sacked /already/, and today /the Marathas/ were turning to the suburbs here. It would be best if Bábá Musáfir came inside the city-walls.

Bábá Musáfir replied that, God willing, it would turn out well. They should remain settled in their entrenchment. He himself, wearing a green cloak with a headband of a dove-gray colour around his hair, with a loonghee firmly tied around his waist in which was stuck a dagger, with rags on his feet and a lance in his hand, set out for the 'Ídgáh. He was accompanied by a band of faqírs, men of learning and grantholders.

At the gate of Qutbpura Pír Khán and three or four other Afghans were seated fully prepared with two or three muskets. When Bábá Musáfir

arrived, Pír Khán and his companions greeted him and fell at his feet, maintaining that his presence was aid enough. Smiling, Bábá Musáfir said that he also wanted to acquire the merit of waging Holy War. They urged him forcefully that the enemy was a large band and would arrive there in a couple of hours. They did not know whether they would be able to stand against them. They had sent their families inside the city and themselves intended to retire within the walls.

Bábá Musáfir said that they should be reassured. The enemy, God willing, would not take these suburbs. They were surprised at these words. Bábá Musáfir recited fátiha and then returned to the takya. The enemy came up and engaged with the men of Qutbpura. One or two of the enemy were wounded, and they /then/ turned and passed to the second gate of Qutbpura. At the gateway there Sháh Khádím, Khwája Qutb al-Dín and the pírzáda of the Baluches were stationed along with some others. Sháh Khádím hit two of the horses of the enemy with his gunfire, and Khwája Qutb al-Dín also wounded several with his.

The enemy turned away from there also, and gathered in the direction of Jaysinghpura. Mansúr Khán and Rája Mán Singh, who were in charge of the defence of the city, blocked their progress. There was an engagement in which several were killed on either side, but there also the full force of the enemy did not strike. The enemy force immediately fell back and encamped on the banks of the river Gang at four karohs distance from the city. /At this/ the people of the city were surprised.

In the takya Bábá Musáfir was standing upright before the qibla with the lance in his hand. By his "attention" three suburbs had remained safe from the wickedness of the enemy host. The following day the army of Ghází al-Dín Khán Bahádúr arrived. The officer in command was Muhammad Ghiyáth Khán.

All this was the effect of the "attentions" of Bábá Musáfir.

#### VII.20. A CASE OF PLAGUE AVERTED

Sháh Khádím related: "Once plague appeared in the city and many people died. One night I saw in a dream that a black bear was clawing at my armpit. I drew back in fear and at this moment Bábá Musáfir appeared and said: 'Strike him, Khádím!'"

I picked up a stone and struck the bear, which went away from me. I woke in the morning and by midday I had developed a fierce fever, and beneath my armpit a blister appeared. I was unconscious for a whole day and night.

The following day Bábá Musáfir came out of his chamber and asked

why Khádím was not to be seen. The companions informed him of my condition. Out of his kindness he came up beside my pillow, and passed his hand over me and said: "Do not be afraid!"

After he said /this/ the blister which had appeared in the armpit subsided, the fever ceased and I was completely cured.

#### VII.21. AN UNCOMPLETED PILGRIMAGE

Sháh Khádím also related: Once, without having taken leave of Bábá Musáfír, I set off on a pilgrimage to the Holy Places. I arrived at Surat, and I saw in a dream that Bábá Musáfír was telling me: "You won't get there!"

I told him that I had now reached the ship; and I wanted to board it and make the pilgrimage. In the morning I woke up and I boarded the ship.

The ship sailed out to a distance of two or three bowshots, and suddenly stopped moving and stayed there. However much the master mariners and sailors corrected the sails and other implements of the ship, it did not move at all.

After a week had passed I again saw Bábá Musáfír in a dream. He was clutching a stone in his hand and was saying to me: "You wretch! It is because of you that the ship will not move!"

In the morning after I awoke I went to the captain. Immediately he set eyes on me he gave an order to the crew: "Take this man off the ship! It is because of him that the ship cannot move."

They took me off the ship and put me into a small boat which brought me to Surat. After I had reached Surat the ship suddenly got under way; and I returned and presented myself in Bábá Musáfír's service.

#### VII.22. HOLY DYING

Sháh 'Arab used to relate: Khwája 'Abd al-Walí was a descendant of Makhdúm-i A'zam, distinguished for his spiritual powers and an exemplar and leader. He had the entrée to the emperor Awrangzeb and many great amírs were his disciples. When Bábá Musáfír first took up residence in the takya, Khwája 'Abd al-Walí often used to come to meet him at midnight and sit inside his chamber. Bábá Musáfír had with him but one waterpot and an old mat. The khwája used to sit upon that mat, and although the ground was hard, Bábá Musáfír had perforce to sit upon it.

Together they would meditate and commune, and the khwája used to say: "I am hopeful of your 'attentions'!"

After a while he fell very ill and was close to death. For three days he

was mortally ill, and many prominent people visited him. Finally Mawláná Ákhond Hájjí Baqá, who was from Bukhárá and used to teach in the mosque of Jamíl Beg Khán, sent someone to wait upon Bábá Musáfir /and tell him/ that the khwája was in a very bad way and he should come quickly.

Bábá Musáfir performed wazú and set out. The narrator and Khalífa Hájjí 'Abd al-Karím accompanied him. Bábá Musáfir arrived at the house of the khwája and sat beside the breast of the khwája. His staff was in his hand and his shoes under the arm of Hájjí 'Abd al-Karím. Both of us were standing, while Bábá Musáfir had bent his head in meditation, attending to the condition of the khwája.

Sháh 'Arab added: I observed that "the laden camel has sunk in the mire". I now saw that this was the case with the khwája. After a while /Bábá Musáfir/ raised his head from meditation and said: "Praise be to God! The khwája died a believer."

VII.23. THE WAR OF JAHÁNDÁR SHÁH AND  
FARRUKHSIYAR: THE FATE OF  
'ABD AL-SAMAD KHÁN

In the time after the death of Bahádur Sháh son of Awrangzeb, Muhammad Mu'izz al-Dín [Jahándár Sháh] sat on the throne after killing his three brothers. His nephew Farrukhsiyar, the son of Muhammad A'zam, was in Bengal; and he set out from Bengal to make war and came close /to Agra/.

Now 'Abd al-Samad Khán was a descendant of Khwája /'Ubayd Alláh/ Ahrár. He had come from Wilayat to India in the reign of Awrangzeb and held a mansab of 700. After the deaths of Awrangzeb and Bahádur Sháh, he held a high mansab and the post of /chief/ sadr [religious administrator] in the reign of Jahándár Sháh.

In the conflict between the two claimants, he accompanied Jahándár Sháh. Farrukhsiyar, in spite of the smaller number of his forces, gained the victory and marched upon Delhí. At that time Dá'úd Khán was the názim [commandant] of Awrangabad. One day Bábá Musáfir was sitting in the mosque /ready/ for the afternoon prayer, when the news came that a letter had been brought to the house of Dá'úd Khán saying that Muhammad Farrukhsiyar had been victorious over Jahándár Sháh; and that Dhu'l-Fiqár Khán the mír bakhshí [paymaster] and 'Abd al-Samad Khán the sadr al-sudúr had been put to death by him.

On hearing this news, the colour of Bábá Musáfir's blessed face



changed, and he grasped his beard with his hand and grew silent. After a moment he said: "But isn't 'Abd al-Samad a grandson of Khwája Ahrár, may God sanctify his secret? How can Farrukhsiyar kill him?"

At this moment Mullá Muhammad Amán, who was in the town to collect the revenue of 'Abd-al-Samad's land-grants and had heard this frightful news, came to Bábá Musáfir and told him. Bábá Musáfir turned to Mullá Amán and said: "If God wills, all this news is false. Rather, 'Abd al-Samad will be elevated to high office. You may be reassured and should not worry."

After the sunset prayer Mullá Amán went home.

A few days later Haydar-Quli Khán, who was the *díwań-i kull* [principal collector of revenue] of the provinces of the Deccan, one morning sent one of his men to summon Mullá Amán, and was even more gracious towards him than he had been before. He congratulated him and said: "The emperor had ordered the execution of your nawwáb 'Abd al-Samad Khán, but on Mír Jumla's intercession he stayed the execution."

The emperor then raised 'Abd al-Samad Khán to a mansab of 7000, and appointed him *súbadár* [governor] of Lahore, with instruction to deal with the matter of the *gurú* [the Sikh uprising].

Mullá Amán used to say: At the time when we went to /Bábá Musáfir/ in distress after hearing the news of the killing of 'Abd al-Samad Khán, what Bábá Musáfir spoke with his blessed tongue came to pass.

After this occurrence, Mullá Amán professed his devotion to Bábá Musáfir and became a *muríd*. Nowadays he has received from the emperor the title and mansab of *khán*, and holds the post of *fawjdár* [military commandant] of Amínábád in the Lahore district. Nawwáb 'Abd al-Samad Khán adorns the governorship of Lahore, Thattha, Bhakkar and Multán, and a whole world receives his favours.

#### VII.24. THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TANK: AN IDLER PUNISHED

At the time when the tank for ablutions was being constructed, most of the scholars and *faqírs* and people of consequence were engaged in carrying bricks and clay. Bábá Musáfir was handing out bricks and mortar with his blessed hand. To speed the work he was crying out: "O hawks! O bábás!"

And he was telling them to give bricks and mortar lest the builders remain unemployed. All the *faqírs* were engaged in this work. /However/ a man called Sháh Faqírá, out of laziness, told the companions that he was not going to work that day, and he would make an excuse of illness.

In the course of the work Bábá Musáfir's eye fell on Sháh Faqírá, and he asked: "Who is this?"

The man himself replied: "I am Faqírá."

Bábá Musáfir remarked that he was not working, and he replied that he had an injury to his leg. Bábá Musáfir told him that if he was ill, he should go to sleep.

Although his leg was never in any pain until then, the next day a swelling appeared in his thigh, accompanied by such pain that he cried out night and day. However much the surgeons treated him, it was of no use, until about fifteen or twenty seers of pus and blood ran out from his leg. Sháh Faqírá said: "I falsely represented myself ill to Bábá Musáfir and I am thus afflicted."

He said to the companions: "Go to Hazrat and ask forgiveness for me!"

The companions came to Bábá Musáfir and made this request. Bábá Musáfir said: "What was destined has come to pass. One should never lie to God's especial servants. If someone does so, he is lost."

After some days Sháh Faqírá died from the same illness.

#### VII.25. A CURB ON MUSICAL PARTIES

Mírzá Muhammad Amín Beg used to relate: Khwája Bábá had come from the land of Turan [Central Asia] and had been given the title of Fázil Khán. He had the entrée to the emperor, and was a man of education, an expert on hadíth and a poet with a *díván* [collected works], using the pen-name "Munsif". When the emperor Awrangzeb died, he was appointed mutawallí [administrator] of the imperial tomb by /the Prince/ Muhammad A'zam, who himself /then/ set out for Delhi.

On the day of the 'urs [annual commemoration] of the late emperor, the khán, who was sincerely attached to Bábá Musáfir, sent an invitation. Mírzá 'Abd al-Jabbár, who was mutawallí of the tombs of the /Chishtí/ shaykhs also pressed him to visit them. Bábá Musáfir accepted. Sháh Nizám al-Dín Darwísh, Khwája 'Abd al-Rahím and other prominent figures also went to the tomb of the emperor. Mawláná Hájjí Muhammad Bábá and a large body of faqírs and men of learning accompanied Bábá Musáfir, who stopped in the garden of Mírzá Ismá'íl Beg near the tomb of Burhán al-awliyá' [Burhán al-Dín Gharíb], which is beside the tank. Prominent figures of the city [Aurangabad] also stayed at the place they had selected.

Sháh Nizám al-Dín was sitting /in an assembly/ at the tomb of Sháh

Burhán al-Dín. The circle of companionship in samá' [listening to music] grew warm, and a wild enthusiasm broke out, in which /Nizám al-Dín's/ disciples and others reached "states". Someone came to Bábá Musáfir and revealed that Shaykh Nizám al-Dín was holding such a "warm session". Bábá Musáfir turned to Sháh Qalandar and told him to find out the truth about the session.

Sháh Qalandar went and sat in meditation at the session of the shaykh. When Sháh Qalandar "turned his attention" /to it/, the wildness and clamour of the musical party of the shaykh immediately subsided; and however much the shaykh looked towards the qawwáls [singers] to make them sing well, and however hard they tried, the company did not grow "warm" again. So long as Sháh Qalandar was in meditation, no cry arose; and all grew silent.

After Sháh Qalandar rose to leave, Shaykh /Nizám al-Dín/ also left for his own residence. Sháh Qalandar came to Bábá Musáfir, who looked towards him and smiled.

#### VII 26 A GIFT OF PLUNDERED BOOKS

A commander of the Marathas, Chandar Sen by name, one of the companions of Rája Sáhú, had gathered a large host and was invading and plundering the imperial territories. Most of the people of Hind [i.e. native-born Indians rather than recent immigrants] had gone and entered his service, because they were unemployed and /financially/ distressed. Khwája Ayyúb, the grandson of the late Jamíl Beg /Khán/, who nowadays bears that same title, had also chosen to join him.

The army of Chandar Sen had attacked the city of Bidar and plundered the goods of its inhabitants. The library of the qází of that place had fallen into Chandar Sen's hands, and the latter sent two authoritative works, as well as some money as nadhr to Bábá Musáfir. Bábá Musáfir did not accept /the offering/, and he remarked that the khwája was an associate of the enemy in the plundering of imperial territory. He sent back the books together with the money to the house of the khwája, which was in the city.

The news reached Sayyid Muhammad Yúsuf, who needed these books and for some time had been searching for copies. He asked the mother of the khwája for the two books and he was given them.

Bábá Musáfir, when he saw that they were the same books which the khwája had sent to himself, was silent for a moment and then said: "The books are indeed good and difficult to obtain, but one unlawful paisá [copper coin] brings to waste ten lawfully acquired ones."

The other replied: "It is no injury to scholars if this kind of books comes to us students."

Bábá Musáfir was silent, and /the sayyid/ bore the books away to his own lodging.

Afterwards Sayyid Muhammad Yúsuf had to go on a visit to Shahjahanabad [Delhi]. He brought out all the books from his house for safekeeping, and left them in the upper room of the takya inside a chest. The two books were also inside the chest. Although the upper room had a wooden floor, white ants made a hole beneath the chest and got into it. They ate all the books, which were worth a considerable sum, and reduced them to dust.

After /the sayyid's/ return from Hindostan, he saw that all the books were /but/ a heap of dust, apart from those two books and three more, one of which was the *Mathnaví-i ma'naví*, the second the *Nafahát al-uns* and the third the *Tadhkirat al-awliyá'*. The text of these remained, but even their marginal commentaries had been destroyed. When he put the books in the sun and turned the pages, Bábá Musáfir came out from his chamber and said: "I told you that one unlawful paisá put to waste ten lawful ones; but it did not reach the mind of 'scholars'. On account of these two books all the /other/ books have been damaged."

Those who were present witnessed the truth of this statement.

#### VII.27. A SPELL LIFTED FROM AN AFGHAN YOUTH

Amír Khán, an Afghan who was an important trader, brought seven hundred camel-loads of goods from Sarhind to the army of the emperor 'Álamgír [Aurangzeb] at Ahmadnagar. As they were not sold there, he brought them to Awrangabad, and took up residence in the katra [enclosed quarter] near the chawk. He had a nephew, son of a sister, who professed devotion to Sháh Haydar Darwísh. The latter lived in the cattle market and was one of the men of power of the time. This shaykh had taught him a "name" /of God/ to recite, and in its recitation /the boy/ went mad.

His uncle put him into chains and kept him inside the house. He then asked Ibráhím Khán, who was his assistant and was also a muríd of our shaykh, what should be done to cure the madness of the boy. The latter replied that he was a disciple of Bábá Musáfir, and that the two of them should go to him and ask about the matter; for otherwise there would be no cure from the physicians.

Ibráhím Khán brought Amír Khán to Bábá Musáfir. Amír Khán fell at the feet of Bábá Musáfir and abjectly implored him, stating that he had a nephew whom he was raising like a son. /The boy/ had become a muríd of Sháh Haydar and at his command had recited this "name", and from its recitation had gone mad. He had put him in chains. He was hopeful that Bábá Musáfir would "turn his attention" to him, so that the madness might pass away.

Bábá Musáfir summoned Sháh Qalandar and told him to go and "turn his attention", and bring the boy out of his madness; and not to come /back/ into his presence until he was cured. The sháh went Amír Khán to his house, and for a night and a day "turned his attention" to the state of the boy.

He ordered the chains to be removed from his hands and feet. Amír Khán feared lest after the removal of the chains his madness might increase. The sháh told him to remove the chains without worrying. They opened the fetter and chains from off his feet, and the mad /boy/ came back to his senses. Sitting facing the sháh, he talked with sense and ate some food.

The sháh then left and, accompanied by Ibráhím Khán, he came and related what had happened. Bábá Musáfir said that his madness would not return. Ibráhím Khán gave thanks for the "attentions", and went back home. /But/ the following day he came to Bábá Musáfir and told him that the boy after coming back to his senses had gone mad again. Bábá Musáfir summoned Sháh Qalandar and said savagely: "Your 'attention' is of this kind! Go and pay proper 'attention'!"

At this order the sháh went to the house of Amír Khán, and for three nights and three days "turned his attention" to the state of the boy, who was wholly delivered from his madness. It was Friday, and Sháh Qalandar, accompanied by Amír Khán, Ibráhím Khan, the boy himself and some others, came to wait on Bábá Musáfir. They brought an offering of several gold mohurs, several rolls of cloth, and several trays of spun sugar-candy; and they gave thanks for these blessings. After Bábá Musáfir recited fátiha they took their leave and departed.

The news of this reached Sháh Haydar, who sent a message to Amír Khán: "You took my muríd to that place. Now I am going to make him mad to such a degree that he will wander in the streets, eating grass and straw and being mocked; and he will not come to his senses again!"

Three hours of the day had passed when Amír Khán accompanied by Ibráhím Khán came in a state of fear and alarm to Bábá Musáfir and conveyed the message of Sháh Haydar. Bábá Musáfir was silent for a short

while, and then he smiled and said: "Be reassured! If God wills, nothing is going to happen."

Amír Khán went home, but he worried all the time. However, from the "attention" of Bábá Musáfir the "attention" of Sháh Haydar did not reach /the boy/, who remained in health and in his senses.

After the death of the emperor 'Álamgír, when Prince Muhammad A'zam set out for Hindostan, Amír Khán, with the boy, his other companions and all his possessions, went to his homeland. There he related these happenings to his own folk and gave thanks for the "attentions" of Bábá Musáfir; so that many people far away became muríds and disciples of Bábá Musáfir.

VII.28. EVENTS AFTER THE DEATH OF AWRANGZEB:  
AN INTENDED VISIT OF THE  
EMPEROR BAHÁDUR SHÁH TO BÁBÁ MUSÁFIR,  
AND THE GRANT OF A VILLAGE

When the emperor 'Álamgír died and his son Bahádur Sháh was sitting on the throne, the latter set out for the Deccan to make war on his brother Muhammad Kámbaksh, who ruled over Haydarabad and Bijapur and had advanced to the banks of the river Narbada.

Qilich Muhammad Khán was an inhabitant of Bukhara originally called Niyáz 'Alí, and had come to Hindostan, where he was honoured with a mansab of 7000. He had faith in darwishes and holy men. He had heard the reputation of Bábá Musáfir's holiness and had become a sincere devotee before he met him. As he had heard that Bábá Musáfir had not accepted daily maintenance from anyone, he wrote to the factors of his land-grants, situated in the parganas [districts] around Awrangabad, that every month one hundred and fifty rupees out of the revenues of the jágírs should be offered on his own part to Bábá Musáfir.

When the emperor, after victory in his campaign against Muhammad Kámbakh Sháh, was planning to return to Hindostan, he came to Awrangabad. His son Prince Muhammad Jahán Sháh came to visit Bábá Musáfir. The prince descended from his palankeen inside the wicket-gate of the city, which was beside the bank of the stream opposite the takya, and he came on foot from over the distance of two bowshots away to the holy takya of Bábá Musáfir and waited upon him with attachment.

At the time of his departure he asked Bábá Musáfir to recite fátiha, and he /then/ went back on foot in the same manner to the inside of the wicket-gate, where he ascended into his palankeen and departed.

Muhammad Qilich Khán and most of the great amírs had the good fortune /to visit Bábá Musáfir/, and the emperor Bahádur Sháh asked with much longing to wait upon him. He even sent his wazír with a message asking to be allowed to come. Bábá Musáfir said: "There is no impediment if he comes without ceremony in the manner of others. In this connection a couplet composed by a predecessor comes to the mind of this faqír.

Verse:

Tell anyone who wants to do so, "Come!" Tell anyone who so wants, "Go!"  
In this court there is no "Hold!" and "Stay!", no chamberlain nor doorkeeper.

/But/ although he has asked for permission, what /grounds/ are there for meetings between darwishes and kings? If /a king/ comes, much harm will result for faqírs."

After the emperor had set out from Awrangabad for Hindostan, Qilich Muhammad Khán Bahádur came to take his leave from Bábá Musáfir. He stood there and submitted that, whereas /other/ servants and devotees had put up buildings in /the takya/, he also wanted to put up a building. He suggested that others had built in clay, but he wished to edify hearts [provide for people].

Bábá Musáfir asked him what he had in mind; and he replied that he had as his jágír some districts [parganas] in the neighbourhood of Awrangabad, and he wanted to offer on his own part a village for the expenses of the khánqáh. He would also obtain and despatch a farmán [rescript] of the emperor /to this effect/. One of the faqírs should be assigned to accompany him.

As he was very pressing in this matter, Bábá Musáfir sent Mír Ismá'íl along with him. The khán gave as nadhr the place of Qassábkhara in the pargana of Ellora, one of the villages in his jágír; and he obtained the farmán from the emperor and Mír Ismá'íl brought it back.

The village was completely ruined from the incursions of the Marathas, and had only seven or eight inhabited houses. Before the arrival of the farmán, and also afterward, it was sacked several times. To get information regarding the peasantry and other matters of the place, /Bábá Musáfir/ appointed Hájjí 'Iwaz, a darwish from Bukhara. The disturbance of the Marathas /was/ beyond limit. Every time the Marathas came, the peasantry seized their bundles and fled, making for the tomb [of Burhán al-Din Gharíb] at Ellora.

Several times Hájjí 'Iwaz lamented this state of affairs to Bábá Musáfir, and the peasants also came to complain to him. To protect the peasantry Bábá Musáfir told the author to tell the peasants to spend whatever

revenue there was upon the construction of an enclosing wall to guard themselves.

The author, after discussion with the peasants, borrowed from a *sáhúkár* [moneylender] the sum necessary for the construction of the wall. An agreement was made that the sum in question would be realized from the revenue of the village. A bond [tamassuk] for the loan was drawn up and brought to be sealed by *Bábá Musáfir*. At the time he accepted this and told them to wait for an hour. In the mid-afternoon the bond was brought for him to seal. *Bábá Musáfir* stroked his beard and said: "I am here today and tomorrow. After me if the moneylender drags you away for the sum of this loan, would you be able to get out of that?"

This *faqír* [the writer] humbly acknowledged his fault before *Bábá Musáfir*, who told me to bring the bond. *Bábá Musáfir* tore it to pieces, saying: "If God has willed this, it will come to pass."

One day after this he ordered *Sháh Qalandar* the martyr to go to the village and make a garden in a certain place. *Sháh Qalandar* went to the village, where *Hájjí 'Iwaz* was not satisfied with the idea of laying out a garden. He urged that the disturbance of the Marathas was always excessive at the place and that the *fawjdárs* [Mughal commandants] of the area were all oppressors. In laying out a garden one could not escape their demands. *Sháh Qalandar* returned to *Bábá Musáfir* and explained this. *Bábá Musáfir* again said: "If God has willed it, it will come to pass!"

Some time after the death of *Bábá Musáfir*, *Nizám al-Mulk* was transferred from the governorship [*súbadarí*] of these parts, and decided to go to the presence of the emperor *Muhammad Farrukhsiyar*; and he came to visit the blessed grave in the *takya*. *Nizám al-Mulk* asked *Sháh Qalandar* to accompany him, who went with him and remained for some years in his entourage. Afterwards, in the reign of the emperor *Muhammad Sháh*, the *nawwáb* [*Nizám al-Mulk Ásaf Jáh*] came /back/ to the Deccan from the province of *Ujjayn* [Malwa]. He gained a victory over '*Álam 'Alí Khán* and attained rule over the whole Deccan. He gave as *nadhr* to *Sháh Qalandar* two villages in the *pargana* of *Phulmari*, and the latter gave two years' revenue from these villages to build the surrounding wall /at *Qas-sábkhara*/.

So the wall was constructed; and after a while, by the efforts of the author, a garden was laid out in the grounds where *Bábá Musáfir* had ordered it; and the words that he had spoken came to pass.

#### VII 29 THE VISITS OF TURKTÁZ KHÁN

The first time that *Nawwáb Nizám al-Mulk* was appointed *subadár* of the territory of the Deccan by the emperor *Muhammad Farrukhsiyar*, he



came to Awrangabad. Turktáz Khán Bahádur, whose mother was a follower to Bábá Musáfir, had come from Hindostan with Nizám al-Mulk; and before he went to his own house he came to wait upon Bábá Musáfir at the takya.

Bábá Musáfir happened to be recovering from an illness and was seated beneath the mulberry tree. The khán fell at his feet and wept; and Bábá Musáfir was similarly affected. Holding the head of the khán he drew it to his bosom. After asking about his welfare he said: "You have come from far away. Go to your house, untie your waistband and rest!"

The khán took his leave and departed.

After a while Nizám al-Mulk despatched the khán to Tuljapur. The khán came outside the city and stayed at the mansion of Rája Karan at Karanpura. Suddenly he fell violently ill with gripes [pechash] and five or six seers of blood came out. He sent Salím Beg to Bábá Musáfir, mentioning that this illness had struck him; and Bábá Musáfir went to visit his sickbed. The khán fell at the feet of Bábá Musáfir and said: "My illness is severe, and I have no hope of life."

Bábá Musáfir kindly reassured him and said: "If God wills, all will be well and you will be cured."

After reciting fátiha he went back to the takya. Three or four hours later /the khán/ sent by the hands of Salím Beg two hundred rupees in cash and a good Central Asian horse. Bábá Musáfir recited fátiha, and the khán was wholly restored to health.

Bábá Musáfir showed unlimited kindness to the khán, but for a while after Bábá Musáfir's death the khán ceased to visit the takya. It often passed through the mind of the author that Bábá Musáfir had shown such kindness towards the khán; but nowadays after the death of Hazrat no trace at all remained of the devotion which the khán had displayed.

He never came for fátiha nor to visit the holy resting-place; until recently, after seventeen years, he was moved by God's grace, and at the expense of 10,000 rupees he built a mosque of stone inside the takya; and at further expense of 9000 rupees he made ready a khánqáh for the faqirs.

It seems that all the kindness that the khán received from Hazrat was on account of the service which the khán has performed at the present time; and that this had previously been foreseen by Bábá Musáfir.

VII 30 THE PROSPERITY  
OF KHWÁJA 'ABD ALLÁH

Khwája 'Abd Alláh was a descendant of Hazrat Imám. He had come from Wilayat in the reign of the emperor 'Álamgir, and had entered his service

with a small rank [mansab]. Later, as a result of Bábá Musáfir's blessings, God bestowed on him a great competence in trade and he came to possess resources. He built wells upon the roads to Mecca and Medina, and spent upon pious works; so that his virtues are evident like the sun and his good works still continue. He is now distinguished by the title of Khwája 'Abd Alláh Khán, and he is one of the band of companions of Nizám al-Mulk. He used to say:

When the emperor Awrangzeb was in Galgala, I was discontented on account of my low rank. I left the army camp, intending to come to Awrangabad. I joined three or four other cavalymen and we set out together, travelling with a caravan of many people. At that time the disturbance of the Marathas exceeded all bounds, and caravans were being looted. We four or five horsemen used to ride around the caravan as escort, and one of our group, a man called Murád Beg, who used to ride in advance of the caravan, had a vision as he was riding. He saw Bábá Musáfir appear, who said: "Tell Khwája 'Abd Alláh to be reassured and not to worry, for I am with this caravan!"

Then he came back to his senses, and he went up to me and revealed that he had seen Bábá Musáfir in this manner. He /told me/ what he had said. I was reassured and in spite of all the disturbance came safely to Awrangabad.

Before I arrived Bábá Musáfir had ordered food to be prepared for me and had rented a house for me to stay, although no one had prior news of my arrival. After I went to see him, although it was not the season for grapes, Bábá Musáfir said that his grapes had ripened and he had kept some bunches of them for me; and he sent for them and gave them to me. I took the grapes and went to stay at the house which Bábá Musáfir had taken for me.

From that time, by the grace of Hazrat's favour, my circumstances improved, and I got profit and wealth from trade; and later I reached my present honours.

#### VII.31. A MOLESTATION BY JINNS

Khwája 'Abd Alláh also related: At the time when my brother Khwája Rahmát Alláh and I were ill from the molestation of jinns, I sent word to Bábá Musáfir.

He ordered Khalífa 'Abd al-Rahím to go to the house of the khwájas to repel the jinns.

/Khalífa 'Abd al-Rahím/ came to our house, and "turned his attention" and set the jinns aside. When his mind was reassured with regard to us,

he lay down that night to sleep for a while. Some time around the middle of the night the jinns again overwhelmed us and caused us much injury. At that moment a darwísh arrived from Bábá Musáfír and knocked the door-ring, calling out to the khalífa the words of Bábá Musáfír: "We sent you to watch, not to take your ease!"

The khalífa immediately woke up and "turned his attention". The jinns were altogether driven out of the house by him, and we were completely healed.

VII.32. A DREAM AND A VISION

Sháh Razá, a muríd of Bábá Musáfír, said: I stayed for a while in the takya and received no revelation. On this account I was vexed and wished to leave the takya and wander in the wilds. This thought was in my mind one night when I fell asleep. I saw in a dream that Sháh Kúchak was lying on a charpoy and one of the faqírs was bathing him with warm water. Bábá Musáfír, with a goatshair sponge in his hand, was rubbing the sháh; and I in my dream passed two or three times by his hand.

In this state I heard a darwísh called Khwája 'Abdí, who was a muríd of Bábá Musáfír, saying that the being of a man was like a steed, on whose back one must sometimes ride.

After hearing these words I awoke. Half the morning had passed and Bábá Musáfír was in his chamber after completing his teaching. I came to wait upon him stood there, and some of the companions were also present. Bábá Musáfír made a sign to me, summoning me inside his chamber; and he recited this couplet:

Verse:

"The purpose of the wandering of the qalandar is to obtain a vision:  
Otherwise, there is plenty of bread and salt anywhere."

He added: "Why do you let all these thoughts enter your head?"

I stood before him and repeatedly acknowledged my fault; but after two or three days the thought came back into my mind. It was the end of the night, and I came and sat upon a bench. At that time Bábá Musáfír, as was his custom, came out from his chamber to renew his wazú. I wanted to stand out of respect for him, but I could not get up and fell back towards the ground. I said in my heart that many thoughts were recurring which he had told me to restrain; why was I not bound by this /injunction/?

I was worrying about this when I visualized his face, and in this state I had a vision. I saw that in some way Hazrat Íshán swelled up and

became huge, so that the whole world was filled with his being. I sheltered by the veil of the takya, and Bábá Musáfir's swelling up so increased that his blessed body touched me, and I felt such a narrowness and constriction that the bones of my side ached.

At this moment I returned to my senses, and Bábá Musáfir was looking at me and said: "You must put this kind of thoughts far away from your mind!"

#### VII.33. EVIL COMPANIONS AND WINE-DRINKING

Mírzá Hasan had been brought up from childhood by Bábá Musáfir. He had become a muríd, and Bábá Musáfir showed many signs of favour towards him. With God's aid he performed the pilgrimage to the two Holy Places, after which he came back to this kingdom. He is nowadays known as Hájjí Hasan and is very close to Nizám al-Mulk, serving as 'arzbegí [chief secretary]. He used to relate:

Once I had taken leave of Bábá Musáfir and had gone on the campaign of Samarnárimund in the land of the Karnatak. A number of rogues there had a drinking party and they pressed me to drink with them. I did not agree/ to this/, and I said that I was a muríd of Bábá Musáfir. They replied: "You are here, and your pír won't come from Awrangabad to see you!"

So they forced me to drink wine. That night I saw in a dream that Bábá Musáfir had come and was telling me: "You think that I am far away!"

In a rage he tipped over my charpoy onto the ground. When I woke up in the morning I saw that the bed was lying upside down. After seeing this I sold my horse and left my employment, and came to Bábá Musáfir, /whom I found/ teaching the *Mathnaví-i ma'naví*. I fell at his feet and he said: "You reckoned that I was far away from you!"

I stood acknowledging my fault, and I renewed my repentance.

#### VII.34. HÁJJÍ HASAN CURED OF SICKNESS

Hájjí Hasan related: Once I had a severe illness and was close to death. I had lost the use of my hands and feet, and had grown cold. My mother and others were weeping, and the news reached Bábá Musáfir, who out of his kindness came beside my pillow. He was accompanied by Khalífa 'Abd al-Rahím, Khwája Muhammad Sa'id and Hájjí 'Abd al-Karím.

With his own hand he drew back the sheet which was over my head.

My eyes fell upon him and I wept. Bábá Musáfír turned to his companions and said: "Turn your attention to the condition of this young man!"

The companions all "turned their attention" and were silent; and Bábá Musáfír also "turned his attention". After a while he raised his head from meditation and said: "A mighty calamity had arrived over the head of this young man, but by the grace of God it has been set aside."

He then recited fátiha and rose /to depart/.

In consequence of his "attention" my illness grew less, and in a few days I was completely cured.

#### VII.35. HĀJJÍ HASAN AND THE DANCING BOY

He also said: I was much attracted towards a dancing-boy called Kábulí. I used to grow mad if I did not see him, and anything that I had in my bundle used to be spent on him. News of this reached Bábá Musáfír, who summoned me and ordered Sháh Kúchak to bring the scourge. He said: "I have several times told you to put this thought aside, and you don't give it up. You must be punished!"

I wept and said I had no choice in the matter, but might be delivered from this misfortune by his "attention". He summoned me close to him, and embraced me and drew my head to his bosom, and put my forehead as qibla and recited fátiha. At that very moment my heart was turned away from the love of Kábulí and I was not attracted to him any more. The following day I came to the takya, and Kábulí had come there and sat down facing me. However much he made signs towards me and summoned me, I did not look at him at all; and I was delivered from this misfortune.

By the blessing of my qibla Bábá Musáfír, I went on the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, and by prostration in these blessed places my forehead was illuminated in this world and the next.

#### VII.36. HĀJJÍ HASAN DRINKS AGAIN

He also said: Once I was going to the camp of Prince Muhammad Kámbakhsh, and I reached Bir, where a group of friends were holding a wine-drinking party; and they forced me to drink with them. That night I saw in a dream that Bábá Musáfír had a whip in his hand and had come up to punish me, intending to flog me.

The people around me were woken by my shouts and asked what was the matter. I revealed that in a dream my pir had wanted to punish me, and

I had awoken out of fear of this. People were surprised, and I repented to my action.

VII.37. A MORTAL WOUND IN A  
BAZAAR BRAWL

Mír Hakím was from the town of Hisar in Wilayat. After his studies he became well known for his learning in the city of Balkh. He came to Hindostan and received a mansab from the emperor 'Álamgír in the contingent of Fath Alláh Khán Khostí, who was originally in charge of the defence of the town of Awrangabad, and later became súbádár [governor] of Kábul. Mír Hakím came to Awrangabad and waited upon Bábá Musáfir and became his muríd.

One day Bábá Musáfir was overseeing the /digging of the/ canal to the tank [hawz] /of the takya/, and all the faqírs were engaged in the work. Four or five hours of the day had passed when Mír Hakím came to wait on Bábá Musáfir and after greeting him sat down. After a while he rose and asked leave to depart. Bábá Musáfir told him to sit down /again/. He delayed for a while, and then got up and asked leave. Bábá Musáfir again told him to sit down. A third time he requested leave to go, stating that he had something that he must do. Bábá Musáfir bent his head forward for a while and then said:

Verse:

"Whatever God has willed comes to pass:  
That may not be what my heart would wish."

Mír Hakím and those who were present were surprised at these words. The mír departed, and after passing the Barkal, went to Kotwálpúra where he had some business. As he was returning /from there/, one of the kamalposh ["blanket-clad"] faqírs called Walí Beg started a conversation with one of the mír's companions, and a quarrel ensued between them. The mír went between the two parties to make peace, and was severely wounded in the arm. Two or three of his companions were also wounded.

His men lifted him and carried him to his house. After the midday prayer the news reached Bábá Musáfir, who went to visit his sickbed and sat by his pillow. The mír was extremely disturbed, and fell at the feet of Bábá Musáfir, weeping and saying: "You had forbidden me and I did not heed and departed. Now I am struck by this disaster. As the wound is mortal and there is no hope of my recovery, will Hazrat devote 'attention' so that my end may be favourable?"

Bábá Musáfir recited fátiha, and then rose and went back to the takya. After three hours had elapsed, news came that the mír had passed away.

This happening was a cause of the increased devotion and belief of people.

VII.38. A TRAVELLER PRESERVED FROM  
MARATHA ATTACKS

Mullá Muhammad Salím, a muríd of Bábá Musáfir, was the teacher of Ibráhím Khán called Bahádur Khán, the brother of Dá'úd Khán. He possessed enthusiasm and ecstasy, a sound disposition and a melting heart. When Háfiz Muhammad Saláh used to recite the *Mathnaví-i Ma'navi*, he would enter into ecstasy upon hearing him; and if a melody reached his ears from anywhere, he would be outside himself.

When Ibráhím Khán was in the Karnatak, he often summoned the mullá to his presence, and then paid his expenses when he departed. Once the mullá had returned from Ibráhím Khán to Awrangabad. It was midday and Bábá Musáfir was in the mosque. Bábá Musáfir wished to grasp the mullá's hand, but the latter hurried on. He avoided this a second time, but the third time Bábá Musáfir caught hold of the hem of his garment, and held him, saying: "Sit down!"

The mullá submitted that by perambulating him three times he desired to offer himself as his sacrifice. Bábá Musáfir said: "What you had in mind has come to pass. Sit down!"

The mullá sat down, apologizing. After a while Bábá Musáfir asked what had occurred to the mullá, and the mullá told him: "When I decided to come back from Ibráhím Khán, I had with me a fine horse and a sum of money which the khán had given for my expenses. On the way there was a disturbance of the Marathas. I had arrived close to Sholapur when enemy horsemen appeared on every side. In every direction where I looked there was a band of Marathas. I then took refuge in the recollection of the shaykh [Bábá Musáfir], and in myself 'turned my attention'."

"I beheld that the whole of the world was filled with the form of the shaykh, and whichever way I looked, I saw naught but the beauty of the shaykh. Horsemen passed to the left and right of me, and I saw them but they did not see me. I passed through the horsemen from daybreak to midday: until they left me, and I reached the shaykh safe and sound, with my horse and money."

When Bábá Musáfir heard this, he was silent; and the devotion of those present towards him was increased.

## VII.39. A SLAVE KILLED BY AN AFGHAN

Muhammad Zamán Khán was an Afghan muríd of Bábá Musáfir, who had been in attendance on him for a while, and used to be the imám of the prayers. He had a servant who was the slave of a Mughal. Once this servant did something wrong, and Muhammad Zamán Khán in anger struck him with a stick or stone on the forehead. The wound was not visible but, as his time had come, he died.

The owner of the slave put forward a claim of retaliation for his death. Muhammad Zamán Khán came to Bábá Musáfir and related the circumstances. Bábá Musáfir told him to hide for two days, and then go to the owner on the third day. God would make it end well!

Muhammad Zamán Khán remained hidden for two days, and went /to the owner/ on the third day. The latter, immediately he saw him, rose up and embraced him. He abandoned his claim for blood and dismissed him with abundant reassurance.

## VII.40. A PREMONITION OF DEATH

Muhammad Zamán Khán also fell ill during the time when he was living in Awrangabad; and he entrusted his property to his brother and made a bequest /of it/. When his brother asked him the reason for this, he replied: "I had a vision that a great calamity had come before me, and Bábá Musáfir was saying: 'Strike the calamity!'"

"I realized that the calamity that Bábá Musáfir was so concerned to avert could not be other than my death. I know that my death is drawing near."

He died on the second or third day after saying this.

VII.41. EVENTS AFTER THE DEATH OF  
AWRANGZEB: TAKING SIDES IN THE  
WAR OF SUCCESSION

At the time when the emperor Muhammad 'Álamgír died in the Deccan. His son Muhammad A'zam Sháh set out for Shahjahanabad [Delhi], the capital of Hindostan, to claim the throne. Asad Khán, Amír al-Umará', was chief minister and his son Dhu'l-Fiqár Khán was mír bakhshí [paymaster general]; they and the other great amírs accompanied him. Nizám al-Mulk, who at that time bore the title of Chín Qilich Khán, and Muhammad Amín Khán Bahádur both abandoned Muhammad A'zam Sháh and came from Burhanpur to Awrangabad.



Bahádur Sháh, the eldest son of /the emperor/ 'Álamgír, who was súbadár of Kábul, also advanced towards Shahjahanabad claiming the throne; and Muhammad Kámbakhsh, the youngest son of 'Álamgír, who had been given by him the throne of Bijapur and Haydarabad, stayed in Bijapur.

Chín Qilich Khán and Muhammad Amín Khán were worried and disturbed on account of their bad behaviour towards /Prince/ Muhammad A'zam Sháh. One day Chín Qilich Khán came to Bábá Musáfir and asked: "Bahádur Sháh is going from Kábul to Shahjahanabad, and Muhammad A'zam Sháh from the Deccan, while Muhammad Kámbakhsh is in Bijapur. We do not know who is destined to rule. We hope that you will make a pronouncement, so that we may accompany and serve whoever is going to be emperor."

After a while Muhammad Amín Khán Bahádur also came and made the same request. They both departed; /but/ after two or three days, on the eve of Friday when Bábá Musáfir was engaged in the khatm of the khwájas, Muhammad Amín Khán Bahádur arrived and entered into the khatm [recitation]. After the conclusion of the khatm the khán went to Khwája Mír Sháh's chamber and brought him in as an intermediary. He was the son of an uncle of Muhammad Amín Khán; and at some time earlier he had abandoned his mansab, professing allegiance to Bábá Musáfir and waiting upon him. Together the two came to Bábá Musáfir, and the khán, standing before him, brought up the same question. Bábá Musáfir remained silent, and the khán took leave and departed to his own house.

The next day Chín Qilich Khán arrived before Bábá Musáfir. There were two or three other people attending the shaykh, and the author was also present. The khán said that he would like to submit in private a request that he had. Bábá Musáfir made a sign to those present and they rose, but the author stayed in attendance.

The khán said: "We have been behaving in a /particular/ way towards Muhammad A'zam Sháh. It will be clear that we have much to fear from him. Besides this he is said to incline to Shí'ism [rafz]. We do not know which of these three brothers is going to sit upon the throne. Give us some indication in the matter, so that we may attach ourselves /to the winner/."

"Sit down!" Bábá Musáfir said, and he recited this couplet:

Verse:

"None but the Creator has knowledge of the future,  
If anyone says he knows it, do not believe him!"

And he added: "You know that none other than the Creator has knowledge of the future. What kind of tidings do you ask of me?"

The khán was silent. Then Bába Musáfir said: "Taking an omen is in accordance with the Law. Let us ask the faqírs to take an omen. Whatever is revealed must be one of two things, inspired either by God or by the Devil. If it comes from God, your works will prosper: and if—God forbid—it is from the Devil, the contrary will happen."

The khán took his leave and departed. After this Muhammad Amín Khán sent a trusted servant called Khwája Khayr Alláh, who was a muríd of Bába Musáfir. It was with the same object, and he received the same answer as Chín Qilich Khán. Then Bába Musáfir told some darwishes including Hájjí 'Ashúr and Hájjí Sádiq to "turn their attention" to the concern of Chín Qilich Khán and Muhammad Amín Khán. They "turned their attentions", and each wrote down something of whatever came to pass and told some of it by word of mouth. Bába Musáfir was silent.

One day he went to renew his wazú, and Sháh Qalandar came to serve him and was standing there. Bába Musáfir turned towards him and said: "You never do anything but sleep! You are always asleep! Chín Qilich Khán and Muhammad Amín Khán have said so-and-so. Go and 'turn attention' to it, and let me know whatever is revealed."

Two or three days later Bába Musáfir again told Sháh Qalandar: "It is some days since I have told you to do this, but until now you have given no reply. Go and 'turn your attention' to it!"

The sháh acknowledged his fault, and went inside the tomb of Bába Palangposh and passed into meditation. The weather was very hot and his meditation went on for a long time. After a while he raised his head, renewed his wazú and offered the noon prayer in congregation. After this he stood in front of the door of the chamber of Bába Musáfir with his hands folded. The author reported that Sháh Qalandar was standing outside, and Bába Musáfir ordered him to be called in. The sháh stood inside the chamber and Bába Musáfir said: "Sit down and speak!"

The sháh sat down and said: "I was sitting inside the tomb, 'turning my attention', when I had a vision. A world full of light appeared; and in that world a jewelled dagger was given into my hand and a voice said: 'Go in whatever direction the dagger turns!' "

I grasped the dagger in my hand, and it flew out of it in the direction of Hindostan. After that the voice again reached my ears: "Although there will be obstacles in the beginning, the end is good and it will be a most favourable time."

When the sháh had related this, Bába Musáfir immediately summoned

a man called Shaykh 'Abd Alláh, who was his munshí [secretary], and he told him to write about the matter to Chín Qilich Khán Bahádur and to Muhammad Amín Khán Bahádur, to the effect that a darwísh had seen this in a vision.

Shaykh 'Abd Alláh wrote what he was told and sent it to both of them. Immediately the letters with the news reached them, they despatched their advance provisions in the direction of Hindostan. The following day they came to Bábá Musáfir, had fátiha recited for them, and set out.

They arrived safely in Shahjahanabad [Delhi]. Bahádur Sháh, after victory over Muhammad A'zam Sháh, was seated on the throne of the realm. Both of them proffered their services, and the emperor came forward with complete kindness. After a while his advisers remarked that they had not shown fidelity to Muhammad A'zam Sháh. For a while, on account of these objections, the emperor did not pay attention to them; but later God brought them forward in a manner which humbled all the /other/ amírs.

In company they always used to relate their gratitude for the attentions of Bábá Musáfir. Finally Muhammad Amín Khán became chief minister [wazír-i a'zam] of the emperor Muhammad Sháh. After Muhammad Amín Khán, Chín Qilich Khán held the post of /chief/ minister, and after that he became Absolute Representative [wakíl-i mutlaq] of the emperor, and wielded the power of the realm. Now he rules over all the territories of the Deccan and bear the titles of Ásaf Jah, Nizám al-Mulk Bahádur, Fath Jang, Sipahsálár.

This is all the result of the "attentions" of Bábá Musáfir.

#### VII 42. A DANCING-BOY IN THE TAKYA

Once during the rains the waters of the nullah were in spate, and Mír Mahmúd was brimful of madness. 'Abd al-Jabbár, a muríd of Bábá Musáfir, occupied the upper room. The dancing-boy called Kábulí, who at that time was at the height of his reputation, had been summoned at night by Mír Mahmúd. Mír Mahmúd was sitting in the upper room of 'Abd al-Jabbár Beg and was watching the spectacle of his dancing. He thought that since the water of the stream beneath the takya was in full tumult, the sound of the music and the dancing would not reach the ears of Bábá Musáfir.

In the morning after finishing coffee Bábá Musáfir upbraided the mir and gave him two or three slaps on the cheek. The mir acknowledging his fault, fell down before Bábá Musáfir, and kissed his feet and rubbed his

eyes upon them. Bábá Musáfir was at the height of his wrath, and hit him a blow on the head, so that the cheek and beard of the mír were fouled with dust, but the mír went on touching his feet and rubbing his eyes upon them.

When this had occurred three times in succession, Sháh Kúchak, who was very close to Bábá Musáfir, interceded. Bábá Musáfir went to his chamber, and the mír gave thanks to God, saying: "At every blow that Hazrat struck on my head I experienced a release within myself."

VII.43. A VISION OF THE COMPILER  
AT THE AGE OF SEVEN

When the compiler was seven years old, the Khalífa 'Abd al-Rahím was sitting in a forty-day fast. A number of men of learning and faqírs were sitting with him in the mosque of the forty days, and a curtain had been set up in the mosque.

At this time Bábá Musáfir was sitting in the bungalow [banglá] with the khalífa, Mawlaví 'Abd Alláh Badakhshí and Mawlaví Zahír al-Dín and some other persons, collating /texts of/ the *Nafahát al-uns*. One day, when I got the chance, I went to the khalífa /'Abd al-Rahím/, and out of kindness he drew me close to him and sat me down, and then went into meditation. The others who were there were also in meditation; and I bent my head forward, imitating them.

During this time I had a vision. In it the whole of the world came to view, in some way clean and filled with light such as cannot be described. If an egg was placed in the west its identical image would appear from the eastern side, and in that world of purity the whole heart was saying "Alláh! Alláh".

After those present had raised their heads from meditation, I did likewise. The khalífa caught hold of my ear and affectionately tweaked it a little, asking: "What was your heart saying?"

"It was saying 'Alláh'," I replied.

"If you come to me every day," he said, "I will make your heart say it in the same way."

My enthusiasm for this communion increased, and my heart greatly inclined towards it. I used to come and sit by the khalífa; but during that time Bábá Musáfir would usually call me by name to bring a book, or for some other errand. I used to come out from behind the curtain /in the mosque/ and do what he ordered.

Two day passed in this fashion, but on the third day Bábá Musáfir

stood in the mosque after the noonday prayer and summoned the khalífa to him. He said: "Such a one [by which he meant myself] has become my hands and feet. If he sits in communion, the work does not get done. After this do not sit him down in front of you!"

Two or three hours later, when the author went back to see the khalífa, he kindly called me and sat me down and said: "You should be present with Hazrat Íshán night and day, heart and soul; for this is your task."

#### VII.44. A SEER OF KHICHRI

One time when Bábá Palangposh fell ill, he said: "Cook a seer of khichri in a seer of ghee!"

They made it ready and brought it to him. He shared it among all those who were present, and himself ate two or three mouthfuls. God bestowed on him a full recovery.

Whenever during his lifetime anyone of his close disciples fell ill, he would feed them on khichri cooked in this way. He himself would eat it and be healed.

Once Hazrat Íshán, that is to say Sháh Musáfir, had a very fierce bout of fever that was not cured by any treatment. He said: "Make ready the medicine of the nadhr of Hazrat my Guide!"

I brought khichri cooked in the manner described. After reciting fátiha in the name of the Lord of both Worlds [the Holy Prophet], I shared the khichri out and he ate two or three mouthfuls. The fever died down and he was completely cured.

Till today it is plain that if anyone who is sick with faith cooks the khichri /that is/ the nadhr of Bábá Palangposh, he will be entirely cured—if Alláh—may He be exalted—wills.

#### VII.45. THE COMPILER'S FEVER CURE BY RESORT TO BÁBÁ PALANGPOSH'S TOMB

Once the author was very sick with fever, and three years passed in sore distress. The martyred sháh [Sháh Qalandar] and Sufi 'Abd Alláh and others said: "Put your head at the feet of your True Guide, and implore health from him!"

I came to Bábá Musáfir and fell at his feet. I stated that I was at death's door from fever, and asked him to "turn attention" to averting it. Bábá Musáfir placed his hand upon my head and said: "Go to the tomb of /Bábá Palangposh/ and ask humbly!"

At his command I went to the tomb and made many humble entreaties. During the course of this I had a vision, and I saw that Hazrat Bábá Palangposh had come face to face /with me/ and was standing in front of me. His feet were visible and he was wearing a Qurayshí cap on his head, but his blessed face could not be seen.

He placed his hand on my neck, and something like smoke or shadow came into his fist. He pulled at it down to my throat, and when it reached the base of my throat, it broke from his hand and again clung to my gullet. He put his hand on my neck again, and drew it out till it reached my chest; but again it escaped from his hand and clung to my throat. The third time he drew it out with full force, and it came down to my waist.

I rose up stupefied. As that was the day of the /recurrence of the/ fever, it came upon me. A second time it came upon me to some degree, but the third time it was completely warded off.

This was the effect of what Hazrat Íshán had ordered /me to do/.

#### VII.46. MÍR MAHMÚD THROWN FROM A HORSE

Sháh Núr Hammámí, whose tomb is now well known, was in complete accord with Bábá Musáfir. Every year on the last Wednesday of the month of Safar there was a gathering at his khánqáh, as there is to this day. After the death of Sháh Núr, his khalífa and successor Sháh Shiháb al-Dín sent a muríd to Bábá Musáfir /to remind him/ that the following Wednesday was the last Wednesday /of the month of Safar/, and the countryside was green and pleasant: Bábá Musáfir should come.

On the following day servants from the house of Khushkhabar Khán brought a horse for him to ride, and after the midday prayer Bábá Musáfir set out. Mír Mahmúd, Mír 'Abd 'Alláh and the writer, as well as some others, mounted our horses and accompanied him.

As the horses had been tethered, they were spirited and unruly, but Mír Mahmúd spurred on his horse and made it gallop. Mír 'Abd Alláh, who was in the prime of his youth, also spurred his horse forward, and the other horses grew disorderly. This displeased Bábá Musáfir, who after he had reached Sháh Núr's place and had recited the evening prayer, set out to return to the town. Those who had accompanied him set out with him. They had gone a part of the way, when the horse of the mír grew unruly. It started to gallop and bore the mír away. As the mír himself was a madcap, people thought that he had spurred the horse on, while in fact he had no control /over it/.

When the mír reached Kálá Chabútra ["the black platform"], he fell

off his horse with a hard knock. He was hurt in head and body and lost consciousness, while the horse ran away. People came up from behind, and when they saw what had happened, they fetched a charpoy; and they lifted the *mír* onto it and brought him to the *takya*.

He was unconscious for three nights and days. On the fourth day *Bábá Musáfir* came to see him, and he came back wholly to his senses and fell weeping at *Hazrat*'s feet; and he offered a *nadhr* to *Bábá Musáfir* for his recovery. *Bábá Musáfir* recited *fátiha* for the *mír*'s recovery and then went back to his chamber.

The *mír* used to say: "My injury was due to my lack of politeness in galloping the horse. This affliction came upon me from *Hazrat Íshán*."

#### VII.47. BAD CHARACTERS IN THE TAKYA LEAVE FOR SURAT AND DIE

*Sháh Kúchak* was one of the intimate servitors of *Bábá Musáfir*. He had a brother called *Sháh Bárikí*, who lived in a thatch-hut which was in the *takya*, together with his son who was of peerless beauty and good looks. There were also some rascals who used to drink *búza* [barley-beer] together secretly in the hut. There were seventeen of them, and they thought they could commit this act secretly but it was known to the bright intelligence of *Bábá Musáfir*. They continued to behave thus for six months, until they were taken by a foolish desire to go to the port of *Surat*. They took leave of *Bábá Musáfir* and departed.

One day *Bábá Musáfir*, "turning his attention" to his companions, asked *Sháh Kúchak*, who was waiting upon him, if any news had come of *Sháh Bárikí* and the others who had gone to *Surat*. *Hazrat* observed that news of them would come shortly.

After three or four days the news came that, after they had reached *Surat*, within six days they had all died one after the other, except one of them who was still alive. Then the latter, who was called *Sháh Fayzí*, returned from *Surat* and came to *Bábá Musáfir*; but after five or six days he also died suddenly.

After a while *Sháh Kúchak* sought leave from *Bábá Musáfir* to depart to *Wilayat*, but *Bábá Musáfir*, moved by kindness, refused two or three times. When he pressed his request, *Bábá Musáfir* grew angry /and said/: "Did you not see what happened to your brother? And you want me to act as /your/ executioner?"

The *sháh* repented of his request to leave. Acknowledging his fault, he "placed the head of excuse on the blessed foot."

## VII.48. A QUARREL OVER A JÁGÍR

Mírzá Na'ím Beg, a disciple of Bábá Musáfir, used to say: Before Nawwáb Nizám al-Mulk Bahádur Fath Jang took up residence in Awrangabad as súbádár of the Deccan in the reign of Muhammad Farrukhsiyar, I was in charge of the defence of the city, and held a jágír [land-assignment] which was formerly a part of the salary of the mustawfí [accountant general]. As the mustawfí was an old friend of the díwán [revenue collector], the díwán wished to transfer my jágír and give it to the mustawfí. However much I remonstrated with the díwán he did not agree to keep my jágír as it was; and he arranged that, subject to the nawwáb's approval, I should exchange it for a village of the jágír of the mustawfí.

I was vexed at this, and I came to Bábá Musáfir, greeted him and sat down. Bábá Musáfir looked at me and said: "You appear sad!"

I told him about the jágír. After a moment's hesitation, he said: "It has come to 'the blow is sacrosanct'. One must be reckless in a matter which cannot be solved peacefully."

In my mind I was concerned, because the díwán was an important man and I was weak: what kind of blow could I wreak upon him? I took leave of Bábá Musáfir and went home. The following day I went to the kachahrí [courtroom] and sat down near the díwán. I brought up the matter of the jágír again, and the díwán replied in the same way as before. At that moment the mustawfí came inside the door of the courtroom, and my eye fell upon him. Suddenly, losing control of myself, my hand went down to my sword, and I said: "You want to transfer my jágír and give it to this Hindu!"

After I said this, I rose and came face to face with the mustawfí, shouting: "If this man kills me, the jágír is his; but if I kill him, it's mine!"

The mustawfí, when he beheld this state, fled before me in fear and trembling; and the díwán sent men to summon me close to him, and repeatedly reassured me, saying: "Do not worry! I shall not transfer the jágír from you."

So he wrote a memorandum, and after endorsing it on the spot, he gave it to me. I returned to Bábá Musáfir very pleased; and he looked at me and said, smiling: "Have you understood the meaning of 'the blow is sacrosanct'?"

I gave thanks for the attentions of Bábá Musáfir.

## VII.49. AN OBEDIENT SNAKE

Mírzá 'Abd Alláh, who was one of the "people of perfection," related: One day I had gone to wait upon Bábá Musáfir. At the time of the after-



noon prayer he was sitting by the side of the river on a stone platform adjacent to the mosque. Suddenly a terrible black snake appeared. Those present were ready to drive it away, but he said: "It is coming before me. Do not be afraid!"

The snake came and rubbed his head upon his knee, and he told it to go away; whereupon the snake disappeared from the sight of those who were present.

VII.50. EQUAL HONOUR TO THE  
FOUR CALIPHS

Hájjí 'Abd al-Rahím, a muríd who became a great shaykh honoured in Arcot, used to relate: There was a young man who was resolved to travel in the search for God. He waited upon the shaykhs of the time in Multan and Lahore and Shahjahanabad, asking for aid in his quest, but nowhere had he obtained his desire. He went to Surat, where there was a "possessor of perfection" called Sayyid Sa'd Alláh, on whom he waited and to whom he revealed his desire. The sayyid said: "You have a long way in front of you, and you want to arrive at the resting-place quickly. How can this be done? /The answer is that/ the progress of the traveller is linked to the grace of Hazrat 'Alí. Although all Four Friends [the first four Caliphs] are so in truth, nevertheless one must show allegiance to 'Alí and love him more than the others."

The young man assented to this, and under this shaykh's instruction made a beginning in Sufi practices; and in a few days he went mad. One of his acquaintances, who had gone to Mecca, found him in this condition on his return. He took him to Bábá Musáfir and narrated his history. Bábá Musáfir ordered him to be brought before him. When he was brought, no sooner had Bábá Musáfir glanced at him than he came to his senses and placed his head at Bábá Musáfir's feet. The latter said: "You did wrong in thinking of more and less in relation to the Four Chosen Ones [the four Caliphs]; and you have seen the fruit of that /action/ also."

The young man obeyed the commands of Bábá Musáfir, and in a few days he attained his desire. "The nobility of the saints is True!"

VII.51. EARLY DAYS AT THE TAKYA:  
THE OFFERING OF CHÍN QILICH KHÁN

Sháh Kúchak used to say: In the beginning there was very little indeed to spend, and the month of Ramazan had come. I represented to Bábá Musáfir the state at the coming of Ramazan, and he said: "God is all-powerful!"

After some days he went into the upper room which is over his chamber, and made the chain fast from the inside. After two or three hours a figure came to the takya with a full retinue. After seating him in the *díwán-khána* [hall of audience], I came to inform Bábá Musáfir. I saw that the door was closed, and I looked in at the window. I saw that Bábá Musáfir had lifted one corner of the mat and was rubbing his face in the dust, representing something to God very slowly with all humility. On seeing this I was overcome by fear and awe, and my body started to tremble. I came down from the upper room frightened and trembling.

After a while Bábá Musáfir /himself/ came down from the upper room and went into the *díwán-khána*; and the man who had come waited upon him. After drinking coffee the latter called for something from his own servant. This was a sum of money wrapped up in a handkerchief. He offered it to Bábá Musáfir, saying: "Chín Qilich Khán /sends his respects/ and has sent an offering of 200 rupees for the expenditure of Hazrat in Ramazán."

Bábá Musáfir recited *fátiha* and made a sign to me to take /the money/. I picked it up, and he smiled and said:

Verse:

"Until the child of the sweetseller weeps,  
How shall the ocean of God's mercy come to the boil?"

Bábá Musáfir smilingly recited this couplet because my looking in at the window had been revealed to him.

#### VII.52. A CLOTH FOR THE RECITATION

Muhammad Ghiyáth Khán Baháduř, who had come to visit the tomb /of Bábá Musáfir/ at the 'Urs [anniversary of the death] of Hazrat, related: In the days after the death of the emperor 'Álamgír, when the Nawwáb Ghází al-Dín was residing at Burhanpur, Prince Muhammad A'zam Sháh released Rája Sáhú, who had been a captive of Awrangzeb, and gave him leave to depart to his own territory. The raja besieged Awrangabad with a large army; and the nawwáb, when he heard this news, sent me with an army to chastise him.

So I came to a settlement four karohs away from the city and encamped. The Marathas heard of this and went off. I entered the city after mid-morning and stopped at the house of Hájjí Muhammad Ziyá', who was a devotee of Bábá Musáfir. In the middle of the afternoon I came to the takya to wait on Bábá Musáfir, who was engaged in the *khatm* [recitation]

of the khwájás with a congregation in the mosque. I myself also entered into the recitation.

A round cloth of mashrú' [mixed silk and cotton] was spread beneath the beads of the khatm. I resolved in my mind that when I went home, I would have a cloth of similar fashion prepared for myself for the khatm.

After the khatm was over, Bábá Musáfir asked me: "Do you also perform the khatm?"

"Yes," I said; and I left and came home.

The following day he sent that cloth to me. Sháh Kúchak came and said: "Hazrat has commanded that you should perform the khatm on this cloth."

I made my acknowledgments. The thought that had passed through my mind had been revealed to Bábá Musáfir, and it became the cause of an increase of attachment.

It is now twenty-five years that the cloth has been in my house, and I perform the khatm of the khwájás upon it. It has never become worn; and from the time when it came into my house I have found deliverances and blessings.

#### VII 53 A MEETING WITH A DARWÍSH FORETOLD

Háfiz Muhammad Ismá'íl related: "One day I submitted to Bábá Musáfir that I wished to attain divine knowledge [ma'rifat]. He said: 'When you are forty years old, you will meet a darwísh and will give him my greeting. That darwísh will 'turn his attention' towards you, and you will attain your desire.' "

I asked where I would find him.

"In Shahjahanabad," he replied. "He will be near /the shrine of/ the Prophet's footprint."

I asked another question: "Until that time what shall I do?"

"Until that time," he said, "consider everyone that you see better than yourself!"

And he added: "Do not neglect the dhíkr [recitation] of 'hú'!"

#### VII 54 HAZRAT WRITES AN AMULET

Háfiz Muhammad Ismá'íl also related: One day I was sitting in the mosque attending upon Hazrat, and was reading the book *Tuhfat al-abrár*. At that moment a man came through the door and submitted: "My son is ill. It is my hope that you will bestow an amulet [ta'wíze]."

Hazrat told Sháh Yúnus to bring the pencase. He wrote the amulet and gave it /to him/. On the fourth day the man returned, bringing his son with him. He offered a nadhr in thanks for the recovery of the boy.

VII.55. AN AMULET FOR THE  
FALLING SICKNESS

The háfiz also related: It was Sunday, and I was seated in Bábá Musáfir's presence. I remarked that Hazrat gave amulets to people, and that my brother was a sufferer from the falling sickness. We had claims on Hazrat of being "his slaves and born in the household." To whom else could we turn?

He told me to have patience for a moment. Then some people passed, carrying a corpse on a bier. Bábá Musáfir rose for the funeral prayer. Others also accompanied Bábá Musáfir in performing the prayer. Then he commanded me to bring two flowers from the bier. He recited something over the flowers and gave them to me with his own hand, saying: "Tie this around the neck of your brother and do not open it for a week."

I made the flowers into an amulet, which I tied around the throat of Muhammad Sádiq.

By the grace of God and through the "attention" of Bábá Musáfir the falling sickness was completely cured.

VII.56. A CHILD IN RAMAZÁN

Mír Muhammad Wafá' 'Assárí, who was a sayyid and a mystic ['árif] and was honoured by the emperor 'Álamgír, had a heartfelt link with Bábá Musáfir. His son Mír Rashíd Khán was brought up by Bábá Musáfir and is an acknowledged muríd. The latter used to relate: When I was a little boy, I was taught by Mír Muhammad Yúsuf in the schoolhouse [maktab-khána]. In Ramazan most of the children kept the fast, and I did so myself. One day Mír Muhammad Yúsuf said that there was a child who in Ramazan went to the latrine and drank water.

It passed through my mind that I too could go to the toilet and drink water. With this in mind I went beneath the weeping-willow tree, where they put the vessels for ablutions. As the vessels were new and freshly filled, I took one of them and went to the latrine. In spite of the fact that I was not thirsty, I drank some water and dried my lips and came out; and after reciting the midday prayer I went to the schoolhouse.

In the middle of the afternoon, when the children's lessons were over, I wanted to go home after greeting Bábá Musáfir with the other children;

but Hazrat called my name and summoned me. He said: "Didn't you go to the latrine and drink water there?"

Although no one knew about this, I was put to the highest degree of shame. When he saw my shame, he immediately said to console me: "You are a decent chap [mard-i ádamí], and of course you don't do that kind of thing! I was joking with you!"

VII.57. REPENTANCE FROM DRINKING WINE AND  
WATCHING DANCING GIRLS

Mír Rashíd Khán also used to relate: In the beginning of the days of my youth I was guilty of drinking wine and watching the spectacle of dancing girls, as well as other forbidden acts. Out of shame regarding them I could not come to the blessed takya. /Then/ I saw in a dream that I had come to the takya and had arrived at the threshold of the gate. Beside the gate Sháh 'Arab was seated. I greeted him and he said: "Mír Rashíd, it is some time since you visited the takya."

Bábá Musáfir was standing in the courtyard of his chamber, and when he heard the noise he said: "Why has he come?"

Although out of shame I had not the courage to go into his presence, yet I knew that he was aware of my arrival. So I was obliged to go before him and salute him. He grasped my hand and led me inside the chamber. He /then/ looked at me and said: "I hear that you drink wine."

At that time I recalled that a man had repented in the presence of Hazrat Ghawth al-Thaqalayn. Then whenever he went out of his house to commit an unworthy act and someone asked him where he was going, he was obliged to tell the truth and endure shame. So he was driven to repent of his evil intentions, and to set out /instead/ upon some good work which he could describe to the questioner. In this manner his evil actions were amended to good ones.

In my dream I also repented within my heart of drinking wine. Yet I wondered how I could carry on without taking stimulants, and I consoled myself with the reflection that after giving up wine there were plenty of other intoxicants; but Hazrat then asked: "What other stimulants do you take?"

So I repented in my heart of taking the other stimulants, and said: "I have repented of the whole range of them."

At this moment Mír Báqí Khán said to me: "You should repent also of watching kanchanis [dancers]."

Hazrat took note of his words, and he turned to me and said: "If you

repent of this habit, there is a horse that is with Mír Muhammad Báqí; a horse of that kind will come to your house.”

Then I awoke, and in consequence of the remorse which I had expressed before Bábá Musáfir in my dream, I sat sorrowful and grieving. The same day at the time off the afternoon prayer Mír Báqí Khán came to visit me and said: “Hazrat has sent his greeting to you.”

From the beginnings of my devotion to Bábá Musáfir only on this occasion did he send a message of greeting, and I knew that its despatch was solely on account of my abandoning my reprehensible habits.

By the good fortune of the “attentions” of Bábá Musáfir the intention of evil thoughts passed from my heart. After a while I attended on Bábá Musáfir and I repented of all evil actions and became a muríd. Finally the very horse of which Hazrat had told me in the dream came into my house, and on that horse I got employment /as a trooper/.

#### VII.58. A DREAM PRESAGING VICTORY AND PREFERMENT

Mír Rashíd Khán also related: After the death of Bábá Musáfir, when the nawwáb Nizám al-Mulk came back from the “Abode of Victory” Ujjayn, he crossed the Narbada and arrived near Burhanpur. News came of the advance of Dilávar Khán from Hindostan and of ‘Álam ‘Alí Khán from Awrangabad to oppose him. At that time I was bakhshí [paymaster] of Mír Ahmad Khán Bahádur, Násir Jang, the younger son of Nizám al-Mulk.

I wanted to bring up a matter regarding my own assignment [ta‘alluqa] before the nawwáb, but however much I tried the nawwáb did not pay attention. I was upset at this outcome, and I went back to my house and worried about the difficulty of making ends meet. I reflected that to be a faqir would be better than this employment.

While thinking in this manner I fell asleep, and I saw in a dream that Bábá Musáfir was sitting on a bench upon a high platform. The nawwáb Nizám al-Mulk was sitting on his left in the same fashion, and I was standing, with my hands folded /in respect/, face to face with Bábá Musáfir. He turned towards me and stretched out his right hand, indicating that I should proffer my respects. The nawwáb had also received sign from Bábá Musáfir and was glancing towards me. I proffered my respects, and at the same moment I understood that it was improper to be complaining about such a man.

I went to Muhammad Ghiyáth al-Dín Khán Bahádur and related the events of the dream. He interpreted it to mean that, God willing, Nizám al-Mulk was destined to win; and I would proffer my respects in return for receipt of mansab [rank] and a jágír [land-assignment]. After a while the nawwáb Nizám al-Mulk defeated Dilávar Khán and 'Álam 'Alí Khán, and the narrator proffered his humble respects for receipt of mansab and a title [khitáb]; and he also obtained his jágír.

VII.59. PAYING THE TROOPS

Mír Rashíd Khán also related: After the death of Bábá Musáfir, when Muhammad Ghiyáth Khán Bahádur was qil'adár [commandant of the fort] of Muler, he appointed me his deputy qil'adár. When he was transferred from the post, I was also transferred. 10,000 rupees of the arrears of salary of the troops were still at headquarters [dar sarkár]; they thronged about me, but I did not have anything in hand. They wished to submit me to indignities. Then, some hours before nightfall, I fell asleep.

I saw in a dream that I had come to the blessed takya and I was wondering what service I could perform worthy of Bábá Musáfir, other than exhibiting myself on the steps of the takya so that people would walk over my head. I made a doorstep of myself and people trod on my back as they passed; and I drew pleasure from this. It then occurred to me that my neck would be even better /for the purpose/; and they trod on it as they passed, and my pleasure and joy increased. I said again, "Let them put their feet on my head!" And they trod on my head. My beard and mouth were filled with dust, and I felt a complete release.

At that moment a Hindu was standing near me, and I said to him: "Do you also put your foot on my head and pass over me!"

He did not do so, and said: "What action is this that you have chosen?"

I grew ashamed at what he had said, and I rose up and went inside the takya. I saw that Bábá Musáfir was sitting inside the courtyard of the mosque, facing the qibla, and Sháh Khádim was opposite him with his back to the qibla. Hazrat looked towards me and said: "Are you well?"

I was silent and proffered my respects. Sháh Khádim said: "Hazrat is saying to you 'Are you well?' And you are greeting him, but you should have answered, 'Yes, I am well.'"

At this point I awoke from my dream, and I saw that it was less than an hour before nightfall.

I well remember that when Bábá Musáfir in the dream inquired how

I was, it was the same hour in the takya. My mind was reassured by this dream, but I was still afraid of the crowd /of unpaid soldiers/, and I passed a day and a night with this worry.

In the morning all the men came to me, and they said to me in a wholly peaceful way: "You have no cash in your hands. Why do you not issue an order that we take our money from the headmen [muqaddamán] of the village of Bhech and other places?"

I reflected that I would resign myself to it from him if Muhammad Ghiyáth Khán threw me beneath the feet of an elephant, but at the moment I had to procure my release from the hands of these men. I gave the written order [parvánagí], and they took the money which was owing to them from the headmen.

By the power of Hazrat I was delivered from a great calamity.

#### VII.60. A WIFE'S CHOICE OF SUFI PATH

Mír Rashíd Khán also related: My wife Rabí'a Begam wished to become a muríd in the Qádiriyya order [taríqa]. I told her that, although in truth there was no distinction between the saints, as her ancestors had been muríds of the lofty line [silsila] of the Naqshbandiyya, it would be better if she became a muríd in that order.

She saw in a dream that great cooking-pots had been placed on the stand for the pots in the courtyard, and food was being cooked; and the noise of men was coming from outside. She said: In the dream I came into the courtyard, and I saw that Mír Yúsuf and Hájjí Habíb Alláh were standing /there/, and two men were coming from either side, holding a curtain made of a sheet of flowers. Behind that curtain Bábá Musáfir was advancing. Mír Muhammad Yúsuf and Hájjí Habíb Alláh said: "We have come to make a muríd of you!"

From that time my wife possessed a special allegiance towards Bábá Musáfir.

#### VII.61. AN ILLNESS CURED

Khwája 'Abd al-Salám, Waqá'i '-nigár [official reporter] of Jalnapur, said: One day I had the good fortune to attend on Bábá Musáfir. For some time I had been suffering from fever. Bábá Musáfir asked how I was?

"The heat never passes from me." /I replied/.

"If the heat does not pass from you, you should pass from the heat."

By the power of this sentence of Hazrat the illness left me and I was completely cured.



VII.62. JARS OF GRAIN IN THE TAKYA

Once there was a shortage of expenditure in the takya, and I mentioned to Bábá Musáfir that during the previous two or three days the pot had not been put on to cook in the kitchen. Bábá Musáfir asked: "Are the mouths of the jars of grain open or sealed?"

"They are sealed," I submitted.

He ordered that the mouths /of the jars/ of the store should be opened, because an earlier shaykh had kept the rule that there should never be anything stored in a khánqáh. He said: "Leave the mouths of the jars of grain open, so that God may fill them from the treasury of the Unseen!"

The muríds acted upon his orders, and immediately from the Unseen something arrived, and the stores were filled. The compiler had left the mouths of the jars open according to Bábá Musáfir's orders. On the next day unexpected offerings arrived, and a large quantity of grain was bought to fill the jars.

VII.63. INTOXICATION AND IMPERTINENCE  
PUNISHED

There was young man from the Baluch nation called Qilich Beg, who was reckless and addicted to actions against the sacred Law. One day after the afternoon prayer Bábá Musáfir was in the mosque, and Qilich Beg came from Qutbpura, drunk and out of his senses. He had put on his head a sprig of hemp [bang], which is called charas. He asked someone: "Where is Hazrat?"

The man replied that he was sitting in the mosque. He went disrespectfully inside the door of the mosque. When his glance fell upon Bábá Musáfir, his colour changed and his body began to tremble. In fear and trembling he made his salutation and with all politeness sat down beside the bank [suffa] of the mosque, attending on Bábá Musáfir. Bábá Musáfir smiled ferociously and asked from where he was coming.

"From Qutbpura," he replied.

Hazrat remarked: "Your ears appear to be warm! Go home and sleep!"

With no control over himself Qilich Beg rose from his attendance and left for home. He was then struck by a severe illness and died after four or five days.

On account of his impoliteness towards Hazrat he attained his deserts and died in his youth.

VII.64. DEATH OF AN IMPOLITE SERVITOR

There was a reckless and impolite khádim [servitor] called Mullá 'Álim.

who was always present. He did many things which did not meet with Bábá Musáfir's approval, and Bábá Musáfir was often displeased by his actions. One day he said to Mullá 'Álim: "You haven't been to Mír 'Abd Alláh's house? If you go there, I shall punish you."

Mullá 'Álim said nothing. Two or three days later Bábá Musáfir was in the mosque before the evening prayer. The author and Mír 'Abd al-Ayman were both standing waiting upon him, he asked: "Where is Mullá 'Álim?"

Mír 'Abd al-Ayman said: "He has gone to the house of Mír 'Abd Alláh."

Bábá Musáfir was annoyed and said: "Summon him and bring him back here!"

He was brought and Bábá Musáfir said to him: "I told you not to go to Mír 'Abd Alláh's house. How shall I punish you?"

"It is night now," he added. "Tomorrow I shall punish him and you."

Mullá 'Álim/ said: "Whatever the punishment is, it should be inflicted on me, but nothing should be said to Mír 'Abd 'Alláh."

Bábá Musáfir was even more upset and said: "Right! We'll understand tomorrow!"

After this dialogue he got up, recited the evening prayer, and went into his chamber. In the morning Mullá 'Álim fell ill with fever, and on the following day his tongue was constricted and he said: "Woe! I am burning!"

On the third day he died, and this was a warning for many people.

#### VII.65. THE PARENTAGE OF MÍR MUHAMMAD YÚSUF, HIS UPBRINGING BY BÁBÁ MUSÁFIR AND HIS SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

Mír Husayn, the father of Mír Muhammad Yúsuf, was one of the men of Badakhshan who had come from there to Hindostan, and had entered the service of Prince Bedár Bakht. He got married in Awrangabad, and was in complete accord with Bábá Musáfir. After this with his household he set out for Mecca, reaching the port of Surat and embarking on a ship.

In those days Mír Muhammad Yúsuf was born, and he was nicknamed Mír Daryá'i ["Sea Mír"]. After his father had attained the felicity of pilgrimage, he returned to Awrangabad and brought the child to Bábá Musáfir. He said: "I intend to go to the prince's army, and I want the boy to be beneath the feet of Hazrat like the other children."

Mír Husayn went to the army of the prince, and after a little while the mother of Mír Muhammad Yúsuf fell ill. She sent a request to Bábá Musáfir /to the effect/ that her time had drawn near and, as his father had left the child for Hazrat's service, she also gave him to Bábá Musáfir.

After the death of the mother, Bábá Musáfir brought up the child like a son. He arranged his circumcision, and drew up his programme of study, and arranged his marriage. Then /the boy/ wished to enter /Mughal government/ service. Though this did not please Bábá Musáfir, he saw that Mír Muhammad Yúsuf had a great longing /to do so/, and he sent him to 'Arab Beg Khán in the army of Prince Muhammad Kámbakhsh.

At that time the prince, on the orders of /his father/ the emperor, was besieging the fort of Jinji. Dhu' l-Fiqár Khán, the son of Asad Khán the wazír of the emperor, had been appointed to accompany the prince. He had an understanding with Muhammad A'zam Sháh, an elder son of the emperor; and, as he did not want Kámbakhsh to attract the emperor's /favourable/ attention, he did not make any effort towards the taking of the fortress.

Kámbakhsh was aware of this. He wanted to lead an assault in person and take the fortress, but Dhu' l-Fiqár Khán got word of his intention. He secretly wrote to the emperor that the prince did not heed the counsel and advice of his servants, and planned after taking the fort to stray from the straight path and rebel against the emperor. The emperor wrote to Dhu' l-Fiqár Khán to imprison Kámbakhsh.

Mír Muhammad Yúsuf arrived at the prince's camp just at the time when Dhu' l-Fiqár Khán imprisoned the prince. His hopes were disappointed, and he returned to Bábá Musáfir at Awrangabad. As he had departed against the wishes of Bábá Musáfir, he returned with his hopes unfulfilled. Hazrat said: "By God's grace, nothing is lacking here. So stay here and busy yourself with study!"

The mír was kept busy in the pursuit of learning, and Bábá Musáfir paid much attention to his education. In a few years, thanks to this especial attention of Bábá Musáfir, he had gained some store of all branches of knowledge, and had become an educated and learned man. After this Bábá Musáfir wished to instruct him in the knowledge of tasawwuf [Sufism] and the path of the darwísh; but he did not give his heart to this study, which is the chief of all blessings.

In Mughalpura there was a crazy woman called Mámá Shakar, who often used to visit Bábá Musáfir and speak words mixed with madness. Bábá Musáfir used to devote attention to her, and he used to give her food

and clothes. One day a slave of the mír teased this mad woman without cause, and she came to Bábá Musáfir to complain. Bábá Musáfir ordered the slave to be brought in. Just then Mír Muhammad Yúsuf came up, and Bábá Musáfir accused: "Your slave has unjustly tormented this mad-woman. Punish him so that he does not do it again!"

/Mír Muhammad Yúsuf/ replied that the madwoman must have said something to /provoke/ him. On this point he was so contentious in Bábá Musáfir's presence that the latter was displeased and forbade him admission into the takya. He also remarked that whatever he had done for the mír and whatever he had planned for him was misplaced.

After a while Mír Habíb Alláh, who was an intimate of Bábá Musáfir and a classfellow of the mír, mediated between them. He repeatedly interceded with Bábá Musáfir, who remained unreconciled. Finally he agreed /to a reconciliation/ out of consideration for the hájjí [i.e. the mír's father], and he brought the mír and cast him before Bábá Musáfir's feet. Bábá Musáfir pardoned his fault, but for the rest of his life he remained dissatisfied and used to say:

Verse:

"Do you know why the water does not drown the stick?  
It is ashamed to drown what it had nourished!"

After the death of Bábá Musáfir, Mír Muhammad Yúsuf was for some days in the takya, but his company did not agree with the faqírs, and he left and went to live in the mosque of Jamíl Beg Khán, where he was for a while and used to teach. Many important and wealthy people used to revere him on account of his link with Bábá Musáfir; and they used to visit him, until he fell sick and his time drew near.

The author went to visit his sickbed. He was much wasted and yellow and frail, and his mouth was shrivelled. He said: "Now, when I think about my rudeness to Bábá Musáfir, I am distraught and sorry; but what remedy is there for fate?"

Later he sent a message to the author: "I have several times seen in a dream that Bábá Musáfir was telling /me to put on a khírqa [Sufi cloak]. With his own blessed hand he clothed me in /such/ a cloak. Make ready a cloak for me in accordance with Hazrat's command!"

The author made a cloak ready for him and sent it to him. He put the cloak on and said: "This is the kind of cloak which Hazrat bestowed upon me in the dream."

Several people also relate /that he used to say/: "I saw Hazrat Khwájá-i Buzurg ['the great khwájá', i.e. Bahá' al-Dín Naqshband] in a dream, and he told me: 'After this tie a lúng [loonghee, sarong]!' "

“So I wore a loonghee. Hájjí Muhamad Baqá, who was one of the accomplished and holy men of his age, tied a turban on my head.”

He used to relate this kind of dream. Before his death, when his condition had changed, his sons were looking for a place to bury him. I was ill at the time, /but/ I sent word that he should not worry. I would let him have a place in the takya. The mír was happy when he heard this news, and he sent word that he had always expected it of me; and Hazrat had given him tidings in a dream that were /now/ fulfilled by me.

On the date of the . . . [blank] of the month of Shawwál, the hijrî year 1145 [March–April 1733] he passed away. He was buried in the takya close to Sháh Qalandar.

#### VII.66. THE TABARRUK OF A SHORT COAT

Mír Nazar Khán, who was brought up from childhood by Bábá Musáfir and educated by him, and became a muríd of his, used to say: Once Bábá Musáfir, out of his personal clothes, gave me a short coat [nîma] with sleeves. As it was a tabarruk [a special gift from a shaykh] I kept it in a tied bundle. I went to Sironj, and by the efficacy of the gift of this article of clothing I acquired much of every kind. I left the bundle with this short-sleeved coat in the house of my father-in-law when I went on an expedition. After some time I returned and I saw that around my package many packages were piled up. I asked my father where these items of cloth had come from? He said: “God has sent them from the Unseen!” I firmly believe that this was from the efficacy of that short coat.

After that I went with Nizám al-Mulk to Burhanpur, when the battle with Dilávar Khán took place. Mír Rashíd Khán told me: “If at any time any tabarruk from Hazrat arrives, I will keep it with me as a talisman; and perhaps by its efficacy I will be delivered from great misfortune.”

As he had been brought up by Bábá Musáfir and was a muríd, I detached one sleeve from the short coat and gave it to him. He made an amulet of it and kept it in his turban. I wore the remainder on my own body. In the war many men on both sides were killed or wounded. Through the efficacy of that tabarruk, God kept Mír Rashíd Khán and myself safe and sound, and no injury reached us.

#### VII.67. A BONE SWALLOWED AT A FEAST

Mír Muhammad Taqí related: On the first day of the ‘urs [anniversary of the death] of Bábá Musáfir the Khalífa Khwája Muhammad Sa’id had

prepared a great quantity of food, and the faqírs and shaykhs had assembled. Khwájá Zafarána and his brother Muhammad Alif and a young man called Hayát Beg, who were acquaintances of mine, attended. As I was responsible for the arrangements of the feast, after providing them with something to eat I was busy with the distribution of the food.

After this was finished, I heard that Hayát Beg had eaten a mouthful in which a bone was hidden and it had stuck in his throat. The colour was drained from his face and the bone could not either be drawn out by force or be made to go down, and he was near to death. /Afterwards/ Hayát Beg said: "I concentrated in my heart and said: 'O Hazrat Bábá Sáhib, men eat the food given by the saints and are delivered from mighty calamities. It is strange that from eating a mouthful of food of your gift my life should be in peril!' "

In this pitiable state he gave a great cough and the bone leapt out from his throat.

Hayát Beg said that if help had not come from Hazrat his death would not have been long delayed.

#### VII.68. NIZÁM AL-MULK'S LAST VISIT TO BÁBÁ MUSÁFIR

In the time just before the death of Bábá Musáfir, when he was very weak, one day the nawwáb Nizám al-Mulk came to visit him. Bábá Musáfir was sitting on a charpoy. He asked the author /to bring/ a turban which he had worn several times. After neatly folding it he gave it into the hand of Nizám al-Mulk. The nawwáb tied it upon his own head, took his leave and departed.

During the same period he came back two days before the death of Bábá Musáfir. He saw that Bábá Musáfir was extremely weak and with grief and with tears in his eyes he placed his hand on the feet of Bábá Musáfir. Bábá Musáfir grasped the nawwáb's hand in his own, and /Nizám al-Mulk/ rubbed it on his eyes and requested fátíha. Bábá Musáfir, after reciting fátíha, held the nawwáb's hand in his own and recited this quatrain:

Verse:

"O Solomon amid owl and hawk,  
Be a banner of truth; make provision for every bird!  
Talk with gentle tongue to the timid bird!  
Speak kindly to the bird with broken wing!"

VII.69. THE LAST DAYS AND DEATH OF  
BÁBÁ MUSÁFIR: THE GIFT OF THE CLOAK OF  
SUCCESSION TO THE COMPILER

One day during the last illness of Bábabá Musáfir Hájjí Qásim said to the compiler: "I have carried the shoes of Bábabá Musáfir a while, and have spent a lifetime in his service and grown old. My hope is that Hazrat will bestow the special cloak [khirqa] that he has worn upon this aged servant of his, so that I and my offspring may be elevated in this world and the next!"

At a suitable moment one night I mentioned this request to Bábabá Musáfir, who when he heard it was silent for a while and said nothing. Hájjí 'Áshúr, Sháh 'Arab, Sháh Mír, Mír Salím and other companions were sitting around the charpoy. Hazrat turned towards the author and said: "Bábabá!"

"Here I am," I said.

"The thing which remains as a bequest from the faqírs," he said, "is this cloak, but it is not worthy of you!"

I remained silent and astonished. After a while he said: "Rise and take the cloak from the /clothes-/line, and put it on!"

The writer rose and took the cloak from the line, and put it on. In spite of his weakness Bábabá Musáfir rose and, sitting, recited fátíha. The companions who were present said: "May it be auspicious!"

After this Bábabá Musáfir ordered the pot to be cooked for the faqírs. On the third day I arranged for the cooking of the pot. Bábabá Musáfir again recited fátíha and said takbír, and commanded /me/: "Say the takbír over any seeker who comes, and clothe him in a cloak!"

VII.70. RECOLLECTION OF THE DEATH  
OF A SHAYKH

One day a year before his death Hazrat Bábabá Musáfir was brought out of his chamber and sat for a while at the side of the central platform where an open pavilion [báradarí] has now been built. Khwája Muhammad Sádiq, Shaykh 'Abd Alláh and other companions had come and were standing in attendance on him. Bábabá Musáfir turned to Khwája Muhammad Sádiq and asked: "What month is it now?"

They said that it was the month of Rajab.

Again he asked: "Which day of the month?"

"The fourth," they told him. "The eve of the fifth is approaching."

He was silent for a moment and then said: "Hazrat Shaykh Shiháb al-Dín Suhrawardí departed from this life on this day of the month."

The author was present. Khwája Muhammad Sádiq and others were surprised at the remark. Bábá Musáfir rose and was occupied in the renewal of his wazú, and after the purification he went to his chamber. Khwája Muhammad Sádiq had brought a book from his house, and they looked it up and found that the same day of the month was recorded /as the date of the shaykh's death/.

VII.71. THE DISPOSITION  
OF BÁBÁ MUSÁFIR'S PROPERTY

After a while Bábá Musáfir grew sick with a fever, which would leave him for some days, and then return and /then/ leave him again. Six months passed in this manner. One illness followed another after this for a whole year, but he was always resigned /to God's will/. At the end he suffered much from /the treatment of/ caustic wood [chúb-i muqarrih]. The physicians attended him but said that what God willed would be. Accordingly he took the medicines in the prescribed manner and to set the minds of his friends at rest.

One day he asked the author: "What is there in the house for the expenses of the faqírs?"

"There are five hundred rupees," I told him.

"By God," he said, "my house is like the house of Pharaoh! Spend the sum immediately on the widows!"

I left him and took the money with me to Mughalpura. Wherever I found an old widow woman wandering in poverty, or the sick, those who could not walk, the needy without anyone /to care for them/ or orphans, I shared it out. I wrote their names down separately on a sheet of paper, and kept it in my pocket. Then I came back and stood before him.

He asked where I was coming from? I said that I had shared out the money according to his orders. He asked me where I had spent it, and I showed him some of the names on my list.

"Were they pleased?" he asked.

For the benefit of this sinner, he said a prayer of thanks that he had no further goods. Then he asked: "What /else/ is there in the house?"

"Books and two jars of preserves," I replied.

He ordered me to share out the preserves amid the faqírs. If the books were of use to Mír Muhammad Yúsuf, he should take them: if not, they should be distributed among people. I told Mír Muhammad Yúsuf about the books, and he took all of them to his own house. I told Bábá Musáfir of this, and he asked: "What /else/ is there in the house?"



"Two or three bottles of vinegar oxymel," I said, "and a mat. Apart from these there is nothing else."

He told me to give them away as well. /So/ I brought out the mat and the rest from the house and gave them away. I stood beside him and again he asked: "What else is there in the house?"

I said that /there was nothing/ apart from the two shirts [kurta] and the loonghee that he was wearing. He said, "Give those also to someone!" And beneath his feet there was a quilt, and he told me to give that away.

"I am going to sleep upon the ground."

The author saw that his blessed body was extremely weak: one could see nothing but skin. He was supine from his illness, and from the hardness of the ground his back and sides were blue with bruises. I made bold to say: "Hazrat, please give these things to me!"

"Take them!" he said.

I accepted politely and submitted: "These things have become my property. They are a loan in your service."

"Why?" he said.

"The ground is hard," I replied, "and your body is extremely frail, and by reason of the length of your illness it is much emaciated. I have accordingly taken this liberty."

When he heard these words, the tears flowed from his eyes and he called down blessings.

VII. 72. THE LAST HOURS OF  
BÁBÁ MUSÁFIR

One day in this extremity of his sickness there were present the author, and Hájjí Muhammad Qásim, Sháh Qalandar, Sháh 'Arab, Sháh Mír, Mír Salím, Hájjí 'Áshúr and others. He turned towards the author and said: "Bábá, I will be going to that side, and you will be on this side. How long will you live like now, while I am going to the place where I have to go?"

They all wept, and from his blessed eyes the tears were flowing also. After the midday prayer and before that of the evening he said: "Take me into the courtyard of the mosque!"

At his order they took him there. After a while he asked them to take him in again, into the building which had formerly been the schoolhouse. He had abandoned his own special chamber so that his mind should not remain attached to it.

After being brought inside, he closed his eyes for a little while, saying to the companions: "Get ready for the afternoon prayer!"

They all rose, and the author remained alone with him, driving off the flies. Then he opened his eyes and looked warmly and tenderly towards me, and said: "It is the time of the afternoon prayer."

"They are performing the prayer," I said.

"When they have finished performing the prayer, do you go quickly and perform the prayer, and come back to me!"

I went after the others had finished their prayers, and performed the prayer in the shortened form and came back.

"I have recited it," I said.

"Who is outside?" he asked.

"Mír Yúsuf is present," I said, "and Hájjí Qásim and Háfiz Muhammad Saláh and others."

"Call them in!" he said.

He turned to Hájjí Qásim and said, "Recite *Yá sín!*"

/At this/ they were surprised, as there were none of the signs of dying on his blessed forehead. The hájjí began the recitation of the Súra of *Yá sín*, and completed it. After its close he said: "Speak the Names of God!"

Hájjí Qásim very softly recited the Names of God.

"Recite them louder!" Bábá Musáfir said.

The hájjí began to recite them louder. Then Mír Muhammad Yúsuf and Háfiz Muhammad Saláh also joined in the recitation of the Names of God, and the noise resounded. Bábá Musáfir said, "Be silent!" And they were all silent. At that moment a faqír called out, and Hazrat said: "Give him something!"

They gave him something, but the darwísh said: "I have not come to receive something; but for a time I have been longing for the blessed beauty and thirsty for the grace-bestowing sight. I wish for the privilege of beholding him and kissing his feet."

The sound of the darwísh came to Hazrat's ears, and he said: "Call him in!"

The darwísh came and stood at his feet, offering thanks, and said: "Praise be to God! I have attained my desire after so many years and have gained the felicity of this sight!"

So he took his leave and departed. However much they sought for that darwísh, he was not seen again; and surely he was one of the "Men of the Unseen" [mardán-i ghayb]. After his departure Mír Muhammad Yúsuf said to Háfiz Muhammad Saláh: "None of the signs of imminent death are visible. If it occurs, it will be in the middle of the night, or at the end of it."

Hazrat heard these words, and from his face it was evident that they

did not please him. He immediately turned to the author and said: "Bring water!"

The author brought water and he eagerly swallowed some mouthfuls. He put his hands beneath his cheeks opposite the qibla, and lay down. After some time he took his hands away from his cheeks, and brought them down over his beard three times and then faced the qibla in the same manner. There were present Sayyid Ghulám Husayn and other sincere followers.

The muezzin began the evening call to prayer, and Hazrat recited the reply to each sentence, in conformity with hadíth, with complete clarity. After its conclusion he said: "There is no God but Alláh!"

When he had recited this, the end came and he surrendered his soul to God.

"Lo, we are Alláh's and unto Him we are returning!"

This took place at the beginning of the evening, the eve of Wednesday, 5th of the month of Rajab of the year of the Hijra 1126 [16 July 1714]. It was witnessed by all those who were present.

“Supplementary Narratives of the States of Hazrat Íshán, that is to say Hazrat Sháh Musáfir”

VIII.1. FEASTING THE SHAYKH

Hájjí ‘Áshúr related: One day Bábá Musáfir told Háfiz Muhammad Qásim to prepare a feast for him, and the latter said, “By my life!”

“Will you do as I say?” Bábá Musáfir asked.

“Such is my desire,” the háfiz replied.

“Rest in the desire for God,” Bábá Musáfir observed, “so that what you do may be accepted.”!

Háfiz Qásim used to tell his children: Seventy times I gave a feast for Hazrat and each time I spent seventy rupees; and in the morning double the money would come to me. Whatever I spent at the command of Hazrat, through his blessing [barakat] I received double that amount.

VIII.2. LAMENTABLE CONSEQUENCES OF IMPORTUNACY

Also from the tongue of Hájjí ‘Áshúr: One day in the month of Ramazan Háfiz Qásim came to Bábá Musáfir and submitted: “I want to sit through the forty-day /retreat/, if it is permitted me.”

“Put this madness away from you,” Bábá Musáfir replied, “for I long /to hear/ your playing. Whensoever I indicate you will perform the ‘forty’.”

The háfiz repeated his request a number of times. One Friday /during Ramazan/ the háfiz broke his fast with Bábá Musáfir before he went home. After the late evening prayer an argument developed between the háfiz and his wife, and he had a fit of anger. He picked up a pitcher of water which was in front of him and hurled it at his wife. She died as soon as the jug hit her. The officers of the hákim [civil governor] of the town seized the háfiz and put him in gaol. On the third day the news reached Bábá Musáfir, and he said: “Didn’t I tell you that if trouble should befall

you, you should reveal it? You should have sent word when this occurred. And this was the cause of my forbidding you the 'forty days'. As you did not listen, this difficulty befell you!"

After this Bábá Musáfir went and had the háfiz released from gaol. He brought him away and made him repent.

#### VIII 3. RELEASE FROM PRISON AND DELIVERY FROM SICKNESS

Also from the tongue of Hájjí 'Áshúr: Háfiz Qásim related: Once I had committed a fault, and I was put into prison. The news of this reached Bábá Musáfir, and since he used to "turn his attention", exterior and interior, upon me, he went to the house of Khwája 'Abd al-Walí. The khwája was ill, and he asked the reason for Bábá Musáfir troubling to visit.

"I have come to see you," he replied.

"Tell me!" Abd al-Walí said.

"Háfiz Qásim," Bábá Musáfir replied, "who is one of my sincere seekers, for whose music I have a great taste, has been cast into gaol on people's accusations. The qází and the kotwál come to visit you, and I am but a faqír, to whose words they do not pay much heed. If you accept my suggestions, you can get him released at a word."

"Whatever you say, I /usually/ accept," said the khwája, "but I do not accept this suggestion."

Bábá Musáfir repeated the request three or four times, but the khwája still did not agree to it. Bábá Musáfir then said: "Khwája, we have set Háfiz Qásim free, but we will not deliver you from this illness!"

Not a week had passed when the khwája died from the same illness.

#### VIII 4. BENEFITS OF A VISIT BY BÁBÁ MUSÁFIR.

Muhammad Ismá'il, son of Háfiz Muhammad Qásim, related: One day Bábá Musáfir said to me: "I want to go and see a garden! What garden is /at present/ moist and blooming?"

I submitted: "Hazrat is always going to see gardens, but now is the season of mangoes. If he will deign to come and eat mangoes, people will receive benefit from his blessing [barakat]."

"Out of my regard for you," he said.

"What a great honour!" I replied.

"We are faqirs," he said, "and we go there in hope! There must be money."

"Whenever Hazrat intends /to go/," I replied, "God will provide for all."

"Out of consideration for you," he said: "I will go on Wednesday."

When the promised day drew near, God sent me some cows, twenty goats, some young lambs and some maunds of rice. I came to Hazrat and represented this. He said: "Whenever anyone, from the depth of his heart, has attached himself to God, God provides for him!"

#### VIII.5. PATTERNED BLACK CHINTZ

Muhammad Ismá'íl also revealed: One day I had bought in the bazaar a piece of figured black chintz [chhít] with a pattern of white flowering plants. I made a garment for myself from it, and I was wearing it when I came to visit Bábá Musáfir. He asked: "How much did you pay for that cloth?"

"Two rupees," I said.

"Its black Sufi colour is good," he remarked. "Bring a length for me as well!"

He made a sign to Sháh Kúchak, who at his order brought two rupees and handed them to me. The following day I went to the hawk and bought the chintz from my own pocket, and I gave the two rupees back to Sháh Kúchak. Bábá Musáfir said: "Why did you give the two rupees back?"

"I want to do some business with God," I said.

"So you are doing business with God?" he remarked.

"Yes," I replied.

"I accept /the gift/," he said.

After this occurrence five days had not passed when ten lengths of calico came from somewhere to me. I went to Bábá Musáfir, and when he saw me he asked: "Did /it/ reach you?"

"Yes," I replied.

He remarked: "Whoever from the depth of his heart does business with God soon reaches his desire."

#### VIII.6. VERSES OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE GREAT TANK IN THE TAKYA

Among the buildings in the takya which were constructed after the death of Bábá Musáfir is the great long tank with jets of water, which was created through the laudable efforts of Jamíl Beg Khán. Sayyid Ghulám 'Alí "Azád" has composed this poem on the subject.

Verse:

The fortunate khán, total in generosity,  
Fair of disposition, Khwája Ayyúb,  
With God's grace as his guardian,  
The ascendant fortune of whose lush rose-garden  
Gave consolation to the weary spirit  
And restored the broken heart,  
Casting shade in the blaze of the sun  
And sewing up the tear of the flax in the moonlight,  
His total disposition a garden scented with amber,  
Freshening the essence of pleasant meadows,  
Whose enemy longs for his own hour of death,  
Each breath a barb in the raiment of his heart,  
/Was/ a devotee of the Lord of high estate,  
Sháh Musáfir, the stationary full moon of the Truth,  
Emperor sans crown and seal and banner,  
Crown-bestower on Caesar and Kháqán and Jamshíd,  
Lifting the fringe of the secrets of verity,  
Spreading his zeal's hem over two worlds,  
The effect of his recitation breakings of selfhood,  
His care's effect enlightenment of the heart,  
Emperor of the line of Naqshband,  
One glance from whom both worlds suffices,  
His tomb fulfilling the wants of the earth,  
His takya an ease-increasing paradise.

The khán of lofty estate made an edifice,  
A tank in this takya, sign of Paradise,  
A vast tank in a lofty place,  
Which caused a bubbling in the spring of Kawthar.  
The peculiarity of this spring was the cure of ailments;  
The heart of Salsabil thirsted for its water.  
Its jets were moving cypresses in height,  
Its scatter of light the splendour of the planets,  
/Like/ unspoilt youths selling jewels,  
Or all drunkards raising Doomsday,  
The water came into that tank of felicity  
In the middle of the month of the martyred imám.

Heart said to Wisdom, "O speedy traveller,"  
"Shake the camel bell for a chronogram!"  
"To recite a date is an obligation 'of the source'!"  
Wisdom said, "Gift for the imám Husayn!"

“Notices of the Khalífas and  
Friends of Hazrat Íshán, that is to  
say Hazrat Sháh Musáfir,  
May God Sanctify His Secret!”

IX.1. MÍR MAHMÚD

The first khalífa of Hazrat Íshán is Mír Mahmúd. He was from the town of Wábkan in the neighbourhood of Bukhara. The love of the quest of God was engendered within him, and he came from Wilayat in his search for the perfect pír. He came to Istalif, where Mír Khwurd Istálifí dwelt, one of the saints of the age whose devotees and muríds were men of Kabul; and Bahádur Sháh, son of the emperor ‘Álamgír, who at that time was súbadár of Kabul, was sincerely devoted to him. His miracles [karámát] were well known. Mír Mahmúd waited upon him for a time, /and/ he said: “Go to the Deccan, for your destiny is there!”

The mír departed, and came to Awrangabad in the Deccan, where he acquired felicity in the service of Bábá Musáfir. He professed devotion [irádat] and became a faqír. After he had waited on him for a time he received the rank of khalífa of Bábá Musáfir, licensed and given leave, a possessor of ecstasy and generosity, following the qalandar path. Most people connected his ways and practice with Hazrat Bábá Palangposh.

IX.1.1. MÍR MAHMÚD’S RAINMAKING

One year there was a severe drought in Awrangabad. The tank and water-courses of the city were all dry; so much so that the people of the city had to bring water from four or five karohs away. One day when Bábá Musáfir came out of his chamber, he saw that the populace were suffering greatly from the shortage of water. The khalífa Mír Mahmúd had come to attend and was standing /before him/. Bábá Musáfir turned towards the mír and said: “You are a faqír and a darwísh, and you go around making yourself



tall. The people of God are suffering injury. In former times when hardships befell God's servants, those close to God 'turned their attention' and removed it from over their heads. You have claims of spiritual authority, but nothing happens through you. Go and 'turn your attention' to it!"

At Bábá Musáfir's command he departed and went into the bungalow [banglá], where he drew a sheet over his head and lay down. He slept through three-quarters of the day and through the whole night; and for one quarter of the following day he continued to sleep. He missed the noonday, afternoon, sunset and evening prayers, as well as the dawn prayer of the next day.

Suddenly, in spite of the fact that the weather was clear, a cloud appeared in the sky and it began to thunder. Rain fell in torrents for three whole hours, by which time the countryside was inundated and the tank of the city was filled. The watercourse beneath the takya was in spate and the people who had been suffering from the drought came and gathered, astonished and shouting for joy, on the banks of the watercourse.

In his chamber Bábá Musáfir heard the noise of their shouting. He came out and immediately asked where Mír Mahmúd was. He was told that he had fallen asleep the previous day and had missed the prayers. It was not known whether he was ill or sleeping. Bábá Musáfir was smiling as he went to the bungalow and called out "Mír! Mír!". The mír rose from his sleep and stood with folded hands in his service. Bábá Musáfir said:

Verse:

"If water bore away the world, I know it not."

"You have had a sleep to flood the world. People are afraid that the town will be drowned!"

Well-pleased, Bábá Musáfir went back to his chamber. The mír asked those who were present: "How long did I sleep?"

They told him that it was from the middle of the morning of one day to the middle of the morning of the next.

All this occurred from the barakat of Bábá Musáfir.

#### IX 1.2 MİR MAHMÚD HEALS THE FALLING SICKNESS

Mu'min Beg was a follower of Bábá Musáfir and suffered from the falling sickness. In the middle of the afternoon, when Bábá Musáfir was sitting in the shade of the mulberry tree, he came and fell at his feet, weeping and sorely beseeching him to prescribe for his illness.

“Who am I to prescribe?” Bábá Musáfir said. “God will treat it.”

He fell at Bábá Musáfir's feet and wept. At that moment Mír Mahmúd came in by the gate, and Bábá Musáfir's glance fell upon him. He told Mu'min Beg to go and lay hands on the mír, for he would cure his sickness. Mu'min Beg immediately went and found the mír; and he grasped his feet with his hands and would not budge.

“What is the matter?” the mír asked.

Mu'min Beg asked him to remove his sickness.

“Who am I to heal it?” the mír said.

Mu'min Beg replied: “I will not let you go until you cure my sickness!”

Then the colour of the mír's face altered, and he struck his fist hard upon Mu'min Beg's back and said: “Your sickness has gone away!”

#### IX.1.3. ANOTHER CASE OF THE FALLING SICKNESS

Sháh 'Abd Alláh was also afflicted with the same sickness. When he witnessed this occurrence, he went and stood before Bábá Musáfir when he was alone in the mosque at the time of the evening prayer. He submitted: “People who suffer from sicknesses come here and are cured. I am afflicted by this sickness; and my hope is that you will ‘turn your attention’ to my case, so that I may be delivered from this affliction.”

Hazrat counselled him “Whatever the Beloved [God] may desire, be content and grateful! The servants of God are afflicted by sicknesses. You should to this extent be contented with your disability. Patience is appropriate.”

At this counsel Sháh 'Abd Alláh was contented, and his illness endures to this day.

#### IX.1.4. MÍR MAHMÚD'S WINTER MADNESS

Mír Mahmúd had the powers of discovery of the hidden [kashf] and of working miracles [karámát]; and he had a generous nature. Every year in the winter he was touched by a madness. He lost all knowledge of himself and often used to wander bareheaded and barefoot in the lanes and the bazaar; and wherever he saw ordure upon the road, using both his hands he would heap dust upon it and cover it. He would also go to schools and give the orphan children pens and ink and paper, as well as the *Qur'án* and /other/ books; and he inquired after the widows and women who were in the streets. Whatever came to him from the unseen [az ghayb], he distributed it all among the poor.

Once the mother of Turktáz Khán Bahádur, who was his foster-sister, called him to her house and offered five hundred rupees. He spent all the money on the way back before he arrived at the takya, and that too in spite of being indebted for a sum.

Most of the time he was in a world of unawareness. He would get up and go round the takya and say: "Is there anyone /here/ who will buy paradise for a rupee?"

Most of his followers earned their living in /the Mughal/ service, among them Muhammad Sa'íd Khán Balúch, who was the jama'atdar [commanding officer] of the archers of the emperor 'Álamgír. He was a great devotee of the mír, and performed whatever the mír said.

After the passing of winter the mír would come to his senses, and then he would sit in a corner of the bungalow [banglá] and not talk to anyone. In assemblies he would sit side by side with Bábá Musáfir, and when the latter went somewhere the mír would accompany him. Bábá Musáfir never for a moment kept him apart from himself. When people brought ten rupees to Bábá Musáfir, they would offer a nadhr of five rupees to the mír also.

If good food was offered to him, before eating it he would mix water with it and say that this was the practice of the sunnat [usage of the Prophet].

#### IX.15. MÍR MAHMÚD AND KHWÁJA YÁDGÁR KHÁN AND HIS SLAVE FÁZIL

Khwája Yádgár Khán was a descendant of Hazrat Makhdúm-i A'zam. He was an exemplar for his time, and he had a great number of muríds and devotees. Originally he had held high mansab [rank], but in the end had abandoned /official employment/, and chose a retreat where he sat near the mosque of Jamíl Beg Khán. When the emperor 'Álamgír heard of this, he fixed a sum of 6000 rupees as a yearly grant towards his expenses, with 1,000 rupees for his expenses in Ramazán. The súbadár of the city and other amírs and notables used to come to see him; and he had a slave called Fázil, towards whom Mír Mahmúd came to feel an inclination.

Mír Mahmúd would often come to the khwája, and he would give him Chinese /porcelain/ vessels and other presents which he had taken from the bazaar on credit. The khwája was also kindly disposed towards him, /but/ people who were in the company of the khwája told him: "The mír gives you all these presents because he has an inclination towards Fázil!"

The khwája was upset and said: "I am going to go to the takya and kick him in the presence of his pír!"

He came to the takya in the company of a group of muríds. Bábá Musáfir heard the news of the khwája's arrival, and went forward to meet him and brought him inside. In the courtyard was a mulberry tree. The khwája stood in its shadow and asked Bábá Musáfir: "Where is Mír Mahmúd?"

Bábá Musáfir said that he was present, and sent Sháh Kúchak to call him. The mír came and stood near the khwája, who said to the mír in a great rage: "There have been earlier madmen, who have passed away. No one has seen a madman like you, neither mad nor in his senses!"

He said many harsh words to the mír, who suddenly bent forward, picked up a mulberry in his hand from beneath the tree and popped it in the mouth of the khwája, saying: "Khwája, don't be angry! Have a mulberry!"

Immediately the mír put the mulberry into the mouth of the khwája, the latter could not control himself and smiled, and stopped being angry and threatening. He asked the mír's pardon. Those who were with him were astonished and commented upon the holiness of the mír.

After this, whenever the mír went to the house of the khwája, the khwája used to order coffee for the mír to be served by Fázil; and he would order sherbet and tell Fázil: "Serve it to the mír with your own hands!"

#### IX.1.6. THE RELATIVE ELEVATION OF THE KHALÍFAS

A certain darwísh related: The thought passed through my mind: "Is the rank of the khalífa Mír Mahmúd higher, or the rank of the khalífa 'Abd al-Rahím?"

The same night I saw in a dream a tall ladder leading up to heaven. I crept along until I reached the bottom of the ladder, and I saw that the khalífa Mír Mahmúd was sitting at the top of the ladder and the khalífa 'Abd al-Rahím at its bottom. When I awoke in the morning, I told the dream to one of the companions. He replied: "The thought had passed through your mind: 'Is the rank of the mír higher or that of the khalífa 'Abd al-Rahím?' That is why you were shown this dream."

#### IX.1.7. THE DEATH OF MÍR MAHMÚD

Before the death of the emperor Muhammad Awrangzeb 'Álamgír, the khalífa Mír Mahmúd often used to say: "I will be a martyr [shahíd]."

The companions used to say: "You are in the takya. Who is going to make a martyr of you?"

He would then say emphatically: "In the end I am going to be a martyr!"

Hazrat Bábá Musáfir also said: "Our mír is going to be a martyr!"

When the emperor had died and Muhammad A'zam Sháh had set out for Shahjahanabad [Delhi] in his bid for the throne, Muhammad Kámbakhsh became ruler of Bijapur and Haydarabad, and in Bijapur he was enthroned. Khwájim-Qulí Khán, a companion of Chín Qilich Khán Bahádur/now/called Nizám al-Mulk, set out from Awrangabad to Bijapur, intending to enter the service of Kámbakhsh. He came to the mír and asked the mír to accompany him, and the mír agreed. The mír's debts amounted to five hundred rupees, and the khán settled them.

When the mír had agreed to accompany the khán, he came to the takya at the time of the afternoon prayer. He renewed his wazú and performed the prayer. He asked leave from Bábá Musáfir after performing the evening prayer. The latter made a lengthy recitation of fátiha and the tears were flowing from his blessed eyes. The mír and all his companions were weeping also. Bábá Musáfir said farewell to the mír and went to his chamber, saying: "This was the last meeting of the mír and myself. After this we shall see one another in the Resurrection."

The mír set out with Khwájim-Qulí Khán. The latter was appointed fawjdár [military commandant] of Karnul by Muhammad Kámbakhsh, and he went off towards that town. The mír also accompanied him. One day he said: "Tomorrow I shall reach the rank of martyrdom!"

People were astonished. The following day the Marathas came, and the khán rode out to fight them and went into battle. The mír came forward from out of the force of the khán and, spurring his horse on, passed into the ranks of the enemy. Here and there the horse pulled up, and the mír passed into meditation.

There was a mighty battle between the two sides, but the khán's men were put to flight, and the mír was /still/ in meditation in the midst of the army of the enemy. On all four sides the Maratha horsemen struck the mír with lances and swords and wounded him.

The mír attained the rank of martyrdom in the year of the Hijra 1119 [1707-8]. His blessed resting place in Karnul is well known.

#### IX 18 MUST A FAQIR BEG?

Háfiz Muhammad 'Abd Alláh related: One day the book *Tadhkirat al-awliyá'* was being discussed in the assembly of Bábá Musáfir. In it a

statement occurred: "The faqír who does not beg after three days is not a faqír."

Bábá Musáfir hesitated at this statement and those who were in the assembly were troubled at the idea. Bábá Musáfir said: "Of course a faqír who does not beg after three days /may be/ a perfect faqír! What idea is this that he is not a faqír?"

Mír Mahmúd was present in the assembly, and appeared to be gazing at the river. At this moment the mír turned round and looked at them and said: "What has been written in the book is correct."

"In what way?" Bábá Musáfir asked.

The mír submitted: "Every time that the Guide has given an order that he should beg for three days, and the darwísh does not go begging, in truth the latter has acted against the orders of the Guide. His refusal to beg appears to be the triumph of his personal inclination, which is content not to beg. In this case one cannot call him a faqír!"

Bábá Musáfir turned towards the mír and said: "Yes indeed, he is right! One must be obedient to the orders of one's Guide!"

The háfiz said: "/Then/ I realized the quality and rank of the mír. In spite of the fact that he was not paying attention to the book, he gave a categorical answer."

#### IX.1.9. A SICKNESS TRANSFERRED FROM BÁBÁ MUSÁFIR TO MÍR MAHMÚD

On one occasion when Bábá Musáfir was severely ill, one day in the middle of the afternoon he said to the author: "Summon Mír Mahmúd and bring him here!"

The author did so. Bábá Musáfir had his feet on the ground and was sitting on his charpoy. The mír sat close to Bábá Musáfir's feet, and Hazrat stretched out his hands and placed them on the mír's knees, and said: "Mír, on the Day of the Resurrection we hope for intercession from you!"

And the tears flowed from his eyes. The mír, out of humility and respect, bent forward till his head touched the ground and displayed his humility, asking for pardon. Bábá Musáfir /then/ glanced at the author and said: "Bring three rupees as nadhr for the mír!"

The author brought the rupees, and Hazrat took them with his own hand and offered them to the mír. The mír recited fátiha and rose. At this very time the illness of Bábá Musáfir was averted.

The mír went to his own chamber, where he was struck by a violent

fever and lost consciousness. He was delirious for three nights and days, but on the fourth day the illness of the mír also departed, and he was completely cured. Many observers who were there at the time remarked that it was a heavy load which the mír had borne away.

#### IX.1.10. DISCOVERING THE MISSING BOOK

Mírzá Muhammad Amín related: One day a book of Khwája 'Abd al-Rahím's was lost. Mír Muhammad Yúsuf, the adopted son of Bábá Musáfir, and other people passed the arrow around, but the arrow did not stick in the hands of any of them. When it was the turn of the khalífa /Mír/ Mahmúd, people said to him: "Do you also stretch your hand out to the arrow!"

He did so, and the arrow stuck to it. Everyone said: "You have the book. Give it back!"

The mír smiled and said: "I have stolen your book. I will give it back."

Immediately he got up and went outside the door, and returned the same instant to those who were present. He then took the book from under his arm and gave it to the khwája, even though people saw that there was nothing beneath his arm.

The matter became a cause for the sincerity of devotion of those present.

#### IX.2. THE KHALÍFA 'ABD AL-RAHÍM

His origins were in Wilayat in the city of Maymana, but he was born in Peshawur.

##### IX.2.1. THE TRAVELS OF 'ABD AL-RAHÍM

He left Bábá Musáfir and went to Lahore with his mother and family. He stayed there and a number of people professed allegiance. Again he received a sign to go on his travels. He left Lahore and went to Shahjahana-bad [Delhi], and after a while he went to Kashmir, where people became his muríds and followers.

From there he went to Kabul, from Kabul to Balkh, and from Balkh to the "Cupola of Islám" Bukhara. There he sat a forty-day retreat at the tomb of Hazrat Sháh [Bahá' al-Dín] Naqshband, the "solver of difficulties"; and many men of learning, education and ancestry in that place professed allegiance to him. The ruler and Hájjí Atáliq requested him to

remain there, and they would build him a khánqáh; and many of the amírs became his followers. But he left the place when the khánqáh was not yet built, and he came to the town of Kulab, and Hisar and Qunduz and Badakhshán.

Ákhond Mullá Mushfiqí had a khánqáh in Badakhshan. He is one of the distinguished muríds of Bábá Musáfir and a devotee of the khalífa [‘Abd al-Rahím]. The ruler and great men of Badakhshan are his muríds and devotees. ‘Abd al-Rahím remained there for a while, and then came back to Lahore. He fell sick with dropsy and on 26 Rabí’ I, 1128 Hijrí [30 March 1716] he joined the mercy of God. He is buried in the khánqáh of his brother ‘Abd al-Karím, where his grave is well known.

IX.2.2 ‘ABD AL-RAHÍM: SIGNS IN HIS INFANCY,  
HIS MARRIAGE AND HIS CALL  
TO THE SUFI PATH

Mírzá Muhammad Amín Beg, who is the son of the sister of ‘Abd al-Rahím, related that he had heard from the mother of the khalífa [his own maternal grandmother], who told him: “I had no son, and five daughters were born to me in succession. I prayed at the court of the True Provider [God] for a son.”

One day a darwísh came to the door asking for alms. The mother of ‘Abd al-Rahím gave him something, and the darwísh said: “This time God will give you a male child. He will be fortunate and holy and a man of sensibility. You must take care and beware lest anyone strike him or put a hand on his head.”

She related: “After a while I became pregnant, and I saw in a dream that the sun had come into my embrace and lodged there. I immediately got up, disturbed and astonished.”

She also said: While he was in my womb, I did not hunger or thirst at all, nor did I long for food or sleep. Night and day I passed in the performance of recitation and worship, and my heart inclined to nothing else.

After the khalífa was born, when he was suckling he always took milk from my right breast, never from my left; and he never sucked the breast of any other woman. After he reached the age of three years, he would never wear the coloured and ornate and expensive dresses which parents give to their children, however much I tried to make him wear them. From the age of two years and a half he wore a waistband of *lak*, which is a grass from the wilderness, and he secretly read the *Qur’án*.

When he was four years old, the mullá of our neighbourhood was



summoned to teach him "In the name of God", as is the custom of the people of Islam. He told me: "Your son has read the *Qur'án* to its conclusion. Bring a Holy *Qur'án* for him to read it aloud!"

When they brought it, the khalífa recited it from end to end.

His asceticism and piety were so great that until his twenty-second year he did nothing but offer prayer and worship. He stayed awake all night; and after he had entered the emperor's service, in spite of his outward occupation he fervently pursued his inner task.

His mother arranged his betrothal, but he never made the effort to come home from the army of the emperor for the marriage, until the aunt of the girl, who had brought her up after her parents' death, sent a message to the mother of the khalífa that she was obliged to go to the army of the emperor to obtain daily maintenance. Would she /therefore/ summon her son, so that she could give her daughter away in marriage?

/The mother of the khalífa/ replied: "My son cannot come without leave of the emperor. You go there yourself and you can perform the marriage; or give /the girl/, after performing the nikáh with a sword placed in the middle!"

The aunt of the girl said, out of frivolity: "But your son must be a prince!"

Not many days passed, and then the news came that her own son, who was in the army, had gone blind. So she was sorry for what she had said, and it became highly necessary for her to go to the emperor's army. She performed the marriage ceremony of her daughter with a sword, and handed her over to the mother of 'Abd al-Rahím. Then she herself went to the army.

'Abd al-Rahím's mother wrote to him that she had taken the bride into her home; and that if he did not accept her, she would not forgive him her own mother's milk. 'Abd al-Rahím in consequence was obliged to leave the emperor and come home. Out of excessive scrupulosity, the Muslim ceremonies of marriage and the ratification [kábin] were performed again by 'Abd al-Rahím, who stayed for a while and then went back to the army.

Yet 'Abd al-Rahím's heart was in tumult with the love of God, and he decided to abandon external attachments and become the muríd of a holy man with spiritual powers. With this hope he abandoned the service of the emperor and came to Awrangabad. Since he had visited Bábá Musáfir in his childhood and his destiny was with That Presence, he came to wait upon Bábá Musáfir, and received the grace of discipleship and the bestowal of a cloak [khirqa].

IX.3. THE HÁJJÍ 'ABD AL-KARÍM,  
BROTHER OF THE KHALÍFA 'ABD AL-RAHÍM

## IX.3.1. HIS CALL TO THE SPIRITUAL LIFE

The mírzá [Muhammad Amín Beg] also said:

When Hájjí 'Abd al-Karím, the brother of Khalífa 'Abd al-Rahím, was in the service of the emperor, he lived in Hatinipeth near the settlement of Miraj. The attraction [jadhba] of the love of God caught hold of his disposition, and by reason of the dominance of longing and unease he directed the face of intention *in absentia* towards the threshold of Bábá Musáfir and turned his heart towards the effulgent presence, until the beauty of his devotion was on display before the enlightened intellect of Hazrat. By reason of the universal grace and favour which the nobles of God's court bestow on all men far and near, he instructed him in some fine points of divine mysteries and depths of the customs of the /Sufi/ path. He then entrusted him to Khalífa 'Abd al-Rahím. His command was: "Go and instruct Hájjí 'Abd al-Karím!"

The hájjí made the skirt of his heart a treasure-house of achieved desire, brimful of jewels of fine water. /'Abd al-Karím/ was occupied for two years in /this/ quest for felicity, and in spite of worldly concerns kept his hand to the work and heart with the beloved. He had drawn and delineated on his heart the picture of devotion and obedience to Hazrat [Bábá Musáfir].

Verse:

If I am far away from you, your picture in my sight is enough:  
My heart is before you; this measure of fortune is enough.

Finally the ardency of his desire, boiling and clamorous, drove him to /sell/ his horse and cow and whatever worldly goods he had, /and/ to spend the entire proceeds on faqírs, while giving a portion to his family and dependants. /It led him/ to attend on Bábá Musáfir, and he became a muríd and received a cloak [khirqa]. He was cut off from all his worldly connections, and he turned to the contemplation of the Divine beauty.

## IX.3.2 ECSTASY AT THE WEDDING FEAST

The mírzá [Muhammad Amín Beg] used to say: Hájjí 'Abd al-Karím spent three years with Bábá Musáfir. In this time my own marriage feast took place. At the ceremony of the putting on of henna Bábá Musáfir told the hájjí and some of the other faqírs to go and join in the ceremony. In

his heart the hájjí thought: "I have attained freedom from the works of the world, yet Hazrat so commands me!"

The celebration had warmed up by the time that the hájjí came, and the qawwáls [singers] were chanting this couplet from "the tongue of the Unseen" Khwája Háfiz Shírází:

Verse:

On every road the thought of your face is my companion;  
The breeze from your hair is the link that my soul knows.

The hájjí and his companions were overcome on hearing this and passed into ecstasy, while all those present lost consciousness of themselves as if they were pictures on a wall. Some danced and some wept, and till the end of the night the excitement remained warm.

When it was morning and 'Abd al-Karím came to Bábá Musáfir, the latter looked at him and said: "That night was a strange night, and that was a wondrous communion, for in every flinging of a sleeve thousands of veils were removed from before the sight, as described in this quatrain:

Verse:

We know the taste for nightly wine,  
We know the tales of love;  
Hand nor foot moves, yet heart begins to dance:  
We know the clamour of this melody!"

IX.3.3. 'ABD AL-KARÍM'S PILGRIMAGE;  
HIS RETURN TO HINDOSTAN. HE SETTLES  
IN LAHORE

The mírzá also related: After some years the hájjí left Bábá Musáfir and went on a pilgrimage to the House of God, accompanied by his mother and sister, who were my maternal grandmother and aunt. He stayed in that blessed place for two years and was benefited and adorned in his quest for perfection. After that he received an "indication" [bashárat] to go to India [Hind], and he returned and came to wait on Bábá Musáfir. The latter told Khalífa 'Abd al-Rahím to ask the hájjí whether he had returned in accordance with an "indication"? He replied, "Yes!"

When the hájjí decided to go to Hindostan [i.e. northern India], he told his mother and sister to come with him. They replied: "You are crazy and mad! If we leave Bábá Musáfir and 'Abd al-Rahím, where are we to go?"

"In a short time," the hájjí replied, "you will come with 'Abd al-Rahím to the place where I am, and we will all live together in one place."

The hájjí went and settled in Lahore. Only a few days had passed when the emperor 'Álamgír allotted a daily stipend to 'Abd al-Rahím at Lahore, and he went to where the hájjí was, so that they were all in one place.

#### IX.3.4. HÁJJÍ 'ABD AL-KARÍM'S PROPHECY OF BAHÁDUR SHÁH'S ACCESSION

The mírzá [Muhammad Amín Beg] also revealed: At the time when the hájjí was about to go to Hindostan [northern India], he said: "The emperor is in Hindostan."

Yet the emperor 'Álamgír was engaged in the siege of the fort of Satára, and I said to the hájjí: "The emperor is in the Deccan, but you speak thus!"

"I saw in a dream" he replied, "that Hazrat Íshán—that is to say Sháh Musáfir—was seated on a throne. From one direction /Prince/ Bahádur Sháh and from the other side /Prince/ Muhammad A'zam, the sons of the emperor 'Álamgír, came to wait upon him. Hazrat Íshán called Bahádur Sháh to him and drove Muhammad A'zam Sháh away."

Seven years later the emperor 'Álamgír died; and Muhammad A'zam Sháh came from the Deccan to Hindostan and Bahádur Sháh from Kabul, and they fought with one another. A'zam Sháh was killed and Bahádur Sháh sat on the throne.

#### IX.3.5. 'ABD AL-KARÍM AND THE GUNSHOT WOUND OF MUHAMMAD AMÍN BEG

The mírzá also related: At the time when the hájjí went to Mecca, his mother and sister resided in the town of Mecca, but he himself dwelt in the sacred enclosure [haram]. The khalífa 'Abd al-Rahím was sitting in a forty-day retreat in Bábá Musáfir's presence in Awrangabad; and I myself, as a servant of the emperor, in those days was attached to the army of Átash Khán besieging the fort of Satara.

One day a fierce battle with the men of the fort occurred, and one of the enemy levelled his musket at me, intending to fire. One of my companions saw this and, grasping my arm, quickly pulled me towards him, saying: "Take care! An enemy is aiming his musket at you."

The ball of the musket, which was directed at my breast, missed it because of this movement, and struck my arm. Although the ball wounded my arm, yet it passed safely. At that moment /in Awrangabad/ the khalífa was in meditation. Coming back to his senses, he said: "Praise be to God, it has passed safely!"

His companions asked the meaning of this, and he said: "I saw in a

vision that a great crowd was closing in upon Muhammad Amín Beg, and they were firing guns. To protect him I encircled him with both my arms, but when I did this my hands slipped a little and did not meet, so that he was wounded slightly but it passed away safely."

At the same moment the hájjí had come out of the sacred haram, and had gone to his mother and said: "Give a present in the path of God for the safety of Muhammad Amín Beg!"

She asked the reason, and he related what had occurred. My grandmother and aunt gave offerings to faqírs.

When I came to the khalífa and the hájjí, /we found that/ it was the same day of the month and time /of day/ when the incident had occurred. At the indications of the khalífa and the hájjí, friends had written this down and kept it.

#### IX.3.6. HÁJJÍ 'ABD AL-KARÍM'S RETURN FROM MECCA TO AWRANGABAD

Hájjí 'Abd al-Karím, the younger brother of Khalífa 'Abd al-Rahím, practised austerities and led a solitary life, avoiding human companionship; but he occasionally met with his mother and sisters. Most of the time he used to wander through streets and deserted places, and go to the tomb of Hazrat Burhán al-Dín Awliyá' in the company of Sháh 'Arab.

After he had left Bábá Musáfír, he went on pilgrimage to the two Holy Places, accompanied by his eldest sister, and he stayed there for a while before coming back. One day the news of his arrival back from Mecca reached Bábá Musáfír. The khalífa Muhammad Sa'id and others said: "The hájjí 'Abd al-Karím is coming after performing the hajj [pilgrimage]."

It was the middle of the afternoon when the khalífa Khwája Muhammad Sa'id and Sháh Qalandar and Hájjí 'Árif and a group of the companions went out to meet him. The author also was with them. When they passed the 'Ídgáh and the hájjí came into sight, the khalífa Khwája Muhammad Sa'id and the others stood up. When he was at the distance of a quarter of a bowshot, the hájjí took his shoes off to honour the khalífa. The khalífa advanced, and about ten yards remained between them, when the latter out of politeness also took off his shoes and drew close. They embraced one another for a long time and they wept, as did the others who were present.

After their meeting they came to Bábá Musáfír, and Hájjí 'Abd al-Karím fell at his feet. However much Bábá Musáfír comforted him, he would not be consoled. The hájjí continued to weep for a long time. After a while he went to his mother and paid his respects.

IX.3.7. THE HÁJJÍ SETS OUT AGAIN: HIS TRAVELS  
AND DEATH IN LAHORE

He remained with Bábá Musáfir for about twelve days, after which he went inside the city to a mosque in Mughalpura. He sat there and determined to go to Hindostan. The news of this reached Bábá Musáfir, and he told the elder brother Khalífa 'Abd al-Rahím: "The hájjí has decided to go to Hindostan. Although his work has reached its completion, a little tension yet remains within him. If he were here for a while longer, by God's grace that also would be removed; but if his decision to go to Hindostan is in accordance with an 'indication', what impediment is there?"

The khalífa asked the hájjí, and the hájjí sent a message submitting that an indication had come to him from the Lord of Creation [i.e. the Prophet Muhammad] to go to Hind [sc. Hindostan]. Khalífa 'Abd al-Rahím brought the matter to Bábá Musáfir's attention again, and the latter remarked: "As he has had leave to depart from the Lord of Creation, he also has my leave. Let him go!"

He recited fátiha, and by the hand of the khalífa he also sent him a staff.

The hájjí after leaving Bábá Musáfir went to Shahjahanabad, and from there to Lahore, and from Lahore to Kashmir. From there he planned to go on to Kabul. He reached Gujarat of Sháh Dawla [in the Panjab], where he had an injury of the leg. After "turning his attention" to the Good Spirits, he postponed his journey to Kabul. In the course of this "attention" an "indication" came /to him/ to go to Lahore and reside there. He therefore turned back and went to Lahore and passed a while there, in a corner in "poverty" and fasting.

/In Lahore/ there was an amír called Muhammad Shafí' who became devoted to him, and built a mosque and a khánqáh for him. He never visited the houses of any persons of wealth and he lived in reliance on God. The súbadár and many amírs were in the habit of coming to attend upon him; and many of the people of the city were his muríds and followers. He married, and a daughter survived him. Later his life came to an end when he had suffered a stroke. He died on 8 Jumádá I, 1138 Hijrí [12 January 1726].

His grave is beside that of the khalífa 'Abd al-Rahím. "They are visited and benefit is derived from them."

IX.3.8 THE DEPARTURE OF THE  
KHALIFA 'ABD AL-RAHÍM AND HIS FAMILY

The mother and sister of 'Abd al-Rahím were engaged in devotions. Bábá Musáfir often visited their house, and they would consult him regarding

their spiritual states, and occupy themselves with whatever Bábá Musáfir enjoined on them.

At the time when Khalífa 'Abd al-Rahím decided to go to Lahore with his mother and sisters, his elder sister refused to go there on account of her attachment to Bábá Musáfir, and remained with Bábá Musáfir. His mother and the other sisters accompanied the khalífa, setting out a day before him. When they had mounted into the bullock-cart [bahal] and taken leave of Bábá Musáfir, the latter recited the call to prayer with his own blessed tongue, and his eyes filled with tears as he said farewell.

The next day the khalífa came to Bábá Musáfir to take leave of him. Hazrat out of his favour placed the turban he was wearing on the head of the khalífa, and also gave him a tunic [chakmaní] of camel-hair. This was one of the tabarrukát of Hazrat Ákhond Mullá Mír Sharíf of Kachkana, which his sons had given to Khushkhabar Khán at the time when he came to India [Hind]. The khán had given it to his son-in-law Khwája 'Arab Khán. The latter, who was a muríd of Bábá Musáfir, had presented it to him as an offering [niyáz], and Bábá Musáfir sometimes used to wear it as tabarruk.

Bábá Musáfir gave him leave and the khalífa set out.

#### IX 3.9. 'ABD AL-RAHÍM BRINGS MÍR SULTÁN'S QUEST TO ITS CONCLUSION

Mír Sultán was from the town of Khitta, a sayyid, educated and distinguished. In him was born the desire to seek God. Whenever he heard that there was a darwísh or a hermit or an inspired madman [majdhúb], he went before him and occupied himself with the recitations which he prescribed; and he sat ten and forty day retreats at the word of many holy men, but he had no inner "breakthrough." Having lost hope, he came to the khalífa Muhammad Sa'íd in Shahjahanabad and stayed for a while serving him, but he found no "breakthrough". Finally he cried out in a loud voice: "It is a while since I first laid my hand on /the hem of/ the garments of faqírs. I have attained the service of People of the Path from among the Qádirís, and the Chishtís and the Suhrawardís and the others, but I have received benefit from none. Either this is on account of the obduracy of my heart or there is no efficacy in the men of this time."

This statement of Mír Sultán reached the ear of Khalífa 'Abd al-Rahím, who said: "The world is not empty of God's elect, and the friends of God are present everywhere and at all times. You say that you have had tidings from all the Sufi Paths, but none were effective. Rest three days with me! If there is a spiritual 'breakthrough', become a follower of this group [ta'ifa, i.e. the Naqshbandís]; and if not, the choice is yours!"

Mír Sultán agreed to this and stayed in his service. Many of those who were present in that assembly related that when the khalífa "turned his attention" to the states of Mír Sultán, and had brought his head down in meditation, not an hour had passed when the mír lost his senses and the turban flew off his head. In the presence of the khalífa he remained prostrate and unconscious. When he came to his senses, he professed allegiance to the khalífa.

He remained in attendance on him for a while, and sat in retirement and in the forty day retreat, and reached "perfection". /So/ he became a follower of this exalted lineage [the Naqshbandís].

At the present time he is well known in Kashmir, and most of the people there are his muríds.

#### IX.3.10. THE KHALÍFA 'ABD AL-RAHÍM READS THOUGHTS

Háfiz Muhammad 'Abd Alláh, a wise, distinguished and pious man, related: One day I had gone to the mosque of Mullá 'Ásim, which is near the Bharkal Gate, for the afternoon prayer. Khalífa 'Abd al-Rahím also came in for the afternoon prayer. The muezzin called out "God is great!", and I stood near the khalífa for the prayer.

It occurred to me that what passes through one's mind is revealed to the "People of God"; /but I reflected that/ I must banish thoughts from my mind, with the result that in the course of my prayer my attention was turned to banishing from my mind what I was thinking about, and I recited the fourfold prayer wholly from memory without thinking about it. After the end of the prayer and the recitation of fátiha /the khalífa/ rose, and I came to his side to accompany him. He looked at me and said: "Have you not heard that the 'great khwája' [Bahá' al-Dín Naqshband] said: 'Prayer is not lawful either with thought or without thought.' "

On hearing this I had faith that the "People of God" are informed of the condition of others.

#### IX.4. NOTICE OF THE KHALÍFA KHWÁJA MUHAMMAD SA'ÍD

His ancestors were from the land [wilayat] of Transoxania [Máwará'l-nahr], but he was born in the city of Patna in the lands adjacent to Bengal. His uncle Khwája Muhammad Muhsin was a favoured companion of Muhammad Bedár Bakht, son of Prince Muhammad A'zam Sháh.



IX.4.1. HIS EARLY LIFE AND ENROLMENT  
AS A MURÍD

After leaving his uncle he came to the service of the emperor, but hearing the reputation of Bábá Musáfir's holiness he abandoned his mansab and his worldly links.

He came to Bábá Musáfir; he became a muríd, and was clad in a khirqá and performed austerities. He was often engaged in reading to Bábá Musáfir books on tasawwuf [Sufism] and question of fiqh [jurisprudence], and he acted as imám and preached. When he acted as imám, he recited the Word of God, regarding the meaning of which he reflected and considered, moving as if he were a fish swimming in a river. Often he would fast for ten or fifteen days, yet the colour of his face did not alter; indeed it shone like a ruby!

Khalífa 'Abd al-Rahím was cognizant of his spiritual states. He took him to his own house, and the mother of the khalífa prepared vegetables for him, and the khalífa with his own hand put them into his mouth, saying "Eat!" So he would eat them, and then go back to wait on Bábá Musáfir.

In this manner he passed some time in austerities. Then he took leave from Bábá Musáfir and went to Mecca. After performing the pilgrimage and visiting Medina, he came back to wait on Bábá Musáfir. He remained some time in his service and received khiláfat. He then went to Shahjahanabad [Delhi], where he resided at Mughalpura on the banks of the river. A khwájasaray [eunuch] of the emperor became a follower, and built for him a mosque and a khánqáh. Hidáyat Alláh Khán, son of 'Ináyat Alláh Khán the díwán [financial commissioner] of the emperor, and a group of the "pillars" of the city became muríds and devotees. He also married, and God bestowed on him a son called Khwája Walí, who survived him.

IX.4.2. KHWÁJA MUHAMMAD SA'ÍD PROPHECIES  
THE EMPEROR FARRUKHSIYAR'S VICTORIES

When Jahándár Sháh, the eldest son of the emperor Bahádur Sháh, sat on the throne after the death of his father. Farrukhsiyar, the grandson of Prince Muhammad A'zam Sháh, who was in Bengal, in spite of his lack of resources advanced to Akbarabad [Agra] in his bid for power and his servants stood by him in spite of poverty and hunger. Jahándár Sháh came out of Shahjahanabad to fight Farrukhsiyar, accompanied by a lakh of horsemen and such great commanders as Dhu' l-Fiqár Khán and his like, with the remainder of the panoply of sovereignty.

Mughal Beg Khán and others related: We went to take leave of Khalífa

Khwája Muhammad Sa'íd, and we requested him to recite fátiha. He recited fátiha and said: "It appears to me that your emperor will be defeated, and that Muhammad Farrukhsiyar is destined to rule."

He said this in spite of our greater numbers. We were astonished, until the emperor confronted Muhammad Farrukhsiyar and the battle began between the two sides. The army of the emperor was totally defeated, and the emperor fled and came to Delhi. Muhammad Farrukhsiyar pursued and captured him and put him to death, after which he sat on the throne.

This occurrence increased the number of Khwája Muhammad Sa'íd's muríds and disciples.

#### IX.4.3. HIS LAST JOURNEY TO KASHMIR AND DEATH

After a while an "indication" came to him to go to Kashmir. In accordance with it he went to Kashmir, where he lived for a while. Many men of learning and accomplishments there became attached to him, and he died there. A group of Kashmiri traders who are known as "the shaykhs" became his especial devotees, and they buried him in their garden. His grave is well known.

#### IX.4.4. JOY IN THE RAINS PERCEIVED

Háfiz Muhammad 'Abd Alláh related: One day I came to Bábá Musáfir. The waters of the stream were in spate and in the middle of the stream there was a high bank. I sat on this bank for a while and was "occupied". From the flowing of the water I experienced within myself a taste and a joy, and I entered the takya /still/ experiencing this.

Bábá Musáfir was in his chamber, and I came up to Khwája Muhammad Sa'íd. The khwája had turned up his sleeves for wazú. I greeted him, and he turned towards me and smelt something. He looked towards a number of companions who were being educated in his company, and smiled and said: "Where is this smell coming from?"

A young man among them looked towards me and said: "It is not good to remain locked in a 'state'!"

This occurrence led to an increase in my attachment to the khalífa.

#### IX.4.5. KHWÁJA MUHAMMAD SA'ÍD'S LETTER FROM DELHI TO THE COMPILER

The khalífa despatched a missive to his preceptor [Bábá Musáfir] from Shahjahanabad. Hazrat wrote a reply with his own hand, and a copy of

that reply has been included in the notice of Hazrat Íshán. /Here is/ a copy of the letter which Khwája Muhammad Sa'íd wrote to the author; in fact a memorial of the request which he was making to Bábá Musáfir. The contents are as follows:

In Shahjahanabad at Mughalpura a disciple has appeared, who has built a mosque and a khánqáh. A number of students have also assembled. During this time . . . [honorifics] . . . Sayyid Iláhdiyá, the teacher of Muhammad Yár Khán, súbadár of Shahjahanabad, has come and professed attachment; and has become "occupied", but an obstacle has occurred in his interior life. After submitting this memorial to the blessed gaze /of Bábá Musáfir/, obtain an answer and despatch it. End.'

#### IX.4.6. A VISION IN THE NIGHT

Sháh Turáb related: Hájjí Sádiq /and I/ used to go and wait upon Khwája Muhammad Sa'íd every Friday eve, and keep vigil during the night. One night I had fallen asleep and the hájjí said to me in a loud voice, "Wake up!"

"Much of the night yet remains," I replied.

"Get up, you wretch!" he said.

I refused, and again he said: "Get up, you wretch!"

When he had repeated this, I rose and performed wazú by the side of the watercourse, and offered two rak'ats of prayer in thanks of the wazú. Khwája Muhammad Sa'íd and the hájjí were seated in meditation, and I also sat behind them with my head bent forward.

An hour must have passed when I had a vision. The whole of the world appeared before me, pure and filled with light. Within myself I enjoyed the sweetness of that /vision/ from the middle of the night until the breath of dawn.

After the dawn prayer, when the khwája went back to his chamber, I went forward and greeted him and sat down with him. The hájjí also was present. The khwája looked at me, and smiled and said: "Something is evident. Did you behold /a vision/?"

I said that I was at fault.

"You are a good fellow," he said, "but you are not careful /to conceal/ your spiritual states."

The light of his company had an influence upon me.

#### IX.4.7. A BOY CATCHES A THIEF IN HIS HOUSE

Hájjí Muhammad Murád related: One day when I was a little boy I came to Khwája Muhammad Sa'íd. There was another boy called Muhammad

Baqá who was sitting with him. He looked towards Muhammad Baqá and said: "Go and find out what's happening in your house!"

Muhammad Baqá went home. The women of the house had gone to the house of relations for a party, and perhaps the girl who was in the house had fallen asleep. A thief had entered the house and after collecting the copper vessels was about to take them away. At this moment Muhammad Baqá arrived, and he seized hold of the thief, thrashed him and brought him to the khwája. The khwája said: "You have recovered your own property: let the thief go!"

Muhammad Baqá let the thief go. Although I was a child /then/, after this occurrence from that time until now in my heart I have always been devoted to the khwája.

#### IX.5. NOTICE OF THE MARTYRED SHÁH QALANDAR

He was from Sháh-Qulí Birkha, which is a village in the vicinity of Qunduz. His father was of the group of Awliyá' Qurkhán, and died in his infancy.

#### IX.5.1. HIS EARLY YEARS AND CALL TO THE RELIGIOUS LIFE

At the age of twelve years he left home, and was occupied in acquiring learning in one of the schools of Qunduz.

He himself related: I had a teacher called Sháh Tálib Khán, perfectly accomplished in internal and external sciences. One night I came to attend upon him. He was in his chamber, and had closed the door, so that just a chink remained open. I looked silently inside the door. He was sitting in front of the qibla with a book in his hand which he was studying.

He put the book down on the ground and struck his breast with his fist, and then he again read the book, and put it down and struck his breast. The tears were flowing from his eyes. Then I entered the chamber, and he turned to me after putting aside the book.

"Hazrat," I asked him, "what is written in that book?"

"You are a child," he replied. "What business have you with it?"

Again I submitted: "I want to benefit!"

"In this book," he said, "there is written the science of the knowledge [ma'rifat] of God. I have not acted upon it, and I have passed my days in vain fancy and lust, and I have wasted my precious life for naught!"

No sooner had he spoken these words than a light appeared in my

heart, and the thought occurred to me: "Why should I not seek that science which is the science of the recognition of God?"

From that day God laid hold upon me. At nights I would climb down from the roof of my house. There was a mosque in the neighbourhood, where there was running water. I used to go there and perform wazú and offer two rak'ats in thanks for the wazú. Then I would sit in front of the qibla. When dawn drew near, I would go back into the house by the same route and to sleep in my sleeping place.

Some time passed in this manner, till my uncle learnt that at nights I was not in the house. He was concerned lest I might have gone to a place where I should not have gone; and so he set people to find out where I went. When they found out, they reported that I spent the nights in the mosque. My uncle sent for me in private and said: "You are very young and have not yet become a muríd anywhere. You keep night vigils on your own initiative. There's danger of your going mad!"

IX.5.2. SHÁH QALANDAR HEARS OF  
BÁBÁ PALANGPOSH FROM WANDERING DARWÍSHES  
AND JOINS THEIR COMPANY

At this time a wandering group of cloak-wearers entered the village, performing loud recitation. From hearing them a state came over me, and I sat with them and they told me of the holiness of Bábá Palangposh. Love of him so entered my heart that one night I saw his blessed beauty in a dream.

In the dream he prescribed for me a course of devotional exercise. After I awoke his blessed form remained in my mind. The tumult of my desire for his company was increased, and I told the faqírs: "I wish to enter the service of Hazrat. Tell me when you set out, so that I can go with you."

"Do your relations give their permission?" the faqírs asked.

At dawn I got news that the faqírs had gone off to Hindostan. Unable to control myself, I set off like a madman in their tracks. I caught up with them after some days.

"Hazrat is in the land of the Deccan," the faqírs said: "You are small, and it will be impossible for you to travel such a vast distance. For this reason we did not think that you should join us: but now /that you have done so/ you should not leave our company!"

IX.5.3. SHAH QALANDAR'S STAY IN KABUL

In the company of the faqírs I reached Kabul. Outside the gate of the city

there is the takya of a Murtazá Sháhi Anandí Faqír. It is a verdant place with good air, and the faqírs encamped there. Every day they went out sightseeing towards the city, and I washed and swept their lodging place and filled the vessels with water and put them /in their place/, and I was occupied with this until the faqírs returned.

At the end of the day they came back, and each of them out of affection brought an apple or some other fruit for me. At night each one lit a candle in front of him. There were about seventy of them and there was a wonderful glitter of the candles. After they had all come back and settled in their own places, I used to go out and beg. What God provided I passed on to the faqírs, and it was shared out and I ate a portion with them; and I always performed the exercises which in my dream Hazrat had prescribed and never forgot them.

In this manner six months passed in Kabul, and I had an increasing longing to kiss the feet of Hazrat Palangposh. Sháh Khákí, Sháh Shaydá, Sháh Báqí and three or four others separated from the band to go and wait upon Hazrat, and I also joined them upon the journey. Sháh Khákí and Sháh Shaydá are nowadays in the city of Shahjahanabad [Delhi] and reside in the madrasa [college] of Nawwáb Ghází al-Dín Khán. They gave me a cloak [khirqa] in the name of Hazrat /Palangposh/, and I served them with heart and soul. Every day I would go out and beg, and whatever God provided I would bring in their service; but they, in spite of this service, never said a word to me except of disparagement and abuse. I considered all this as from God, and I said nothing until I reached Rohtasgarh, which is a famous fort.

IX.5.4. SHÁH QALANDAR ENTERS  
A DESERTED MANSION IN ROHTASGARH AND  
IS BEATEN BY A MUGHAL

In my accustomed manner in the evening I went out to beg and wandered round the streets of the town. Then I saw a large mansion. Its gateway was ruinous, and I went forward and entered it. Other gateways, also ruinous, came to view. I was standing at one of these gates when I became aware that there were people living there.

I raised my voice in the manner of beggars, but I heard no reply. I called out a second and a third time, and I was about to go back, when I heard a voice saying: "Stop! I am bringing something!"

A powerfully built man came out, with a lamp in one hand and a bamboo staff in the other. I thought that he was bringing something nice for me to eat and I was pleased; but no sooner had he come up to me than he

fell into a rage and said: "My family are in the mansion. Why have you come as far /inside/ as this?"

"I thought that there was no one here," I replied, "because the gateway was ruined. After coming this far I realized that people were living here, and stood here to ask /for alms/."

The man put the lamp down on the ground, and beat me on my flank and head and face with the staff which he had in his hand, not sparing his blows until I was faint. But I did not feel pain anywhere, and every blow that struck me increased my inner ecstasy and sensibility. After that he said, "Go away!"

"Well," I said, "you have beaten me so much. Now give me something, for I have come in destitution!"

"I have not killed you," he replied. "I have behaved extremely kindly."

When I looked at his face, I saw that he was a Mughal. At this moment my heart felt pain, but then, considering the pain and the travail as from God, I went back and came to the faqirs and told them about the matter.

IX 5 5. SHÁH QALANDAR QUARRELS WITH THE  
OLDER FAQÍRS: HE COMES TO LAHORE  
AND STAYS THERE

After this I went on from the fort of Rohtasgarh in the company of Sháh Khákí, Sháh Shaydá and the others, and we reached Wazirabad, where we passed the night in the takya of a faqír. As the disparagement, abuse and violence towards me of the faqirs passed all bounds, I reflected that they considered that I served them out of fear and that I would put up with whatever they said. I had to make them realize that I did not serve them because I was afraid, but out of humility and taking the burden upon myself.

I stayed seated when they tightened their waistbands in the morning. Sháh Khákí and Sháh Shaydá asked: "Why aren't you fastening your waistband?"

I said that I was not going to accompany them. In the way of faqirs I had borne with their disparagement and violence, but they had never understood. They thought that I served them out of fear, but I heeded no one but God and His Prophet and the saints of the faith. Let them depart and I would go on gently by myself. If they had other ideas, I would go to Lahore and tell the faqirs there of their violence and abuse, and we would see what they said.

Sháh Khákí and Sháh Shaydá then tried flattery, but my heart had come to loathe them; and I abandoned them and stayed on.

They departed and after a couple of days I set out alone. I reached Shahdarra, close to Lahore, where I saw that Sháh Khákí, Sháh Shaydá and the other faqírs were staying, and they were waiting for me.

When they saw me, they insisted that it was good to travel together; and I agreed to accompany them, and we arrived at the imperial garden [Bágh-i Bádsháhí] called Nawlakhá.

About a hundred faqírs were staying there, and I served there for a while. Among the Turks there was a faqír called Sháh Báqí, and he had a muríd who bore the same name. He was an agreeable and saintly man.

One night I was sitting opposite him. He had performed the evening prayer, and when my eye fell upon him I saw that he was looking towards me. We gazed upon one another until the muezzin began the call to prayer. It struck me that we had just performed the evening prayer; why should he be sounding the call? I then realized that dawn had broken. His gaze had so carried me away from myself.

#### IX.5.6. SHÁH QALANDAR TRAVELS TO MULTAN AND NEGLECTS THE QUEST

I stayed for a while in Sháh Báqí's service, and brought his water for purification. In his company I went to Multan; and he passed some time in the takya of Sháh Tálib, who was one of the faqírs of Hazrat Bábá Palangposh. He then set out towards the two sacred places [Mecca and Medina].

I wanted to go with him, but he told me: "Your pír is a jealous man and potent. I am afraid of him! Take yourself to the service of your pír, for that is your destiny!"

It was through his influence that I stayed for a while in the takya of Sháh Tálib. I kept vigil at nights and did not sleep. Sháh Tálib became aware of this and gave me advice.

"You do not sleep," he said, "and that is not good. It will cause you injury. When you go to Hazrat /Palangposh/, you can do whatever he says."

He laid much emphasis on this. As he was my senior I accepted his orders, and I slept for three hours and sometimes longer. Until I came to Multan I did not neglect for a moment the continuous exercise which Hazrat had enjoined upon me in my dream; /but now/ I slowly grew negligent and, however much I tried, I could not remember the exercise. On this account I grieved and sorrowed, reciting as a prayer this couplet of Mawláná Jámí:

Verse:

Jámí remains confounded and has lost his way,  
But here the Prophet of God has become the Guide.



IX.5.7. SHÁH QALANDAR'S DREAM  
OF THE PROPHET

He related: One night in that state I saw in a dream that I was abandoned in a desert, and there was no sign of a habitation in sight. It was all a place of sand, with sand dunes as high as mountains on every side. Confused and distressed, I was reciting this couplet /of Jámí/ and wept and went onward. Suddenly a garden came into view, exceedingly green and pleasant.

I went to look at the garden. In front of me there appeared a band of cloak-wearers [faqírs] in the midst of whom was a holy man who was taller than any of them. I asked one of his companions who he was, and he replied: "Do you not recognize that it is the Holy Prophet, upon whom be God's blessing and peace?"

I fell at his feet, and he in his kindness lifted my face from the dust and showed much favour to me; and I became the muríd of That Presence [án hazrat].

Sháh Qalandar added: When I woke from my sleep, I discovered within myself a light and a joy that truly cannot be described.

IX.5.8. SHÁH QALANDAR VISITS DELHI  
WITH THE OTHER FAQÍRS

After a while the same Sháh Khákí and others who have been mentioned above set out to visit Bábá Palangposh. I accompanied them to Shahjahanabad, where we stayed for a while in the takya of Sháh Bábá, one of the saints of the age whose miracles are famous; and he showed various kindnesses.

One day Sháh Khákí and Sháh Shaydá wanted to set out from there, but he said: "My time has drawn near. It would be good if you were here for a while longer."

They refused and set out. I also went with them, and they wandered around from takya to takya in Shahjahanabad for two months, but they could not leave the city. What that holy man had said never entered their thoughts, until they arrived back at the takya of Sháh Bábá, who was ill. He said: "Didn't I tell you to stay here for a while?"

They stayed for two or three days more, and tightened their waistbands to depart. Sháh Bábá said: "It seems that Hazrat Bábá Palangposh—may God sanctify his secret—has called you. Very well, go!"

He recited fátiha and said: "Convey my devotion to Hazrat, and my request to him to say fátiha for me!"

We left that holy man, and on the same day we encamped after going out five karohs distance from the city. After three days a faqír came with the news that Sháh Bábá was dead. At this news the faqírs were sorry that they had not stayed two or three days longer.

IX.5.9. SHÁH QALANDAR TRAVELS TO AWRANGABAD  
AND GULBARGA: HIS MEETING WITH  
BÁBÁ PALANGPOSH IN THE FLESH

From there in the company of Sháh Khákí and the others I went to Awrangabad to wait upon Hazrat Bábá Musáfír. Shortly after kissing his feet I set out to wait on Hazrat Bábá Palangposh. At the time of his departure Bábá Musáfír gave me a loaf of unleavened bread folded into three. In a little while I reached Bábá Palangposh at Gulbarga, and I saw his face, which was as I had seen it in my dream.

IX.5.10. SHÁH QALANDAR'S VISION OF  
BÁBÁ PALANGPOSH, AND HIS  
RECEPTION BY HIM

At first his blessed face appeared to shine like the sun and from far off he seemed so tall as to touch the heavens. While I witnessed this conjunction, I let my gaze rest continually on his beauty, until I came close and his original appearance returned. Perturbation struck deep in my heart, so that I lost the power of speech. Weeping I fell at his blessed feet. With his blessed hands he lifted up my head. He asked some questions from the other companions; and he told us to go to the takya and loosen our waistbands. The companions went off to the takya, but I stood wholly absorbed with my gaze fixed upon his beauty.

"You go also!" he said.

So, still gazing at him, I turned my steps to the takya. When I had gone a little way Hazrat looked at me and said, "Go!" There was a faqír present waiting upon him to whom he turned. He said: "O madman, as we said, go to the takya! The other madmen never looked towards us, and they went to the takya. Yet look at this mad young qalandar, who has not turned his back at all, and goes along behind /us/ with his gaze fixed on us!"

At last Hazrat disappeared from view, and I came to the takya; and after leaving my baggage in a corner I sat down astonished and expectant. With the faqírs the other madmen were experiencing a strange zest and enthusiasm, and they were saying to one another words filled with love.

IX.5.11. BĀBĀ PALANGPOSH MAKES ARRANGEMENTS  
FOR SHĀH QALANDAR'S STAY

Shortly after the evening prayers, Bābā Palangposh came on his round of the takya, and his gaze fell upon me. I came from where I was sitting and stood at his service. He was seated, and he told me to sit down, indicating the chawkí [large square stool], on which he always used to sit. Silent, out of politeness I remained standing. He said: "I am telling you to sit on the chawkí!"

I still remained standing, and he said, "Sit down!"

I sat down then for a while and stood up again. This happened three times. It struck me that three times was the limit prescribed by good manners, after which I should not get up again. Hazrat said: "We asked once. Very well, it depends upon his occasion."

He summoned Shāh Hudhud, who was one of his khádims [servitors] and said: "Take care of this little qalandar, and bring his baggage near you!"

IX.5.12. LIFE IN THE ENTOURAGE OF  
BĀBĀ PALANGPOSH

I remained close to Shāh Hudhud, and he gave me good things to eat. After a while the thought occurred to me that I had come to seek God, not to nourish my carnal appetite. I told Shāh Hudhud not to give me this kind of food. Shāh Hudhud was angry, and for three or four days gave me burnt morsels from the bottom of the pot.

The pots were always cooking and he baked abundant bread. On one side was "The Feast of the Poppy", and on another "The Feast of Rashála", and in another direction a great band would be chanting "The Picture of the Mullá", while Hazrat sat on his chawkí, and the high amírs and mansab-dárs used to visit. Shāh Hudhud would behave towards each of them according to his rank and would offer them coffee and food. If no other food was ready, he would offer bread and broth.

There was another group of young boys like Shāh Píra, and several people who were poets and were witty. Shāh Hudhud used to give them as much kabáb and meat and dupiyáza and so on as they wanted. It struck me that this was a strange affair. Everything that came in was the right of the faqírs. Why did he give to worldly people? Such thoughts were passing through my mind while Hazrat was sitting on his chawkí. He called out: "Come here!"

I went and stood before him, and he said: "Why do you let such thoughts pass through your mind? Be careful!"

I realized that whatever thoughts were passing through anyone's mind were clear to him; and I asked God's pardon for the thoughts that had passed through my mind; and I always endeavoured to avoid letting the thought of other than God to pass in my heart.

Verse:

I am not neglectful of that moon [-faced one] for one blink of an eye;  
I fear that he may give a glance when I am not aware.

IX.5.13. SHÁH QALANDAR SERVES  
HIS PÍR ON THE MARCH

Every time /Bábá Palangposh's/ camp moved, I went barefoot beside the stirrup and the thorns pierced my feet. The game-strap of the horse that Hazrat rode was always in my hand. Once beside the road there was a thorn bush and the other faqírs passed around it; but I considered that to leave hold of Hazrat's saddle-strap and pass around the bush would be far from love. I closed my eyes and passed it at a bound.

Once when he was in his tent and the faqírs resting in various places in the shade, I was waiting upon him and he said: "They haven't tied this rope properly. Put it right!"

I made the rope taut and tied it firmly. He then said: "They have put the qanát [tent screens] in the wrong place!"

I put it wherever he said. He then said: "They have driven the tent-peg in at the wrong place!"

In short, he wanted me never to be idle for a moment. After the tent was set up, I levelled the ground for prayers and for the comfort of the faqírs; and in the evening I set up the stove of the faqírs and spread selected straw. In the morning I heated the water for wazú; and when, after the evening prayer, Hazrat used to rest on a bed, I would wait on him until midnight, and Hazrat never said anything.

Then, while he rested and I grew drowsy, I went out and wanted to take a little straw from the stable of the horses to spread beneath me. The noise reached him and he said: "Who is it?"

"Me," I said.

He asked what I was doing. I said that I was taking some straw from the stable to spread beneath me. He told me not to take the straw, which was for the horses, but to sleep on the ground. I closed my eyes for a short while and fell asleep. Then Hazrat cried out: "Is there anyone there?"

I heard, and as I had not the strength to get up, I did not reply. Again

he called out and I remained silent. When he called out for the third time, I worried lest I should be committing a sin if I did not get up, but with all the strength of both hands and both feet I remained helpless on the ground, and I felt a pain in my diaphragm. I rose with difficulty and came into his presence. I trimmed the wick of the lamp and poured oil into it, and lit the stove of the faqírs.

In the dawn I set up the chawkí for his wazú, and brought his toothbrush, comb, ewer and basin; and Hazrat sat upon his chawkí and performed wazú. After Hazrat had finished his ablutions, I collected the tent screens [qanát] of the latrine, and I loosed the ropes of the tent [dera].

After this the faqírs brought their loads and handed them to me, and I loaded them on the camels. Hazrat would drink coffee after performing his prayers and then mount his horse. In the marching order I would be at his bridle.

#### IX.5.14. SHÁH QALANDAR DESERTS AND RETURNS

One day Sháh Hudhud took issue with me and slapped me on the mouth. I grieved, and it occurred to me that the whole world was visible in the mirror of Hazrat's mind. Wherever I might be, /only/ sincere devotion was necessary. With this thought I came out and went away without leave from Bábá Palangposh, but after a few hours his attraction became dominant in my heart, and I had no choice but to set out and return to him. I resolved that when I returned to him I would separate myself from all.

When I arrived and had left my baggage aside, I came into his presence. Hazrat said: "Where have you left your baggage?"

"In that corner," I said.

"Bring it forward!" he ordered.

I brought it a little forward.

"Further!" he said; and I brought it further forward and put /the bundles/ down on the ground. Three times this happened, and Hazrat said: "Take them to your room!" And he indicated the tent [rawtí] where he himself was living. At his order I brought them to the tent and left them.

Hazrat ordered me: "After this you will teach these children to read!"

Every day I taught the children, but the children were very naughty and did not listen to my words. One day I submitted to Bábá Palangposh that the children did not heed my words. He said: "I have made you the pupil of these children, not the children your pupils!"

/Nevertheless/ he secretly called the children and was angry with them, telling them: "Do whatever the qalandar says, and do not disobey him!"

I was made very miserable by the naughtiness of the children, but as these were the orders of Hazrat I had no remedy.

One day the tent enclosure [dera] of Sháh Palangposh was pitched beside the water. He went sightseeing, and ordered me not to go outside the enclosure [dera], and I sat in the tent [rawtí]; outside it an awning [shámiyána] had been set up.

Sháh Píra, who was the adopted son of Hazrat, came inside the tent with some other children, and they took Hazrat's special bow and some arrows from the quiver, and went out. I wanted to forbid them, but however much I tried I found that I could not speak. I was confounded.

Sháh Píra loosed the special arrows of Hazrat into the water, and several arrows were lost. In a fit of anger I came out of the tent and took the bow and arrows from the hands of Sháh Píra, and made a scene. Sháh Píra went off weeping to Sháh Hudhud, and Sháh Hudhud slapped me several times on the face. I was extremely vexed. /However/ I reflected that Hazrat had told me not to set foot outside the tent and I had acted against his orders.

I wept a little and then I decided to leave. I made ready, and I told a faqír to look after the household, and I went out of the tent. For two months I wandered around and about, but the vision [rábita] of Bábá Palangposh was never for a moment apart from me. Once more on his part he drew me back. I arrived to wait upon him, and I was earnest in the gaining of good fortune. The exemplary behaviour, the miraculous acts, the generosity and the graciousness of Hazrat in equal measure towards all God's servants great and small were greater than ever; and it is beyond human capacity to bring within the confines of narration a small part of his favours towards me.

#### IX 5.15. SHÁH QALANDAR'S CONNECTION WITH NAWWÁB NIZÁM AL-MULK

It should not be concealed that for a while Sháh Qalandar the Martyr accompanied Nawwáb Nizám al-Mulk. The nawwáb at one time went towards Arcot to settle the area, and he extracted from the zamíndárs of the district the sum of one crore of rupees as peshkash.

Sháh Qalandar composed a ghazal for the nawwáb, of which the opening couplet is:

Verse:

We said that you have become the end of the thread of the eminent;  
From bestowing glances of kindness you have become the beloved.

The nawwáb wrote a reply;

Verse:

From your kindness I have become the end of the thread of the eminent,  
The manifestation of the compassion of the beneficent Creator.

#### IX.5.16. THE MURDER OF SHÁH QALANDAR

His endeavour was always to make people contented. If anyone requested anything, he strove with heart and soul in his affair, and by God's grace the matter would be settled. So it happened that a young woman came before him with her mother, and stated that she was the wife of a man called Alláh-Yár Birqa, who without just cause had continually reprimanded and rebuked her.

Sháh Qalandar summoned Birqa and admonished him. He entrusted the women to him, telling him: "After this do not harm them!"

Birqa took them away with him. After some days he brought them to a garden, and for no fault cut off the nose of his wife's mother and beat his wife a great deal as well. Both of them came weeping and wailing to Sháh Qalandar, who was exceedingly grieved and wrote a letter to the nawwáb [Nizám al-Mulk]. The nawwáb entrusted the matter to the qází, and the qází wished to separate the woman from /Birqa/.

In those days Sháh Qalandar had an illness of the eyes. Birqa came to him every day and expressed devotion to him; but he had enmity towards him in his heart and he was planning to kill him if opportunity offered. The sháh kept on saying: "This Birqa is coming to me, and I sense a darkness from him; and God knows best what is the cause of this. Some days before some of my companions . . . [lacuna]."

Several times Sháh Qalandar pronounced his last testament [wasiyat]: "If my time should come, take me and bury me at the feet of my pír and preceptor!"

Although he had not studied at all, he had composed a díwán of ghazals. One day in the morning he was looking over his díwán, and a large gathering was present in the assembly. During this he said: "Last night I had a dream. A large yellow ant stung my big toe, and I crushed it with that toe and killed it. Then many ants gathered round me. What is the interpretation of this?"

His friends gave interpretations, and at this time Birqa, who was armed and accoutred and rode a horse, came and sat down. At midday those who were present rose and left one by one, but Birqa remained seated. The sháh covered his eyes and sat in silence. There was a munshí called 'Abd al-Rahím, who was sitting in a corner writing something, and a boy stood by the sháh's head driving away the flies.

Birqa drew a knife from its sheath and stuck it in the sháh's belly. As soon as the knife struck, he said, "Alláh!" and placing his hand upon the wound leant forward in /the posture of/ meditation. Birqa got up from there and went out with the naked blade in his hand. The boy who had been driving away the flies came out and cried out that the man who was going off had killed the sháh.

Faqírs thronged around him on every side, and he was ready to fight. At this moment a crazy faqír had a spade in his hand, and quickly came up and brought it down on his head. Other faqírs also battered his head and killed him.

The population of the city [of Haydarabad], both Musalman and Hindu, who were /all/ devoted to the sháh, gathered weeping and wailing. Nawwáb Nizám al-Mulk was yet more grieved. His eyes were filled with tears as he lamented. He deputed Khwája 'Abd Alláh Khán for the procession of the bier and funeral prayers. A large gathering of great and small assembled, and the funeral prayers were read in the Mecca Mosque in the city; and his body was consigned to a temporary grave, while that of Birqa was burnt.

This event occurred on Tuesday, 13 Safar 1143 Hijrí [28 August 1730].

Later the body was disinterred from the place where it had been consigned, and on 29 Ramazan [27 April 1731] he was buried in the takya below the feet of Hazrat Bábá Palangposh.

#### IX.5.17. SHÁH QALANDAR'S CONNECTIONS WITH BÁBÁ MUSÁFIR AND WITH THE TAKYA AT AWRANGABAD

After the death of Hazrat Bábá Palangposh, Sháh Qalandar the Martyr had come with the bier to the blessed takya at Awrangabad. He had waited on Bábá Sháh Musáfir for a time and had become a muríd. He undertook severe austerities and often kept vigil at night, and sat in retirement and in the forty-day retreat. Day and night he was bound by sincerity and devotion, and Bábá Musáfir was well contented with him. He was very



attentive and kind towards him. He used to call down blessings /on him/ and often said: "We consider Sháh Qalandar as our brother!"

The sháh used to say: "Many holy men say to me within, 'Your ascent will be in your fortieth year.' "

When some unworthy men spoke badly regarding him, he would recognize this as from God, and would say: "I regard people speaking badly of me as a source of improvement."

He was generous, and he would often say: "My appetite wants sweets!" Then, although he had not got the money, he would buy sweets on credit, and go to the side of the tank and give them to companions. The companions used to eat the sweets and afterwards call him names, and he would be joyful when he heard them do so.

After some time, following the orders of Bábá Musáfir, he went to Haydarabad to arrange the sale of the mansion of Mír 'Abd Alláh. Yúsuf Khán was the súbádár there, and /Sháh Qalandar/ went to visit the army. Some persons collected a thousand rupees and gave the money to him, and he brought it to Bábá Musáfir and submitted it as an offering [niyáz]. In those days grain was exceedingly dear, and there was a shortfall of money for the expenditure. This sum was used for the expenses of the faqírs, and Bábá Musáfir himself called down blessings upon him.

After a while /Sháh Qalandar/ set out for Malwa. Mubáriz Khán, who was názim there, also brought five hundred rupees, and this was employed in the expenses of the faqírs.

Bábá Musáfir often used to say: "Our qalandar is a lion, and many foxes will eat their daily food in the track of this lion!"

#### IX.5.18. SHÁH QALANDAR SENDS WATERMELONS FROM PHULMARI

After this Bábá Musáfir sent him to report on the takya which is at Phulmari. He had a new well dug there.

One time Bábá Musáfir was prostrate with fever, and the physician [hakím] had prescribed that he should eat watermelon. Watermelons were not available in the city. So Bábá Musáfir said: "Write to Sháh Qalandar to send /watermelons/ if they are to be had in that district!"

The author wrote at his orders. It happened that /Sháh Qalandar/ had sown a bed of them, and he had kept several large and good watermelons buried in the soil. He dug them out and sent some; and he brought others along himself. Bábá Musáfir ate /from them/, and called down blessings upon him.

IX.5.19. SHÁH QALANDAR'S VISIT TO HINDOSTAN  
IN THE COMPANY OF NIZÁM AL-MULK

Later, after the death of Bábá Musáfir, when Nizám al-Mulk was transferred from the súbá of Awrangabad and set out for the imperial court in Hindostan, he sent a pressing request to /Sháh Qalandar/ to accompany him. The latter went with the nawwáb to Hindostan; and a great number of faqírs and of people in worldly occupations profited from his grace.

This was all the result of the barakat [blessing] of Bábá Musáfir, who said: "He is lion, and in his track many foxes will eat their daily bread!"

IX.5.20. SHÁH QALANDAR SLEPT WITH HEAD  
TO THE SOUTH

Sháh Hidáyat Alláh, who was a descendant of Makhdúm-i A'zam, had abandoned his worldly connections, and he came to the service of Sháh Qalandar the Martyr. He became a disciple and was clad in a khirqa [cloak]. He used to relate:

The martyred sháh came /back/ from Hindostan to the Deccan in the company of Nawwáb Nizám al-Mulk. He used to tell his servitors: "Spread my bedding with its head towards the Deccan!"

They would lay out his bedding in accordance with his order. One day at a halt Sháh Núr, who was one of the khádims [servitors], laid out his bedding with the head towards the Polestar and the foot to the South. The martyred sháh came and sat upon the bedding [bistar] and said: "I always insist that my bedding should be spread out towards the South!"

At this moment Sháh Núr appeared and he said: "Why did you lay it out in this way?"

Sháh Núr replied: "The manner common among holy men of the past is with the head placed towards the Polestar [Qutb]."

The sháh said: "My masters [hazarát, i.e. Bábá Palangposh and Bábá Musáfir] rest in the land of the Deccan. How should I stretch my feet towards the Deccan?"

Many people were surprised at this habit, until they learnt that this was the reason why he slept with his head towards the Deccan.

IX.6. NOTICE OF HAJJÍ 'ÁSHÚR

He was of Turkish descent and brought up and educated by Bábá Musáfir. After he became a muríd, he rose to the rank of khiláfat. He wrote with

his own hand about what befell him, and the contents of that /narrative/ are included in this volume.

IX.6.1. HIS FIRST VISION

He states that when he was first accepted into the service of Bábá Musáfir he was given an "occupation" with the Names of God. He was thus occupied for a while, and sometimes the likeness of the moon or of a star was visible, and sometimes he experienced a vision.

/He related:/ One day I went to the chawk to buy something. It was /a case of/ "Hand at the task but heart with the friend!" At that moment I lost consciousness /of what I was doing/. Quickly returning from the chawk, I entered the Mosque of the Pressers with the intention of performing the mid-morning prayer. I raised my hands to my clothes and my eyes fell upon the floormat, from which the recitation of "Alláh! Alláh!" arose. I looked at the wall of the mosque and the bricks of the wall were all saying "Alláh! Alláh!" I looked at myself and every hair of my body was saying Alláh! Alláh!

I came out of the mosque and went on to the takya. The people in the road and the bazaar, whether Musalman or Hindu, and the walls and the roofs, the thatch and the shop-platforms and the pebbles and all, everything which came into view, were all saying "Alláh! Alláh!" I reached the takya, and my glance fell on the coral tree [pángra]. Every leaf and fruit was saying "Alláh!"

Bábá Musáfir was in his chamber, and I wanted to renew my wazú. I went to the clay waterpots, and they were all saying "Alláh!" I took up one of them and filled it and went to the wash-house. The wall and the stone and the broken bricks were all reciting "Alláh!" After I had renewed my wazú and finished there, I went to Bábá Musáfir. He called me in and said: "Have you got something to tell?"

I described my states, and he said: "Your dhikr [recitation] is flowing: continue your dhikr!"

I followed his command, and night and day I continued the dhikr, till the true condition of those in their graves began to be manifest /in me/. I was in this state for several days, after which Hazrat ordered me to "deny the affirmations" [nafí-i athbát], and I became occupied with that.

In one breath I would recite /it/ two hundred, three hundred or five hundred times, and the true state of the heart began to come to view. Hazrat said: "The meaning of showing the true state of the heart is that sometimes it comes to view, resembling water or a river, and as green or red light."

In that world I saw myself larger than all

## IX.6.2. HÁJJÍ 'ÁSHÚR'S SECOND VISION

One day I went to the mosque of Begampura, and I had a vision [ghaybate]. I saw that from the East to the West all was light. I saw myself seated upon a throne, and the whole world was turning towards me and was at my command. Anything that I wanted to do was done, whether to kill or to nourish, for I had become God. When I beheld this state, I said, "God forgive me!" Yet however much I wanted to remove the condition from me by asking God's pardon, it did not depart.

In the same world, I opened my eyes and I saw that the preacher was delivering his address from the pulpit [mimbar]. I came out after performing the Friday prayer, and every moment upon the road there was a boiling over in my heart, telling me, "Say, 'I am God!'" I kept control of myself and reached the takya. Bábá Musáfir had performed the Friday prayer and was in his chamber. He saw me and summoned me, calling out, "'Áshúr!"

He asked my conditions and I gave a detailed description. He graciously opened the book of the *Maqámát* ["Stations"] of the great khwája, solver of difficulties [Bahá' al-Dín Naqshband], and he related the history of that saint. This /state/ used to occur to the khwája seventy times a day, and he would go beneath a gallows and say: "O appetite, if you say aught with your tongue you will be put upon the gallows!"

By the power [barakat] of the aid of a perfect preceptor that state passed away from me, after which another white light appeared. I consigned myself to that light; and I saw that the whole world was filled with the light. I came to Hazrat and told him of this. He said: "You should have realized that light from yourself in the six directions, and take yourself out of the midst of it, so that your form rises up and that light remains."

## IX.6.3. HÁJJÍ 'ÁSHÚR'S THIRD VISION

One day Bábá Musáfir was in the mosque reading the *Nuzhat al-arwáh* ["Delight of the Spirits"]. Other Sufis were present; and the narrator [Hájjí 'Áshúr], who was seated and "turning attention" to him, was performing dhikr.

At that moment I had a vision. The sound of Hazrat reading was coming to my ears, and I saw a dais. I was made to sit upon that dais and was borne up to heaven, and thence to the second and third heaven as far as the Throne and the Empyrean. Thence I was borne still onward till a white light was manifest. I took myself into that light and lost myself, so that I did not know what I had become, nor where I had gone. When I came

to my senses and opened my eyes, I saw that Hazrat was still reading the book.

#### IX.6.4. HÁJJÍ 'ÁSHÚR'S FOURTH VISION

Once a light appeared from the qibla [prayer niche]. I saw it advancing like a line of battle. Everywhere it reached trees and walls, men and animals were turned to light. I consigned myself to that light and became one with it. Awareness existed, but my form did not exist. In whatsoever direction I turned that light manifested itself in accord with my attention; and many such lights were manifest one after another.

Hazrat had previously told me: "Whenever such lights are displayed, you should consider yourself as a vat, and annihilate these lights within you!"

I did thus.

#### IX.6.5. SOME FURTHER VISIONS OF LIGHTS

Another time a black light appeared, and no awareness remained in me. I did not know what I had become or where I had gone. I told Hazrat of these occurrences, and he said: "You pass into and out of your own awareness."

One time a light appeared, and I entered into it, and however much I tried I did not find awareness of myself. Another time, by the aid of Hazrat my preceptor, with great effort my awareness remained. I saw that grace was rained down on all four sides, and whether my eyes were closed or open that same world was manifest. Then the spirits of the Prophets and the saints appeared.

#### IX.6.6. VISION OF MEDINA AND THE PROPHET

One day I was sitting in meditation and I had a vision. I saw that I had gone to Medina the radiant, and that I had entered the holy tomb of . . . the Prophet . . . There was a saintly gathering who were sending salutations to the Prophet, and Hazrats Abú Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmán were also sending their salutations. One man out of /the gathering/ said to me: "I will take you to the Leader [the Prophet]."

"I long for that!" I replied.

He took my hand and led me into the chamber. When I went inside the door, I saw that Hazrat Bábá Musáfir was standing like a chamberlain

[hájb], and I wanted to go behind the screen [hijáb]. Hazrat Bábá Musáfir indicated that I should come up face to face with the Leader of the prophets. I did so, and looking at me He said three times to Bábá Musáfir: "We have taken Hájjí 'Áshúr into our keeping!"

Bábá Musáfir was glad at this and indicated to me that I should salute Him and depart. I took leave from him and came out, and then I came to my senses.

IX.6.7. HÁJJÍ 'ÁSHÚR'S VISION OF THE  
PASSING AWAY OF BÁBÁ MUSÁFIR  
AND THE SUCCESSION OF SHÁH MAHMÚD

One day I saw in a vision that in the world of Essence Hazrat Bábá Musáfir and had "turned his attention" to the states of Sháh Mahmúd [the compiler]. Bábá Musáfir had placed himself wholly beneath the burden of the latter. I asked him why he was carrying Sháh Mahmúd. He said: "I am myself making preparation for a journey, and I must leave after doing one thing for him."

He then turned again to Sháh Mahmúd. He expelled from him anything in his being which was not approved. In the world of Essence he made him like himself, and went away carrying his burden.

Not many days had passed /after this/ when Hazrat fell ill with fever. This lasted for several months and increased daily. He summoned me and said: "Hájjí 'Áshúr! You do not 'turn your attention' towards me, with regard to whether I am going to get better or not!"

He added: "Darwishes are all the time taking omens!"

I felt upset. I considered it my duty to lay down my life for Hazrat if he was spared. Sitting face to face with him, I "turned my attention", and Hazrat also sat 'turning his attention', and I had a vision. The pomp of a great and splendid cavalcade came into view.

"Whose cavalcade is this?" I asked.

A voice reached my ears: "... The Holy Prophet ... is coming to see Hazrat Bábá Musáfir!"

I felt joyful, and as I was waiting a white light appeared from the direction on the qibla [prayer niche], and passed on either side. After this the light broadened and very slowly came forward, advancing in a line. I grew exceedingly glad that I was about to see the Holy Prophet. That light came forward and reached the takya; and the whole of the takya, doors and walls, stone and brick, was filled with it. Hazrat was utterly annihilated in that light.

At this moment Mír Salím, who was present, cried out to me and I

came to my senses. Hazrat also lifted up his head from meditation and was angry with Mír Salím, sending him away. He asked me what I had seen and I told him. He said: "Praise be to God! Praise be to God!" And he called down blessings upon me, saying: "You will be attentive towards my states at the time /when I die/!"

Hazrat's time came, and he said: "Bábá, sit by my bed and turn your attention!"

It was sunset when I was 'turning my attention', and I saw something like white cotton come out one span [wajab] from Hazrat's mouth. He said: "Draw it out!"

At his order I grasped it and pulled. A light came into my hand and immediately ascended to heaven. At that moment I came back to my senses.

#### IX.7. NOTICE OF MAWLÁNÁ MUSHFIQÍ

He was originally in the service of the emperor 'Álamgír. He served as an ahadí [one-horse trooper] in the contingent of archers. He heard descriptions of the holiness of Hazrat Íshán, and he came to attend on him. He became a muríd and was employed in secretarial work [munshígari]. He often sat in retirement and in the forty day retreat with the khalífa 'Abd al-Rahím.

##### IX.7.1. DEPARTURE TO HINDOSTAN AND LAHORE

After the death of the emperor 'Álamgír, when Muhammad A'zam Sháh set out for Hindostan to contest the throne, Mawláná Mushfiqí and his brother, who was called 'Abd al-Rahím Beg, went to Hindostan together with other members of the family. After Muhammad A'zam Sháh was killed, he abandoned /official/ service and attached himself to the khalífa 'Abd al-Rahím in Lahore, and strove to attain perfection. The khalífa gave him leave to depart, saying: "Go to Badakhshan and urge the people towards God!"

##### IX.7.2. MAWLÁNÁ MUSHFIQÍ'S MISSION IN BADAKHSHAN HIS LETTER FROM THERE

At the khalifa /'Abd al-Rahim/'s orders he went to Badakhshan, which is known as Fayzabad. Most of the holy men and accomplished and other people there became murids and devotees. The ruler of the place became

attached and built a khánqáh for him. He wrote a letter with his own hand and sent it to Hazrat. This is a copy of it:

God is great! The missive of longing in the service, that is altogether good fortune, of the helper of the faith and the world, Hazrat Íshán, may God preserve him!

/The writer/ after the profession of servitude submits that in all states and at all times he is occupied with prayer for the prolongation of the life of Hazrat. It is hoped that the prayers of this least one, together with all Hazrat's devotees here, will become conjoined to the rank of being answered, and that these prayers' influence being manifested, the shadow of the material and spiritual dominion of Hazrat may shed lustre and endure upon the head of this devoted servant together with the followers. By the order of Hazrat's outward manifestation—that is the khalífa /' Abd al-Rahím/—and his inner presence, that is Hazrat /himself/ directing, /the writer/ came to the town of Fayzabad, that is Badakhshan, and resides there. By the grace of Hazrat a devotee appeared and built a khánqáh in the town. /The writer/ is there and a number of seekers have gathered. Each of these has been favoured by /spiritual/ "states", but especially a young man who has reached the age of twenty years more or less, to such a degree that two or three times a week he is honoured by the vision of Hazrat the Refuge of Prophethood [the Prophet Muhammad]. The latter has several times condescended to him, /remarking,/ "We give you the rose of our observance [sunnat]!" Likewise Hazrat the Great Khwája [Bahá' al-Dín Naqshband] and all of the great shaykhs. From within him every day /the message/ arises: "We made /Ourself/ manifest to you with all Our Names and attributes. Our manifestation is your manifestation. We have consigned forty thousand people to your intercession, and also brought them to the profession of devotion to you!" Annihilation in the shaykh and annihilation in the Prophet have appeared; and in matters of tawhíd [belief in God's unity] he is extremely good. But he has a certain simplicity, and he is also Hazrat's slave!

Please write whatever is commanded from those who come from this direction. There is a man who is a smith, also an ordinary family man, who entered the Path nearly six months ago. In the blink of an eye he is sightseeing in the heavens, and he has strange "states"! /The writer/ is hopeful that that by Hazrat's grace Hazrat may at all times be aware of his own distant ones; and that another group of seekers are ready in their own works, and the circle of companionship is also warm, not devoid of /spiritual/ meaning.

This is a copy of the letter Mawláná Mushfiqí wrote. He is still alive



today, and all the great people of the kings of Badakhshan are disciples and devotees of his.

IX.8. NOTICE OF SÚFÍ MUHAMMAD WAFÁ

He was born in the town of Peshawur near Kabul, and his relations served in the army of the emperor 'Álamgír. He left his birthplace and arrived at the military camp of the emperor [in the Deccan]. He was there for a while and thence he came to Awrangabad. Sometimes he would come to the takya for the morning prayer and leave after he had performed it. He was seventeen or eighteen years of age, but in spite of his youth he possessed piety and strong faith, and the traces /of spirituality/ were visible on his forehead. He was endowed with a high degree of grace and eloquence, and the khalífa 'Abd al-Rahím's disposition inclined towards him.

One day Hájjí 'Árif and two or three others were passing along the highway of Qutbpura in the khalífa's company, and Sufí Muhammad Wafá came into view in front of them. When he saw the khalífa he came up and greeted him. The khalífa /'Abd al-Rahím/ hesitated for a moment and then said to Sufí: "How long will you continue to run away from my company?"

Sufí /Muhammad Wafá/ stood waiting upon the khalífa with entire politeness; and the khalífa took control of his interior state. At one bound Sufí passed out of himself and fell unconscious. After he had come back to his senses, he went with the khalífa to the takya. The following day, with the khalífa as intermediary, he became a muríd of Bábá Musáfir and was occupied with austerities. He sat in retirement with the khalífa and in the forty-day retreat, and from his excessive austerities he became like the crescent moon. His uncles wept when they saw him as weak as this.

He passed some time in this manner in Bábá Musáfir's service. When Bahádur Sháh went to Hindostan, his uncles, after taking leave of Bábá Musáfir, took him with them, and they went to Shahjahanabad [Delhi]. /There/ he served the khalífa 'Abd al-Rahím for a while, and then the khalífa gave him leave to depart. Nowadays he resides at Mughalpura in Shahjahanabad, where he has built a mosque and a khánqáh; and he does not travel.

May God long preserve the shadow of his guidance over the heads of seekers!

IX.9. NOTICE OF MÍR 'ARAB

He was from Sar-i Pul [The Head of the Bridge], which is a well-known

locality of Balkh. From there he came to India and entered the service of the emperor 'Álamgír in the contingent of siege-artillery [qil'achiyán]. He was a sayyid and a seeker after learning; he performed austerities and was most firm in the faith; and he had long been searching for the perfect pír. The father of his newly-married wife was called Khushhál Beg Qil'achí. He was a great man of the time.

IX.9.1. MÍR 'ARAB BECOMES A MURÍD:  
PROBLEMS OF HIS FAMILY

Mír 'Arab, who had heard of the reputation of the holiness of Bábá Musáfir, came from the imperial camp and professed his devotion to him. He became a muríd and after abandoning his worldly ties stayed for a while in his service. At Bábá Musáfir's indication he sat in retirement and in the forty-day retreat with the khalífa 'Abd al-Rahím.

From the beginning he was wholly absorbed, to such a degree that for a time he had no consciousness of himself while sat in meditation. After he had come back to his senses he would perform the prayers that he had missed. /This behaviour/ was to a degree that his family and wife came to Bábá Musáfir and asked for help, because the mír had abandoned his worldly ties and had chosen retirement.

"To whose door," /they asked/, "should we weak women go?"

Bábá Musáfir turned his attention to the mír and said: "You have a family and you have children, and it is your duty to help them. 'He who earns is loved by God' is appropriate here!"

Whatever excuses were brought forward by the mír, such as "At present I can't undertake the drudgery!" and "They consider me dead now!" were nonetheless not accepted by Bábá Musáfir, who considered that the women /of Mír 'Arab's family/ should be reassured; and he told him to go to the army.

IX.9.2. MÍR 'ARAB REJOINS THE ARMY BUT  
COMES BACK TO THE TAKYA

The mír went to the army and elected to remain there for a while. He told his wife's father about his condition, and the latter gave him leave to depart and reside with Bábá Musáfir. He would look after the children himself. He himself also came to Bábá Musáfir, and became a muríd and returned to the imperial army; while Mír 'Arab came to Bábá Musáfir and stayed there in his service engaged in severe austerities. Morning and evening he read Sufi books, and his task attained perfection through the

power of Bábá Musáfir's "attention". Bábá Musáfir bestowed khiláfat upon him.

IX.9.3. MÍR 'ARAB'S FAMILY TAKE HIM  
TO HINDOSTAN

After some time Bahádur Sháh, the son of the emperor 'Álamgír, came to the Deccan and then set out again for Hindostan. His wife's father together with the family decided to go to Hindostan; and he made a request to Bábá Musáfir, saying: "I am an old man, and I hope that Mír 'Arab will be given permission to accompany me."

Bábá Musáfir told the mír: "My pleasure is that you go with your wife's father to Shahjahanabad [Delhi]. Lead a retired life there and act as a guide for the people towards God!"

The mír was obliged to agree, as he could not reject the order of Bábá Musáfir. He parted with much grief and left for Shahjahanabad. He stayed for a while in the khánqáh of the khalífa Khwája Muhammad Sa'id, and he received graces from the company of the khalífa. Many of the men of that city became his muríds. After the death of the khalífa Khwája Muhammad Sa'id he lived for a while longer in the khánqáh, and he died there.

IX.10. NOTICE OF BÁBÁ SHÁH KHÁDIM

His birthplace was the town of Hisar. At the age of seven he left Wilayat and came to the service of Hazrat Íshán [Bábá Musáfir].

IX.10.1 HIS SERVICE IN THE TAKYA,  
TRAVELS AND BEHAVIOUR

He became a muríd and received a khirqá. For a while he was sent to the kitchen, and after performing this service he became a personal attendant of Bábá Musáfir. After a while he decided to travel and took leave of Bábá Musáfir. He travelled to Shahjahanabad [Delhi], and then to Surat and Gujarat and to the land of Bengal. He also saw Macchlíbandar [Masulipatan], Haydarabad, Danda-Rajawri, the Konkan, Kashmir, Jinji and Tanjore.

Most people said that he was of the tribe of the Sháhs [? a sayyid], but he kept this concealed. He had a very bright countenance and fair face. He passed his life unmarried and he lived without pretence. He never visited the houses of the wealthy and he dwelt in a corner of the takya. In his last days he was busy with the book *Dala'il al-khayrāt*, and the

*Mathnaví-i ma'naví*, the *Tadhkirat al-awliyá'* and the *Nafahát al-uns*. He mixed little with the worldly and he used to talk with everyone about God.

#### IX.10.2. SHÁH KHÁDIM AS A PÍR

After the death of Bábá Musáfir many people turned to him and became muríds. Nizám al-Mulk Ásaf Jáh and many of the great men of the city came to visit him. His age had reached ninety years, but at night he would get up for the supererogatory prayers [tahajjud]. He had no servitor [khádim] and in spite of the weaknesses of old age he used to go alone to the side of the tank, and in the winter air, in spite of the excessive cold, he would perform his wazú with cold water; and he used to wear only one shirt. When the wind blew, his body was so frail that he shook like a willow.

#### X.10.3. HIS CHARACTER AND HABITS

In the days of his youth he did not have much attraction toward women [ma'súmán, "those kept pure"], but rather held /this/ to be repugnant. In his old age he was very fond of little children, and he used to sit them down with him and feed them; and he would wipe their noses with his own hand and pop morsels into their mouths.

He never missed prayers in congregation. Whenever he fell ill, he took no medicine and refrained from nothing; and if anyone pressed medicine or abstention upon him, he would grow displeased and would say, "What God has willed will be!"

#### IX.10.4. LAST ILLNESS

In his last days he kept the fast in the blessed month of Ramazan in spite of the hot weather. No alteration at all came over his brow, and his endurance in austerities was more than that of young men. One day before his illness as he was drinking coffee he said to the author and others:

"Last night I saw in a dream that Sháh Qalandar the Martyr had come; and he embraced me. From his body there came to my nostrils an unpleasant smell. I said, 'An unpleasant smell is coming from you. Stay aside from me!'"

"At that moment I woke from my sleep."

After that he added: "It seems that my time is near."

He observed the days of the fast or Ramazan in their entirety and perfectly, and as he recited the prayers of 'Íd he was struck down with fever.

For three days he went to the mosque and recited his prayers in congregation; but on the fourth day he lacked the strength to do so. When the time for prayer came, he said, "It is now time!" And he rose and purified himself and put on the garments [ihrám] of prayer, but he lost consciousness after putting them on and remained thus. On the fifth day a forgetfulness occurred, after which he opened his eyes and said:

"I saw Hazrat Íshán [Bábá Musáfir] in a dream. He had come with a group of companions, and he was saying: 'Make the preparations for Sháh Khádim!' "

His companions remonstrated that two or three days were necessary to make the preparations for him.

At that moment I awoke."

#### IX.10.5. HIS DEATHBED

At the time of the morning prayer on the ninth day he asked if the time for prayer had come.

"Yes," his companions replied.

He rose up, purified himself and put on the garments of prayer, but then again fell unconscious. He lay stretched out, with his eyes closed. In that state of unconsciousness there came from his tongue /these words/: "There are wonderful niches and colonnades, and on those niches are set out coloured flowers. White birds are sitting in those niches, and they are singing aloud, saying 'Hé, hé!' "

Then he came back to his senses, and he turned to the author and said: "The cup and the mat of leather which Hazrat Bábá Palangposh bestowed on me I now bestow on you. Should a seeker come, put my cap between you when you recite the takbír [God is great]!"

Then his senses left him again, but they returned and he asked the author: "In the *Dalá'il al-khayrát* what blessing is it that they recite, and see the Lord of Creation [the Holy Prophet] in a dream?"

I did not remember; and as the learned Mullá 'Abd al-Rahím Balkhi was sitting there, I looked towards him. He remembered the blessing and recited it, and I myself repeated it several times; after which in that same semi-conscious state he recited the praise of God and the kalima [profession of faith]. In that state he said: "Where does not Satan stretch out his hand?"

He repeated this three times and sent a blessing upon . . . the Holy Prophet; and he repeated with his tongue the profession of God's Oneness and said: "One must take quickly what is entrusted!"

Then, turning towards all of us, he said: "I /shall/ have a little rest. Do you also rest!"

The companions all rose. He said to Hájjí Faqír who was in attendance: "Prayer is sometimes lacking, but friendship will not be lacking. At the time of prayer my business will come to an end. You will be present."

The muezzin gave the evening call to prayer and people went for the prayer. The leader performed one prostration [*rak'at*] and was bending his body /again/ when Bábá [Sháh Khádím] surrendered his soul to God. It was on the eve of Wednesday, 9th of the month Shawwal of the Hijri year 1143 [17 April 1731].

#### IX.10.6. SHÁH KHÁDIM'S GRAVE

He was buried at the foot of Hazrat Bábá Musáfír. After his death, people felt that he should be placed close to Sháh Qalandar the Martyr; but when they started to dig the grave, it occurred to everyone in a flash that he should be put in the place where he sat morning and evening for more than sixty years, and that he had chosen this for himself. So they buried him there, beneath the feet of Hazrat Bábá Musáfír behind the mosque.

In the time before his illness he had seen Sháh Qalandar in the dream, and had embraced him and told him to keep his distance because a smell came from his clothes. It finally came to pass in the same manner, and the truth of the dream was manifest to all. It was evident that the martyred sháh kept company with worldly people, and it would have been the worldly smell which displeased Sháh Khádím. "The knowledge is with God!"

#### IX.10.7. SHÁH KHÁDIM'S WORDS UNHEEDED

Sháh Turáb said: I had a brother called Niyáz Beg who, when he came from Wilayat to Hindostan, took service in the rule of the emperor Muhammad Farrukhsiyar, in the regiment of mace-bearers. He was posted to Arcot and had gone there.

I came in search of him from Bukhara to the takya [at Awrangabad], and I paid my respect to Sháh Khádím. He made inquiries about me and I replied that I had come to look for my brother, and I would be going to Arcot.

"Go quickly!" he said.

"I have come from far away," I replied, "and I am exhausted. After resting here for some days I will set out."

The bábá said with great emphasis: "Go quickly, for now is the time!"

I did not heed his words and I stayed there. After a couple of months

I set out, and when I reached Arcot I learnt that my brother had died fifteen days before my arrival. I returned from there and came to the takya at Awrangabad.

IX.11. NOTICE OF THE PILGRIM TO THE  
HOLY PLACES HÁJJÍ QÁSÍM

His birthplace was the village of Dawlatabad near Balkh. After the death of his parents he left Dawlatabad and came to Hazrat Íshán [Bábá Musáfír] at Awrangabad, and he became a muríd and was given a khirqa to wear. He was a seeker after knowledge who was accepted by all. Now and then he composed poetry. He was for a while in the private company of Hazrat, collating the *Mathnaví* and other books.

IX.11.1. HÁJJÍ QÁSÍM'S PILGRIMAGE: HE JOINS  
BÁBÁ PALANGPOSH

After some time he took leave from the service of Bábá Musáfír and was ennobled by pilgrimage to the Holy Places. Then he returned to Bábá Musáfír, but after a while he again took leave and went to Bábá Palangposh. For a time he was engaged in carrying the ewer of the latter, and he served him well. After that he left him and went to the settlement of Indpur, where the fawjdár [military commandant] was called 'Ibád Alláh Chihra Áqasí, one of those who had the entrée to the emperor 'Álamgír.

IX.11.2 HÁJJÍ QÁSÍM SETS UP AT INDPUR

He remained there for a while, and the chihra áqasí showed sincerity in his service, offering a present [nadhr] of some bíghas of land under cultivation, as well as 15 bíghas of garden with a well of burnt bricks, which is known in the place as Shakkar Báolí ["the Sugar Well"]. The chihra áqasí also wrote to the emperor, procuring a farmán for this land, and built a mosque.

IX.11.3 RETURN TO AWRANGABAD

At one time there was a famine there, and the hájjí together with his family came from there to Bábá Musáfír /in Awrangabad/. Bábá Musáfír was very pleased that the hájjí had come, and said: "You have done well to bring your children with you. I am old and my ancient companions have all departed; let us pass the remainder of our lives together!"

In the town he found a place for the children of the hájjí; and the hájjí left his dependants in that man's residence and morning and evening was present in Bábá Musáfir's service. Usually he sat with him at night for five hours or so; and Hazrat said many kind things about him. The hájjí wrote a qasída [ode] in /Bábá Musáfir's/ honour, and Hazrat liked it very much and praised it. This is the qasída.

IX.11.4. QASÍDA BY HÁJJÍ QÁSÍM IN PRAISE OF  
BÁBÁ MUSÁFIR

Verse:

We are beggars of the Emperor of Poverty, our matting on our breast;  
The royal umbrella over our head is the shadow of the wing of the phoenix.

In thirst for the water of life we have set out for the wilderness;  
The Khizr guiding our path is Muhammad, and our succour is God.

Our thirsty deaths are verily the crown of life  
In the wilderness where is the footprint of our Chosen One.

Day and night continually I cry, and none knows that  
From longing for him every portion of me is separated like joints of a reed.

The eye says, "I behold!" The tear says, "I flow!"  
In the thought of him I know not how long this state endures.

In quest for the scent of reality I myself am not alone for a moment;  
I am the seeker of the rosebed of Poverty, my companion is the zephyr.

Although from the pain of love my colour has become straw,  
In my regard ruby and pearl are a wave of water of amber.

How much longer am I obliged to endure headache for the base,  
While beneath my side is a staff of sandalwood for support?

For the royal falcons of intentions these realities are manifest;  
The stretched-out hand of beggars is the fletch of the arrow of prayer.

One may know oneself from the light of the smile of the generous;  
The sole of the beggar's shoe is curtain of the eye of the ignoble.

O captive of the lovely rose of impatience, know  
That the earth of the garden of contentment is better than the philosophers'  
stone!

This is the service of the King of Poverty: so close your mouth from com-  
plaint!

Else your sword be at the waist; your tongue is at the back of the neck.



The King with the qualities of San'án did /thus/ for the foot-kissing,  
Beneath whose feet are the wheeling heavens, whose seat is with the Al-  
mighty.

Revelation of the essence of favour, pearl of the ocean of grace,  
He is the exemplar of the ultimate, the champion of the saints.

For this reason the King of Kings had become a traveller [musáfir] in the this  
world

That he may know where is the end of the thread of reality.

A reflection of the sun of heaven is revealed from his countenance;  
He is a sun upon earth with his rays /shining/ towards heaven.

How shall the eye not be illumined by the dust of his coming,  
Since in the eye of truth the dust of his feet is collyrium?

O you who in amazement know not his whole extent and description,  
Make petition through his prayers for what you seek in your heart!

Niche of prayers! Enough that the Gate of Mercy is open before you!  
For petitioners, despair of your gifts is full of error.

I am consumed by affliction; of your kindness have pity,  
Since what further strength is there in me to bear calamity?

I thirst for the cup of Poverty; I quiver in your gaze;  
Give me some water, for my eye resembles a China bowl!

If I am not the dust of your threshold, I am like a magic lantern;  
In my heart the fire of longing for you is a ray for the candle of my soul.

Let none be without hope of the grace of your favours  
While men keep nightly vigil and moon and stars shine!

#### IX.12. NOTICE OF SHÁH KÚCHAK

His birthplace was the "Mother of Cities" Balkh. After being reared in the household of Hazrat Khwája Táhir, the brother of Ákhond Mullá 'Iwaz, he left that place and came to the service of Bábá Musáfir in Awrangabad. He put on a khirqa and became a muríd.

#### IX.12.1 SHÁH KÚCHAK'S SERVICE IN THE TAKYA

Night and day he was zealously engaged in the personal service of Bábá Musáfir, or in the kitchen or other offices. He wore nothing but a single loonghee and waited barefoot. He would buy firewood in the bazaar for

the kitchen and bring it back, carried upon his head; and he used to carry stones weighing five or six maunds [*man*] for the building of the well and of the khánqáh. From carrying these heavy stones his entrails were scattered [that is to say he suffered from a hernia].

Bábá Musáfir showed more kindness and favour to him than he did to other people; and because of Sháh Kúchak's firmness none of the faqírs who came from all over the place were able to behave impolitely. If by any chance any worldly person came into the takya without due politeness, he would drive him forth from the takya with chastisement.

#### IX.12.2. MÍR ÁDÍNA'S MISBEHAVIOUR AND REPENTANCE

There was, for instance, a young man called Mír Ádína, one of the companions of the háris [military superintendant] of the city. One day he came into the takya after drinking wine. Bábá Musáfir was engaged in the evening prayer and Mír Ádína, being drunk, was talking loudly. Sháh Kúchak hit him and slapped him a number of times, and drove him out of the takya. The next day his companions with a large following came outside the takya to make trouble. Some of the people there reasoned with them and turned them back, and they took /Mír Ádína/ away.

After some days Mír Ádína had a brawl with someone. A sword cut reached his neck and the wound was serious. He said: "I am subject to the anger of Bábá Musáfir because of the impoliteness which I committed. Take me to the takya and cast me down at the gate!"

His friends did this, and Bábá Musáfir told Sháh Kúchak: "You know about Mír Ádína?"

Sháh Kúchak brought Mír Ádína to the room of Sháh Khádim and placed him in his charge. After a while he was completely healed, and he became a muríd of Bábá Musáfir. At meetings he always used to say: "Chastisement by Sháh Kúchak was the cause of my advancement [tawfíq]."

#### IX.12.3. SHÁH KÚCHAK DISSUADED FROM RETURNING TO WILAYAT

Sháh Kúchak passed some time in solitude and in the service of Bábá Musáfir, /but/ one day it occurred to him that it was a while since he had come from Wilayat, and he would like to go there one /more/ time. He spoke to Bábá Musáfir of this intention. Whenever anyone sought leave to depart from him, it was the habit of Bábá Musáfir never to forbid him,

and he would immediately recite fátiha. But he told Sháh Kúchak: "We have both grown old. If I die before you, you will throw a handful of earth over my grave; and if you die before me, I will bury you!"

The tears flowed from his eyes. Sháh Kúchak fell at the feet of Hazrat and postponed his intention of travelling.

#### IX.12.4. SHÁH KÚCHAK'S ILLNESS AND DEATH

After a while he began to suffer from the illness of diarrhoea, and the trouble lasted for three months. Then the illness grew overpowering and he drew near to death.

Bábá Musáfir was performing wazú beside the tank. Companions came to him and informed him of Sháh Kúchak's condition. He said: "I must 'turn my attention' to Sháh Kúchak's state. He has performed many services, and I am pleased with him and thankful. God is well pleased with him!"

After completing his wazú Bábá Musáfir went to the bedside of Sháh Kúchak, sat down and said: "Turn towards God!"

Sháh Kúchak looked towards Bábá Musáfir and wept. From Hazrat's eyes the tears were also flowing. Sháh Kúchak then stretched out his hand towards Hazrat, who brought his head down close to the head of Sháh Kúchak as if he was about to say something. Sháh Kúchak kissed the brow of Hazrat and said: "Praise be to God, I have attained my desire!"

And he said: "My grave?"

Bábá Musáfir replied: "I will make ready for you a grave in the takya behind the mosque, and I will bury you close to myself. Be reassured!"

After this Bábá Musáfir bent his head forward in meditation and concentrated on the states of Sháh Kúchak. Sháh Kúchak was engaged in /the repetition of/ the name of God, and while thus occupied surrendered his soul to God. Bábá Musáfir raised his head from meditation and came out /from that state/ and said: "My Sháh Kúchak bore his faith away intact!"

The date of Sháh Kúchak's death was 26 Jumada II, the year 1108 Hijri [22 January 1697].

#### IX.13. NOTICE OF SHAH NÁZIR

His birthplace was Samarqand. He came to the service of Bábá 'Abd al-Rahim, and was clad in a khirqa and given leave to depart from him.

## IX.13.1. IN THE SERVICE OF BĀBĀ PALANGPOSH

He came to Hazrat Bābā Palangposh, who accepted him; and he performed fitting services and became a muríd. Often when some business occurred the latter would tell Sháh Názir to sit in retirement and "turn his attention" to it; and he would do as he was ordered.

After a while he received khiláfat from Bābā Palangposh. He served him always, whether he was travelling or stopping, and he was not separated from him until his death.

IX.13.2. LATER MOVEMENTS IN THE DECCAN:  
SHĀH NÁZIR JOINS NAWWÁB GHÁZI AL-DÍN

After the death of Bābā Palangposh he came to Bābā Musáfir and stayed some time here. After this the Nawwáb Gházi al-Dín Khán Bahádur Feroz Jang summoned him and made him shaykh of his own khánqáh; and he honoured him greatly. When the emperor Bahádur Sháh appointed the nawwáb súbadár of Gujarat, the latter went to that province and the khalífa [Sháh Názir] accompanied him. He remained there for a while and after the death of the Nawwáb Gházi al-Dín he accompanied the bier to Shahjahanabad [Delhi].

## IX.13.3. TRAVELS AS A PÍR IN INDIA

From there he went to Lahore with a large band of faqírs, and from Lahore he came to Kashmir. There he spent some time sightseeing, and most of the notables of Kashmir used to visit and wait upon him. After this he returned from Kashmir and went to Shahjahanabad, where he stayed for a while.

In the reign of the emperor Muḥammad Farrukhsiyar, when Nawwáb Nizám al-Mulk became súbadár of the Deccan and came to Awrangabad, he brought with him Sháh Názir, who was accompanied by a band of faqírs. He used to come morning and evening to wait upon Bābā Musáfir, and he was present at the time of the latter's death. He was overcome by the pain of the loss and he used to say: "My coming to this land was solely for Hazrat Íshán's sake!"

IX.13.4. SHĀH NÁZIR AT THE SIEGE  
OF GURDASPUR

For this reason he took leave of the Nawwáb Nizám al-Mulk and set out /again/ for Shahjahanabad. He remained there for a while and /then/ went

to Lahore. The Nawwáb 'Abd al-Samad Khán, who had been deputed by the emperor to chastise the gurú [of the Sikhs] had invested Gurdaspur. At that time the khalífa arrived there. The nawwáb came to visit him and said: "In a dream last night I saw Hazrat, who had come into my army to give assistance. From your coming and that of the faqírs the beginning of the dream has come true. From the 'turning of attention' of Holy Men [i.e. yourself] and the prayers of the faqírs there is hope that the matter will turn out well and victory will be our lot."

On the nights when the nawwáb himself went about on reconnaissance he usually came to see Sháh Názir and sat for two or three hours and asked for prayers. By God's grace, after some time they captured the gurú, and 40,000 of his followers were taken prisoner. The nawwáb won a great victory.

#### IX.13.5. HIS JOURNEY TO BALKH AND DEATH

After the victory the khalífa went to the "Mother of Cities" Balkh, and visited the tomb of the "King of Men" 'Alí [bin Abí Tálib]. He then visited the tomb of Hájjí 'Abd al-Rahím, who was the pír of his own khirqa [i.e. had bestowed the cloak upon him]. He stayed beside the latter's grave for a while.

From there he set out towards Hindostan, and he reached Chárikár with a large company of faqírs. He stayed there for two or three days and intended to go to Shahjahanabad [Delhi], but at this time he fell ill with fever.

He died on Saturday 27 Muharram, eleven hundred and . . . [figures blank]. He was buried in the takya of a darwísh called Sháh Thání, who is well known there.

#### IX.14. NOTICE OF KHWÁJA 'ÁLIM

He was a descendant of Khwája 'Alá' al-Dín 'Attár and was born in Balkh. Originally after coming from Wilayat to Bábá Musáfir he became a faqír and muríd. After attending for a while he went back to Wilayat. Then he put on the garments of travel again for Bábá Musáfir's service, but he arrived in the takya after the latter's death. He remained there for a year, after which he decided to go on pilgrimage to the two Holy Places and made preparations for the journey. Sháh Khádim said: "I saw in a dream that his boat has been wrecked. It seems that his time has come, and he will die in Surat. It would be better if he was here. If by chance his time is coming, he will be buried beneath the feet of his Guide."

The khwája did not accept this suggestion. He left and he reached Surat where he fell ill. By God's will he died; and the truth of Bábá Sháh Khádim's dream became evident to many devotees.

IX.15. NOTICE OF  
MAWLÁNÁ 'ABD AL-JALÍL

He was muftí of Awrangabad and was a muríd of Bábá Musáfir. He related: Once I fell very ill. I was close to death and was unable to concentrate my thoughts. However much I wished to engage in /the recitation of/ the confession of faith, this lack of concentration overpowered me until Hazrat came to visit me. I came to my senses and beheld his blessed beauty, but because of the sickness I again closed my eyes.

The lack of concentration was removed from my mind and an awareness of God was engendered. I opened my eyes and I saw that Bábá Musáfir was sitting "turning his attention" to my condition. I said: "Praise be to God, from Hazrat's visit my state is very good. May Almighty God, from the auspiciousness of Hazrat's attention, preserve this state until my last breath!"

Bábá Musáfir looked at me, smiling, and said: "If God wills, you will be restored to health and all will be well!"

Bábá Musáfir recited fátiha and rose and departed. After a night and a day the inability to concentrate left me. The next day it returned, and I sent someone to Bábá Musáfir, submitting that I was hopeful of Hazrat's attentions. He was so kind as to visit me /again/, and he "turned his attention" towards my state. The lack of concentration was completely removed from me and I entirely recovered from my illness.

This was the cause of the sincerity of my attachment to him, and I became his muríd. Now seventeen years have passed since the death of Bábá Musáfir, but the cure /of my distraction/, which took place in his company, has endured to the present day.

IX.16. NOTICE OF MÍRZÀ IBRÁHÍM 'ARAB,  
KNOWN AS SHÁH 'ARAB

He was an inhabitant of Kabul. His ancestors and relations had held high mansabs [ranks]. He came from Kabul with the intention of entering the emperor's service. He joined the troops of Dhu'l-Fiqár Khán Bahádur Nusrat Jang, mir bakhshí [paymaster general] of the emperor, who was the son of Asad Khán the chief wazír. This force accompanied Prince Muhammad Kámbakhsh at the siege of Jinji. Through the intercession of

his relations he was on the strength of Nusrat Jang's contingent. He was looking for a mansab.

IX.16.1. THE SACK OF A VILLAGE: DISTRESS OF  
SHÁH 'ARAB

On one occasion the contingent of Nusrat Jang took and sacked a village. They took a great deal of loot and property, as well as many beasts and prisoners. One of the horsemen had captured a little girl. He had grasped her hand and was dragging her towards himself; but her mother, weeping and lamenting, held on to her other hand and was pulling her. The horseman did not have any pity on the poor weak woman.

At this moment the mírzá passed by, and he forbade /the horseman thus/ to seize the girl with violence, but the latter in a fit of anger cut off the head of the girls with one stroke of his sword and departed. The mírzá was reduced to tears. Observing this transitory world's lack of stability, in his heart he resolved to abandon worldly connections. He sat on a stone amid the wilderness, and passed two days and nights in great turbulence and distress, with a torrent of tears flowing in a stream from his eyes and in a state of complete absorption.

IX.16.2. SHÁH 'ARAB'S FAMILY TAKE CARE  
OF HIM

His relations got word of this, and came to him and wanted to take him home; but he would not permit this nor open his mouth to speak. They had to be content with a plan of leaving the rest of the band and taking him back to the imperial camp. To reassure their minds he said that he was going to seek a mansab; but what in his own mind was that, after feeling such pain from the people of the world, he should dwell either in the presence of a perfect preceptor [murshid] or on some hill in the wilderness, occupying himself with the recollection of the True Friend [God].

IX.16.3. TRAVELS ON AN OX

His relations saw no other way in which he could be comforted; and he got together a horse and an ox and other provisions for the journey. To two or three servants he gave individual letters for them to take away, addressed to amirs of the emperor concerning the bestowal of mansab [official rank].

The mírzá himself took nothing but an ox to ride and some articles for

the road, and he set out with his servants. He had gone some distance along the road when he dismounted from the back of the ox and loosed its cords and let it go into the wild, saying: "Ox, in the path of God I have made you free! May God make me also free from the world like yourself!"

After travelling the stages of the journey he reached the camp of the emperor at Galgala. Every day he brought his companions to the court [kachahri], wishing to get them enrolled among the mansabdars of the imperial presence. His state was such that wherever he sat he remained oblivious of the world and the tears flowed from his eyes.

#### IX.16.4. FROM THE EMPEROR'S CAMP TO AWRANGABAD

The emperor set out from Galgala towards Bijapur. The mirza acquired a mount and set out for Awrangabad. Shah Kahra, one of the faqirs of Babá Musafir, who had gone /to Galgala/ on some business, was returning. They met and took the road together. The mirza heard of the miraculous "states" of Hazrat Ishan [Babá Musafir] from the tongue of that darwish, and his heart became greatly inclined and drawn towards him.

After arriving at Awrangabad, the mirza stayed at the mosque of Mirza Jamil Beg Khan which is at Mughalpura. A mulla called Muhammad Hasan lived there, and the mirza said to him: "Take me to wait on all the shaykhs and darwishes who are in this city and introduce me, so that I may profess allegiance to a holy man in whose company I find wholeness!"

#### IX.16.5. SHAH 'ARAB FALLS SENSELESS BEFORE BABÁ MUSAFIR

Although the tension of desire was drawing the hem of /the garment of/ his heart towards Babá Musafir, he nevertheless wanted first of all to see the great and small folk of the city, before acquiring felicity in Hazrat's presence. Accordingly he went to meet all the other faqirs, but nowhere was his heart enthralled. After this he came to the takya to meet Babá Musafir.

Babá Musafir saw him from far off, and he turned his blessed face towards him and waved with his hand. Three times he said: "Come! Come! Come!"

Immediately after coming into his presence the mirza lost himself and was overpowered by the wine of love. However much Mulla Hasan tried to bring him back to his senses, he did not succeed. After a long time the



mullá lifted him up and carried him to the mosque. The following day the mírzá brought what cash and goods he had with him and offered them in Bábá Musáfir's service. Of his own will he became a muríd and a faqír. He put on the khirqa of Mír Mahmúd, who was one of the especial khalífas, which was lying in front of Bábá Musáfir.

IX 16.6. TREATMENT AT THE TAKYA

During the course of a whole week amid spells of unconsciousness he sometimes came to his senses and performed the prayers. In the following week his intoxication doubled, and he performed neither the obligatory nor the additional prayers, nor other acts. Sháh Kúchak, who was Bábá Musáfir's attendant, told Hazrat about the state of the matter, and with his own hand /Hazrat/ gave him water which had been breathed over. After drinking the water the mírzá recovered consciousness a little. Hazrat asked him: "Will you eat something?"

"Yes," he replied.

"What will you eat?" he asked him.

He replied: "Bread and meat with ság [spinach] and methí [fenugreek]."

At Bábá Musáfir's orders about five seers [áthár] of bread [nán], and the same quantity of meat with ság and methí were cooked and brought. He ate of it, and a piece of bread remained. Bábá Musáfir said: "Will you eat anything more?"

"Yes," he replied.

"That is enough now," Bábá Musáfir said.

Bábá Musáfir told the other companions: "Take the piece of bread and share it, for it is tabarruk!"

IX 16.7. SHÁH 'ARAB MURDERS A RAFIZI  
IN KABUL

The mírzá after his felicity in meeting Bábá Musáfir, was called by the name of Sháh 'Arab. Originally Sháh 'Arab was very zealous. In the days when he dwelt in Kabul, Amír Khán the súbadár [governor] of that place had a son who was a bigoted refuser [ráfizi, i.e. a Sh'ía] and was in his sect a mujtahid of the time. The mírzá heard with his own ears of this man's heresy [rafz, "refusal"], and his nature could not brook this. As the man was powerful, /Sháh 'Arab/ at that time could not say anything, but he swore to God that he would not eat until he had killed him.

Now /the ráfizi/ had a servant who was a Sunní, and on the fourth day /Sháh 'Arab/ went to him and asked him: "Are you of the people of the

sunnat and congregation [i.e. are you a Sunnī], or of the people of rafz [i.e. a Sh'ía]?"

"Praise be to God," the latter replied, "I am a Sunnī, but I have been obliged to enter the service of a refuser."

"I would kill him," the mīrzá said. "Will you join me?"

"I will join you," he replied; and he swore a firm oath to him.

In the mansion where he lived the ráfizí had seven doors. Because his heresy was generally known, he feared that someone from the Sunnī community would enter and kill him. From this suspicion at nights he would go to each of these doors. He had them locked in his own presence by that servant; and he took the keys himself and put them in his pocket before he went to sleep. After the servant had locked the doors and had gone to sleep, caution usually made /the ráfizí/ himself go round and check the locks. After being reassured about this he would himself go to sleep.

As he had arranged with the servant, Sháh 'Arab came to the doors of the mansion in the middle of the night. At bedtime the servant had not made the locks fast, but had /merely/ hung them upon the rings of the doors, and had given the keys into /his master's/ hand. The latter, being doomed, had not checked up. Trusting his servant and without his usual daily caution, he had gone to sleep reassured.

After Sháh 'Arab arrived, the servant opened each of the doors and let him in. He arrived at the /master's/ bedroom and saw that, like ill-fortune, the latter was sound asleep. Sháh 'Arab himself used to relate: To kill someone in a state of unconsciousness is not a manly deed. So I woke him.

"Who are you?" he said.

I replied: "I am the man in whose presence you spoke words of 'refusal' [rafz]. Now I have come to kill you."

Immediately he heard these words he leapt up from where he was, and he seized a sword and tried to strike me with it. I warded it off and I struck him with full force on the head with a stick that I was holding. He stumbled and fell and cried out. His servant lost his senses when he heard the sound, and from an excess of fear my legs started to tremble. As I saw that there was still a spark of life in his body, I struck him another blow with the staff and finished him off.

As I was hungry, I searched his house. I found some jars of preserve which were in the niches. I ate some of that, and I took away what there was of fabrics and gold rings and ornamented vessels [álát-i murassa'] and suchlike, which were worth a considerable sum, giving a portion of

them to the servant and keeping a portion myself. /Then/ I left and the servant locked the doors and made them fast in the usual manner, and went off to sleep in the place by the inner door where he always slept.

In the morning when people passed the /outer/ door they saw that it was closed. They waited till mid-morning, after which people informed Amír Khán. Amír Khán's men put up ladders and entered into the mansion. Then they came to the inside of the door where the servant was sleeping, and they hailed him. He said that /his master/ had opened the doors in the morning and gone out.

"I don't know what the reason is today," he said.

The men broke the /other/ doors and went into the house and saw him lying dead. The servant said: "I have no knowledge of this matter."

They went back and reported the state of affairs to Amír Khán. However much they investigated and examined, no trace of the murderer was found, until one day an onlooker in one of the gardens of Kabul saw me and asked: "Did you kill the son of Amír Khán?"

As that onlooker had recognized me, I left Kabul and went to Jalalabad.

#### IX.16.8. SHĀH 'ARAB'S CONDITION ON ARRIVAL AT THE TAKYA

When he came to Bábá Musáfir and was accepted, for a while he had no consciousness of himself or of others. He would eat nothing for seven or eight days or even longer, and would then consume about eight seers [áthár] at a time: up to ten seers at a single sitting. He would pass one week laughing and another week weeping. He would go and vex people when they were reciting the prayers together, laughing and mocking at them. /Once/ after finishing the prayer Bábá Musáfir tied his hands round a pillar and ordered him to be beaten. He remained tied up like this for a night and a day, after which Bábá Musáfir untied his hands, once again with his own hands. He wept through the following week, and during his weeping Bábá Musáfir would come out of his own chamber and pass the hand of compassion over his head, and he would be consoled.

#### IX.16.9. SHĀH 'ARAB'S RECOVERY AND HIS TASKS AT THE TAKYA

Some time passed in this manner and finally Bábá Musáfir brought him out of his frenzy; and after he came out of it he was assigned duties. He performed all the tasks of the khánqáh with heart and soul. He did the work of the kitchen; and he made ready the broken bricks for cleansing

[istinjá], and cleaned the latrine and swept the courtyard of the mosque and sprinkled water. He also drew the water for several avenues of trees which were in the takya, with one-man [maund] buckets from the stream in the takya, which is at a depth equal to the height of a man below the level of the ground. Bábá Musáfir would then water the avenues with his own blessed hand. Behind the mosque there were fifty or sixty vines of grapes, and he would draw up the water by the one-man buckets from the well [báolí] and bring it to water the vines. From the front of the takya to the bank of the stream, morning and evening he was engaged in watering. He also ground the coffee, and cooked and fed people; and once or twice a week he brought the khirqas and kafanís ["winding-sheets"] and other clothes of the faqirs to the side of the /city/ tank [táláb] and washed them.

IX.16.10. VISITS TO SAINTLY TOMBS AT NIGHT:  
WILD BEASTS ON THE HILL

In spite of all these arduous tasks, he spent the nights in the service of faqirs and sat awake all night. Usually at the beginning of the night he would go alone to the tomb of Hazrat Sháh Burhán al-Dín Awliyá' and visit /the tombs of/ all the holy men of Rawza [Khuldabad], returning to perform the dawn prayer in congregation in the takya.

Often he was four or five nights /at a time/ at Rawza, one night at the tomb of Amír Hasan Dehlaví, one night at the tomb of Sayyid Rájú Qattál, father of Sayyid Bandanawáz Gesúdaráz, and one night at the tomb of Sháh Jalál "Ganj-i Raván" ["the Moving Treasure"]. During the "days of power" there were only four or perhaps ten people who had /the courage/ to stay in those places at night, and he used to pass the nights alone there. One night on the hill of Súlí Bajhan, which is near the tomb of Sháh Jalál "Ganj-i Raván", he passed the whole night without fear, in spite of the fact that tigers, wolves and others beasts of prey were on that hill. He related: Once I had gone to visit the dargáh [sc. of Sháh Jalál]. I had reached the platform [chawkí] of the fig tree [bar], when a wild dog came before me, its eyes like arrows and gleaming like diamonds. I was rather frightened when I saw it but I called to memory the blessed form of Hazrat. The dog came close to me and passed by. Praise be to God, I suffered no harm from it!

IX.16.11. SHÁH 'ARAB'S INFIRMITY

Since he laboured hard in washing the khirqas of the faqirs, the coldness of the water affected him, and for a while he lost the use of his hands and

feet. He was restored to health, but a trace of the coldness remained. He could no longer undertake these arduous tasks, and he experienced difficulty in sitting down and getting up.

IX.16.12 SHÁH 'ARAB GOES ON PILGRIMAGE

At this time he decided to go to the two Holy Places and asked leave of Bábá Musáfir. Bábá Musáfir said: "Go, and if God wills, you will return safe and sound!"

He then set out for Surat. In those days 'Alí Naqí Khán, the son of Diyánat Khán, was the mutasaddí there. The khán had as a companion Sháh 'Ináyat Darwísh, a muríd of Sháh Núr Hammámí, who was an acquaintance of his and a co-disciple [ham-píra] of the khán. He told the khán that Sháh 'Arab had come there to go to Mecca; and he brought him with him to the khán, who asked: "Do you have any provisions for the journey?"

"I have nothing," he replied.

"Be reassured!" the khán replied. "Almighty God will make it easy!"

Sháh 'Arab remained for a while at Surat, but he did not visit the khán again. On the day when he embarked on the vessel the khán gave about 700 rupees to him. He went to Mecca and after performing the pilgrimage rites he set out for Medina. In spite of having the means to go on horseback, he set out on foot; and he carried on his back a goatskin [mashak] of water weighing about one maund [*man*]. He gave water to most of the people of the caravan, and such provisions as he had with him for the journey he bestowed on faqírs.

From Medina he went to Taif, and visited and saw those parts. Most nights he used to go and visit the resting places [graves of holy personages] in these places. One night a black snake bit his big toe, but by God's grace the poison did not take effect. He returned in sound health, and came to Bábá Musáfir.

IX.16.13 SHAH 'ARAB'S LATTER DAYS  
IN THE TAKYA HIS INTIMATION OF THE  
EMPEROR AWRANGZEB'S DEATH

At one time he felt a desire to acquire learning and he was occupied with this. Before that he did not know how to read and write. He studied as far as the *Sharh-i Mullá* and then abandoned the task.

Once on a Friday around the time of the midday prayer Bábá Sháh Musáfir was in the mosque. Sháh 'Arab was sitting beneath a fig tree

beside the wall of the takya, and two or three others were /also/ seated /there/. Sháh 'Arab suddenly said: "The bier of the emperor 'Álamgír has at this moment passed me. After being brought for Hazrat to see, it is being carried away."

Several of those present were astonished, for the emperor was safe and well at Ahmadnagar at the time when Sháh 'Arab was saying this. On the following day, which was Saturday, late in the morning the news came that the emperor had died.

In the days of Bábá Musáfir's /last/ illness he was present and kept vigil through entire nights; and Hazrat said prayers for him. After Bábá Musáfir's death he was appointed to watch over the takya.

IX.16.14. SHÁH 'ARAB'S ECSTASY AT A  
HINDÍ VERSE

One day he went with Jamíl Beg Khán to the Muhammadí garden. There was a female singer there, who was singing this verse in Hindí:

motí dhalak gayá bír ká

Bír is the name of a jewel [rewrí] in Hindostan which is inlaid and has some pearls hanging from it. The translation into Persian is: "The royal pearl which adorns the nosering of the beloved has slipped down glittering and is hanging upon the heart-enchancing cheek."

As Sháh 'Arab had a good knowledge of the Hindí language and a competence in the art of music, as soon as he heard this verse a divine frenzy descended on him, and he went back to his chamber crying out and wailing.

IX.16.15. A DREAM OF THE COMPILER

Some days before this the author had seen in a dream that there was an oven in the mosque by the south gateway, and it had been lit. Sháh 'Arab came and fell into the hot oven. Was there anyone to bring him out of it? At this moment some people ran up to the side of the oven, and saw that he had been wholly and completely consumed in it.

At this moment the writer awoke.

IX.16.16. SHÁH 'ARAB'S END

After a while his frenzy recurred, and for four or five nights and days he wept uncontrollably. However much he was consoled by the author and

by Jamíl Beg Khán, his mind was not comforted, so little so that crying out and lamenting, bareheaded and barefoot, he wandered around the lanes of the city. He made friends with the dogs, and after begging he would feed them. Then he would turn back and come home.

After this bout he grew silent. Then again he would start weeping and he would weep for three or four days. He told the compiler: "Set aside a place in the takya where I may rest!"

The compiler made ready for him a thatched hut beside the stream. He came into the chamber and made the door fast from the inside. He spoke to no one and he ate nothing. Those who had teased him came to ask his forgiveness, imploring insistently, but he did not open the door. They said: "We have something that we want to say to you. Open the door!"

He replied: "Say what you have to say from behind the door!"

They sat there and made many apologies, but all he said was: "Go away and don't vex me!"

Twenty days had passed thus, until one day the author said to him with great insistence: "How long /will this/ hunger and fasting /go on/? Nourishment is a /physical/ necessity."

He said in reply: "After two or three days cook and bring a quarter seer [páo áthár] of khichrí!"

He ate a little of it and gave back the rest.

He passed a number of months in this manner. He did not let anyone come near him, until his condition changed and he was about to die. The author and some others opened the door and went up to him. He was unconscious of himself, and after an hour he surrendered his soul to God.

This was at the end of the day on Thursday–Friday eve. He was interred outside the wall of the khánqáh under the wall of the tomb of Bábá Musáfir. Now his grave is situated inside the two cells adjacent to the mosque in the area where they spread the prayer carpets near the wall of the tomb of Bábá Musáfir.

IX 17 NOTICE OF HAZRAT ÁKHOND  
MULLÁ KHÁMOSH

His birthplace was in the neighbourhood of Balkh. His original name was Mullá Nazar Muhammad. An attraction [jadhba] overcame him and he left his country [Wilayat] and went by way of Iran to Mecca, where he performed the pilgrimage. Then he came to Bábá Musáfir in Awrangabad, and he became a muríd and donned a khirqa. He was for a time possessed by his frenzy [jadhba], but after that he came back to orderly ways.

## IX.17.1. SCHOOLMASTER AT THE TAKYA

Bábá Musáfir appointed him schoolmaster. Wherever there was someone who was in need or without relations or an orphan who came to Bábá Musáfir—/all of these/ studied and “got somewhere” from his attention. Many thousands acquired some education from /Mullá Khámosh's/ teaching, and most of his pupils who are alive today are persons of accomplishments, and some are wealthy. Since he exercised such an influence, most of the great folk of the town, sayyids and suchlike, sent their sons to attend Bábá Musáfir and asked him to entrust them to the ákhond. Hazrat would send for the ákhond and entrust the children to him. When the time for the “present” [hadiya] of the children came, the parents of those children would make an offering [niyáze] to the ákhond, and he would divide the sum among the children of the school.

## IX.17.2. HIS CHARACTER

He was a man of firm faith and piety. He would fast for a day and break his fast on the following day, and would pass /the rest of/ that day without food. He was “perpetually fasting and staying up at nights”. He used to rest upon a kafaní [“shroud”] of katím, an extremely coarse cloth out of which in Hindostan they make the lading cloths [jul] of oxen, and he would wear this on his body also. He had three or four strands of rope around his waist and a cloth turban [sarpech] on his head.

## IX.17.3. HIS END

In this manner he passed some time in Bábá Musáfir's service, and Hazrat was much concerned about his states. After a while he fell ill with diarrhoea. In accordance with the saying “He who teaches a letter is one's master”, he had the rights of a master over the author. In the days of his /last/ illness he summoned me and said: “My appetite has a great longing for mawz [bananas], which they call kelá in Hindí. If they can be got anywhere, bring some for me!”

The author went to the bazaar and bought some bananas and brought them to him. He ate them and called down blessings.

He died in the Hijri year 1117 [AD 1705–6]. Bábá Musáfir grieved much at his death. His eyes filled with tears and he said: “The ákhond was a pillar of my takya.”

He buried him behind the mosque at the feet of Hazrat Bábá Palangposh.

## IX.18. NOTICE OF KHWAJA MİR SHÁH

He was a descendant of Hazrat 'Álim Shaykh 'Azizán. His birthplace was the settlement of 'Aliyabad in the neighbourhood of Samarqand. He



was the first cousin of Gházi al-Dín Khán Bahádur. He was an accomplished sayyid and a reciter [of the *Qur'án*].

IX 18 1. "WHEN HE CAME TO HINDOSTAN"

When he came to Hindostan, he received a high mansab [rank] from the emperor 'Álamgír. At the beginning he fell in love of an earthly kind with a youth called Jání. He abandoned his mansab and worldly ties and came to attend on Bábá Musáfír. He became a muríd and donned a khirqa, and he was occupied with obedience and austerities.

His younger brother Khwája 'Arab Sháh was sadr [Religious Administrator] of Awrangabad. Out of a lack of ceremony he used to go into the bazaar to buy ordinary things like onions and so on, and at the time of buying he bargained long and hard. Many people said to him: "Your brother is the sadr and your other brothers are great amírs. It is not meet for you to go to the bazaar yourself and buy things!"

He replied: "I am a faqír. What concern have I with my brothers being amírs and of high rank?"

In spite of suffering from piles, he showed much zeal in offering prayers in congregation, and out of caution he would renew his wazú [ablutions] three or four times for just one prayer. He never missed a prayer in the middle of the night [tahajjud] or at first light [ishráq]. Bábá Musáfír truly encouraged him. Out of caution he seldom ate oil from the bazaar, but he used to buy zafír and have the oil pressed from it in his own presence. Out of caution he cooked food with his own hands, which he ate with friends.

In this fashion he attended on Bábá Musáfír for a while. Some time later Muhammad Amín Khán Bahádur, the sadr al-sudúr [chief religious administrator] of the emperor 'Álamgír reported in his absence: "One of the sons of my uncle has abandoned worldly ties and has become a faqír settled in Awrangabad."

When the emperor heard this, he fixed an allowance for him of three rupees a day. He spent all of this on faqírs.

IX 18 2. KHWÁJA MÍR SHÁH'S ILLNESS  
AND END

Later Khwája Mír Sháh fell ill with a looseness and blood flowed from his stomach. However much his brother and his wife and relations insisted that he should come to their house and they would look after him, he did not agree. Finally they went to Bábá Musáfír, who told Khwája Mír Sháh: "The 'gift of the womb' is a relationship which must be recognized! You must go!"

So he had to go to the house of his wife. He stayed there two days, and on the third day he sent a message to Bábá Musáfir: "At your command I have stayed here for two days. I have not the strength to remain apart from you any longer. I hope to come to your presence."

Bábá Musáfir ordered him to come, and he was carried /back/ in a palankeen [palkí]. He fell at the feet of Bábá Musáfir and wept and went to his own room. His illness grew worse and he had no strength left at all. However much the khádims [servitors] and acquaintances wished to serve him, he would not consent. He said: "Your hand is disallowed [ná-mahram] for me."

His friends said: "You lack the strength to sit or get up or to cleanse yourself; yet you don't allow anyone to serve you properly. What is to be done then?"

"If an old woman can be found," he said, "I should marry her and fix a small sum for dowry [mahr]."

His wife sent an old woman, and he married her and settled a dowry; and she tended him. After three days his condition altered.

Bábá Musáfir was performing wazú and Sháh Qalandar was standing before him. Bábá Musáfir said to Sháh Qalandar: "Go and 'turn your attention' to the states of the khwája; for it is a delicate time and Satan is alert."

Sháh Qalandar went and turned his attention to the states of the khwája. At that moment Hájjí 'Áshúr came, and he was told by Bábá Musáfir: "Go and 'turn your attention' to the states of the khwája!"

After completing his wazú Bábá Musáfir also came to the side of the khwája and "turned his attention" to his states. The khwája in full consciousness surrendered his soul to God.

His grave is situated in the takya behind the mosque. The year of his death was 1119 Hijrí [1707-8].

#### IX.19. NOTICE OF SHÁH JÁN ALLÁH

He was one of the muríds and khalífas of Hazrat Bábá Palangposh. He was accomplished and ascetic. Every day when a human necessity occurred to him he would go out two or three karohs distance from the city and perform his bodily need. Notwithstanding the weakness of old age, he never did so within the city.

#### IX.19.1. WITH BÁBÁ PALANGPOSH AND AT NAVSARI

He spent some time waiting upon Bábá Palangposh. Later, after receiving khiláfat from him, he received leave to depart.

He chose to reside in a settlement called Navsari which is close to the port of Surat. Many there became his muríds; and some studied under him and became men of learning. In spite of the weakness of old age he generally fasted for three months.

#### IX.19.2. VISIT TO AWRANGABAD

After the death of Hazrat Bábá Palangposh he came from Navsari to the takya to visit his grave; and he came to Bábá Musáfir. He completed a recitation of the *Qur'án* on Bábá Palangposh's grave; and he had food prepared as an offering [nadhr] for the Pure Spirits [of the Naqshbandí khwájás] and fed the faqírs. He then took leave of Bábá Musáfir and returned to Navsari, where he lived for some time. In spite of /the fact that/ his muríds had made ready a house for his last days there, he left the place and set off on the road.

#### IX.19.3. HIS LAST VISIT TO AWRANGABAD AND DEATH

One day when half the morning had passed he suddenly came in at the gate of the takya and went to circumambulate the resting-place of Bábá Palangposh. He had a staff in his hand. Bábá Musáfir was in his own chamber and the author was standing waiting upon him. He asked, "Who is it?"

"It is a man who looks like Sháh Ján Alláh," I said. "It is very likely that it is him."

"He is in Navsari," he said. "Why is he coming here?"

After I had come out, I found that it was indeed Sháh Ján Alláh, and I brought the news to Bábá Musáfir. He came out and they embraced with tears in their eyes. /Then/ they sat down together in the mosque. After asking how he was, Bábá Musáfir inquired from him the reason for his coming.

"My time has drawn near," Sháh Ján Alláh said. "Accordingly I have carried my bones here on my own legs, so that I may be buried beneath the feet of my Guide to the Truth."

Bábá Musáfir ordered a lodging to be prepared below the passageway to the tomb of Bábá Palangposh. Sháh Ján Alláh passed seven days in good health, but on the eighth day he fell ill, and on the tenth or eleventh, which was the 15th of the month Rabi' I, he surrendered his soul to God.

His grave is beneath the passageway by the mihráb of the eastern side. As some time after his death Sháh Qalandar the Martyr constructed a building both inside and outside the tomb, because of that building /the site of/ his grave is unknown.

IX.20. NOTICE OF HÁJJÍ SÁDIQ

He was from Naw Shibarghán. After coming from Wilayat, he became a servant and courtier in the establishment of Chín Qilich Khán Bahádur, who is nowadays entitled Nizám al-Mulk Ásaf Ján.

IX.20.1. HÁJJÍ SÁDIQ COMES TO  
BÁBÁ MUSÁFIR

One day some of his friends were seated in his assembly and they related the praiseworthy qualities of Hazrat Íshán /Bábá Musáfir. The desire to see his blessed beauty was engendered in Hájjí Sádiq to such a degree that without delay he abandoned his employment and came to Bábá Musáfir at Awrangabad, presenting to him as an offering [niyáz] a pair of horses as well as such cash and goods as he possessed.

IX.20.2. PUNISHMENT FOR REVEALING INSIGHT

He became a muríd and donned the clothes of faqírs. He had a distracted temperament and often experienced insight [kashf, "discovery"]. On account of his revealing such insights, Bábá Musáfir looked towards him with the "gaze of wrath" [nazar-i jalál] and showed anger in such a manner that the hájjí was struck with a sickness and pus and blood came from his brain. This illness lasted for a while, until one night the hájjí, finding Bábá Musáfir in seclusion, came into his chamber and fell at his feet and wept a great deal. Bábá Musáfir pardoned his fault; and after some days, when he had found perfect health, he acted as muezzin.

IX.20.3. HÁJJÍ SÁDIQ'S TRAVELS

After that he took leave from Hazrat to go to Hindostan [northern India]. He visited Kashmir, and many great and small folk grew devoted and became muríds. He then returned to Shahjahanabad [Delhi]; and many who were in worldly occupations served him out of devotion and attachment.

IX.20.4. SHÁH TURÁB CURED  
OF WEARINESS

Sháh Turáb related: "I was in Kashmír serving the hájjí, and I began to suffer from a great weariness. The hájjí never noticed me, and the thought

passed through my mind: 'I am close to him and he never notices me. It is sad!' "

One day I was on the upper floor of the house [bálákhána], and when I came down from the top to perform a need, I went /down/ clinging to the wall. The hájjí was sitting in the shade of a tree. He asked: "How are you?"

"I am ill," I replied.

"Leave hold of the wall," he said.

"How can I leave it?" I said. "I shall fall down."

He repeated this several times and I gave the same answer. I let go of the wall, and went to the place of necessity. After finishing, I came up and my illness was cured. As a thought had passed through my mind, the hájjí looked at me, smiling, and said: "When I ask about something, this is how I ask!"

#### IX.20 5. VISITING A SICKBED IN DELHI

Sháh Turáb continued: I was with the hájjí during the time when he was at Shahjahanabad in the madrasa of Gházi al-Dín Khán. One day in the morning he came to the mosque. After the dawn prayer he said to me: "Let us go to the house of Shádmán Khán and get news whether the khán is still alive or has died!"

The state of affairs was that no one had information about the sickness of the khán. We went to Shádmán Khán's house and looked inside his díwán-khána [hall of audience], but we did not see anyone there. I came into the residence [havelí] and saw that it was shrouded with curtains. One of the servants came forward and I asked him: "How is the khán?"

"He is close to death," he replied.

I returned from there and informed the hájjí of his condition. He said: "He is an acquaintance of mine and has a right to be attended. I will go to see him."

He went to the house of the khán. The khán had no consciousness of himself at all. The hájjí came closer, and he sank into meditation and "turned his attention" to his condition. After a long while /the khán/ came to his senses, and his glance fell upon the hájjí. He rose up and sat down and said jokingly: "The hájjí wants to cheat me!"

The hájjí heard the voice of the khán, and raised his head and said: "As you were an acquaintance and you were attached to me, I thought it was necessary for me to come to you; but you must give me a good present [nahr]!"

"I will give you ten rupees," he said, and he brought them out and offered them.

The hájjí recited fátiha, and rose up and returned home. Immediately he came in he sat down, and a severe fever came on. For three nights and days he was feeble, but after that he was cured. The khán also was completely restored to health.

IX.20.6. AN ILLNESS OF THE COMPILER  
TRANSFERRED TO THE HÁJJÍ

At the time of writing these words the compiler recalled:

One day I had a high fever and was much alarmed and disturbed. The hájjí came to visit me. After inquiring how I was, he said: "If you have khichrí biryání prepared as an offering [nadhr] to Hazrat Bábá Palangposh and feed the people with it. I will take away your illness."

The compiler ordered the khichrí to be prepared and brought in. The hájjí summoned several of the darwishes and ate the khichrí. For a while he "turned his attention" to my states. The fever departed from me, and the hájjí caught it severely.

There occurred many cases of such acts and "turnings of attention" by the hájjí. Bábá Musáfir often used to say with his blessed tongue: "Among the seekers of God two people came to me and became faqírs. One of them was Sháh 'Arab and the other Hájjí Sádiq!"

After the death of Bábá Musáfir, the hájjí set out from Shahjahanabad to visit his tomb, but he was destined to fall ill, and by God's will he died. He was buried in the takya of the khalífa Muhammad Sa'íd near the Red Bridge [pul-i surkh].

IX.21. NOTICE OF SHÁH HAYDAR TÁSHKANDÍ

He was one of the muríds of Bábá Palangposh.

IX.21.1. EARLY TRAVELS

After visiting the land of Abyssinia [Habash], he went to the land of the Franks [Firangistan, Europe]. For some reason he fell into captivity in Abyssinia and was kept in prison; but he received tidings [bashárat] from Hazrat Khizr—upon whom be peace!—and with the help of Hazrat Khizr he was delivered from captivity and came to Mecca.

IX.21.2. SHÁH HAYDAR AND THE  
SULTÁN OF RÚM

After performing the pilgrimage he entered the territory of Rúm [the

Ottoman empire], and he resided for a while at the place of Bulbul Darrasi ["Nightingale Valley"] at Iskandariyya [Uskudar]. He performed severe austerities and after a while the Sultán Mustafá came in disguise to meet him, but Sháh Haydar outwardly did not make such preparations as faqírs usually make for the wealthy.

The sultán and his wazír sat down and attended him. After talking and stories coffee was brought. The sultán told him: "I am one of the entourage of the sultán. If a daily allowance for the expenses of the faqírs is brought to his Majesty's attention, it will be granted. Will you kindly accept it?"

Sháh Haydar put his hand to his beard and said: "For some time I have been sitting at the court of Him [God]—may he be exalted!—and I have not brought needs to anyone."

He survived in the following manner. About forty qalandars waited upon him, and every day one of the forty would go out and bring back what he had begged. What had been offered sufficed all the faqírs as nourishment to keep body and soul together. He spent some time in this manner, and many of the distinguished people of that country became his followers. A man called Nusúhí Efendí was much attached to him.

#### IX.21.3. SHÁH HAYDAR'S LANTERN

In his takya Sháh Haydar had erected a tall pole [neza] and from it he had hung a lantern. The Sultán of Rúm saw the lantern from his kiosk [kushak, palace], and he said in Turkish:

"This light is not like a star, /but/ it shines till dawn!"

He sent observers to investigate, and they submitted a report about it to the sultán. Then the sultán sent someone else to find out what was the reason for the lighting of the lantern. The sháh [Haydar] said: "The takya of the faqírs is located in an alley. Perhaps some traveller may enter this country and seek this takya. He will find the way by the light of this lantern and reach the place."

The sultán was very pleased when he heard this explanation.

#### IX.21.4 THE DEATH OF SHÁH HAYDAR THE WASHING OF THE CORPSE AND THE TABLET ON HIS GRAVE

After a while the wazír of the sultán had a dream, and he came to Sháh Haydar and revealed it.

"Your time /of death/ has drawn near," /the wazír/ said.

The sháh began to wave his index finger when he heard this and said: "Haydar's house is ruinous."

After three days, when his final moment came, he said: "Let Nusúhí Efendí perform the washing /of my corpse/!"

After his death a darwísh went to fetch Nusúhí Efendí. At that time Nusúhí had gone to the land he was cultivating. The darwísh arrived at the landholding and the Efendí was in the corner of the garden. After the darwísh knocked at the gate, the Efendí came out, and before the darwísh could tell the news the Efendí said: "I saw in a dream that the sun had split in two. One half went down in the west, and the other half in the east. A cry came to my ears that Sháh Haydar has gone!"

At the present day his resting-place is to be found in Bulbul Darrasi. After the death of Sháh Haydar the faqírs brought a tablet or banner from somewhere and put it up on top of his tomb. That same night in a dream the sháh told a widow woman who lived for forty years near his tomb: "They have set up a banner over my head. This gives me much concern. It belongs to a poor man."

The woman revealed /her dream/ to the darwíshes. When they made an investigation, /they found that/ it was indeed the property of a poor man. Someone else, when he heard of the matter, made a tablet and put it on top of the grave. The date of his death has been recorded on that tablet, and his grave is well known in that country.

#### IX 22. NOTICE OF HAZRAT KHWÁJA ZAKARIYÁ' SAMARQANDÍ

He was a descendant of the Polestar of his Age Makhdúm-i A'zam, whose virtues [manáqib] are recorded in books. He came from Wilayat to Hindostan and was for a time in this land. Then he returned to Wilayat.

#### IX 22.1. HIS WAY OF LIFE IN AWRANGABAD

At the time when the emperor 'Álamgír was at Galgala he came again from Wilayat and met with the emperor. The emperor honoured him as befitted him and granted him 1000 rupees a month for his expenditure, giving orders that this sum should continue to be paid to him by the financial officers [diwáníyán] of any city where he resided.

He lived for a time in Awrangabad. His age had reached nearly a hundred years. All the notables /of the city/ were privileged to serve him. If anyone came to visit him, he would have a cloth spread with various



kinds of preserves [murabba]. Even if people called a hundred times, the cloth with delicacies was ready spread out. Apart from this, twice a week and sometimes three times he used to give a party with various kinds of foods to the great folk of the town, the men of learning and the faqírs; and on the two 'Íds he would bestow a dress of honour [khil'at] on everyone according to his condition. So he also sent such a khil'at to our preceptor Bábá Musáfír. Bábá Musáfír /also/ visited his house and out of devotion observed the due forms of politeness. Hazrat Khwája had a heartfelt love and devotion towards our Hazrat [Bábá Musáfír] and honoured him to the highest degree.

#### IX.22.2. HIS SECOND PILGRIMAGE AND RETURN TO AWRANGABAD

After some time Hazrat Khwája, although he had previously performed the pilgrimage to the Holy Places, decided to set out again for them with his family, muríds and followers. He arrived there safely and achieved the felicity of the Hajj and of pilgrimage to Medina, and returned to Awrangabad.

When he arrived near the city, the názim of the súbá [province] and the mutasaddís and other notables and holy men went out as far as Nizampur to greet him. Our preceptor [Bábá Musáfír] also went to Nizampur to receive him. Hazrat Khwája was very pleased, and they embraced for a long time and recalled their old enthusiasm and friendship. Hazrat our preceptor accompanied Hazrat Khwája up to his residence.

Every month he would go two or three times to meet the Hazrat Khwája. The Khwája Sáhib invited him with great enthusiasm, and himself would come to the khánqáh [the takya] every two or three months. Hazrat Khwája after consuming coffee and a collation would return to his own residence, riding upon a litter [takht-i raván, "moving throne"].

#### IX.22.3. A PRESERVE OF QUINCES

One day 'Abd al-Ghafúr Khán, the qil'adár [commandant of the fort] of Ahmadnagar, who was a devotee of Bábá Musáfír, sent some quinces. At that season no quinces at all had reached the city. In those days the author was very young, and Hazrat told him: "Take these quinces to Hazrat Khwája and present my sincere regards!"

Other than to the khwája, Hazrat did not "present his sincere regards" to anyone. Following his command I went /there/. There was a great crowd seated in his assembly. With much kindness he called me before him and asked: "What have you brought?"

"It is some quinces," I replied.

I took up the handkerchief /in which they were wrapped/ in my hand, and offered them before him. He said: "Take my greetings to the *bábá* and tell him to come here tomorrow. I am going to make a preserve from the quinces, and we will eat it together."

I took my leave and brought the message to *Bábá Musáfir*. After an hour *Mír 'Álim*, who was a servant of the *khwája*, came to wait on *Bábá Musáfir*, and brought an invitation. He went to the *khwája's* house the following day according to the invitation. A large gathering of the great and small folk of the city had been invited. Choice dishes had been made ready and he was giving a feast.

#### IX.22.4. THE *KHWÁJA'S* OPINION OF *BÁBÁ MUSÁFIR*

Many times in his assembly there was favourable mention of our *Hazrat* [*Bábá Musáfir*], and the *khwája* used to say: "In spite of the fact that I am an established *sayyid* and a descendant of holy men, and I get together delicious food and give feasts to people, men turn to me less, while they go with the utmost longing to attend on the *bábá*, at whose place they do not even find a bellyful. From this it is evident that both external and spiritual grace from my forebears has descended to the *bábá*, and I have been left without a portion."

It also passed upon his tongue: "The *bábá* is without doubt a *walí*."

#### IX.22.5. *KHWÁJA ZAKARIYÁ'S* DEPARTURE: DESPATCH TO HIM OF A FUR COAT

The *khwája* decided to go back again to *Wilayat*. He encamped beside the *Muhammadí* garden; and all the people of the town, well-born and common, including his paternal cousin *Khwája Yádgár* and other notables, came to say farewell. They all took their turbans off their heads, and the *khwája* also removed his turban and recited *fátiha* at length. In the course of *fátiha* they wept, and later they parted from one another.

From there the *khwája* marched to the settlement of *Phulmari* eight *karohs* away. As it was winter he wrote a gracious letter to our *Hazrat* to this effect: "I have reached *Phulmari* safely. The weather is extremely cold. If a fur coat can be got from somewhere, send it to me. I will delay here until the fur coat arrives."

By the grace of God some days before a very fine fur coat had come from somewhere as an offering [*nadhr*] to *Bábá Musáfir*. He told *Sháh*

Kúchak to send for the tailor, to have a lining of Masulipatan chintz [chhít-i bandarí] put in it; and to get it ready that very night. Following his orders it was made ready and despatched at dawn to the khwája. The darwísh who had carried it delivered the fur coat. /The khwája/ put it on, recited fátiha and was gratified. He bestowed on the darwísh a khil'at [dress of honour].

IX.22.6. KHWÁJA YÁDGÁR'S REMONSTRANCE  
REGARDING BÁBÁ MUSÁFIR

A darwísh used to relate that Khwája Yádgár sent a letter to the khwája to this effect: "Hazrat [i.e. you] and I are first cousins, and sayyids and notables of Transoxania [Má wará'l-nahr]. When I came to have fátiha recited, you did not take off your turban, /yet/ you took it off for a faqír, whom no one knew in Wilayat, nor his forefathers. Is this proper behaviour?"

Hazrat Khwája wrote to him in reply: "I did not take off my turban of my own free will; but I took off my turban because the pure spirit of Makhdúm-i A'zam has indicated the waláyat [spiritual jurisdiction] and holiness of the bábá."

When the story reached Bábá Musáfir, he said: "Indeed my forefathers did not have access to the shoerack of the forefathers of these people. By the grace of God, the current situation is that their scions and descendants show me such favour!"

And he gave thanks to God.

IX.22.7. THE LAST JOURNEY OF  
KHWÁJA ZAKARIYÁ'

Hazrat Khwája set out from Phulmari and reached Hindostan [north India]; from there he went to Lahore, and from Lahore to Peshawur. He planned to go to Kabul, but then his life came to an end. His bier was carried to Balkh and he was buried there. His death was in the Hijri year 1116 [1704-5].

IX.23. NOTICE OF HAZRAT KHWÁJA 'ABD AL WALI  
DAHIBIDI SAMARQANDI

He was one of the descendants of Hazrat Makhdúm-i A'zam and was possessed of powers [karámát], generous and bountiful. Many men of learning and accomplishment and amirs were his muríds and followers. He was in complete agreement with Bábá Musáfir.

Many persons relate that Khwája 'Abd al-Walí owed a sum of money, and at that time there was a famine of grain at Awrangabad. The khwája because of his indebtedness had given up all kinds of food, and he and the Sufis cooked khichrí with "black oil" [rawghan-i siyáh] and ate it. For a time he lived in this fashion until he was free of debt.

His death was in the year . . . [blank]. He is buried in Mughalpura in the passage [gudhar] of Samandar Khán, where people visit and derive blessing.

IX. 24. NOTICE OF HAZRAT KHWÁJA  
YÁDGÁR DAHBIDÍ

He was also one of the descendants of Hazrat Makhdúm-i A'zam. By nature he was liberal and generous. He used to invite most of the notables of the city and give feasts. He was in receipt of the sum of 6,000 rupees a year from the establishment of the emperor 'Álamgír. In spite of this he was in debt, and the performance of the works of his establishment was from loans.

He lived in his own mansion [havelí] near the mosque of Jamíl Beg Khán. Then he sold this mansion and took up residence in another, where he grew feeble. The news of his illness reached Hazrat our preceptor [Bábá Musáfir], who went to visit him.

The khwája had been asleep on a charpoy facing south. Hazrat sat near the charpoy. Mullá Marham, one of the servitors of the khwája, told him: "Bábá has come!"

The khwája was under the full force of his illness. He came back to consciousness and, turning his face towards Bábá Musáfir, he took his blessed hand into his own and said: "Bábá! What I have done, I have done wrong! I have repented: do you be my witness!"

Hazrat said: "I too have repented of what I have done."

The khwája wept and our Hazrat also wept. After passing hands over each other's faces, they recited fátiha, and the khwája said: "This is my last moment. You should 'turn your attention' to my states!"

Bábá Musáfir took his leave and went back to the khánqáh [the takya]. The same night the khwája departed from this world. His grave is near the resting-place of Khwája 'Abd al-Walí.

IT IS FINISHED. THE MALFŪZ-I NAQSHBANDIYYA  
IS COMPLETE

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## Index of Personal Names and Books

An index of the numerous personal names that occur in the *Malfūzāt-i Naqshbandiyya* would be of little value without an attempt to distinguish the persons that bore them, their geographical locations and dates. Many of the names of Sufi shaykhs are of lineages of earlier centuries, with occasional anecdotes of great predecessors amid the Naqshbandī Khwājas.

Mughal officials, who figure in the near-contemporary anecdotes of the Bābās and their disciples in the Deccan, were known by different names or titles at different stages in their careers. The notes are attached to names in this index are aids to identification and indications of status rather than comprehensive biographies or complete lists of personal titles. Some notables, officials and soldiers who appear in the anecdotes of *Malfūzāt-i Naqshbandiyya* are also mentioned in the great Mughal biographical dictionary *Ma'āthir al-umara'*, to which references are given, and they also occur in other historical sources, notably the day-to-day chronicle of Awrangzeb's court, *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgiri*.

In the alphabetical listing of names a prefixes indicative of status and role—e.g. Ākhond, Bābā, Hāfīz, Mawlānā, Mīr, Shāh, Shaykh etc.—are ignored before the more personal name and given after it—e.g. 'Abd al-Ayman, Mīr.

The exact or approximate dates of many anecdotes can be established from circumstances mentioned in them. These dates are often mentioned in this index, which also notes the family and marital relationships which often linked soldiers, administrators and religious figures in the Turani community of the Deccan. The dates mentioned will be discussed and substantiated in the projected volume of *Commentary* on the text here translated.

### Abbreviations

BM = Bābā Musāfir

BP = Bābā Palangposh

MA = Sāqī Mustā'idd Khān, *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgiri*, tr. J. Sarkar, Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1947.

MN = Shāh Mahmūd Awrangābādi, *Malfūzāt-i Naqshbandiyya*, tr. S. Digby, *Sufis and soldiers in Awrangzeb's Deccan*.

MU = Shāhnawāz Khān, *Ma'āthir al-umara'*, tr. H. Beveridge, revised B. Prashad, Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1911–52.

- 'Abd al-Ayman, Mír, younger circle of BM, 160
- 'Abd al-'Azíz, ruler of Transoxania 1647–80, 90
- 'Abd al-Ghaffár, Hájjí, darwísh in Deccan, narrator, 97, 98
- 'Abd al-Ghafúr Khán, commandant at Ahmadnagar, 247
- 'Abd al-Jabbár Beg, muríd of BM, 145
- 'Abd al-Jabbár, Mírzá, mutawallí of Chishtí tombs, Rawza, 128
- 'Abd al-Jalíl, Mawláná, muftí of Awrangabad, muríd of BM, 228
- 'Abd al-Karím, s.o. Hájjí 'Abd al-Rahím of Balkh, visits Deccan and Awrangabad, becomes khalífa of BP, 56
- 'Abd al-Karím, Hájjí, khalífa of BM, 65, 104, 126, 182, 184, 185, 187
- 'Abd al-Kháliq Ghijduwání, Khwája, pre-Naqshband lineage, 53
- 'Abd al-Kháliq, Hájjí, of Mughalpura, Awrangabad, benefactor of takya c. 1685, 65
- 'Abd al-Qádir Jílání, aka Ghawth al-thaqalayn, classic Sufi, 54, 155
- 'Abd al-Qádir, Mír (1), student under Mawlaví Zahir al-Din at Awrangabad 1699, narrator, 79, 80, 114, 115
- 'Abd al-Qádir, Mír (2), see Diyánat Khán (1)
- 'Abd al-Rahím, khalífa of BM, 138, 178, 181, 182, 183–9, 206
- 'Abd al-Rahim, Bába Hájjí, of Balkh, early 17c., co-disciple of BP, 54, 55, 56, 77CH, 225, 227
- 'Abd al-Rahim Balkhí, Mullá, living in Awrangabad, 219
- 'Abd al-Rahim, Hájjí, muríd of BM, shaykh in Arcot, 151
- 'Abd al-Rahím Beg, brother of Mawláná Mushfiqí qv, leaves for north India 1707, 213
- 'Abd al-Rahím Khán, (1) aka Násir al-Dawla, Salábat Jang (*MU*, II, 386–7), full brother of Ghází al-Dín Khán qv, d. 1743, 82
- 'Abd al-Rahím Khán, (2) = Rahím Khán Bahádur, s.o. Ísh Muhammad BÍ Nayman, accompanies 'Abd al-'Azíz Khán in exile 1680s, prisoner of Marathas, 90, 91–2
- 'Abd al-Rahím, Khwája, religious notable at Awrangabad c. 1708, 128
- 'Abd al-Rahmán "Jámí", 15c. author, 40, 198; see also *Nafahát al-uns*, *Sharh-i Mullá*, *Tuhfat al-abrár* [sic]
- 'Abd al-Rahmán, Khwája, Turani in Deccan, narrator, 96
- 'Abd al-Salám, Khwája, news-writer at Jalnapur, 158
- 'Abd al-Salám, Shaykh, mutasaddí at Awrangabad c. 1712–14, 111
- 'Abd al-Samad, (*MU*, I, 71–3) descendant of Kh. Ahrár, son-in-law of Kh. Zakariyá' qqv, Mughal general and administrator, chief sadr 1698–1707 and 1712–13, land-grants near Awrangabad, governor of Panjab, d. c. 1738, 126–7, 227.
- 'Abd al-Wahháb Bukhárí, Mullá, at Awrangabad, narrator, 76, 88, 97
- 'Abd al-Walí Dahbídí, Khwája, descendant of "Makhdúm-i A'zam", cousin of Kh. Yádgár and Kh. Zakariyá' qqv, Naqshbandí from Samarqand residing at Awrangabad, 93, 125–6, 171, 249–50.

- 'Abd Alláh Ansári, Khwája, of Herat, author and classic Sufi, 12c., 66
- 'Abd Alláh Badakhshí, Ákhond Mír, Mawlaví, older circle of BM (khalífa?), 104, 106
- 'Abd Alláh Beg, brother of Ghayúr Beg, Turani trooper, withholds nadhr from BP, threatens BM, killed by Marathas 1698, 84, 122
- 'Abd Alláh Chihra-aqasi, muster-master of Turani troops in Hasan Abdal c. 1675 and later in Deccan, 100; see 'Abduh and 'Ibád Alláh
- 'Abd Alláh Júní, Shaykh, sufi lineage, 52
- 'Abd Alláh Khán, Khwája, (*MU*, I, 84–5), descendant of "Hazrat Imám", brother of Kh. Rahmat Alláh Khán qv, Turani officer in Awrangzeb's service, trooper escorting caravan from Galgala before 1695, turned trader, troubled by Jinns in Awrangabad, later administrator under Nizám al-Mulk, escorted Sháh Qalandar's corpse from Haydarabad 1730, d. 1744, narrator, 135, 136, 206
- 'Abd Alláh, Mír, s.o. M. Muhammad Táhir Haratí qv, educated in takya at Awrangabad c. 1690s, house in Haydarabad c. 1710, 40, 148, 160, 207
- 'Abd Alláh, Mirzá, in Awrangabad, 150
- 'Abd Alláh, Sháh, (1), darwísh following BP, murdered in Awrangabad c. 1689, 80
- 'Abd Alláh, Sháh, (2), circle of BM, alive after 1720, 176
- 'Abd Alláh, Shaykh, student and poet from Balkh in Awrangabad, 104, 145, 165
- 'Abd Alláh, Sufi, circle of BM after 1700, possibly identical with Sháh 'Abd Alláh (2), 147
- 'Abdí, Khwája, darwísh, murid of BM before 1697, 137
- 'Abduh Chihra-aqasi, 71; see 'Abd Alláh Chihra-aqasi, 'Ibád Alláh
- 'Ábid Khán, Sadr al-sudúr, (*MU*, II, 539–41), father of Ghází al-Dín Khán, at Mecca in 1676, 62, 70.
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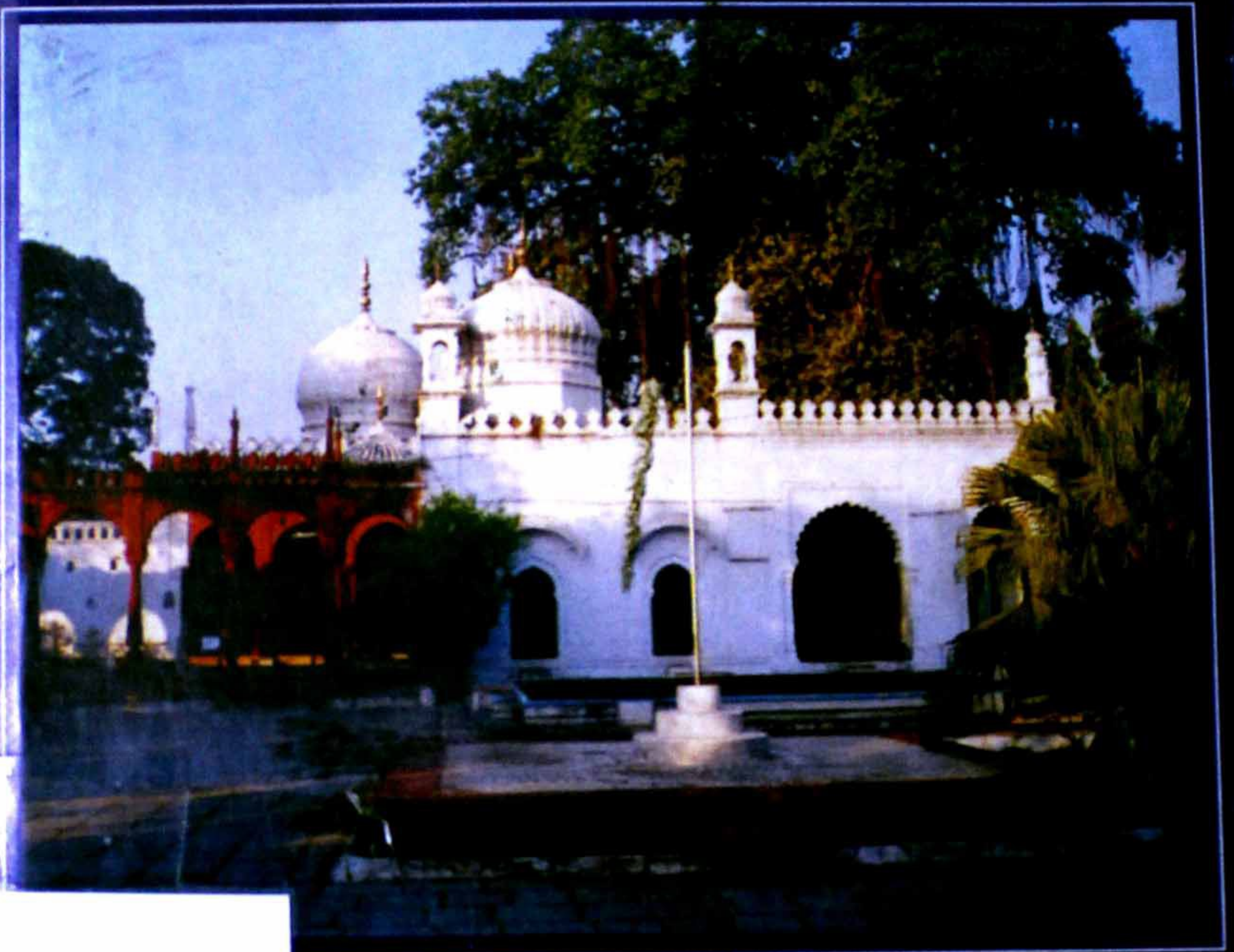
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# SUFIS AND SOLDIERS IN AWRANGZEB'S DECCAN



MON DIGBY

OXFORD