

THOMAS DÄHNHARDT

THE NAQSHBANDIYYA MUJADDIDIYYA
MAZHARIYYA AND ITS RAMIFICATIONS
BETWEEN DELHI AND THE AFGHAN BORDER
The Case of the Quetta *khānaqāh*

The mobility of human individuals constitutes a determining factor in fostering the vital force of any civilization and specific culture as well as in connecting different civilizations and cultures between each other. The migration of individuals, of entire peoples and, perhaps most significantly, of an intellectual élite moving in space for the sake of exploring ever larger horizons since long provided the dynamics essential for the transmission and cultivation of ideas. The ancient Silk Road had for centuries been an important artery of communication between East and West, North and South and viceversa: on one level a thriving trade route for the exchange of goods and merchandise, on yet another a channel of communication for the flow of thought, imagination and inspiration in times when the intellectual circuit of mankind relied on the contact between people and peoples and the knowledge and wisdom they carried with them. Migration, that is movement along major routes and minor pathways, in which the peregrinations of dervishes and wandering ascetics proved essential for the extension of organized and less organized Sufi networks which, by their very nature, were instrumental in moving and connecting apparently distant realities both on the horizontal and the vertical plane.

The presence of Sufi orders in South Asia has a long history and is deeply rooted in its soil and soul. In virtue of their pivotal role both within the *Dīn* and the *Dār al-Islām*, most of the institutionalized orders (*turuq*, pl. of *tarīqa*) reached the Indian Subcontinent through Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia in crucial moments of history. They were influential in establishing Islām in the newly conquered areas and over time contributed significantly to the shaping of an Islamicate culture there. In order to accomplish this task, the spiritual leaders at the head

of those *turuq* chose to either establish themselves or despatch their followers in strategic places all over the territory, thereby enabling them to actively perpetrate the call to Islam (*da'wat*) in the most truthful sense of the word. The impact of their presence and the efficacy of their interaction with the surrounding environment was largely derived from their charisma, capable of focussing the piety of the local population as well as paving the intellectual ground for a cultural symbiosis derived from spiritual introspection. In the process, Sufism as we call it became an integral part of the complex yet accommodating religious and spiritual environment of the Subcontinent and a determining force of cohesion in its social tissue.

During the Sultanate period (XII-XVI centuries), in the forefront of the spiritual conquest of South Asia by the forces inherent of Islām were the *pīrs* and *shaykhs* of the *tarīqa* Chishtiyya, the most specifically Indian Sufi order. Their concerted activities were instrumental in creating a link between institutionalized temporal power by Muslim rulers seated in urban centers and fortified military outposts and the surrounding territory. Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī (1143–1236) in Ajmer, Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā (1238-1325) in Delhi and Burhān al-Dīn 'Gharīb' (d. 741/1344) in the Deccan are all common names in South Asian spiritual and popular culture. Their contribution to implanting Islam among the Indian people has been documented by a vast amount and variety of literature, in Arabic, Persian and the Indian vernacular¹. In a more regionalized context, the Chishtī saints were flanked by the authorities affiliated to the Suhrawardiyya: their spiritual and worldly supervision by leaders like Bahā al-Dīn Zakariyā (1170-1262) in Multan and Uch were essential for rooting and implementing Islam in the central areas of the Indus valley.

From the very outset, Mughal dominion over South Asia occurred under the auspices of yet another important Sufi order, the Naqshbandiyya. Although of ancient origin, this *tarīqa* of distinct Central-Asian connotations had received its

1 To mention just one of the best known textual sources of this genre, see Amīr Khwūrd al-Kirmānī: *Siyar al-awliyā dar ahwāl-o malfūzāt-i māshayikh-i Chisht* (ed. by Sayyid Mahdi Ghuri), Lahore: Markaz-i tahqiqat-i Farsi Iran o Pakistan, no.23, 1978.

specifics from Bahā al-Dīn al-Naqshband (718/1318-791/1389) in 14th century Bukhara. Besides lending his name to the *ṭarīqa*, Khwāja Bahā al-Dīn was responsible for shaping its peculiar methodological outlook based on the silent repetition of the Sacred name (*zikr-i khafī*) as principal method for the spiritual practitioner's refinement of the soul and the principle of spiritual isolation amongst the crowd (*khalwat dar anjuman*) over that of solitary retreat (*khalwa*) as fundamental tenet of the order's worldview based on imitation of the prophetic mission.² Translating this latter principle into practice, the Naqshbandī authorities kept faith to what they perceived as a call for participation in public affairs and influencing rulers and government institutions as a fundamental attitude of their inner and outer discipline. In its Central-Asian homeland, part of the *ṭarīqa*'s mission had been the support for the Timurid rulers in Samarkand and Bukhara by Khwāja 'Ubayd Allāh 'Ahrār' (1404-1490) and his circle of initiates. Ahrār is reported to have giving his blessings to the young prince Bābur soon after his birth and his spiritual descendants accompanied the young prince on his South Asian campaign where he installed himself as the founder of the Mughal dynasty.³ A central position on the way between Central-Asia and South Asia was held by Afghanistan. Already in the 15th century, Kabul under Timurid rule had been attested as a centre of Sufi activity radiating from Bukhara and Herat. In the city's flourishing environment numerous Naqshbandī *khānaqāhs*, shrines, and *langar-khānahs* functioned and it was in fact from Kabul that Khwāja Bāqī Billāh 'Berang' (971/1564-1012/1603), a key figure in the order's transition from Central- to South Asia, moved to Delhi for the sake of transplanting Naqshbandī presence into the heart of the Mughal empire. There, Bāqī Billāh was to become the spiritual mentor

2 Among the very extensive literature on this renowned Sufi saint, we may just mention Algar, Hamid. 'A Brief History of the Naqshbandi Order' and 'Political Aspects of Naqshbandi History.' In *Naqshbandis: Cheminements et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musulman*, edited by Marc Gaborieau et al., PP. 3-44, 123-152. Istanbul and Paris, 1990.

3 For the connections between this ruler and the Naqshbandī Sufi order, see Stephen F. Dale and Alam Payind, 'The Ahrārī Waqf of Kabul in the Year 1546 and the Mughul Naqshbandiyyah', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 119, no.2 (April-June 1999), pp.225-26.

of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī (1564-1624), probably the single-most influential intellectual figure in the South Asian history of the *tarīqa* responsible for shifting the order's spiritual centre from Central Asia and Afghanistan to Northern India during the centuries of Mughal rule over the Subcontinent.⁴ However, keeping faith to its traditions, it continued to be influential also in later times maintaining and fostering close relations between the Northern Indian Sufi tradition and the ethnically Pashtun dominated areas of Afghanistan.

The line of spiritual descent (*silsila*) that evolved from Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī became known as the Mujaddidiyya, the Indian branch of the Naqshbandiyya that during the XVII and XVIII centuries exercised a powerful influence on the intellectual history of Islam far beyond the borders of the Subcontinent. Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī, to whom was attributed the title of *Mujaddid Alf-i sānī* (Renewer of the second millennium of Islam), reformulated the order's doctrinal perspective known as *wahdat al-wujūd* and adapted the spiritual practices of the *tarīqa* into a doctrinal, *sharī'a*-oriented, perspective. In accordance with the conditions of the times and the requirements of the specific environment, he elaborated a spiritual discipline that was meant to harmonize Muslim identity with spiritual self-realization in a predominantly non-Muslim cultural and religious environment. Followed in his efforts by his sons and grandsons, the Panjabi provincial town of Sirhind became a major centre of spiritual upbringing and traditional Islamic scholarship during the 17th century, in coincidence with the height of Mughal sovereignty.

By the mid-eighteenth century, the Panjāb had become the theatre for a power struggle between the rapidly disintegrating Mughal Empire and ascendant political forces seeking to seize its domains. In 1739, the Persian king Nādir Shāh (r. 1736–47) invaded Hindustan and sacked Delhi, with devastating effects on the economical and political stability of North-Western India. Following his death in 1747, the political vacuum in the region was filled by tribal confederacies and local rulers: one such tribal

4 For information on him, see, among others: J.G.J. ter Haar, *Follower and heir of the prophet. Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī (1564-1624) as mystic* (Leiden, Oosters Instituut, 1992. xii, 183 pp.) and Yohanan Friedman: *Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī: An Outline of His Thought and a Study of His Image in the Eyes of Posterity* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1971).

confederacy was that of the Abdalī, later renamed as Durrānī. Their leader, Ahmad Shāh (r. 1747–72), managed to subdue some of this rival local rulers, including that of the Mughal-appointed governor in Kabul and Peshawar, Nāsir Khān, conquering the area up to the Indus River and establishing a decentralized Afghan empire based in Qandahar. Half way between Lahore and Delhi and caught in the midst of the political turmoil, the town of Sirhind was largely destroyed by the Sikh armies in 1763 and the Naqshbandī-Mujaddidī institutions there were devastated. As a result, the geographical and spiritual centre of the order shifted from the Panjab to other areas in two directions: southwards into the very heart of Mughal India, resettling in Rampur, Delhi and elsewhere in the North-Western Ganges plane, others chose to migrate westwards, in direction of the emerging and ethnically diverse Afghan Empire built by Ahmad Shāh Durrānī.

The emergence of Afghanistan as a land of important commercial and intellectual activity between the second half of the 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries attracted among others many *‘ulamā* and sufis from South Asia to the urban centers of Kabul, Qandahar and Peshawar and from there deep into the rural communities of the Swat Valley as well as to Badakhshan and Yarkand, with outreaches as distant as the Khoqand Khanate in the Ferghana Valley and Hyderabad in Sindh. Among the Sufi networks most directly involved in this shift towards the Indo-Afghan borderland known as Sarhad, the Mujaddidiyya was the most prominent, establishing branches on both sides of the Khyber pass, in the urban areas of Kabul and Peshawar. Those latter included two notable figures such as Khwāja Sāfi Allāh (d. 1798) and Fazl Ahmad Ma’sūmī known as Jiū Ṣāhib Peshawarī (d. 1816), both heads of important Naqshbandī-Mujaddidī suborders in the North-Western Frontier Provinces of British India (in Mughal times known as Sarhad (border area)).

Following the shift of the Durrānī capital from Qandahar to Kabul by Ahmad Shāh’s son Timur Shah in 1776, Khwāja Sāfi Allāh, a spiritual descendant of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī and a distinguished poet, founded a *khānaqāh* in the city’s Shor Bazār area which attracted a sizable following of devotees from across the social spectrum, including the later Durrānī ruler Zamān Shāh (r. 1793–1800) for whom Sāfi Allāh performed the *dastar-bandī* coronation ceremony, thereby establishing the

traditional link between Mujaddidī Sufism and the Afghan ruling class.⁵ The Shor Bazār *khānaqāh* soon became the Afghan hub for a network of subsidiary *khānaqāhs* and *madrasas* in other parts of Afghanistan and in the Pashtun dominated belt of the neighbouring South Asian provinces of Baluchistan and Sarhad and as far as Sindh. Chief among his disciples was Sāfi Allāh's niece Bībī Sāhiba, whose family established Mujaddidī presence in Qandahar and Jalalabad, Hyderabad, and later in Thar Parkar and Gujarat.

At about the same time, Shah Fazl Ahmad Ma'sūmī, a spiritual descendant of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī's older brother Khwāja Muḥammad Ma'sūm, migrated to the Durrani winter capital of Peshawar. He traveled regularly to Bukhara via Kabul and Mazār-i Sharif and eventually set up a *khānaqāh* at the Masjid-i Mirakan in Bukhara. The city's ruler Shāh Murād (r. 1785–1800) became a devoted disciple and *khalīfa* of Fazl Ahmad. By the end of his life, Fazl Ahmad's network encompassed several hundred deputies heading *khānaqāhs* and *madrasas* from Balkh to Khoqand, in Ghazni and in the Kashmir Valley. They were sustained by land grants and charitable *waqf* endowments from the Durrānī rulers and their Barakza'i successors, as well as by the local rulers of Bukhara, Badakhshan and Qunduz and other regional authorities.

Khwāja Sāfi Allāh and Shāh Fazl Ahmad were among the most prominent of several thousand Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi sufis who established their presence in Khurasan, Turkestan and beyond. Each set up new institutions, or affiliated himself or herself with older institutions (including shrines) with preexisting symbolic capital. These institutions were generously patronized by local rulers and governors, who in effect outsourced the intellectual and spiritual apparatus of their nascent polities to the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidis and other sufis. Through these institutions, the

5 Sibghat Allāh Mujaddidī (1926–2019) was an Afghan politician, who served as Acting President after the fall of Muhammad Najibullah's government in April 1992. He was the first leader to call for armed resistance against the Soviet-backed regime in 1979 and founded the Afghan National Liberation Front at the time; later he became a respected figure among the various Afghan *mujāhidīn*. Edwards, David (2011): 'The political lives of Afghan saints: the case of the Kabul Hazrats', in *Manifestations of Sainthood in Islam* (G.M. Smith and C.W. Ernst editors), Gorgias Press.

Naqshbandī-Mujaddidis were effectively able to establish lasting and effective links with present-day Afghanistan transferring a set of doctrines and epistemologies from Sirhind, which then interfaced with localized ritual practices, philosophies, and sacred historical memories. While the Sufis who migrated westward individually administered their own institutions and managed their own congregations, they nonetheless perceived of themselves as part of an integrated Naqshbandī-Mujaddidī network in which texts, poetry, students, and practices constantly circulated.

Back in India, most Naqshbandī authorities of the XIX and XX centuries trace their descent through the renowned shaykh and poet Mīrzā ‘Mazhar’ Jān-i Jānan (1111/1701-1195/1781), a disciple of Sayyid Nūr Muḥammad Badāyūnī (d.1135/1723). It was through the former that the Mujaddidiyya firmly established itself in the Mughal capital Delhi. The broad intellectual outlook of this Sufi teacher and talented poet was reflected in his attitude of spiritual inclusiveness that allowed members of the Hindu community to share into the treasure of the *ṭarīqa*. His popular appeal, wit and openness drew large numbers of devotees and followers to the site of his residence in Old Delhi. After his death in 1781, his main *khalīfa*, Shāh Ghulām ‘Alī Dihlawī (1156/1743–1240/1824), assumed the *ṭarīqa*’s leadership developing the residence of his predecessor into a renowned centre of traditional scholarship and spiritual upbringing (*tarbiyat-i rūhāniyya*). During the first half of the 19th century, the Khānaqāh-i Mazhariyya, built around the *maqbara* of Mīrzā ‘Mazhar’ Jān-i Jānan, welcomed and hosted an ever increasing number of devotees, scholars and spiritual seekers from Afghanistan, Ottoman Turkey and Central Asia: as the intellectual and organizational center of the order in South Asia, it significantly enriched the vibrant cultural and spiritual climate of Delhi during the last decades of (nominal) Mughal rule there. Except for a brief period in the aftermath of the British sack of Delhi in 1857-8, the *khānaqāh* in the Chitli Qabar area, half way between the southern Turkman Gate and the city’s Jama Masjid, has continued functioning as a centre for spiritual instruction until the present day. Its once pan-Islamic outreach was kept alive largely by followers and successors of Ghulām ‘Alī who spread and settled outside South Asia. Particularly

important at the time was the link with the Haramain, where the Mujaddidī authorities connected to the Mazhari *khānaqāh* kept a constant presence to disseminate the Naqshbandī order among adepts and initiates from all over the Muslim world, until the definite conquest of the Hijaz by the Wahhabis in 1925 and the successive suppression of Sufi related intellectual presence there. Muḥammad Jān al-Makkī (d. 1852), Ghulām ‘Alī’s *khalīfa* in Mecca, initiated many pilgrims from Ottoman Turkey and Anatolia into the *tarīqa* some of whom in their turn established new branches of the Naqshbandiyya in their homelands. The immediate successor of Ghulām ‘Alī at the Delhi *khānaqāh*, Shāh Abū Sa‘īd (d. 1250/1835), brought the Rāmpūrī line of the Mujaddidiyya to Delhi: in 1810, he received *bai’at* from Ghulām ‘Alī whose successor he was to become, and remained for 9 years at the head of the Sufi hospice until 1833 when he migrated to the Hijaz where he dispensed initiations to simple pilgrims and intellectuals alike, entrusting the guidance of the Delhi *khānaqāh* to his eldest son and *khalīfa*, Shāh Ahmad Sa‘īd (d. 1277/1860). He chose to seek refuge in Madina in the aftermath of the tragic events of the 1857 anti-British rebellion (*baghāwat-i Hind*), transferring the direction of the Indian Naqshbandiyya temporarily to the Hijaz and entrusting Mujaddidī leadership in India to his Afghan disciple and *khalīfa*, Hājī Dost Muḥammad (1801–1868). Through the latter, an important link between the Indian centre of Naqshbandī Mujaddidī teachings in Delhi and the Afghan environment had already been established in the mid 19th century. Born and educated in Qandahar in Afghanistan, while on *hajj*, Dost Muhammad met Shāh Ghulām ‘Alī in the Masjid al-nabi in Medina. Although he did not succeed in receiving *bai’at* from Ghulām ‘Alī himself, he took the vow of allegiance from Shāh Ahmad Sa‘īd and eventually became his *khalīfa* in Qandahar. Following the assassination in 1842 of Shāh Shujā, the British allied ruler of Afghanistan, Dost Muḥammad was forced to leave the country. On the advice of his spiritual guide, he settled in the village of Musa Zai Sharif, in the Dera Ismail Khan district of the N.W.F.P., where he established a *khānaqāh* and instructed numerous disciples and initiates until his death in 1868. It was there that his *pīr o murshid*, Shāh Ahmad Sa‘īd, sojourned for a three month period in 1858 while

migrating towards his exile in the Hijaz⁶, declaring Hājī Dost Muhammad his caretaker (*mutawwalī*) in India and entrusting, moreover, the responsibility for his Indian and Afghan disciples and the care of the *khānaqāh* in Delhi to his Afghan *khalīfa*, a task that the later, busy between Musa Zai and Qandahar, entrusted to his disciple Maulwī Rahīm Bakhsh Panjābī and, later on, to his son and *khalīfa*, Muḥammad Usmān Damanī (1828–1897).

It was in the post-Mughal period of European colonialism that Shāh Muhī al-Dīn Abū al-Khayr (1282/1856-1341/1923), the grandson of Ahmad Saʿid, after returning from exile in the Hijaz that had lasted for 31 years, in 1888, at the age of 32, resumed full fledged administrative and spiritual leadership of the Mujaddidiyya Mazhariyya in Delhi, a function that he exercised until his death in 1923. Abū al-Khayr brought new life to the *khānaqāh*, restored and expanded its buildings and renewed the ancient link between the old capital of Muslim ruled India and Afghanistan. From 1894 onwards, fostered by the Delhi *khānaqāh*'s temporary administration by Hājī Muhammad Qandahārī's Afghan affiliates, the number of Afghan pathan followers and initiates began to increase significantly. In May 1900, due to his delicate health, Shāh Abū al-Khayr on advice of a disciple who happened to be a *hakīm*, chose to spend the summer months in Quetta, the main urban centre in Baluchistan province, only about 70 km from the Afghan border, where he and his family set up quarter in a local market area named Qandahārī Bāzār. Due to the long-standing connections of the *tarīqa* with Afghanistan, he soon was visited by an ever increasing number of Afghans, both simple followers and qualified adepts, creating a spiritual and social link between British administered India and Afghanistan. The shaykh divided his time each year between Delhi and Quetta, dedicating his energies to the spiritual education of his numerous initiates on both sides of the Durrand line. For the next 22 years until his worldly demise in 1923, the Shah used to spend the period between May and October in the more suitable climate of mountainous Baluchistan where he soon became extremely popular and revered by locals and Afghan followers alike. He set up a branch of what had by then become known as the Khayriyya *khānaqāh*, in order to create

6 *Maqāmāt-i Khayr* pp. 92-93.

a reference for the largely Pashtun followers of the *ṭarīqa*. A family mansion was built on the grounds donated by a local merchant, Muhammad Ismāʿīl Khān, and the road on which the mansion stood and still stands was named after him as Pir Abul Khair Road; a mosque named after his first son Bilāl was added to the complex in 1913. Although largely destroyed during the tremendous earthquake that shook Quetta in May 1935 causing the death of his wife Sayyida Hajira and other members of the family, the site remained the place of the Khayriyya convent in Quetta which under the guidance of Shāh Abū al-Khayr developed into a fully working centre for spiritual education in the tradition of the *ṭarīqa* Mujaddidiyya Mazhariyya Khayriyya, at present known as Dargāh-i Shāh Abū al-Khayr.

While staying there, following the third Anglo-Afghan War (May-August 1919) that resulted in major independence of Afghanistan from British suzerainty, Shāh Abū al-Khair forged links with the country's new Emir and King, Aman Allāh Khān (r. 1919–1929) and the Pashtu élite in and around the Kabul court. He thereby reiterated the traditional function of the Naqshbandī shaykh as a mediator between the spiritual and the temporal domain, a role which he was prevented from playing in the domain of the British Rāj, and strengthened the ties between Afghanistan's ruling class and the Mujaddidī Sufi tradition. His daughter Muhammadi, born in 1916 in Quetta, married Hāfiz 'Abd Allāh, the Afghan ambassador to Egypt, thus strengthening the family ties between the Khairī branch of the Mujaddidī spiritual family (*khāndān*) and the ruling class of Afghanistan. However, ironically, in a kind of reverse mediation, in British India itself Abū al-Khayr had to rely on the intervention of his Afghan disciples when approaching the colonial government, for he had been suspicious to the authorities for his repeated anti-colonialist positions and his refusal to issue *fatwas* in favor of muslim scholars loyal to the British in Delhi, Rampur and Mirath. Like many of his contemporaries deploring the weakness of the Muslim world in his time, during the last years of his life Shāh Abū al-Khayr supported the Indian *khilāfat* movement (1919–24) and called for religious unity and solidarity among muslims which now included even members of the Shī'a community and, in the spirit of the age, elicited in his followers a strong sense of spiritual identification with the Muslim world at large, especially

in the aftermath of World War I and the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire which brought about the loss of the seat of the Caliphate.

Shāh Abū al-Khayr was eventually succeeded in Delhi by his second son Shāh Abū al-Hasan Zaid Fārūqī (1906-1993), who had received initiation into the *ṭarīqa* from his father at the tender age of eleven. While growing into the spiritual tradition of the biological and spiritual family (*khāndān*), Abū al-Hasan acquired a thorough religious education which was to find its completion in the renowned academic institution of al-Azhar, in the Egyptian capital Cairo, where he graduated in the sciences of *had is*, *fiqh* and *usūl al-fiqh*. Upon his return to India in 1934, Shāh Abū al-Hasan took over the direction of the *khānaqāh* from his elder brother Abū al-Faiz Bilāl Ādam Allāh (1900-1978), who had been acting as a caretaker after the death of their father, and exercised this role with determination and intellectual vigor ever since until his departure from this world in 1993. Following the political independence of South Asia from British colonial rule in 1947, like many traditional Sufi leaders, Shāh Abū al-Hasan decided to remain in the ancestral *khānaqāh* of his family in independent India's new capital, while his two brothers, Abū al-Faiz Bilāl Ādam Allāh (1900-1978) and Abū al-Sa'd Sālim Ḥafz Allāh (1908-1987) decided to move permanently to Pakistan where they assumed leadership of the *khānaqāh* established by their father in Quetta.

Like other members of his family and lineage, Abū al-Hasan's outlook was that of an erudite and conservative member of the intellectual *ashrafi* muslim élite. He represented the tradition of multiple affiliations and was strongly opposed to the anti-Sufi movement of the Ahl-i Hadith, but also to more moderate organizations. Most of his disciples originally hailed from Pakistan and Afghanistan. He himself was a prolific writer and author of several books and treatises addressing a wide range of aspects of the history of the Naqshbandī order, its doctrine and methodology and polemics against 'Wahhabis', a term used very generally in South Asia to indicate religious reformist movements. He much opposed the Muslim nationalist image that Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī acquired during the twentieth century, especially by Muslim modernist academics of the Aligarh school, claiming, as a matter of self-legitimization, that his ancestor

followed the attitude and method of the Indian Sufis and that he was not inherently hostile to members of the Hindu community, but only to those who rebelled against the Mughal state. Abū al-Ḥasan subscribed to the Shaykh Ahmad's political activity, which he felt unable to follow in the realities of the Hindu-dominated secular state of post-colonial, independent India.

Well aware of the need to keep the lofty standards of the Mujaddidī spiritual and scholarly tradition in India alive, during the long term of nearly six decades in which he acted as the spiritual head of the Naqshbandiya Mujaddidiya Mazhariya *khānaqāh* in Delhi, Maulānā Shāh Abū al-Ḥasan ordained only a handful of deputies. In virtue of his spiritual insights and sound scholarship, he maintained that the rank of *khilāfa* required lofty merits that only few could attain. Nevertheless, similar to his spiritual predecessor Mīrzā 'Mazhar' Jān-i Jānān, he showed openness towards speculative inclusiveness of spiritual achievements outside Islam and recognized the partial validity of validity of Indian spiritual disciplines. This openness notwithstanding, he was very selective in granting *khilāfat* and carefully selected those he would admit for benefit from his spiritual supervision. Among those selected for this privilege was his grandson and present head of the *khānaqāh* in Delhi, Shāh Abū al-Nasr Anas Fārūqī (b. 1971). Abū al-Nasr claims to have more than 100 devoted disciples from Delhi, Agra, Mirath, Kanpur, Lakhnau and other cities and towns around Northern India. He conducts a regular *zīkr* session every evening after conducting the '*ishā*' evening prayer at the *khānaqāh*'s mosque and a larger meeting (*khātima*) of initiates once a week.

Shāh Abū al-Hasan's elder brother, Abū al-Fayz Bilāl, after receiving spiritual license (*ijāzat o khilāfat*) from his father at the tender age of 17, had already spent considerable time in Quetta acting as an assistant to his father at the head of the *tarīqa*. In 1932, on the invitation of king Muḥammad Nādir Shāh (r. 1929-1933), he went to Afghanistan where he organized and led the *milād al-nabī* celebrations (12 Rabī' al-awwal) organized in the royal palace in Kabul. The death of his wife, second son and two daughters during the earthquake in 1935 and the Partition of India in 1947 caused deep affliction in him. Consequently, after entrusting the guidance of the *tarīqa* to his eldest son Miḡyān 'Ubayd al-Rahmān (b. 1929), he retired from public life

to a small dwelling in Zindali, a village near the town of Sibi, where he dedicated himself to solitary study of *tafsīr*, *hadīth* and *qirā'at*.⁷

Shāh Abū al-Khayr's youngest son Abū Sa'd Sālim Ḥafz Allāh (1908-1987), educated in Delhi and Egypt along with his elder brother Shāh Abū al-Ḥasan, strengthened the Afghan ties of the family marrying a daughter of an Afghan disciple of his father in Qandahar where he and his son Shāh 'Asīm engaged as spiritual teachers establishing a sub-branch of the Quetta *khānaqāh*. His third son and *khalīfa*, Shaykh 'Umar Abū Ḥafs Fārūqī Mujaddidī, born shortly before Partition in 1945 in Delhi, turned out to be the most spiritually inclined among his brothers and after receiving *khilāfat* from his father in the 1960's has since continued to lead the century-old family *khānaqāh* embarked on the mission of establishing the Mujaddidī presence there. He enriched the old Sufi hospice with numerous amenities and rebuilt the original mosque in the town centre and named after Shāh Abū al Khayr his revered father. On the land acquired by his father he built a *maqbara* for his father and paternal uncle which has become a landmark in the barren landscape of Quetta's surroundings. Still actively engaged in his function as spiritual guide, Shaykh 'Umar Abū Ḥafs hosts a small number of resident Afghan disciples of Pashtu ethnicity in the Quetta hospice, who constitute the bulk of a small but dedicated group of adepts, although the number of *murīd* and followers from Afghanistan increases considerably on special occasions and festivities, such as the celebrations of the death anniversary ('*urs*') of his respected father and uncle and during the traditional Islamic festivals of 'Īd and *milād al-nabī*.

Although separated by the geographical and political distance separating the modern nation states of India and Pakistan, the initiatory tradition perpetuated by the spiritual family of the Naqshbandiyya Mujaddidiyya Khayriyya remains thus alive in both modern South Asian countries, following in the footsteps of the century old Sufi tradition of mediating across borders and between the realities pertaining to the domain of the horizontal and the vertical degrees of reality.

7 *Sawānih-i hayāt-i Sayyid al-'arīfīn Shāh Bilāl*, 1978.

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