

## Qāḍī Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāgawrī: Life and Legacy

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This paper is divided into three sections: the first deals with the historiography related to Qāḍī Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāgawrī; the second is a biographical note on the Qāḍī; and the third discusses his legacy.

### A Review of Historiography concerning Qāḍī Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāgawrī

Qāḍī Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāgawrī was a saint of the Suhrawardī *silsilah* in seventh/thirteenth century Delhi. We present a review of the historiography that concerns the Qāḍī so that the reader may be better able to contextualise his life and legacy.

1. **General Works on Sufism in South Asia:** While K.A. Nizami,<sup>1</sup> S.A.A. Rizvi<sup>2</sup> and Bruce Lawrence<sup>3</sup> have acknowledged the presence of the Suhrawardī *silsilah* (to which the Qāḍī belonged) in medieval South Asia, the general nature of the work of these three scholars meant that they could not devote adequate attention to the historical importance of the Suhrawardī saints. Nonetheless, a reading of the three scholars permits the following inferences:
  - a. The main geographical area from where the Suhrawardī saints carried out their activities was the Indus basin (Multan and Uch being the two main centres).
  - b. This did not mean that the *silsilah* did not have representatives elsewhere. We find clear references to Suhrawardī saints in Delhi, Bengal, Gujarat and Kashmir.
  - c. Saints affiliated to the Suhrawardī *silsilah* wrote numerous important texts.
2. **Works on the Suhrawardī *silsilah*:** Three recent works dedicated exclusively to the Suhrawardī *silsilah* have been identified so far. In his book, *Constructing Islam on the Indus: Material History of the Suhrawardy Sufi Order, 1200-1500*, Hasan Ali Khan<sup>4</sup> argues for secret Ismā'īlī underpinnings to the Suhrawardī presence in their Indus basin

'homeground.' Khan uses this link to explain both the efflorescence and decline of the *silsilah* in Multan and Uch. Khāwar Suhrawardī's work, *Yādgār-i-Suhrawardiyyah*<sup>5</sup>, is in the nature of a *tadhkirah* and is a recent perspective from within the *silsilah*. Muḥammad Ayyūb Qādrī's biography of Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Makhdūm-i-Jahāniyān Jahāngasht (d. 785/1383), *Makhdūm-i-Jahāniyān Jahāngasht: Mufaṣṣal Hālāt wa Sawāniḥ Haḍrat Jalāl al-Dīn Makhdūm-i-Jahāniyān Jahāngasht*<sup>6</sup>, is a valuable insight into the travels and teachings of the saint. (Note: The last two works have not been made use of in this paper.)

3. **Works on the Qāḍī:** Two articles pertaining to the writings of Qāḍī Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāgawrī have been found. While Mumtaz Ali Khan<sup>7</sup> focuses on the grammatical and orthographic peculiarities in the writings of the Qāḍī, Bruce Lawrence<sup>8</sup> uses a surviving extract of the *Lawā'ih* (see Appendix) in order to study the Qāḍī's expositions on the nature of mystical love.

### **A Biographical Note on Qāḍī Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāgawrī**

The earliest ancestors of Qāḍī Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāgawrī had belonged to the holy city of Madīnah from where they migrated first to Yemen and later to Bukhara.<sup>9</sup> During the reign of the Ghūrīd Sultan Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Sām (d. 602/1206),<sup>10</sup> the more immediate ancestors of the Qāḍī migrated to South Asia. It is possible that they might have initially stayed at Peshawar for some time before coming to Delhi.<sup>11</sup> The more common account of this migration however suggests that the Qāḍī accompanied his father, Khwājah 'Aṭā'ullāh Maḥmūd, when the latter had directly migrated to Delhi from Bukhara.<sup>12</sup> In yet another version, the family seems to have first settled at Nagaur where they would hold the office of Quḍā'at for several generations.<sup>13</sup> Khwājah 'Aṭā'ullāh Maḥmūd passed away at Delhi while the Qāḍī was still quite young. The Qāḍī had already, during the lifetime of his father, mastered the exoteric sciences so well that he was capable of *ijtihād*. With such qualifications, it would not have been difficult for the Qāḍī to find a job. Quite soon he was appointed

as the qāḍī of Nagaur, a post on which he served for three years. The Qāḍī's integrity in performing his duties had made his life difficult. He was eventually compelled to give up his job and embark on a journey to Madinah.<sup>14</sup> Having taken the land route,<sup>15</sup> he stopped over at Baghdad, where he met and became a disciple of Shaykh Abū Ḥafs Shihāb al-Dīn 'Umar Suhrawardī (d. 631/1234). The latter would eventually appoint the Qāḍī as one of his representatives.<sup>16</sup> After staying for a year in Baghdad, the Qāḍī left for the Ḥijāz.<sup>17</sup> During his stay at Madinah, one that lasted more than a year, the Qāḍī remained in the service of the Prophet's Mosque.<sup>18</sup> Similarly at Makkah also, where his stay had been as long as three years, the Qāḍī had served the sanctuary there. The long stay at Makkah had provided the Qāḍī an opportunity to benefit from the presence of numerous saints on pilgrimage there.<sup>19</sup>

The Qāḍī returned to Delhi during the reign of Sultan Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish (d. 633/1235).<sup>20</sup> Here he found the companionship of Khwājah Quṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī (d. 633/1236), whom he had already met during his stay at Baghdad. In fact, the Qāḍī had also accompanied Khwājah Quṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī on some of his travels.<sup>21</sup> While it is possible that the Qāḍī might have acted as a tutor of Khwājah Quṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, the Qāḍī nonetheless insisted on considering the latter as more eminent than himself.<sup>22</sup> There is also a possibility that the Qāḍī might have, in addition to the garment of succession conferred upon him by Shaykh Abū Ḥafs Shihāb al-Dīn 'Umar Suhrawardī, also received one from Khwājah Quṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī.<sup>23</sup> The precise nature of the relationship aside, it is clear that the Qāḍī and Khwājah Quṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī were extremely close to each-other. This, to such an extent, that the latter would entrust the Qāḍī with the responsibility of passing on certain relics to his disciple, Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar (d. 663/1265),<sup>24</sup> after he would pass away.<sup>25</sup>

It is the Qāḍī's close relationship with Khwājah Quṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī which seems to explain his excessive indulgence in *samā'*.<sup>26</sup> In fact, the practice of *samā'* gained currency in Delhi because of

the Qāḍī.<sup>27</sup> *Samā'*, which could occasionally be accompanied by raqs,<sup>28</sup> being a strictly spiritual affair required the gatherings to be regulated and participants to be in a receptive state.<sup>29</sup> Before *samā'* could gain acceptance however, the Qāḍī had faced varied forms of opposition. This sometimes took the form of *fatāwā* written to criticise the practice of *samā'*.<sup>30</sup> At other times, protest was more direct. Thus, we know that while Mawlānā Sharf al-Dīn Bahārī had refused to meet the Qāḍī in protest for his position on *samā'* and *'ishq*,<sup>31</sup> Mawlānā Rukn al-Dīn Samarqandī had collected a group from amongst his students and followers to obstruct *samā'* being held in the privacy of a house. The latter incident, interestingly, also reveals how the Qāḍī, inspite of such vehement antagonism, managed to persist in conducting *samā'*. Forewarned by the dervish 'Alī Shūrīdah, the Qāḍī asked the host - in whose house the gathering had been organised - to refrain from making himself available to Mawlānā Rukn al-Dīn Samarqandī. Both the Qāḍī and Mawlānā Rukn al-Dīn Samarqandī knew of the impermissibility of entering someone's house without attaining prior permission. Adhering to this rule, Mawlānā Rukn al-Dīn Samarqandī did not enter the house and thus *samā'* escaped censor!<sup>32</sup> It appears that by 633/1235, the environment in Delhi had become comparatively more conducive for *samā'*. It was now possible for Sultan Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish to conduct - on the Qāḍī's request - an almost public event of *samā'*.<sup>33</sup>

While there is a difference of opinion about when the Qāḍī passed away,<sup>34</sup> it appears safe to suggest the probable date to be Friday,<sup>35</sup> the 9<sup>th</sup> of Ramaḍān,<sup>36</sup> 641/19<sup>th</sup> of February, 1244.<sup>37</sup> The Qāḍī passed away while in prayer and was buried, in accordance with what he had willed, at the feet of Khwājah Quṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī.<sup>38</sup> The Qāḍī was recognised as a great saint of his time,<sup>39</sup> an accomplished scholar whose writings were read for several generations,<sup>40</sup> and as someone possessing pleasant character traits. He had initiated only a few people into the spiritual path: Shaykh Aḥmad Naharwālī Badāyūnī, 'Ayn al-Dīn Qaṣṣāb, and Shaykh Shāhī Rasan Tāb Badāyūnī and possibly Shaykh Maḥmūd Mū'aynah

Dūz.<sup>41</sup> The biological descendants of the Qāḍī seem to have become disciples of other saints.<sup>42</sup>

### **The Legacy of Qāḍī Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāgawrī**

The legacy of the Qāḍī can be studied with reference to three aspects: the disciples of the Qāḍī; subsequent generations of the family of the Qāḍī; and the writings of the Qāḍī.

The Qāḍī had taken only a few disciples. In what follows, information pertaining to four saints – to whom a discipleship of the Qāḍī has been attributed – has been provided.

Born in 579/1183, Shaykh Aḥmad Naharwālī was a weaver by profession. It is said that he would often become ecstatic while weaving.<sup>43</sup> Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā (d. 659/1261)<sup>44</sup> considered him to be equal – in terms of his engagement in spiritual practice - to ten sufis.<sup>45</sup> Shaykh Aḥmad Naharwālī had been present in the majlis wherein the recitation of a poetic verse had become the cause of Khwājah Quṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī's death.<sup>46</sup> In fact, the latter had been extremely fond of the former. Shaykh Aḥmad Naharwālī appears to have been a compassionate person for it has been recorded that on one occasion he had provided a thief (who had entered his house for robbery but had been disappointed by discovering the absence of anything worthy of being stolen) some yarn to compensate for his failed effort! Moreover, such was the popularity acquired by Shaykh Aḥmad Naharwālī that a large group of disciples would accompany him on his journeys to the Masjid-i-Jāmi'.<sup>47</sup> Due to an injury received while weaving, he was ultimately forced - in accordance with what the Qāḍī had wished for him - to give up his profession, and thus exclusively devote himself to a life of prayer. Shaykh Aḥmad Naharwālī passed away in 661/1263 and was buried at Budaun.<sup>48</sup>

'Ayn al-Dīn Qaṣṣāb, as the name indicates, was a butcher who used to sell meat on either a wooden or an iron stand at the Nawhattah Market in Delhi. Of the numerous people who benefited from the companionship of 'Ayn al-Dīn Qaṣṣāb, we know the names of atleast three: Shaykh Niẓām

al-Dīn Awliyā' (d. 725/1325), who - after having come to Delhi from Budaun - benefited from having had occasions to be in the presence of 'Ayn al-Dīn Qaṣṣāb; Qāḍī Fakhr al-Dīn Nātalāh, who had been told by 'Ayn al-Dīn Qaṣṣāb - after he had revealed his ambition of becoming a Qāḍī - that he would - in future - become the Qāḍī of the city (of Delhi?); and Mawlānā Wajīh al-Dīn, to whom 'Ayn al-Dīn Qaṣṣāb had predicted that his yearning to become a God-fearing scholar would bear fruit. Unveilings that acquainted 'Ayn al-Dīn Qaṣṣāb with the Divine Decree, as is evident in the instances related to Qāḍī Fakhr al-Dīn Nātalāh and Mawlānā Wajīh al-Dīn, have also been reported in relation to other people meeting him.<sup>49</sup>

The Qāḍī's third disciple was Shāhī Rasan Tāb. The latter, who was also known as Shaykh Shāhī Mū'ay Tāb and Shaykh Shāhī Rawshan Ḍamīr, was born in 502/1109<sup>50</sup> and had taken to twisting ropes (i.e. rope making) in order to earn a living. After having granted Shaykh Shāhī Rasan Tāb the garment of succession - a decision endorsed by Shaykh Maḥmūd Mū'aynah Dūz - the Qāḍī sent him off to Budaun where he would - while practicing his profession - dedicate himself to a life of spiritual practice and preaching. Shaykh Shāhī Rasan Tāb appears to have been extremely empathetic towards his disciples. Such was his spiritual station that Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Abū al-Mū'ayyad- whilst once having fallen extremely sick during a trip to Budaun - had chosen to request him for prayers that he may regain health.<sup>51</sup> As the dervish Muḥammad Nakhāsī had feared for him, Shaykh Shāhī Rasan Tāb died because of a fire that burnt his house. Although a different date has also been suggested, it is thought that Shaykh Shāhī Rasan Tāb passed away on the 24<sup>th</sup> of Ramaḍān, 632/12<sup>th</sup> of June, 1235. He was succeeded by his brother, Shaykh Abū Bakr Mū'ay Tāb - possibly the same as Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Mū'ay Tāb - who seems to have not lived beyond 651/1253.<sup>52</sup>

Shaykh Maḥmūd Mū'aynah Dūz, who was born in 588/1192, may be included as the fourth disciple of the Qāḍī. Shaykh Maḥmūd Mū'aynah Dūz is said to have been an admirer and close friend of Khwājah Quṭb al-

Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, at whose *majālis* he seems to have been regularly present. He passed away in 655/1257, and was buried close to the grave of Khwājah Quṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī in the direction leading to the Shamsī Tālāb.<sup>53</sup>

Succeeding generations of the Qāḍī's family do not seem to have been connected to him through formal ties of discipleship. While the Qāḍī's son, Mawlānā Nāṣiḥ al-Dīn (b. 619/1222-d. 712/1312), is referred to as being his *sajjādah nashīn*, it is unclear whether the Qāḍī formally initiated Mawlānā Nāṣiḥ al-Dīn as his own disciple. It is evident however, that the latter was a saint of repute who had permission to grant the *khirqah* to others.<sup>54</sup> As for the son of the Qāḍī's daughter, he is known to have become a disciple of Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar. The honorific title of this grandson of the Qāḍī was Sharf al-Dīn and he resided at Nagaur.<sup>55</sup>

Later generations from the Qāḍī's family continued to pursue the spiritual path. By the late ninth/fifteenth century, some of the Qāḍī's descendants had moved to Jaunpur. Shaykh Bahā al-Dīn Nathan Jawnpūrī (d. 947/1540), Shaykh Mina'llāh Addhan Jawnpūrī (d. 976/1568), and Mawlānā Ilāhdād (d. ?) are known to have been respectable saints based at Jaunpur.<sup>56</sup> Shaykh Bahā al-Dīn Nathan Jawnpūrī, born c. 869/1461, had initially been a disciple of Shaykh Muḥammad 'Īsā,<sup>57</sup> a saint from Jaunpur itself who belonged to the Chistī *silsilah*. Shaykh Muḥammad 'Īsā had been the disciple of Shaykh Fatḥu'llāh Awadhī,<sup>58</sup> the disciple of Ḥakīm Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn,<sup>59</sup> who in turn had been the disciple of Shaykh Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Chirāgh-i-Dihlī (d. 757/1356). Shaykh Muḥammad 'Īsā had instructed Shaykh Bahā al-Dīn Nathan Jawnpūrī to seek the discipleship of Rājī Ḥāmid Shāh (b. 809/1406-d. 908/1502) after he would pass away.<sup>60</sup> Rājī Ḥāmid Shāh was a disciple of a famous saint of the Chistī *silsilah*, Shaykh Ḥuṣām al-Dīn Mānikpūrī (d. 875/1470). It was from Rājī Ḥāmid Shāh that Shaykh Bahā al-Dīn Nathan Jawnpūrī received the *khirqah*.<sup>61</sup> Shaykh Mina'llāh Addhan Jawnpūrī was the son of Shaykh

Bahā al-Dīn Nathan Jawnpūrī.<sup>62</sup> He compiled the letters of his father in a volume titled *Ṣaḥā'if al-Ṭarīqah*.<sup>63</sup>

Mawlānā Ilāhdād<sup>64</sup> was the son of Shaykh Mīnā'Ilāh Addhan Jawnpūrī.<sup>65</sup> He had become a disciple of Rājī Ḥāmid Shāh when his companion Shaykh Ḥasan Ṭāhir had introduced him to Rājī Ḥāmid Shāh. Mawlānā Ilāhdād had written commentaries on *Hidāyah*, *Kāfiyah*, *Bizdāwī* and *Madārik*. Amongst his disciples was Shaykh Ma'rūf Jawnpūrī, who was the Shaykh of Shaykh Aḥmad Zayn Jawnpūrī.<sup>66</sup>

The legacy of the Jaunpur branch of the Qāḍī's family was carried forward by Shaykh Pīr Muḥammad of Salon (b. 993/1585-d. 1098/1687). Shaykh Pīr Muḥammad was a disciple of Shaykh 'Abdal-Karīm of Manikpur, who belonged to the Chistī *silsilah*. The latter (the then *sajjādah-nashīn* at the *khānqāh* of Shaykh Ḥuṣām al-Dīn Mānikpūrī) had asked Shaykh Pīr Muḥammad to set up a *khānqāh* at Salon. Ever since the founding of the *Khānqāh-i-Karīmiyyah* at Salon by Shaykh Pīr Muḥammad, successive generations of the Qāḍī's family - who were based at this *khānqāh* - have been a means for the intellectual and spiritual nourishment to those who visited them. Disciples of the mashā'ikh of the *khānqāh* in turn transmitted their learnings to other parts of the world. Thus for example, Shaykh Pīr Muḥammad is known to have appointed about three hundred *khulafā'* across South Asia. His son (or grandson?), Shaykh Sa'du'llāh, had been a *muḥaddith* at Madinah before settling at Surat. It is important to remember however that such a widespread dissemination of the Islamic tradition by the mashā'ikh of the *khānqāh* had been made possible by them on their own traveling to other places to acquire knowledge. This thirst for knowledge had – by the thirteenth/nineteenth century – resulted in scholars from elsewhere being invited to teach at the *khānqāh*. These included:

- Shāh 'Abdal-Raḥmān of Lucknow, an outspoken author against *shirk*, stayed at the *khānqāh* for three months.

- Mawlānā ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ Jayasī Naqshbandī, a khalīfah of Ḥaḍrat Shāh ‘Abd al-’Azīz Dihlawī, taught the *ḥadīth* sciences for long at the *khānqāh*, ultimately passing away in Salon itself.
- Mawlawī ‘Abd al-Qādir Daywī also taught the *ḥadīth* sciences at the *khānqāh*.
- Mawlawī Nūr Muḥammad Siyālkūtī Panjābī, who adhered to the Ahl-i-Ḥadīth tradition, also taught the *ḥadīth* sciences at the *khānqāh*.
- Sayyid Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥaddith Dihlawī, the student of Miyān Nazīr Ḥusayn Dihlawī, also stayed at the *khānqāh* for long.
- Shaykh Ḥusayn bin Muḥammad Anṣārī Yamanī Kharajī stayed for three to four months at the *khānqāh* during the course of which he transmitted aḥādīth to the then descendants of the Qāḍī’s family, while also granting them ijāzah to transmit the same.
- Mawlawī Fārūq ‘Abbāsī Chiryākūtī stayed at the *khānqāh* for a few months but could not stay further due to illness.

Quite clearly, in the intellectually turbulent times of the thirteenth/nineteenth century, the descendants of the Qāḍī at Salon managed to adopt an inclusive approach to the different scholarly strands of the Islamic tradition. This is seen most notably in the accumulation of aḥādīth through the Walīu’llāhī, Ahl-i-Ḥadīth, and Yamanī transmissions. The Qāḍī’s descendants at Salon did not restrict their inclusivity to differences within the Islamic scholarly tradition alone, but sought to include aspects of local culture - which they felt would help make the sacred intelligible to the masses – as their own. The practice of non-canonical ritual and the adoption of the local language, Awadhī, may be seen as the local aspect of the *khānqāh*’s inclusivity. Through successive generations of *sajjādah nashīns* nominated by their predecessors, this tradition continues at Salom to this day. In recent times, the contributions of the eight *sajjādah nashīn*, ‘Allāmah Ḥāfiz Shāh Muḥammad Na’īm ‘Aṭā (d. 1386/1966) and his brother Mawlānā Shāh Ḥakīm ‘Aṭā (d. 1374/1955) are noteworthy. While the former was a polymath - whose scholarly position on the question of *samā’*, the *tafḍīlat* of Ḥaḍrat ‘Alī

(may God be pleased with him), and the jurisprudential nuances of *ṭalāq* reflect a spirit of non-confessional scholarly inquiry - the latter was a famed *muḥaddith* who taught the *ḥadīth* sciences at Nadwat al-'Ulamā' for fifteen years.<sup>67</sup>

A number of works have been attributed to the Qāḍī (see Appendix). A few observations may be made. First, all of the writings of the Qāḍī, regarding which we have information, concern spiritual themes. This despite the Qāḍī, as that title suggests, having been trained and certified in jurisprudence. One must not overemphasise this point though, for there is no contradiction between the juristic and spiritual aspects of the Islamic tradition. Just like the Spirit constitutes the centre of our being, so too does spirituality constitute the heart of Islam. The Qāḍī's giving up of his juridical role to devote himself to a spiritual life is therefore not an unheard phenomenon in Muslim history. The two most well known examples comparable to the Qāḍī's case are those of Imām Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al Ghazzālī (d. 505/1111)<sup>68</sup> and Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273).<sup>69</sup> Like them, the Qāḍī too – after a certain point in life – was compelled to turn inward. Those of his writings that survive today are expressions of that which was unveiled to him whilst on the spiritual path. Second, all of the Qāḍī's writings that survive in some form or the other have been written in the Persian language. While Muslim scholars in South Asia would occasionally write in Arabic,<sup>70</sup> and while they would make use of the vernacular,<sup>71</sup> Persian – as a language in which to write - was more common with them.<sup>72</sup> This until Urdu would replace Persian by the late thirteenth/nineteenth century.<sup>73</sup> Third, while the Qāḍī's writings were in circulation in the past, they are not so today. Those of his works that survive, do so only in manuscript form. The manuscripts of the *Ṭawāli' al-Shumūs* and the *Sharḥ-i-Arba'īn* that survive at Aligarh Muslim University date back to as late as the eleventh/seventeenth century.<sup>74</sup> This indicates that these texts were atleast of some interest at that time. In an earlier period, at least one of the writings of the Qāḍī, namely the *Lawā'ih*, was even taught. This by none other than Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar. He is reported to have taught this text to a certain Shams Dabīr.<sup>75</sup>

That no intellectual lineage of teaching this or other texts written by the Qādī survive today calls for caution while they are being studied. Like all manuscripts there are many ambiguities. At many places we cannot always be certain of what the Qādī actually meant. This requires researchers to refrain from drawing early conclusions. What survives of the Qādī's writings must therefore be read in dialogue with other texts of the Islamic tradition. This will prevent the making of incorrect conclusions from the works of the Qādī. From a certain perspective,<sup>76</sup> the Qādī has nothing new to offer us. He merely restates the timeless truths contained in Revelation. From this point of view, it is an error to study the writings of the Qādī to underscore their unique nature. That uniqueness is on the level of form alone. What is required therefore is that a study of the Qādī's texts be undertaken with the intention to know that which the Qādī himself dedicated his life to knowing. 'Truly we are God's, and unto Him we return.' (Holy Qur'an, 2:156).<sup>77</sup>

#### APPENDIX

Book	Subject	References/ Attribution	Access
<i>Ṭawālī' al-Shumūs</i>	Commentary on the Names of God in two volumes.	Universally attributed to the Qādī.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. MS. 1183, Ivanov's Collection, Salar Jung Library, Hyderabad.<sup>78</sup></li> <li>2. Only the first volume is available at the Central Library of Aligarh Muslim University (A.M.U.).<sup>79</sup></li> </ol>

<i>Lawā'ih</i>	Mystical Love.	Universally attributed to the Qāḍī.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Not extant.</li> <li>2. An extract<sup>80</sup> can be found in Ghulām Mu'in al-Dīn 'Abdu'llāh Khweshgī Qusūrī's <i>Ma'ārif al-Wilāyat</i> to be found at University of Punjab (Pakistan) and in the private collection of K.A. Nizami<sup>81</sup></li> <li>3. Translation of this extract can be found in Bruce Lawrence's article on <i>Lawā'ih</i>.<sup>82</sup> Original of <i>Lawā'ih</i> is not extant.</li> </ol>
<i>Lawāmi'</i>	Mystical Love	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Baranī holds this to be separate from <i>Lawā'ih</i>.<sup>83</sup></li> <li>2. Ruknal-Dīn bin 'Imād Kashānī in <i>Shamā'ilal-Atqiyā</i></li> </ol>	Not extant.

		<p>mentions <i>Lawāmiḥ</i>, not <i>Lawā'ih</i>.<sup>84</sup></p> <p>3. Mumtaz Ali Khan holds both books to be the same with the name of one being the corruption of the other.<sup>85</sup></p> <p>4. Abdur Rashid's "Treatment of History by Muslim Historians in Sufi writings," in C.H. Philips (ed.), <i>Historians of India, Pakistan and Cetlon</i>, follows Baranī.<sup>86</sup></p>	
<i>Sharḥ-i-Arba'īn</i>	Commentary of forty <i>aḥādīth</i> offering esoteric interpretations.	<p>1. Discovered to be a work of the Qādī by Khan.<sup>87</sup></p> <p>2. Lawrence acknowledges its presence.<sup>88</sup></p>	MS. can be accessed at Central Library, A.M.U. <sup>89</sup>

<i>Risālah-i-Ishqiyyah</i>	Mystical Love.	1. Attributed by Qusūrī to Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn Suwālī. 2. Lawrence attributes it to Qāḍī Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāgawrī. <sup>90</sup> 3. Khan does not mention this work in his article.	Multiple MS. Copies in numerous libraries. <sup>91</sup>
<i>Maqāshid</i>	Not known.	Mumtaz Ali Khan attributes this to the Qāḍī. <sup>92</sup>	Not extant.

## Notes and References

<sup>1</sup> K.A. Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the 13<sup>th</sup> Century* (Aligarh: Aligarh Muslim University, 1961).

<sup>2</sup> S.A.A. Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India (Volume One)* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1978).

<sup>3</sup> Bruce Lawrence, *Notes from a Distant Flute: The Extant Literature of Pre-Mughal Indian Sufism* (Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1978).

<sup>4</sup> Hasan Ali Khan, *Constructing Islam on the Indus: The Material History of the Suhrawardy Sufi Order, 1200-1500 AD* (Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

<sup>5</sup> Khāwar Suhrawardī, *Yādgār-i-Suhrawardiyyah: Mujaddid silsilah 'āliyah Suhrawardiyyah wa Gawth-i-Zamān, Qalandar Rasūl Numah, Haḍrat Sayyid Abu al-Fayḍ Qalandar Suhrawardī key silsilah-i-tariqat key mashā'ikh Suhrawardiyyah kā bil khuṣūṣ aur dīgar mashāhīr-i-awliyā'-i-Suhrawardiyyah ka bil 'umūmi jmālī tadhkirah* (Lahore: M/S Nazir Sons Publishers, 1999).

- <sup>6</sup> Muḥammad Ayyūb Qādrī, *Makhdūm-i-Jahāniyān Jahāngasht: Mufaṣṣal Ḥālātwa Sawāniḥ Ḥaḍrat Jalāl-Dīn Makhdūm-i-Jahāniyān Jahāngasht* (Karachi: H.M. Sa'īd Company, 1963).
- <sup>7</sup> Mumtaz Ali Khan, "Sheikh/Qāḍi Hamīdu'd-Dīn of Nagaur," *Islamic Culture* LII, No. 4 (January, 1978), pp. 76-87.
- <sup>8</sup> Bruce Lawrence, "The Lawa'ih of Qazi Hamid ud-Din Nagauri." *Indo-Iranica* XXVIII, No. 1-4, pp. 34-54.
- <sup>9</sup> Saiyid Zaheer Husain Jafri, "Khanqah and the Dissemination of Knowledge: Khanqah-e-Karimia Salon and the Khanwadah of Hazrat Shah Muḥammad Na'im 'Aṭā," in *Al-Ghars al-Wahdī fi-Rasā'il al-Shaikh Na'im bin al-Mahdī*, by 'Allāma Hafiz Shah Muḥammad Na'im 'Aṭā, eds. Syed Shah Ahmad Husain Jafri NaimiIslahi, Prof. Mohammad Nauman Khan, Prof. Saiyid Zaheer Husain Jafri (Salon: Khanqah-e-Karimia, 2016), pp. xii-xiii.
- <sup>10</sup> "Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Sām," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Muizz-al-Din-Muhammad-ibn-Sam>; for finding the Hijrī equivalent to the Common Era dates or vice-versa here and elsewhere, we use "Islamic Hijri Calendar for 1400 Years," Habīb's Site. <https://habibur.com/hijri>
- <sup>11</sup> Mumtaz Ali Khan, "Shaikh/Qāḍi Hamīdu'd-Dīn of Nagaur," *Islamic Culture*, Vol. LII, No. 4 (1978), p. 71 (fn. 1).
- <sup>12</sup> Shaykh Ḥamīd bin Faḍlu'llāh Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Ārifīn* (Delhi: Maṭba'-i-Riḍawī, 1891), p. 148.
- <sup>13</sup> Jafri, "Khanqah and the Dissemination of Knowledge." p. xii.
- <sup>14</sup> Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, p. 148.
- <sup>15</sup> Shaykh Muḥammad Gawthī Shaṭṭārī Mānduwī, 'Awliyā' Allāh quddasat'asrārḡhum kay Muqaddas Ḥālātka Tadhkirahya'nī Gulzār-i-Abrārka Urdū Tarjumah mawsūmbih Adhkār-i-Abrār, trans. from the Persian into Urdu by Faḍl Aḡmad Jīwarī (Lahore: Dāral-Nafā'is, 1427/2006), pp. 47-48.
- <sup>16</sup> Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, p. 148; Shaykh 'Abdal-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī, *Urdū Akhbār-al-Akhyār*, trans. from Persian into Urdu by Mawlānā Subḡān Maḡmūd Šāḡib and Mawlānā Muḥammad Faḍīl (Delhi: Adabī Duniyā, 1414/1993), pp. 85-88.
- <sup>17</sup> Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, p.148; Shaṭṭārī Manduwī, *Gulzār-i-Abrār mawsūmbih Adhkār-i-Abrār*, pp. 47-48.
- <sup>18</sup> Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, p. 148; Sayyid Šabāḡ al-Dīn 'Abdal-Raḡmān, *Bazm-i-Šūfiyā'* ('Azamgarh: Maṭba' Ma'ārif, 1949), p. 84. <https://www.scribd.com/document/178835071/Bazm-e-Soofiya-Syed-Sabahuddin-Abdur-Rehman>
- <sup>19</sup> Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, p. 148.
- <sup>20</sup> Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*, p. 367.

- <sup>21</sup> ‘Abdal-Raḥmān, *Baẓm-i-Şūfiyā*’, pp. 84-85; Sayyid Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, *Siyar al-Awliyā*’, trans. from the Persian into Urdu by Ghulām Aḥmad Biryān (Lahore: Mushtāq Book Corner, not-dated), pp. 110-111.
- <sup>22</sup> ‘Abdal-Raḥmān, *Baẓm-i-Şūfiyā*’, p. 85.
- <sup>23</sup> Ibid, p. 85.
- <sup>24</sup> Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*, p. 358.
- <sup>25</sup> Kirmānī, *Siyar al-Awliyā*’, pp. 136-138.
- <sup>26</sup> Jamālī, *Siyar al-’Ārifīn* (Delhi: Maṭba’-i-Riḍawī, 1891), p. 149.
- <sup>27</sup> Kirmānī, *Siyar al-Awliyā*’, p. 689; Dihlawī, *Urdū Akhbār al-Akhyār*, p. 87.
- <sup>28</sup> Kirmānī, *Siyar al-Awliyā*’, pp. 664-665.
- <sup>29</sup> Ibid, pp. 667-668, 678.
- <sup>30</sup> Jamālī, *Siyar al-’Ārifīn*, p. 150; Kirmānī, *Siyar al-Awliyā*’, p. 690; Dihlawī, *Urdū Akhbār al-Akhyār*, p. 85; Sijzī, *Fawā’id al-Fu’ād*, p. 409.
- <sup>31</sup> Sijzī, *Fawā’id al-Fu’ād*, p. 408; Jamālī, *Siyar al-’Ārifīn*, p. 150; Kirmānī, *Siyar al-Awliyā*’, p. 689; Dihlawī, *Urdū Akhbār al-Akhyār*, p. 87.
- <sup>32</sup> Jamālī, *Siyar al-’Ārifīn*, pp. 149-150; Sijzī, *Fawā’id al-Fu’ād*, pp. 407-408 (Majlis 5:16).
- <sup>33</sup> Jamālī, *Siyar al-’Ārifīn*, pp. 154-155.
- <sup>34</sup> Khan, “Shakh/Qaḍī Ḥamīdu’d-Dīn of Nagaur,” pp. 72-73; Jamālī, *Siyar al-’Ārifīn*, p. 155; Dihlawī, *Urdū Akhbār al-Akhyār*, trans. Maḥmūd and Faḍīl, p. 87; Shaṭṭārī Manduwī, *Gulzār-i Abrār mawsūbih Adhkār-i-Abrār*, p. 48.
- <sup>35</sup> “Islamic Hijri Calender for 1400 Years,” Habib’s Site. <https://habibur.com/hijri/641/9/>
- <sup>36</sup> Jamālī, *Siyar al-’Ārifīn*, p. 155.
- <sup>37</sup> Khan, “Shaikh/Qaḍī Ḥamīdu’d-Dīn of Nagaur,” p. 73; Kirmānī, *Siyar al-Awliyā*’, pp. 115-116; Dihlawī, *Urdū Akhbār al-Akhyār*, pp. 85-87.
- <sup>38</sup> Jamālī, *Siyar al-’Ārifīn*, p. 155; Kirmānī, *Siyar al-Awliyā*’, pp. 115-116.
- <sup>39</sup> Jamālī, *Siyar al-’Ārifīn*, p. 150.
- <sup>40</sup> Sijzī, *Fawā’id al-Fu’ād*, pp. 55 (Majlis1:30), 90, 141, 220, 274, and 409; Jamālī, *Siyar al-’Ārifīn*, p. 150.
- <sup>41</sup> Sijzī, *Fawā’id al-Fu’ād*, pp. 55 and 288; Jamālī, *Siyar al-’Ārifīn*, pp. 151-153; Dihlawī, *Urdū Akhbār al-Akhyār*, pp. 115-116.
- <sup>42</sup> Sijzī, *Fawā’id al-Fu’ād*, pp. 90, 317.
- <sup>43</sup> Dihlawī, *Urdū Akhbār al-Akhyār*, pp. 107-108.
- <sup>44</sup> Mukarram Ahmad Wahid, “On Jamali Kamali,” M.A. Term Paper, University of Delhi, unpublished, 2018.

- <sup>45</sup> Shaykh Ḥamīd bin Faḍlu' Llāh Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, trans. from Persian into Urdu by Muḥammad Ayyūb Qadrī (Lahore: Markazī Urdū Board, 1976), p. 215; Dihlawī, *Urdū Akhbār al-Akhyār*, pp. 107-108.
- <sup>46</sup> Dihlawī, *Urdū Akhbār al-Akhyār*, p. 108.
- <sup>47</sup> Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, trans. Qadrī, pp. 215-216.
- <sup>48</sup> Dihlawī, *Urdū Akhbār al-Akhyār*, p. 108.
- <sup>49</sup> Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, trans. Qadrī, p. 216.
- <sup>50</sup> Dihlawī, *Urdū Akhbār al-Akhyār*, trans. Maḥmūd and Fāḍil, p. 110.
- <sup>51</sup> Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, trans. Qadrī, p. 218-219; Dihlawī, *Urdū Akhbār al-Akhyār*, pp. 111-112.
- <sup>52</sup> Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, trans. Qadrī, p. 219 (fn. 3 and 4); Dihlawī, *Urdū Akhbār al-Akhyār*, p. 112.
- <sup>53</sup> Dihlawī, *Urdū Akhbār al-Akhyār*, pp. 115-116.
- <sup>54</sup> Ibid, p. 108.
- <sup>55</sup> Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād*, pp. 316-317.
- <sup>56</sup> Jafri, "Khanqah and the Dessimination of Knowledge." pp. xiv-xv.
- <sup>57</sup> Shaykh 'Abdal-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī, *Urdū Akhbār al-Akhyār*, trans. from the Persian into Urdu by Mawlānā Subḥān Maḥmūd Šāḥib and Mawlānā Muḥammad Fāḍil (Lahore: Akbar Book Sellers, 2004), pp. 380-381.
- <sup>58</sup> Ibid, p. 356.
- <sup>59</sup> Ibid, pp. 314-315.
- <sup>60</sup> Ibid, pp. 406-407.
- <sup>61</sup> Ibid, pp. 411-412.
- <sup>62</sup> Ibid, p. 468.
- <sup>63</sup> Jafri, "Khanqah and the Dissemination of Knowledge." p. xiv (fn. 3)
- <sup>64</sup> Dihlawī, *Urdū Akhbār al-Akhyār*, pp. 410-411.
- <sup>65</sup> Jafri, "Khanqah and the Dissemination of Knowledge." p. xv.
- <sup>66</sup> Dihlawī, *Urdū Akhbār al-Akhyār*, p. 411.
- <sup>67</sup> Jafri, "Khanqah and the Dissemination of Knowledge." pp. xv-xxxii.
- <sup>68</sup> See "al-Ghazālī," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/al-Ghazali>
- <sup>69</sup> See "Rūmī," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Rumi>
- <sup>70</sup> Annemarie Schimmel, "Islamic Literatures of India," in *A History of Indian Literature (Volume VII: Modern Indo-Iranian Literature, Part 1)*, edited by Jan Gonda (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1973). pp. 1-60.

- <sup>71</sup> Mukarram Ahmad Wahid, "Sources for the Mughal Empire – Literature in the Vernacular," B.A. Assignment, St. Stephen's College, University of Delhi, unpublished, 24 Nov, 2015; Allison Busch, "Hidden in Plain View: Brajbhasha Poets at the Mughal Court," *Modern Asian Studies* Vol. 44, No. 2 (2010), pp. 267-309.
- <sup>72</sup> Muzaffar Alam, "The Pursuit of Persian Language in Mughal Politics." *Modern Asian Studies* Vol. 32, No. 2 (1998), pp. 317-349.
- <sup>73</sup> David Lelyveld, "Sir Sayyid, Maulana Azad and the uses of Urdu," *NMML Occasional Paper: History and Society (New Series)* 35, (2015), p. 4.
- <sup>74</sup> While the MS, of the *Tawāli' al-Shumūs* dates to 1016/1608, that of the *Sharḥ-i-Arba'īn* dates to 1064/1653. See M.H. Razvi and M.H. Qaiser Amrohvi (comp.), *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, V. 1, Habibganj Collection (Persian), Part II, Islamic Sciences, History, Biography etc.* (Aligarh: Maulana Azad Library, 19885), pp. 14, 83-84. Khan, "Shaikh/Qaḍi Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn of Nagaur," pp. 81-82.
- <sup>75</sup> Bruce Lawrence, "The Lawa'ih of Qazi Hamid ud-Din Nagauri," *Indo Iranica* XXVIII, No. 1-4 (1975), p. 38.
- <sup>76</sup> In introducing one of his own books, the fourteenth/twentieth century writer, Frithjof Schuon would comment thus: '...in fact everything has been said already, though it is far from being the case that everyone has always understood it. There can therefore be no question of presenting "new truths"; what is needed in our time, and indeed in every age remote from the origins of Revelation is to provide some people with keys fashioned afresh – keys no better than the old ones but merely more elaborated – in order to help them rediscover the truths written in an eternal script in the very substance of man's spirit.' See Frithjof Schuon, *Understanding Islam* (Bloomington: World Wisdom, 1998), p. viii.
- <sup>77</sup> See Seyyed Hossein Nasr, Caner K. Dagli, Maria Massi Dakake, Joseph E.B. Lumbard, and Mohammad Rustom, eds., *The Study Qur'an: A New Translation and Commentary* (New York: Harper One, 2015), p. 68.
- <sup>78</sup> Bruce Lawrence, *Notes from a Distant Flute*, p. 111.
- <sup>79</sup> Mumtaz Ali Khan, "Sheikh," *Islamic Culture* LII, No. 1 (January 1978), p. 76.
- <sup>80</sup> Bruce Lawrence, "The Lawa'ih of Qazi Hamid ud-Din Nagauri," p. 38.
- <sup>81</sup> Lawrence, *Notes from a Distant Flute*, p. 109.
- <sup>82</sup> Lawrence, "The Lawa'ih", pp. 38-42.
- <sup>83</sup> Ibid, p. 35 (fn. 3)
- <sup>84</sup> Khan, "Sheikh/Qaḍi Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn of Nagaur," p.74.
- <sup>85</sup> Ibid, p. 74
- <sup>86</sup> Lawrence, "The Lawa'ih," p. 35 (fn. 3).
- <sup>87</sup> Khan, "Sheikh/Qaḍi Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn of Nagaur," p. 82.
- <sup>88</sup> Lawrence, *Notes from a Distant Flute*, p. 60.
- <sup>89</sup> Khan, "Sheikh/Qaḍi Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn of Nagaur," p. 74.

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<sup>90</sup> Lawrence, “The Lawa’ih”, p. 42 (fn. 1)

<sup>91</sup> Ibid, p. 42 (fn. 1)

<sup>92</sup> Khan, “Sheikh/Qaḍi Ḥamīdu’-d-Dīn of Nagaur,” p. 73.