

# The 'ALAMDĀR

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## Editor-in-Chief

Prof. Aadil Amin Kak

## Editors

Dr. Muhammad Mutahhar Amin

Dr. Ifshana Qayoom



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Dr. Ifshana Qayoom

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### *About the Journal*

*The 'Alamdār* is a peer-reviewed/refereed, multidisciplinary and multilingual journal listed in the UGC-CARE list. The journal is dedicated to the scholarly exploration of the spiritual, social, linguistic and cultural epistemology, especially that of Kashmir. Over the last decade and a half, the journal has provided a forum for a scholarly exploration of Kashmiri society and culture focusing in particular on the literary and spiritual traditions of the region, especially those associated with Shaikh al-'Ālam and *Rishiism*. The journal also encourages research articles on various aspects of Kashmir's connected histories that place Kashmir within a wider network of interaction and exchange that operated along circuits towards the North and the South.

Recently, the journal has assumed a multidisciplinary orientation, opening up to young scholars and researchers from different fields of social and humanities, encouraging a multidimensional and multifaceted investigation of social and cultural aspects affecting human existence. It has also been included in the prestigious UGC-CARE list, which is an acknowledgement of its academic and contemporary relevance.

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## Editorial

The Shaikh ul Aalam Centre for Multidisciplinary Studies, University of Kashmir is pleased to present the XIX volume of its annual journal, *The 'Alamdār*, for the year 2024. The journal is UGC-CARE listed, multilingual and multidisciplinary in its nature, publishing papers in English, Urdu and Kashmiri. These papers, after a stringent editorial review, underwent a double-blind peer review, to maintain the standard and quality of the journal.

Since its inception in 2008, the journal has provided a platform to scholars across disciplines and streams to think and publish ideas on spiritual values, societal concepts, cultural practices, linguistic ideas, etc. Thus, the journal, titled after the honorific accorded to the great Sufi saint of Kashmir, Shaikh ul-Aalam Shaikh Noor ud-Din <sup>(Rah.A)</sup>, provides a meeting ground of different ideas and ideologies, promoting an atmosphere of intellectual tolerance. Consequently, the journal aims to encourage a broad understanding of issues confronting the society, and to generate ideas that would help the society to realize the important values of societal brotherhood and interfaith harmony.

This edition is special because it is the first after the journal was included in the prestigious UGC-CARE list. This is a significant milestone in the history of the journal as it represents the contemporary relevance of the journal as well as an acknowledgement of the standards and practices employed by the journal. This edition is also special because it contains papers from scholars belonging to different institutions of the country and abroad. In this respect, this journal breaks new ground.

The journal is categorized into three (3) sections, based on the languages of publication. The English section of the journal contains nine (9) papers. The paper of Rajeev Kumar, *Secular Spirituality and Communal Harmony: Bhakti and Sufi Traditions in Bihar and Kashmir*, is an interesting comparative analysis of the mystical traditions present in Bihar and Kashmir. The paper tries to bring forth that mystical traditions across different spaces promote mutual tolerance and brotherhood. A joint paper

titled *Scriptural Manipulations: Analysing Misrepresentation of Religious Texts* by Bazila Ehsan and Sheenam is a literary analysis of William Wells Brown's famous novel *Clotel: The President's Daughter*. This paper explores the nuanced interplay of religion and slavery through the misrepresentation of religious texts. Through such analysis the paper tries to bring forth the ideological machinations of society behind such misinterpretations and how these can lead to exploitation. Konchok Tashi's paper, *Religious Harmony in the Union Territory of Ladakh: A Buddhist Perspective* sheds light on the Buddhist perspective of religious harmony in the Union Territory of Ladakh. The paper also provides examples of the translation of Quran into the Ladakhi script. The paper of Mohammad Irfan Shah titled, *Genesis of the Suhrawardiyyah Sufi Order in Medieval Bengal: Reflections on the Contribution of Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrizī*, engages with the rich history of the Suhrawardiyya order, especially the life of Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrizī, in medieval Bengal. The paper especially focuses on the promotion of communal and social harmony by the saint and his disciples.

In the fifth paper of this section, *Relatedness, Equality and Community: The Principles of Nund Rishi and the Rishi Order*, Rutba Peerzada captures the immense social relevance of the Rishi Sufi order of Kashmir. Using examples of historical events and poetry of Shaikh ul Aalam<sup>(Rsh.A)</sup>, she brings forth the myriad aspect and contemporary relevance of the order. Aparna Jha, in her paper, *Weaving Buddhist Philosophy into Fantasy: The Spiritual Architecture of Robert Jordan's Wheel of Time*, bring forth the Buddhist influence on the fantasy world created by the American author Robert Jordan. Tooba Towfiq and Irtiza Farooq, through their joint paper titled *Sufi Women and Conflicting Histories: A Biographical Study of Behat Bibi and Dehat Bibi*, portray the inconsistencies within the historical literature on the life of these two famous women mystics of Kashmir. Through an indepth study of primary sources, these authors bring forth numerous gaps and inconsistencies within the historical narrative of Kashmir, raising interesting points and questions.

The eight paper of the section, Amir Habib's paper, *Interfaith Dialogue and Ethics of Self-Discipline in Indic Religions*, recognizes the shared moral frameworks within Indic traditions but also emphasizes the disconnect between ethical teachings and social practices, underscoring the need for a more profound engagement with these values to address the challenges of sustainable growth. Lastly, the paper titled *Portraying the Transformation of Self in Sufi Poetry of Wahab Khar*, written by Asif Gulzar Bhat, is an interesting exploration of the notion and projection of self in the poetry of Wahab Khar, a famous Kashmir Sufi poet.

The Kashmiri section has seven (7) papers. The paper of Shafqat Altaf titled *Kuliyat Shaikh-ul Aalam: Baihaqi te Naji* is a critical analysis of the collection of Shaikh-ul Aalam's poetry compiled by Naji Munawar which is a primary source of Shaikh's poetry by Mir Abdullah Baihaqi. Imtiyaz Alam's paper titled *Maqbool Amritsari Senz Suftiyana Lai* brings forth the Sufi thought present in the poetry of Maqbool Amritsari, a famous Kashmiri poet. Shamim Ahmed's paper *Shaikh Shiruk: Iktishafi Tanqeed kis Aens Manz* is a critical analysis of the poetry of Shaikh ul Aalam. Jaweed Ahmad Najar's paper *Mahauliyati Tanqeed te Shaikh Shiruk* provides an eco-critical perspective of Shaikh ul Aalam's poetry.

The fifth paper in this section, *Intaan Sund Tassawur te Kalaam-e-Shaikh ul Aalam* by Sajad Amin reflects upon the concept of human in the poetry of Shaikh ul Aalam. In his paper, *Mojooda Doras Manz Shaikh ul Aalam Syende Kalaamich Laghaeri*, Tanveer Ahmad Reshi argues that the poetry of Shaikh ul Aalam has immense contemporary significance. Lastly, the paper titled *Mansoor Hallaj Te Nara-e-Anal Haq* by Nasir Ahmad Kumar is an interesting exposition of the life and thought of the famous Sufi mystic, Mansoor Hallaj.

The Urdu section consists of two (2) papers. The paper titled *Bengali Zabaan-o-Adab Par Farsi ke Atraaf*, by Mahmood Alam brings forth the influence of Persian language which is considered as the primary language for Sufi literature on the development of Bengali language and its literature. Finally, the paper of Umar Khalique title *Ahad-e-Sasacmi ke Mukhtalif Mazahib aur unki Soorat-e-Haal* is an exposition of different

religious traditions present during the Sassanid Empire and their contemporary relevance.

Thus, this edition remains true to the aims and goals of the journal, while breaking new ground by providing space to a diverse mix of ideas. It is expected that these explorations and their arguments will help young scholars, researchers, academicians and common people to further their interest in topics mentioned in these papers, especially that of harmony, brotherhood, peace and Sufism. I sincerely hope that this journal evokes an honest intellectual engagement with the ideas propounded by different authors, leading us, collectively, to a better understanding of our spiritual, social and cultural milieu.

**Prof. Aadil Amin Kak**

Editor-in-Chief

*The 'Alamdār*

Shaikh-ul Aalam Centre for Multidisciplinary Studies

University of Kashmir, Srinagar-190006

## **Secular Spirituality and Communal Harmony: Bhakti and Sufi Traditions in Bihar and Kashmir**

Rajeev Kumar\*

*This paper explores how the Bhakti and Sufi mysticism movements have historically cultivated secular spirituality, providing a shared spiritual framework that transcended or expanded religious boundaries to foster communal harmony and continues to do so between Hindus and Muslims in contemporary South Asia. By emphasizing personal devotion, ethical behaviour, and social inclusivity, these traditions challenged religious orthodoxy and social hierarchies. Through a detailed examination of their historical contexts and contemporary fieldwork in Bihar and Kashmir, this study demonstrates how the teachings and practices of Bhakti and Sufi mystics remain essential for promoting interfaith dialogue and communal harmony. By situating these traditions within broader academic debates on secular spirituality, the paper underscores their ongoing relevance in addressing modern challenges of religious polarization and social cohesion.*

### **Keywords:**

Bhakti-Sufi, Communal Harmony, Interfaith Dialogue, Longing-Belonging Paradigm, Secular Spirituality, South Asia

### **Introduction**

In April 2023, I returned to India after five years during the overlapping celebrations of Ramanavami and Ramadan. My visit coincided with heightened communal tensions following the abrogation of Article 370 and the rise of the Hindutva-driven BJP government. Media reports and viral videos depicted aggressive religious displays, particularly during Ramanavami *juloos* (public parades)<sup>1</sup> in my hometown of Jaynagar, Bihar. From Turkey, I observed these events and the discussions on social media and YouTube, which fueled concerns about the growing polarization between Hindus and Muslims. However, upon my arrival, I encountered a different reality: conversations with community members revealed that despite the provocative displays, there was no violence, and life continued peacefully. After living there for a few days, I realized that such *juloos*

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\* Alliance of Civilizations Institute, Ibn Haldun University, Istanbul, Turkey.



(processions) are normal. Both Hindus and Muslims celebrate and display their special occasions peacefully. In 2024, I witnessed a very similar *juloos* during Milad-un-Nabi (the birthday of the prophet Muhammad) in the city, which demonstrates that Hindus and Muslims coexist harmoniously in their everyday interactions.

One of my significant observations was the presence of Kabirpanthis in the region. During my survey, I found that a large number of people identified as Kabirpanthis—some as distinct communities with a long tradition of following Kabir, others as Hindus transitioning to or practising Kabir's teachings, and a few from Muslim backgrounds who, while not Kabirpanthis, still respected Kabir's legacy<sup>2</sup>.

During my 2024 fieldwork in Sukhi village, I met a Kabirpanthi guru, Sant<sup>3</sup> Dhayanand Dhyani, who used both Islamic and Hindu terminology, welcoming both communities into the Kabir tradition. Many of his disciples, such as Ramajatan Das, Ramdev Shah, Lakshami Dasin, and Baiju Das, from different villages, employed the same inclusive language, using terms like "Allah," "Khuda," and "Ram." This reminded me of Bruce Lawrence's *Islamicate Cosmopolitan Spirit* (2021), particularly the "longing-belonging" paradigm, which suggests that these communities long to belong to a larger, inclusive community and thus remain open to interaction and accommodation.

I realized that if this openness continues, there is hope for communal harmony and peace. This experience sharply contrasted with the media's portrayal, prompting deeper reflection on the forces that sustain peaceful coexistence in regions like Bihar.

Similarly, during my stay in Kashmir in June 2023, I witnessed the profound cultural and religious diversity that continues to define the region. I interacted with local artists, including Abdul Qayoom Shah, a painter who depicted various religious and cultural themes—such as Narada, Kṛṣṇa, Ganesha, Karbala, birds, and the landscapes of Kashmir<sup>4</sup>—stating, "I depict and admire the beauty of Allah through colours and my imagination."<sup>5</sup> I also explored the spiritual figures Lal Ded and Shaikh Nooruddin, both of whom are revered by Hindus and Muslims alike in the valley. The Makhdoom Sahib Shrine was another site where I observed a diverse array of visitors, including Hindus from different parts of India<sup>6</sup>. Abdul Qayoom Shah also introduced me to Bulbul Shah and Lal Ded, whose teachings he and his family regularly listen to.



Abdul Qayoom Shah, perceiving me as Hindu due to my name, treated me as such, taking me to the Hari Parbat and Shankaracharya Temple, as well as other shrines like Makhdoom Sahib, Hazrat Bal, and a Gurudwara. In those moments, I felt that he embodied more of a Hindu spirit, while I felt a deeper Muslim connection, highlighting the fluidity and interconnectedness of religious identities. This further illustrated how the Bhakti and Sufi legacies continue to inspire unity and shared values that transcend religious boundaries.

These experiences, which challenge the narrative of religious polarization often promoted in contemporary India, led me to explore the enduring influence of Bhakti and Sufi traditions and document what I observed on the ground—the relationships people establish with each other and the forces that guide their pursuit of social and communal harmony. This paper argues that these traditions, deeply rooted in the cultural fabric of regions like Bihar and Kashmir, offer a model of secular spirituality developed by the Sufi and Bhakti saints, historically known as the Sufi-Bhakti movement, which continues to promote peaceful coexistence between Hindus and Muslims. By examining both historical contexts and contemporary fieldwork, I demonstrate how the teachings of Bhakti and Sufi saints provide valuable insights into interfaith dialogue and communal harmony in modern South Asia.

The paper is structured into four sections: a historical overview of Bhakti and Sufi traditions, an exploration of Hindu-Muslim relations, an analysis of secular spirituality through the longing-belonging paradigm, and a discussion on how these traditions continue to shape social dynamics today, based on fieldwork experiences in Bihar and Kashmir.

### **Historical Foundations: The Bhakti and Sufi Traditions**

The second millennium in South Asia was a period of profound transformation, described by Sheldon Pollock as the "vernacular millennium"<sup>7</sup> and by Purushottam Agrawal as *desaj adhunika* (vernacular modernity)<sup>8</sup>. Agrawal argues that the Bhakti movement in medieval India developed a public sphere that significantly contributed to this vernacular modernity<sup>9</sup>. During this era, diverse cultural and religious traditions intersected, evolving into new forms of knowledge, culture, and linguistic expression, leading to the emergence of a new worldview that emphasized openness and inclusivity<sup>10</sup>.

As the Bhakti movement, which originated in southern India, began to spread, it was led by sants such as the Shaivite Nayanars and Vaishnavite Alvars, many of whom were wandering minstrels who sought to communicate orally with the lowest strata of society<sup>11</sup>. However, the Bhakti movement of the second millennium AD<sup>12</sup>, in my observation and based on Agrawal's argument, was different. Rather than addressing or engaging with just one type of community, it was open to all. Purushottam Agrawal describes it as a kind of public sphere that transcended social divisions<sup>13</sup>. By the 12th century, Bhakti figures interacted with Sufism, which arrived in India through figures like Shaikh Ali Hujwiri and Shaikh Safiuddin Gazruri in the 11th century<sup>14</sup>. Prominent Sufi mystics such as Mu'in al-Din Chishti, Shaikh Qutub al-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki, and Nizamuddin Auliya further shaped this spiritual landscape. Despite their different origins—Bhakti being rooted in Hindu spiritual traditions and Sufism in Islamic mysticism—these movements developed a shared cultural and spiritual framework, creating a new, interconnected worldview.

This interaction between Bhakti and Sufi traditions aligns with Bruce B. Lawrence's *longing-belonging* paradigm, extensively discussed in his book *Islamicate Cosmopolitan Spirit*. Lawrence suggests that the cosmopolitan ethos, rooted in an interactive civilizational framework, hinges on the dynamic between "longing" (a desire to connect with the larger world) and "belonging" (being rooted in a specific place or community)<sup>15</sup>. The Bhakti and Sufi movements exemplify this tension and creativity, as they built bridges between different communities and facilitated an openness to other cultural and spiritual expressions. In medieval India, this dynamic was particularly evident as both traditions sought to integrate followers from diverse backgrounds into a larger, inclusive spiritual community.

The rise of cosmopolitan cities like Delhi and Banaras further supported this integration. As these cities became centres of commerce and urbanization, they also became hubs for cultural and spiritual exchange. Purushottam Agrawal highlights those cosmopolitan Indian cities that brought Hindus, Muslims, and people of other faiths together, fostering mutually beneficial relationships. These cities were not just places where goods were traded; they also facilitated the exchange of ideas and spiritual practices, promoting a sense of belonging to a larger community<sup>16</sup>. Artisans and merchants, who formed the backbone of these cities, gained social and cultural influence. Many prominent Bhakti poets, such as Kabir

and Namdev, emerged from this artisan class, while figures like Guru Nanak came from merchant families. These poets used their social positions to challenge caste hierarchies and promote spiritual values that transcended religious divisions. As Armando Salvatore explains in his article, "Sufi Articulations of Civility, Globality, and Sovereignty," these poets and spiritual leaders also advanced the concept of *adab* (civility), integrating transregional networks of exchange and multiplying hubs of teaching, discussion, and communal growth<sup>17</sup>. Sufis, in particular, were at the forefront of this expansion, playing a central role in developing and maintaining these networks<sup>18</sup>.

The interaction between Bhakti and Sufi traditions within these urban centres aligns with Marshall Hodgson's concept of the *Islamicate*. Hodgson, in *The Venture of Islam*, described the *Islamicate* as a cultural phenomenon that extends beyond the religious doctrine of Islam, influencing a vast social and cultural sphere. In medieval India, the blending of Bhakti and Sufi practices within cosmopolitan cities like Delhi and Banaras exemplified this *Islamicate* dynamic. These cities facilitated not only economic and social exchanges but also spiritual ones, where Muslims and Hindus engaged with each other's traditions, forming a shared cultural and spiritual environment. This environment was characterized by what Lawrence describes as "Islamic creativity in the public domain"<sup>19</sup>, where religious and cultural differences were navigated in a manner that promoted unity and collective growth.

The concepts of *sagun* (God with form or three *gunas*/qualities)<sup>20</sup> and *nirgun* (without form)<sup>21</sup>, central to Bhakti traditions, played a significant role in this cosmopolitan synthesis. The interplay between these two concepts reflects the tension Lawrence discusses between the verticality of "the cosmos" and the horizontal rootedness of "the polis." In medieval India, the *sagun* and *nirgun* approaches provided pathways for both Hindus and Muslims to engage with each other's spiritual practices. As artisans, poets, and merchants from diverse backgrounds gathered in cities like Banaras, the *Sagun* tradition (focused on tangible forms like idols and spiritual guides) and the *Nirgun* tradition (emphasizing a formless connection with the divine) were not only spiritual but also intertwined with the economic and urban growth of these centres. This integration of spirituality with trade, commerce, and urbanization fostered a shared spiritual framework that promoted communal harmony and social cohesion.

For instance, during my recent fieldwork in Bihar, I encountered Sant Dhyananand Dhyani, a Kabirpanthi guru in Sukkhi Village of Madhubani, who welcomed followers from different faith backgrounds using both Islamic and Hindu terminology. His approach demonstrated how Bhakti and Sufi traditions, despite their distinct origins, contributed to building a shared spiritual community that resonated with Lawrence's *longing-belonging* paradigm. The willingness of these traditions to engage with one another and integrate followers of diverse faiths highlighted the cosmopolitan and inclusive nature of this spiritual synthesis.

To sum up, the Bhakti and Sufi traditions in medieval India laid the foundation for a new worldview characterized by openness, interaction, and inclusivity. The rise of urban centres like Delhi and Banaras, along with the integration of economic, cultural, and spiritual practices, created a shared space where different communities could engage and belong. This dynamic reflects the core principles of the *Islamicate* and the *longing-belonging* paradigm, demonstrating how the spiritual and social foundations established in this period continue to influence South Asia's cultural and communal landscape.

### **Hindu-Muslim Relations: Intersections and Dynamics**

The significance of secular spirituality in South Asia is deeply intertwined with the complex and longstanding issue of Hindu-Muslim relations. This topic remains not only regionally relevant but also globally significant, as the dynamics between these communities have been the subject of extensive debate over centuries. Sher Ali Tareen, in his recent work *Perilous Intimacies: Debating Hindu-Muslim Friendship After Empire*, provides a detailed account of the challenges and possibilities inherent in Hindu-Muslim relations. Tareen argues that the issue of friendship gained particular importance during the colonial period when Muslim sovereignty was undermined by British rule. He suggests that while connections and tensions between Hindus and Muslims existed historically, they were further exacerbated by colonial policies. Tareen highlights three major themes in the study of South Asian religions: communalism in colonial India, the violence and consequences of Partition, and the challenges faced by religious minorities in postcolonial India and Pakistan<sup>22</sup>.

Tareen introduces the concept of a "continuity/rupture problem space," questioning whether British colonialism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries represented a significant rupture or merely a continuation of pre-

existing religious and political dynamics<sup>23</sup>. His exploration of "friendship" draws from philosophical perspectives, such as those of Aristotle and Derrida, to explain how the concept is often accompanied by the potential for enmity. During the colonial era, the loss of Muslim sovereignty made the debate on friendship between Hindus and Muslims even more pronounced. Tareen contrasts the perspectives of traditional ulema like Ahmad Raza Khan, who viewed such friendships as perilous, with those of modern scholars like Abul Kalam Azad, who saw them as opportunities for promise and unity<sup>24</sup>.

In *Beyond Turk and Hindu*, Bruce B. Lawrence and David Gilmartin reexamine the formation of religious identities in South Asia, challenging the rigid categories often imposed by colonial influence. They argue that the labels "Hindu" and "Muslim" were, to a large extent, constructed and reinforced through British translations and categorizations, rather than reflecting inherent divisions in South Asian society<sup>25</sup>. As an example, they cite Ajmer Sharif, a site where the number of Hindu visitors to Moinuddin Chishti's shrine surpasses that of Muslims, demonstrating a fluid and interconnected religious culture. Lawrence and Gilmartin emphasize the need for a nuanced understanding of South Asian diversity, moving beyond restrictive labels and recognizing broader cultural norms such as the "Islamicate" and the "Indic"<sup>26</sup>. Their analysis aims to understand identity formation in pre-colonial South Asia by acknowledging the interplay between Islamicate and Indic worldviews, thereby transcending rigid categories.

The central concern is not only the potential conflict between Hindus and Muslims but also the conditions that enable and sustain inter-religious and inter-communal friendships. Such friendships go beyond religious boundaries and aim toward the collective good, expanding moral horizons and promoting peace and prosperity. Bruce Lawrence, through his *longing-belonging* paradigm, describes this phenomenon as the attempt to create a spiritual and moral unity that transcends communal identities<sup>27</sup>. He draws parallels with the Indic concept of *Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*, meaning "the world is one family". In this context, friendship is more than just an opportunity or a threat; it involves *adab* (civility), aesthetics, beauty (*jama'i*), secular spirituality, vernacular expression, and the creativity of new possibilities. The mutual search for prophets and *tawhid* within Hinduism by Muslims, and the similar quest by Hindus within Islam, exemplify an eagerness to bridge differences and seek the divine beyond sectarian lines.



Figures like Satya Pir, Kabir, Lal Ded, Nund Rishi, and Shaikh Nooruddin stand as reference points, not just for Hindus and Muslims but also for Sikhs and Buddhists. Their teachings, which often cross religious boundaries, provide models for secular spirituality that promote shared values and communal harmony. Sufis and Bhakti practitioners frequently utilized each other's terminology, symbols, and language, reflecting a fluid, interconnected spiritual culture that aimed to unite rather than divide.

In conclusion, while Tareen and Lawrence both acknowledge the persistence of conflict between Hindus and Muslims, they recognize a parallel force that fosters peace and prosperity: secular spirituality. This force, rather than replacing Hindu and Muslim elements in South Asia, operates alongside them, offering an alternative vision for inter-communal unity. Bruce Lawrence's concept of *barzakh*<sup>28</sup> as discussed in his book *Islamicate Cosmopolitan Spirit*, is crucial in this context. He describes *barzakh* as an intermediary space where different spiritual traditions and cultural practices meet and blend, creating a framework for understanding and cultivating a shared identity<sup>29</sup>. This intermediary space is not merely theoretical but actively shapes the dynamics of Hindu-Muslim relations, providing a spiritual and ethical basis for overcoming historical divisions. This theme will be further explored in the next section.

### **Secular Spirituality and the Longing-Belonging Paradigm**

The concept of "secular spirituality" may not have been explicitly articulated during the second-millennium Bhakti-Sufi movements, but the characteristics exhibited by these traditions align closely with what we now understand as secular spirituality. These movements not only fostered inclusivity, and transcended religious boundaries, but also expanded the rigid religious boundary and emphasized ethical behavior, central elements that resonate with Bruce B. Lawrence's *longing-belonging* paradigm or *adab* culture due to the rise of urban spaces.

In the context of medieval India, Bhakti and Sufi traditions engaged with diverse communities and developed shared spiritual frameworks, particularly in cosmopolitan cities like Delhi and Banaras. As discussed earlier, these cities became hubs for commerce, culture, and spiritual exchange, where different communities interacted and coalesced<sup>30</sup>. This environment fostered the emergence of secular spirituality, as economic and spiritual exchanges facilitated the blending of religious and cultural

practices, providing both a sense of belonging and the opportunity for spiritual exploration beyond rigid boundaries.

Armando Salvatore's interpretation of the *Islamicate*, with its emphasis on *adab* (civility), supports this understanding. Sufi leaders and traders cultivated transregional networks across Afro-Eurasia, which extended into South Asia, integrating pre-Islamic, Persianate, and local traditions<sup>31</sup>. This inclusive approach, which Salvatore describes as a civilizing influence, parallels the inclusivity of the Bhakti movement, where spiritual leaders like Kabir, Lal Ded, and Guru Nanak promoted a form of spirituality accessible to all, regardless of religious or social background.

Bruce B. Lawrence's *longing-belonging* paradigm is crucial to understanding how these traditions operated within South Asia. The *longing* aspect reflects a desire for connection beyond local boundaries while *belonging* represents the rootedness and attachment to local traditions. In the Bhakti-Sufi synthesis, we see this dual dynamic at play: Sants and mystics cultivated spiritual communities that welcomed people from different backgrounds while promoting the idea of a shared, larger spiritual identity. This echoes the Indic philosophy of *Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*, meaning "the world is one family". The Bhakti and Sufi practices thus embodied a form of secular spirituality that transcended sectarian divisions, emphasizing the unity of humanity and the divine.

The teachings of figures like Kabir and Shaikh Nooruddin exemplify this approach. As discussed in the earlier sections, these figures used a combination of vernacular languages and shared symbolism to connect people from different faiths, promoting a common ground where secular spirituality could flourish. Their practices and teachings created what Lawrence describes as *barzakh*—a metaphorical bridge that allows for the merging of spiritual knowledge from diverse traditions. This blending of Bhakti and Sufi elements demonstrates how the *longing-belonging* paradigm fostered an inclusive and expansive spiritual community.

Sufi and Bhakti leaders not only transcended religious divisions but also engaged with the socio-economic dynamics of their time (see "British Rule: The Deconstruction of Artha and Destruction of Shastra" in the book *Kabir, Kabir*<sup>32</sup>). As explored in the first section, the rise of urban centres and the integration of trade networks allowed for an exchange of spiritual practices that aligned with the economic and cultural growth of the region. This demonstrates how secular spirituality was both a product and

facilitator of societal development, integrating spiritual teachings with the realities of urban and commercial life.

To sum up, the section, the Bhakti and Sufi traditions of medieval India established the foundation for secular spirituality by cultivating inclusive spiritual communities and embracing the *longing-belonging* paradigm. These traditions offered pathways for different communities to engage with shared spiritual experiences, creating a sense of unity that transcended rigid religious identities and promoted communal harmony. The synthesis of these traditions continues to shape South Asia's spiritual and cultural landscape, reflecting an ongoing legacy of interconnectedness and secular spirituality.

### **Contemporary Resonance: Fieldwork Reflections on Bhakti-Sufi Influence**

In May 2023, I embarked on fieldwork in India to explore how the Bhakti-Sufi traditions continue to influence contemporary social and spiritual dynamics in Bihar and Kashmir. This journey allowed me to connect my personal experiences and observations with the broader arguments made earlier about the role of these traditions in promoting secular spirituality and interfaith harmony in South Asia. My fieldwork provides tangible evidence of how these mystical traditions are practised today, offering a real-world perspective that underscores their ongoing relevance.

#### ***1. Discovering the Spirit of Bihar***

Returning to my hometown of Jaynagar, Bihar, I encountered a reality that sharply contrasted with mainstream media's portrayal of communal tensions. While news outlets often amplify divisions, my conversations with local residents, including Maulavi Muhammad Kalim Ashraf from a local madrasa, revealed a deeply rooted tradition of peaceful coexistence. Despite some aggressive displays during the Ramanavami celebrations seen in the media, Muhammad Kalim Ashraf told me in an interview that the community's fabric remained unshaken, demonstrating the strength of local bonds. One example he gave was during Muharram, where both Hindus and Muslims sponsor the event, with Hindu and Muslim youth coming together for *lathi khel* (stick fighting demonstrations), transforming what could be seen as a religious event into a shared cultural celebration.



Central to this harmony is the influence of Kabir, whose teachings continue to resonate among various communities in Bihar. During my visit, I met with Sant Dhyanaand Dhyani, a Kabirpanthi guru who has authored 18 books since 1974, including many bhajan collections. He embodies Kabir's inclusive philosophy by welcoming followers from different faith backgrounds. His use of both Islamic and Hindu terminology—referring to "Allah" and "Ram" interchangeably—reflects a blending of spiritual practices that transcends religious divides, illustrating how Kabir's legacy still facilitates a shared spiritual identity in contemporary Bihar<sup>23</sup>. For instance, when I visited a Muslim tailor to order some conference bags, I asked if he knew about Kabir. He responded affirmatively, stating, "Whatever Kabir said was the truth," showing no hesitation in associating himself with Kabir.

Kabir's poetry plays a significant role in this dynamic. During the *Guru Purnima* celebration in Sukhi village, Kabir's verses were performed with music, creating a powerful communal experience that united people across different social and religious backgrounds. A notable verse recited during the event was:

*"Matti chun chun mahal banaya, kahe ghar hamara,  
na ghar tera, na ghar mera, chidiya rain basera, Udja hans akela."*

(Translation: Even if you are rich or big like a palm tree, so what, if people do not get the shadow and the fruit is too high for anyone to reach.)

This verse, which emphasizes the impermanence of material possessions and the universal nature of the soul, resonated deeply with the audience, demonstrating how Kabir's teachings continue to challenge social hierarchies and foster a sense of shared spirituality.

Another powerful verse that was frequently quoted during my fieldwork was:

*"Pothi padhi-padhi jag mua, pandit bhaya na koi,  
Ekey akhar prem ka padhe so pandit hoye."*

(Translation: If you have read so many books, it does not mean that you have become learned or wise if you do not know love.)

This verse underscores that true wisdom does not come from reading books alone but from understanding the essence of love (*prem*). This central theme of love is a key element in the Bhakti-Sufi movement, bridging diverse communities by promoting a spirituality rooted in compassion and inclusivity. Kabir's emphasis on love transcends sectarian divides, making his teachings universally accessible and relevant across social and religious boundaries.

One of Kabir's poems that Ramjatan Das shared with me during an interview addresses contemporary religious conflict and is also dialectical in nature. That is to say, the poet converses with the listener and asks questions to answer.

*"Hindu kahat Ram hamara, Musalman Rahmana,  
Apas me dono larat-marat hai, maram kot nai jana.*

(Translation: Hindus say Ram is the God, and Muslims say Rahman. Both fight with each other for it, but no one knows the truth.)

The last line, which is the gist of Kabir's poetry: *Kahat Kabir suno bhai  
sachhi, inme kaun diwana?*

(Translation: Kabir says, listen, O saint, who is mad here?)

I find Linda Hess's work *Bodies of Song* to be a significant contribution to the study of Kabir. She argues in the book that:

"To know Kabir, you should know people, places, and times. You should use your ears, voice, nose, and skin as well as more cerebral capacities. You should appreciate the local in performance, starting with the first location: your own body"<sup>34</sup>.

Furthermore, the word "Bodies" is a key term here, implying a kind of dialectic or communal involvement. My visit to India and my fieldwork revealed a reality in contrast to what I had been hearing and seeing in the media, which had made me apprehensive before my return. That media portrayal was not entirely inaccurate but was undoubtedly political. Linda Hess, in *Bodies of Song*, specifically in Chapter 8, "*Political and Spiritual Kabir*," addresses this issue effectively. She uses the dichotomy between

spirituality and politics (as represented by Gandhi and Ambedkar) to explore these complexities.

One of Kabir's poems, which I heard many times during my school days and, if I remember correctly, read in school textbooks, may have contributed to fostering harmonious coexistence in society at a certain level:

*"Bura jo dekhian main chala, bura na milia koi,  
Jo dil dekha apna, mujhse bura na koi."*

(Translation: "I set out to find bad people, but I found none. When I looked into my own heart, I realized that no one is worse than me.") This suggests that Kabir advises us to look inward and examine ourselves before passing judgment on others.

This poetry of Kabir is relevant both to his time and to the contemporary world, as it continues to address modern challenges. These verses exemplify the *longing-belonging* paradigm discussed by Bruce B. Lawrence, where communities seek to transcend narrow identities in favour of a broader, inclusive spiritual belonging.

## ***2. Discovering the Spirit of Kashmir***

In June 2023, I travelled to Kashmir and witnessed the rich tapestry of cultural and religious diversity that defines the region. I was hosted by Abdul Qayoom Shah, a painter whose art reflects the fusion of Hindu, Buddhist, and Islamic influences in Kashmiri culture. His paintings, depicting figures from various religious traditions, exemplify how art and spirituality blend to promote unity<sup>35</sup>.

Exploring Kashmir's spiritual heritage, I encountered the legacies of Lal Ded and Shaikh Nooruddin (Nund Rishi). These figures, much like Kabir in Bihar, are revered by Hindus, Muslims, and Buddhists alike, illustrating a shared spiritual heritage that transcends communal boundaries. Lal Ded, known as "Lali Maa," and Nund Rishi remain central to Kashmir's collective memory, with their poetry and teachings celebrated across religious lines. This reflects Lawrence's *longing-belonging* paradigm, as these figures provide a common ground where diverse communities find connection and meaning.

Through these interactions, I observed how the Sufi-Bhakti legacy fosters unity in Kashmir's socio-cultural fabric. During a walk with Abdul Qayoom Shah, we visited various sacred sites, including the Hari Parbat, Shankaracharya Temple, and Makhdoom Sahib Shrine. Despite our differing religious backgrounds, our shared experiences at these locations underscored the fluidity of religious identities and the interconnectedness of spiritual practices in the region.

### *3. Kabir's Legacy in Contemporary Social Dynamics*

My fieldwork in Bihar reveals that Kabir's teachings continue to inspire diverse communities, offering a model for coexistence and social cohesion. Contrary to the common belief that Kabirpanthis predominantly come from lower castes, my observations indicate that Kabir's message appeals to people across social and caste lines. For instance, Professor Purnendu Ranjan shared that Kabir's voice was influential not only among marginalized communities but also in political movements like communism in Bihar. Kabir's critique of social hierarchies and emphasis on love and devotion resonated with a wide audience, transcending caste and class divisions.

Kabir's verses, which challenge both Hindu and Muslim orthodoxies, have retained their relevance. His poetry, often described as "Shabdo ki Chot" (a slap of words), continues to awaken audiences, prompting reflection on social norms and encouraging unity. For example:

*"Pathar puje hari mile, to main puju pahar  
tante te chakki bhali, pis khayе sansar."*

(Translation: If worshipping stone, one finds god then I should worship the mountain, if not then a grinding stone is better with which people grind grains and eat.)

By critiquing ritualistic practices, Kabir's poetry remains a powerful tool for social change, fostering a secular spirituality that invites individuals to reflect on their spiritual and social commitments beyond rigid identities.

This immersion into Kashmiri and Bihari life further demonstrated the relevance of the Sufi-Bhakti legacy in fostering unity and understanding across religious divides. The teachings and stories of saints like Lal Ded, Shaikh ul-Alam or Nund Rishi, and Kabir continue to inspire a culture of

tolerance and inclusivity, where religious identities are not rigid but fluid and interconnected.

## Conclusion

The Bhakti and Sufi traditions, deeply embedded in South Asia's cultural and spiritual heritage, provide a profound model for fostering secular spirituality and harmonious coexistence. This paper has demonstrated how these movements transcended religious boundaries, cultivating shared spiritual frameworks that continue to promote interfaith dialogue and social cohesion, especially between Hindus and Muslims in regions like Bihar and Kashmir. By analyzing their historical contexts and contemporary resonance through fieldwork, this study highlights the enduring relevance of these traditions in addressing modern challenges of religious polarization and communal tensions.

The Bhakti and Sufi movements emerged during periods of social and political change, offering revolutionary approaches to spirituality and social reform. The Bhakti movement's emphasis on divine love, personal devotion, and egalitarianism challenged the caste and gender hierarchies prevalent in Indian society. Similarly, Sufi mysticism's focus on cultivating a personal connection with the divine and inner transformation provided an alternative to orthodox practices within the Islamic tradition. Together, these movements created an environment where the boundaries between Hinduism and Islam were fluid, allowing for an exchange of ideas that fostered inclusivity and communal harmony.

Central to the legacy of these traditions is the concept of secular spirituality—a spirituality that transcends institutionalized religion and focuses on universal values like love, compassion, and ethical behaviour. This inclusive spirituality, embodied by figures like Kabir, Lal Ded, and Shaikh Nooruddin, remains relevant today. Kabir's teachings, for example, continue to resonate with diverse communities in Bihar, while Lal Ded and Nund Rishi's legacies inspire a sense of unity in Kashmir. These figures illustrate the *longing-belonging* paradigm described by Bruce B. Lawrence, demonstrating how individuals and communities navigate their spiritual identities by seeking connections beyond sectarian lines while remaining rooted in local traditions.

The fieldwork I conducted in Bihar and Kashmir confirms the ongoing impact of the Bhakti-Sufi legacy on contemporary social dynamics. In



Bihar, Kabir's teachings are not limited to marginalized communities but appeal to people across social and caste divides, reflecting the inclusive and egalitarian nature of his message. In Kashmir, the teachings of Lal Ded and Nund Rishi continue to bridge religious divides, illustrating the fluidity of spiritual identities and the interconnectedness of different faiths. These examples underscore the power of these traditions to foster social cohesion, demonstrating how their secular and inclusive spirituality remains a unifying force amidst modern challenges.

As South Asia faces increasing religious polarization and communal tensions, the Bhakti and Sufi movements offer invaluable lessons for building a more harmonious society. Their teachings of love, inclusivity, and the celebration of diversity provide a practical blueprint for promoting interfaith dialogue and peace. By fostering a sense of shared spiritual heritage, these traditions transcend religious boundaries and create pathways for unity and understanding.

Above all, the Bhakti and Sufi traditions offer an essential model of secular spirituality for addressing the ongoing challenges of religious division and communal tensions in contemporary South Asia. They emphasize that true spirituality is rooted in the inner transformation of individuals, cultivating ethical behaviour and compassion for the common good. As the region continues to grapple with forces of division, the lessons from these traditions offer a beacon of hope, guiding communities toward a future characterized by peace, harmony, and mutual respect. The enduring legacy of the Bhakti-Sufi movements serves as a testament to the transformative power of spiritual wisdom to build an inclusive and interconnected society.

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## Scriptural Manipulations: Analysing Misrepresentation of Religious Texts

Bazila Ehsan,<sup>\*</sup> Sheenam<sup>†</sup>

*The misinterpretation and manipulation of religious texts have long been tools for justifying social hierarchies and maintaining power structures. This paper critically investigates the misrepresentation of religious doctrine by the dominant class in William Wells Brown's *Clotel: The President's Daughter*. The paper examines how such misinterpretations serve to naturalise slavery as divinely sanctioned, thereby obscuring its inherent violence and immorality in the antebellum United States. Through close textual analysis, the study reveals how slaveholders strategically distorted Christian teachings and biblical narratives to construct a moral framework that perpetuated white supremacy. By examining instances where religious texts are selectively misrepresented, this paper argues that Brown exposes the ideological machinations of a society that exploits religious doctrine to reinforce social and racial hierarchies. Furthermore, the analysis explores how these deliberate distortions affect both Black and White communities differently, highlighting divergent views on Christian doctrines within these groups.*

**Keywords:** Race, Class, Religion, Enslavement, Misinterpretation.

### Introduction

William Wells Brown (1814–1884) is a prominent African-American writer, abolitionist, and lecturer whose work provides a compelling critique of slavery and racial injustice. Born into slavery, he escaped to freedom and swiftly turned into an influential figure in the abolitionist movement. His literary contributions, including *Clotel: The President's Daughter* (1853), *The Narrative of William W. Brown, a Fugitive Slave* (1847), and *The Escape, or, A Leap for Freedom* (1858), offer a vivid investigation into the complexities of identity, race, and freedom in antebellum America. Brown's works often blend factual elements of his own experiences with fictionalised accounts, reflecting his broader critique of a society that perpetuates and rationalises racial oppression. His writings are significant not only for their autobiographical insights but also

<sup>\*</sup> Department of English, Central University of Kashmir

<sup>†</sup> Department of English, Central University of Kashmir

for their engagement with contemporary social issues, providing a critical perspective on the moral and political contradictions of his time. Through his extensive body of work, Brown contributed to the early discourse on race and slavery, challenging prevailing notions and advocating for justice and equality. His work, *Clotel: The President's Daughter*, published in 1853 is considered to be the first novel published by an African-American and is notable for its innovative narrative structure and its examination of racial passing, a theme that reveals the impact of racial categorisation on personal and societal identities. Set in the pre-Civil War South, the novel captures a period fraught with social and racial upheaval, marked by the entrenched institution of slavery and pervasive racial discrimination. Brown's narrative explores racial passing and the moral contradictions present in a society that espouses Christian values while systematically enforcing racial subjugation. The novel scrutinises the moral and ideological justifications employed by the dominant class to sustain their supremacy, revealing how religious doctrine is manipulated to reinforce the socio-political hierarchy. Brown's *Clotel* explores the dual functions of Christianity, illustrating how it serves both as an instrument of oppression wielded by White individuals and as a source of hope for Black people. These contradictory roles of Christianity in the United States reflect the insidious nature of slavery, highlighting how its harmful effects affected both Black and White racial groups. The concept of truth and its significance within the various representations of Christianity is presented throughout the narrative. It situates its characters within a nation whose inhabitants identify as Christians yet fail to acknowledge that their involvement in slavery fundamentally contradicts the core tenets of their faith.

During the antebellum period in America, religion played a multifaceted role in shaping both individual and societal values. Christianity was deeply embedded in daily life, with churches serving as central institutions in communities across the North and South. The religious landscape was marked by a diverse array of denominations and movements, including evangelical Protestantism, which emphasised personal piety, moral reform, and social justice. However, the relationship between religion and the institution of slavery was fairly contradictory. In the South, pro-slavery advocates frequently invoked Christian teachings to justify and maintain the practice of slavery. They contended that slavery was endorsed by the Bible and asserted that it constituted a positive institution that benefited both the enslaved and the enslavers. This argument was supported by distorted interpretations of biblical texts, which were employed to

rationalise the systemic exploitation and dehumanisation of African Americans. During the antebellum period, religious texts, particularly the Bible, were selectively cited by pro-slavery advocates to perpetuate this oppressive institution. The dominant class, seeking to rationalise and legitimise the systemic exploitation of African-American labourers, employed various biblical passages to construct a moral and theological framework that supported slavery as a divinely sanctioned institution. One commonly cited passage was Genesis 9:25-27, which describes Noah's curse upon Ham's son, Canaan, asserting that he would be "a servant of servants"<sup>1</sup> to his brothers. Pro-slavery proponents argued that this curse was a divine endorsement of slavery, specifically targeting African descendants. This interpretation ignored the broader biblical themes of impartiality and redemption and misapplied the passage to support racial hierarchies. Another frequently referenced text was Ephesians 6:5, which instructs slaves to "be obedient to those who are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling."<sup>2</sup> This verse was cited to argue that slavery was a natural and acceptable social order, with the Christian duty of obedience extending to enslaved individuals. Pro-slavery advocates also used a verse from the Epistle of Peter, which suggests slaves to "be subject to your masters with all fear,"<sup>3</sup> to bolster their claim that Christian doctrine supported the institution of slavery. Such interpretations were selectively employed to reinforce the existing power dynamics and social norms that upheld slavery. They were used to focus on the notion of submissiveness and duty while neglecting the broader biblical messages of justice, equality, and liberation. The selective use and misinterpretation of these passages served to obscure the inherent moral contradictions of slavery and perpetuate its legitimacy within a religious context. Thus, the dominant class reinforced racial and social hierarchies under the guise of divine sanction.

In *Clotel: The President's Daughter*, Brown weaves religious themes into his critique of antebellum American society, emphasising the moral hypocrisy and manipulation of religion by the dominant class to justify and sustain slavery. Through the use of biblical imagery and allusions, Brown underscores the ethical contradictions of a society that exploits religious teachings to perpetuate social and racial hierarchies. The novel's exploration of these themes critically interrogates the intersections of religion, race, and power, revealing the implications of religious manipulation for maintaining systemic injustice. The novel presents two divergent interpretations of Christianity: one that validates slavery as a divinely sanctioned institution and the other that endorses the sanctity of

impartiality and equality. This dichotomy within nineteenth-century Christianity is contrasted with the corrosive and destructive effects of slavery, which corrupts Black, as well as White individuals, within the novel. As depicted in *Clotel*, the practice of enslavement leads to the moral degradation of White individuals who endorse it, while simultaneously causing the disintegration of Black families, the erosion of Black welfare and safety, and the suppression of Black agency.

The novel begins, as is common in many slave narratives, with a depiction of a slave auction. At this event, slave traders forcibly separated mothers from their children, husbands from their wives, and entire families with a "degree of indifference... unknown in any other relation of life, except that of slavery."<sup>4</sup> According to the *partus sequitur ventrem* laws adopted by Virginia in 1662, Clotel inherits the enslaved status of her mother, who was one of Jefferson's slaves. After Jefferson's death, Clotel, her mother, and her sister are sold to the highest bidder. Clotel's beauty commands the highest price of the day, fifteen hundred dollars, and she is taken by Horatio Green, a White man who gives her the status of his common-law wife. Brown concludes this chapter, in which a human being is sold with the assurance of her being a "devoted Christian, and perfectly trustworthy"<sup>5</sup>, by including the anonymously published poem "The Slave Auction - A Fact":

*"O God! my every heart-string cries,  
Doest thou these scenes behold  
In this our boasted Christian land,  
And must the truth be told?  
Blush, Christian, blush! for e'en the dark,  
Untutored heathen see  
Thy inconsistency; and lo!  
They scorn thy God, and thee!"*<sup>6</sup>

Much like Brown's remarks in the novel's preface, the poem critiques the moral inconsistency inherent in identifying as a Christian while simultaneously supporting the institution of slavery. Brown's inclusion of this poem at the conclusion of the first chapter establishes a continuous appeal throughout the novel, urging a White audience to reconsider the contradictions within their own Christian morals. He implores them to acknowledge that, even in "a city thronged with churches, [self-professed Christians continue to believe that] slavery is a God-ordained institution"<sup>7</sup>. Slavery endures as a politically accepted institution, despite the fact that



the nation's purported Christianity, when practised in its "true light," fundamentally challenges and condemns its atrocities. In the fictional narrative of *Clotel*, and the socio-historical context of its publication, the institution of enslavement is intertwined with religion in a seamless manner that makes it challenging to separate the two. The readers are introduced to various Christian preachers and slave owners, who tend to invoke Christianity as justification for the institution of slavery.

Clotel marries Horatio Green, who purchased her at the auction, in a union described as "sanctioned by heaven, although not recognized on earth."<sup>8</sup> However, this marriage remains fundamentally imbalanced, grounded in the principles of slavery and the treatment of human beings as property, rather than in the true tenets of Christianity. Green's increasingly eroded morality underscores that slavery not only inflicts physical, mental, and emotional devastation upon Black individuals but also precipitates a religious and moral degradation among White individuals who try to justify the system. As his political career advances and he becomes more entrenched in a White, Christian society, Green marries a White woman who, in a fit of jealousy, compels him to sell Clotel. His wife then forces Clotel's child to work as a slave in their household. Green's readiness to forsake his legally Black wife and daughter, for political gain and to appease a woman who engages in slavery out of spite, reflects a broader religious decay. Abandoning one's family directly contravenes Biblical teachings; as Timothy 5:8 states, "But if anyone does not provide for his own, and especially for those of his household, he has denied the faith and is worse than an unbeliever."<sup>9</sup> This suggests that Horatio engaged with Christianity selectively, embracing only those aspects that aligned with his personal interests while disregarding fundamental doctrines such as commitment to family and moral accountability.

The hypocrisy of professed Christianity is also mirrored in the character of Reverend John Peck, who acquires Currer. Prior to Peck's acquisition, Currer had worked as a laundress, with her wages going to Jefferson. Peck utilises her domestic skills in a similar fashion, relegating her to household and kitchen duties and thereby perpetuating her life of arduous labour. Viewing himself as a religious authority, Peck speaks to a school friend, Miles Carlton, regarding the relationship between the institution of slavery and Christianity. Carlton, an indifferent abolitionist, asserts that having studied the theories of Rousseau and other similar philosophers, he is unable to identify "difference[s] between White men and Black men as it regards liberty."<sup>10</sup> In an effort to engage Peck's sense of reason, Carlton

references the Declaration of Independence and its principles of self-evident human equality. Peck dismisses this argument, stating, "The Bible is older than the Declaration of Independence, and there I take my stand. . . . Those who say that religious instruction is inconsistent with our peculiar civil polity are the worst enemies of that polity"<sup>11</sup>. Peck's acknowledgement of a potential inconsistency in his reasoning only strengthens the resolve in his beliefs. Although Brown presents Peck's narrow perspective on the two institutions unfavourably, he also critiques Carlton's position, suggesting that the abolitionist has become too absorbed in abstract philosophy to fully appreciate the Bible and its teachings. Both Peck's and Carlton's views are deemed inadequate by Brown. He advocates for a dialectical approach that integrates practical insights into philosophy and governance with the transcendental comfort and hope that is offered by religion, suggesting a synthesis of the two ideals.

This synthesis is partially embodied by the character of Georgiana Peck, who represents a different kind of preacher compared to her father, John Peck. Georgiana's fervent abolitionist spirit sparks a transformative influence on those she encounters, including Mr Peck and her future husband, Miles Carlton. Unlike the other preachers in the novel, Georgiana is fearless in her use of Biblical teachings and she utilises her individual interpretations of religious texts to refute the practice of enslavement. She establishes the novel's initial argument by depicting Christianity and racial liberty as interconnected rather than contradictory. She asserts that "Whatever, . . . destroys, abridges, or renders insecure, human welfare is opposed to God's will, and is evil, . . . True Christian love is of an enlarged, disinterested nature."<sup>12</sup> This proclamation represents a significant departure from previous sentiments expressed in the novel. Brown employs Georgiana's character and her moral stance to address his audience directly. As Dawn Coleman, an expert on nineteenth-century American literature, religion and spirituality, notes, Georgiana's statements "affirm colour-blind love as a core Christian principle."<sup>13</sup> This perspective challenges Peck's rigid interpretation of Christianity and, through his daughter's insights, he begins to perceive "Christianity in its true light."<sup>14</sup>

The slaves on Peck's plantation seem to possess their own understanding of Christianity, one aligned with this true light. When Peck invites Hontz Snyder, a missionary, to address the slaves during their Sunday meeting, Snyder perpetuates the distortion of the Bible to endorse the notion that

slavery is a divinely sanctioned and essential component of American society. He asserts that "it is the will of God."<sup>15</sup> for Black people to be enslaved because he "knew that condition would be best for you."<sup>16</sup> Snyder not only rationalises the atrocities of slavery but also suggests that the mental and physical suffering endured by the Black population is somehow beneficial. He continues, "Any discontent... is quarrelling with your heavenly Master."<sup>17</sup> Snyder's use of the term "Master" to refer to God is consistent with the language of those who defend slavery within the novel. Furthermore, he manipulates the theological concepts of God's omnipotence and omniscience to sustain these systems of oppression. The enslavers' interpretation of Christianity is deeply punitive and corrective, in stark contrast to the slaves' use of Christianity as a source of hope and liberation. Brown reinforces this hypocrisy by incorporating John Greenleaf Whittier's prose:

*"What! preach and enslave men?  
Give thanks-and rob thy own afflicted poor?  
Talk of thy glorious liberty, and then  
Bolt hard the captive's door?"<sup>18</sup>*

Snyder also compels the slaves to answer why White individuals cannot be enslaved in the same manner as Black individuals, to which the answer given is, "Because the Lord intended the Negroes for slaves"<sup>19</sup>. This assertion, claiming to reveal God's intentions, however, lacks any scriptural basis. Sylvester Johnson, author of *The Myth of Ham in Nineteenth-Century American Christianity*, argues that the Bible does not racialise slavery or assign a particular race to the enslaved. He explores how religious discourses were reshaped by colonial powers, influencing interpretations of Christianity that justified racial hierarchies. While biblical narratives address captivity and servitude, it was through the lens of colonialism that these themes were transformed into tools for racial oppression in the Atlantic world. This reinterpretation of religion under colonial frameworks allowed European societies to use Christianity as both a moral and political tool to rationalise slavery based on race, despite the Bible's original focus on social, rather than racial, divisions. In *The Forging of Races*, Colin Kidd, a scholar of American history, argues that Christianity has frequently been employed as a screen for projecting racial attitudes, fears, and fantasies. The misuse of scripture in this way allowed both religious and secular authorities to reinforce racial hierarchies, manipulating theological narratives to justify slavery, segregation, and other forms of racial oppression. The interpreters of the Bible distort its



theological integrity, using Christianity “merely as a screen on to which ... [to] project their racial attitudes, fears and fantasies”<sup>20</sup>

Throughout the novel, Christianity remains an unstable entity. Following Snyder’s lecture, another manifestation of Christianity emerges in the form of a call-and-response performance reminiscent of Black spirituals. This ritual compels the slaves to recite answers affirming that God intended for Black individuals to be enslaved. The slaves comply without resistance, yet their responses lack any trace of enthusiasm. In a series of interviews concerning these Sunday sermons, former slave William Ward corroborates Brown’s depiction in the fictional narrative, stating:

*On Sundays, the slaves were permitted to have a religious meeting of their own... They sang spirituals which gave vent to their true feelings... There was one person who did the preaching. His sermon was always constructed according to the master’s instructions, which dictated that slaves must always remember they belonged to their masters and were intended to lead a life of loyal servitude. None of the slaves believed this, although they pretended to believe due to the presence of the White overseer.<sup>21</sup>*

This subversion allows the enslaved individuals to exercise agency over their private religious beliefs while avoiding further punishment from their enslavers. Christianity, as a religion, encompasses both internal belief and communal fellowship, so the enslaved people’s need for an authentic Christian community is only fulfilled when the overseer departs, granting them the freedom to speak and practice their religion as they wish. Simon, an older slave, quiets the dissenting voices questioning their participation in a religion that seems complicit in their systemic oppression. He asserts that “thars more in de Bible den dat, only Snyder never reads any other part to us...thar was more den what Snyder lets us hear.”<sup>22</sup> Instead of rejecting Christianity entirely, Simon advocates for a reevaluation of the religion’s role in the nation. One of the fundamental principles of Christianity, as outlined in Matthew 22:39, is to “You shall love your neighbour as yourself”<sup>23</sup> a principle that is fundamentally incompatible with the act of enslaving, beating, and murdering one’s neighbour. Simon recognises that the Bible encompasses more than the narrow interpretation provided by Snyder and other enslavers.

Georgiana partially shares a similar understanding to that of Simon. She and Carlton extend their Christianity to the enslaved individuals they

inherited from her father. The slaves "appreciated the gospel when given to them in its purity"<sup>24</sup>, reflecting their desire to embrace Christianity in its true light. They benefit not only from a mistress who refrains from administering whippings but also from encouragement to practice Christianity according to their own understanding. In her final moments, Georgiana exemplifies her altruistic Christianity with her deathbed words to her slaves: "If ever there was a people who needed the consolations of religion to sustain them in their grievous afflictions, you are that people. You had better trust in the Lord than to put confidence in man"<sup>25</sup>. She does not use Christianity to practice the system of enslavement but rather successfully converts Miles Carlton, her husband "from infidelity to Christianity, from the mere theory of liberty to practical freedom"<sup>26</sup>. She recognises that Christianity, when true to its principles, must go beyond mere belief and involve actions as well. At its core, Christianity calls upon its followers to ensure that all of God's children are protected from suffering. However, Georgiana's affirmation of Christianity as a faith of hope and liberation is complicated by her role as a slave owner. As Brown observes, "the evils consequent on slavery are not lessened by the incoming of one or two rays of light."<sup>27</sup> Despite her efforts to grant liberty to the enslaved and her advocacy for the "true light" of Christianity, she remains a participant of the very system she seeks to end. Georgiana's religious and moral uncertainties reflect the wider complexities of the pre-Antebellum American setting. Although Christopher Stampone points out that Georgiana "represents Brown's idealized version of the White abolitionist heroine par excellence"<sup>28</sup> and suggests that she symbolizes the potential for a new, abolitionist-driven generation, Georgiana's character remains morally ambiguous and complex. This complexity challenges the simplistic moral dichotomies often projected onto this period of American history by critics and historians.

This anti-slavery sentiment, conveyed to a male figure through female intervention, reappears in the character of Henry Morton, a White physician. After marrying Clotel's sister, Morton develops a personal stake in the abolition of slavery and becomes "obnoxious to private circles"<sup>29</sup> with his abolitionist views. He questions the legitimacy of the widespread and federally sanctioned ownership of human beings, asking, "Are we not then despots—despots such as history will brand and God abhor?"<sup>30</sup> In this inquiry, Morton appeals to both theological and political dimensions, highlighting the contradiction between the United States' status as "the land of the free" and the reality of systemic oppression endured by an entire population. By invoking God, Morton suggests that

the ongoing distortion of the Bible and the nation's moral failings will ultimately lead to divine retribution and the nation's destruction.

The political outrage regarding the immorality of slave ownership extends beyond Morton to President Jefferson in the text, who addresses the issue of despots and the theological ramifications of slavery:

*With what execration should the statesman be loaded who, permitting one half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots and these into enemies destroys the morals of the one part, and the amor patriae of the other!... Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever.<sup>31</sup>*

Jefferson's reflection on the justice of God and the moral degradation wrought by slavery underscores his awareness of the ethical contradictions inherent in the institution. However, the fact that his own daughter, Clotel, dies in slavery complicates his apparent alignment with abolitionist sentiment. His professed advocacy for freedom remains hollow and sanctimonious, mirroring the attitude of a nation that, despite its claims of Christian virtue, was deeply entangled in the system of slavery.

Described in the chapter titled "Death is Freedom," Clotel's suicide underscores the stark contrast between the Christianity of enslavers and that of the enslaved. After enduring years of physical and mental abuse, involuntary separation from her family, and constant fear, Clotel seeks to escape her life of bondage. Cornered on a bridge by slave hunters, she chooses an act of ultimate dissent: "She at the same time raised her eyes towards heaven, and begged for that mercy and compassion there, which had been denied her on earth; and then, with a single bound, she vaulted over the railings of the bridge, and sunk forever beneath the waves of the river."<sup>32</sup> The Potomac River consumes her body, and her death occurs within view of the White House, a symbol of the nation's democratic and Christian ideals. The narrative surrounding her death is infused with Christian imagery: she entrusts her soul to God, seeking the transcendental peace that eluded her throughout her life due to her race and status as a slave. Clotel's act represents a form of liberation through her Christianity, distinct from the version manipulated by enslavers to uphold their power. Her death highlights the moral degradation and hypocrisy of those who sustain the institution of slavery, revealing how their interpretation of Christianity not only undermines its true principles but also debases their claimed Christian nation.

## Conclusion

Brown's critique of moral hypocrisy permeates his novel, culminating in the concluding admonition: "Let no Christian association be maintained with those who traffic in the blood and bones of those whom God has made of one flesh as yourselves."<sup>33</sup> Jacob Olupona underscores this issue, noting that Christianity was "deeply culpable in the African slave trade, inasmuch as it consistently provided a moral cloak for the buying and selling of human beings"<sup>34</sup> He sought to obscure the harsh realities of slavery, including the commodification of humans, the destruction of families, and the violence inflicted upon men, women, and children. He emphasises that Christianity was not merely passively involved but actively complicit in the transatlantic slave trade. He explains that Christian institutions provided a theological justification commodification of African people, using the religion's teachings to legitimise these practices. Mary Kirkpatrick argues that "such marked inconsistency between slavery and the United States' founding ideals severely destabilizes the country's exalted place as the bastion of democracy"<sup>35</sup> The irony is evident in figures like Thomas Jefferson, who, despite authoring the Declaration of Independence with its promises of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,"<sup>36</sup> was directly involved in the institution of slavery that contradicted his own principles. Political figures like Horatio and Jefferson exemplify the nation's hypocrisy, highlighting the discord between the enslaved individuals' genuine adherence to Christianity and their masters' distorted practice of the same faith. In tragic figures such as Clotel and subtle rebels like Simon, the true light of Christianity is illuminated, contrasting sharply with the moral failures of their oppressors.

## References

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<sup>1</sup> Genesis 9:25-27.

<sup>2</sup> Ephesians 6:5 (NIV).

<sup>3</sup> 1 Peter 2:18 (NIV).

<sup>4</sup> Brown, William Wells. *Clotel; or, The President's Daughter*. 1853. Penguin Classics, 2003, 48.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, 50.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*,

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*, 50.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*, 65.

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<sup>8</sup> 1 Timothy 5:8.

<sup>9</sup> Brown, William Wells. *Clotel; or, The President's Daughter*. 1853. Penguin Classics, 2003, 73.

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*, 75.

<sup>12</sup> Coleman, Dawn. *Preaching and the Rise of the American Novel*. Columbus: Ohio State UP, 2013, 185.

<sup>13</sup> Brown, William Wells. *Clotel; or, The President's Daughter*. 1853. Penguin Classics, 2003, 75.

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*, 77.

<sup>15</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *ibid.*, 5-8.

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.*, 81.

<sup>19</sup> Kidd, Colin. *The Forging of Races: Race and Scripture in the Protestant Atlantic World, 1600-2000*. Cambridge University Press, 2006.

<sup>20</sup> Ward, William. Qtd. in *Federal Writers' Project: Slave Narrative Project, Vol. 4, Georgia, Part 4, Telfair-Young with combined interviews of others*. 1936.

<sup>21</sup> Brown, William Wells. *Clotel; or, The President's Daughter*. 1853. Penguin Classics, 2003, 82.

<sup>22</sup> Matthew 22:39 (New International Version).

<sup>23</sup> Brown, William Wells. *Clotel; or, The President's Daughter*. 1853. Penguin Classics, 2003, 138.

<sup>24</sup> *ibid.*, 157.

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.*, 159.

<sup>26</sup> *ibid.*, 179.

<sup>27</sup> Stampone, Christopher. "[H]eroic Bravery in More than One Battle": The Creation of Heroes in William Wells Brown's Multi-Edition, 'Clotel.' *African American Review* 49, no. 2 (2016): 75-91. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26443793>.

<sup>28</sup> Brown, William Wells. *Clotel; or, The President's Daughter*. 1853. Penguin Classics, 2003, 151.

<sup>29</sup> *ibid.*, 153.

<sup>30</sup> *ibid.*, 131.

<sup>31</sup> *ibid.*, 185.

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<sup>33</sup> *ibid.*, 209.

<sup>34</sup> Olupona, Jacob (2014). *African Religions: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p. 95. ISBN 978-0-19-979058-6.

<sup>35</sup> Kirkpatrick, Mary A. "Summary of *Clotel*." *Documenting the American South*. Chapel Hill: UNC UP, 2001, 6.

<sup>36</sup> Jefferson, Thomas. 1997. *Declaration of Independence*. Jackson, MS: Applewood Books.



## Religious Harmony in the Union Territory of Ladakh: A Buddhist Perspective

Konchok Tashi\*

*The present article is about the Buddhist perspective of religious harmony in the Union Territory of Ladakh. Religious harmony refers to the peaceful coexistence of various religions and their followers. Because of India's unique religious landscape, peace and religious harmony have long been important issues. Racial and religious conflicts have occurred on occasion throughout the nation's history. Religions should promote togetherness rather than divide individuals. To prevent misunderstandings among religions, all followers of different beliefs should convene for a discussion. People of all faiths work together to foster interreligious cooperation and strive to promote interfaith cooperation. Buddhism can strengthen interfaith ties by bringing individuals of different religions closer together. Buddha has been an excellent role model for interreligious collaboration. Buddhism should play a role in interfaith efforts to bring people of different religions together. Therefore, an effort is being made in the present article to highlight the Buddhist Perspective of Religious Harmony and the coexistence of different religions in the newly formed Union Territory of Ladakh. It also highlights the ongoing historic translation work of the Holy Quran into Ladakhi language using Tibetan script.*

### Keywords

Religious Harmony, Interfaith Relations, Buddhist Perspective, UT Ladakh, Holy Quran

*"Regardless of contrary religious philosophies, every religion preaches compassion and truthfulness and hence, it is of utmost importance to respect each other's religion to forge peace and harmony"*

- His Holiness the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama

### Introduction

India is an excellent example of unity in diversity, as it is a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, and multilingual country. The preamble of our Constitution indicates that India is a secular republic. It allows its residents to practice any religion of their choice. People from all cultures and religions use a shared platform to comprehend each other's cultural and religious views, which develops a sense of mutual trust and community cohesion.

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\*Department of Far East Languages, Central University of Jharkhand

There are several religions and cultures around the world, and each has evolved to fit its people. As a result, it is usually encourage sticking with the religion you were born into. The majority of people in the West are Christians, although there are also Jews and Muslims. It is difficult for them or anybody else to change religions, and it can sometimes lead to misunderstanding. To appreciate the harmony and disharmony between religions, we must first understand their true meaning. Prof. R. Panikkar defines religions as: "Religions. This word includes three aspects: Religiousness or the human dimension concerning ultimacy, wherever we may believe this ultimacy to be; Religiosity or the social institution (not necessarily an organization) that embodies the religious dimension of human life; Religionism or the more or less closed system of ultimate beliefs applicable to one specific collectivity."<sup>1</sup>

Leonard Swidler stated: "At the heart of each civilization is what is traditionally referred to as religion, which is an explanation of the ultimate meaning of life and how to live accordingly. Normally, all religions include the four C's: creed, code, cult, and community structure, and they are founded on the concept of transcendence." Creed refers to a religion's cognitive part, it encompasses all that contributes to the "explanation" of life's ultimate purpose. A code of behaviour or ethics encompasses all of the rules and norms of action that stem from one component or another of the religion. Cult refers to all ritual acts that connect followers to one part or another of the transcendent, either directly or indirectly; prayer is an example of the former, as is specific formal behaviour toward agents of the transcendent, such as priests. Community structure refers to the relationships among the followers; this can vary widely, from a very egalitarian relationship, as among Quakers, through a "republican" structure like Presbyterians have, to a monarchical one, as with some Hasidic Jews vis-à-vis their "rebbe".<sup>2</sup>

His Holiness the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama emphasizes religious harmony by expressing his affection for all faiths and condemning religion-based communalism. "Regardless of contrary religious philosophies, every religion preaches compassion and truthfulness and hence, it is of utmost importance to respect each other's religion to forge peace and harmony," according to His Holiness. Furthermore, he praised India's capacity to maintain religious unity despite its large population of diverse faiths. He stated that India's religious unity serves as an example to the modern world in promoting secular principles, adding that "humanitarianism is eventually the ultimate life goal for both theists and atheists." Especially in recent times, there have developed "explanations of the ultimate meaning of life, and how to live accordingly" that are not founded on a notion of

the transcendent, such as secular humanism, Marxism, and so on. Although these "explanations" function in every way that religions have traditionally functioned in human life, because the concept of the transcendent, however, it is defined, plays such a central role in religion but not in these "explanations," it is best to give these "explanations" that are not based on the concept of the transcendent a separate name; the term ideology is frequently used.

The two most recent perspectives on religion have been stated by eminent modern scholars. It is evident to us that there can be no disharmony in religiousness, faith, or code. But it does appear in cults or communities. In other words, disharmony and conflict arise in the minds of those who are unaware of the essence of religion and code and are instead carried away by intense group feelings of connection. Such individuals, motivated by self-interest and entrenched interests, cause strife among themselves and exploit the name of religion to obtain political power or for other ulterior objectives. It is conceivable for a state to be non-secular while simultaneously tolerating all religions. Problems emerge when rulers have a restricted understanding of religion. They thus fail to grasp the fundamental concepts of their various religions. Instead, taking advantage of their community's religious sensitivity, they implement policies that become oppressive in nature. As a result, their country's long-term development suffers. For, in this age of interconnectedness, it is critical that the rights of all members of the community, as well as those of other countries, be valued and protected.

Some contemporary thinkers believe that in many ways, non-religious and religious people are the same. Anti-religious people are typically less unethical than religious people. However, this viewpoint does not demonstrate that religious traditions had no impact on the culture of harmony. We must discern between true religious teachings and mixed religious teachings, between true religious mind and senseless dogmas, and between true religious faith and religious extremism. Only in this way can we prove the fact that violence and criminality committed in the name of religion are not religious activities, and the perpetrators are not religious. The Indian Constitution was adopted on November 26, 1949, and went into effect on January 26, 1950. The Constituent Assembly, which was indirectly elected by the people in 1946, was the driving force behind it. The Constituent Assembly reflected India's numerous ethnic, religious, and linguistic communities. Dr. Ambedkar remarked in the Constituent Assembly: "What does fraternity mean? Fraternity means a sense of common brotherhood of all Indians—of Indians being one people. It is the principle which gives unity and solidarity to social life. It is a

difficult thing to achieve. ... How difficult it is for Indians to think that they are a nation. I remember the days when politically-minded Indians, resented the expression 'the people of India'. They preferred the expression 'the Indian nation'. I think that in believing that we are a nation, we are cherishing a great delusion. .... For fraternity can be a fact only when there is a nation. Without fraternity, equality and liberty will be no deeper than coats of paint."<sup>5</sup>

### **An Overview of Communal Harmony in Ladakh**

Ladakh, a region in India, has a history of peaceful coexistence between different religious and cultural groups. Until 2019, Ladakh was part of Jammu And Kashmir State. Since then, it has become a Union Territory, with Buddhism and Islam are its two main religions. Buddhism first arrived in Ladakh in the first century CE, under the reign of the Kushan Empire. For centuries, Buddhism thrived virtually unopposed by other religions. However, in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Muslim traders from Kashmir, Afghanistan, and Central Asia began migrating to Ladakh, causing Islam to spread there. They began travelling to Ladakh, residing there, and marrying local Buddhist women. Today, Muslims account for 46% of Ladakh's population, while Buddhists make up 40%, Hindus 12% and other religions 2%. However, the Ladakhi culture of peaceful cooperation endures. Even as anti-Muslim sentiments have grown in India, Ladakh remains a beacon of religious tolerance.

There are transcendent things in every religion that our minds and speech cannot comprehend. For example, the concepts of God in Christianity and Islam, as well as the knowledge and truth body in Buddhism, are metaphysical in nature and cannot be understood by ordinary people like us. This is a frequent problem encountered by all religions. Every religion, including Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam, teaches that faith is the source of ultimate truth. It is necessary to emphasize how crucial it is for practitioners to truly believe in their religions. Typically, it is also necessary to emphasize the importance of distinguishing between "belief in one religion" and "belief in many religions". The former clearly contradicts the latter. As a result, we must overcome these contradictions decisively. This is only conceivable if you consider it in contextual terms. A contradiction in one context may not be the same in the other. In the context of one individual, a single truth is strongly linked to a single source of shelter. However, in the context of society or with more than one person, it is vital to have several sources of refuge, religion, and truth.

Previously, it was not a huge issue because nations maintained their different religions. However, in today's tight and interconnected world,



there are several variances across religions. We must resolve these issues. For example, there have been many religions in India throughout the last thousand years. Some were brought from outside, while others were cultivated in India. Despite this, various religions have managed to coexist, and the Ahimsa precept has thrived in this country. Even now, this principle has a significant impact on all religions. This is extremely valuable, and India should take great pride in it. Ladakh has been largely Muslim and Buddhist for generations. However, other religions like as Christianity, Hinduism, and Sikhism have thrived here. Although it is natural for the inhabitants of Ladakh to be attached to and love their respective religions, this region enjoys a highly peaceful environment with no major concerns of religious persecution. People from all religious backgrounds in Ladakh are in close contact and coexist peacefully.

Muslims are expected to demonstrate full devotion to Allah while praying in mosques. This is also true for Buddhists who are entirely devoted to the Buddha and pray in Buddhist temples. A community with various religions should have many prophets and places of refuge. In such a community, harmony and respect among the various religions and their practitioners are essential. We need to distinguish between belief and respect. Belief is defined as entire faith in one's religion. At the same time, you should show respect for all other religions. The custom of believing in one's faith while respecting others has been there in Ladakh since the forefathers. The most essential thing now is to preserve and develop this legacy.

If cultures and religious views can coexist peacefully in today's multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-lingual and multi-cultural globe, it will undoubtedly provide a good example for others. However, if both parties become irresponsible, there is a risk of major issues. In a multi-ethnic society, the most serious issue is the divide between the majority and the minority. For example, in the capital, Leh, Buddhists make up the bulk of the population, while Muslims are a minority. The majority must treat the minority like invited guests. The minority, on the other hand, should be able to raise awareness among the majority. In other words, both parties should live in peace. To maintain this unity, both sides must treat the delicate topics between them seriously. Indeed, the majority should listen to and value the minority's viewpoints and opinions. Both sides should talk and clearly communicate their thoughts on the other's point of view and viewpoint. The minority, on the other hand, should exercise caution when it comes to the majority's sensitive subjects and communicate any reservations they may have. If difficulties are settled nicely, both parties will benefit. Suspicion of one another will hurt both communities. As a

result, it is critical to live in harmony and understand each other's perspectives. The most effective approach to accomplish this is to engage in dialogue after dialogue. Everyone must work together to create a peaceful society, and prayers alone will not be sufficient. His Holiness the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama emphasizes that all seven billion people in the globe desire happiness. In this regard, all major world religions stressed the importance of love, compassion, forgiveness, and tolerance. "Religion should not be a source of separation and violence," he remarked. He said the people of Ladakh should further enhance communal harmony in the region. "Wherever I go, I give the example of Ladakh where communal harmony still exists. And all should work for it so that it can be passed on to the generations to come".<sup>4</sup>

During the 2009 Communal Peace Award Ceremony, the then-Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh emphasized the importance of national integration and communal peace. He said "India has been home to all the great religions of the world. While some were born here, others took root in this ancient land of ours. The subcontinent has for centuries provided a unique social and intellectual environment in which many distinct religions have not only co-existed peacefully but have also enriched each other. It is the sacred duty of each one of us to carry forward this great tradition. I believe that both the government and civil society groups must continuously watch and raise our voices against groups and individuals who use violence in the name of religion. No religion sanctions violence. No religion preaches hatred. No religion endorses animosity towards another human being. Those who use religious symbols and forums to talk about violence, sectarianism and discord cannot be said to be the true spokesperson of their respective religion. However, we also know that all societies, including ours, have to contend with such preachers of disharmony and disagreement. That is why it is all the more important to recognize and applaud those - who work selflessly for communal harmony and national integration. It is our obligation to nurture such voices of sanity".<sup>5</sup>

### **Buddhist Perspective of Religious Harmony**

According to Buddhist philosophy, happiness is the product of an enlightened mind, whereas suffering is generated by a distorted mind. This is quite crucial. A distorted mind, as opposed to an enlightened mind, is one that is out of touch with reality. The world is entering the twenty-first century, but it is nevertheless facing more critical difficulties than ever before. The twentieth century has been a century of challenge and development, and we are proud of our accomplishments, particularly the



amazing scientific and technological advances. At the same time, the power of destruction has grown, resulting in an imbalance that is disproportionate to the expansion of so-called "civilization," "modernity," and "postmodernity," among other things. The essential illnesses of humanity, such as wrath, hatred, greed, and desire, have not altered; rather, they have become more intense. Conflicts, wars, and destruction are still ongoing. In primitive human culture, people used to fight each other with bows and arrows, and then as time passed, they used guns and machines for fighting.

According to Buddha's teachings, each sentient being is unique and distinct from the others. Each has a unique capacity, likes and dislikes, taste, and temperament. As a result, no single theological doctrine will fit everyone. Therefore, Buddha taught a variety of Buddhist doctrines. We have three Yanas (vehicles) and four philosophical schools, each of which has multiple sub-divisions. All of these appear to have several differences and contradictory concepts. It is said that the Buddha taught 84,000 concepts to different followers. However, despite their seeming differences and opposing viewpoints, all systems lead to emancipation and enlightenment. In contemporary society, most of the adjustment problems faced by people in their personal and social environment are the result of ignorance, greed and stagnation. The four Noble truths of Buddha and the moral code of conduct (Pancha Sila) given by him facilitate the process of understanding the different facets of human life, where everything is a consequence of one's behaviour and conduct. It teaches the followers to adopt the middle path for living life and practice a moral code to bring peace, harmony and justice into the society.<sup>6</sup>

All of the teachings are equally holy and spiritual. Neither is superior nor inferior to the other. Similarly, the Buddha recognized that each of the other noble traditions was essential and sacred to their respective adherents. One type of food or medicine does not fit everyone; thus, variety is essential. However, this does not imply that any of these kinds are inherently greater or worse in value. This fundamental fact should be understood by all religious adherents who sincerely appreciate each religion. The underlying temptation to regard one's faith as superior to other religions must be overcome. This is only feasible if one really practices their religion and is determined to safeguard the teaching in its purest form. For example, the core teaching of Buddha is to destroy mental defilements like hatred, rage, and attachment while cultivating virtues like love, compassion, tolerance, forgiveness, and generosity. If a Buddhist practitioner receives criticism of Buddha or Buddhism and reacts with hatred and rage because his religion or religious sensibilities are hurt, it

demonstrates that such a person is not a real practitioner of Buddhism. He is just physically attached to the name of Buddhism. In truth, the Buddha's doctrine can never be undermined by a critic, but it can be harmed by oneself via rage and hatred. I believe this principle applies to other religious systems as well. As a result, when opponents criticize the doctrine, it is critical to protect its true practice in one's life. Reacting with hatred and rage toward opponents is accepting loss and the destruction of one's own religion. However, replying with love and compassion results in victory and defence of one's own religion.

Instead of looking for parallels between religions, we should look for differences and learn to respect them. Otherwise, the tendency to seek similarities frequently leads to imposing one's religious interpretations on the other religion in the process of making things similar and thus incorporating various traditions into one tradition, which violates the fundamental principles of religious traditions. Whenever there is disharmony or a threat to harmony among various religious communities, every genuine religious practitioner should have the courage and willingness to condemn such happenings and particularly one's co-religionists who are found indulging in acts of disharmony should be effectively condemned rather than blaming the other community and attempting to justify one's co-religionists.

Genuine religious leaders from other faiths should meet as often as possible to establish personal relationships, eliminate misunderstandings, build genuine understanding, and set positive examples for their followers. Interfaith discourse, interreligious prayers, and pilgrimage to diverse religious sites and holy places should all be promoted. Above all, all sincere religious practitioners should stand together to protect their beliefs and convictions. They should strongly resist any misuse or exploitation of religion by politicians in the name of "divide and rule," including the formation of groups or vote banks based on the religious sentiments of innocent people. If religions are unable to bring humanity together, I believe it would be preferable if all religions vanished from the face of the earth to reduce divisions among men; thus, power-mongers and wealth maniacs will no longer find religion so useful in achieving their selfish goals.

#### **Translation of the Holy Quran into Ladakhi**

Islam is a religion that values universalism, tolerance, peace, and reconciliation. Islam believes that life is sacred and that believers have a responsibility to protect truth and justice. Social justice is the fundamental precept of Islam. Communal harmony is a feeling of goodwill and

affection for people from all communities. Islam is a religion that promotes peace and cooperation. Because Islam seeks societal peace and social harmony, it has nurtured this relationship and proclaimed that all human beings, including solitary males and females. Allah, the Highest one, says, "O mankind! Indeed, we have created you from male and female." (Surah al-hujurat ayat: 13). Qur'anic teachings and Prophetic paradigms provide the path for interfaith communication, as we can see many historical occurrences that occurred during the Prophet's (PBUH) life and are recorded in Qur'anic verses. For instance, Allah declares, "Your religion is yours, and mine is mine." According to Moulana Wahiduddeen Khan, this chapter encourages us to tolerate and appreciate non-Muslims. The great classical jurist, Ibn Qudamah al-Maqdisi (d.620H), declares, "It is not permitted to compel a non-believer to adopt Islam. Such a person would not be deemed a Muslim unless it is proven that they accepted the Islam of their own free will." He claims, "The reason for the prohibition of any coercion or duress is the Qur'anic verse, 'There is no compulsion in religion.'" (al baqarah ayat: 256).

Muslims have regarded the translation of the Quran into languages other than Arabic as valuable because it allows non-Arabic speakers to understand its messages. The process of translation not only involves transference of meaning from a source language into a target language but it also includes the socio-cultural aspects of two languages/communities. Therefore, it is imperative for the translators to be familiar with these aspects as this familiarity facilitates better translation. Muhammad Omar Nadwi (Imam Jama Masjid, Leh, UT-Ladakh) and Khanpo Konchok Phanday, two well-known scholars, have translated the Holy Quran into colloquial Ladakhi using Tibetan script. Both are contemporary Ladakhi scholars. The translation of the Holy Quran into the colloquial Ladakhi language using Tibetan script will undoubtedly strengthen religious and communal unity in Ladakh. This would also assist ordinary men from all walks of life belonging to different sects and communities in understanding the gist of the Holy Quran, hence fostering a harmonious society. Reading or listening to the Quran with translation provides a deeper grasp of Allah's message. It helps you learn about Islamic beliefs. Incorporating the Quran into your evening ritual strengthens your bond with Allah. The Holy Quran is considered the last Book revealed to Prophet Muhammad. It has thirty parts. It is in the Arabic language. Islamic law is based on the Holy Quran and the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad. Some examples from the translation are provided below:

#### ***Sura Nissa Ayat 10***

اِنَّ النَّسِيَةَ يَكْفُرُونَ نَمَوا اَلَيْسَ اِنَّمَا يَكْفُرُونَ فِيْ بُطُوْنِهِمْ نَارًا وَّ سِيمَانًا ۖ ﴿١٠﴾ ع





اے مائے رب! تجھیں ہدایت دینے کے بعد مائے دل بھیجے نہ کر دے اور تجھیں اپنے پاس سے

۸ رامت عطا فرما، یقیناً تو ہی بہت بڑی عطا دینے والا ہے۔

“མཐུ་བ་ཞིག་འདུག་པོ་མཐུ་བ་། བཟུང་ཏིག་པམ་མི་བཟུང་ཞེ་ཟིང་ནེ་བ་ཞིག་ཟིང་ཀུན་ཡོང་ཞེ་ཟྱོང་མ་མཛོད། ལམ་བཟུང་མི་མཛོད་ཞེ་པ་པེ་  
ཟྱོག་ཀམ་པ་མཛོད་(ཁྱིང་ཟུག་)ལམ་ལ་མཛོད་ཞེ་པ་མ་མཐུང་བ་ནི་མཛོད་དང་མཛོད་ཀམ་པ་མཛོད་ལམ་ལ་མཛོད་ལམ་ལ་མཛོད་ལམ་ལ་མཛོད་ལམ་ལ་མཛོད་(༥)

رَبَّنَا إِنَّكَ جَمِيعُ الْغُيُوبِ لَا تَجِدُ فِيهِ أَنْ لَكَ لَا يُخْفِيَ الْبُيُوتُ (٢١)

اے جاے رب! تو یقیناً لوگوں کو ایک دن جمع کرنے والا ہے جس کے آنے میں کوئی شک نہیں،

۵۔ اے نبی! اللہ تعالیٰ وعدہ خلافی نہیں کرتا۔

ཡུལ་འཛིན་པ་དང་པོ་ལྟུང་། རྒྱུ་ལ་བར་ཤིང་པེ་མཁུ་ལོ་མི་མེད་མཁུ་ལོ་ལྟུང་པ་མཁུང་པེ། ལ་མཁུ་པེ་མི་མི་ལ་མཁུང་པེ་མི་  
མེད་ལས་མཁུང་པེ་མཁུ་ལོ་མི་མེད་ལོ་མི་མེད་ལྟུང་པེ་མཁུ་ལོ་མི་མེད་ལྟུང་པེ་མཁུ་ལོ་མི་མེད་ལྟུང་པེ། (ད)

*Sura Anfal Ayat no 28*

وَأَطِيعُوا أَمْرًا مَعَكُمْ وَالْأَمْرَ فِيمَا بَيْنَ يَدَيْكُمْ وَاللَّهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ عَزِيمٌ ﴿٢٨﴾

اور تم اس بات کو جان رکھو کہ تمہارے اموال اور تمہاری اولاد ایک امتحان کی چیز ہے اور اس بات کو

۲۸۔ بھی جان رکھو کہ اللہ تعالیٰ کے پاس بڑا بھاری اجر ہے۔

[illegible]

## Conclusion

To sum up, religious harmony plays an important role in ensuring political and global stability. Internationally, it is critical to maintain a nonviolent and harmonious environment, particularly in a society comprised of believers of various races and religions. Religious relations are usual. Interfaith involvement brings individuals together across religious and ideological barriers, promoting mutual trust, shared ideals, and understanding. Religious freedom and tolerance play a crucial role in creating a better world. Therefore, it's best to keep your religion and respect all other religions.

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<sup>7</sup> <https://www.daily-sun.com/printversion/details/387849>

## **Genesis of the Suhrawardiyyah Sufi Order in Medieval Bengal: Reflections on the Contribution of Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī**

Mohammad Irfan Shah\*

*Exploring the phenomenon of the emergence, growth, impact and status of the Sufis or Sufi orders in the (medieval Indian) society has been of crucial significance in understanding not only the intellectual history or spiritual legacy but the overall development of Islam in South Asia or the Indian subcontinent. Sufis and Sufi fraternities/Salāsīl/Orders have been considered an integral part of Indian society during the medieval period. The Sufis indisputably played an instrumental role in promoting and sustaining the peaceful, tolerant and pluralistic character along with the unity amid diversity in the society. In particular, their remarkable piety and religiosity, egalitarian approach and advocacy of love, peace, harmony, sympathy, philanthropy and unconditional service to humanity (irrespective of caste, colour and creed), left an indelible mark on the Indian religious and social history besides engraving everlasting imprints on the minds and hearts of the people. Given the significance of the multi-dimensional role(s) played by the Sufis and the impact thereof on the socio-cultural, political, economic and religious milieu of medieval Indian society, any attempt to understand the historical development of Islam in the subcontinent would be incomplete and partial without referring to the Sufis or the Sufi orders that flourished in the Indian subcontinent.*

*With this backdrop, the current study humbly attempts to explore the role, activities and contributions made by a prominent Sufi master, Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī, in medieval Bengal, engaging with the sources through analytical, historical and descriptive methods. Tabrīzī spearheaded the process of developing the Suhrawardiyyah Sufi Silsilah/Order—the earliest Sufi Order introduced in the subcontinent—in Bengal as early as the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The study will endeavour to analyse the role and activities played by Tabrīzī in the social, political, ritual and pedagogical domains of 13<sup>th</sup>-century Bengal furnishing an essential link to understand the religious and social structure of the then Bengal.*

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\* Govt. Degree College for Women, Pulwama

society. The work aims to contribute to the field of existing literature on Sufi studies in the Indian context.

**Keywords:** Sufi, Sufi Orders, Medieval India, Bengal, Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrizī, Suhrawardiyyah Order

### **Preliminary Thoughts**

Evidence from the historical (epigraphic/chronological/hagiographical) sources amply attests to the profuse transfusion of Sufis (bearing affiliations with different *Salāsīl* Orders) into various provinces of the Indian subcontinent in a gradual yet unremitting process concurrently with the rise and expansion of Delhi Sultanate. In this backdrop, the major Sufi orders like (the) *Qādiriyyah*, *Suhrawardiyyah*, *Chishtīyyah*, *Naqshbandīyyah* and others were introduced to proliferate and grow in and experience the multicultural and multi-ethnic environment of the subcontinent. An analytical study of the historical development of the Sufi orders in the subcontinent reveals that, usually, each among the major Sufi orders exercised an unrivalled influence over (a) specific area(s) in a specific period. Delhi, for example, experienced an indomitable influence of the *Chishtīyyah* Order and its activities during the Sultanate period and meanwhile, Multan and Uch emerged and developed significantly as the *Suhrawardiyyah* strongholds with unparalleled sway in the region. Though the *Suhrawardiyyah* fraternity could hardly make any substantial stride in establishing strongholds elsewhere as influential as Multan and Uch yet, this order spread to distant places of the subcontinent during the Sultanate period from the western state, Gujarat, to the eastern province, Bengal, permeating through the north-central region, Delhi up to the northern-most region, Kashmir. To study and analyse the role of the Sufi masters representing this order in these culturally and topographically diverse regions is credibly important for an overall understanding of the process of the growth, development and impact of this order, in particular and of Sufism in general, in the subcontinent.

In this context, apart from being considered the cherished centre of some prominent Sufi orders like the *Chishtī*, *Madārī* and *Naqashbandī* orders, Bengal has also been recognized as a significant centre of the *Suhrawardiyyah* fraternity in the subcontinent. The forthcoming section of the monograph will be an attempt to explore and analyze the protagonist of the *Suhrawardiyyah* Sufi Order in Bengal, who greatly promoted and proliferated this Order in this region.

### Muslim Bengal: A Brief Depiction of its Political History

The medieval pre-modern province of Bengal or Bangālah (as it has been referred to in the medieval chronicles) stretched over modern-day Bangladesh (previously, East Pakistan) including the Indian states of West-Bengal, Tripura and Karīm Ganj district of Assam.<sup>1</sup> With a long and chequered socio-religious, cultural and political history, the territory of Bengal has been either ruled as a unified single territory or at times, divided into small provinces governed by multiple dynasties rulers simultaneously. Having witnessed, since antiquity, an array of Jain, Buddhist and Hindu rulers intermittently, this massive territory, Bengal, began to emerge as a lucrative province for the Muslim (Turkish/Delhi) Sultanate with the onset of the thirteenth century. However, the Hindu/Brahmanical hegemony of Bengal<sup>2</sup> began to fade away only with the unpredicted inroads of Ikhtiyār-al-Dīn Muḥammad Bakhtiyār Khiljī (d.1206 C.E), a military commander under (Ghorid) Qutb al-Dīn Aiybak (d. 1210 C.E). He gained control of the capital and other major cities of Bengal by defeating Lakshman Sena (of the erstwhile ruling Sena Dynasty) in 1203/04 C.E. Bakhtiyār's successful military campaigns (between 1199 to 1206 C.E.) effectively initiated the process of bringing the whole province of Bihar and Bengal under Muslim suzerainty. However, after Bakhtiyār Khiljī's death, it took the Muslim rulers/governors a further two and a half centuries to annex this grand and fertile province completely.<sup>3</sup>

Bakhtiyār Khiljī, though, ostensibly ruled over the region (Lakṣnawī or Lakshmanawāī near the current city, Gaur in Maldah district) as a regent of Qutb al-Dīn Aiybak but his installation laid the foundations of Muslim rule in Bengal. The successors of Bakhtiyār Khiljī, the Khiljī Amīrs of Bengal, though, ruled over the region while recognizing the supremacy of the Delhi Sultanate yet, repeatedly made rebellions against the central authority to declare their independence. Bengal remained under the control of the Delhi Sultanate intermittently mostly through the governors *Wālīs* appointed by the central authority (Delhi Sultanate). Even the celebrated sovereigns Sultans of Delhi like Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish (d.1236 C.E) and Ghiyās al-Dīn Balban (d.1287 C.E) personally went to Bengal to exterminate the ascendancy of Khiljī Amīrs, the successors of Bakhtiyār Khiljī but gained only an interim success while nominating governors for the province. Naṣīr al-Dīn Bughrā Khan, the son of Balban, having assisted his father in sabotaging the rebellion of Muḥīth al-Dīn Tughral Khan (the erstwhile governor of Bengal), was made governor of Bengal (between 1281 to 1287 C.E). However, he declared himself as the independent

ruler/Sultan (in 1287-91 C.E.) of Bengal in the aftermath of his father's death. His successors continued to rule independently until 1324 C.E., when the last ruler of this branch Ghiyāth al-Dīn Bahādur Shah was defeated by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq in 1324 C.E., and was later nominated by Muhammad bin Tughluq as governor of the province (1324-28 C.E.). Following an interlude of the administration by the Tughluq governors between 1328 – 1338 C.E., the independent Muslim Sultanate was once again reinstated in Bengal starting with the rule of Fakhr al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh and his successors (up to 1352 C.E.). This was succeeded by the rule of Ilyās Shāhī Dynasty of Shams al-Dīn Ilyās Shāh (d. 1358 C.E.) from 1352 C.E. up to 1487 C.E. with an interlude of by Raja Ganesha (d. 1418 C.E.), his converted son, Jadu Yādū (later, Jalāl al-Dīn Muhammad Shāh) between 1414 C.E. to 1435 C.E. The Ilyās Shāhī rule was taken over by few *Haḥshī* Abyssinian rulers (commencing with Bārbak 1487 C.E. and ending in 1494), who were slaves of the erstwhile Bengal Sultans and rose to such prominence in the court as to hold the sceptre in their hands. Sultan Alā' al-Dīn Husayn Shāh eliminated the Abyssinian rule and laid the foundations of Husayn Shāhī Dynasty that survived between 1494 C.E. to 1538 C.E. meanwhile, leaving Bengal under the governorship of (Afghan) Surī Empire (of Sher Shāh Surī) between 1532 to 1556 C.E. The Surī governors also laid foundations of independent dynastic rule like Muhammad Shāh Dynasty (1554-1564 C.E.) and Karrānī Dynasty (1564-1576 C.E.). With the extermination of Dāwūd Khān Karrānī (d. 1576 C.E.), the Bengal Sultanate came to an end turning Bengal into a *Sūbah* province of the Mughal Empire. The central authority (Delhi Sultanate) could establish its absolute control over Bengal only sporadically and this region would often resort to revolts as appears from the reports of the medieval chroniclers (rather the eyewitnesses) like, Minhāj-i Sirāj Juzjānī and Dīyā' al-Dīn Baranī. In his *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Baranī disparagingly records:

*The wise and the experienced had called Lakhnauti [capital/prime city of Bengal] 'Balghakpur' (the abode of sedition) because ever since the occupation of Delhi by Sultan Mu'izz ud Din Muhammad Sam [Shihāb al-Dīn Muhammad Ghori- d. 1206 C.E], the governors who were assigned Lakhnauti have frequently rebelled, the reason being that Lakhnauti is a far-off region, and is a big and wide territory, and the way from Delhi to that place is beset with many hurdles. If the governor had not resorted to rebellion, the mischievous people have somehow misled him, pulled him down, taken over the country, and rendered him ineffective, as if rebellion has become second nature to the people of that region.<sup>5</sup>*



Bakhtiyār Khiljī and his successors—Khiljī Amīrs, acted as regents/governors of Bengal bringing the province formally under the control of the Delhi Sultanate (Ghorids, Khiljīs, Tughluqs, the Sayyids and Lodīs). From the beginning of Muslim rule, the governors would enjoy significant autonomy/authority and in the later period, often acted as *de facto* rulers rebelling frequently against the central authority. Thus, the control of the centre (Delhi) here was only intermittent rather than persistent and the province enjoyed the establishment of its independent Sultanate (though interrupted by the Central authority) to be brought under the Mughal suzerainty in the seventeenth century and absorbed in the *Subah* (province) of Bengal of this grand empire. However, it is to be noted here that Bakhtiyār Khiljī's inroads (at the onset of the thirteenth century) could bring only a small principality under Muslim rule and it took almost more than two and half centuries for the subsequent Muslim rulers/governors to establish a full-fledged and mighty Muslim empire over the whole of Bengal. With the fall of the Mughal empire, Bengal began to be administered by the *Nawābs* and with the extermination of the last *Nawāb*, Sirāj al-Dawlah in the decisive battle of Plassey (June 23, 1757 C.E), the British Empire finally annexed this fertile territory as one of its provinces (Bengal Presidency).<sup>6</sup> Later on, after the independence and creation of India and Pakistan, Bengal was divided into West-Bengal (India) and East-Bengal (Pakistan) and the latter, finally emerged as an independent country, Bangladesh, after the historic war of 1971 between the East-Pakistan (Bangladesh) and the (West) Pakistan.

With the rise and development of Muslim power, the province of Bengal, on the political front, witnessed many dramatic changes and periodic waves of peace and war. Meanwhile, the socio-cultural and educational setup of the Muslim community began to emerge and transfuse into Bengali society steadily. The spread/proliferation of Islam and Muslims into the province, however, was not an immediate effect of a single factor or cause. This was rather a gradual and complex process engaging mainly, the early trade relations and interactions with the Muslim community or Arab traders, the Muslim preachers especially Sufis and the degenerated religious/political and social structure of the caste-ridden Hindu-Brahmanical society. The establishment of Muslim rule also played a significant role in this process by facilitating the emigration of Muslim scholars '*Ulamā*', Sufis, and preachers at a stupendous rate in addition to the promotion/patronage and establishment of religious and educational institutions seminaries/*Madāris* (sing., *Madrasah*) and *Masājid*/mosques. These factors played a significant role in building a strong edifice of Muslim culture and linking the society of

Bengal with the Islamic commonwealth/Caliphate. The Muslim rulers, immigrant scholars and Sufis acted, in their respective capacities, as the key figures in this process of promotion and transfusion of Muslim culture into the Bengali society in particular and the whole of the subcontinent in general. Annemarie Schimmel's analyses corroborate these statements by supplementing:

*For the largely Buddhist peasantry [of medieval Bengal] the advent of the Muslims meant liberation from Brahmanical oppression (in a certain way similar to the situation in Sind in the early 8<sup>th</sup> century); therefore the conversions took place on a rather large scale. In some areas, conversion to Islam was affected immediately on a virtually animistic society. As a logical result, Islam in Bengal remained for a long time mainly connected with the lower classes ... Here, as elsewhere, conversions were largely carried out by Sufis, among whom Jalal Tabrizi, the Suhrawardi saint (d.1244) played a decisive role.<sup>5</sup>*

To substantiate further, the observations of T.W. Arnold, in his much-celebrated work, *The Preaching of Islam*, appear to be relatable, as he admits, "it is in Bengal, however, that the Muhammadan missionaries [chiefly the Sufis] in India have achieved their greatest success, as far as numbers are concerned." For him, "the long continuance of the Muhammadan rule would naturally assist the spread of Islam." Substantiating it further, he relates that, in Bengal "Islam met with no consolidated religious system to bar its progress and "the Muslim missionaries were welcomed with open arms by the aborigines and the low castes on the very outskirts of Hinduism, despised and condemned by their proud Aryan rulers."<sup>6</sup> Validating the statement further, Arnold quotes W.W. Hunter, who evaluates:

*To the poor people, fishermen, hunters, pirates and low-caste tillers of the soil, Islam came as a revelation from on high. It was the creed of the ruling race, its missionaries were men of zeal who brought the Gospel of the unity of God [Tawhid] and the equality of men in its sight to a despised and neglected population ... Compulsory conversions are occasionally recorded. But it was not to force that Islam owed its permanent success in Lower Bengal. [Rather] It appealed to the people; and it derived the great mass of its converts from the poor [depraved sections]. It brought in a higher conception of God, and a nobler idea of the brotherhood of man ... [and] offered to the teeming low castes of Bengal ... a free entrance into a new social organisation [with a respectable status].<sup>10</sup>*

This evidence from the well-acclaimed Orientalists suffices to emphasize the role of the peaceful preachers (most of whom were the Sufis belonging to different Orders and patronized by the rulers), towards the rise and growth of the Muslim community in the subcontinent especially Bengal. The unequivocally humane, philanthropic, egalitarian, genuine and peaceful approach espoused by the Sufis, as reflected in their biographies, would have evidently produced a much appealing effect on the commoners, who would consider these saintly persons as the representatives of this (Divinely revealed) faith (Islam) and would naturally feel blessed to join their creed wholeheartedly. Unsurprisingly, as per the hagiographical records, the Sufis were often found to be visited by magnanimous public gatherings from among the Hindus and Muslims alike, a tradition that would even continue posthumously at their shrines/tombs.

With the emergence of Muslim rule, Bengal attracted many towering scholars, intellectuals and Sufis and became a permanent abode of many aboriginal as well as immigrant Sufis belonging to different Orders (*Salāsī* (sing., *Silsilah*)). This luxuriant province turned not only to be a hub of intellectual activities but also the domicile of many famous scholars and experts of the Sufi path belonging to mainly the *Chishtī*, *Suhrawardī*, *Madārī*, *Qalandarī*, *Naqashbandī* and *Qādirī* Orders. Apart from the permanent settlers, renowned bards of the medieval (Indian) Sufi world like Bābā Farīd, Makhdūm Jahāniyān, Sayyid Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī, Shāh Madār and others are reported to have been the visitors of Bengal. The most prominent and influential Sufis of Bengal mainly belonged to the *Suhrawardiyyah* and *Chishtiyyah* orders. Shah Jalāl Gujaratī, Shaykh Akhī Sirāj al-Dīn (born in Badā'ūn and died at Gaur in Bengal in 1357 C.E. and a disciple of Khwāja Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'), Shaykh 'Alā al-Dīn 'Alā al-Haq (d.1398 C.E) of Pānduwā (the famous disciple of Akhī Sirāj) and his successor, Nūr al-Dīn Quṭb-i 'Ālam (d. 1415 C.E) and his successors have survived as the most famous immigrant and aboriginal *Chishtiyyah* Sufis of Bengal. Shāh Jalāl Mujarrad (in Sylhet) and Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrizī have been counted as the most influential and highly instrumental Sufis of the *Suhrawardiyyah* fraternity in Bengal.<sup>11</sup>

The role of the Sufis in introducing and promoting the Islamic/Muslim identity in the medieval social, religious and cultural milieu of Bengal is of crucial significance. Even many accounts recorded in the hagiographical sources also allude to the direct engagement/involvement of many Sufis in the political affairs of this province. To discuss the role, contribution and activities of all these Sufis (belonging to different orders) in the socio-

cultural and religious history of Bengal is beyond the scope of the current monograph except for the prominent Sufi preachers representing the *Suhrawardiyyah* Sufi Order in Bengal (as will be discussed in the forthcoming section)

### **Emergence of the *Suhrawardiyyah* Sufi Order in Bengal**

The *Suhrawardiyyah* order derives its eponym from the term 'Suhraward' – a town in Iran – the native place of Shaykh Abū Najīb Suhrawardī, the founder of this order. His chief successor *Khalīfah* was his nephew, Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Hafṣ 'Umar al-Suhrawardī, under whose aegis this Order developed and systematized profoundly gaining extensive prominence in the majority of the Muslim lands especially the Indian subcontinent. Some eminent and direct disciples of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn – including, Nūḥ Bhakkārī, Sultan Sakḥī Sarwar, Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā Multānī, Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrizī, Diyā al-Dīn Rūmī, Nūr al-Dīn Mubārak Ghaznawī and Hamīd al-Dīn Nagawrī – introduced the *Suhrawardiyyah* order into the subcontinent. However, the prime and most instrumental promulgator of this order in the subcontinent was Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā Multānī, the illustrious disciple and successor of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī. Though, the order spread to different regions of the subcontinent like Punjab, Sind, Gujarat, Delhi, Bengal, Kashmir, and Uttar Pradesh, yet, the prominence and centrality of this order remained circumscribed around its two main centres i.e., Multan (established by Shaykh Zakariyyā) and Uch (established by Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Surkh Bukhārī, a disciple of Shaykh Zakariyyā). The unrivalled glory of the Multan *Khānqāh*/convent was intact up to the period of Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn, the grandson of Shaykh Zakariyyā Multānī, while as the Centres at Uch rose to unparalleled prominence under the aegis of Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Makhdūm Jahāniyān, the grandson of Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Surkh. This order was unable to make any tremendous sway in the northern regions of India like Delhi (during the Sultanate period), owing to the activities and predominance of the *Chishtīyyah* leaders like, Quṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī and Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' and their disciples.

Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā Multānī undoubtedly spearheaded the process of introducing and promoting the *Suhrawardiyyah* fraternity in the Indian subcontinent. Through his spiritual heirs (disciples/descendants), this order flourished greatly in regions around Multan and Uch (Sind) and reached Delhi and many other places of the subcontinent. In Bengal, however, this order was introduced, not through the endeavours of Shaykh



Multānī or his disciples but, with the arrival of Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī, another direct disciple of Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī. Tabrīzī has been considered one of the most influential Sufis in the religious history of Bengal and has received approbation from most of the historians and hagiographers for his role in spreading Islam and introducing the *Suhrawardīyyah* order in the province.

#### **Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī (d. c. 1226 or 1244 C.E): The Vanguard of *Suhrawardīyyah* Sufi Order in Bengal**

Abū al-Qāsim Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī was a native of Tabrīz (one of the capitals of Ancient Iran/Persia, currently the capital city of Azerbaijani Province, in Northwestern Iran).<sup>12</sup> The sources are too scanty to reveal anything about his early life, except that he along with his father, were the disciples of Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd Tabrīzī after whose death, he went to Baghdad and joined the circle of Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī. The hagiographical sources unanimously attest that with his devotion and dedication Shaykh Tabrīzī excelled over all other disciples of Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī in being dutiful to him.<sup>13</sup> This has been substantiated by the hagiographers with an event, as per which, Shaykh al-Suhrawardī was considerably old when Shaykh Tabrīzī was enrolled into his discipleship and despite his being old, Shaykh al-Suhrawardī would consistently perform the annual *Hajj*/pilgrimage. However, due to ageing, he was required to take only warm/hot food, which was too difficult to arrange while on a journey from Baghdad to Makkah. In order to cater warm food, Shaykh Tabrīzī would lift a stove (*Dayghdānī*) on his head all through the journey to provide his *Pīr/Shaykh* with hot/warm food. This practice of Shaykh Tabrīzī, which he continued for many years (seven), undoubtedly reflects his magnitude of devotional and emotional attachment to his *Pīr*/master. The historical records suggest that Shaykh Tabrīzī accompanied Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā Multānī on the latter's way back to India (Multan) from Baghdad. However, during their sojourn in Nīshāpūr, Shaykh Tabrīzī visited Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn 'Attār (d. c. between, 1221–1230 C.E)<sup>14</sup>, the famous medieval Sufi bard, owing to whose awe-inspiring personality he was not able to recapture the image of his *Shaykh*, Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī, in his mind. However, relating this to Shaykh Multānī, invited him Shaykh Multānī's displeasure,<sup>15</sup> for whom it was tantamount to disrespecting their *Shaykh*/master and as a result, both of them parted away in Nīshāpūr and reached Multan separately. Shaykh Tabrīzī left Multan after a short stay and finally reached Delhi, where he faced some troubles



(as will be discussed below) and finally moved to Bengal, which became his final abode.<sup>16</sup>

### *Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī's Sojourn at Delhi and Badā'ūn*

Leaving Multan, Shaykh Tabrīzī travelled via Ajodhan and reached Delhi in the reign of Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish (d.1236 C.E)<sup>17</sup>, who was known for his extraordinary munificence upon and reverence towards the Sufis. Owing to the conducive atmosphere of the subcontinent and an appealing environment for spreading the religious teachings and spiritual guidance of Islam, during this period, the Sufis from the adjoining Muslim lands (especially Central Asia and Persia), would immigrate to different regions of the country (India) and most often, settle down permanently. Thus, it is most probable that Shaykh Tabrīzī would have intended to make Delhi his abode to familiarize the *Suhrawardīyyah* Order there and to enjoy the company of his cherished companion, the *Chishtī* doyen, Quṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī.<sup>18</sup> While reaching the skirts of Delhi, the Sultan (Iltutmish), as reported by the hagiographers, having already been apprised of and overawed with the spiritual status of Shaykh Tabrīzī, went out along with his courtiers and religious dignitaries to receive him. Jamālī substantiates this by recounting that:

سلطان با جمیع مشائخ حاضر بود سلطان چون حضرت شیخ جمال الدین را دید از اسب فرو آمد و بجانب ایشان

دوید

*The Sultan went out (to receive him) along with the [band of] religious dignitaries, and the moment he saw Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn [Tabrīzī], he descended from the horse and ran towards him [to welcome him].*<sup>19</sup>

The Sultan, after a formal reception and warm welcome, humbly requested the *Shaykh* to proceed ahead and himself (along with the entourage) followed the *Shaykh*, a fine reflection of his reverence for the Sufi masters and at this instance, for Shaykh Tabrīzī, who was lodged in proximity with the royal palace. Iltutmish's homage towards Shaykh Tabrīzī unveils both the Sultan's temperament towards the religious dignitaries (Sufis/scholars) as well as the indisputable status of the Sufi *Shaykh*/masters and their influence over the State in that epoch of medieval Indian society. However, the Shaykh's presence and his sway

over the Sultan exasperated Najm al-Dīn Sughra, the then *Shaykh al-Islam*,<sup>20</sup> who, from the outset, began to defame Shaykh Tabrīzī, though vainly, in his private conversations with the Sultan. Out of his jealousy, Najm al-Dīn made several futile attempts to dishonour and denigrate the Shaykh in the imperial court.<sup>21</sup>

At the very outset, in pursuance of the imperial orders, Najm al-Dīn had arranged for the Shaykh an abandoned house called, *Bayt al-Jinn* or the house haunted by the evil spirits *Jinns*. Upon the inquiry of the Sultan, Najm al-Dīn justified this action on the pretext that it was to check the spiritual powers of the *Shaykh*. However, this was undoubtedly the first explicit exhibition of his envious impulses against Shaykh Tabrīzī and to his dismay, there were no signs that would signify the presence of the evil spirits or as pleaded by the hagiographers, the evil spirits *Jinns* had already departed with the arrival of Shaykh Tabrīzī into the house. In his second attempt, Najm al-Dīn tried to discredit the *Shaykh* in front of the Sultan by accusing him of exhibiting uncalled behaviour towards his (*Shaykh's*) slave (who was a Turk lad, bought for 1500 dinars). However, his charges proved baseless and the Sultan warned him of meddling with the affairs of the *Shaykh*.<sup>22</sup> Having been disgraced and aroused by jealousy, Najm al-Dīn finally devised the obnoxious conspiracy of charging the *Shaykh* with adultery and to execute this plot, he hired a disreputable *Maṭribah* singer/dancer (girl), named Gawhar, for a sum of 500 *dinars*. He paid half of the payment in advance and the rest was to be paid through Ahmad Ashraf, a *Baqqāl* (grocer/merchant), after the completion of the task. She accordingly blamed Shaykh Tabrīzī for having committed adultery with her and recorded the statement in front of the Sultan. This, finally, led Sultan Iltutmish to organize a *Mahḍar*<sup>23</sup> (trial session) to investigate the charges levied against the *Shaykh*. Again, to execute his plot successfully, Najm al-Dīn, who mistakenly thought that the relation between Shaykh Tabrīzī and Multānī was not cordial, recommended the Sultan to invite Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā from Multan to preside over the *Mahḍar*. However, to his dismay, upon Shaykh Tabrīzī's arrival (into the assembly), Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn proceeded hastily to receive him and carried his shoes. Such an exhibition of respect would have bewildered everyone there let alone Najm al-Dīn Sughra. The Sultan questioned Bahā' al-Dīn on such a gesture and told him that it had turned the *Mahḍar* into a futile endeavour, as Shaykh Tabrīzī was accused and Shaykh Zakariyyā was to preside the trial. However, Shaykh Zakariyyā replied that he (Tabrīzī) had served his *Pīr*-master (Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn) for at least seven years with utmost devotion and thus, such an act was justified (on that ground)

and would not have any effect on the integrity of the judgement. The presence of the grand assembly of Sufi experts and scholars (at least 200) and their stately appearance overawed the (dancer) girl and she confessed her sin (of charging the *Shaykh* with false allegations) and disclosed the plot of Najm al-Dīn in front of the august gathering, which was also testified by the *Baqqāl* grocer. The session, finally, led to the respectful acquittal of Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrizī and the disgraceful dismissal of Najm al-Dīn from the post of *Shaykh al-Islam* and Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā replaced him as the new *Shaykh al-Islam* of the Sultanate.<sup>24</sup>

The evidence from the relevant *Tadhkirah* works (hagiographies) and *Malfūzāt* (discourses of Sufi masters) provide a clear depiction of the envious/jealous, shrewd and haughty nature of Najm al-Dīn Sughrā. The author of *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, records that despite his cordial relations with Mu'in al-Dīn Chishtī, Najm al-Dīn disliked the overwhelming sway and popularity of Qutb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī in Delhi regarding which, he once even complained to Khwāja Ajmerī.<sup>25</sup> Plausibly, Khwāja Ajmerī lived at a far-off place (Ajmer) from the capital for which, he would hardly overshadow Sughrā's position in the capital and hence, Najm al-Dīn Sughrā had no hesitation in nurturing friendly relations with him. However, for Shaykh Tabrizī and Bakhtiyār Kākī, the situation was different and their very presence in Delhi was perceived (by Najm al-Dīn) as a threat to his (Najm al-Dīn's) status in the imperial court.<sup>26</sup> Najm al-Dīn's behaviour with regard to the Sufis (especially Shaykh Tabrizī) would also help in understanding the probable dichotomy between the religious (externalist) scholars and the Sufis.

This unpleasant experience confronted by Shaykh Tabrizī obviously would have disenchanted him from staying in Delhi and in the aftermath of this *Mahādar*, as the sources report, he left Delhi for Badā'ūn and finally went to Bengal, where he lived the rest of his life. Sughrā's indecorous attempts had affected the Shaykh so gravely that upon leaving Delhi, he is reported to have remarked abjectly, [as narrated by Khwāja Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' in *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād*]:

بعد از آن فرمود که شیخ جمال الدین تبریزی [قدس سره العزیز] چون در دلی آمد و بعد از چند گاه روان  
شد می گفت که من درین شهر آدم ندیده ام این ساعت نفره ام تا پیشتریم خواهم شد

... Thereupon, he [Khwāja Nizām al-Dīn] said that when Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrizī [May God sanctify him] reached Delhi and left after some time, he said [while leaving Delhi], I was gold; when I came to Delhi, [but] now, I am silver and do not know what I would become [in future].<sup>27</sup>

Subsequently, Badā'ūn/Badāyūn appears to have been comparatively comfortable for Shaykh Tabrizī as compared to Delhi, as here, he received much hospitable and cordial treatment from its chief administrator, Qādī Kamāl al-Dīn Ja'fari. The Qādī was greatly impressed with the Shaykh's spiritual merit and requested Shaykh to enrol his son, Burhān al-Dīn, as his disciple and also received a *Kulāh* cap from him (as a mark of blessings).<sup>28</sup> Having stayed at Badā'ūn for a transitory period, Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn left for Lakhnauti/Bengal and prior to his departure, he is reported to have converted a Hindu curd-seller (and actually a robber) of Katheir Katihar (known for dwellings of highway-robbers) to Islam, who came to be called as 'Alī or 'Alī Mawlā. He gifted a handsome amount (about one Lakh *Titals*)<sup>29</sup> to the Shaykh, who as per reports subsequently spent the whole of it in charity. Later on, Shaykh 'Alī Mawlā survived as the chief successor of Shaykh Tabrizī at Badā'ūn and gained unparalleled fame in the town for his piety and spirituality. He is reported to have been invited to grace the turban-tying occasion/ceremony of Khwāja Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' (at the completion of his formal education/course).<sup>30</sup>

Shaykh Tabrizī left Delhi for obvious reasons (as expounded above), but the reason behind his departure from Badā'ūn remains obscure owing to the unavailability of sources/evidence. However, it may be pleaded that the town (Badā'ūn) was already jam-packed with scholars and Sufis of great repute. Provided this, the town had the least appeal for a Sufi like Shaykh Tabrizī, who would have been in search of a peaceful place (where his presence would not be felt apprehensive) without any annoying episodes as he had already left a place (Delhi) on facing an insolent charge from a religious scholar (Najm al-Dīn Suhra).

#### *Arrival and Activities of Shaykh Tabrizī in Bengal*

The lifelong journeys of Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrizī finally ended with his departure from Badā'ūn to Bengal. Pertinent evidences from the sources corroborate that Shaykh Tabrizī reached Delhi during Iltutmish's reign (r.1210-36 C.E) and thus, he would have travelled to Bengal not before 1210 C.E., (when Iltutmish ascended the throne). However, contending this

statement, the 'allegedly contemporary' Sanskrit source, *Seka Subhodaya* [*Shaykh Shubhodaya*] mentions his arrival in Bengal during Lakshman Sena's rule, which terminated with the arrival of Muslim commander, Bakhtiyār Khiljī (d.1206 C.E). Thus, as per this statement, Shaykh Tabrīzī might have reached Bengal not after 1202/03 (the year of the conquest of Lakshman Sena's capital Nūdiāh).<sup>31</sup> The account of *Seka Subhodaya* seems to be improbable as far as a multitude of references (contrasting it) from hagiographical sources are taken into account.<sup>32</sup> Shaykh Tabrīzī, as per Rizvi's statement (provided without reference to any source), lodged initially at Lakhnawtī/Lakhnauti, where he established a *Khānqāh* with an attached *Langar Khāna* public-charity kitchen in addition to appending few gardens and land to it. However, he did not stay there permanently and moved to northern Bengal, where he is recorded to have constructed a *Khānqāh* in Deotalla/Devatalla or Deva Mahal near Pandua. Here, Shaykh Tabrīzī, as per Jamālī's *Siyar*, converted many people to Islam and the place, Devtalla/Deva Mahal came to be known as Tabrīzābād. As per Gītānjali's analysis Shaykh Tabrīzī has been projected as an extraordinary 'miracle making saint in '*Seka Subhodaya*', and his miraculous feats are recorded to have appealed to a considerable section of the populace to accept Islam. Unsurprisingly, a section among the courtiers of the Lakshman Sena, as per Gītānjali's assessment, though helpless before the Shaykh's miraculous powers, would be found apprehensive of his proselytizing preaching of Islam.<sup>33</sup> Many historical evidences including various religious structures/mausoleums, inscriptions etc., have testified to the stay of Shaykh Tabrīzī in Pandua. The Shaykh is reported to have acquired land, planted gardens and established *Khānqāh* with *Langar Khāna*/public-charity kitchen (open to all regardless of religion, caste and colour) in Pandua for the public charity. Owing to his charitable outlook, people would flock to his *Khānqāh* and *Langar Khāna*, which would have naturally inspired the local population to listen to his call/message (of Islam). Plausibly, such a philanthropic attitude, as has been a characteristic of Sufis, could be considered a well-founded reason behind (apart from other factors) the large-scale conversions attributed to Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī in Bengal.<sup>34</sup>

The *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua* provides a detailed account of the monuments/religious structures attributed at many places (in Pandua) to Shaykh Tabrīzī and as per its reports the Shaykh "acquired considerable property in Pandua and elsewhere in Bengal, e.g., Deotala [DevMahal], and this estate, which is known as *Bā'īs Hazārī* (twenty-two thousand), is still held by a *mutawallī* [care-taker] for the benefit of the *fagīrs* and the poor."



Enamul Haq, in his *A History of Sufism in Bengal*, corroborates this assertion by maintaining that Shaykh Tabrizī "purchased lands to plant gardens thereon and then he dedicated the property by way of "Waqf" [voluntary endowment for the public welfare] so that thousands of travellers and permanent residents of the place (*muqīm*) might be maintained."<sup>35</sup> The presence of *Chilla Khānās*<sup>36</sup> apart from other structures like *Langar Khāna*, *Masjid*/mosque etc., as testified by these sources, strongly endorse the proposition that Shaykh Tabrizī acted as a philanthropist, a dedicated proselytizer preacher (of Islam) and a spiritual guide in Bengal, with *Dev Mahal*, as his primary stronghold.

The paucity of the sources has shrouded (a major portion of) the life and activities of Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrizī's in myths, mysteries and legendary narratives with contrasting statements (related in the available sources) often leading to confusions and uncertainties. In this regard, the narrations of Ibn Battūtah (1304-69 C.E), *Seka Subhodaya* and the *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua* (by 'Ābid 'Alī Khan) confuse Shāh Jalāl Mujarrad (d.1347 C.E) of Sylhet with Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrizī. Ibn Battūtah appears to have visited Shāh Jalāl (of Sylhet) but, he has erroneously mentioned the name "Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrizī" (creating a confusion thereof) and the author of the *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua* is too confused while differentiating between the two and mistakenly asserts that both names figures represent the same personality.<sup>37</sup> Likewise, his date of birth, arrival in Bengal and actual date and place of death have always been a point of variance and controversy among historians, writers and academicians. However, as per the mostly endorsed opinions, he died around 1225 C.E (though Ghulām Sarwar in his *Khazīnat al-Asfiyā* claims it to be 642 A.H/1244 C.E) and lies buried at Dev Mahal or Devtalla (in Pandua, Bengal).<sup>38</sup> Shaykh Tabrizī would have left a considerable number of followers but there is a lack of pertinent sources that would provide any information regarding his followers/disciples or their activities in Bengal. Appositely, Rizvi based on the *Makrūbāt* of Sayyid Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī, asserts that:

A letter by Sayyid Muhammad Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī refers to Bengal as the chief Sufi centre in the Islamic world. He mentions the tombs of seventy important *khalīfas* [successor] of Shaikh Shihabū'd-dīn Suhrawardi in Devagaon, and refers to other Suhrawardi tombs in Mahisun (or Mahasthan), in the Bogra district and those of the Jalaliyya order in Devatalla: ... it seems that the Suhrawradis mentioned by Sayyid Muhammad Ashraf were largely disciples of Shaikh Jalalu'd-din Tabrizi

and members of the Jalaliyya branch, which he founded, although no further details have survived.<sup>39</sup>

### *Shaykh Tabrizi's Mystic Outlook*

The unavailability of any work (prose/poetry either written by or attributed to him or any of his successors) pertaining to the mystic ideas of Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrizī places a strong hurdle in deciphering his ideas thoughts or attitude as a Sufi and a member of the *Suhrawardīyyah* fraternity. However, some insinuations from the above discussion may succeed in analysing and understanding his ideas.

The above discussion reveals that Sultan Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish warmly received and welcomed Shaykh Tabrizī on his arrival to Delhi and treated him as a royal guest. Likewise, his friendly relationship with the local administrator (Qādī Kamāl al-Dīn) of Badā'un (as mentioned previously) suggests his friendly attitude towards the bureaucracy. This explicitly indicates Shaykh Tabrizī's stance, in pursuance with the *Suhrawardīyyah* teachings, of cultivating cordial relations with the *Salāṭin*/rulers or aristocracy.

Likewise, it also appears that Shaykh Tabrizī, unlike the *Chishtīyyah* Sufis, would not despise money/wealth and would hardly feel any hesitation in receiving grants/gifts/*Futūḥ* (from people as well as bureaucrats) or acquiring wealth/property (like the *Suhrawardīyyah* Sufis). However, he would hardly hoard wealth as the evidence suggests of his keen eagerness in profuse charity, spending wealth (for the destitute and poor) and endowing lands for public welfare. Thus, he, on one hand, as a *Suhrawardī*, would acquire wealth/money and would not devalue it (as a worthless item) and on the other hand, in much accordance with the *Chishtī* norms, he would give it away in charity without bringing it under personal use. He would have adopted this (zealous) charitable disposition in the aftermath of his (transitory) association with the *Chishtī* leader, Qutb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī.

The influence of *Chishtī* ideals on Shaykh Tabrizī's mystic attitude is evident from a letter that, as per *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād*, he had sent to Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā mentioning that "one who liked to be in the arms of women [means marrying women], would never prosper" and had also mentioned that "whosoever was engaged heart and soul in *Day'ah* ضيعه [land, fields, and farms] ... he had become a slave of the world."<sup>40</sup>

Pointing towards Shaykh Multānī (who was copiously endowed with riches) in this letter, the Shaykh appears to have expressed his point of divergence from the *Suhrawardiyyah* ideals, who espoused living a normal married life with (at least the required) material sources while being a Sufi practitioner. The letter seems to have been drafted by Shaykh Tabrizī during his stay at Badā'ūn or Bengal and reflects the influence/impact of the *Chishtī* ideals on his thoughts, thanks to his association and exchange of ideas with Qutb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. The *Chishtī* model (of practising *Tasawwuf*), which espouses extreme self-denial through incessant fasting, restriction on seeking (sensual) pleasure (through multiple marriages), disapproval of accumulation of wealth and association with the aristocrats, would have appeared more appealing to Shaykh Tabrizī (who largely lived as an itinerant and was most probably a celibate) eventually dominating his mystic outlook. Hence, he seems to have been dissatisfied with a (Sufi) seeker, who would enjoy the pleasure of keeping wife/wives and living in affluence meanwhile being a *Sālik*-Sufi or aspirant of the spiritual path/*Tariqah*. Though, the affiliation of Shaykh Tabrizī with the *Suhrawardiyyah* Order could not be questioned on these grounds however, to overlook the glide/drift of his attitude/ideas toward the *Chishtī*/teachings/ideals would be hardly justified, while assessing his mystic ideas.<sup>41</sup>

The information (though scanty) furnished by the historical sources regarding the activities of Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrizī leads us to assume that the *Suhrawardiyyah* order would have flourished greatly under his aegis in Bengal (as also fortified by the above related *Maktūb*/letter of Sayyid Ashraf Jahāngīr). However, as mentioned previously, the unavailability of sufficient records/information about his successors/disciples makes it impossible to delineate precisely/accurately the impact and influence of their activities on the society of medieval Bengal. This shortcoming also places a strong hurdle in extending the (ongoing) discussion around the role of Shaykh Tabrizī towards the proliferation of the *Suhrawardiyyah* order in Bengal.

There might have been a significant number of the Sufis belonging to the *Suhrawardiyyah* Order, owing to the early presence of the pioneers of this *Silsilah*/Order like Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrizī. However, their lives, activities/contributions are inaccessible shrouded in myths or legendary narrations due to the inadequacy of relevant sources of information/evidence.

## Conclusion

Sufis and Sufi Orders have made significant contributions to the growth and development of medieval Indo-Muslim society and culture. Following the development and proliferation of the different Sufi Orders in Central Asia and Persia, the Indian subcontinent became a fertile ground for the germination of many prominent Sufi Orders that were introduced by reputed Sufi experts in different regions respectively. Among the major Sufi orders (like the *Qadiriyyah*, *Chishtiyyah*, *Naqashbandiyyah*, *Kubrawiyyah* etc) that flourished on Indian soil, the *Suhrawardiyyah* Sufi Order made a considerable impact on the society and culture of medieval India. With its primary strongholds at Multan and Uch and known for its peculiar features of establishing cordial relations with the *Salāṭīn* rulers and living a balanced mundane life, this distinctive Sufi *Silsilah*/Order reached every corner of the subcontinent including the culturally and politically important region of Bengal. The chief protagonist of this fraternity in Bengal was undoubtedly Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrizī, who made significant contributions to the propagation of Islam, enrichment of Indo-Muslim culture, philanthropic demeanour, and sustenance of peace, brotherhood and mutual harmony in Bengal. Situating Tabrizī's life and activities in Bengal as an ambassador of Islamic spiritual tradition in a proper context greatly helps in understanding the phenomenon of the preaching of Islam in medieval Indian society and also helps in estimating the role of the Sufis and Sufi brotherhoods in this regard.

## References

<sup>1</sup> Richard Eaton describes Bengal Delta as "a flat, low-lying floodplain in the shape of a great horse-shoe, its open part, facing the Bay of Bengal to the south. Surrounding its rim to the west, north and east are disconnected hill systems, out of which flow some of the largest rivers in southern Asia –the Ganga, the Brahmaputra, and the Meghna." See, Richard M. Eaton, *Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier, 1204-1760* (California: University of California Press, 1993), p.3 and fn., 1 on p.3.

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed account of Pre-Muslim political history of Bengal, vide, Ghulām Husayn Salīm, *Rivāṭ al-Salāṭīn* (originally Persian compiled in 1788 C.E.), Eng., tr., 'Abd al-Salam (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1902) [Henceforth, Salīm, RS]; R.C. Majumdar, ed., *The History of Bengal* (Dacca, Bangladesh: The University of Dacca, 1943), Vol. I; For an account of the analysis of the historical sources related to medieval Bengal, vide, Ziauddin Desai, "Some New Data Regarding the Pre-Mughal Muslim Rulers of Bengal", in, *Islamic Culture*

(Hyderabad: The Islamic Culture Board, July, 1958), Vol. XXXII, No. 3, pp.195-207.

<sup>3</sup>Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Muḥammad Bakhtiyār Khālījī (d. 1206 C.E) was born in present-day southern Afghanistan in the Khalaj/Khily or Khiljī dynasty—a Turkic tribe that had migrated from Turkistan to Afghanistan and settled there a couple of centuries prior to his birth. Reaching India, he somehow gained favour of Malik Ḥusām al-Dīn—an influential Ghorid minister/officer under Muḥammad Ghori (d. 1206 C.E)—and after displaying his valour, Bakhtiyār was granted a grand territory along the borders of Bihar. From here, he continuously launched military campaigns and advanced to conquer Bengal and Bihar and for this enterprise, he received strong patronage/support from the Ghorid regime. In the aftermath of his terrible defeat on his Tibet campaign, one of his Afghan commanders named, 'Alī Mardān, assassinated him in 1206 C.E., at Devkot/Deokot, Bengal.

For details see, Abū 'Uthmān Minhāj al-Dīn bin Sirāj al-Dīn (Minhāj-i Sirāj/Juzjānī), *Tabaqāt-i Nāṭirī* (completed in 1260 C.E), Eng. tr., H.G. Raverty (New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint, 1970—originally published in 1881 C.E), Vol. I, pp.548-73; Muḥammad Qāsim Farishtah, *Tārīkh-i Farishtah* (Persian), Ur. tr., 'Abdul Hay Khwājah, (Lahore: Al-Mizān Nāshirān-o-Tājirān-iKutub, 2008), Vol. IV, pp.626-31; Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad (d. 1594 C.E), *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, Eng. tr., Brajendranath De, (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1927) Vol.I, pp.49-54; Salīm, *RS, op.cit.*, pp.58ff; Abdul Karim, *Social History of the Muslims in Bengal* (Dacca—erstwhile East-Pakistan: The Asiatic Society of Pakistan, 1959), pp.17-39; A'jār al-Haq Quddūsī, *Tadhkirah-i Sūfiyāt-i Bangāl* (Lahore: Markazī Urdu Board, 1965), pp.47-49; Charles Stewart, *The History of Bengal* (London: Black Parry and Co., 1813), pp.38ff; Jadunath Sarkar, ed., *The History of Bengal* (Dacca, Bangladesh: The University of Dacca, 1948), Vol. II, pp.1-9ff; A.B.M. Habibullah, *The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India* (Allahabad: Central Book Depot, 1976), pp.56-62; Mohammad Mojlum Khan, *The Muslim Heritage of Bengal* (United Kingdom: Kube Publishing Ltd., 2013), pp.13-19.

<sup>4</sup>Minhāj-i Sirāj, *Tabaqāt, op.cit.*, pp.529 (fn., 4), 548-95, 610, 664-67, 762-70; Diyā' al-Dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Fīrōz Shāhī*, ed., 'Azīz al-Dīn Husayn, (Aligarh: Sir Syed Academy, Aligarh Muslim University, 2017), pp.41, 61-80, 280f, 293,333f and Eng. tr., Ishtiyāq Ahmad Zilli (Delhi: Primus Books, 2015), pp.49-66, 74, 80, 86, 140f, 277f, 288, 359-66; (Also see mention of Bangla Bengal in), 'Abdul Qādir Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh* (Persian, compiled in 1595 C.E), ed., Aḥmad 'Alī (Tehran: Anjuman-i Āthār-o Mafākhir-i Farhangī, 1960), Vol. I, Vol. II and Vol. III (1959 C.E); Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad (d. 1594 C.E), *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, Eng. tr., Brajendranath De, *op.cit.*, Vol. I (1927), Vol. II (1936) and Eng. tr., B. De and BaniPrashad, Vol. III (1939), pp.414-444; AbulFadl bin Mubārak 'Allāmī (d. 1602 C.E), *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, Eng. tr., H.S. Jarret, (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1891), Vol. II, pp.115-44; Farishtah, *Tārīkh, op.cit.*, Vol. IV, pp.626-40; Salīm, *RS, op.cit.*; Karim, *Social History, op.cit.*, pp.17-39; Stewart, *The History of Bengal, op.cit.*; Sarkar, *op.cit.*; J.L. Mehta,



*Advanced Study in the History of Medieval India* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 2016), Vol. I, pp. 81, 120, 216, 260f and (2017) Vol. II, pp. 167, 248f; H. Blochmann, "Contribution to the Geography and History of Bengal (Muhammadan period)", in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1873), Vol. XLII, No(s). 1-4, pp. 209ff.

<sup>7</sup> Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Fīrōz Shāhī* (Persian), *op.cit.*, pp. 61f and Eng. *op.cit.*, pp. 49f.

As per the surveys of Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, the *Tabaqāt-i Nāṣiri* serves as the firsthand source of information pertaining to the accounts of the *Khilji/Khalji* rebellions in Bengal against the Sultanate of Delhi between 1229 and 1230 C.E. For details vide, I.H. Siddiqui, *Indo-Persian Historiography Up to the Thirteenth Century* (New Delhi: Primus Books, 2010), pp. 93ff.

<sup>8</sup> Vide references, fn. 3, *Supra*.

<sup>9</sup> For details vide, Salīm, *RS*, *op.cit.*; Quddūsī, *Tadhkirah*, *op.cit.*, pp. 39-61; Shaykh Muḥammad Ikram, *Āb-i Kawthar*, (Delhi: Taj Company, 1999), pp. 297-329; T.W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam* (London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1913), pp. 277-80; James Wise, "The Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal" in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1903—compact volume containing issues, No. 1 of 1894, 1896 and Nos. 1 and 2 of 1898), Vol. LXIII, No. 1, pp. 28-63; Refer to Chapter I of the current work for a general study on the factors behind the growth and spread of Islam/Muslims in the subcontinent.

<sup>10</sup> Annemarie Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1980), pp. 47f.

<sup>11</sup> Arnold, *op.cit.*, pp. 277, 279.

<sup>12</sup> Arnold, *op.cit.*, pp. 279f; Wise, *op.cit.*; Arnold refers to, W.W. Hunter, "The Religions of India" in *The Times* (Newspaper), February, 25, 1888.

<sup>13</sup> For an account of Sufis of Bengal, vide: AbulFaḍl, *Āḥ-i Akbarī* (Persian), ed., H. Blochmann, (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1877), Vol. II, pp. 216-24 and Eng. tr., H.S. Jarret, (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1894), Vol. III, pp. 364ff; Quddūsī, *Tadhkirah*, *op.cit.*; Ikram, *op.cit.*, pp. 297-329; S.A.A. Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1997), Vol. I, pp. 199-202, 256-70; Muḥammad EnamulHaq, *A History of Sufism in Bengal* (Dacca, Bangladesh: Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, 1975), pp. 148-259; Md. GholamRasool, *Chishti-Nizami Sufi Order of Bengal* (Delhi: Idārah-i Adabiyat-i Delhi, 2009); Muḥammad Ismail, *Development of Sufism in Bengal* (PhD thesis), (Aligarh: Department of Islamic Studies, AMU, Aligarh, 1989) and *Hagiology of Sufi Saints and the Spread of Islam in South Asia* (New Delhi: JnanadaPrakashan, 2010).

<sup>14</sup> The author of *SekaSubhodaya*, however, narrates a different story maintaining that Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn was actually from the kingdom of Attāva (most probably district Itawah/Etawah in present-day Uttar Pradesh) and had travelled extensively through Muslim lands before coming to Bengal. *SekaSubhodaya* (*The Blessed Arrival of the Shaykh*) is a Sanskrit work, revolving around the life and miraculous activities of Shaykh Tabrīzī, attributed to Halayudha Mishra, the chief

minister and chief Judge in the reign of Lakshmana Sena-r.1178-1206 C.E (Hindu ruler of Bengal, whose rule terminated with the arrival of Muslim commander, Bakhtiyār Khiljī). However, this work has been relegated as spurious, mythical and exaggerated fantasy with doubtful authorship by some modern-day authors/scholars (see for example, Karim, *Social History*, *op.cit.*, pp.12, 92f; GītānjaliDey, "The Imagery and the Representation of Shaikh JalaluddinTabrezi" in 'SekaSubhodaya' of Halayudha Mishra", in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress: 67<sup>th</sup> Session, Calicut University, 2006-2007* (Delhi: Indian History Congress, Department of History, Delhi University, 2007), p.403). Recently, some scholars like Richard Eaton, SukumarSen and Simon Digby have approached the work with a fresh examination, owing to which, it has gained a fractional credibility and has spurred the attention of researchers for further investigations concerning its significance and authenticity. This work, which is actually proposed to have been drafted around sixteenth century by many writers, has been translated and edited by Sukumar Sen. Provided the contrasting narratives (in comparison to the available Persian sources *Maifūzāt Tadkhtrah*), questionable authorship and the legendary tales dispersed throughout the whole content, there remains a restricted room for considering this work as an authentic source of information in relation to the biography of Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī. Surprisingly, EnamulHaq in his, *A History of Sufism in Bengal*, with a paradoxical approach, constructs the whole biography and activities of Shaykh Tabrīzī on the statements of *SekaSubhodaya*, on one hand without referring to the generally recognized hagiological sources (*Tadkhtrah Maifūzāt* like *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād*, *Akhhār al-Akhyār*, *Siyar al-Arifin*) and at the same time, considers the work with doubtful authorship and incredible data. See, EnamulHaq, *op.cit.*, pp.160-68; Karim, *Social History*, *op.cit.*, pp.93-95 and fn., 8 on p.93. For a detailed discussion on *SekaSubhodaya*, see, GītānjaliDey, "The Imagery...", *op.cit.* Vide also, Halayudha Mishra, *SekaSubhodaya* (Sanskrit), ed., and tr., SukumarSen (Kolkata: The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1963) [as cited by Gītānjali, *op.cit.*, fn., 7, p.413]; Richard M. Eaton, *Rise of Islam*, *op.cit.*; EnamulHaq, *op.cit.*, p.160.

<sup>11</sup> The author of *Khazīnat al-Azfiyā'* astonishingly ascribes Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn's affiliation with the *Chishtīyah* fraternity and considers him as the disciple of Khwāja Qutb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. This proposition, which can also be viewed in the *Tadkhtrah-i Awliyā'-i Pāk-o Hind* by Akhtar Dahlawī, has been probably narrated by these authors on the basis of the close association between Qutb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī and Shaykh Tabrīzī. For details, vide, Ghulām Sarwar Lāhūrī, *Khazīnat al-Azfiyā'* (Persian), Ur., tr., Iqbal Ahmad Fārūqī (Lahore: Maktabah-i Nabawiyyah, 2001), Vol. II, p.93; Mirzā Muḥammad Akhtar Dahlawī, *Tadkhtrah-i Awliyā'-i Pāk-o Hind* (New Delhi: Dāniush Publishing Company, 1991), p.71.

<sup>12</sup> For a detailed account of 'Attar, vide, Shahzādā Dārā Shikōh, *Safinat al-Awliyā'* (Persian), (Agra: Maṭba'-i Madrasah-i Agra, 1853), p.306 and Ur., tr., by Muḥammad WārithKāmil, (Deoband, UP: Šābirī Book Depot: Deoband, n.d.).

pp.213; Farīd al-Dīn 'Attār, *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā'*, Eng., tr., A.J. Arberry, *Muslim Saints and Mystics* (Ames, Iowa (US): Omphaloskepsis, 2000); Edward G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* (New Delhi: Goodword Books, 2011- originally published in 1902), Vol. II [of compact volume I and II], pp.507ff; Asghar Daadbeh and Mathew Melvin-Koushki, " 'Attar Nisaburi", in eds., Wilfred Madelung and Farhad Daftary, *Encyclopaedia Islamica* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), Vol. III; H.Ritter, "Attār, Farīd al-Dīn, Muḥammad bin Ibrāhīm" in, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1986), Vol. I, pp.752-55; B. Reinert, "Attār, Farīd al-Dīn", in, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, Vol. III, Part I, (online edition), available at: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/attar-farid-al-din-poet> (accessed on , 24<sup>th</sup> November, 2020).

<sup>12</sup> For a Sufi like Shaykh Multānī, such kind of act/state was not less than a sin. Since, in the spiritual path (*Tarīqah*), among the duties of a disciple towards his *Shaykh*, is that a disciple should devote himself completely to only a single main *Shaykh*/master (at one time) and should not be overwhelmed with the spiritual calibre and status of other masters (at least, in the meantime his *Shaykh* would be alive). Though, one can visit and seek blessings, advices and formulas (for performing different litanies) from other Sufi masters/experts, but not with the intention of seeking their supervision (and considering them as one's *Murshid*/guide). However, in Sufi hagiographies, there are ample reports regarding the reception of vicegerency/*Khilāfah* authorization of various *Shaykh*/masters in multiple Sufi orders (like that of Makhdūm Jahānīyān and others as mentioned in the previous sections), such Sufis are referred to as *Jāmi' al-Salāṭīn*. The reason behind this phenomenon is that such Sufis actually are bestowed with authorization, *Ijāzah*/approval of reciting specific litanies etc., and prescribing them to others, as a blessing or gift (out of love and reverence), only after they would have tread the spiritual path under the supervision of an acclaimed Sufi *Shaykh*/expert. To receive *Khilāfah* or *Ijāzah* in multiple orders hardly affects the original linkage or affiliation of the Sufi. For a detailed account of the *Shaykh-Murīd* Master-disciple relationship, Shihāb al-Dīn 'Umar al-Suhrawardī, *'Awārif al-Ālā'irif* (Arabic), Ur., tr., Shams Barayīwī (New Delhi: Itiqād Publishing House, 1986), pp.559-70; Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī, *Al-Rizālah al-Qushayrīyah Fī al-Ṭīm al-Iṣṭawwaf* (Arabic), Eng., tr., Alexander D. Knysh (Reading, UK: Garnet Publishing Limited, 2007), pp.403ff. Vide also, Marshall G.S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974), Vol. II, pp.214ff.

<sup>13</sup> Hāmid bin Faḍlullāh Jamālī, (Persian) *Siyar al-Ārifīn*, (Delhi: Matba'-i Ridāwī, 1893), pp.106, 164ff; Amīr Hasan 'Alā' Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fu'ad* (Persian): *Malfūzāt*/Discourses of Khwāja Nizām al-Dīn (Lahore: Malik Sirāj al-Dīn and Sons Publishers, 1966), pp.17, 303f, 427 and Eng., tr., Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi (New Delhi: D. K. Print World, 1995), pp.135, 223, 336f, 444, fn., 40 on 131, [Hereafter, FF]; 'Abd al-Haq Muḥaddith Dahlawī, *Akhhār al-Akhhār*, (Persian) (Tehran: Anjuman-i Āthār-o Mafākhir-i Farhangī, 1963), pp.83-86 and Ur., tr., Mawlānā Subhān Maḥmūd and Muḥammad Fāḍil, (Delhi: Adabī Dunyā, 1994),



pp.101-05 [Henceforth, A4]; Muhammad Gawthī Shattārī, *Guẓār-i Aḥrār*, (Persian) ed., Muhammad Zakī (Patna, India: Khudā Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, 1994), p.56; AbulFadl, *Āṭm* (Persian), *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p.216; Ikrām, *Āb-i Kawthar*, *op.cit.*, pp.297-303; ‘Abd al-Rahmān Chishtī, *Mir’āt al-Asrār* (Persian), Ur., tr., Wāhid Bakhsh Siyāl, (Lahore: Diyā’ al-Qur’ān Publications, 1993), Vol. II, pp.162-67; Ghulam Sarwar, *Khazīnat*, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, pp.93ff; Salīm, *RS*, *op.cit.*, fn. 3 on p.45 and fn. 1 on p.97; Quddūsī, *Tadhkirah*, *op.cit.*, pp.113-32; Karīm, *Social History*, *op.cit.*, pp.91-96; Enamul Haq, *op.cit.*, pp.160ff; Rizvi, *op.cit.*, pp.199f; Akhtar Dahlawī, *op.cit.*, pp.71-73; Nūr Ahmad Khān Farīdī, *Tadhkirah-i Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakariyyā Multānī* (Lahore: ‘Ulama’ Academy, 1980), pp.179-86; Sk. Abdul Latīf, “Shaikh Jalal-ud-Dīn Tabrizi and His Contribution to the Spread of Sufi Influence in Bengal during the Thirteenth Century” in , Anup Taneja, ed. *Sufi Cults and the Evolution of the Medieval Indian Culture* (New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research, 2003), pp.168-70; Arnold, *op.cit.*, p.280; Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *Biographical Dictionary of Sufism in South Asia* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers and Distributors, 2009), pp.151f.

<sup>17</sup> See, K.A. Nizami, “Iltutmish the Mystic”, in *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad: the Islamic Culture Board, April, 1946), Vol. XX, No(x). 1-4, pp.165-80; Jamālī, *op.cit.*, p.165; Nizami, “Early Indo-Muslim Mystics and their Attitude towards the State”, in *Islamic Culture* (July, 1949), Vol. XXIII, No. 3, pp.163f.

<sup>18</sup> Narrations from *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād*, *Siyar al-Awliyā'* and *Siyar al-Ārifīn*, amply attest of the close association among Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrizī, Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā Multānī and Qutb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. The reports (of these sources) suggest of frequent meetings/visitation among them especially between Shaykh Tabrizī and Khwāja Qutb al-Dīn during the former's sojourn at Multan and Delhi. Obviously, there would have been exchange of knowledge, thoughts, ideas and experiences among them. Jamālī reports that once Shaykh Tabrizī visited Khwāja Qutb al-Dīn, who had organized a gathering of *Samā'* and it appears that Shaykh Tabrizī had also listened to the *Samā'* along with the Khwāja. The existence of cordiality among the Sufi members belonging to different fraternities/orders, as in this and other cases already discussed previously, draws one's attention towards a significant corollary that despite their variance in ideologies/thoughts pertaining to some issues (like attitude towards wealth, mundane life, State and politics and *Samā'*) and ways/means of practising (self-purification) *Taṣawwuf*, the Sufis would foster friendly and respectful relations with each other. This also implies that apparently variegated, the Sufi orders are fundamentally same and lead to a common and single goal, i.e., reaching to the level of eternal felicity or attaining the pleasure of Allah through self-purification. Vide, for meetings between the duo, Sijzī, *FF* (Persian), *op.cit.*, pp.185, 255f and Eng., tr., *op.cit.*, pp.234,297; Jamālī, *op.cit.*, p.166; Shattārī, *op.cit.*, p.56; Mir Khurīd, *Siyar al-Awliyā'* (Persian), *op.cit.*, pp.50-52, and Ur., tr., *op.cit.*, pp.60-62; Muḥaddith Dahlawī, A4, (Persian), *op.cit.*, pp.85f and Ur., tr., *op.cit.*, p.104.

<sup>19</sup> Jamālī, *op.cit.*, p.165.

<sup>20</sup> The term *Shaykh al-Islam*, as per Brill's, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, "was an honorific title in use in the Islamic world up to the early 20th century, applied essentially to religious dignitaries." Vide, *Shaykh al-Islam in The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, (Leiden: Brill, 1997), Vol. IX, pp.399ff; Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century* (Delhi: Idārah-i Adabiyat-i Delhi, 1974), pp.159ff [henceforth, *SARF*].

<sup>21</sup> Jamālī, *op.cit.*, pp.165-69; Muḥaddith Dāhlawī, *AA*, (Persian), *op.cit.*, pp.83f and Ur, tr, *op.cit.*, p.102; Sijzī, *FF* (Persian), *op.cit.*, pp.245f and Eng., *op.cit.*, pp.287f; Shattārī, *op.cit.*, p.56; Chishtī, *op.cit.*, pp.164-67; AbulFadl, *A'in* (Persian), *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p.216; Ikram, *op.cit.*, pp.298f; Ghulam Sarwar, *Khazīnat*, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, pp.94-98; Nizami, *Salāṭin-i Dihlī Kay Madhhabī Rujhānāt* (Delhi: Nadwat al-Musanifin, 1958), p.121. [Henceforth, *Salāṭin*]; Nizami, *SARF*, *op.cit.*, p.162-64 and "The Suhrawardi Silsilah and its Influence on Medieval Indian Politics", in *Medieval India Quarterly* (Aligarh: Department of History, AMU, July-Oct., 1957), Vol. III, p.123 [Henceforth referred to as, *SSMP*]; Karim, *Social History*, *op.cit.*, p.92; Farīdī, *Tadhkirah*, *op.cit.*, pp.179-86; Rizvi, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p.201; Khan, *Biographical Dictionary*, *op.cit.*, pp.151f; Qudāūsī, *Tadhkirah*, *op.cit.*, pp.120-23; Enamul Haq, *op.cit.*, pp.162-64; Abdul Latīf, "Shaikh Jalal-ud-Din Tabrizi", *op.cit.*, pp.170-74.

<sup>22</sup> The account, goes in the hagiographies, like this that one day in Spring season, Shaykh Tabrizī had offered *Fajr*/dawn prayers and was resting on his cot as usual, while his slave, a good-looking Turkic boy, was massaging his feet. Meanwhile, Najm al-Dīn performed with the *Fajr* prayers along with the Sultan on the roof of the palace, where from they could easily watch Shaykh Tabrizī. He tried to charge the Shaykh with false allegations of not having observed the prayers (which the Shaykh had performed already) and instead taking pleasure in the company of the slave. However, the Shaykh was spiritually illuminated (as per the records and probably the slave would have informed him) about the bad intentions and he, at once lifted the quilt from his face and pointed to Najm al-Dīn saying, "had you come earlier, you would have seen me embracing him." Following this castigating remark, the Sultan, who might have understood Najm al-Dīn's purport of charging the Shaykh with false allegations, cautioned him in intervening in the affairs of the Shaykh. Vide, Jamālī, *op.cit.*, pp.166f; Rizvi, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p.200.

<sup>23</sup> Literally *Mahāṭar* (trial) in Arabic is derived from *Ha-Da-Ra* (to be present in a gathering or listen to or attend trial in a court) refers to "administrative record, report, memorandum, record of trials or "to be present somewhere (in a trial, meeting, gathering)" or court hearing and technically, it had been in vogue during the medieval (Muslim) administration in India referring to organize a gathering/assembly/panel of distinguished experts and intellectuals including scholars, Sufi experts, jurists, academics, in front of the ruler/Sultan/*Pādshāh* (in the imperial court) to discuss any important issue or consider/hear the charges levied against a person and pass on a final decree. See, the term, *Sidqill* in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, *op.cit.*, Vol. IX, pp.538ff; Wahīdal-Zamān Kirānwī



(compiler), *Al-Qāmūs al-Jadīd: Arabic-Urdu Dictionary* (Deoband, UP: Kutub Khānah-i Husayniyyah, 2011), p.184; Habīb Khān (comp.), *Lugāt-i Kishwarī: Persian-Urdu Dictionary* (Lucknow: Nawal Kishore Book Depot, 1972), p.673; Maqbūl Baygh Badakhshānī (comp.), *Firās al-Lugāt: Persian-Urdu Dictionary* (New Delhi: M.R. Publications, 2010), p.997; J.G. Hava (comp.), *Arabic-English Dictionary* (New Delhi: Goodword Books, 2008), p.129; ‘Abdul Hafiz (comp.), *Misbāh al-Lugāt: Arabic-Urdu Dictionary* (Delhi: Maktabah-i Burhān, n.d.), p.160; Dryā’ al-Dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Firās Shāhī*, Eng. tr., Ishtiyāq Ahmad Zilli (Delhi: Primus Books, 2015), p.130; Muhammad Salim, “Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakariyya of Multan”, in *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* (Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society, Jan-1969), Vol. XVII, Part I, p.8.

<sup>24</sup>Jamālī, *op.cit.*, pp.165-69; Muhaddith Dahlawī, *AA* (Persian), *op.cit.*, pp.83f and Ur., tr., *op.cit.*, p.102; Sijzī, *FF* (Persian), *op.cit.*, pp.245f and Eng., tr., *op.cit.*, pp.287f; Shattārī, *op.cit.*, p.56; Chishtī, *op.cit.*, pp.164-67; AbulFadl, *Ā’in* (Persian), *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p.216; Ghulām Sarwar, *Khazīnat*, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, pp.94-98; Ikram, *Āb-i Kawthar*, *op.cit.*, pp.298f; Nizami, *Salāṭīn*, *op.cit.*, pp.121-23 and *SARP*, *op.cit.*, pp.162-64 and *SSMP*, *op.cit.*, p.123; Karim, *Social History*, *op.cit.*, p.92; Faridī, *Tadhkirah*, *op.cit.*, pp.179-86; Rizvi, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p.201; Khan, *Biographical Dictionary*, *op.cit.*, pp.151f; Quddūsī, *Tadhkirah*, *op.cit.*, pp.120-23; EnamulHaq, *op.cit.*, pp.162-64.

The translator of Chishtī’s, *Mir’āt al-Asrār* has mistakenly and baselessly proposed that the person appointed as the new *Shaykh al-Islam* was a servant/disciple of Shaykh Multānī. See, Chishtī, *op.cit.*, p.166.

<sup>25</sup>Sayyid Muhammad Mubārak Kirmānī or Mīr Khawrd (Khwāja Nizām al-Dīn’s noted disciple) *Siyar al-Awliyā’* (Persian), (Delhi: Matba-i Muhib, 1885), p.54, and Ur., tr., ‘Abdul Latīf, (New Delhi: Kutub Khāna Siddiqiyyah, 1999), p.64.

<sup>26</sup>Here it should be maintained that Najm al-Dīn’s resentment for Quṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kāki, as is vivid from his complaint regarding his (Kāki’s) popularity with Ajmerī recorded in *Siyar al-Awliyā’*, could not lead him (Najm al-Dīn) to concoct any mischievous plot against Bakhtiyār Kāki, as he devised against Shaykh Tabrizī. The most plausible reason for this was the reserved and indifferent attitude of the *Chishtiyyah* Sufis towards the rulers *Salāṭīn* and their non-involvement in State political affairs. Hence, for Najm al-Dīn, there were least chances of any influence or direct interference of Bakhtiyār Kāki that would undermine his (Ṣughra’s) position in the imperial court. On contrary, Shaykh Tabrizī belonged to the *Suhrawardiyyah* fraternity that endorses of nurturing cordial relations with the rulers. Thus, his association with the Sultan would have naturally been perceived by Najm al-Dīn Ṣughra as a situation that would jeopardize his authority and status in the empire. Vide, Mīr Khawrd, *Siyar al-Awliyā’* (Persian), *op.cit.*, p.54, and Ur., tr., *op.cit.*, p.64; Nizami, “Early Indo-Muslim Mystics and their Attitude Towards the State” in *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad: The Islamic Culture Board, Oct., 1948), Vol. XXII, No., 4, pp.395-97 [No(s) 1-4, compact volume] and (Jan., and April, 1949), Vol. XXIII, No., 1 and 2, pp.13-21.

<sup>27</sup> Sijzi, *FF* (Persian), *op.cit.*, p.196 and Eng. tr. *op.cit.*, p.242; See also, Muḥaddith Dahlawī, *AA*, (Persian), *op.cit.*, pp.83f and Ur. tr. *op.cit.*, p.102.

<sup>28</sup> The event attesting the influence of Shaykh Tabrizī over the Qāḍī has been narrated in the *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād* as: Once, Qāḍī Kamāl al-Dīn is reported to have had an argument with the Shaykh on the observation of *Namāz Ṣalāh* prayers, following the Shaykh's remarks (conveyed to a servant) that "whether the Qāḍī knew the way to offer *Ṣalāh*" after he found him engaged in prayers. The Shaykh replied that there is difference (of spiritual state) between the jurists/scholars '*Ulamā*' and the Sufis in their performance of *Namāz Ṣalāh*, as the former perform their prayers facing the (direction) *Ka'bah* while the latter would not pray unless they witness the Empyrean Throne of God ('*Arsh*'). Though, the Qāḍī appears to have not been convinced with Shaykh Tabrizī's assertion, but after witnessing Shaykh Tabrizī praying before the Divine Throne in a vision/dream, he was completely swayed over with the Shaykh's spiritual stature. See for a detailed account, Sijzi, *FF* (Persian), *op.cit.*, pp.401-03 and Eng. tr. *op.cit.*, pp.422f; Jamālī, *op.cit.*, pp.169-71; Hamīd Qalandar (compiler), *Khayr al-Majālis: Malfūzāt-i Shaykh Naṣr al-Dīn Maḥmūd Chirāg-i Dillī*, ed. K.A. Nizami, (Aligarh: Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, 1960), pp.211f [Henceforth, *KM*]; Chishtī, *op.cit.*, pp.166f; Rizvi, *op.cit.*, Vol.I, p.201.

<sup>29</sup> *Jital* refers to the copper coin used during the Delhi Sultanate alongside the silver coin, *Tanka*. The value of these coins depended upon the value of the metal in them. See, for *Jital*, Minhāj-i Sirāj, *Tabaqāt*, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp. fn. 2 on p.584 and fn. 6 on p.603; Sijzi, Eng. tr. *op.cit.*, p.465.

<sup>30</sup> The conversion of this curd-seller (afterwards, 'Alī Mawlā) has been narrated in *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād* in light of a miraculous act of Shaykh Tabrizī, as per which, when the vendor saw the Shaykh, he was captivated by his graceful and radiant face and at once said to himself that "in the Dīn religion of [Prophet] Muḥammad [ﷺ] there are [still] people like him [Shaykh Tabrizī] and embraced Islam at the hands of Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrizī, who named him as 'Alī'".

... نور ایمان آورد- شیخ او را علی نام کرد و شد مردمان محبت، در وقت محمد بن جبین ...

See, Sijzi, *FF* (Persian), *op.cit.*, pp.227f and Eng. tr. *op.cit.*, pp.25, 272f; Hamīd Qalandar, *KM*, *op.cit.*, pp.191f; Jamālī, *op.cit.*, pp.170f; Rizvi, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p.201; Muḥaddith Dahlawī, *AA*, (Persian), *op.cit.*, p.85 and Ur. tr. *op.cit.*, p.103; Ghulām Sarwar, *Khazīnat*, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, pp.99f; Quddūsī, *Tadhkirah*, *op.cit.*, pp.128-31; Akhtar Dahlawī, *op.cit.*, pp.71-73.

Khawāja Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', as per *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād*, recollects that one of his teachers, Mawlāna 'Alā al-Dīn Uṣūlī (a reputed scholar), was bestowed with a *Khirqah* in his younger age by Shaykh Tabrizī in Badā'ūn. With the blessings (*Barakah*) of this *Khirqah*, the Mawlāna became exemplary in knowledge and character. See, Sijzi, *FF* (Persian), *op.cit.*, pp.278-80 and Eng. tr. *op.cit.*, pp.315-17; Quddūsī, *Tadhkirah*, *op.cit.*, pp.130f.

<sup>31</sup> See for Lakshman Sena's defeat by Khuljī, Minhāj-i Sirāj, *Tabaqāt*, *op.cit.*, pp.548ff. fn. 7, 9, on p.558 and fn. 1, 4 on p.559.

<sup>32</sup> See, Jamālī, *op.cit.*, pp.165-69; Muḥaddith Dahlawī, *AA*, (Persian), *op.cit.*, pp.83f and Ur. tr., *op.cit.*, p.102; Quddūsī, *Tadhkirah*, *op.cit.*, pp.131-33; Karim, *Social History*, *op.cit.*, pp.93-95; EnamulHaq, *op.cit.*, pp.164f; Nizami, *Sulāṭīn*, *op.cit.*, p.121; Rizvi, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp.200-02.

A'jāz al-Haq Quddūsī in his *Tadhkirah-i Sūfīyā-i Bengal* on one hand accepts the general view of the hagiographers regarding the arrival of the Shaykh in Delhi i.e., not before 1210 C.E., yet, paradoxically, considers the Shaykh to have visited Bengal during Lakshman Sena's rule (by or before, 1203 C.E.). See, Quddūsī, *Tadhkirah*, *op.cit.*, pp.132f.

<sup>33</sup> Jamālī, *op.cit.*, p.171; Shattārī, *op.cit.*, p.56; Ghulām Sarwar, *Kharānat*, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p.100; Gītānjali, *op.cit.*, pp.410ff; Rizvi, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp.201f; EnamulHaq, *op.cit.*, p.166; Quddūsī, *Tadhkirah*, *op.cit.*, p.133; Chishtī, *op.cit.*, p.167; M. 'Ābid 'Alī Khan, *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua*, ed., H.E. Stapleton, (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1931), p.99.

<sup>34</sup> Shattārī, *op.cit.*, p.56; Chishtī, *op.cit.*, p.167; Ikram, *op.cit.*, pp.299f; EnamulHaq, *op.cit.*, pp.166f; 'Ābid 'Alī Khan, *Memoirs*, *op.cit.*, pp.97-106; Akhtar Dahlawī, *op.cit.*, pp.72f; Abūl Latif, "Shaikh Jalal-ud-Din Tabrizi", *op.cit.*, pp.174-76.

<sup>35</sup> 'Ābid 'Alī Khan, *Memoirs*, *op.cit.*, pp.99ff; Ikram, *op.cit.*, pp.299ff; EnamulHaq, *op.cit.*, p.165; Karim, *Social History*, *op.cit.*, p.94.

<sup>36</sup> *Chilla Khāna* refers to a small chamber/cell for a Sufi to remain in seclusion for at least forty-days and perform spiritual exercises.

<sup>37</sup> See for details, Muḥammad ibn 'Abdullah ibn Battūṭah, *Al-Rihlah*, Eng. tr., Maḥdi Husain (Gujarat Oriental Institute, 1976), pp.238-40 (vide, fn., 1-6 on p.238 and also, compare the dates of birth/death of Ibn Battūṭah (d. 1369 C.E.) with Shāh Jalāl (d. 1346 C.E.) and Shaykh Tabrizī (d. c. 1225 or 1244 C.E.); 'Ābid 'Alī Khan, *Memoirs*, *op.cit.*, pp.99ff; Ikram, *op.cit.*, pp.301-03; Rizvi, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p.202; EnamulHaq, *op.cit.*, pp.166f; Karim, *Social History*, *op.cit.*, pp.94 and fn., 5 on p.96; H. Beveridge, "The Khurshīd-i Jahān Numā of Sayyid Ilāhī Baksh al-Husainī Angrēzābādī", in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1896), Vol. LXIV, No(s), 1-4 (1895), pp.230f.

<sup>38</sup> See, Jamālī, *op.cit.*, p.171; AbulFaḍl, *Ā'in* (Persian), *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p.216; Ghulām Sarwar, *Kharānat*, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p.101; Ikram, *op.cit.*, pp.300-03; Akhtar Dahlawī, *op.cit.*, p.73 [as per Akhtar, he died in 622 AH/624-25 C.E.]; Rizvi, *op.cit.*, p.202 [Rizvi is completely silent in this matter]; EnamulHaq, *op.cit.*, pp.166-68 [EnamulHaq discusses this issue at length]; Karim, *Social History*, *op.cit.*, p.96.

Jamālī and AbulFaḍl take his place of death as "the Bandar/port of DevMahal" identified with Maldives Islands, see, Karim, *Social History*, *op.cit.*, fn., 2 and 3 on p.96; H. Beveridge, "The Khurshīd Jahān Numā ..." in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, *op.cit.*, pp.230f; H. Blochmann, "Contribution to the Geography and History of Bengal (Muhammadan period)", in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal [J.A.S.B.]* (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1873), Vol. XLII, No(s), 1-4, p.260.

<sup>39</sup> Sayyid Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī, *Makṭūbāt* (Persian), compiler, 'Abd al-Razzāq Nūr al-'Ayn, Ur., tr., Muhammad Mumtāz Ashrafī (Karachi: Dār al-'Ulūm Ashrafiyyah, 2000), Vol. II, *Makṭūb* letter no., 45 sent towards Sultan Ibrāhīm Sharqī, pp.45f. Rizvi, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p.260.

Estimating the number of his disciples would not be an easy task owing to the unavailability of the relevant sources/historical records. For a modern-day researcher it would be almost an impossible endeavour to provide even a cursory overview of his disciples (in Bengal) let alone a detailed account of their biographies/activities in Bengal. In *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād*, it is related that Shaykh Tabrīzī used to be reluctant in initiating people as his disciples and would allow only the capable persons to enter the fold of apprenticeship. See, Sijzī, *FF*, (Persian), *op.cit.*, p.55.

<sup>40</sup> Khwāja Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' attests of having seen this letter, which had been drafted in Arabic. See, Sijzī, *FF* (Persian), *op.cit.*, p.172 and Eng. tr., *op.cit.*, p.223.

<sup>41</sup> For a detailed discussion on the difference between the pioneering *Chishtīyyah* and *Suhrawardīyyah* Sufis with regards their attitude towards wealth, grants/endowments from the State, relation with the rulers, meddling in the political affairs etc., See, Nizami, "Early Indo-Muslim Mystics", *op.cit.*, Vol. XXII, No. 4, (Oct, 1948) pp.387-98; Vol. XXIII, Nos. 1 and 2, (Jan and April, 1949) pp.13-21; Vol. XIII, No. 3 (July, 1949), pp.162-70; Vol. XIII, No. 4 (Oct, 1949), pp.309-12 and Vol. XXIV, No. 1, (Jan, 1950), pp.51-60; Nizami, *State and Culture in Medieval India* (New Delhi: Adam Publishers and Distributors, 1985), pp.179-202.

## Relatedness, Equality and Community: The Principles of Nund Rishi and the Rishi Order

Rutba Peerzada\*

*This paper undertakes a systematic study of the Rishi Tariqa, an indigenous Sufi order present in the valley of Kashmir. The order is deeply intertwined within the collective consciousness of the region, influencing different aspects of the society. The paper focuses on the history and practices of the order, especially those espoused by its founder Shaykh Nur ud Din or Nund Rishi through his life and poetry. The paper tries to argue that the order and its practices reflected a composite culture and history of the region which subsequently influenced the social and cultural reality of the region. Additionally, the paper argues that Nund Rishi and the Rishi order were not completely disinterested in society and actively espoused a social reality based on equality and harmony, which has allowed the emergence of a unique communitarian ethos within Kashmir.*

**Keywords:** Nund Rishi, Equality, Tolerance, Community, Rishi Order

### Introduction

The valley of Kashmir is popularly associated with Sufism. Sufism, regarded as the mystical stream of Islam with esoteric and spiritual dimensions, emerged in the modern areas of Central and West Asia and later spread to different parts of the world, from Spain to Xinjiang, from Indonesia to Chechnya. Sufis travelled from one place, translating cultural, religious and spiritual idioms from one context to another, playing a pivotal role in cultural exchange between several regions and communities. However, not all Sufis were eclectic wanderers; many were also part of Sufi institutions called Sufi Orders, which provided them institutional legitimacy and helped disperse a coherent set of principles and ideas.

Sufi Orders, *tariqa* (pl. *taruq*) in Arabic, are the institutional edifice on which the canon of Sufism stands. Sufi orders, which can be roughly translated as brotherhood, came up during the later phase of the development of Sufism and played a crucial part in the crystallisation, solidification and dissemination of the Sufi doctrine across the world.<sup>1</sup>

\* Centre for Political Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi



Many of these Sufi orders started in Central and West Asian regions, like the Naqshbandiyya or the Kubrawiyya orders, and then expanded to different regions. However, some Sufi orders were unique to a particular geographical and cultural landscape and helped assimilate disparate cultural practices through their teachings.

This paper undertakes a study of a regional Sufi order, bringing forth its unique cultural history and foundational social role in the society of its existence. The Rishi order, which belongs to the valley of Kashmir, has had a huge historical, social and cultural role in the region. Its presence is ubiquitous across Kashmir, from practices to discursive traditions to government buildings. The paper uses historical sources and a brief field survey based on informal discussions with devotees to this order, to construct the history of the order and its contemporary significance in creating a unique sense of identity and history, which can lead to a harmonious and peaceful social co-existence in Kashmir.

### **Nund Rishi: Life and Practices**

Rishi order is considered the indigenous Sufi *tariqa* of Kashmir. This term certainly has Sanskrit roots, referring to "a singer of hymns, an inspired poet or sage."<sup>2</sup> In pre-Islamic Kashmir and the rest of South Asia, Rishi was commonly used to refer to individuals living an ascetic or mendicant life, away from society or habitation. However, it assumed increased significance in Kashmir when a Sufi *tariqa* of the name emerged within the valley in the late 14<sup>th</sup> and early 15<sup>th</sup> century. In addition to being indigenous, this order was also predominantly prevalent in the non-urban areas of Kashmir, a marked difference from the other Sufi orders that made their way to Kashmir. This spatial location gave the order a massive geographical reach and a colossal number of adherents. It also imbibed it with values, notions and motifs intimately connected to rural life. Consequently, Rishism has become the bedrock of a particular cultural, social and political view prevalent in the region.

A considerable part of the influence of the Rishi *tariqa* is the towering personality of its progenitor, Shaykh Nur ud-Din or Nund Rishi. He is considered *Alamdar-e-Kashmir* (Standard-bearer of Kashmir), the patron saint of the valley. Through his *shruks*, small poems in common Kashmiri delivering a concise didactic message, Nund Rishi constructed an elaborate socio-religious and cultural edifice of Kashmir that still stands. A large population of Kashmir, Hindus and Muslims alike, revere him.

Nund Rishi was born in 1378 A.D. at Kaimoh, in the south Kashmir district of Kulgam. Nund Rishi was a second-generation Muslim born to Salar Ganz. Many scholars believe that Salar Ganz converted to Islam at the behest of Sayyid Hussain Simnani, cousin of Sayyid Ali Hamdani.<sup>3</sup> Others think that this is just a mere concoction devised to link Kubraviyya *tarīqa* to the personality of Nund Rishi.<sup>4</sup> Like any other prominent Sufi figure, Nund Rishi is supposed to have presented glimpses of his exalted spiritual nature from his birth itself. Popular folklore linked Nund Rishi with Lalla Ded, a wandering 14<sup>th</sup>-century Shaivite mystic<sup>5</sup> when Nund Rishi was just a toddler, claiming that Lalla Ded took spiritual charge of the young Nur ud-Din.<sup>6</sup> Later in his life, Nund Rishi acknowledged the spiritual prowess and guidance of Lalla Ded, dedicating the following *shruk* in her praise:

*"That Lalla of Padmanyur  
Who had drunk the nectar  
She is the Avatar and Yogini  
O God, bestow the same (spiritual power) on me."*<sup>7</sup>

The life of Nund Rishi changed after the death of his father. It brought about abject poverty in his family, forcing him and his two elder brothers to take on a life of robbery.<sup>8</sup> However, Nund Rishi proved to be an incompetent thief, forcing his brothers to remove him from the job. Nund Rishi himself reflects on his life as a thief in one of his *shruks*,<sup>9</sup> reflecting how the bark of a dog when he was stealing a cow forced him to realise the cost of stealing in the afterlife, which made him release the cow:

*"The dog is calling from the courtyard,  
My brothers pay heed to (what he says)  
He who sows here shall reap there  
The dog is urging sow, oh sow."*<sup>10</sup>

Afterwards, Nund Rishi tried his hand at weaving, but even there, the instruments alluded to the fruitlessness of life and the need to work towards the betterment of the afterlife. Once again, he mentions this incident in a *shruk* where he says:

*"One instrument holds my rapt attention  
The other teaches me to renounce the world;  
The paddle points down to the grave;  
This is the craft to which my parents have apprenticed me."*<sup>11</sup>

Finally, at thirty, Nund Rishi retired to a cave in his native village of Kaimoh, giving up familial and worldly ties.<sup>12</sup> Thus, began the initial phase of his ascetic career, which was characterised by extreme asceticism and distance from society. In this initial phase of Nur ud-Din's mystical journey, Shavaiite philosophy and actions of earlier indigenous mystics of Kashmir profoundly influenced him. Over time, people started getting influenced by Nund Rishi and started to follow him, finally leading to the establishment of the Rishi *tariqa*. Thus, this *tariqa* is indigenous both in its leadership and doctrinal history. Theologically speaking, its practices are believed to assimilate *Nathpratha* (serpent worship), Buddhism, Shaivism and Islamic influences. This eclectic lineage is evident from one of his *shruti* which delineates the *silsila* (lineage) of the Rishi *tariqa*:

*"The first Rishi was Prophet Muhammad;  
The second in the order was Hazrat Uways;  
The third Rishi was Zulka Rishi;  
The fourth in the order was Hazrat Pilas;  
The fifth was Ruma Rishi;  
The sixth in the order was Hazrat Miran Rishi;  
The seventh (me) is called a Rishi by mistake;  
Who am I to be called a Rishi? What is my name?"*<sup>13</sup>

Hence, the *silsila* of the order was unique, with the Prophet (S.A.W) as its fountainhead and the presence of indigenous mystics within it. Nund Rishi, staying true to the common *tariqa* practice, traces the lineage to Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W), establishing the distinctive Islamic nature of the *tariqa*. However, he traces this lineage through Uways Qarni, a Sufi contemporary of the Prophet, rather than the usual route of Ali or Abu-Bakr, giving a distinctive colour to the order. The other four, Zulka Rishi, Pilasman Rishi, Ruma Rishi and Miran Rishi, are considered to be indigenous Kashmiris. There is very little information available about their life, but some believe that all four were historical personalities from Kashmir, while others believe them to be of mythical origins.<sup>14</sup> This allowed for a unique blend of Islamic and local history within the order. This allowed this order to be ubiquitously revered by different communities of the valley, making it represent the composite history and culture of the region. This composite aspect was also reflected in the life and practices of his disciples.

### The Rishi Order: Successors and Relationship with Authority

After Nund Rishi, the Rishi *silasila* was carried forward by his four prominent disciples: Bam ud-Din Rishi, Zain ud-Din Rishi, Latief ud-Din Rishi and Nasr ud-Din Rishi. Bam ud-Din Rishi was a respected Hindu priest, Bhuma Sidh, before coming in contact with Nund Rishi. He used to live at Bamzu, where Nund Rishi visited him and successfully converted him to Islam. Even before his conversion, Bam ud-Din was known for his ascetic prowess. After entering the Rishi fold, Bam ud-Din is said to have followed an intense form of asceticism, with some claiming his food to be only water and crushed stones, dying in the reign of Zain ul-Abideen (1420-1470).<sup>15</sup>

One of the most distinguished disciples of Nund Rishi is Zain ud-Din Rishi. It is generally believed that Zain ud-Din belonged to the royal family of Kishtwar. Zain ud-Din came under the influence of Nund Rishi and accepted Islam after Nund Rishi supposedly cured him of an ailment, troubling him for some time.<sup>16</sup> After living with his preceptor, Zain ud-Din settled at a hamlet in south Kashmir called Aishmuqam, where his shrine stands today. During this time, a lot of miraculous feats are attributed to him.<sup>17</sup> His spiritual prowess was even acknowledged by his preceptor, who said

*"My Zaina is a fountain of the water of immortality  
Such is his devotion to the Almighty that he excels in his guide"*<sup>18</sup>

Zain ud-Din Rishi is also credited with introducing a unique dress for the Rishis.<sup>19</sup> His death is as much shrouded in mystery as his life, with his corpse vanishing from the *tabut* (coffin).<sup>20</sup>

Latief ud-Din was a wealthy merchant who became the disciple of Nund Rishi after the saint made him realise the futility of worldly possessions.<sup>21</sup> He gave up his wealth, adopting the austere life of a Rishi. He finally moved to a village called Poskar, spending the rest of his life there. Qiyam ud-Din, on the other hand, was a person without formal education. However, since the early stages of his life, he was associated with spiritual persons. After coming in contact with Nund Rishi, he modelled his life according to the tenets espoused by Nund Rishi. On the direction of his preceptor, he moved to the village of Manzgam, spending the rest of his life in a cell near a spring called Dodh-Pokar.<sup>22</sup>

Nasr ud-Din Rishi was the closest companion of Nund Rishi throughout his life. He also came under the influence of Nund Rishi after he supposedly cured Nasr of a disease as well.<sup>23</sup> Since bidding farewell to his family, Nasr ud-Din constantly remained at the side of Nund Rishi. Nund Rishi, on his part, entrusted important responsibilities to him, even addressing some of his *shruks* to him. Nasr ud-Din was entrusted with the care of other disciples while Nund Rishi was alive.<sup>24</sup> He is even supposed to have carried Nund Rishi during his travels across Kashmir after Nund Rishi became too weak to walk. After his death, Nasr ud-Din succeeded Nund Rishi as his principal *khalifa* at his shrine.<sup>25</sup>

The picture that emerges from these details of the Rishi order conforms to the dominant perspective of Sufis, which is mystical, mendicant, reclusive and hardly concerned with this world. Even stories from their lives transmitted to the present strengthen such conceptualisation. One of the most famous and oft-repeated is the story of the interaction between Sultan Ali Shah and Bam ud-Din, which is recollected as follows:

*"It is said when Sultan Ali Shah (1413-1420), desired to call on him (Bam ud-Din), Bam ud-Din informed the Sultan that if the visit was really necessary, he should not come in his royal robes. The Sultan visited the saint in the dress of a peasant. He asked, as was the custom of the age, for the saint's advice; the reply was: "You have taken off the dress of a king, but you have not taken your mind from the cares of your kingdom. You refuse to remove the cotton wool of heedlessness from your ears; so what use would my company and advice be to you? The nature of rulers is like fire and the counsel and advice of the saints like air; the fire flares up in the air." Again the Sultan asked if he could do anything for him, Bam ud-Din replied: "Do not come to see me again and do not mention my name in your court." The Sultan retorted: "What deep enmity you show for worldly people." The reply was: "Only because I am an enemy of worldliness." When the Sultan left, Bam ud-Din threw the mat, on which the Sultan had been sitting, in the river."<sup>26</sup>*

This story brings forth the distaste of Rishis towards worldly attributes, especially royal power. This distaste also brought these Sufis into some conflict with the rulers of the time leading to severe consequences. However, the miraculous spiritual powers of the saints eventually prevailed, cementing the power of saints over the temporal world. One of the most famous of these stories is that of Zain ud-Din Rishi after he was exiled to Tibet. It is said that:



*"It is said that Zain ud Din was asked by Sultan Zain ul-Abideen (1420-70), the ruler of the time, to leave the Valley and thereupon he went to Tibet. The cause of the displeasure of the Sultan, according to these sources, was that once the latter called upon the saint but was treated with scant attention. The sultan was displeased and asked him to leave the kingdom. Zain ud-Din gladly agreed to leave the Valley and he took himself and some of his disciples to Tibet where he was accorded a warm welcome. But soon the son of the ruler of that country died and the people blamed Zain ud-Din. He was threatened with death, he tried to convince them that it was God's will, not his but all in vain. So he prayed to God and the prince returned to life.*

*Meanwhile, Sultan Zain ul-Abideen is said to have got a boil on his foot and physicians failed to cure him. He sought help from haji Adham, a prominent saint of his time, who told him that he was suffering because of the displeasure of Zain ud-Din. So the Sultan sent his son, Prince Haider, to Tibet to bring the saint back. The moment Zain ud Din put his foot on the road homeward, the Sultan recovered and when the saint arrived, the Sultan personally went to receive him."<sup>17</sup>*

Thus, it is clear that the Rishis had a distaste for government structure and power, and this resulted in a few conflicts with the rulers. Nonetheless, if one believes these hagiographical accounts, the rulers had to finally submit to the saints because of their exalted spiritual status and miraculous powers. However, this distance from the governmental structure did not translate into a complete distance from society as well. Rishi saints intimately engaged with societal issues and concerns, helping create a broader identity, peace and social harmony.

### **Peace, Brotherhood and Harmony in the Poetry of Nund Rishi**

The Rishi, through their doctrines and practices, were able to construct unity between different communities of the region. This was attempted by entrenching a cross-community sense of belonging through the poetry of Nund Rishi, installing particular rituals and other such practices. The most consequential of these was giving ritualistic status to the practice of vegetarianism. Vegetarianism is a commonly held belief and practice among Rishis, including many devotees. As a ritual, it is practised in different areas of Kashmir. It involves giving up food items, including non-vegetarian items, onion, garlic, and other such delicacies or spices, for a specific period in a year. These are practices similar to the ones

undertaken by the Hindu or the Jain community across South Asia. However, most devotees do not practice it regularly, and those who do mostly do it to “escape divine wrath in case of deviation, and derive any worldly benefits from such practice, by pleasing the saint or generally as a pious act.”<sup>28</sup> This is in stark contrast to the reason Rishis adopted vegetarianism, which had more to do with self-control, through giving up worldly desires, including good food. Nonetheless, entrenching these values and practices has significant social and political effects.

Identifying with practices and conceptions emanating from a different religious community allows the development of ‘relatedness’ with that community, which is considered a powerful tool of group identity.<sup>29</sup> Such communities do not become “dichotomised.”<sup>30</sup> Instead, it allows a feeling of togetherness or belonging between said groups. This value is quite evident in the worldview of devotees of Nund Rishi and the Rishi order. While the footfall of Pandit devotees has seen a significant drop due to prevailing circumstances, devotees still fondly recall their visits and association with these shrines, including asserting stronger filial bonds with Pandit as opposed to their coreligionists elsewhere.<sup>31</sup>

Such feelings of brotherhood are also a result of Nund Rishi’s teaching. There are several *shruks* of Nund Rishi where he discusses ideas of mutual harmony and brotherhood. Just like any other proponent of mutual harmony, he reminds Muslims and Hindus of their common lineage:

*“Among the brothers of the same parents  
Why did you create a barrier?  
Muslims and Hindus are one.  
When will God be kind to his servants?”*<sup>32</sup>

Nund Rishi does not limit these communities to a common lineage but also preaches a common destination for these groups, to which they have to proceed together:

*“What qualities have you found in the world?  
To allow your body free, loose rope?  
The Muslims and Hindus sail in the same boat.  
Have thy ply and let us go home.”*<sup>33</sup>

Nund Rishi extends this call for harmony to the doctrinal level, espousing a mutual harmony between the doctrines of each community. He says:

*"Nirguna manifest thyself unto me  
 Thy name (alone) have I been chanting  
 Lord! Help me to reach the acme of my spiritual desires  
 I do remember (with gratitude) how kind You are  
 You removed all veils between yourself and the Prophet (S.A.W)  
 And You revealed the Quran unto him  
 Lord, the one (Prophet) who remains steadfast in your way  
 I do remember (with gratitude) how kind You are."*<sup>34</sup>

This sense of mutual harmony between different Kashmiri communities forms the bedrock of the pluralist ethos of the valley. Standardised through the modern conception of *Kashmiriyat*, this idea permeates the thought of an ordinary devotee at Chrar. This word is invoked to justify a unique sense of identity, characterised by inter-communal harmony and a unique sense of belonging and possessiveness concerning the geographical space of Kashmir.<sup>35</sup> Many operational words reflect such conceptualisation. These include *Rishi-Vaer* (the Garden of the Rishis) or *Rishi-Vatika* (the abode of the Rishis). The title of *Almadar-i-Kashmir*, used to refer to Nund Rishi, further entrenches this unique notion of the Kashmiri community.

In addition to communal harmony, the *shrutis* of Nund Rishi bring forth a deep understanding of the social realities around him and his involvement in these uncomfortable social realities of the Kashmiri society. An important evil prevalent in the Kashmiri society was caste, which led to severe repercussions for a vast number of people across the Kashmiri society; Nund Rishi tried to ameliorate the consequences of this practice and put forth a unique but powerful critique of the caste system in his poems. Take, for example, his views on caste in his following *shrutis*:

*"Adam is the progenitor of the human race,  
 Mother Eve has the same primordality,  
 (So) from where have the 'low castes' descended?  
 How can a 'high born' deride his ancestry?"*<sup>36</sup>

Nund Rishi further uses theological arguments to challenge the very principal notions of caste and its foundations. In a second *shruti*, Nund Rishi says:

*"One who harps proudly upon one's caste,  
 Is bereft of reason and wisdom,*

*Here the good alone can claim noble descent;  
In the Hereafter, 'caste' will be extinct,  
Were you to imbibe the essence of Islam,  
Then no one would be purer than you?"<sup>37</sup>*

However, for him, caste does not merely have theological repercussions. He is equally aware of the practical problems that the caste system poses for the well-being of society, its unity and survival. He engages with those practicalities, bringing forward an acute understanding of social divisions and their consequence on a community. He says:

*"The distinguished ancestry will not ennoble and unite (people);  
The nobility of birth is not decreed.  
(Beware), lest the thought of noble lineage should stupefy you;  
Conform to righteousness: nay, noble descent is a sham."<sup>38</sup>*

This *shruk* makes it clear that Nund Rishi is not only worried about otherworldly issues or concerns that might emerge in the Hereafter. He is very concerned with the worldly effects of disunity and disharmony that caste can be a reason for in a society. Thus, his Sufi worldview also encompasses social considerations. His call to righteousness exceeds usual religious values and possesses a deep desire for social change, harmony between different members of society, and upliftment of the downtrodden.

## Conclusion

Thus, it is clear that the Rishi order has been an important part of the historical and religious discourse of Kashmir. The order is primarily known because of its founder, Nund Rishi, who is termed the patron saint of Kashmir. Nund Rishi belonged to the 14<sup>th</sup> century but his ideas, practices and vision for the Kashmiri society prevail to the present day. His *shrugs* or sayings form an important part of the Kashmir literary and popular tradition. In addition to Nund Rishi himself, the Rishi order gave numerous saints to the valley of Kashmir, which enriched its socio-cultural landscape for centuries to come. Among those, the four immediate disciples of Nund Rishi are the most important. These include Bam ud-Din, Zain ud Din, Nasr ud Din and Latief ud Din. Bam ud-Din and Latief ud-Din are known for their extreme asceticism and spirituality.

The Rishi order envisaged a Kashmiri society based on tolerance, plurality and harmony. The Rishi saints kept working towards this goal by

disseminating messages through their poetry and inculcating togetherness through their practices. The practice of vegetarianism is noteworthy in this regard. The practice, which is still followed by a considerable number of people, brings together different communities by imparting a sense of commonality through this practice. This sense of commonality and togetherness is also evident from the poetry of these saints, primarily Nund Rishi himself, which exhorts communal harmony and equality. Nund Rishi uses theological and commonsensical arguments to argue for a shared future between different communities, while at the same time using the same type of arguments to challenge the existence of social evils prevailing within the community. Further, the construction of the genealogy of the Rishi order by Nund Rishi, which incorporated both Islamic and indigenous figures, tried to legitimise this vision of a shared future through the prism of a shared past. This vision of the Rishi order continues to hold relevance within contemporary times as well, and it is clear that the order has a foundational part in the history of Kashmir and a pivotal role in its future.

## References

<sup>1</sup> J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam: The Role of Muslim Rishis (Fifteenth to Eighteenth Century)*, (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors, 1994), p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Peer Ghulam Hassan Khoyihami, *Tarikh-e-Kashmir*, 1997 ed. (Jammu: Ranbir Government Press, 1887), p. 120-121.

<sup>4</sup> Abdul Qaiyum Rafiqi, *Sufism in Kashmir*, (Srinagar: Gulshan Books, 2015), p. 198.

<sup>5</sup> The life of Lalla Ded is shrouded in mystery. She is believed to be a wandering Shaivite mystic, while many claim Islamic influence on her. There are many legends attributed to her, which reveal a deep anti-ritualistic and anti-Brahminical tenor. She was herself a poet, writing didactic poems, called *vakh*. These were directed against the social and cultural ills of the Kashmiri society. Her attack on these religious and social practices is believed to have stemmed from her own life, which was quite troublesome. She is believed to have been born into a well-to-do family and married to a Brahman boy. She faced immense difficulties and trouble from her in-laws, including her mother-in-law, which forced her to give up her familial life and wander in a semi-nude state. Her conceptions of self-denial, purity, asceticism, and poetry are considered to be the initial and important source of inspiration for Nund Rishi. See Rafiqi, *Sufism in Kashmir*, p. 194-220.



<sup>6</sup> Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam*, p. 70.

<sup>7</sup> Rafiqi, *Sufism in Kashmir*, p. 206-207.

<sup>8</sup> Khoyihami, *Tarikh-e-Hassan*, p. 118.

<sup>9</sup> The poems of Nur ud-Din are called *shruks*. For a detailed analysis of the term and its significance, see Abir Bazaz, "The Negative Theology of Nund Rishi (1378-1440): Poetry and Politics in Medieval Kashmir," PhD Thesis, (University of Minnesota, 2016), p. 16-19.

<sup>10</sup> Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam*, p. 98.

<sup>11</sup> Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam*, p. 98.

<sup>12</sup> Khoyihami, *Tarikh-e-Hassan*, p. 120.

<sup>13</sup> Abu Naeemullah, *Nur Nama Yami Kulyat-i-Shaykh ul-Alam*, (Srinagar: Sheikh Mohammad Usman and Sons, 2017), p. 310. (translation from Urdu mine).

<sup>14</sup> Master Ghulam Ali, *Succession of Muslim Rishism in Kashmir*, (Srinagar: Gulshan Books, 2016), p. 43-45.

<sup>15</sup> Ali, *Succession of Muslim Rishism*, p. 85.

<sup>16</sup> Khoyihami, *Tarikh-e-Kashmir*, p. 131-132.

<sup>17</sup> Ali, *Succession of Muslim Rishism*, p. 95.

<sup>18</sup> Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam*, p. 184.

<sup>19</sup> Khoyihami, *Tarikh-e-Kashmir*, p. 134.

<sup>20</sup> Peerzada Muhammad Toyyib Hussain Naqshbandi Suhrawardi Kashmiri, *Awliya-e-Kashmir*, (Lahore: Nazir Sons Publishers, 1988), p. 54.

<sup>21</sup> Khoyihami, *Tarikh-e-Kashmir*, p. 137.

<sup>22</sup> Khoyihami, *Tarikh-e-Kashmir*, p. 140.

<sup>23</sup> Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam*, p. 208.

<sup>24</sup> Khoyihami, *Tarikh-e-Kashmir*, p. 138.

<sup>25</sup> Khoyihami, *Tarikh-e-Kashmir*, p. 138-139.

<sup>26</sup> Rafiqi, *Sufism in Kashmir*, p. 225-226.

<sup>27</sup> Rafiqi, *Sufism in Kashmir*, p. 228-229.

<sup>28</sup> This is a common belief among the adherents of the Rishi order, which I interviewed, as well as people of different localities where there is a Rishi presence, such as Bijbehara, Anantnag, and Batamaloo. I have had formal and informal interactions with people in these places who keep these 'fasts' over different time periods, which is called *parakh* or *paal*, in different places.

<sup>29</sup> Fergus Neville and Stephen Reicher, "The Experience of Collective Participation: Shared Identity, Relatedness and Emotionality," *Journal of the Academy of Social Sciences*, 6, no. 3, (2011): 377-396, p. 377-378.

<sup>30</sup> Fredrik Barth, "Introduction", in Fredrik Barth, (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), p. 10.

<sup>31</sup> In an interaction on 13<sup>th</sup> October 2020, a 50-year-old woman fondly remembered visiting the shrine with her Pandit friends as a young woman. This sentiment of longing was found across the spectrum, be it age, gender or location.

<sup>32</sup> Ghulam Nabi Muqeem Gauhar, *Shayar-e-Irfan: Fikr-o-Fan*, (Srinagar: Sheikh Mohammad Usman and Sons, 2016), p. 221. (translation from Urdu mine).

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<sup>33</sup> Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam*, p. 104.

<sup>34</sup> Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam*, p. 104.

<sup>35</sup> Riyaz Punjabi, "Kashmiriyat: The Mystique of an Ethnicity," *India International Centre Quarterly* 17, no. 2 (1990): 100-16.

<sup>36</sup> Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam*, p. 125.

<sup>37</sup> Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam*, p. 126.

<sup>38</sup> Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam*, p. 126.

## Weaving Buddhist Philosophy into Fantasy: The Spiritual Architecture of Robert Jordan's *The Wheel of Time*

Aparna Jha\*

*Robert Jordan, also known as James Oliver Rigney Jr., is an American writer who created an epic fantasy world in his series of novels, The Wheel of Time (1990-2013), spanning 14 volumes. The Jordanian world is a rich tapestry of concepts from Hinduism, Buddhism, Arthurian legends, and Norse and Irish mythology. The narrative of The Wheel of Time series intricately weaves together a complex tapestry of themes that echo crucial Buddhist concepts, such as Samsara, Karma, Anatta, Anicca, Dukkha, Middle Way, etc. This study delves into how these Buddhist tenets shape the series' portrayal of fate, personal responsibility, and the quest for enlightenment through a comprehensive and in-depth analysis of pivotal events and character arcs. Focused on the first three books of The Wheel of Time, namely The Eye of the World, The Great Hunt and The Dragon Reborn, this study uncovers the prevalence of Buddhist teachings within the series, illustrating their significant contribution to the moral and philosophical framework of the world built by Robert Jordan. By highlighting the parallels between Jordan's epic fantasy and Buddhist philosophy, this study underscores how Eastern thought has been adapted and reinterpreted in Western literature and how modern storytelling has influenced a broader cultural and philosophical exchange.*

**Keywords:** Buddhist philosophy, Impermanence, Middle Way, Suffering, Four Noble Truths

*The Wheel of Time turns, and Ages come and Pass, leaving memories that become legends.*

-Jordan, *The Eye of the World*

### Introduction

Robert Jordan's *The Wheel of Time*, published in 14 volumes, is a high fantasy novel of epic dimension that has left an indelible mark on popular culture. It has not only become a part of popular culture. However, it has also spawned a prequel novel, two companion books, and several adaptations into genres such as OTT series, comics, games, and music.

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\* Department of English and Foreign languages, Central University of South Bihar

Renewed interest in the series of novels grew with the release of a television series developed by Rafe Judkins for Amazon Prime Video in 2021 and 2022 ("The Wheel of Time"). Inspired by J. R. R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*, Jordan has intricately woven a universe with grand characters and monumental events. In the true nature of sci-fi and fantasy novels, he has "imagined reality that is radically different in its nature and functioning from the world of our ordinary experience"<sup>1</sup>. In this case, the setting is the Third Age of an imaginary fantasy world roughly the size of the Earth, called the Westlands but with different continents, seas and mountain terrains.

In this fantasy world, human existence is determined by the Wheel of Time, which spins the pattern of the Ages. The wheel has the power to influence the destiny of men and women. This wheel is rotated by a grand magical force, One Power. Only women can wield this power rightly (also known as channelling) and possess extraordinary magical powers. In this Jordanian epic, the heroes are the Aes Sedai, a matriarchal order comprising female channellers and "their action involves extraordinary deeds" to serve and protect humanity from the malevolent, the Dark One.<sup>2</sup> The narrative in the first book begins in 'medias res',<sup>3</sup> at a crucial time of action, which is the feature of an epic. The circular nature of time in Jordan's universe is introduced in the first paragraph when he states, "The Wheel of Time turns, and Ages come and pass... There are neither beginnings nor endings to the turning of the Wheel of Time. But it was a beginning"<sup>4</sup>. This circularity will be dealt with again later in the discussion on Eastern philosophy.

The timelessness of Robert Jordan's series is rooted in the fact that he has not built a grand universe; instead, he has created a multiverse with myths from both European and Asian mythology and elements drawn from both Western and Eastern philosophy. The Jordanian world is built on interlocking concepts from Hinduism, Buddhism, Arthurian legends, Norse and Irish mythology. *The Wheel of Time* is a rich, multilayered world blending elements from history, mythology, politics and magic. It has diverse cultures and complex political systems with profound philosophical underpinnings.

The present study is focused on the first two books of *The Wheel of Time* (on which the OTT series is based), viz., *The Eye of the World*<sup>5</sup> and *The Great Hunt*<sup>6</sup> explores the various influences of Eastern philosophies, notably Buddhism, on the worldview. The intricate narrative of *The Wheel of Time* weaves together a complex tapestry of themes that resonate with key Buddhist concepts, such as Kalachakra (wheel of time), Reincarnation

and Samsara (the cycle of birth, death, and rebirth), Karma (the moral law of cause and effect), Anatta (the illusion of the self), Impermanence (Anicca), the Middle Way (the path of moderation), the four Noble Truths, the Eight-Fold Path, Non-Violence (Ahimsa), Maya (Illusion), Mindfulness/ meditation and the quest for Enlightenment.

### **Kalachakra, Samsara and Reincarnation**

In Vajrayana Buddhism's cosmology, the whole world is guided by the collective efforts or karma of the sentient beings, which creates a kind of psychophysical energy or the 'vayu', (the vital wind). The vayu moulds and dissolves the atomic particles that constitute the inanimate things in the world<sup>8</sup>. The opening lines of the first book describe the whole atmosphere being windy, and its significance can be gauged when Jordan writes, "In one Age, called the Third Age by some, an Age yet to come, an Age long past, a wind rose in the Mountains of Mist. The wind was not the beginning. There are neither beginnings nor endings to the turning of the Wheel of Time"<sup>9</sup>. The word Kalachakra is polysemic as it has several meanings in Vajrayana Buddhism (also called Tantric Buddhism), which spread in Tibet, Nepal, East Asia, parts of Southeast Asia and Mongolia. The most common meaning is the 'wheel of time' itself. In Jordan's universe, time is represented by a wheel with seven spokes representing the seven ages of human beings, and the wheel keeps rotating. No one knows how many times this wheel rotates. This concept of representation of human life is also presented in Hindu philosophy, where 'kaal' or 'samay' plays a significant role. This concept of Kalachakra is infused with the Western concept of the seven ages of humankind. This imaginary universe becomes multidimensional as the lives of people are strung on a thread, and "the designs these threads create when intertwined (through the turning of the wheel and the events of people's lives) form every possible reality—past, present, and future"<sup>10</sup> (Weller). The wheel motif emerges from this Kalachakra tradition in Buddhism, where the wheel symbolises the infinite cycle of existence, mortality, and reincarnation, as seen in Buddha's teaching of Samsara. Characters in the novel *The Wheel of Time* are reborn in different ages.

The prophecy surrounding the Dragon Reborn underscores the theme of reincarnation. The Dragon Reborn is destined to be born continually to fight the Dark One. In Buddhist tradition, this cyclic rebirth process continues until one achieves enlightenment. Rand's journey in the series is deeply tied to reincarnation. He is revealed to be the Dragon Reborn, the latest incarnation of an influential figure destined to confront the Dark One. Throughout Book I, *The Eye of the World*, Rand grapples with the



implications of this identity, including memories and abilities from past lives.

The awakening of memories and abilities from past lives is marked as reincarnation when Rand al'Thor confronts the Forsaken and the Dark One's minions, unconsciously channels the One Power, and realises his potential as the Dragon Reborn. The cyclical nature of existence is foregrounded, with Rand being the latest in a long line of incarnations. In the second book, *The Great Hunt*, Rand experiences visions and memories of the past. In the third book of the series, *The Dragon Reborn*, Rand is found to be the latest incarnation of Lews Therin Telamon, the Dragon from the Age of Legends. Throughout the story, characters like Rand, Mat, and Perrin experience prophetic dreams and visions. These experiences often provide glimpses into their past lives or hint at their future roles, further emphasising the theme of samsara. Lews Therin's memories and burdens influence Rand, highlighting the continuity of the soul and the impact of past lives on the present. The soul is always on the onward journey to different lives. Ishmael, who appears as Ba'alzamon, represents the eternal antagonist in the time cycle. His continued opposition to the Dragon Reborn and the Dark One's influence reflects the recurring nature of the struggle between light and shadow. The Battle at the Stone of Tear is the battle against the Forsaken and the forces of the Shadow that shows the recurring struggle against the Dark One. It reinforces the cyclic nature of Samsara, where the fight between good and evil continues in all the ages past and the ages to come.

### **Channelling and Karma**

In Vajrayana or Tantric Buddhism, where the concept of Kalachakra pervades, the mind is considered the focal point of the whole being. According to Bryant, "It is the stream of consciousness which connects the individual to his or her past and future. This can be observed within the actions of this life alone or, according to the principle of reincarnation, in the action of past and future lives"<sup>11</sup>. A subtle mind can impart knowledge and wisdom in the form of "mind transmission", which is "a direct transfer of consciousness that can pass from a deity to a human or from one human to another"<sup>12</sup>. This is how Buddha taught his disciples. This concept of mind transmission is known as "channelling" in Jordan's world in *The Wheel of Time* series. Specific individuals can access and manipulate the One Power through channelling, a mystic force that drives the universe. The male channelers are called Saidin, and the female ones are called Saidar—both are complementary pairs of the One Power. Drawing upon the immense magical power of channelling, few Saidins or Saidars who

possess the talent or 'spark' can heal, create fire, manipulate weather and alter the fabric of reality. Channelling involves 'weaving' threads of the One Power to create specific effects, called 'Weaves'. One of the significant roles of Aes Sedai is to control the use of this One Power. Characters such as Rand al'Thor, Egwene al'Vere, and Nynaeve al'Meara are powerful channelers who play pivotal roles in unfolding the series' epic narrative.

The Buddhist concept of karma refers to the law of moral causation, where one's actions influence future experiences. The consequences of actions, both good and bad, play a significant role in the narrative. The choices made by characters such as Moiraine Sedai, Lan, and even the friends reflect the idea that actions have far-reaching consequences. The journey to the Eye of the World can be seen as a karmic event influenced by the characters' past actions and choices. In the first book, the initial attack by Trollocs and Myrddraal on Emond's Field sets the stage for the entire series. This event can be seen as a consequence of the Dark One's desire to find and control the Dragon Reborn. Min Farshaw's visions around Rand, Mat, and Perrin suggest the weight of their destinies and the karmic outcomes they will face, reflecting the karmic ripple effects of the Dark One's search for power. The journey to the cursed city of Shadar Logoth is a powerful instance of karma. The desolation of the city and the wrath of Mashadar are consequences of the inhabitants' excessive zeal in rooting out darkness, leading to their destruction. This event warns of the karmic consequences of allowing hatred and paranoia to consume one's actions. Perrin's discovery of his ability to communicate with wolves and his subsequent struggle with his identity reflect karmic themes. His hesitation to embrace his abilities and the choices he makes in using them show how actions and internal conflicts can shape one's destiny and experiences.

In the second book, *The Great Hunt*, Ingtar's confession to having secretly served the Dark One at a crucial point and his realisation makes him seek redemption by sacrificing himself and allowing Rand and the others to escape. Ingtar's decision reflects the Buddhist concept of karma, where his past actions have led him to this point; however, his choice to sacrifice himself as an atonement for his past wrongs is a form of spiritual redemption. In the third book, *The Dragon Reborn*, Rand's ability to draw the Sword That Is Not a Sword (Callandor) from the Stone of Tear, and his subsequent victory over the Shadow's forces reflect the positive karma accumulated through his previous actions and decisions. The Forsaken's actions, driven by their malevolent intentions and alliance with the Shadow, lead to negative consequences and eventual defeat. Ishamael, in

particular, represents the consequences of pursuing evil and chaos as his actions fail and continue opposition to the Dragon Reborn.

### **Anatta, Anicca, Dukkha and the Four Noble Truths**

Anatta or Anatman is the Buddhist doctrine which states that humans do not have any "permanent, underlying substance" that one knows as the soul or Atman (the self) in Hinduism<sup>13</sup>. The self is an illusion, and an individual's existence is constituted of five aggregates (skandhas) that are constantly changing, viz. form, feeling, perception, mental formations and consciousness or awareness<sup>14</sup>. The absence of a self or anatta is followed by two more characteristics of all existence, viz. Anicca (the impermanence of all beings) and Dukkha (dissatisfaction or suffering). The three doctrines combined constitute the "right understanding"<sup>15</sup> (Britannica).

The concept of anatta is mirrored in the shifting identities and roles of the characters, especially Rand, who grapples with his identity as a simple shepherd versus his potential as the Dragon Reborn. Perrin Aybara's discovery of his ability to communicate with wolves introduces him to a new aspect of his identity known as a Wolfbrother. This connection blurs the line between his human self and his link to the wolves, challenging his understanding of who he is. The character Selene (later revealed to be Lanfear, one of the Forsaken) in the second book embodies the idea of the illusion of self. She presents herself as a mysterious noblewoman, manipulating Rand by appealing to his ambitions and desires. Perrin's struggle to accept or reject this part of himself reflects the concept of anatta as he grapples with the fluidity and multiplicity of his identity. The dreamworld, Tel'aran'rhod, is a place where reality and illusion intertwine. Characters who enter this realm experience events and meet figures challenging their perception of reality and identity. Egwene's journey towards becoming an Aes Sedai and her experiences with the One Power reveals her identity struggle. As she learns about her potential and the responsibilities of being an Aes Sedai, Egwene must navigate the expectations placed on her and her desires. Her journey illustrates the evolving nature of self-identity. Lan's dual identity as a Warder and the last surviving heir of the fallen kingdom of Malkier reflects the concept of anatta. He carries the weight of his past and his duties as a protector of Moiraine Sedai. Lan's stoic demeanour often hides his inner turmoil and sense of loss (dukkha/ suffering), suggesting that his outward identity is only a part of his true self.

The concept of impermanence, known as *anicca* in Buddhism, is one of the dominant themes in *The Eye of the World*. Trollocs and Myrddraal's attack on the peaceful village of Emond's Field is one such instance. The attack marks the end of the simple, stable lives of Rand al'Thor, Mat Cauthon, Perrin Aybara, Egwene al'Vere, and Nynaeve al'Meara and the beginning of a journey filled with uncertainty, demonstrating the impermanence of their previously secure existence. Their journey continues through the Mountains of Mist and beyond. The changing landscapes, cultures, and the constant threat of pursuit by Darkfriends and Shadowspawn emphasise the impermanence of their journey. The confrontation with the Forsaken Aginor and Balthamel and the sealing of the Dark One's prison in the battle at the Eye of the World show that even powerful entities and momentous events are subject to change and that power and victory are fragile and impermanent.

The first truth in the Four Noble Truths is *Dukkham* or suffering. Anderson (6) provides a quote from the *Sutta on the Turning of the Wheel of Dhamma*, which Buddha uses to describe pain or suffering:

*This, monks, is the noble truth that is pain. Birth is pain, old age is pain, illness is pain, death is pain, sorrow and grief, physical and mental suffering, and disturbance are pain. Association with things unliked is pain, separation from desired things is pain, and not getting what one wants is pain; in short, the five aggregates of grasping are pain.*<sup>16</sup>

This seems to be an observation that Buddha made about human life. The concept of suffering is widely embedded in the narratives of both the first and second books. Rand al'Thor, the protagonist, experiences profound suffering as he comes to terms with his identity as the Dragon Reborn. He is burdened by the knowledge that he is fated to save or destroy the world. This knowledge isolates him from others, even those he loves, as he fears for their safety and the inevitable madness of channelling Saidin. Egwene al'Vere faces immense challenges and suffering in her rise to the position of Amyrlin Seat, the leader of the Aes Sedai. She is forced to make difficult decisions during conflicts within the White Tower and endure physical and emotional hardships. Her journey is marked by sacrifice and the loss of her youthful innocence. Mat's suffering is rooted in the attachment to the dagger, even though it was initially out of necessity for survival. The curse brings continuous pain, reflecting the Buddhist understanding of *dukkha* as the suffering that arises from clinging to harmful influences and the consequences that follow.



The other three Noble Truths include Samudayo (Rising), which is associated with craving, Nirodha (Ending of pain/ suffering), and Patipadā (Way leading to the ending of pain). Intense personal and external struggles mark Rand's journey, depicting the truth of his suffering or dukkha (Saudayo). His internal conflicts with his identity and the external battles against the Shadow illustrate the pervasive nature of suffering. Rand's struggle to balance his immense power with the burden of his destiny highlights the universal experience of suffering. Mat's experience with the cursed dagger brings significant suffering due to the dagger's corrupting influence. His internal turmoil and the impact on his relationships reflect that suffering arises from various sources and can profoundly affect one's life. The Dark One's manipulations, the actions of the vital antagonist Ishmael and the resulting struggles of the protagonists illustrate how attachment to power, fear, and desire contribute to suffering.

Rand's acceptance of his role as the Dragon Reborn and his efforts to find balance and control over his powers represent the potential cessation of suffering (nirodha). By embracing his destiny and seeking to use his powers for good, Rand moves towards alleviating his suffering and that of others. Mat's eventual struggle to rid himself of the cursed dagger's influence and return to his true self represents the cessation of suffering. His recovery and return to normalcy illustrate the possibility of overcoming the sources of suffering. Rand's path involves confronting his fears, mastering his powers, and embracing his role. His personal growth and the support he received from his allies represent the path to overcoming suffering and achieving a sense of purpose (Patipadā). The cooperation among Rand's allies, such as Mat, Perrin, and Moiraine, illustrates the importance of support and collaboration in achieving personal and collective goals. Their efforts to work together and support each other represent the path to alleviating suffering.

### **Middle Way or Madhyamaka, and Eightfold Path**

In his first talk on Dhamma Dharma at Sarnath, Gautam Buddha explained that extreme devotion to sensual pleasures or ascetic practices should be avoided, and a Middle Way should be followed. Although not explicitly stated, these teachings and principles are at the core of The Wheel of Time series narrative. The concept of the Middle Way relates to avoiding extremes in all aspects of life, whether in feelings or actions. Characters like Rand and Egwene in *The Wheel of Time* constantly struggle to find a balance between using power and responsibility that comes with their powerful position in the universe. Rand constantly tries to follow a middle path by not becoming a tyrant or compromising on



controlling the situation. Moiraine Sedai balances her role as a mentor and guide. She balances her strategic decisions and guidance to Rand within the world's complex political and social dynamics. Rand and the Aes Sedai strive to find a balanced approach to collaboration and the broader struggle against the Shadow. Ishmael, however, is an example of the repercussions of not following the Middle Way. His extreme pursuit of power and chaos contrasts with the balanced approach embodied by Rand and other characters.

The middle way consists of the noble eightfold path: right view, right intent, right speech, right action, right living, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration, which leads to enlightenment<sup>17</sup>. Rand's gradual understanding of his identity as the Dragon Reborn and the nature of his struggle reflects the development of the Right View. Rand's resolve to defeat the Shadow for the greater good shows his right intent, just as Aes Sedai's intentions are right. The honest and open communication among Rand's allies, including his discussions with Moiraine and his friends, reflect Right Speech. Moiraine's role as a mentor involves providing honest guidance and advice to Rand and his companions. Her ability to speak truthfully and share her knowledge represents the Right Speech. Rand's actions to protect his friends and fight against the Shadow reflect the Right Action. His efforts to secure powerful artefacts for the greater good align with the Right Livelihood. His diligence in training and preparing for his role as the Dragon Reborn reflects the Right Effort. Rand's self-reflection and awareness of his role and actions illustrate the Right Mindfulness. His ability to recognise his strengths, weaknesses, and the nature of his journey represents this principle. Rand's mental focus, especially in using the One Power and strategic decisions, embodies the Right Concentration.

### **The Illusory Nature of Reality (Maya)**

In Mahayana sutras, it is said that people often misunderstand reality because reality is like magic, a dream, a bubble, a rainbow and so on. All reality is an illusion or Maya; if we think we understand reality, we are ignorant. All beings are likened to the magic created by a magician, i.e., the whole world is a magical creation, and this is a very apt symbol to be used by Robert Jordan in creating his world of fantasy in the Wheel of Time series. The narrative depicts reality, perception, and deception throughout *The Eye of the World*. The Dragon Reborn that appears at the beginning of the book's discussion is a false dragon, an illusion. The Emond's field villagers believe their village is peaceful and idyllic. This is merely an appearance or an illusion because the next thing we know is that

Trollocs attack the village. The illusion of safety and peaceful existence is shattered as it was illusionary. Ishamael creates illusions that confuse and manipulate Rand and his friends. These encounters highlight the concept of Maya, as characters must discern truth from illusion. Throughout their journey, the protagonists encounter various Darkfriends who hide their true intentions behind false appearances. For example, Padan Fain, initially appearing as a simple peddler, is revealed to be much more sinister. These characters' deceptive appearances underscore the concept of Maya, where outward appearances mask true nature and intentions. As an Aes Sedai, Moiraine is often involved in helping others see through the illusions of Maya to the underlying truths.

Through these events and characters, *The Eye of the World* explores the concept of Maya, illustrating how illusions and false perceptions can obscure the truth. The narrative emphasises the importance of seeing through these illusions to uncover deeper realities and truths about oneself and the world.

### **Compassion and Nonviolence (Ahimsa)**

Ahimsa, the principle of nonviolence and compassion towards all living beings, is a critical tenet in several Eastern philosophies, including Buddhism, Jainism, and Hinduism. In *The Eye of the World*, this concept can be explored through characters who embody compassion, restraint, and a commitment to avoiding harm whenever possible. Throughout the journey, Perrin Aybara consistently shows a reluctance to use violence after he begins to develop his connection with wolves. He grapples with the fear of losing his humanity, and his struggle to accept the necessity of violence when defending himself or others reflects a deep respect for life, aligning with the principle of Ahimsa.

The first book introduces a group of characters called the Tinkers. Also known as the Tuatha'an, they are nomadic people who follow the Way of the Leaf, a philosophy of absolute non-violence. When Perrin and Egwene encounter the Tinkers, they are introduced to this way of life, emphasising the sanctity of all life and the refusal to harm any living being. The Tinkers' commitment to Ahimsa is exemplified in their refusal to fight, even in self-defence, and their belief in peaceful coexistence. After Rand's first experience channelling the One Power leads to a wound from Ba'alzamon's flames, Moiraine heals him using the One Power. This act of healing, rather than causing harm, aligns with Ahimsa, as it emphasises care and the preservation of life. Moiraine's use of her abilities to heal rather than harm reflects Ahimsa's compassion.

## Conclusion

The present study provides valuable insights into understanding the human condition by reflecting on the issue of suffering. Exploring the idea of Anatta helps us navigate identity and embrace self-transformation. Examining the concept of karma contributes to making ethical decisions and taking responsibility for our actions. The Middle Way, as represented in the book series, promotes balancing extremes and seeking moderation. Themes of compassion and nonviolence are woven throughout the series, with characters often struggling between the need to fight and the desire for peace. These themes resonate with Buddhist teachings on Ahimsa. They can inspire readers to consider the importance of compassion and nonviolence, particularly in a world where conflict and aggression are prevalent. The study of the quest for enlightenment and mindful presence depicted in the narratives of *The Wheel of Time* book series under consideration may guide anyone interested in personal growth, self-awareness, and mindful living. On the whole, exploring the Buddhist philosophy within *The Wheel of Time* is relevant because it connects ancient wisdom with modern-day challenges and offers a rich lens through which to explore timeless spiritual and ethical questions in a modern context.

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## Sufi Women and Conflicting Histories: A Biographical Study of Behat Bibi and Dehat Bibi

Tooba Towfiq,<sup>\*</sup> Irtiza Farooq<sup>†</sup>

*This paper constructs the lives of two female disciples of Shaikh Nuruddin Behat Bibi and Dehat Bibi, who are popularly known as Chhat Kori, i.e., girls trained under Nuruddin's spiritual guidance. It does so by bringing together varied accounts from hagiographical texts, and other historical works as well as a study of their shrine to construct a comprehensive biographical narrative of the two women saints. In the context of Kashmir, exhaustive studies on women mystics remain scarce. Existing works provide only cursory details about Behat Bibi and Dehat Bibi. This paper critically examines these fragmented accounts, using primary sources including Baba Narsi's Nurnama, Baba Kamal's Rishinama, Baba Khaili's Rauzat ul Riyaz, and Hassan Khothami's Tarikah-i-Hassan. By analysing these texts, the study seeks to present a more nuanced understanding of the lives and legacies of these two prominent Sufi women in Kashmir.*

**Keywords:** Sufism, Sufi women, Shaikh Nuruddin, Scholarship, Kashmir

### Introduction

Throughout the history of Sufism, the understanding of the mystical path, or *tariqa*, has evolved into increasingly complex concepts. This path typically involves a Sufi seeker, guided by a spiritual master, following a disciplined process of self-purification and refinement. As the seeker progresses, they undergo various spiritual states (*ahwal*) and stages (*maqamat*), which lead to deeper revelations of the divine truth (*haqiqa*).<sup>1</sup> However, as Minli Dalih argues, our understanding of Sufism, as outlined by Shaikh, will remain incomplete as long as it marginalizes the participation of Sufi women. To comprehensively grasp the complexity and significance of the Sufi tradition, it is essential to recognize and include the contributions of the women, who have played a vital role in shaping the mystical path.<sup>2</sup>

Rabi'a al-'Adawiyya, an eighth-century saint from Basra,<sup>3</sup> exemplified this evolving understanding of Sufism by being one of the first to promote

<sup>\*</sup> Shaikh-ul-Aalam Centre for Multidisciplinary Studies, University of Kashmir

<sup>†</sup> Shaikh-ul-Aalam Centre for Multidisciplinary Studies, University of Kashmir



the doctrine of selfless love for God, challenging the conventional Sufi focus on worship driven by hopes of reward or fear of punishment.<sup>4</sup> Rabia, as Annemarie Schimmel points out in *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* played a significant role in shaping the image of the ideal pious woman in Islamic culture—an ideal often admired for defying typical expectations of women. The expression “a second Rabia” became common among Muslims to describe a virtuous woman. However, Rabia was not the only woman saint in early Islam; other women of her time, such as Maryam of Basra and Rihana, known as “the enthusiastic” (*al-waiṭha*), were also notable for their spiritual devotion.<sup>5</sup>

Women have historically played crucial roles as spiritual guides and teachers for some of the revered male Sufi masters of their times. Ibn Arabi (1165–1240) was greatly influenced by two elderly women mystics, Shams of Merchena and Fatima of Cordova, the latter of whom he described as a “Gnostic” and served as a disciple for several years.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, Women in Sufism made significant contributions through poetry and mystical theology. A’ishah al-Ba’uniyyah (d.1517) was a notable figure in this regard; as Emil Homerin pointed out, she “wrote more works in Arabic than any other woman prior to the twentieth century.”<sup>7</sup>

In the context of South Asia, particularly India, Annemarie Schimmel’s *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* highlights the significant, yet often overlooked, presence of women saints throughout the Islamic world, especially in Muslim India, despite their limited representation in historical records.<sup>8</sup>

The Kashmir region, with its rich history of mysticism, has a notable tradition of female spirituality as well. According to M. Ishaq Khan in *Kashmir’s Transition to Islam*, “Kashmir is the only region in the sub-continent which has a deep-rooted tradition about the spirituality of women.”<sup>9</sup> Lal Ded, a prominent female mystic and wandering ascetic of the fourteenth century, was instrumental in shaping the region’s spiritual landscape. Khan highlights the reverence for Lal Ded in Persian hagiographical sources, where she is accorded esteemed titles such as ‘*Rabia Thani*,’ ‘*Maryam-i Makani*,’ and ‘*Arifa*.’<sup>10</sup>

Shaikh Nuruddin, the founder of the indigenous order of Muslim mystics (*Rishi silsilah*), was deeply influenced by Lalla, from early on in his spiritual journey. Her ascetic practices and teachings significantly

influenced Nuruddin and his followers, including his women disciples. Known for her spiritual devotion and emphasis on a life of poverty and self-control, Lalla's principles resonated deeply with Nuruddin. Her rejection of ritualistic practices and social taboos, such as caste-based dietary restrictions, reflected a spiritual freedom that appealed to the ethos of the Rishi order. Nuruddin's recognition of Lalla as an *avatar* underscores her elevated spiritual status and the impact she had on his religious outlook. This reverence was likely shared among his women disciples, who were inspired by Lalla's example of devotion and her embodiment of spiritual ideals that transcended conventional religious practices. Lalla's life and teachings thus served as a model for a new spiritual order that valued inner purity and direct communion with the divine, significantly shaping the spiritual path of Nuruddin and his followers.<sup>11</sup>

During his travels across various villages in Kashmir, Nuruddin attracted disciples from non-Muslims, including Hindu women. These women were drawn to his teachings and became known for their ascetic practices, which in turn attracted other female followers. It was on account of Nuruddin's teachings that the religious life of the Kashmiri women came to be held in high esteem so that they were regarded as no less holy than men following the Sufi path. Among the notable Hindu women who converted to Islam under Nuruddin's influence were Behat Bibi, Dehat Bibi, Sham Ded, and Shanga Bibi, who are remembered for their devotion and spiritual contributions.<sup>12</sup>

This paper examines the contributions of two prominent female disciples of Shaikh Nuruddin: Behat Bibi and Dehat Bibi, who are popularly known as *Chhat Kori*, i.e., girls trained under Nuruddin's spiritual guidance. This study brings together varied accounts from hagiographical texts, and other historical works as well as a study of their shrine to construct a biographical narrative of the two women saints.

### **Contested Sources and Scholarship on Behat Bibi and Dehat Bibi**

Sufi women's lives, roles and legacies have been difficult to reconstruct due to the silence, fragmented accounts and the lack of attention given to them in historical sources. Their mention is predominantly tangential and they are rarely mentioned in their own right. Women saint's mention in historical accounts is generally attached to their relations with male Sufis. In many cases, they remain nameless and are mentioned only as daughters,

mothers and wives of prominent male Sufi saints. Such accounts are limited to praising the piety and modesty of these women. There's little to no space given to their personal lives or their public roles.

Nonetheless, recent scholarship has tried to collate fragmentary accounts from historical sources such as *Maifuzat* (discourses of the Sufi saints), *Tazkirat* (records of Sufis deeds), *Tabaqat* (biographical accounts of Sufis), and *Siyar* (biographies of sufis), *Maktubat* (letters of Sufis), political chronicles and other hagiographical as well as hagiological sources.

Globally, scholarship on women's presence in Sufism has gone through various phases. The first stage of work on Sufi women has focused on recovering them from primary sources. Margaret Smith's *Rabia Basri: The Mystic and Her Fellow Saints in Islam*, is one such seminal work which is biographical in nature. More recently, scholarship in the West has also focused on an understanding of gender politics through a reading of primary sources, attitudes of male chroniclers, discourses of Sufi saints and Sufi material cultures.

However, in the South Asian context, exhaustive works on women saints have been fairly recent. Of these, Tahira Aftab's *Sufi Women of South Asia: Veiled Friends of God* is particularly important. Her study of Sufi women is not merely biographical but also offers a feminist reading on the representations, negotiations and contestations in Sufi historiography of South Asia.

In the context of Kashmir, such comprehensive works on women mystics have not been carried out. Much of the modern scholarship<sup>13</sup> on Sufism in Kashmir has preoccupied itself with the history of its transition to Islam from the 14<sup>th</sup> Century. The role of male Sufis, the advent of Central Asian Sufis and the 'syncretic' culture of Kashmir.<sup>14</sup> However, none of these works on the history of Islam in Kashmir have carried out an exhaustive study of women's presence therein.

Seminal works such as GMD Sufi's *Kashir: A History of Kashmir*, a voluminous work on Kashmir's history mention very brief details about women Sufis saints. Similarly, Prem Nath Bazaz's *Daughters of the Vitasta*, which in the author's own words, is a "history of Kashmiri women from early times to the present day" also deals with the biographical details of women Sufi saints superficially.

Muhammad Ishaq Khan's *Kashmir's Transition to Islam* deals with women's presence in the Rishi order in more detail than most works written in English. It has a chapter dedicated to some women of the Rishi order and builds biographical sketches of these women based on various sources. However, Khan's work is also cursory.

A survey of the details mentioned about Behat Bibi and Dehat Bibi, the focus of the present study, exposes this perfunctory approach.

Tahera Aftab, in her extensive work on *Sufi Women of South Asia*, mentions the shrine of 15th-century female mystics Behat Bibi and Dehat Bibi. According to Aftab, the two women met Shaikh Nuruddin Wali while collecting greens and had a lengthy conversation with him regarding the sanctity of the life of grass and vegetables. Aftab's information is based on Ghulam Hasan Khoihami's *Tarikh-i-Hassan*.<sup>15</sup> The conversation that Aftab mentions is misattributed to Behat Bibi and Dehat Bibi. In fact, Hassan Khoihami's account itself points out that this conversation may or may not have happened with these women.<sup>16</sup>

In the section "*Women Sufis of Kashmir*", Ishaq Khan acknowledges that there are conflicting accounts regarding the enrolment of the two sisters. However, he does not elaborate on these accounts to cull out a detailed account of these women. Instead, Khan rests the contradictions by saying, "Whatever be the truth, it is certain that both of them were disciples of Shaikh Nuruddin."<sup>17</sup>

Other secondary sources such as GMD Sufi's *Kashir: A History of Kashmir* and Prem Nath Bazaz's *Daughters of the Vitasta* do not engage with these contradictory accounts comprehensively as well.

Similarly, Prem Nath Bazaz dedicates a short paragraph to the two women in his book on the history of Kashmiri women. Interestingly, he used a phonetically similar word *Iyath* Bibi for Behat Bibi. *Iyath* is the name of the river Jehlum in Kashmir. As per Bazaz, the name meant pure as water.<sup>18</sup> There is no explanation for the preference of one spelling over the other, even when it changes the meaning of the name significantly.

In *Kashir: A History of Kashmir*, the 20<sup>th</sup> Century historian G.M.D. Sufi dedicates only a paragraph to the sister duo popularly known as *Chat Ded* or *Chat Kori* (Disciple Mothers or Women Disciples).<sup>19</sup>

Hence, the fragmented and often contested accounts of the lives of Sufi women in Kashmir are not dealt with meticulously in any seminal study on the history of Islam in Kashmir. Instead, historical works tend to be selective and choose one of the many biographical references to Sufi women in primary sources. This perfunctory mention of Sufi women in such works points towards the marginalisation of women in historical narratives.

For the present study, four primary sources were consulted, only two of which have been translated into Urdu or English. Three of these were Persian manuscripts and one was a printed work in Persian. Baba Nasib's *Nurnama* is a seventeenth-century account of Rishis. It mentions biographical details, miracles and legendary tales about Shaikh Nuruddin. The translation of *Nurnama* by Margooob Banihali was also used for this study.

Two *Rishi-Namas* of Chrar-i-Sharif-based hagiographers Baba Kamal and Baba Khalil Kamal's *Rishinama* (*Nasr*) and Khalil's *Rauzat ul Riyaz* are 19th-century biographical accounts detailing the features of Rishism, the life of Shaikh Nuruddin and his disciples. Of the two, *Rauzat ul Riyaz* is more extensive as it builds on the work of Baba Kamal.

*Tarikh-i-Hassan* by Pir Hassan Khoihani (d.1898) is an extensive historical work in four volumes. The first volume focuses on the geography of Kashmir, the second volume on the political history of the time, the third one on biographies of Kashmiri saints and the fourth one is dedicated to the poets of Kashmir. For the present study, Volume III or *Awliya-i-Kashmir* is relevant as it deals with Sufi saints of Kashmir. It has been translated into Urdu (by Abdul Khaliq Tahiri) as well as English (by A.R. Khan) and the present study has relied on these translations.

For any meaningful engagement with the presence of women in the history of Sufism in Kashmir, it is important to carry out a meticulous study of a diverse range of these primary sources and other historical accounts.

### **Behat Bibi and Dehat Bibi's First Encounter with Shaikh Nuruddin**

*Nurnama* by Baba Nasib ud din Gazi is one of the earliest known sources which mentions the two women.<sup>20</sup> There are conflicting details about Behat Bibi and Dehat Bibi in historical accounts. From their enrolment in



the Rishi order to their sayings, dialogues, and meetings, the sources present inconsistent details about them.

According to Ghulam Hassan Khoihami's *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, the two women met Shaikh Nuruddin while they were cutting grass.<sup>21</sup> Some secondary sources base their information of the two women on this modern Persian hagiographical source which has been translated into Urdu as well as English.<sup>22</sup>

According to Khoihami, Shaikh Nuruddin overheard a conversation between the two women while they were collecting greens at a village called Duryagam. He interjected and questioned them for taking the lives of the greens and vegetables. However, Behat Bibi responded by reasoning that they were using the greens and vegetables to sustain themselves and the animals. She continued and questioned Shaikh Nuruddin on killing living creatures by striking his staff and sitting. Following this interaction, the saint blessed these women who then embraced Islam.<sup>23</sup>

Other hagiographical sources like *Rauzat ul Riyaz* by Baba Khalil and *Rishinama* by Baba Kamal have also documented this elaborate conversation.<sup>24</sup> It is also included in Asadullah Afaqi's version of *Kulliyat*, a collection of the sayings of Shaikh Nuruddin. However, these sources do not attribute this conversation to Behat Bibi or Dehat Bibi. In the documented conversation which is in Kashmiri language, the speaker, who is a woman, categorically identifies herself as Sham Maj Mouj or Shama Maji.<sup>25</sup> Shaikh Nuruddin asks her, "Pray tell me what's your name?" She replies, "Truly, Shaam Maej is my name."<sup>26</sup> Therefore, it is likely that the encounter that *Tarikh-i-Hassan* mentions is actually about Sham Mouj and not about Behat Bibi or Dehat Bibi.

Both Baba Khalil and Baba Kamal recount a conversation between a group of five women and Shaikh Nuruddin at Hunchi Pora, Khag.<sup>27</sup> However, it is Baba Khalil's *Rauzat ul Riyaz* which offers a relatively detailed account of the first encounter of Shaikh Nuruddin with Behat Bibi and Dehat Bibi. As per Khalil, on one afternoon in the month of May, Shaikh Nuruddin ventured out to survey the wonders of nature at a hill in a village called Khag. At the time of his visit, five women from Sikandarpura were also around the same area collecting firewood. Three of these women were Muslims and two were Hindu. On their way back, they happened to pass by Shaikh Nuruddin. The sun was intense and they could see its rays illuminating drops of sweat on his forehead. Due to the

intense heat, his forehead kept dripping with sweat. Seeing this, the women intervened and used their firewood to provide shade for Shaikh. Overwhelmed with the women's kindness, he cast his gracious glance (*Chasma haq-e-been*) upon these women who then became his lifelong disciples. It is said that this place then became popular with the name *Panch Yawar*.<sup>28</sup>

However, Khalil's account does not end here. He goes on to narrate the events that unfolded following the women's association with Shaikh Nuruddin. It is said that when the news reached the families of the two Hindu women, their father, a Patwari by profession, took the matter to the leaders of the village. He cried foul and claimed that a *fakir* from Hunchi Pora had tricked them. It is said that a plan was hatched to kill the Saint at his residence. In the thick of the night, armed men approached the abode of Shaikh but serpents and scorpions emerging from amidst the vegetation prevented them from harming Shaikh. The frightened group of men found themselves trapped with nowhere to go. The men then cried bitterly and repented before Shaikh who then said, "Let go of your anger and enmity and no harm will touch you." Shaikh accepted their repentance and the scorpions and snakes vanished, thus saving the group from danger. The men in the group including the Hindu Patwari then embraced the faith and became his devotees.<sup>29</sup>

A short poem is also mentioned in Khalil's text narrating this account:

*"The wonders of the King of the faith seek,  
A group set out to kill him with their arms,  
But serpents and scorpions encircled him,  
And the enemies couldn't harm him.  
The Sheikh forgave them and they were saved  
from their affliction.  
When you sit at the door, who can deprive you of his grace?  
By Muhammad's honour, even the poor are granted blessings."*<sup>30</sup>

### **Spiritual Legacy of Behat Bibi and Dehat Bibi**

There are conflicting accounts about the relationship between Behat Bibi and Dehat Bibi, who are buried together at a shrine dedicated to them near Zalusa, Chrar-i-Sharif. Baba Khalil suspects that the two women were the daughters of the Hindu Patwari. Hence, they were sisters.<sup>31</sup> However,

according to Khoihami, some believe that they were not real sisters but were only related through spiritual association with each other.<sup>32</sup>

Nonetheless, there is consensus on their spiritual stature and legacy due to historical and material evidence. According to *Rauzat ul Riyaz*, while one of them was a pious woman (*sahiba mutahara*), the other one was endowed with heavenly grace (*Izdee Faiz*). It is said that the two women vowed to be companions in their worship (*Ibaadat*) and asceticism (*riyazat*). Such was their devotion that they would feed themselves and break their fasts with their legitimate (*Halal*) income.<sup>33</sup> *Tarikeh-i-Hassan* also makes mention of this and states that Behat Bibi would eat only Barley bread out of her legitimate income.<sup>34</sup>

### Sayings Attributed to Behat Bibi and Dehat Bibi

According to Tahera Aftab, "Unlike the accounts of mystic women from other Muslim societies, accounts of the pious women of South Asia do not convey the spoken words of Sufi women, even briefly, though some valuable exceptions exist."<sup>35</sup> These exceptions can be found in the context of Kashmir. Primary sources of Khalil and Kamal, as well as Khoihami's work on the saints of Kashmir, collate and compile some sayings and conversations of Behat Bibi and Dehat Bibi. Even though the speakers are often confused in primary sources, the conversations are nonetheless recorded.

Khoihami then goes on to compile the sayings (*kalam*) of Behat Bibi highlighting her discourse on *fana filā* (total annihilation of self for a union with the divine).<sup>36</sup> Baba Khalil however, attributes these sayings to Dehat bibi.<sup>37</sup> These sayings have been translated and collated in secondary sources like Muhammad Ishaq Khan's *Kashmir's Transition to Islam* as well as Tahera Aftab's *Sufi Women of South Asia*. However, they do not engage with the conflicting attributes of the sayings between Behat Bibi and Dehat Bibi.<sup>38</sup>

Notwithstanding the confusion surrounding the speaker, their sayings are popular nonetheless.<sup>39</sup> *Rauzat ul Riyaz* as well as *Tarikeh-i-Hassan* collate these sayings whose translations can be found in various secondary sources. The sayings highlight their spiritual acumen and capture their discourses on spirituality. On the question of existence (*wajood*), it is said that human existence (*wajood bande*) is in itself the greatest veil (*parda-e-azeem*) between the servant and the truth (*haq*). Furthermore, the ones who

free themselves from the concerns of their own existence, ultimately liberate themselves from the concerns of being (*bud*) and non-being (*na bud*). The sayings also highlight the woman's reverence for Shaikh Nuruddin, proclaiming that had Shaikh Nuruddin not been her Pir, it would have been God himself.

### **Meeting of Behat Bibi and Dehat Bibi with Mir Muhammad Hamdani**

Yet another important event associated with the Behat Bibi and Dehat Bibi is their presence at a significant meeting between Mir Muhammad Hamdani and Shaikh Nuruddin. Mir Muhammad Hamdani was the son of the Kubravi saint Saiyid Ali Hamdani,<sup>40</sup> popularly known as "Shah-i-Hamdani" in Kashmir. Saiyid Ali Hamdani introduced the Kubraviya order in Kashmir.<sup>41</sup>

Early historical accounts by Saiyid Ali, Baba Nasib and Mishkati record the meeting between Shaikh Nuruddin and Mir Muhammad Hamdani. However, the place of this meeting is contested. Popularly, it is believed that the meeting occurred at Zalusa, Chrar-i-Sharif where the shrine of Behat Bibi and Dehat Bibi is now present. However, some accounts claim that the meeting happened at Qaimoh.<sup>42</sup>

The earliest source to attest to the presence of two women at the meeting was Baba Nasib. In his *Nirnāma*, the author does not name these women. In their hagiographies, Baba Kamal and Baba Khalil also record the presence of two women at this meeting and identify them as Behat Bibi and Dehat Bibi. *Tarīkh-i-Hassanī*'s account of the meeting also mentions the two.

Kamal, Khalil as well as Khojāmi document a detailed discussion between Muhammad Hamdani and the Shaikh. Notable in this conversation is the interjection by the two women present there. In the case of this conversation as well, the sources confuse the woman who participates in the conversation. As per Khojāmi in *Tarīkh-i-Hassanī*, on which most secondary sources base their accounts of the conversation, the female speaker in the conversation was Dehat Bibi.<sup>43</sup> However, as per Kamal in *Rishi-Nama* (Nasr), it was Behat Bibi who intervened and answered the queries of Mir Muhammad Hamdani.<sup>44</sup>

Hamdani questioned Shaikh Nuruddin about his lean and frail body. "Why is your horse weak?" To this, the Shaikh replied that he could not

keep his horse (body) nourished as a strong body would overpower his soul and throw him off. Behat and Dehat Bibi being present at the time of this conversation intervened. According to Baba Kamal, Behat Bibi talked first.<sup>45</sup> However, as per Khoiharni, it was Dehat Bibi.<sup>46</sup> However, the conversation recorded is similar in both sources. The woman (Behat or Dehat) says, "Those who have reached the destination, have no need of the horse or the saddle." Mir Muhammad follows it up with another question, "Who has reached the goal?" To which the woman replies, "Those who have freed themselves from the concerns of the self." Mir then goes on to ask her if she is one of those liberated souls. The woman replies that if she were not one of those who'd freed their souls, she wouldn't have been a part of such a revered conversation. The Kubravi saint then asks her another interesting question. She's asked if she is a daughter/girl or a son boy (*dukhtari ya pisi?*). The woman gives an insightful reply claiming that if she were nothing, then it did not matter if she was a girl or a boy; if she did exist, then she was nothing. She was then asked about the reason for her confidence and the source of her station. To this, she replied that it was because she was safe from spiritual death. It is reported that her replies made Mir Muhammad Hamadani happy.<sup>47</sup>

The conversation then shifted to meat eating. Mir Muhammad now addresses Shaikh, asking why he had stopped eating meat. As per Baba Kamal, Dehat speaks here, while Khoiharni maintains that she's a speaker all along. To the question of meat eating, Dehat replies that it was forbidden to kill animals and it was legitimate (*halal*) for Prophets and the pious because they had attained a higher station. She then remarks that since she had not attained that rank yet, meat was still forbidden (*haram*) for her.<sup>48</sup>

### **Shrine of Behat Bibi and Dehat Bibi**

In the Indian context, as noted by Kelly Pemberton, there are relatively few shrines dedicated exclusively to women, such as those of Bibi Kamalo and Bibi Fatima Sam.<sup>49</sup> In Kashmir, the shrine of Behat Bibi and Dehat Bibi, at Zalusa Chrar-i-Sharief holds notable significance.

*Nurnama*, along with the account of Baba Khalil, and *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, provide detailed information about their spiritual roles, the significance of their shrine, and the gendered practices surrounding its visitation. The shrine of Behat Bibi and Dehat Bibi at Zalusa, situated in close proximity to the shrine of Shaikh Nuruddin at Chrar-i-Sharief, attests to the presence



and recognition of Sufi women in the region and the role they played in shaping the spiritual landscape of Kashmir.

Baba Nasib's *Nurnama* provides an account of the meeting between Shaikh Nuruddin and Mir Muhammad Hamdani, during which two female disciples of Shaikh Nuruddin were present. One of the disciples expressed a desire to be buried at the spot where Mir Muhammad Hamdani was seated, a wish that was honoured after her passing. Similarly, the other disciple wished to be buried at the location where Shaikh Nuruddin was sitting, and her request was also fulfilled.<sup>50</sup> *Tarikh-i-Hassan* also corroborates this account, detailing the same burial preferences of the female disciples, and adds that both of them are buried at Zalusa.<sup>51</sup>

Baba Khalil in *Rauzat ul Riyaz* recounts that the two women, Behat Bibi and Dehat Bibi, prayed for their memories to be eternally preserved. They wished for their graves to be placed in close proximity to each other, separated by no more than the length of a hand, ensuring that neither grave would be elevated above the other.<sup>52</sup>

Baba Nasib in *Nurnama* further notes that the graves of these two women became a prominent site of *ziyarat* for the general public. As a result, a wall was built around it, and people would usually stay outside the enclosure to recite *Fatiha* for the deceased. It was reported that men who tried to enter the *rouza* to perform the *Fatiha* often encountered difficulties or discomfort. In contrast, it was considered acceptable for women to enter and visit the graves without any issues.<sup>53</sup>

Baba Khalil, in *Rauzat ul Riyaz*, emphasized this practice by advising that men who visited the sacred site of Behat Bibi and Dehat Bibi should refrain from entering the shrine and instead recite the *Fatiha* from outside the enclosure. He warned that if a man were to enter the shrine, he would risk bringing difficulties upon himself.<sup>54</sup>

During our visit to the shrine, we observed that notable changes have taken place over time. Historically, access to the shrine was limited by gender; however, we encountered a male caretaker. After speaking with him and some local residents, we discovered that the shrine is now accessible to both men and women.

This shift contrasts with Annemarie Schimmel's observation in her book *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, in many provinces of Muslim India and

Pakistan, as well as in other parts of the Islamic world, there are shrines dedicated to women where men are not permitted. This highlights how gender-based restrictions at such religious sites can vary significantly and evolve over time, reflecting broader cultural and social changes.<sup>55</sup>

Shrines function as vital public spaces for women, providing them with a unique environment where they can engage in religious, social, and cultural activities. At the shrine of Behat Bibi and Dehat Bibi, we found that women had tied votive rags, known locally as *D'ash*, at the interior door of the shrine. This ritual is performed with the belief that these knots will facilitate the fulfilment of their wishes. Additionally, we observed that women had placed monetary offerings on the *chadar* (the ceremonial cloth) that covered the graves, further indicating their reverence and the importance of these acts in their devotional practices. We also observed the presence of a large mosque and an institution named *Shaikh ul Alam Darul uloom* situated on the same sacred grounds as the shrine of the female disciples. The mosque is managed by the local community, while the shrine itself falls under the administration of the Waqf Board.

## Conclusion

Biographical narratives about Behat Bibi and Dehat Bibi allow for an opportunity to explore women's negotiations and contestations within Rishism. A study of hagiographical texts provides a chance to explore the nature of women's textual presence in these texts. Additionally, they can be critically examined to study the attitude of the writers of historical scholarship – medieval as well as modern – towards women.

The accounts about the events that led up to Behat Bibi and Behat Bibi's enrolment into Rishi order also hint at a distinct femininity in the context of Kashmir which showcased women's agency. In the case of Behat Bibi and Dehat Bibi, as with many other women saints in Kashmir, their spiritual acumen preceded their formal association with a Sufi silsila. They are enrolled on their own merit and are often not revered due to their association with a male saint. Moreover, the sayings as well as the conversation of these women saints can open up a new horizon of scholarship on gender politics in the context of Sufism in Kashmir. Moreover, the afterlives of these women in memory and material cultures could help trace the evolution and status of the tradition of female spirituality in Kashmir.

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- <sup>24</sup> Khalil, op. cit., ff. 470-471; Kamal, f. 16.
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## Interfaith Dialogue and Ethics of Self-Discipline in Indic Religions

Aamir Habib\*

*The globalised world of the twenty-first century exhibits an unprecedented level of interconnectedness, reshaping the exchange of information, ideas, and goods across national and international borders. This interconnectedness has significantly influenced worldviews, economies, cultures, and all life forms while concurrently complicating contemporary sustainability challenges. Therefore, one of the pressing ubiquitous discussions in this context is the challenge of achieving sustainable growth—mainly a consequence of anthropogenic activities. However, the sustainable development of human societies depends on more than just environmental considerations; it relies on the harmonious and peaceful coexistence of various religions, cultures, and belief systems, among other factors. Central to nurturing this coexistence is the practice of open, honest communication. In this regard, the concept of *samvāda* (dialogue), rooted in ancient Indic religions, is one such method aimed at fostering meaningful communication. Although originating from different worldviews, this paper argues that Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism share a common value system centred on the ethics of self-control and that dialogues historically took place around this. By exploring the shared ethical teachings on self-control within these religions, the paper illustrates their potential to contribute to contemporary discussions on sustainable growth. However, it also highlights the complex reality in which the ideals of compassion, tolerance, and non-violence are often undermined by challenges such as honour killings, caste-based discrimination, animal cruelty, and nationalism-fuelled violence within South Asian societies. This paper, therefore, not only recognises the shared moral frameworks within Indic traditions but also emphasises the disconnect between ethical teachings and social practices, underscoring the need for a more profound engagement with these values to address the challenges of sustainable growth.*

**Keywords:** *Samvāda*, Interfaith Dialogue, Indic Religions, Self-Discipline, Sustainable Growth

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\* International Centre for Spiritual Studies, Islamic University of Science and Technology, Awantipora, Kashmir.



## Introduction

Instead of exclusively concentrating on developing the present, the contemporary planetary society has shifted its focus towards nurturing a sustainable future for one and all. In 2015, the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) laid the foundation for a cohesive set of 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), all intricately linked, with the ambitious target of realisation by 2030. Sustainability, a debated topic with multiple definitions and perspectives, delineates earthbound affairs that support the well-being of all life forms on the planet and has recently garnered heightened attention.<sup>1</sup> This increased prominence arises from the ongoing encounter with pressing global challenges, prominently featuring environmental degradation and the pursuit of harmonious coexistence.

During the ongoing geological period known as the Anthropocene, humans have been recognised both as the primary threat and as potential catalysts for achieving sustainability solutions.<sup>2</sup> While modern scientific methods, tools and techniques are undeniably effective in devising solutions to transition from a detrimental to a beneficial Anthropocene era, however, its integration with religious ethics and morality is essential for addressing the challenges comprehensively. A religion grounded in an authentic *weitanaschauung* undoubtedly plays an indispensable role in fostering dedication to peace, justice, harmony and ecological integrity worldwide. The comprehensive worldview provided by such a religious perspective equips humans with effective mechanisms, both theoretical and practical, to address forthcoming challenges, including the question of sustainable growth. Amid the multifaceted complexities of today's globalised world, Cathrien Pater holds that sustainable development is increasingly transcending socio-cultural boundaries. The author further states that world religions provide diverse elements that can serve as sources of inspiration for promoting sustainability.<sup>3</sup> Among these elements, there is a possibility of reaching a consensus on basic human values, shared across religions. This paper, therefore, explores the shared ethical basis of self-control in Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism, underscoring how these teachings can offer insights into contemporary discussions on sustainability. However, it also draws attention to the gap between these religions' ethical ideals and their social practices, highlighting the need for deeper engagement with these values to address the pressing challenges of sustainable growth. By encouraging religious communities to engage in dialogue, with emphasis on the practical application of shared moral values, achieving sustainable growth becomes feasible.

## Dialogue and Interfaith Dialogue

Before delving into the historical practice of *sainvāda* among ancient Indic religions, it seems appropriate to sketch briefly what the concepts of dialogue and interfaith dialogue connote. At the outset, what is dialogue? From an etymological point of view, the term "dialogue" derives from the Greek word "*dialogos*," which is a blend of "*dia*" meaning "across" and "*legein*" meaning "to say," indicating an effort to share meaning or discourse with someone else.

Many scholars and writers have reflected on the term dialogue, each attempting to present a comprehensive definition or idea about it. Definitions or interpretations of this term differ among individuals, shaped by their backgrounds and the specific situations they encounter. The literal meaning of the term dialogue is a formal or imaginary conversation between two or more people, aimed at reaching an agreement. It is also known as an exchange of opinions, consultation, or meeting, and expects a reciprocal response. In present times, "dialogue" encompasses all these meanings.

In his *I and Thou*, Martin Buber states that genuine dialogue involves a profound exchange where participants engage with each other not as things but as authentic human beings.<sup>4</sup> He believes that in this transformative communication, understanding arises through a direct experience of the other person. In Buber's definition dialogue has the power to change the participants by allowing them to see themselves from the viewpoint of each other.

David Yankelovich's *The Magic of Dialogue* probes into the profound transformative power of dialogue, exploring its capacity to convert argumentative conflicts into collaborative opportunities.<sup>5</sup> In it, he identifies three essential elements that characterise genuine dialogue: equal participation, empathetic listening to foster deep understanding, and the transparent disclosure of underlying assumptions.<sup>6</sup>

In his *On Dialogue*, David Bohm emphasises the profound potential of dialogue as a catalyst for transformative learning, underscoring its capacity to foster profound insights, challenge assumptions, and cultivate sincere understanding.<sup>7</sup> He advocates unstructured, open-ended conversations, unconstrained by preconceived agendas or outcomes, to facilitate deeper understanding among participants. This approach enables individuals to

gain insight into each other's emotions, perspectives, biases, and motivations; as well as their own, through active listening and self-examination. By engaging in this process, participants can cultivate a profound capacity for self-reflection and empathy, leading to a more authentic and compassionate understanding of others. This mindful approach to dialogue creates a unique opportunity for transcending individual emotional and cognitive limitations, thereby fostering a more nuanced and empathetic understanding of others.

In his works, particularly *Dialogue for Interreligious Understanding*, Leonard Swidler articulates a nuanced conception of dialogue as a transformative process that deeply changes one's perspective on oneself and the world. Arguing that dialogue is more than just a conversation, he advocates for dialogue as a virtue and a way of life, permeating every aspect of existence. This reflective approach to dialogue incorporates several key elements: Deep-Dialogue (genuine engagement), Critical-Thinking (judicious analysis), Emotional-Intelligence (empathy and self-awareness), and Competitive-Cooperation (synergistic collaboration). Swidler's vision of dialogue as a holistic, integrated practice aims to cultivate a deeper understanding of oneself and others, ultimately fostering a harmonious and enlightened existence.<sup>8</sup>

Scholars like Buber, Yankelovich, Bohm, and Swidler define dialogue as meaningful interaction and idea exchange among diverse individuals and communities. They underline dialogue's transformative potential, highlighting its ability to foster empathy, deep understanding, and self-awareness. Furthermore, they advocate open-ended, authentic, and empathetic dialogue to spark insights, challenge assumptions, and cultivate genuine and compassionate understanding. However, if it is not grounded in genuine openness and respect, it can also be superficial or unproductive. To be truly transformative, dialogue must foster deep understanding, mutual empathy, and a commitment to bridging cultural divides. Of these scholars, Swidler's work is particularly noteworthy for its focus on interfaith dialogue. Drawing on his and those of other scholars' arguments, we shall now shed some light on the concept of interfaith dialogue.

Interfaith dialogue is usually defined as a respectful and collaborative interaction between individuals from various religious backgrounds. It seeks to find common ground through mutual understanding, shared ethics and values, and promoting cooperation and harmony despite religious-cultural differences. Scholars suggest that the expression "dialogue

between followers of different faith traditions” more accurately reflects the reality of individuals from various religious backgrounds engaging with one another, rather than entire religious traditions interacting.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, the term interfaith dialogue has become widely accepted and established to describe this phenomenon, effectively serving as a shorthand for dialogue between followers of different religions and belief systems. Interfaith dialogue offers a platform for followers of different faiths to engage in open, honest communication, fostering mutual respect and understanding. Participants approach each other with compassion, sincerity, affection, and broadmindedness, without seeking to convince or convert others. Unlike discussion or debate, interfaith dialogue aims for genuine human connection, valuing the interaction itself over winning arguments. Through this process, individuals gain insight into others’ beliefs and identities while deepening their self-awareness, cultivating a richer understanding of their faith and its place in a diverse world.<sup>10</sup>

It is pertinent to note that interfaith dialogue does not necessitate a compromise of one’s religious commitments. Rather, participants can engage in interfaith dialogue while remaining committed to their own religious, moral, and cultural moorings, and continuing to practice their acts of faith without reservation. Though not part of interfaith dialogue per se, a nuanced exploration of the religious other is central to the comparative study of religions. Through this exploration, one can gain a deeper understanding of their worldviews, enabling a balanced discernment of its integrity or authenticity, as well as its limitations and potential flaws. Interfaith dialogue, on the other hand, acknowledges the diversity of beliefs and practices, recognising that its purpose is not to achieve theological consensus or merge distinct religions into a singular entity, but instead to foster mutual respect, understanding, and cooperation among different religious communities. The acknowledgement of disagreements and differences are crucial component of interfaith dialogue. Through this process, participants can deepen their understanding of diverse beliefs and values while maintaining their own, mutually identifying and emphasising shared ethical values for sustainable growth.

While the notion of interfaith dialogue has been shaped by the challenges and demands of every age, ancient India’s tradition of *samvāda* offers a notable example. Like other ancient civilisations, India demonstrated meaningful exchanges between diverse religious and philosophical perspectives. *Samvāda*’s wide-ranging approach provides a unique

framework for dialogue and discourse, enabling rich exchanges and deepening mutual understanding among disparate religions.

The ancient Indian tradition of *sainvāda* warrants recognition for its contributions to sustainable growth and environmental harmony, it is nonetheless important to note that its implementation has not always been consistent. The integration of environmental awareness and social welfare into the spiritual paradigms of Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism demonstrates a noteworthy convergence of religious and environmental ethics. This paper will now explore the *sainvāda* tradition in ancient India, examining its practices to uncover the intricacies of effective interfaith engagement, sustainable growth, and harmony with nature, as exemplified in the religious ethics of Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism. Additionally, we will highlight the shared moral teachings that run through Indic religions, underscoring the common values and ethical principles that unite these diverse traditions. By exploring the ancient Indian practice of *sainvāda*, we aim to highlight its potential to drive sustainable growth and foster inclusive, just societies, emphasising the importance of collaborative dialogue in achieving equitable development.

### ***Sainvāda*: Concept in Context**

*Sainvāda*, deeply embedded in major Indic religions, is a unique practice encompassing a comprehensive approach to cultivating harmonious social transformation. Derived from Sanskrit, *sainvāda* translates as “speech together.” As a multifaceted term, it encompasses multiple meanings, primarily centred on inclusive colloquy, conversation, dialogue, correspondence, agreement, discussion and bargain.<sup>11</sup> However, Laurie L. Patton argues that *sainvāda*, by its essence as a medium for “transformation through conversation,” finds its most apt translation as an “interlogue.”<sup>12</sup> She adds that this term signifies a richer and more significant form of interaction than a simple conversation. Patton posits that redefining *sainvāda* as “interlogue” reveals a multidimensional interaction, characterised by a profound depth of understanding, empathy, and connection. This concept, she elaborates, transcends the limitations of everyday conversation, beckoning participants to enter a dynamic and reciprocal exchange that cultivates insight, growth, and a deeper sense of mutual understanding.<sup>13</sup>

Engaging in dialogue that bridges faiths, cultures, and disciplines is an effective way to demonstrate shared responsibility and understanding



among diverse communities. To illustrate, the *Bhagavad Gītā*, a dialogue between Prince Arjuna and his charioteer, Lord Kṛṣṇa, presents a vivid example of *śaivvāda* within the South Asian Religions. The dialogue is summarised as follows:

On the eve of the Kurukshetra war, Arjuna's internal dilemma unfolds in an interesting conversation with Lord Kṛṣṇa. Confronted with the prospect of battling his relatives, teachers, and friends, Arjuna is agonised by moral trepidation, fearing the devastating consequences and karmic repercussions of such a war. Overwhelmed by grief and uncertainty, he lays down his arms, refusing to engage in combat. Kṛṣṇa responds to Arjuna's doubts with profound wisdom, urging him to rise above his doubts and uncertainties. He explains the concept of *dharma* (religious duty) and the importance of fulfilling one's duties selflessly (*niskama-karma*), without attachment to results. Kṛṣṇa reveals to him the tripartite spiritual paths: *Karma-Yoga* (selfless action), *Jñāna-Yoga* (Yoga of knowledge), and *Bhakti-Yoga* (path of devotion). He emphasises that true salvation ensues from aligning actions with one's duty and dedicating them to the divine, allowing individuals to rise above earthly attachment. Furthermore, Kṛṣṇa enlightens Arjuna about the soul's eternal and unchanging nature, which transcends mortal existence. He encourages Arjuna to comprehend the ephemeral nature of the physical body and align with the cosmic order, surrendering to the divine will. This understanding empowers Arjuna to overcome his fears and apprehensions, and act with determination, embracing his role as a warrior with clarity and purpose. In this engaging dialogue, Arjuna receives invaluable guidance on fulfilling his *dharma*, ultimately directed toward resolving conflicts and restoring peace.

In the Indic religions, *śaivvāda* constitutes a comprehensive yet intricate method of artistic expression, a literary form, and a distinctive genre. It holds a recurring and vital role in South Asian religious and philosophical literature. Upon a systematic study of this religious literature, it becomes evident that *śaivvāda* has evolved in various forms within the context of Indic spiritual traditions. These forms encompass poetry, philosophy, epics, narratives, and hagiography, demonstrating its significant and enduring presence.

It is established that the concept of *śaivvāda* goes back to ancient Indian history, and possibly even before that, shrouded in the mists of antiquity. Its earliest literary presence is visible in the *Rgveda* and the *Upaniṣads*.<sup>14</sup>

To elucidate, in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, a well-known *saṃvāda* takes place between Gārgī and Yājñavalkya.<sup>15</sup> In this colloquy, the sage explains the concept of the eternal and indestructible *Brahman* (the most encompassing truth).

Against the backdrop of King Janakā's court, a deeply insightful conversation unfolds as follows: Yājñavalkya, a sage of unparalleled wisdom, faces questions from the gathered sages, including the inquisitive Gārgī, as he addresses their incisive questions. Gārgī asks two astute and profound inquiries, pushing Yājñavalkya to prove the depth of his knowledge. Gārgī poses her first question, inquiring about the fundamental nature of existence: She asks, what is it that transcends the heavens, supports the earth, and pervades every aspect of existence? Yājñavalkya responds that it is the ether (*Ākāśa*), the most subtle element, which pervades everything, intertwined with consciousness, and vital for existence. Gārgī seeks further clarification, asking, what is the *ākāśa* woven? Yājñavalkya replies by saying that the seers call him *ākāśa*, the ultimate, unchanging and imperishable reality that transcends senses and physical attributes. This reality, he says, governs the natural order, directing celestial movements, time, and the flow of oceans and rivers. In addition, he stresses that without understanding this imperishable truth, religious rituals and austerities are futile and meaningless, leading to a pitiable existence. And, only those who realise this truth achieve true wisdom and fulfilment. Yājñavalkya concludes that this reality is the invisible observer, the silent listener, the unthinkable thinker, and the unknown knower. It is the essence that underlies all existence, and within it, the ether is intricately woven. Deeply impressed by his extraordinary insight, Gārgī turns to the assembly and proclaims Yājñavalkya as the supreme authority on the ultimate truth of *Brahman*.<sup>16</sup>

As Gārgī's heartfelt acknowledgement echoes through the assembly, showing deep respect for Yājñavalkya's profound knowledge, we seamlessly transition to the tradition of Jainism, where another philosophical *saṃvāda* awaits. In Jainism, the essence of *saṃvāda* pervades both the canonical and non-canonical literature. An exquisite illustration of this resides in the *Rāja-praśnīya*, an *Upāṅga* text. Herein, lord Mahāvīra weaves a narrative tapestry recounting the journey of a monk named Keśi. With eloquent *saṃvāda* as his tool, Keśi illuminates the depths of wisdom, dissolving the veils shrouding King Pradeśi's understanding of the intricate interplay between the soul and the body.<sup>17</sup>

Featuring King Pradesi and the monk Kesi, the core dialogue is encapsulated as follows. Pradesi, portrayed as a naïve empiricist, states that the body and soul are identical, citing his experiments to support his belief. He narrates how he trapped a thief in a sealed vessel, only to find no escape for the soul, leading him to conclude that body and soul are the same. He also notes that a corpse's weight remains unchanged whether alive or dead and that dissection reveals only physical flesh, which he believes further demonstrates the absence of a separate soul. Additionally, King Pradesi attributes the diminished abilities of an old person to the physical body's decline. Kesi, however, employs analogies to counter King Pradesi's views, illustrating the existence of the soul beyond the physical body. He compares the constant weight of the thief to a leather bag, which remains the same whether inflated with air or not. He also relates the contrast between youth and old age to the difference between a sturdy new basket and a frail old one. Eventually, Kesi persuades Pradesi with the analogy of a lamp, which can illuminate spaces of varying sizes, demonstrating the soul's ability to contract, adapt and expand within the body.

Extending the theme of *sainvāda* to a complementary context, Buddhism transitions our focus from metaphysical inquiry to ethical considerations, offering a framework for teaching with respect, integrity, and compassion. In the *Lohikka Sutta* found in the *Dīgha Nikāya*, a profoundly insightful *sainvāda* unfolds between the Gautama Buddha and Lohikka, a Brahman. Through their engaging conversation, the Buddha skilfully illuminates the fallacies in Lohikka's thinking and provides a comprehensive explanation of different types of teachers and ethical approaches to teaching.<sup>15</sup> The conversation between the two is summarised in the subsequent passage.

Upon hearing of the Buddha's arrival in the area, Lohikka, a Brahman, invites him to a meal and sparks a thoughtful dialogue. The Brahman believed and said to the Buddha that enlightened individuals should refrain from sharing their spiritual knowledge with others, reasoning that spreading such knowledge would inevitably entangle the teacher in a new form of attachment. The Buddha challenges Lohikka's wrong views by using analogies, suggesting that just as a wise ruler sharing resources with his subjects promotes well-being, so does a teacher sharing spiritual insights. He demonstrates that refusing to share spiritual knowledge with others breeds ill will and is consequently unwise. The Buddha identifies three types of blameworthy teachers: those who are unenlightened and thus ineffective, those who are unenlightened but effective, and those who

are enlightened but cannot inspire others. He contrasts these with the one who is enlightened and guides others to the same. In the end, Lohikka is swayed by the Buddha's teachings, embracing the value of sharing knowledge, and declares himself a disciple.

Historically, *sainvāda* has facilitated the colloquy between distinct intellectual traditions, primarily aimed at delineating the parameters of discourse between competing schools in South Asia, thus enhancing clarity in differences and debates. While actively participating in spirited debates, ancient sages and philosophers of the Indic traditions demonstrated a patient and systematic approach when explaining their viewpoints to opponents.

Upon delving into the intricacies of the conversations mentioned above, readers can discern the importance of *sainvāda*, along with the strategies employed to achieve and foster mutual understanding and harmony. Furthermore, in many cases, the practice of *sainvāda* was seen as a means to achieve a shared aspiration, i.e. liberation from the *karmic* cycle. An analysis of these colloquial practices reveals that while dialogue on shared moral values played a crucial role in creating an inclusive and adaptable society, the pursuit of these ideals was not always realised in practice. The relatively lesser growth of Jainism and the decline of Buddhism in India provide evidence of this.

### ***Sainvāda* and Sustainable Growth**

Considering the interconnectedness of the SDGs and the emphasis that development ought to balance social, economic and environmental sustainability effectively,<sup>19</sup> we encounter, in various instances within Indic religious texts, the ancient sages employing the technique of *sainvāda* to impart teachings regarding the interconnectedness of human behaviour, society and the natural world. Occasionally, these principles manifest prominently, becoming evident in a manner that leads the reader to perceive they are being collectively embraced within the tapestry of Indic religions.

Arguing that Indic religions exhibit a wide range of shared beliefs and practices is not out of place. It was thus customary, especially among the spiritually inclined, to engage in transformative conversations on these subjects. Self-control happens to be one such common ethical principle embraced by the Hindu, Jain and Buddhist traditions. It is a given that in

Hinduism the origins of *samvāda* on self-discipline can be traced back to the Vedic texts. At the same time, its comprehensive exposition emerges in the *Yoga Sūtra*, edited and codified by Patañjali. On the other hand, Jainism delves into the intricacies of this ethical principle through the *Tattvārtha Sūtra*. Within Buddhism, the concept finds elaborate treatment in the *Dhammapada*, a text nestled within the *Khuddaka Nikāya* of the *Sutta-Pitaka*.

Across these traditions, *samvāda* on the ethics of self-discipline occupies a central position, shaped by five fundamental principles: *āhimsā* (non-violence), *Satya* (truthfulness), *asteya* (non-covetousness), *brahmahārya* (celibacy), and *aparigraha* (non-possessiveness). Transcending time and space constraints, these five principles serve as the cornerstone for cultivating a *cāritra* (character) of sustainable growth. While these traditions employ somewhat similar terminology to describe self-control, each discusses it from distinctive epistemological and ontological perspectives. Drawing inspiration from the *Upaniṣads*, Patañjali has meticulously delineated these five principles within the framework of *Yama* (abstentions), constituting the first step of his *aṣṭāṅga-yoga* (eight-fold path of *Yogā*). In the context of Jainism, these principles are commonly referred to as *samyama* (self-restraint) and also go by the names *mahāvratas* (greater vows undertaken by monks and nuns) and *amuvratas* (lesser vows observed by lay followers). Conversely, within the Buddhist tradition, these principles are examined within the domain of *sammā vāyāma* (right effort), which corresponds to the sixth stage of the noble Eight-fold path.

While ethical principles centred on the above normative kind of discipline instruct individuals on their moral obligations towards all creations, the consistent application of these principles has not always been evident in practice. A noticeable gap often exists between these ideals and the realities we observe in societies that follow these principles and traditions. For example, despite teachings that emphasise *Vāsudeva Kutumbakam* (the world as one family) and encourage righteous duty, non-violence and respect for diversity of faiths, practices such as *jāti*-based discrimination, gender-based violence, honour killings, and mob-based vigilante violence continue to persist in South Asia. Similarly, while Jainism prioritises non-violence, members of this community have faced criticism for animal violence. And, in spite of Buddhism's emphasis on compassion, peace, and non-violence, however, there have been instances of Buddhists engaging in nationalist or violent activities. These societal issues starkly



contrast with the values espoused by these religions, highlighting the challenges of aligning ethical principles with actual behaviour. This discrepancy raises crucial questions about the role of ethics and self-discipline in contemporary society and the need for interfaith dialogue to address not just theological differences but also societal ills that hinder collective well-being. By recognising and addressing these contradictions, we can work towards a more authentic application of these teachings in promoting justice, peace, equality, and sustainable growth.

The incorporation of shared terms, such as *yama* or *sammā vāyāma*, facilitated the process of engaging in a transformative *sainvāda*. In occasions where speakers of Indic traditions addressed the same audience or participants, the use of common literary expressions further enhanced the contemplation of individual spiritual well-being. A central element of this contemplation involved grasping the interconnectedness of life and the interdependence of all living beings and the natural world. Despite the various interpretations, the tenets of self-discipline primarily emphasise the dynamics of human relationships, encompassing the interactions within one's inner self and engagement with the external world. The five ethical principles thus stand as the bedrock of inner transformation, with far-reaching implications for societal change and the pursuit of sustainable growth.

Each of the Indic traditions has developed its distinctive approach to addressing and conveying teachings about abstaining from intending or participating in actions that cause harm to living beings or life in general. These traditions place a significant emphasis on the protection of all life. The precepts of self-discipline direct individuals to cultivate mindful behaviour, adhere to veracity, uphold fairness and justice, maintain fidelity in marital commitments, refrain from theft, and eschew extravagance and materialistic tendencies. By extending beyond verbal expression, these principles underscore the crucial importance of living in harmony with every sphere of life and adopting an eco-centric approach to growth, ensuring a balanced and sustainable coexistence. Not adhering to and deviating from these principles is considered a breach of universal human values and a hindrance to one's spiritual journey.

This emphasis on eco-centric values and self-discipline not only promotes harmony with nature but also lays the basis for meaningful *sainvāda*, which is essential in addressing contemporary challenges such as sustainability and conflict resolution. In this context, *sainvāda* refers to

constructive dialogue that not only seeks mutual understanding but also encourages the development of solutions for collective well-being, making it an important tool in addressing both social and environmental challenges.

The relevance of *samvāda* in fostering sustainability becomes evident when considering that the Indic traditions consistently deliberated on the principles of self-discipline, recognising their role in facilitating both inner and outer transformation. In present times, the pursuit of holistic well-being, the advancement of justice, the cultivation of peace, and the promotion of inclusive societies all revolve around the task of navigating disparities and formulating conflict resolution strategies. Building on this, Patton argues that conflict mediation is essentially rooted in structured conversation, and she posits that embracing the principles of *samvāda* can facilitate such dialogue.<sup>20</sup> Among her five highlighted principles, the meta-value of multiplicity and the meta-value of reflexivity stand out as particularly crucial in the contemporary setting.<sup>21</sup> These principles are elucidated by the Indic traditions' emphasis on embracing multiple interpretations concurrently and recognising that the human journey involves a continuous quest for holistic growth and spiritual awakening.

Extending here the application of *samvāda* beyond the context of Indic traditions, research on religious interaction shows that when followers of distinct religions are brought together, often by circumstances of necessity, they make implicit adaptations, reconciling their differences to prioritise collective well-being and shared interests.<sup>22</sup> This echoes the principles of *samvāda* where dialogue is not aimed at compelling others to change their perspective, but rather at fostering mutual understanding and exchanging viewpoints to find common ground. This approach is particularly vital in diverse and pluralistic societies like India, where the goal is to establish channels of communication and empathy across religio-cultural boundaries.

As Patton suggests, initiating such conversations with the question, "What is at stake?"<sup>23</sup> helps focus the dialogue on collective goals, including the balance of social, economic, and environmental sustainability. To drive meaningful growth, it is essential to create a platform for constructive discussion and exchange of ideas among various stakeholders. Effective dialogues require adherence to fundamental principles, including active listening, respect, open-mindedness, empathy, clear communication, and maintaining composure. Furthermore, thoughtful questioning, avoiding

personal attacks, seeking common ground, staying on topic, and sensitivity to religious, cultural, and contextual differences are vital. This is especially essential to interfaith dialogue, where these principles enable meaningful exchange and understanding. It is clear that to coexist harmoniously with both ourselves and the natural world, we must actively engage in open communication within a dynamic framework where individuals refrain from holding onto unfounded and irrational beliefs.<sup>24</sup>

## Conclusion

The exploration of *samvāda* among Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism highlights the significant role of shared values in promoting sustainable growth, revealing the transformative power of common principles. Historical examples of *samvāda* among these faiths reveal a deep-rooted commitment to mutual understanding and respect, indicating that a fruitful dialogue across religious boundaries is both possible and beneficial.

*Samvāda* serves as more than just an encounter with the other. It stands out as a distinctive method of interpretation and a catalyst for social transformation. This approach transcends its historical and traditional origins and importantly stimulates constructive and transformative conversations. It continues to showcase its contemporary relevance by offering fresh perspectives for addressing enduring issues thoughtfully. *Samvāda* possesses the potential to breathe new life into topics as timeless today as they were centuries ago, making such topics feel fresh, and reinvigorating discussions that have been essential for centuries.

The moral teachings of self-discipline that ought to be central to Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism form the moral and ethical basis for confronting sustainability challenges. However, in South Asia, these traditions also pose significant challenges to sustainability, as the gap between their precepts and practices often widens. Critically examining these traditions reveals a stark contrast between their emphasis on environmental stewardship, self-discipline, and non-violence, and the reality of pollution, resource depletion, and social inequality that persists everywhere.

Furthermore, these moral values are not unique to one faith but extend beyond the confines of Indic traditions, as they embody a universal didactic essence, offering an opportunity for cross-cultural exchange and cooperation. By exploring and embracing these shared moral values,

individuals from diverse religious backgrounds can engage in meaningful discussions and collaborative efforts worldwide. Therefore, revitalising the art of *saṁvāda* is imperative for nurturing harmony and justice founded upon compassion and wisdom. Embracing an unwavering commitment to the mentioned values of self-discipline can foster cooperation and mutual understanding among all religious communities, ultimately contributing to creating a world characterised by peace and justice.

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## Portraying the Transformation of Self in Sufi Poetry of Wahab Khar

Asif Gulzar Bhat\*

*Self has always persisted as one of the prominent facets of Sufism and Sufi poetry. The many tenets of Islamic Sufism, such as Wahdatul-Wajood (Unity of Being) and Wahdatul-Shahood (Unity of Witness), wilayat (spiritual authority), and maqams (spiritual positions), are centred around the concept of the self. All of these concepts also symbolise that the self or nafs have the potential to undergo transformation. The indispensable objective of Sufism is to achieve the spiritual self, also called Nafzul Mutmainnah. The definition of Sufism also revolves around the self. Sufism can be defined as "a practical and devotional path that leads to the transformation of the self from its lowly instinctual nature to the ultimate state of subsistence in God—a state in which all blame-worthy traits fall away." This study aims to examine the notion and projection of self in the poetics of Wahab Khar, a Kashmiri Sufi poet. In his poetics, the self is constantly seeking for purification and yearning to meet its guide or Pir. Wahab Khar brings into play several ways to attain these two desires. This study aims to emphasise Wahab's attempts to achieve the purification of self.*

**Keywords:** Self, Sufism, Kashmir Saints, Purification, Sufi Poetry.

### Introduction

Sufism has been present in Islam right from its inception. Although the Prophet and his companions never gave it a name, it existed in reality without a name. After the era of the Prophet's companions ended, scholars believe the reality part of this spiritual aspect of life extinguished, and the abstract part or the name continued. Martin Lings argues, "It was once a reality without a name." Commenting on this in the following century, Hujwiri adds: 'In the time of the Companions of the Prophet and their immediate successors this name did not exist, but its reality was in everyone. Now the name exists without the reality.' Similarly, but without being so absolute either in praise or in blame, Ibn Khaldun remarks that in the first three generations of Islam mysticism was too general to have a

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\* Department of English, Aligarh Muslim University

special name. But 'when worldliness spread and men tended to become more and more bound up with the ties of this life, those who dedicated themselves to the worship of God were distinguished from the rest by the title of Sufis.'"<sup>1</sup> Self in Sufi poetry has its own dimensions, angles, realms, and shifts, which a reader must be well aware of to understand the deeper philosophies of its portrayal. According to Shulman and Strousma,

"The inherently transformative quality of the self as culturally conceived and understood, in specific cultural and religious systems — its structured tendencies to shift, to split, to unravel, to disappear, to cumulate new levels or parts, to disencumber itself of levels or parts, to refashion, deepen, or diminish its own self-awareness in changing contexts, and so on, all of these processes occurring either voluntarily or not, but very often through heavily determined and ritualized acts."<sup>2</sup>

Sufis believe that individuals should always strive to reunite their limited and fractured selves with the divine presence of God. This yearning has its roots in Islam for Sufis, as they allude to the Prophet Muhammad's (SAW) yearning to Mecca at the time of migration. According to Martin Lings, "When the exile (Prophet (SAW)) turns his face in the direction of Mecca, he aspires above all, if he is a Sufi, to the inward return, to the reintegration of the fragmented finite individual self into the Infinitude of the Divine Self."<sup>3</sup> To attain the divine hood of God, saints follow the teachings for a very long period. The self of the person who is going to attain sainthood needs to pass through various stages before obtaining the purification. The "inner change is sought in a continuous, for the most part gradual, discipline of praxis, meditation, and prayer, and the transformation "finally" achieved may be seen as irreversible, as when the poet-devotee fuses into God, or when Enlightenment, which cannot be "reached," is nonetheless realized."<sup>4</sup> Martin Lings also argues that Sufis saints believed that in the transformation to sainthood, the death of something or material self before their actual death happens; he writes, for Sufis, "that something in them had already ebbed before death despite the 'cage', something incomparably more important than anything that has to wait for death to set it free."<sup>5</sup> Sufis also pursue their masters to attain that desired level of purification, the purification of self or the death of material self, because the "attachment to the spiritual chain gives the initiate (a person who wants to attain sainthood) not only the means of preventing his own ebb back in the direction from which he came, but also the means of advancing along the spiritual path if he is qualified for 'travel.'"<sup>6</sup> The concorded model between Master and devotee is cited in

the Qur'an as *"Indeed, Allah was pleased with the believers when they pledged allegiance to you 'O Prophet' under the tree. He knew what was in their hearts, so He sent down serenity upon them and rewarded them with a victory at hand."*<sup>7</sup>

In Kashmir, "Sufism has emerged as a significant force, playing a vital role in nurturing a sense of unity and coexistence among the various communities that inhabit the region."<sup>8</sup> They allude to different personalities and mythologies that belong to other religions in Kashmir other than Islam. This mystical way aims to uncover the enigmas of the self, as it is founded on pure connections. Sufi poetry is seen as a means of bridging the gap between the human self and the heavenly presence. "A Sufi poet, who makes one, not only feel but touch Allah (God) indispensably in his verses."<sup>9</sup> Kashmir's Sufi saints and poets have always worked for harmony and cultural betterment. "Sufism, a mystical branch of Islam, has played a significant role in fostering cultural harmony in Kashmir."<sup>10</sup> They have worked beyond religious boundaries for the promotion of peace, unity, and spiritual enlightenment. Wali has pointed out, "Kashmir has been a cradle of Sufism since centuries, representing a unique blend of various faiths and ideologies."<sup>11</sup> This phenomenon has been studied under the scholarship of vernacular cosmopolitanism, where the cosmopolitan thought is vernacularised, and the vernacular is cosmopolised.

In Sufism, the understanding of Islamic spirituality has been understood through local understandings of the spirituality. Clinton Bennett argues, "Sufis, traditionally, are open and tolerant toward diversity, respecting other faiths and even emphasise commonalities. Some accept non-Muslim initiates."<sup>12</sup> We often see references to local religions in the poetics of Kashmiri Sufi poets. In the vernacularisation of Islam, "message and teachings of Islam adjusted and adapted in local regional environments outside Arabia. The universal principles of Islam were vernacularized in specific time and space, and contextualized or localized forms and expressions of Muslim piety emerged in these regions."<sup>13</sup>

Wahab Khar, a Kashmiri poet, is highly acclaimed for his significant contributions to Sufi literature. In his poetics, he effectively depicts the central teachings of Sufism and their profound impact on the amicable blend of cultures in Kashmir. He used colloquial poetry to spread Sufi ideas among the local masses. He employed local and universal symbols in his poetry to convey his message. He often draws images, similes,

metaphors, and other symbols that create an immense effect on the reader. He creates his own realm in the poetry and takes a reader into that realm and makes him feel the realm. Meanwhile, the use of symbolism has been one of the main aspects used by Sufi saints and poets for understanding and comprehending the Islamic message. Sufi poetry is known for its frequent use of metaphors to enhance the depth of its meaning and transcending of the self. Wahab Khar uses images, metaphors, and stories and other concepts from Islam and other religions, and also juxtaposes local or global personalities and mythologies. Commenting on the verses of his poem, "*Mas deutham baal i yaaro / Kas wane soander soander*" which means, "*You fed me liquor, O dear beloved, / To whom should I 'lovely lass' say?*" Farooq cites that in these lines, the poet uses liquor to express his state of ecstasy. A state of transcendence, where the poet's self leaves its bodily form and reunites with the divine. He writes "the poet says that his beloved has fed him liquor and now unmindful of the world around, he feels restless as to whom would he convey his ordeal. Here 'liquor' is used for 'love's nectar.' By using 'liquor,' as a metaphor, the poet expresses his ecstatic state."<sup>14</sup>

In his other poems, Wahab Khar has used the metaphor of a woodcutter. The metaphor signifies someone who trembled the poet's self towards divinity, who took him out from infancy or ignorance towards a life of self-annihilation and transformation. In the poem *path wan raeyil oosus naaz/ kya kari pare pare, cham ne aawaaz / baq tchatith trowus tabardaaran/ yaaro wan, bala yaaro wan* (In past, with grandeur I was a Deodar of dense forest/ What would I do being speechless? / I have been reduced to pieces by woodcutter / Tell me, my love, tell me (trans. Moti Lal Sagi)<sup>15</sup>), in another poem he says *bat-aar tabardaaro/ laeytham tabar tabar/ Tabar e korum paar e paar/ Kas waene soander soander* (O unkind woodcutter/ You axed me again and again/ This axe tore me down into pieces/ To whom should I 'lovely lass' say? (trans. Shad Ramzan)<sup>16</sup>). In these poems, the poet consistently portrays the woodcutter as a repeating theme, symbolising the power and control to which the poet willingly surrenders. His perpetual awe at the insignificance of the individual self in the presence of the divine is also apparent in this context. Philosophy that has pertained to the religious domain has been predominantly emphasised along the lines of the essentiality of love for people as a prerequisite for love towards God. This is where we observe a profound affection for the divine conveyed via a highly secular language. Moreover, Self-annihilation has been given importance in Sufism. As Sarwar Alam points out, "It is sometimes described as a journey toward the 'Ultimate Reality,'"

a journey of realizing nothingness and annihilation of the self before God. The change is vital for being close to God; the more a Sufi understands his God, the more annihilation occurs in his self.<sup>17</sup> While Khar's work on divine yearning and self-sacrifice might be too lofty for us lesser mortals, luckily, wisdom can be found in his more worldly and accessible verse.<sup>18</sup>

Self has been interpreted in Sufism as "Nafs", "soul", and "spirit" or "Heart". The "nafs became, primarily, the designator of a negative, earth-bound fiery entity that needs to be constantly condemned and watched over."<sup>19</sup> Svirin further states that nafs for Sufis have always been a mediocre facet of the human psycho-physiological structure. Sufism considered the nafs as inferior to the soul, which is a different perception from the philosophical notion. Soul for them is divine and nafs has a worldly entity. They take this notion from a hadith of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH): *"Your worst enemy is the nafs that lies between your sides"*. "Adverse as the nafs may be, it is seen by Sufi authors as a component of human nature that can be transformed."<sup>20</sup> Wahab Khar's in his two poems *"Qadam faqirs qad bala, haa dumb-ba-dumb par hu-Allah"* and *"shaam sonderaa bar kernes te lolo, Kaam Devas lug parmast te lolo"*, That is, *"the rank of the faqir is grand, O'self repeatedly say Hu-Allah,"* and *"the evening beauty is caught in spell completely, Kamadev also has fully intoxicated"*, exhibit a persistent quest for redemption on the part of the poet. In order to achieve it, he diligently accompanies his Pir-o-Murshid (spiritual master) to various locations. The poems do not depict the protagonist's encounter with his Pir, nonetheless, both poems conclude with a very positive tone.

In the opening of the first poem, the protagonist asserts the role of his Master in the spiritual domain; his mentor has achieved a highly esteemed status. Accordingly, the self must submit to the teachings of his Murshid in order to achieve its intended destination. The pir or spiritual leader will provide guidance and ideas, which are essential for reaching the sacred realm. He asserts that self-annihilation for the sake of Allah is the one path that has endured and will continue to endure for me. In Islam and Sufi mysticism, the notion that the self must be entirely prostrated before Allah is of paramount importance. It facilitates an individual in achieving the spiritual dimension of their religious beliefs. The Quran repeatedly emphasises the need for nafs to be controlled as a means to achieve bliss. As al-Quran states, *"O soul at peace return to your Lord, well pleased and pleasing [to Him]."*<sup>21</sup> The poet possesses a complete understanding of the challenges that the nafs, in addition to other obstacles, create for an



individual's pursuit of the holy journey. Even in Islam, the nafs have been called the enemy of a person between him and God. Sufis and classical authors with an ascetic or moralistic inclination both have an inherent unfavourable perspective on nafs. A commonly cited Prophetic saying (Hadith Nabawi) in literature simply reflects this perspective: "The most powerful adversary you face is the nafs, which is within you"<sup>22</sup>. The fact that nafs is seen as a hostile entity, it is necessary to formally declare war on it. However, the nafs, within the context of this metaphorical depiction of conflict and hostility, is not isolated. The extent of pietistic fighting expands when additional "adversaries" join the conflict area. Traditionally, Satan is commonly referred to as the Adversary and represents the base propensity, as shown in Hellenistic and Christian scriptures. In response to this combination of three elements, the deeply religious Muslim, whether they are a Sufi or not, is encouraged to engage in the 'larger holy war'. Wahab Khar has highlighted this notion in the fourth couplet of the poem by saying that to be in the realm of Kalima (phrase) is very hard and difficult to follow; the only solution is to follow your guide; his teachings are way out that will help to deal with this difficulty. He writes *Kalimah chut lalo truthui/ Piri gandar darat hutui/ su goo quadrat aalaa/ haa domb-ba-domb par hu-Allahi*, it can be translated as *Kalimah is, dear, toilsome/ endure it through sage's counselling/ He, the Divine, is great/ O'self repeatedly say Hu-Allah*. He used the word "Truthui", which means it is very difficult or tough and challenging. It signifies You will face consistent struggles in the ways to conquer the realm perfectly. This transformation of the nafs or self has to go from *Nasoot* to *Jabroot* state of existence. The existence in *Jabroot* is where the nafs is pure from all the evils. A self that is free of earthly attachments, worries, and hopes, and finds fulfillment in its eternal connection to God. The nafs has to cross three stages to reach purification. As Sara Sviri points out:

"The idea of the transformation of the self has been understood to rest upon three Qur'anic verses which address nafs explicitly. The first verse addresses the nafs as "that which incites to evil" (al-nafs al-ammara bil-su; 12:53); in the second, it is designated "the nafs that blames" (al-nafs al-lawwama; 75:2); and in the third, it is described as "the serene self" (al-nafs al-mutma'inna; 89:27). These three designations, culled from disjoint locations, were seen, when juxtaposed in the foregoing order, as a paradigm for the progressive transformation of the lower self through effort, discipline, introspection, and, ultimately, divine grace, into the desired state of fulfilment."<sup>23</sup>

This transformation should be held voluntarily. At the end of the poem, Wahab Khar writes, "*Nasootie Tachtoh ander/ Malkow neerith chui gizar/ Lahoot Jabroot chui aalmah/ haa dumb-ba-dumb par hu-Allah*" that is, "*at Nasoot submit yourself/ transcending angels is your quest/ lahoot jabroot are further cosmoses, O'self repeatedly say Hu-Allah*". We see that the poet wants to attain the highest spiritual levels. He wants to attain the level of "Jabroot", a spiritual position of self where oneness with God is attained. Where you and Allah have no filters in-between. This level of spirituality can be referred towards the Prophet Muhammad (SAW) and his meeting with Allah on the journey of Miraj. He met with Allah, and it is supposed in Sufi Islam that he saw Allah at that moment. "The yearning for God and passing through various stages of soul's purification can turn one into a Sufi who can visualize God through his inward eye."<sup>24</sup> To attain the level of Jabroot, one has to go through various other levels- Nasoot, Malakoot, and Laahoot- which are very difficult to attain. Nasoot is the level of our physical world, full of worldly charms and things that lure a person to crave them, consequently a very difficult one to leave for spirituality. The transformation should be achieved voluntarily. While citing Shaiq Al-Balkhi's notions of transformation through "acts of worship" Sviri writes that these "supererogatory acts that 'the people of sincerity' (ahl al-sidiq), those who seek to transform the darkness (zulma) of their nature into light (nur), take upon themselves voluntarily. Evidently, not all believers are thus inclined."<sup>25</sup> For Wahab Khar, the transformation is a must irrespective of gender or sex, irrespective of the profession a person holds. Because it's the transformation of self or nafs that will help a person to save himself or herself from hellfire. In the poem he writes, "*gaahay nar yah maadeh Tchi/ gaahay gizarwan zade chi/ tass nish arshan mong panah/ haa dumb-ba-dumb par hu-Allah*" which means, "*whether male or female/ whether is he octroi post holder/ from (His) wrath, holy throne prayed for refuge/ O'self repeatedly say Hu-Allah*". The transformation that Wahab insists needs a guide, he refers to his spiritual guide, Ahmed Sahab Machaam, in the last couplet and writes *maula Ahamd Rahnuma* (dear Ahmad is the guide). Wahab approached Ahmed Sahab Machaam, a great Sufi saint and guru of his times. Remaining attached to him and his spiritual teachings, Wahab understood the niceties of Sufism and became capable of documenting and recording his spiritual experiences in words, thereby bringing to the fore a Sufi poet of high pedigree."<sup>26</sup> The spiritual guide may be his teacher Ahmed Sahab Machaam, or Piri-Kamil [Hazrat Muhammad (SAW)], a person whose guidance Machaam followed to perfect his own sainthood, as the name of Khar's Pir is the namesake of the Prophet (PBUH). The importance of the

guide in the transformation and purification of nafs is also highlighted in the second and third couplets of the poem. Wahab writes, *Pir baawi akh mukaam/ hasil Tche supdi tii anjaam/ fanaa-fillaahit aam baqa/ haa dumb-ba-dumb par hu-Allah*, which translates as *Pir will disclose you a position/ you will attain the culmination/ annihilation to Allah secures subsistence/ O self repeatedly say Hu-Allah*. In these lines, Wahab explicitly asserts the importance of the Pir-o-Murshid in reaching the highest mystical stages of the self of Islam designated according to Sufism as Fana and Baqaa, annihilation and subsistence. Siviri cites "When he (a person) experiences the numinosity of these states, or stages, the transformation of his self becomes complete. The self and its allies, it seems, are incapable of subsisting in such experiential altitudes. In the preceding citation, the verbs baqiya — "he remains without inclination" — and faniya — "he is lost" allude to the complementary states of fana and baqa', annihilation and subsistence, which are, according to most authors, among the highest mystical states to be attained or recorded."<sup>27</sup>

"There are as many paths to God as there are people," is a well-known Sufi saying. The second poem, although it begins with an allusion to romantic love, transcends into the realm of spirituality. Here, the self of the poet is in a consistent quest for his spiritual sage. He is very eager to meet him at any time or any place. He seeks for him throughout the places of Kashmir that belong to Sufi mystics and Pirs of the valley. He calls himself an ignorant who does not know where his spiritual guide is or is unable to find the salvation or purification of nafs. He writes "*Wuth gaafilo eas gacho khanyar/ arzaa kero dastegeras lolo*" (*O ignorant pilgrim to Khanyar/ plead to Dastgir*). Khanyar is supposed to be the ziarat or pilgrimage shrine of Sufi of Sufis or what we call him in Kashmir "Pir-i-Piran" Hazrat Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jelani(ra), also known as Dastgir Shab. He then craves to visit the shrine of Sultanul Arfeen Hazrat Shaikh Hamza Makhdoom (ra), and says *jayi khahwat shubaan haz Sultana/ jayi remen path thazras te lolo* (*Hazrat sultan love solitude/ he resides on the high zenith*). He again tries to find him in the natural beauty like Dal Lake and in the flower garden. He writes, *poshtmut moin feraan chu poshtbagan/ posh lagas bu asteh asteh lolo/ mah bozum draamut su chu Dalgate/ Tchui feraan Dal selas te lolo*, can be translated as *my flower is wondering in flower garden/ I will leisurely shower him petals/ I heard he went to Dalgate/ he is relishing the artve in Dal*. The imagery the poet has used again alludes to the Sufi culture. He refers to flower and flower gardens, and he also calls his beloved flower lover. Then he tries to find him on Dal's lake. Where one of Kashmir's holiest shrines is located

known as Hazratbal shrine. It contains the moi-e-muqqadas of Prophet Muhammad (SAW). The water is also mentioned in the couplets that have a symbolic value in Sufism, as re-counted to Sufi Hazrat Khizir (AS). At last, the poet seeks to verve to Charar, where Kashmir's greatest saint, Hazrat Shaikh Noor-ud-Din Wali, known as Alamdar-i-Kashmir, is supposed to be buried. He writes, *neh bozun ase ma gomut charar/ Almdars halam daras te lolo* (I traced him at Charar/ I will lay my bosom before Alamdar). Here, he wants to plead at last so that he can attain his purification of self. The salvation for the poet is impossible without the proper guidance of the master or the Pir. He consistently searches for it at different places, and through this search, he highlights its importance. This poem discusses the poet's quest to find his Pir around the mystical valley. The free nature of the murshid has also been highlighted in the couplets, which, according to Martin Lingis, is crucial for a Sufi saint. Although a saint finds this world a cage, he can pursue it everywhere. Martin argues that a "full-grown Sufi is thus conscious of being, like other men, a prisoner in the world of forms, but unlike them, he is also conscious of being free, with a freedom which incomparably outweighs his imprisonment."<sup>28</sup>

The other important notion in the poem is giving the narrator a female portrayal. The female voice is significant in Sufi poetry because "the woman is taken as a symbol of the human soul."<sup>29</sup> The technique of giving the narrator a female voice is called *Virahini*. It is a poetic trope or literary motif that signifies a woman, separated from her beloved, who yearns to meet or to see him. This yearning is symbolically essential as it embodies the soul's craving to meet God. Although this technique has been used in Hindi-Sanskrit literature, Sufis borrowed it to emphasise the quest. This local technique has been used in Sufi poetry across the globe, notably in the Indian subcontinent. This craving and quest for the sake of love is highlighted in the poem. The erotic reference in the opening and the romantic reference in the middle of the poem is pedagogical. Pnina Werbner argues that "Ghazali and Rumi regarded worldly love as a pedagogical experience, a sentimental education in how to love God."<sup>30</sup> The poem juxtaposes between platonic and courtly love. It highlights the vernacular and Islamic references. The motif of Virahini that runs deep in the poem emblems the importance of worldly and vernacular forms of love to reach out to the divine. "Both aesthetic appreciation of beauty, often manifested in the face of an Earthly beloved, and ethical conduct, the Sufi path of voluntary self-denial or asceticism, are entangled in ideas of Sufi



love... It is an unfulfilled yearning for intimacy and closeness, which may also be equated with a higher "stage" on the Sufi path."<sup>31</sup>

In conclusion, we see that Wahab Khar has demonstrated the role of self in Sufism and the importance of attaining purification. He emphasises the transformation of self as essential for being close to God. His apprehension of the nature of self is discernible in his poetry. His poetry shows that the pursuit of God and the purification of the soul through various passages can lead to the Sufi vision, allowing one to see God through one's inner eye.

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عقیدے کے مطابق اہورا مزدا اور اہرہمن، زروان کی جڑواں اولادیں تھیں جو دنیاوی نظام کو چلانے میں زروان کی معاون تھیں۔ نیکی کی تمام ذمہ داریاں اہورا مزدا کے سپرد تھیں جبکہ اہرہمن بدی کے فروغ کے لیے کار فرماں تھا۔

عہد ساسانی میں یہ زروانی عقیدہ حکمرانوں اور بزرگوں میں بھی کافی مقبول تھا چنانچہ تاریخی کتب میں زروانیوں اور زرتشتیوں کے درمیان مختلف کشمکشوں کا سراغ ملتا ہے لیکن زروانی اصول و عقاید کا ذکر ناپید ہے۔ اس ضمن میں گمان غالب ہے کہ جب دین زرتشت نے دین زروانی پر غلبہ حاصل کیا ہوگا تو ان کی دینی شناخت کو مکمل طور پر نیست و نابود کرنے کی کوشش کی گئی ہوگی یا ان کے اصول و عقاید کو مسخ کر کے اپنی دینی کتب میں جگہ دی گئی ہوگی تاکہ اس فرقے کو ہرگز دوبارہ آبیاری کا موقع فراہم نہ ہو سکے۔ عہد ساسانی میں دین زروان کی مقبولیت کو ثابت کرنے کے لیے محققین نے اس بات پر توجہ مرکوز کی ہے کہ عہد ساسانی میں لفظ زاروان کو ایک عام نام کی حیثیت حاصل تھی اور بیسٹر لوگ اسے بطور اسم مرکب اپنے نام کا حصہ گردانتے تھے۔ زروان داد اور زروان دخت جیسے ناموں کی کثرت مورخین کے اس گمان کو تقویت بخشتے ہیں سے تھے۔<sup>۱۵</sup>

کتابیات:

کریمت سن، آرتور، ایران در زمان ساسانیان، ترجمہ رشید یاسمی، تھران: دنیاوی کتاب، ۱۳۶۸ ش۔

جوہا سی ایرانی پیش از اسلام، ۸۵-۸۶

کی مقبولیت کی خبر ہوئی تو خود اس نے مزدک سے رابطہ کیا اور اپنی حکومت کو مضبوط کرنے کے لیے اس کے اثر و رسوخ کا استعمال کیا۔ فردوسی طوسی نے اپنے شاہنامہ میں مزدک اور قباد کی کہانی اس طرح بیان کی ہے۔

بیاد یکی مرد مزدک بنام	سنگوسی بادانش و راسی کام
گر انما یہ مردی و دانش فروش	قباد دلاور بدو داد گوش
بہ نزد جماندار دستور گشت	نخبان آن گنج و گنجور گشت

پھر فردوسی لکھتا ہے کہ مزدک کے منصوبے اور قباد کے حکم سے ساسانی بادشاہ نے حکومت کے خزانے کو محام کے لیے کھول دیا اور مزدک کے اس فیصلے سے اس کی اور قباد کی مقبولیت میں اضافہ ہوا۔

**دین زروان:**

دین زروان کا شمار بھی ان ادیان میں ہوتا ہے جس کے پیروکار و مقلد ہندو ساسانی میں موجود تھے۔ زروانی درحقیقت زرتشتی مذہب سے مشتق ایک فرقہ تھا جس کے پیروکار عبادات و معاملات میں دین زرتشت کے طریقوں سے متفق تھے جس بناء پر ان کی عبادات کے طریقوں میں اشتراک تھا، لیکن ان کے عقائد و اصول دین زرتشت سے قدرے مختلف تھے۔ زاروان مذہب کے پیروکار دنیا کی تنظیم میں احمرا مزدا اور احرہ من سے برتر ایک خدا پر یقین رکھتے تھے جسے زاروان کے نام سے جانا جاتا تھا۔ ان کے

۱۔ ساسانی فردوسی، یادگار ساسانی قباد



(ماضی، حال اور مستقبل) پر یقین رکھتے ہیں۔ ان کے عقیدے کے مطابق ماضی میں یعنی تخلیق جہان سے قبل نور اور ظلمت دونوں ایک دوسرے سے جدا تھے۔ جہان نور میں نظم و ضبط، انعام و تقسیم، امن و خوشی اور حسن سلوک کا راج تھا جبکہ جہان ظلمت میں انتشار کی حکمرانی تھی۔ جب ظلمت نے نور پر فتح حاصل کی تو موجودہ دنیا یعنی حال کی باری آئی جہاں نور و ظلمت (اچھے اور برے) کا امتزاج ہے۔ مستقبل میں ظلمت پر نور کی فتح ہوگی اور وہی آخری دور یعنی آخری دنیا ہوگی جہاں ماضی کی طرح عدل و انصاف اور امن و خوشی کا بول بالا ہوگا۔<sup>۵۲</sup>

### دین مزدک:

دین مانی کے بعد دین مزدک کے بناء پر بھی عہد ساسانی میں بڑی تبدیلیاں رونما ہوئیں۔ اگرچہ آج دین مزدک سے متعلق تفصیلی معلومات میسر نہیں ہیں لیکن مزدک نامہ اور مجاہد نامہ بھی قدیم کتب اس بات کی نشاندہی فرماتیں ہیں کہ مزدک، پیروز اول (ساسانی بادشاہ) کے اس زمانے میں نمودار ہوا جب ایران ایک سخت سیاسی اور معاشی افراطی سے دوچار تھا۔ افراطی کی یہ فضاء مزدک کو خوب راس آئی اور اس نے سیاسی اور معاشی صورت حال کا فائدہ اٹھاتے ہوئے اپنے مضبوط قدم سرزمین ایران پر جمائے اور پیروکاروں کی ایک بڑی جماعت تیار کر کے خود داخلی افراطی سے نجات حاصل کرنے کی مختلف کوششیں کیں۔ پیروز اول کے بیٹے قباد کو جب مزدک کے افکار و نظریات

گاؤں میں 215 یا 216 عیسوی میں پیدا ہوا۔ اپنی جوانی میں اس نے توران، مکران اور ہندوستان کا سفر کیا۔ بدھ مت، ویدک نظریات اور وسط ایشیا کے لوگوں کے مذہبی عقائد سے آشنا ہوا اور مختلف مذاہب و عقیدے کی آمیزش سے ایک نئے مذہب کی تخلیق کی اور ساسانی بادشاہ شاہراہ اول نے اس نئے دین کی تبلیغ و فروغ میں اس کی مدد کی۔ شاہراہ اول کی تاج پوشی کے وقت نہ صرف مانی کو مدعو کیا گیا بلکہ اس امید کے ساتھ کہ یہ نیا مذہب نہ صرف موعودہ تمام مذاہب کی ضروریات کو پورا کرے گا بلکہ ایک عالمگیر مذہب کی شکل اختیار کر کے مملکت کو تقویت بھی بخشنے گا، خود بادشاہ نے اپنے ہاتھوں سے مانی کا استقبال کیا اور مقامی حکمرانوں کو ایک خط لکھ کر اس بات کی تاکید کی کہ وہ نہ صرف اس نئے مذہب کو قبول کریں بلکہ اس کی تبلیغ کے لیے کوشاں بھی رہیں۔ شاہراہ اول کو رومیوں کے خلاف جنگ میں تمام قومی فوجوں کو مرکزیت دینے کی ضرورت تھی اور وہ سمجھتا تھا کہ یہ نیا دین اس عظیم مقصد کی حصولیابی کی بنیاد رکھے گا۔ قومی اتحاد کے عظیم مقصد کی حصولیابی کے لیے اس نئے دین کے فروغ کو شاہراہ اول کی پشت پناہی حاصل رہی اور پچیس سالہ جہد مسلسل کے نتیجے میں دین مانی کی وسعت ایران کی سرحدوں سے باہر مصر، شام، روم، اسپین، شمالی افریقہ اور چین تک پھیل گئی۔ لیکن شاہراہ اول کی موت کے بعد مانی کو بہت سی مشکلات سے دوچار ہونا پڑا اور سرانجام زرتشتی راہبوں کے اکسانے پر اسے ساسانی بادشاہ بھرام اول کے حکم سے قتل کر دیا گیا۔

دین مانی سب سے واضح منوی مذہب ہے۔ اس مذہب کے پیروکاروں کا بنیادی عقیدہ نور ظلمت کے دو اہم ذرائع پر یقین ہے اور وہ تخلیق چنانچہ میں تین ادوار

دین مسیح کے پیروکار تھے، ایران کے ایک ہی شہر میں منتقل کیا جہاں اکثریت کی وجہ سے عیسائیوں کو فروغ دین کی ایک مناسب فضاء میسر ہوئی اور بادشاہوں کے حکم سے لوگوں کی منتقلی کا یہ عمل ایران میں دین مسیح کے حق میں معاون ثابت ہوا۔<sup>۶</sup>

جب تک رومی سلطنت میں عیسائیت کو رسمی حیثیت حاصل نہیں ہوئی تب تک سرزمین ایران میں مقیم عیسائی بھی امن و اطمینان کے ساتھ ایران میں سکونت پزیر تھے لیکن جب رومی سلطنت نے عیسائیت کو رسمی طور پر قبول کیا تو ایرانی عیسائی بھی رومی حکومت کے حامی بن گئے۔ چونکہ ان کی تعداد بہت زیادہ تھی چنانچہ ساسانی حکومت ایک سیاسی خطرے کی طرف متوجہ ہوئی جس سے نجات کے لیے ایرانی عیسائیوں پر ظلم و ستم آغاز ہوا اور پھر جب مذہبی شناخت کی بناء پر ظلم و ستم کی انتہا ہوئی تو ایرانی عیسائی رومی عیسائیوں سے اپنا تعلق منقطع کرنے پر مجبور ہوئے جس وجہ سے ایران میں عیسائیت کی ایک نئی شاخ نے جنم لیا جو ساسانی حکومت کی اس مدد تک وفادار تھی کہ جب ساسانی بادشاہ قباد کے زمانے میں رومیوں سے جنگ ہوئی تو ایرانی عیسائی نہ صرف ایرانی فوج میں شامل ہوئے بلکہ اپنے دینی بھائیوں کے خلاف ہمدردی بھی ہوئے۔<sup>۷</sup>

**دین مانی:**

مانی کے ظہور اور اس کے مذہب کو عہد ساسانی کے سب سے بڑے مذہبی مظاہر میں شمار کیا جانا چاہیے۔ مانی جو اس مذہب کا بانی تھا، بابل کے قریب ایک

<sup>۶</sup> ایران در زمان ساسانیان، ص 29

<sup>۷</sup> تاریخ ایران، جلد 3، ص 272 و بعد

ہدم مت:

ہندوستان کی سرزمین سے ابھرنے والے ہدم مت نے عیسائیت سے قبل ہی ایرانی سرزمین کا رخ کیا۔ بعض ماہرین آثار قدیمہ کا خیال ہے کہ ہدم مت کو ایران کے مشرق میں یونانی دور حکومت میں فروغ حاصل ہوا جو کسی نہ کسی صورت عہد ساسانی تک باقی رہا۔ یعنی سیاح "ہیون تسینگ" جس نے 629 سے 645 عیسوی کے درمیان دنیا کا سفر کیا وہ اپنے سفر ایران کے ضمن میں بیان کرتا ہے کہ ایران کے مشرقی حصے میں ہدم مت کے کم و بیش پروکار موجود ہیں جن کی عبادت کے لیے مختلف مندروں اور مراکز بھی مختص ہیں۔<sup>۶۰</sup>

عیسائیت:

عیسائیت یا دین مسیح کو ساسانی دور میں زرتشت کے سب سے اہم حریفوں میں شمار کیا جاتا پائے جس نے اپنے ابتدائی ایام میں ہی روم کی سرحدوں سے فارس کی زرخیز زمین تک اپنا راستہ ہموار کیا۔ بعض مورخین کی روایت کے مطابق، شاہور ساسانی نے رومی اسیروں کو جو عیسائیت کے پروکار تھے، ایرانی شہروں میں آباد کیا جس کی وجہ سے ایران کی سرزمین میں عیسائیت کو فروغ حاصل ہوا۔ شاہور کی طرح دوسرے ساسانی بادشاہ بھی جب شام کی سرزمین پر قابض ہوئے تو انھوں نے باشندگان شام کو جن میں اکثر و بیشتر

تجاریح افغانستان، ص 26

نقصان پہنچانے کی کوشش کی جس کے نتیجے میں زرتشتی علمائے کرام نے یزگرد پر لعن و طعن کی اور اس کو مجرم قرار دیا چنانچہ یزگرد کو مجبوراً عیسائیوں کے خلاف سخت اقدامات کرنے پر مجبور ہوئے۔<sup>3</sup>

ایران باستان کی تاریخ کے مطالعے سے یہ بات واضح ہے کہ عہد ساسانی میں دین زرتشت کے علاوہ مختلف ادیان موجود تھے اور ساسانی بادشاہ اپنے سیاسی فائدے کے پیش نظر ان مذاہب سے سختی و نرمی سے پیش آتے تھے۔ اس عہد میں دین زرتشت کے علاوہ جن ادیان کا سراغ ملتا ہے وہ حسب ذیل ہیں۔

#### دین یہود:

ساسانی عہد میں یہودی مذہب کے بیشتر پیروکار سرزمین بابل اور مشرقی سطل مرتفع میں رہتے تھے جہاں انھوں نے نہ صرف ساسانی حکمرانوں کے تحفظ میں امن و سکون کے ساتھ اپنی زندگیاں جاری رکھیں بلکہ ساسانی بادشاہوں کی مشاورت سے اپنا ایک مذہبی رہنما بھی منتخب کیا جسے اس الجالوت (مذہبی پیشوا) کہا جاتا تھا۔ عہد ساسانی میں ایران کے مشرق میں بھی یہودی آباد تھے جس بناء پر شہر بلخ کے ایک دروازے کا نام 'دروازہ یہود' رکھا گیا تھا جسے ایران میں اسلام کے پھیلنے کے برسوں بعد بھی اسی نام سے یاد کیا جاتا تھا۔<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> تاریخ جنش مزدکیان، ص 52ء

<sup>4</sup> ایران در زمان ساسانیان، ص 29



اوستا کو ژند نام سے پہلوی زبان میں ترجمہ کیا گیا۔ پانڈ جے زند کی تفسیر سمجھا جاتا ہے وہ دراصل ژند کا ماشیہ ہے۔ اوستا کی وہ کتاب جو صرف اوستانی زبان میں لکھی جاتی ہے اسے اوستا کہا جاتا ہے جب کہ اوستا کے حقیقی متن کے ساتھ اگر پہلوی ترجمہ بھی نقل کیا گیا ہو تو اسے ژند کے نام سے جانا جاتا ہے اور اگر اوستا کے متن اور پہلوی ترجمہ کے علاوہ بغرض تفسیر و تشریح ماشیہ بھی نقل ہو تو اسے ہم پانڈ کے نام سے یاد کرتے ہیں۔

ساسانیوں کے چار سو عیسائیں سالہ دور حکومت میں دین زرتشت کو جو بے نظیر اثر و رسوخ حاصل ہوا اس کا بیان ایک مختصر سے مقالے میں ناممکن ہے۔ اختصاراً یہ کہ ساسانیوں کی یورپی تہذیب و تمدن دین زرتشت کے زیر اثر تھی۔ ان کی زندگیاں زرتشتی اصول و تعلیمات پر مبنی تھیں۔ ان کے سکوں پر آتش بھرام کا عکس کندہ تھا۔ اس عہد کے تمام سیاسی و معاشرتی معاملات زرتشتی رہنماؤں کی مشاورت سے طے پاتے تھے حتیٰ کہ بادشاہوں کی تاج پوشی بھی پیر مغان (زرتشتی پیشوا) کے دست مبارک سے عمل میں آتی تھی لیکن ان سب کے باوجود بھی ساسانی سلطنت میں مختلف ادیان اور اس کی تبلیغ کی گنجائش باقی تھی۔ اگرچہ ایرانی معاشرے میں مختلف مذاہب کی ترویج و توسیع سے قومی اتحاد و ساسانی سلطنت کو خطرہ تھا لیکن جب تک دوسرے مذاہب نمایاں طور پر نہیں پھیلے تب تک ساسانی بادشاہوں نے ان مذاہب اور ان کے پیروکاروں کے ساتھ نرمی کا سلوک کیا۔ یہاں تک کہ بعض ساسانی بادشاہوں نے ایرانیوں میں مذہبی آزادی قائم کرنے کی کوشش کی لیکن ان کا یہ نیک کام بسا اوقات اپنے ساتھ خطرات بھی لے آیا۔ مثلاً یزگرد اول نے جب عیسائیوں کو مذہبی آزادی دی تو انھوں نے زرتشتی آئینہوں کو

ہوا۔ بقول اس کے ایران میں ملوک الطوائفی نہ صرف سیاسی، اقتصادی اور سماجی انتشار کا سبب تھی بلکہ مختلف مذاہب کا وجود دین زرتشت کی بقاء و فروغ کے لیے خطرہ بھی تھا۔ چنانچہ اس نے یہ عہد کیا کہ اگر وہ بادشاہت سے سرفراز ہوا تو اس کی سلطنت میں نہ صرف دین زرتشت کو رسمی حیثیت حاصل ہوگی بلکہ ملوک الطوائفی کی جگہ ایک محکم و مضبوط حکومت کا قیام بھی ہوگا جس کی سرحدیں عثمانی و اشکانی سرحدوں سے وسیع تر ہوگی۔ اس عہد کے ساتھ اس نے توسیع سلطنت کے باب کا آغاز کیا اور سب سے پہلے کرمان پر فتح حاصل کی اور پھر بلخ فارس کے ساحلوں تک پانچواں رفتہ رفتہ اس کی فتوحات کا دائرہ اتنا وسیع ہوا کہ اصت پانواہوا کی سرزمینیں اس کی سلطنت کا جزء بن گئیں اور بالآخر اشکانی بادشاہ اور داوان جنم کی شکست کے بعد نہ صرف اشکانی سلطنت کا خاتمہ ہوا بلکہ ایران میں ساسانی سلطنت کی بنیاد بھی رکھی گئی۔ 224 عیسوی میں شہر تیسفون میں تاجگذاری کے بعد اردشیر بابکان نے اپنے وعدے کے مطابق نہ صرف اپنی سلطنت کو وسعت دی بلکہ دین زرتشت کو ایران کا رسمی مذہب بھی قرار دیا۔ اس کے حکم سے ایران کے مختلف شہروں میں آتشکدوں کی تعمیر ہوئی اور دین زرتشت کے فروغ کے لیے مغان (زرتشتی مبلغین) منتخب کیے گئے۔ اوستا کی مقدس کتاب جو سکندر اعظم کے حملے میں منتشر ہو چکی تھی، اس کی جمع و تدوین کے لیے زرتشتی علماء کی ایک انجمن تشکیل دی گئی جس نے اوستا کی گردآوری کل اکیس فک میں کی۔ لیکن چونکہ ساسانیوں کی زبان بھلوی تھی اور اوستا کی مقدس کتاب اوستائی زبان میں تھی لہذا اوستا کے نصوص کو سمجھنے میں مشکلات پیش آئیں۔ ان مشکلات کو دور کرنے کے لیے تصحیح و تدوین شدہ

سلطنتوں کی جگہ ماد و بخاش نامی دو مختلف سلطنتوں کا ذکر موجود ہے لیکن ان دونوں سلطنتوں میں گشتاسپ نامی کسی بادشاہ کا ذکر نہیں جس کی بنیاد پر عہد زرتشت کو ساسانی مظہر کیا جاسکے۔ گمان غالب ہے کہ زرتشت کی ولادت سلطنت ماد کے قیام سے قبل ہوئی ہوگی اور اس کا مذہب قبل از اسلام کی تمام ایرانی سلطنتوں میں مختلف مراحل سے گزرتا ہوا عہد ساسانی میں عروج کمال کو پہنچا ہوگا یہی وجہ ہے کہ قبل از اسلام کی ایرانی سلطنتوں بشمول ماد، بخاشی اور اشکانی میں بھی دین زرتشت کے مختلف عناصر گاہ بگاہ دکھائی دیتے ہیں۔ اس ضمن میں گنومات مع کا واقعہ، اسکندر کے حملے میں اوستا کو نذر آتش کیا جانا، بخاشی کتبوں میں لفظ احرار کا استعمال اور بلاش اشکانی کے ذریعے اوستا کی گردآوری کے حکم جیسے واقعات اس بات پر دلالت کرتے ہیں کہ گرچہ ساسانی عہد سے قبل دین زرتشت کو رسمی حیثیت حاصل نہیں تھی لیکن قبل از اسلام کی تمام ایرانی سلطنتوں میں کم و بیش زرتشتی پر وکار موجود تھے اور گاہ بگاہ اس مذہب کو بادشاہوں کی سرپرستی بھی حاصل تھی۔<sup>۲</sup>

مورخین کا اس بات پر اتفاق ہے کہ ساسانی سلطنت اور دین زرتشت ایک دوسرے کے لیے لازم و ملزوم کی حیثیت رکھتے تھے اور تاسیس سلطنت سے ہی ساسانی بادشاہوں کو زرتشتی رہنماؤں اور زرتشتی رہنماؤں کو ساسانی بادشاہوں کی حمایت حاصل تھی جو اخیر تک برقرار رہی۔ اشکانی دور کے اواخر میں جب سلطنت اندرونی تنازعات اور غیر ملکی ہجمات کی وجہ سے کمزور پڑی تو اردشیر باب کا نایک نئی سلطنت کی بنیاد کے لیے کوشاں

## عہد ساسانی کے مختلف مذاہب اور ان کی صورت حال

ڈاکٹر عمر خلیق \*

عام طور پر یہ تصور کیا جاتا ہے کہ ماقبل اسلام کی تمام ایرانی سلطنتوں میں دین زرتشت کو رسمی حیثیت حاصل تھی۔ جب کہ یہ تصور جس قدر عام ہے اتنا ہی بے بنیاد بھی ہے۔ ایران باستان کی تاریخ پر مبنی کتب کے مطالعے سے یہ بات واضح ہے کہ ساسانی سلطنت سے قبل عہد اشکانی، ہخامنشی اور سلطنت ماد میں دین زرتشت کا تصور گہرے کم و بیش ہمیشہ رہا ہے لیکن اسے رسمی حیثیت ہرگز حاصل نہیں تھی البتہ ساسانی عہد میں نہ صرف دین زرتشت کو رسمی حیثیت حاصل ہوئی بلکہ خود اس سلطنت کی بنیاد ہی 'ایک سلطنت ایک دین' کے اصول پر پڑی جس سے نہ صرف دین زرتشت کو فروغ حاصل ہوا بلکہ ملوک الطوائفی کی جگہ ایک محکم حکومت کا قیام بھی عمل میں آیا جو اصول چانداری کی تمام شان و شوکت کے ساتھ تقریباً چار سو سال تک سرزمین ایران پر رواں دواں رہی۔

عہد زرتشت کے تعین میں شدید اختلاف درپیش ہے۔ مورخین نے اس کے عہد کو ساتویں صدی قبل مسیح سے سترہویں صدی قبل مسیح کے درمیان نقل کیا ہے۔ عربی و فارسی ماخذ پر مشتمل تمام کتب و منظومے بشمول شاہنامہ فردوسی نے زرتشت کو ایران کی اساطیری تاریخ یعنی کیانی سلطنت میں جگہ دی ہے جبکہ یونانی ماخذ پر مشتمل تاریخی کتب میں اساطیری عہد یعنی پیشدادی و کیانی سلسلے سرے سے غائب ہیں۔ البتہ ان دو

\* ریسرچ سکالریئر

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یہ تمام عناصر اس بات کی نشاندہی کرتے ہیں کہ فارسی زبان اور اس کی ثقافت کا بنگالی معاشرت اور زبان پر گہرا اور دیرپا اثر رہا ہے۔  
خواشی وحوالہ جات:

سلطان غیاث الدین اعظم شاہ نے مالخو کو بنگال مدھو کیا اور مالخو کے لیے ایک مصرعہ جمایا، لیکن مالخو ہندوستان کا سفر نہیں کر سکتے۔ سلطان کے مصرعہ کے جواب میں مالخو نے ایک نزل بھیجی جس کا مطلع یہ تھا:  
”ساقی عدت سروگل والہ می دو۔۔۔  
زہں تحت تلہ نہالہ می دو۔۔۔“  
نزل کی عام مقامی زبانوں میں سے ایک۔

عطا کریم برقی کا فی ایچ ڈی مقالہ، لٹریچر فارسی در ضروب المثال، بنگالی، تہران یونیورسٹی، ۱۹۶۶ء، ص ۱۲۵  
اینا

یہ کتاب، ادعا اور کرن کی محبت کی بھائی رہ مضمحل ہے۔

ہمدان پاریہ شانی، سخن بنگالی ادب کی تاریخ، مائیتہ اکیڈمی، دہلی، ۱۹۷۵ء۔ ص ۱۲۴-۱۲۵۔

مجاہدات کے ترجمے کا کام ان کے والد سلطان نصرت شاہ کے دور میں شروع ۱۱۱۱ھ ان کے دور میں ختم ۱۱۲۰ھ۔

ہمدان پاریہ۔ ص ۲۳۲۔

اینا۔ ص ۲۳۲-۲۵۰۔

اینا ۲۰۰۰

برقی، ص ۱۳۹

<sup>۱۱۱</sup> Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. 36, P.1, p. 92

برقی، ص ۱۵۰-۱۵۱

اینا ص ۱۸۳

اینا

اینا ص ۱۸۳۔

اینا ص ۱۸۶۔

منابع انگریزی

آج کل، بنگال میں فارسی کے اثرات واضح طور پر مختلف سرکاری، تجارتی اور عدالتی کاموں میں نظر آتے ہیں، جہاں مخصوص فارسی لہجے کے الفاظ استعمال کیے جاتے ہیں، جیسے کہ:

- "اوکیل" (وکیل کے لیے)
- "بھین" (زمین کے لیے)
- "ہا بار" (بازار کے لیے)
- "کاگجات" (کاغذات کے لیے)
- "ہالش" (بکھیر کے لیے)
- "ہجور" (حضور کے لیے)
- "طرفدار" (مداح یا ماسحتی کے لیے)
- "ہامہ" (کپڑے کے لیے)

اسی طرح، کچھ فارسی کے الفاظ جو سنسکرت یا بنگالی کے الفاظ کی جگہ استعمال ہوتے ہیں، ان میں شامل ہیں:

- "شہر" (نگر کے بجائے)
- "زمین" (بھومی کے بجائے)
- "خزانہ" (ٹاکہ کے بجائے)
- وغیرہ۔

- ۱۰۔ ترجمہ و شرح غزلیات حافظ از قاضی اکرام حسین
  - ۱۱۔ ترجمہ غزلیات حافظ (کامل) از قاضی نذیر الاسلام
  - ۱۲۔ ترجمہ غزلیات حافظ از شبیدالہ
  - ۱۳۔ ترجمہ تذکرہ الاولیاء عطار از گریش چاند رسین
  - ۱۴۔ ترجمہ گلستان و بوستان سعدی از حبیب الرحمن
  - ۱۵۔ ترجمہ ریاض السلاطین از رام یرن گوپتا
  - ۱۶۔ ترجمہ ہند نامہ عطار از انیس العالم
  - ۱۷۔ ترجمہ تحفہ الموصیین رام موہن رامی از جوقی دیندانات داس
- محاکمہ:

ان تراجم کا مطالعہ یہ ظاہر کرتا ہے کہ بنگال میں مسلمان حکمرانوں کے غلبے کے دوران، بنگالی زبان پر فارسی کا گہرا اثر مرتب ہوا، اور فارسی کے کئی الفاظ بنگالی کی لہجے اور بول چال میں شامل ہو گئے۔ ایک اہم بات جو نظر انداز نہیں کی جا سکتی، وہ یہ ہے کہ اس دور میں مسلمانوں اور ہندو شاعروں و مصنفین نے بنگال میں فارسی زبان میں بہت سی کتابیں لکھیں، اور آج بھی یہ کتابیں بنگال کے مختلف اہم کتابخانوں جیسے کہ "ایشیائی سوسائٹی لائبریری"، "نیشنل لائبریری، کلکتہ"، اور "ہزار دہاری لائبریری، مرشد آباد" میں محفوظ ہیں۔

اس کتاب کے مصنف اور سال تالیف کا علم نہیں ہے۔ تاہم، یہ کتاب عبدالکریم خواندگار نے 1705 میں ترجمہ کی۔ کتاب میں پیغمبروں اور اسلامی بزرگان کی تفصیل بیان کی گئی ہے اور اس کا ایک نسخہ بنگال کی ایسٹ انڈیا کمپنی کی لائبریری میں محفوظ ہے۔ اس کتاب کا مائدہ روضہ الشہداء ہے، جو حسین واعظ کا شفی کی تالیف ہے۔ سید عبدالحمی نے اس کتاب کا اردو ترجمہ 1732 میں کیا۔

مجموعی طور پر، مغل حکمرانوں اور مسلمان شعراء و ادباء کے تعاون سے، فارسی اور اسلامی ثقافت کا اثر بنگالی ادب پر گہرائی سے ہوا، اور بنگالی ادب میں فارسی کے الفاظ اور شیوہ کو اپنانا ایک معمول بن گیا۔

بنگالی زبان میں فارسی کتابوں کے تراجم کی فہرست

- ۱۔ حاتم طائی از سید محمد حمزہ
- ۲۔ طوطی نامہ از ضیاء الدین نخعی و از پانندی ہرن منشی
- ۳۔ ترجمہ شاہنامہ در نظم از مزمل حق
- ۴۔ ترجمہ رستم و سہراب (درام) از دو بچہ رلال رای
- ۵۔ ترجمہ رباعیات عمر خیام از کانتی پاندر گبوش
- ۶۔ ترجمہ غزلیات حافظ از کانتی پاندر گبوش
- ۷۔ ترجمہ غزلیات حافظ از کیش پاندر سین
- ۸۔ ترجمہ غزلیات حافظ از ستند رنات دت
- ۹۔ ترجمہ غزلیات حافظ از کیش پاندر سین

بادشاہ نے سالوں تک اپنے بیٹے کو نہیں دیکھا۔ ایک دن اپانک وہ جنگل میں تاج  
 الملوک دیکھتا ہے اور نجومیوں کے کہنے کے مطابق، وہ اندھا ہو جاتا ہے۔ نجومی علاج کی  
 ایک تدبیر تجویز کرتے ہیں کہ جزیرہ فردوس میں ایک قصر ہے جہاں ایک پری بکاہلی رہتی  
 ہے۔ اس قصر میں ایک غرض ہے جس میں ایک غاس گل ہے اور اس گل کا عرق  
 بادشاہ کی آنکھوں کا علاج کرتا ہے۔ زمین الملوک اس گل کو جزیرے سے چرا کر لاتا ہے اور  
 بادشاہ کی بینائی واپس آ جاتی ہے۔ جب بکاہلی کو اس چوری کا علم ہوتا ہے، تو وہ زمین  
 الملوک کو تلاش کرتے ہوئے مشرق تان پہنچتی ہے اور پھر اس کے ساتھ شادی کرتی  
 ہے۔

اس کہانی میں مصنف نے سعدی اور حافظ کے اشعار کا بھی استعمال کیا ہے اور اس کی  
 حارفانہ نوعیت کو بہت خوبصورتی سے بیان کیا ہے۔ یہ کہانی ہندوستان میں بہت مشہور  
 ہے اور کئی بار بنگالی میں ترجمہ ہو چکی ہے، جن میں محمد نواز حسن مان کا ترجمہ اور محمد مستم  
 (1760) کا ترجمہ شامل ہیں۔ اردو میں منہال چند الانوری نے 1703 میں مذہب مسوق  
 کے نام سے اس کا ترجمہ کیا تھا۔

**تراجم داستان امیر حمزہ:**

داستان امیر حمزہ کے تراجم میں عبدالغنی (1684) کا ترجمہ، غریب اللہ کا ترجمہ، اور سید حمزہ  
 (1792) کا ترجمہ شامل ہیں۔

**ترجمہ کتاب وہ مجالس:**



بنگالی میں ترجمہ کیا گیا۔ نصر اللہ خان (1570-1625) اور سید نور الدین (18 ویں صدی) نے اس رسالے کا فارسی سے بنگالی میں ترجمہ کیا۔

**تراجم ہفت پیکر اور اسکندر نامہ:**

علاؤ الحق بنگالی کے سید شاعر تھے جنہوں نے فارسی آثار کو بنگالی زبان میں ترجمہ کیا۔ اس کے علاوہ، اس نے سیف الملوک اور بدائع البہال کے ساتھ ساتھ ہفت پیکر اور اسکندر نامہ (نظامی گنجوی) کو بھی بنگالی میں ترجمہ کیا۔ اس نے اسکندر نامہ کا ترجمہ دارا اور سکندر کے نام سے کیا۔ دونوں کتابیں بنگالی ادب کے انداز میں اور سنسکرت کی آمیزش کے ساتھ ترجمہ کی گئیں۔

**ترجمہ کتاب تحفہ:**

تحفہ ایک فقہ پر مبنی کتاب ہے جس کے مصنف یوسف گدا ہیں۔ یہ کتاب 1392 عیسوی میں لکھی گئی اور سید علاؤ الحق نے 1659 میں اسے بنگالی میں ترجمہ کیا۔ یہ کتاب بنگال کے مسلمانوں میں بہت مقبول ہے اور وہ فقہی مسائل میں اس کا استعمال کرتے ہیں۔

**تراجم داستان گل بیکامی:**

داستان گل بیکامی ایک مشہور ہندوستانی کہانی ہے جو 1604 عیسوی میں شیخ عزت اللہ نے فارسی میں منظوم کی۔ یہ کہانی زین الملوک، مشرقیان کے بادشاہ کی ہے۔ اس کے چار بیٹے تھے، اور جب پانچواں بیٹا پیدا ہوا، تو نوجویوں نے بادشاہ کو اس کا دیدار کرنے سے منع کر دیا اور کہا کہ اگر وہ اپنے بیٹے کو تاج الملوک دکھائے گا، تو اس کی آنکھیں پٹی جائیں گی۔

تھا۔ مظہر بادشاہوں اور سلاطین نے دونوں زبانوں کی ترویج اور تحفظ کے لیے شاعروں و ادیبوں کی سپرستی کی۔ یہی ایک اہم وجہ تھی کہ فارسی زبان اور اسلامی ثقافت کا اثر بنگالی ادب پر 14 ویں سے 18 ویں صدی تک بہت گہرا رہا۔ اس دوران سنسکرت زبان کی اہمیت کم ہوتی گئی اور فارسی اور عربی کے الفاظ نے سنسکرت کے الفاظ کی جگہ لے لی۔

### ترجمہ لیجن و مجنون از دولت بہرام خان:

بہرام خان 16 ویں صدی کے بنگالی زبان کے ممتاز ترین شاعر تھے۔ وہ فارسی زبان سے مکمل واقفیت رکھتے تھے اور 1575 عیسوی میں لیجن و مجنون کی کہانی کو بنگالی زبان میں ترجمہ کیا۔ یہ ترجمہ آزاد نوعیت کا تھا اور عوام میں بہت مقبول ہوا۔ اس کتاب کا 1957 میں احمد شریف کی تصحیح کے ساتھ ڈھاکا (موجودہ بنگلہ دیش) میں دوبارہ اشاعت ہوئی۔

### قصہ لیجن و مجنون کی نثر بنگالی میں:

شیخ فضل الکَریم (1882-1938) بنگالی کے مشہور شعراء میں سے تھے۔ انہوں نے لیجن و مجنون کی کہانی کو بنگالی نثر میں لکھا، جو بنگال میں بہت مقبول ہوئی۔ اس تحریر میں انہوں نے فارسی کے مختلف ماخذوں سے استفادہ کیا ہے۔

### کتاب سوالات موسیٰ:

سوالات موسیٰ ایک مشہور کتاب ہے جو بنگال میں بہت مقبول ہے، مگر یہ ابھی تک واضح نہیں ہو سکا کہ یہ رسالہ جو خدا اور حضرت موسیٰ کے درمیان سوالات اور مکالمات پر مشتمل ہے، کب لکھا گیا اور اس کا مصنف کون تھا؟ اس رسالے کو کئی بار فارسی سے

ابھی تک محفوظ ہیں، جن میں وہ اکبر شاہ کو طاقت اور صلاحیت میں ارجن (مہا بھارت کے ایک اہم کردار) سے تشبیہ دیتے ہیں۔

ایک اور شاعر کرشنا رام داس نے اپنی کتاب کالیکا مسجد میں اورنگزیب (ف 1607) کی مدح کی اور اسے رام (ہندوؤں کے پیغمبر) کے ساتھ موازنہ کیا۔ شاہ پور عظیم الشان (1697-1712) نے اپنے والد بہادر شاہ کے بعد بنگال کا گورنر بن کر اپنے دور میں شاعروں اور صوفیوں کی عزت افزائی کی۔ وہ ادبی محفلوں میں علماء اور فضلاء کے ساتھ شرکت کرتے اور فقہ، حدیث اور مولانا جلال الدین رومی کے اشعار پر بحث کرتے۔ شاہ پور کے بعد مرشد قلی خان (ف 1727) نے مرشد آباد کا گورنر بن کر نہ صرف مسلمانوں کی سہرستی کی بلکہ ہندوؤں کو بھی اپنے زیر نگرانی رکھا۔ ہندوؤں کو انیم ہندوؤں پر فائز کیا گیا اور مرشد قلی خان انہیں مختلف اعزازی القاب دیتا تھا جیسے دیوان، قانون گو، راہی رایان، دستہ دار، بخش، لشکر، غنشی، خان، سرکار وغیرہ۔ یہ القاب آج بھی بنگالی ہندو خاندانوں کے ناموں میں پائے جاتے ہیں۔ 18 ویں صدی میں مرشد آباد میں فارسی ادب کی بڑی فعالیت رہی اور اس دوران بہت سے ایرانی شاعروں، مصنفوں اور ادیبوں نے وہاں آکر سکونت اختیار کی۔ جیسا کہ تاریخ منصوری کے مؤلف نے کہا:

”مرشد آباد میں فضل الہی سے ایسا عسری مذاہب کا رواج ہے اور تعزیر داری کو اہم عبادت سمجھا جاتا ہے۔ کوئی بھی گھر ایسا نہیں ہے جو اس سعادت سے خالی ہو۔“

بنگالی شاعروں اور مصنفوں کی کوششوں سے فارسی زبان بنگال کے عوام کی روزمرہ زبان بن گئی تھی۔ بنگالی میں لکھنے والے شعراء و ادباء کے لیے فارسی زبان کو نظر انداز کرنا مشکل

در جان من آید خوشی  
 پریم کر خوش ہو کے  
 "یادت نمودد جان کشی  
 بھارت فقیر کھو کے"

غریب اللہ، اوائل 18 ویں صدی کا مشہور شاعر، نے جنگ نامہ امیر حمزہ اور یوسف زلیخا کی بامی کی کہانیوں کا بنگالی میں ترجمہ کیا تھا، جو عوام میں بہت مقبول ہوا۔ سید حمزہ نے جنگ نامہ امیر حمزہ کا دوسرا حصہ (1792-93) لکھا، اور شاعر عنایت نے 1793 میں اس کہانی کا تیسرا حصہ مکمل کیا۔ عنایت کا ایک اور مشہور کام قصہ حاتم علی (1804) ہے۔ مغل بادشاہوں نے بھی ادب اور ثقافت کو فروغ دینے میں اہم کردار ادا کیا، اور ان کی سرپرستی میں بنگالی ادب نے ترقی کی۔ اس دور میں فارسی کی اہمیت بڑھ گئی، اور مختلف فارسی کتابوں کا بنگالی میں ترجمہ کیا گیا۔ ان کا اثر اب بھی بنگالی ادب میں نظر آتا ہے، جہاں فارسی کے کئی الفاظ استعمال کیے جاتے ہیں، جیسے قاضی (دھرم ادیہکاری کے بجائے) (پیک) سینا کے بجائے، (شہر) نگر کے بجائے، خوانہ (ناگہ کے بجائے) وغیرہ۔ مغلیہ بادشاہوں کا رویہ ہندو مذہب کے پروکاروں کے ساتھ بھی بہت دوستانہ تھا اور شاعروں و مصنفین نے بھی اپنے زمانے کے بادشاہوں کی سرپرستی قبول کی اور ان کے مدحیہ اشعار میں شامل ہوئے۔ اس گروہ کے شاعروں اور مصنفین کے آثار میں اس بات کی جھلکیاں ملتی ہیں۔ مادھو اپاریہ کی مداح ٹکرتا مسکھلا اور اکبر شاہ کے بارے میں تحریروں

مسلمانوں دونوں کو یکساں اہمیت دی۔ یہ حکمران نہ صرف مسلمانوں بلکہ ہندوؤں کو بھی اہم سرکاری عہدوں پر فائز کرتے تھے، جس سے بنگالی ادب میں دونوں ثقافتوں کا اثر بڑھا۔

واقعہ جنگ کربلا شاعروں اور مصنفین میں بہت مشہور رہا ہے اور اسی وجہ سے شاعروں نے اس واقعے کو بار بار تحریر کیا ہے۔ سید سلطان نے 1654 میں ایک کتاب رسولی و بحاسی (پیروزی رسول) لکھی۔ اس کتاب میں اس نے ہندو خداؤں کے علاوہ اسلام کے پیغمبر کا بھی ذکر کیا ہے۔ واقعہ کربلا اور جنگ حن و حسین کی داستان محمد خان کی کتاب مشتعل حسین (1645) میں بہت مشہور ہے۔ نصر اللہ خان اور منصور کی جنگ نامہ بھی قابل ذکر ہے، جسے سلطان محمود شاہ کے حکم پر تالیف کیا گیا تھا۔

ایک اور شاعر حیات محمود نے 18 ویں صدی میں محرم پر وا (جنگ نامہ) نامی کتاب لکھی جس میں جنگ کربلا کے واقعات کو بیان کیا گیا۔ اس کے مشہور فارسی تراجم میں بہت اپڈیش (1733)، بناسج نامہ دوانی (1753)، اور امبیا دوانی (1758) شامل ہیں۔

بہارت چند رائے، 18 ویں صدی کے بنگالی شاعروں میں سب سے مشہور تھے۔ چونکہ وہ فارسی زبان میں مہارت رکھتے تھے، ان کی شاعری میں فارسی کے کئی الفاظ جیسے پور، منتیر، سلام، بالامائے، فہمت وغیرہ استعمال ہوتے ہیں۔ ان کی بعض اشعار میں ایک مصرعہ اردو میں اور دوسرا فارسی میں ہوتا تھا:

نہاید کہ گوید رو برو  
کاہے مرے رو برو کے



پانندت بنگالی زبان کے عظیم شاعروں میں سے ایک تھے، جو دسویں صدی کے آخر میں  
 بیکنورا، بنگال میں رہتے تھے۔ وہ ہندو مذہب کے پیروکار تھے اور سونیا پوران کے نام سے  
 ایک کتاب لکھی جو ہندو مت کے موضوع پر تھی۔ یہ کتاب ۵۶ ابواب پر مشتمل تھی اور  
 کلکتہ میں چھپی تھی۔

دکھپ بات یہ ہے کہ مسلمان فاتحین کے بنگال میں آنے سے پہلے، فارسی اور اسلامی  
 عناصر کا اثر غیر مسلم بنگالی تحریروں میں واضح طور پر دکھائی دیتا تھا، اور دسویں سے گیارھویں  
 صدی تک، فارسی، فارسی قدیم اور پہلوی کے کئی الفاظ بنگالی ادب میں استعمال ہو چکے  
 تھے۔ مثال کے طور پر: ہندا، جنت، محمد، پیغمبر، حوالی بی، غازی، شیخ، نور، قاضی، مولانا، فقیر  
 اور دیگر۔

### شاعران بنگالی

دولت قاضی اور علاء الحق ساتویں صدی کے مشہور بنگالی شاعروں میں شامل ہیں، جو مختلف  
 زبانوں میں ماہر تھے اور انہوں نے فارسی ادب کے اہم کاموں کو بنگالی میں ترجمہ کیا۔  
 علاء الحق، جو کہ فارسی کے ماہر تھے، سب سے پہلے سیف الملوک اور ہدایع الجہاں کو بنگالی  
 میں ترجمہ کرنے والے شاعروں میں سے تھے۔ اس کے علاوہ، نظامی گنجوی کی ہفت پیکر  
 اور اسکندر نامہ بھی علاء الحق نے بنگالی میں ترجمہ کیا۔ دوسری جانب، محمد عبدالرزاق  
 نے سیف الملوک اور لال بانو کی کہانی کو علاء الحق اور دونا غازی کے طریقے پر تحریر کیا، جبکہ  
 عبدالحکیم نے سیف الملوک کی کہانی کو لال متی کے ساتھ منسلک کیا۔ مرشد قلی خان اور  
 شاہ پور عظیم الشان جیسے حکمرانوں نے بھی بنگالی ادب کی سہرہ سستی کی اور ہندوؤں و

بنگالی زبان کے بڑے شاعروں میں سے مالا دھرواسو اور زین الدین سلطان شمس الدین یوسف شاہ (۱۳۷۴-۱۳۸۱) کے دربار سے وابستہ تھے۔ سلطان کی سرپرستی میں، انہوں نے اہم کتابیں تصنیف کیں، جیسے سری کرشن دیکھایا (کرشن کی فتح) جو مالا دھرواسو نے لکھی، اور رسول دیکھایا (پیغمبر کی فتح) جو زین الدین نے تحریر کی۔

اس کے علاوہ، اس دور میں مہاتما جی نامی کتاب بھی بنگالی زبان میں تحریر کی گئی، جس کا موضوع تاریخ اجتماعی تھا۔ یہ کتاب اس دور کی سماجی تاریخ کو بیان کرتی ہے اور بنگالی ادب میں ایک اہم مقام رکھتی ہے۔

سید سلطان علاء الدین حسین شاہ (۱۳۹۳-۱۵۱۹) عرب نژاد تھے اور انہوں نے بنگال کے ایک خاندان کی لڑکی سے شادی کی تھی۔ حسین شاہ اور ان کے بیٹے نصرت شاہ نے بنگالی زبان اور ادب کو فروغ دینے میں اہم کردار ادا کیا۔ ایک معروف شاعر دامودر سین نے کرشن منگل کے نظم پر کام کیا اور سید سلطان علاء الدین حسین شاہ سے لیوراج خان کا لقب حاصل کیا۔

ایک اور شاعر وہ پائی نے ۱۳۹۵ میں ایک کتاب منسا دیکھایا کو نظم میں ڈھالا۔ اس نظم کے آغاز میں انہوں نے اپنے آبا کا ذکر کرنے کے بعد ممدوح حسین شاہ کا نام بھی لیا۔

مسلمان حکمرانوں میں سے، بیسے (ناصر الدین ابوالخضر شاہ) ۱۵۱۹-۱۵۳۲، ان کے بیٹے (علاء الدین فیروز شاہ) ۱۵۳۲-۱۵۳۳ (اور غیاث الدین محمود شاہ) نے بھی بنگالی زبان کی حمایت کی اور دانشوروں کی قدر کی، جس کے نتیجے میں اس دور میں کئی اہم کتابیں بنگالی زبان میں ترجمہ کی گئیں۔ آج کل یہ کتابیں بھارت کی مختلف کتابخانوں میں محفوظ ہیں۔ رامائی

موجودگی کا خیر مقدم کیا۔ اس دور میں بنگالی زبان میں بہت سی کتابیں لکھی گئیں۔ بہت جلد فارسی زبان اور دین اسلام کا اثر بنگالی معاشرت اور زبان پر ظاہر ہونے لگا، یہاں تک کہ سلطان شمس الدین الیاس شاہ (۱۳۳۲-۱۳۵۲) کے دور حکومت میں بہت سے ہندو اسلام قبول کرنے لگے۔ بنگالی کے کئی دانشور اور ادیب شمس الدین الیاس شاہ کے دربار سے وابستہ تھے۔ فارسی سے بنگالی میں ترجمہ کی فہرست بہت طویل ہے، اور یہ مضمون اس کی تفصیل نہیں دے سکتا، اس لیے یہاں صرف ان کے ناموں کا ذکر کیا گیا ہے۔

سلطان غیاث الدین اعظم شاہ (۱۳۸۹-۱۴۰۹) کے دور میں فارسی زبان اپنے عروج اور کمال کو پہنچ گئی۔ سلطان نہ صرف فارسی زبان کے بڑے حامی تھے بلکہ انہوں نے خواجہ حافظ شیرازی کو بھی بنگال مدعو کیا۔ حافظ شیرازی کی موجودگی سے بنگالی معاشرت اور ادب میں فارسی کے اثرات مزید گہرے ہوئے، اور فارسی ادب کے اثرات بنگالی شاعری اور نثر میں واضح طور پر دکھائی دینے لگے۔ یہ دور بنگالی ادب کی ترقی کے لیے بہت اہم ثابت ہوا، جہاں فارسی ادب نے ایک نیا رنگ اور جہت پیدا کی۔ سلطان غیاث الدین اعظم شاہ نے نہ صرف مکہ و مدینہ کے شہر کی تعمیرات کے لیے انراجات کا ایک حصہ بھیجا بلکہ زبان بنگالی کی حمایت بھی کی۔ اس کے علاوہ، وہ زبان مامی تیلی کو فروغ دینے کے لیے بھی بہت ساری کوششوں میں مصروف رہے۔ دربار میں ایک شاعر، ویدیا پاتی،

بھی رہتے تھے۔ بنگالی کے مشہور شاعر کرتی واس سلطان جلال الدین محمد شاہ (۱۴۱۶-۱۴۳۰) کے عہد میں زندہ تھے۔ انہوں نے کتاب رامائن کو سنسکرت سے بنگالی زبان میں ترجمہ کیا، جس کے باعث وہ سلطان کی خصوصی معایقوں کے مستحق قرار پائے۔ اسی طرح،

زبان بھی ہے۔ مسلمانوں کا بنگال میں آنا بارہویں صدی عیسوی کے آخر میں اس خطے اور بنگالی زبان کے لیے ایک نیا دور لے کر آیا۔ 1203 عیسوی میں ہندوؤں کی حکمرانی (لکشمین سینا) زوال پذیر ہوئی اور مسلمان فاتحین نے مشرقی ہندوستان کے اس حصے میں اپنی حکمرانی کا آغاز کیا۔ اختیار الدین محمد بختیار خلجی (جو 1206 عیسوی میں وفات پا گئے) محمد غوری کے ایک اہم سپہ سالار تھے۔ انہوں نے 1203 عیسوی میں لکشمین سینا کی حکومت کو شکست دی۔ یہ شکست ہندو حکمرانی کے خاتمے اور مسلمان حکمرانی کی فتح کا اعلان تھا۔

مسلمان حکمران (اختیار الدین محمد بختیار خلجی) جو اس سرزمین پر آئے، اسلام ترک نہ کرتے تھے۔ ان کی سرکاری اور سیاسی زبان فارسی تھی، اور عربی کو مذہبی زبان کے طور پر اپنے تعلقات میں استعمال کیا جاتا تھا۔ اسی دوران دو بنگالی زبان کی بھی حمایت کرتے تھے۔ اس وقت کے بنگال کے حکمران سنسکرت زبان کے حامی تھے، اور بنگالی زبان محامی گھنگو کی زبان تھی۔ لیکن جب مسلمان فاتحین نے اس علاقے پر تسلط جمایا، تو سنسکرت زبان زوال پذیر ہو گئی۔ شاید اسی وجہ سے فارسی زبان نے بنگالی زبان پر گہرا اثر ڈالا۔ دین اسلام کا اثر بھی تمام پہلوؤں میں معاشرت پر پڑا۔

بارہویں صدی عیسوی کے اختتام تک بنگالی زبان ابتدائی دور میں تھی اور ابھی تک معاشرت میں پوری طرح مستحکم نہیں ہوئی تھی۔ اسی لیے فارسی زبان کا بنگالی زبان کے ساتھ امتزاج نے اس زبان کو ایک نیا رنگ اور حُسن دیا۔ مسلمان بادشاہوں نے نہ صرف بنگالی زبان کی بلکہ اس کے شعرا اور ادیبوں کی بھی حمایت کی اور اپنے دربار میں ان کی

میلے کی تحریروں میں فارسی، قدیم فارسی اور پہلوی زبان کے کئی الفاظ دیکھے جاسکتے ہیں۔ مثال کے طور پر، الفاظ جیسے خدا، جنت، محمد، پیغمبر، قاضی، مولانا، فقیر، پوست، موپک (کھٹش دوز)، سکہ وغیرہ۔ یہ بھی قابل ذکر ہے کہ مسلم حکمرانوں نے بنگالی زبان کے شعرا، ادبا اور دانشوروں کی بھی حوصلہ افزائی کی، یہاں تک کہ اسی دور میں فارسی کے مشہور آثار سے متاثر ہو کر بنگالی میں بہت سی کتابیں لکھی گئیں، جیسے: "لیلی و مجنون" دولت وزیر بہرام سے، "مقتول حسین" محمد خان سے، "رستم و شہر باب" "عامر طائی"، "قصہ یوسف و زلیخا" وغیرہ۔<sup>2</sup>

اس مقالے کا مقصد یہ دکھانا ہے کہ بنگال میں مسلم حکمرانوں کے تسلط کے دوران، بنگالی زبان پر فارسی کا اثر بڑا اور فارسی کے کئی الفاظ بنگالی کے لہجے اور بول چال میں شامل ہو گئے۔ آج بھی بنگال کے علاقے اور بنگالی زبان میں فارسی کے اثرات مختلف سرکاری، تجارتی، عدالتی اور دیگر کاموں میں واضح ہیں۔ کچھ فارسی الفاظ جو سنسکرت اور بنگالی کے الفاظ کی جگہ استعمال ہوتے ہیں، ان میں شامل ہیں: شہر (نگر کے بجائے)، زمین (بھومی کے بجائے)، خزانہ (ناکہ کے بجائے) وغیرہ۔

کلیدی الفاظ: زبان بنگالی، زبان فارسی، ایالت بنگال ہندوستان، فارسی کے الفاظ۔  
 بنگالی زبان ایک آریائی زبان ہے جو نویں صدی عیسوی سے ہندوستان میں رائج ہے اور آج کل یہ صرف بنگال کے مغربی ریاست (مشرقی ہندوستان) میں مقامی زبان کے طور پر جانی جاتی ہے۔ تصوری تبدیلیوں کے ساتھ یہ "بنگلا" کے نام سے بنگلہ دیش کی سرکاری



## بنگالی زبان و ادب پر فارسی کا اثر

ڈاکٹر محمود عالم \*

ملخص:

زبان بنگالی ایک آریائی زبان ہے جو نویں صدی عیسوی سے ہندوستان میں رائج تھی اور آج کل اسے صرف بنگال غربی (مشرقی ہندوستان کا حصہ) میں مقامی زبان کے طور پر استعمال کیا جاتا ہے۔ کچھ تبدیلیوں کے ساتھ یہ زبان بنگلا کے نام سے بنگلادیش کی سرکاری زبان بھی ہے (یاد رہے کہ بنگلادیش، ہندوستان کی تقسیم سے پہلے ہندوستان کا حصہ تھا)۔ بارہویں صدی عیسوی کے آخر میں مسلمانوں کا بنگال میں ورود اس خطے اور بنگالی زبان کے لیے ایک نیا دور لے کر آیا۔ اس وقت بنگال کے حکمران سنسکرت زبان کے حامی تھے اور بنگالی زبان عوام کی بول چال کی زبان تھی۔ تاہم، مسلم فاتحین کے اس علاقے پر تسلط کے بعد سنسکرت زبان زوال پذیر ہوئی۔ مسلم حکمران (جیسے کہ اختیار الدین محمد بختیار خلجی) جو ترک النسل تھے، ان کی سرکاری اور سیاسی زبان فارسی تھی، اور عربی کو مذہبی معاملات میں استعمال کیا جاتا تھا، جبکہ وہ بنگالی زبان کی حمایت بھی کرتے تھے۔ یہی وجہ ہو سکتی ہے کہ فارسی زبان کا بنگالی زبان پر گہرا اثر پڑا۔ یہ بات قابل ذکر ہے کہ مسلمان فاتحین کے بنگال میں آنے سے پہلے ہی اس علاقے کی غیر مسلم تحریروں میں فارسی اور اسلامی عناصر کا اثر واضح طور پر نظر آتا تھا اور بارہویں صدی سے

\* اسٹنٹ پروفیسر فارسی، حیدرآباد یونیورسٹی

اردو سیکشن

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منصور علاج پیر فرماوان :

”حقیقی محبت یہ ہے کہ تو اپنے تمام اوصاف کو بالائے طاق رکھ کر اپنے محبوب کے ساتھ قائم رہے۔“ (رسالہ فقیر: ۵۹۷-۵۹۸)

یہ ساتھ قفل گا بس اندر پیر و اتان، اکہ درویش چھکے پر رُحان ز عشق کیا گوو؟ در جواب شخص پور دیاں:

”۔۔۔ آج، گل اور برسوں میں تجھ کو معلوم ہو جائے گا چنانچہ اسی دن آپ کو بھانسی دی گئی۔ اگلے دن آپ کی نعش کو بلایا گیا اور عیسے دن خاک ہوا میں اڑادی گئی۔ گویا آپ کے قول کے مطابق عشق کا صحیح مفہوم یہ تھا۔“

(تذکرۃ الاولیاء: ۲۵۸)

یہ واقعہ ”مرآۃ الاسرار“ کتا یہ اندر درج ہے۔

یتیم یتیم تصوف پیر کتہ سپہ یتیم یتیم منصور علاج سید ”انا الحق“ نعرہ ذکر۔ منصور پیر تصوف اکہ ازہبن حصہ بنتہ گوشت۔

حوالہ:

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تصوف منہ آئیہ اکلہ واضح تبدیلی ز ذات حق سندس وجودس متعلق آو واریاہ سرینہ سوچینہ  
 - تصوفکس ادبی سرمائیس منہ آئیہ واریاہ کتابیہ لیکھنہ - بمن منہ اللہ تعالیٰ سندس وجودس متعلق  
 آو لیکھنہ - یہ اوس نہ دور تہ منہ وحدت الوجود کی نمایاں اثرات بیان تہ شکلیہ منہ عام لاکن  
 تام و اتیز اوس بیتی تہ - تہ متعلق تہ امام تصوف ، بیان وحدت الوجود یعنی جناب شیخ اکبر محی  
 الدین ابن عربی وضاحت سان بکتابیہ تحریر کر - اکلہ فصوص الحکم تہ بیاکہ فتوحات مکیہ -

صہین بن منصور ملاج سند اثر گویات پاد تصوفس منہ ر خواجہ فرید الدین عطار تہ چچ  
 امن بند شیدائی بنان - مولانا رومی پنہ پنہ مشہور زمان مثنوی معنوی منہ پد لولہ سان امن بند  
 ذکر گوشت تہ امی سندین خیالاتن بند اثر پنہ بحر پور نظر گرہ خان - روز بہاں نقلی (م - ۶۰۶ھ) پنہ  
 شہدہ صدی ہجری بند اکلہ صوفی گزشتہ یو طواسین کتابیہ بند فارسی شرح پنہ لیکھت -

لولی ماسنیون (۱۸۸۳ - ۱۹۶۲ء) پنہ ۱۹۲۳ء اندر منصور ملاجس متعلق تحقیق کرتہ  
 ڈاکٹریٹ ڈگری ماصل کرتہ "کتاب طواسین" منظر حامس پیٹھ آنان - مغربس منہ چچ  
 ماسنیون منصور ملاجس پیٹھ Authority مانہ یوان - امیہ سند ہر گئیہ مغربس اندر منصور ملاج  
 مشہور - میک یہ نتیجہ دزاوہر منصورس متعلق آو واریاہ کینہہ لیکھنہ - ادبی دنیا بس منہ اوس یہ  
 منصور پندن خیالمن متعلق اکلہ اہم انکشاف - ایس علمیہ کین خزانن اندر پوشید اوس - پیٹھ تہ  
 زن منصور ملاج سند ناو پنہ ادبی دنیا بس منہ بہنہ یوان عیلہ پنہ اسہ ماسنیون سند ذکر میلان - گوکہ  
 یہ چچ یانہ وائی لازمہ ملزوم بنیا ہتی -

منصور ملاج سدی کینہہ قول

عشق و محبت



مے اُس مولوم حقیقت

(کلیات شیخ العالم: شرک نمبر ۱۸۰، صفحہ نمبر ۷۸)

حضرت عبداللہ خفیف چچ حسین بن منصور متعلق فرماوان:

”ہو عالم ربانی“ (کشف المحجوب: ۳۶۱) ترجمہ: (سہ رُخ عالم ربانی)۔

(بیتہ فرماؤںس پیٹھ چچ عبداللہ خفیف و فکرم ظالم قَاد کر تھ بے حد تکلیف و اتنا وان۔۔۔ مہ ستر تم اُخر

کار قَاد نا لے منور و اصل بحق سپدان چچ۔)

پانچ چچ منصور علاج طواسین کتا یہ بندس ترسب باس (طاسین السفا) منور لبکھان:

”حضرت موسیٰ علیہ السلام نے جو کچھ سنا وہ کوہ طور پر درخت سے نہیں سنا اور نہ اس

درخت کے قرب و جوار سے سنا ہے۔ بلکہ حق تعالیٰ سے سنا ہے۔

میری مثال اس درخت جیسی ہے یہ اس کا کلام ہے۔ گویا میرا کلام نہیں ہے۔“

(طواسین: ۱۰۲-۱۰۳)

خواجہ فرید الدین عطار رُخ تذکرۃ الاولیاء کتا یہ منور لبکھان:

”مجھے تو اس بات پر حیرت ہوتی ہے کہ لوگ درخت سے اِنی انا اللہ کی صدا کو تو جائز قرار

دیتے ہیں اور اگر یہی جملہ آپ (منصور علاج) کی زبان سے نکل گیا تو خلاف شرع بتاتے

ہیں۔“

(تذکرۃ الاولیاء: ۲۵۳)

کیا اثرات یہ اُمیک تصوفس پیٹھ؟

”اُن میں غیر اللہ کے ذکر کی گنجائش نہیں رہتی، اور نہ اپنے ذکر کی۔ ان کے نزدیک سوائے اللہ کے اور کوئی نہیں رہتا۔ ان کو اتنا نشہ ہوتا ہے کہ ان کی عقلیں اس سے دور رہ جاتی ہیں۔ بھران میں سے بعض نے یہ کہہ دیا کہ انا الحق میں ندا ہوں، اور ایک نے کہا سبحانی ما اعظم شانی میں پاک ہوں میری کیا ہی شان ہے۔، ایک نے کہا مافی الجبۃ اللہ میرے جبہ میں اللہ کے سوا اور کچھ نہیں۔“

(مشکوٰۃ الانوار: ۱۵)

اکھ مشہور قول پھر شیخ ابو بکر شبلی سند منصور ملا جس متعلق اُس شیخ علی بن عثمان الجہیری ”کشف المحجوب“، شیخ فرید الدین عطار ”مذکرۃ الاولیاء“، عبدالرحمن جامی ”انفحات الانس“ یہ عبدالرحمن چشتی ”مرآۃ الاسرار“ کتابین مندرج تھے:

”انا والحلاج فی شئی واحد فخلصنی جنونی واحکمک عقلہ“

ترجمہ: میں اور حلاج ایک جیسے ہیں لیکن مجھے میرے جنون نے بچالیا اور اس کو اس کے عقل نے ہلاک کر دیا۔ (کشف المحجوب: ۴۶۱)

شیخ العالم یہ پھر منصور ملا جس متعلق پلینین خیالمن ہنزہا و تھیتہ پائٹھو کران:

گم ہو دو دیر مے یہ منصور

تس یہ مے اس گم کئی کھتہ

تس زول نہر تھہ ان منصور

شاہاش کر نس تجھے رحمتہ

یہ اوس واقف تہندس سپرس

مالانکہ شطیحات بند شرح اُسی مکر و تکی صوفی کتابن اندر لیکھن سوتی سوتی بہن محفلن اندر تمن  
بہر وضاحت یہ کران۔ بمن سرکرد صوفین اندر اُسی خاص کر بنید بغدادی، شیخ ابونصر سراج،  
شیخ علی بن عثمان الجوزی شامل۔

”انا الحق“ قولس متعلق عام لوکن یہ ظاہر بہت طمان ہنڈراے

عام لوکن گوویہ یقین ز منصور ملاہن کور ندا آسک دعوا۔ ظاہر بہت عالمو دس کافر  
آسک فتوا۔ مینک نتیجہ یہ درازہ آخر کار آہ عین بن منصور ہامہ شہید کس درجس وائہ ناوہ۔ یہ  
لوکہ معرفت یہ حقیقت نشہ بے بدل اُسی تو سمجھ ز منصور سند عقیدہ پچہ نصرانہن ہند ہیو یعنی ندا  
آو حضرت عیسیٰ سندس جسمس اندر یا ہتہ پاشو ہند متس منڈرام یہ کرشن بھگوان سند اوٹار مانہ پچہ  
ہوان۔

”انا الحق“ قولس متعلق مختلف صوفین ہنڈراے

مولانا رومی سند قول پچہ:

”منصور کا دعویٰ انا الحق اپنی خودی کی ختم کرتا ہے۔ وہ اپنی ہستی کو فنا کرنا ثابت کرتا ہے  
اس کا مفہوم یہ ہوتا ہے کہ میں تو ہوں ہی نہیں سب کچھ اسی کی ذات ہے۔“

(ملفوظات مولانا روم: ۱۲۹)

امام غزالی پچہ ”مشکوٰۃ الانوار“ کتاب یہ منز ومان زینید مارفان ندا حقیتک سفر پچہ کران  
۔ تمن پچہ سواے اکہ ذاتہ وغار کینہہ یہ یوزنہ یوان یہ کثر ز ہند خیال پچہ ذلیل سپدان یہ محض  
فردیتس منز پچہ فرق سپدان۔ پتہ پچہ امام غزالی ومان:

الاول، کتاب الوجود مافی بہ کتاب جو جو رشتہ رشتہ واضح۔ نکلیا ز غالب گمان مجھ سپدان بر زمین  
کتابین ہند مولہ موضوع آسہا وجود حقیقی۔ ہد قسمتی کنز پختہ یہ موجود۔  
کتاب طواسین علاوہ ساسہ ہندی اقوال آسوفین معتبر کتابین ہنر نہنت بنیا ہستی۔ ہو منزل  
کینہہ کتابیہ مجھے رسالہ القشیرہ، طبقات الصوفیہ، کشف المحجوب، تذکرۃ الاولیاء، نفحات انس  
بیتر۔

### علاج سند نعرہ انا الحق

انا الحق نعرہ مجھ کتاب طواسین کس شمس بالہس (طاسین الازل والالباس) منزل  
درج:

”۔۔۔۔۔ اور میں حق ہوں (انا الحق) کیونکہ میں ہمیشہ فی الواقع حق کے ساتھ رہا ہوں۔“

(طواسین: ۱۲۸)

انا الحق مجھ شطیحات تو منہ اکھ شطیحات مانہ لہ ان۔

صوفین اندر کیا ریچہ کلہ شطیحات زخم لبان؟

شطیحات مجھ شطیحات جمع۔ ہنیک معنی مجھ میں و عجیب و غریب کتھی و س  
مالہ و بدس منزل صوفین بندہ وہا نہ نہ۔ کینہہ مشہور شطیحات مجھ ”بحان ما اعظم شافی“،  
مافی الجبۃ الا اللہ“ تہ ”انا الحق“ بیتر۔ ہند صوفی پٹن پان فنا کران مجھ یعنی فنا فی اللہ سپدان  
مجھ (نہ مالہ سکر تہ مجھ و مان) ذات حق سندس شانس منزل۔ نہ مجھ پندہ پانہ نشہ فنا سپدان۔  
اتھ مالہس منزلی و س کتھ تہند زبونی و مجھے اکثر مشکل آسہم مہ و کچہ عام لوکن بندہ بابت  
فہنک ہایت بختہ ہرکان۔ ”انا الحق“ ہر گیمہ واریاد لکھ حسین بن منصور ملاجس خلافت۔

كتاب شخص الظلمات (۱۸) كتاب الصدق والاغلاص (۱۹) كتاب الصلوة والصلوات (۲۰)  
 كتاب الصيغون (۲۱) كتاب طاسين الازل والخواهر الاكبر والشجرة الزيتونية النورية (۲۲) كتاب  
 ظل المدود والماء المسكوب والحياة الباقية (۲۳) كتاب العدل والتوحيد (۲۴) كتاب علم البقاء  
 والفناء (۲۵) كتاب الغريب الفصح (۲۶) كتاب في ان الذي فرض عليك القرآن لراوذك  
 الى معاد (۲۷) كتاب قرآن قرآن والفرقان (۲۸) كتاب القيامة والقيامات (۲۹) كتاب  
 البحر والعظيمة (۳۰) كتاب كبريت الاحمر (۳۱) كتاب كيد الشيطان وامر السلطان (۳۲) كتاب  
 كيف كان وكيف يكون (۳۳) كتاب كيفية بالمجاز (۳۴) كتاب الكيفية والحقيقة (۳۵) كتاب  
 لا كيف (۳۶) كتاب المتجليات (۳۷) كتاب مدح النبي والمثل الاعلى (۳۸) كتاب  
 موايد العارفين (۳۹) كتاب والنجم اذا طوى (۴۰) كتاب نور النور (۴۱) كتاب الوجود الاول (۴۲)  
 كتاب الوجود الثاني (۴۳) كتاب جو جو (۴۴) كتاب الحياكل والعالم والعالم (۴۵) كتاب المخطط  
 وبدو الحق (۴۶) كتاب اليقين -

”كتاب الامثال والابواب“ بغار نغمہ بیکہ دینہ آمتین ۲۵ بن تصنیف بنہ فہرستہ  
 دیوان الحلاج (عربی) کتاب اندر محمد باسل عیون السودن نقل کورمت۔ یمیک جوالہ مو کتاب  
 الفہرست (ازندیم) یہ کتاب سیر اعلام النبلاء (امام ذہبی) ذہبت پتہ۔

منصور طلاج ہنز ساروے کھو تہ مشہور کتاب مجھے ”کتاب طواسین“۔ یہ آیر  
 فرانسسی مستشرق لونی ماسنیوں (۱۸۸۳-۱۹۶۲) سندھ ذکر و تہ صدی ہندس ابتدائی دہس  
 منظر منظر عامس پیٹہ ذباہ۔ اتہ منظرہ منظر سند مشہور نعرہ اما الحق یہ موجود۔ منصور سند کیا نظریہ  
 آسے وجود تحقیق متعلق نہ گوجے کتاب التوحید، کتاب علم البقاء والصفاء، کتاب الوجود

خلیفہ سند علم پنچہ یوان زیر سرگرمیہ قلم کرینہ بن۔ بقول عطارد بن محمد کاہنہ جنگ تان اوس انا الحق  
نہرچ آواز دوان۔ دومیہ دود آو فتنہ کہ خوفہ موجب تمام تان نارس منزالہ نہ تہ آخر کار آو  
پچامت سور جمع کر تہ دریایہ و مجلس اندر تراونہ۔

منصور علاج بہنہ کتاہ:

حسین بن منصور علاج پنچہ سائب تصنیف شخصیت رودہ بن۔ امر سنن کتابن  
بہند تعداد پنچہ پنزہن آس پاس۔ یہہ از کل اکثر ناہود ہجھہ۔ یہہ کہ زن پانزومہ صدی ہجری تام  
سارے موجود ہجھہ آہرہ۔ شیخ علی بن عثمان ہجھہ دی ہجھہ ومان:

”ہیں علی بن عثمان الجلابی نے ان (منصور علاج) کی پچاس کتب بغداد اور اس کے نواح  
میں اور بعض خوزستان، فارس اور خراسان میں دیکھی ہیں۔“

(کشف المحجوب: ۴۶۱)

طواسین کس اردو ترجمہ واجتہ کتاہ اندر پنچہ عتیق الرحمن عثمانی، حسین بن منصور علاج سنن ۴۶  
شیخاہن کتابن بہند فہرست تہہ پانچہ دوان:

۱۔ کتاب الابد والماہود (۲) کتاب الاحرف المحمدہ والالازیہ والاسماء النکیہ (۳) کتاب الاسول  
والفروع (۴) کتاب الامثال والابواب (۵) کتاب تفسیر قل حوالہ اند (۶)

کتاب توحید (۷) کتاب محل النور والحوائج والارواح (۸) کتاب خزائن الخیرات (۹)  
کتاب نطق غلابق القرآن والاعتبار (۱۰) کتاب نطق الانسان والبیان (۱۱) کتاب الدرر الی

نصر القشوری (۱۲) کتاب الذاریات ذروا (۱۳) کتاب سر العالم والمبعوث (۱۴) کتاب المسوی  
وجوابہ (۱۵) کتاب السیاسہ الی الحسین بن حمدان (۱۶) کتاب السیاسہ والخفاء والامراء (۱۷)



ختم سید خجہ آورند ہودہ کچھ بیٹن کوئی پانی اُس عین بن منصور ملاجن کتاب طواسین کس  
طواسین الازل والالقباس اندر گری پرہ، یوس یخہ پامٹھو اُس:

”وَالْقِلْبُ أَوْصَلَكَ أَبَدًا فِي فِرْعَوْنِي، نَارِ تَعْتِ عَن ذَمَامِي“

(طواسین: ۵۱)

ترجمہ: اور اگر مجھے قتل کرس یا سولی پر لٹکائیں یا میرے ہاتھ پاؤں کاٹ ڈالے جائیں۔

جب بھی میں اپنے دھوے سے باز نہیں آؤں گا۔

(طواسین: ۱۲۸)

ہودہ اول ۲۴ ذیقعد ۳۰۹ ہجری مطابق ۲ مارچ ۹۲۲ عیسوی سلطان العقیق، صاحب  
قول اما الحق، راء ملوک شہسوار تہ تصوفک لال زار جناب عین بن منصور ملاج آیہ دارس  
لدنہ یس تموا سونہ ہونچہ قبول کرتہ وصل حق پروو۔ آخری وفک ذکر چھ مراد اسرار کنایہ منزجہ  
پامٹھو درج کران زیریلو تمہ قتل کا ہس منز اسنہ آیہ، انس دوران اُس قمن بیٹھ کنہ قدس  
سیدان۔ گوڈ آیہ اتھم ہدا کرنہ، پتہ آیہ کھوڑ جسمہ نش الگ کرنہ۔ اتھم تہ کھوڑ جسمہ نشم ہدا سیدجہ  
مولن خون نہیں روئیں۔ لوگو پر شکستہ نہ کیا زکورو؟ در جواب چچہ ومان:

”جسم سے بہت خون بہہ چکا ہے جس سے میرا رنگ زرد ہو گیا ہو گا خون اس لیے چہرے

پر ملا ہے کہ تم لوگ یہ خیال نہ کرو کہ میرا چہرہ ڈرکی وجہ سے زرد ہو گیا ہے۔“

(مراد الاسرار: ۳۸۳)

منصور علاج سندی موکد بہ شیدائی آری دود کھوتہ دود نہران ، امیر سنی حکومتیں منظر انتشار  
 پاؤ سپہ زامہ غلاف گرہ چہ کاٹہ بغاوت برپا سپہی۔ امیر موجب اس آہیں اُکے باہر روہنس  
 منظر سرکاری اہل کار دشواری پاؤ کران۔ امیر پتہ چھ منصور مختلف اسلامی ملکن سان ہندوستان  
 کن سفر کران۔ یہ منظر ملتان پہ و تہ کئی کثیر تام تہ واکان بچہ۔ اتہ پیٹھ بچہ دوار پینک سفر  
 کران۔

بغداد منظر واپس یہ اس شہر ہامہ عروض و اثر ہ۔ یہ نہ اثر و رسوخ اس اوتام  
 وسعت الہم۔ حامد بن عباس اس امیر وقتک وزیر اعظم۔ امیر ذیت امیر وقتہ درباری عاملین  
 حکم ز منصور علاج گرہ قتل کرنہ بن۔ نکلیا ز امی سندی سنی حکومتیں سلیمانہ خطہ۔  
 ۲۹۷ ہجری منظر آیہ گ و نہ لہ ابن اسفہانی الظاہری سندس فتوحات میں پینٹہ گرفتار  
 کرنہ۔ اکھ وری گرہ چہ جیلہ منظر فرار تہ علاقہ سوسنس اندر دود خفیہ یا مٹھی زندگی بسر کران۔ میک  
 نتیجہ یہ دزاو ز حکومتیں ملحق منظر گوو زیادے تشویش پاؤ تہ منصور علاج سندس بدخواہین  
 آوریادے موقع من غلاف عام لاکن کن برنس۔

۳۰۱ ہجری منظر آیہ عباس ناواکس منظر سندی ڈی ذباہ گرفتار کرناونہ۔ اٹمن ورن  
 سندس مسلسل قائد تھاوتہ آو ۳۰۷ ہجری منظر حامد بن عباس سندس وٹس پینٹہ ذباہ مقدمہ  
 پلاونہ۔ ۳۰۸ ہجری منظر آیہ باقائیدگی سان کاروائی کرنہ۔ یہ منظر من غلاف ملحد تہ دہریہ آسنس  
 پینٹہ شہادت طلب آیہ کرنہ۔ وقتک وزیر اعظم بچہ تقریباً ۸۴ شہادت جمع کران۔ من منظر اکثریت  
 علماء ظاہرین ہنز اس۔ عام لاکن سان آری خبابہ مسلکی اتہ فاسلس غلاف ز منصور علاج  
 گرہ چہ قتل کرنہ بن۔ میک انجام یہ دزاو ز اکثر خبابہ آیہ شہید کرنہ۔ آخر کار اگس ورنس محاکمہ

ترومت - یاس کاظم واریا بن دو بن یتہ پور گڑھے نہ سو آس حسین بن منصور کم قلیل  
 و قس اندر انجام دیزہر - یہ قصہ مشہور سپہنہ ستر پچہ اُمس طاج ناویوان - طاج گوو نہ لیس  
 محب دو مان آسہ - حسین بن منصور سندس بچپن ہے منز گور اُمی شندی ماکر طلب معاش ناظر  
 فارس تر اوتھ واسطہ شہر منہ زندگی گزر بسر - آتہ پچہ عین بن منصور مدرسہ دارالحفاظس اندر شہرہ  
 وری وائسہ منز قرآن مجید ماکظ کران - اردہ وری وائسہ اندر گئیہ اُمہ و قس مشہور صوفی سہل بن  
 عبداللہ تسری سندس خدمتس منز، یہ حسین بن منصور ہندی گوڈنیک راہ سلو گلی مرشد نیسے - آتہ  
 کینہہ وقت گزرتھ پچہ یہ مرشدس بلا اجازت نیرتھ بصرہ وائان - یتہ پچہ من بصری سندس مدرس  
 منز بحیثیت طالب علم شامل پچہ سپدان - دینی تعلیم حاصل کرتھ کورکھ بصرہ بیٹھ بغداد کن رخت  
 سفر - بغدادس منز پچہ عمرو بن عثمان مکی سندس دربارس اندر تحقیق پچہ اسرارن واقفہ کاربنان -  
 بغدادس منز روزتھ پچہ یعقوب قطع بصری ہنز دو ختر ستر نکاح کران، یتھ نہ حضرت عمرو  
 بن عثمان مکی راضی آسان پچہ - عمرو بن عثمان ستر ناراضگی سبب پچہ نہ حضرت بنید بغدادی  
 سندس خلقے ارادتس منز باسے رھارن - یتہ اُمس راہ سلو کچ تعلیم دس ستر ستر خلوت نشینی  
 بند علم نہ سپد - کینہہ وق گزرتھ پچہ ۲۶ شتوہ وری وائسہ ۲۷۰ اندر گھڈنیکہ حجہ ہایتھ مکہ مکرمہ  
 نیران - آتہ روڈ گوالے "تذکرۃ الایاء" اگس وریس یتہ اردو ترجمہ "کتاب طواسین" مطابق  
 دون ترین وریں، مکہ معظمی مجاور - مکہ شریف بیٹھ پچہ صوفین ہنز ہڈ ہار جاتھ ہمراہ بیٹھ واپس  
 بغداد وائان - بیٹھ بنید بغدادی سندس دروازس بیٹھ وائی، محکمہ محکمہ کرنہ پتہ گواندہ آلو کس پچہ  
 پور دو یکھ حق بخش - در جواب خمس بنید بغدادی فرماوان ز تو ہی پچہ حق بلکہ پچہ با حق -

## منصور علاج تہ نعرہ انا الحق

ناصر احمد گمار \*

تمنّی:

منصور علاج تہ تصوّف کس مادّائیں منزّہ اہم شخصیت، یو پنیہ نعرے " انا الحق " تہ نہ صرف تصوّف تہ لوے کھوے تھاؤن وائی پائیں کن متوجہ کرے بلکہ بھکے ویکھن بدن سیاست دان ہند ظون تہ پائیں کن - عشق الایں اندر غرق سپتہ گئے مجذوب کس عالس منز داغل، تہ منز سالک پان وود مشرتہ وود بارپس اندر کم تہ سپدان - تصوّفی مقام سکر چہ ومان - تہ مقالس اندر پنیہ منصور سترنگی تہ ٹو سندس بنس تہ گودنس متعلق تحقیقی منظر نامہ پیش کرے -

کلیدی الفاظ: منصور علاج، انا الحق، عشق الایں، مجذوب، سکر

منصور علاج سند اصل ناو تہ حسین بن منصور تہ کلیت پخص ابوالغیث - یہ زائے ۸۴۴ھ مطابق 857 عیسوی فارسہ کس بیضاء علاقہ منز، لیس وونی کبن شہر ابرج راج دائی تہ تہ - مائیں اوس ناو منصور - ونہ تہ یوان ز علاج پتہ ائیں امیہ موجب ناو اکہ وود اوس یہ یاہ سندس پخص دکانس پٹہ - یاہن وونس ز تہ دون مائیں یہ محمب یہ یے یوہ - کیہنہ وقت گرد تہ تہ اوہ یہ شخص یوان نہ تہ حیران سپدان ز سالم محمب تہ حسین بن منصوران دو تہ

\* ریسرچ مکالہ کشمیری، کشمیر یونیورسٹی

- 4۔ ابو نعیم، مرتب و مترجمہ کلام شیخ العالم، شیخ محمد عثمان اینڈ سنز، سرینگر، 2006، ص 466
- 5۔ ایضاً، ص 468
- 6۔ ایضاً، ص 462
- 7۔ عابدی کشمیری، شیخ العالم حیات اور شاعری، ادارہ ادب، شالیمار، 1997، ص 65
- 8۔ ناجی منور، (مرتب)، کلیات شیخ العالم، علی محمد اینڈ سنز، سرینگر، 2020، ص 34
- 9۔ ابو نعیم، مرتب و مترجمہ کلام شیخ العالم، شیخ محمد عثمان اینڈ سنز، سرینگر، 2006، ص 278
- 10۔ ایضاً، ص 239
- 11۔ غلام نبی گوہر، صحیفہ نور، گلشن پبلیکیشنز، سرینگر، 1997، ص 328
- 12۔ ابو نعیم، مرتب و مترجمہ کلام شیخ العالم، شیخ محمد عثمان اینڈ سنز، سرینگر، 2006، ص 138
- 13۔ ایضاً، ص 92
- 14۔ ایضاً،
- 15۔ ایضاً، ص 446
- 16۔ پروفیسر غلام محمد شاد (مرتب)، کلام شیخ العالم، علی محمد اینڈ سنز، سرینگر، 2017، ص 186
- 17۔ بشر بشیر، بمن پدن سے وزیر ارگوڑھے، حبیب پبلیکیشنز، رشی ڈور پیرود، 2008، ص 143
- 18۔ موتی لال ساقی (مرتب)، کلیات شیخ العالم، ہموں اینڈ کشمیر اکیڈمی آف آرٹ کلچر اینڈ لینگویج، سرینگر، 2009، ص 68
- 19۔ پروفیسر غلام محمد شاد (مرتب)، کلام شیخ العالم، علی محمد اینڈ سنز، سرینگر، 2017، ص 337

مآصل یوتاہ جہند فائدہ تہ ضرور ناظر پنہ تہ اگر اسی تمہ کھوتہ زیادہج خواہش کرو سہ پنہ سانہ بلتہ نقصان دینہ۔

شیخ العالم پنہ اسہ پنہ کلام دسی اکہ توحہ فکر نش روشناس کران پنہ اُزی کس دورس منز تہ واریاہ اہمیت چھتہ۔ اسہ فہمہ ہنہ کنہ شیخ العالم پنہ فرقہ وارانہ ہم آہنگی، رواداری تہ باہمی احترام تعلیم دوان پنہج ضرورت موجود دورس منز سانہ سماج ناظر واریاہ ضروری چھتہ۔ شیخ ہنز شاعری منز طبقاتی امتیاز تہ وقع بے قدری غلاف پنہ اکہ موثر پیغام میلان یس اُزی کین معاشرتی مسائل ہنز واریاہ سون تعلق پنہ تھاوان۔ سہ پنہ اسہ اندرونی پاگی، نفسک قابو، اخلاقی صحت تہ جسمانی صحت کہ خیالک احساس کرناوان یس انسان ہنہ روحانی تعمیر تہ شخصیت کہ بہتری ناظر بنیادی کردار ادا کران پنہ۔ تسند کلامک یہ پیغام پنہ وقنس ہنز زیاد اہم بنان نکلیارسانی معاشرتی مسائل تہ تیز رفتار زندگی ہنز ترقی نیواسہ اندرونی سکون۔ ہنز شاعری چھ اسہ اُزی کس پیچیدہ دورس منز اعتدال، امن تہ اخلاقی ترقی ہنزوتہ باوان یس حقیقی معاشرہ تعمیر کرنہ بلتہ ضروری پنہ۔

حوالہ:

- 1۔ ناجی منور، شمع شوق، کاشمیر ادبک توارج، کاشمیر ڈپارٹمنٹ، یونیورسٹی آف کشمیر، 2018، ص 57
- 2۔ مادی کشمیری، شیخ العالم حیات اور شاعری، ادارہ ادب، شالیمار، 1997، ص 101
- 3۔ موتی الال سانی (مرتب)، کلیات شیخ العالم جموں اینڈ کشمیر اکیڈمی آف آرٹ کلچر اینڈ لینگویج، سرینگر، 2009، ص 77



چیز، دولت یا کامیابی خوشی دتھ۔ اکھ صحت مند انسان چھ پڑنہ پامٹھی زندگی بہند پرستھ اکھ رہنہ بہتر  
 پامٹھی گزارتھ ہیکان تہ اتھ برعکس پٹھ بیمار تہ صحتہ کئی کمزور شخص یو چیرو نش محروم۔ پٹن صحت  
 بہتر بناونہ ہلدتھ پڑاسہ دودھ دیش ورزش کرنی تہ باقی جسمانی سرگرمین منز آور تھاوان۔ شیخ العالم تہ  
 پٹھ اسہ امیر چرنک تلقین دوان ز صحت جھنہ ساسہ بڑو نعمو کھوتہ بہتر<sup>۱۶</sup>۔ پٹھ پامٹھی پٹھ تھند کلام  
 اسہ رومائی رہنمائی رتھ رتھ علی زندگی منز تہ رہبری کران۔

تندرستی جھنہ نعمہ ساسا

گامو بھراسا شکر کر<sup>۱۷</sup>

سانہ جنگ نظام باضمہ پٹھ اکس مخصوص مقدارس منز غذا ہضم کرنچ صلاحیت  
 تھاوان۔ ہر گاہ غذا زیادہ گو سانس یا ضمس پٹھ پٹھ غار ضروری دباوہ یوان تہ سانس جسمس پٹھ پٹھ  
 الکی مضر اثرات یوان۔ پٹھ کس نتیجس منز اس پد ہضمی، گیس، بلڈ پریشر، کولیسٹرول تہ باقی  
 بیمارتن ہندی شکار سپدان پٹھ۔ شیخ العالمن کلام پٹھ اسہ آگہی دوان ز۔

عینہ کھینے وٹی

تمہ ہر کھنہ ز تہ وٹی مو

کنڈیور گند مور جھنہ پوٹی

وٹھ وے تہ شاہ دیار لپی مو<sup>۱۸</sup>

ہنرمس شکر کس منز پٹھ شاعر مود نصر تہ سہل پامٹھی مقدار غذا کھینس پٹھ پٹھ نصیحت تہ کران ز  
 انسانس پڈ پٹھن غائبش تہ ضرورتن درمیان توازن برقرار تھاوان۔ یہ نصیحت تہ جھنہ ز تہ تھنہ کرو

پس انسان ہندین اندرونی تضادوں سے لڑنے ناطہ ہے پلن پان بہتر بناوٹ ناطہ و تھ ہموار ہے کران۔ یہ پھینچے محض انفرادی ترقی پسند ذریعہ بلکہ پچھ معاشرتی رخ و شگالی ہے امنہ ناطہ ہے اہم۔ اکھ متوازن ہے کامیاب زندگی ناطہ پچھ نفسک حدس منز رن انسان پسند ناطہ واریاہ ضروری۔

جدید دورس منز برہیہ امیر نفس کہ قبول کر سچ اہمیت زیادے تکیا از ایک انسان پچھ مادی خواہشات ہے تیز رفتار زندگی ہنر تیلہ تیلہ منز بینہ آہستہ۔ ہر گاہ نہ یہ نفس پینہ قابو پر او یہ انسان ہیکہ ذہنی دباؤ ہذباتی پیچیدگی ہے باقین غلط کامین منز مبتلا سپہ تھ۔ محض صورت حالس منز پچھ اسے شیخ العام بار بار ہے پشنس کلامس منز متعدد باہن یہ احساس دوان نہ نفس حدس منز پچھ انسان پسند ناطہ ضروری۔

نفسی کو دس اُڑانی

نفسی کورس پشیمان

نفس مجھے یہ ہوس بائکل زنی

نفس ہنمکو حدس روٹ نہ ووت لامکان<sup>۱۵</sup>

جدید دورس منز پچھ غار صحت مندائے طرز زندگی ہے کھینچ پھینچ ہے اعتماد کی عام کھتا۔ اڑ پچھ فاسٹ فڈک کلچر ہنمکو سائے زندگی منز کاہلی ہے سستی سے سستی سانس قوت با ضمیمہ یہ زکے واتو۔ موجود دورس منز برہیہ صحیح اہمیت واریاہ زیادہ۔ تیزی سان بدلونی دنیا ہن ہے مشینو بناؤ سائی زندگی آرام دہنہ مگر پڑ گئے اُس پوچھو پڑ جسمانی طور کاہلی، سستی ہے بیمار ہن ہندک شکار۔ پینہ سائی پچھ کاہلو لکھ روزمرہ کامین منز جسمانی مشقت کران اُس۔ اڑ پچھ ہم کامیہ اُس مشینو پڑ انجام دوان۔ صحت پچھ واقعی اکھ عظیم نعمت۔ اسلہ صحت پچھ بغار ہیکہ نہ اسے دہنک کا نہ

ہوئے منفی جذبات تو بڑے بڑے۔ ہم نہ صرف انسان انفرادی طور کھوکھلے کران پھر بلکہ سماجی منزیت  
 پھر اگہ ناخوشگوار ماحول زائن لبان یثیتہ خ و د غرضی یہ نفرت عام کھتا پھنے بنان۔  
 انسان سہ کچھ کران ہنہ موجود دورس منز واریاہ مشکل نکلیاز اُمس انسانس پھر چندس  
 واریاہ پھنے۔ نہ پھر ظاہر خ و شگوار یہ کردار رنگی اہل ہاسان مگر تہ اندرون پھر منافقت، حدتہ  
 ناپاکی ہندہ انگینہ و ولت۔ کلامہ شینس منز پھر ظاہری خوبصورتی کھوتہ زیادہ باطنی پامیرگی یا  
 خوبصورتی اہمیت۔ تو پھر ہنس کلامس منز تمثیلو پھر واضح کورنت ز اہل خوبصورتی پھنے اندرم  
 پامیرگی۔ نکلیاز انسانس پھنے ظاہرس ہنہ نظر تہ اندرم انسان زائن پھر مشکل۔ یہ اندرم انسان پھر  
 منز حد، ریا تہ بغض پھر۔ شیخ العالم پھر اسہ امی اندرونک علاج کران ہنہ پھر سانہ  
 دونے شخصیت بہتر بنن۔

ہون پھی گومت کھوتس

پاک کتہ سدی پائی

دوگ پھک دوان توہس

کیاہ پھر پائی نادائی

گرمٹ پھکلمہ وان دودس

کھنٹس پڑی نہ دائی<sup>۱۵</sup>

نفس پھر انسانی وجودک نہ اگہ حصہ ئیس فو اہسن، ہڈن تہ میلانا تن ہند مرکز پھنے۔ یہ پھر انسانس  
 اندر نہ اگہ ہکھر تہ ہم ہوس ئیس اُکس انسان کھنہ تہ ساحتہ بالکل رتہ تباہی ہیکہ مجاوتہ۔ اخلاقی  
 تہ روحانی ترقی خاطر پھر نفس مدس منز رتن ضروری۔ نفس پھنے قابو پزافون پھر اگہ مسلسل بدوہد

وقیح قدر تہ احترام بخیر زندگی ہندس پرستہ مادانس منز کامیابی ہنر گنہ شیخ العام تہ پچہ اسہ وقیح  
 اہمیر ہند احساس مختلف انداز فکر و پیکر پیش کران۔ نہ پچہ پندہ شاعری منز وقیح اہمیت ظاہر کرنہ  
 ناظر تھی استعارہ شعری ول استعمال کران ہم زراعت تہ دودھ ش چہ زندگی پیکر بند تھ پچہ۔ ہونچہ تہ  
 ہر، صبح تہ شام یا باقی دو گز (Binary Opposites) استعمال کرتھ پچہ نہ عام کائنات  
 سہل تہ موثر پانچویں تہ کائنات کس تناظر منز وقیح معنویت تہ اہمیت فکر تاران۔

ہارس ہند ہنیم یا متھ پ وہ گوم  
 کارس دودھ آم تہ گرزاکہ  
 تیلہ ہوم زیتس۔ تیلہ دو تھن کود گوم  
 پتے آم ہم یاری دودھ نم لکھ<sup>۱۳</sup>

دودھ لوگ درہ تہ دائرہ ہنیم  
 اوگن زحیم دودھ بانہ تہ واتی  
 ہونہ تہ دودھ ہر دتی لانم  
 لایہ لوگم پانس سیتی<sup>۱۴</sup>

ظاہری باو ہاوس تہ فیشن پرستی مجھے موجود دور منز واریاہ اہمیت۔ اندرونی پاکیزگی تہ اخلاقی  
 خوبصورتی مجھے نظر انداز کرنہ یوان۔ سوشل میڈیا تہ باقی ذرا پچہ تھتھ اکھ دنیاہ آباد کورمت ینہ لکھ  
 یکمہ پاوسان ہنر ظاہری خوبصورتی تہ کارنامہ پیش پچہ کران لکھ باطن پچہ حمد، بغض، ریا تہ طمع

از یہ بنکر اسی پنشن سما جس بہ اتھ اندر کئی باقین سما جن کن نظر چہ تراوان سہ پنہ نسلی  
 تعصب، طبقاتی امتیاز، بے امنی، شریکندی بہ سماجی استحصال ہونے عنصر و سبب برتھ۔ شیخ العالم  
 پنہ اسہ نفرت، فتنہ، فرقہ وارانہ فساد کیونکہ انگلیو منز کد تھ روشنی ہنزن و تن کن لاگان بہ ہیہ چیزک  
 احساس گمراوان نہ اکہ مہذب بہ ترقی یافتہ معاشرہ غافل چہ مساوات بہ امن و یکجہتی اہم بہ  
 کلیدی رول ادا کران۔

موجود دورس منز پنہ خاص کر نیہ پیہ ہند ساروے کھوتہ بوڈ المیہ و قح بے قدری۔ تم چہ غار  
 ضروری کامین منز پنہ زندگی ہند مولل وق صنایع کران۔ نوجوان نسل چھنے عارضی تفریحات  
 منز پیراہن گن گھر چہ تمن پنہ پنہ مستقبل زندگی ہنہ فکر بہ اصل مقصدک ادراک ختم گوشت۔ موجود  
 دورس منز پنہ اکہ اکہ ڈیہہ تیز رفتاری منز۔ معاشرتی تبدیلی، بیدار دور چہ ٹیکنالوجی بہ وقتی لذتو چہ  
 انسانس تھو نرم بستر فراہم کر ہنہ یمن پیٹھ یہ خواہ ہند تراوتھ زندگی ہند و تحقیقی نوالہ بہ ذمہ دار  
 نیش واریا دور پنہ دولت۔ شیخ پنہ قس امیر غفلت چہ ہند منز بیدار کرتھ تمثیلی بہ حکیمانہ اندازس  
 منز اصل مقصد زندگی بہ وق قدر فکر ماران۔ سہ پنہ مختلف شعور لن ہند سہار پنہ غافل انسانس  
 ہنہس پاوان (خاص کر گونگل نامس منز) نہ پانہ بہتر مستقبل کیہ تعمیرک دارومدار پنہ پائیس وق  
 نہ صنایع کر نئس منز یا پنشن مقرر و قس پیٹھ کر نئس منز۔"

آدن سونتھ چھے ہن اول تے

سلبہ کر رومالہ پائس پاو

اتھ پنہ نہ گہ جی سونتھ چھے رچل تے

نئس کر گونگل سے کر کر او





کران پتھو کردارو ہندو فرہو نیش بچہ فاطمہ مذب کس چو غس منز غار مہذب چہ۔ بقول شیخ  
العالم:

ملہ جھی نو شمال ہدین تہ سلس  
شیخ جے ملس تہ مانجھس مٹی  
سولڑ فرقہ روٹ لٹہ دتھ آلس  
کھنوان کالس پانروماز کھو جی ۵

شیخ العام ہنز شاعری ہند اکھ اہم پیغام پتھ انسانی مساوات تہ ہم آہنگی۔ تس اُس پنہ  
سماج کین نشیب و فراز پنہ سنجیدہ نظر۔ نہ پتھ ذات بات کس ماوس پنہ سماجی تقسیم کاری  
تہ طبقاتی امتیاز سختی سان رد کران۔ نہ پتھ نیمہ چوک قابل ز انسان ہنز عظمت تہ وقار پنہ  
تہنس حب و نسب، ذات یا فاندانس منز موجود بلکہ تہنس کردار تہ اعمالن منز۔ نہ پتھ  
اکھ تہ معاشرہ تشکیل دہان پنہ نفرت تہ شریندی ہندی دوار مساکر تہ عین تہ اکھ انسان  
یہ تہ زبان، مذہب یا ذات ہندس ماوس پنہ تولہ۔ کلام شیخ پتھ انسانی دوستی تہ رواداری  
پتھ تہ پتھ ہوی جذبہ چو تس نیش شدت سان میلان۔ ۶

اگس ملس مایہ ہندن  
تمن دے تراوتھ تہ کیاے  
مسلمان کھو بیندن  
کر بندن تو شہ خداے ۵

شیخ العالم پنہ سہل، موثر تہ مناسب ترکیب ورتاوتہ یمن کردارن پنہ نقاب کشائی کران۔

شہاد فرعون لاگتہ رودی

اپز دوان درویش ناو

یم سوزے تراوتہ زس بتس پنہ مودی

یم داروک سون ناہ دراو

ملہ ہے ذہنی زی مولوی رومی

نتہ ملہ ڈیشٹہ پڑی زہ استغفار

بہر مں شرکس منز پنہ شیخ العالم طنزیہ اندازس منز نقلی تہ اپز درویش شہاد تہ فرعون یونین کردارن ستر مشابہت دوان یم غرور، منافقت تہ ظلیح علامتہ یمجہ۔ یمن پنہ کامرہ دین کس اصلس رؤس خلافت آسہ۔ شیخ العالم سند یہ پیغام پنہ شرکس منز واضح راگر کانہہ ملہ یا درویش پڑیا ملھی دین داری پنہ مثال یمجہ نہ پنہ مولانا رومی۔ یہ شرک پنہ محض مذہبی منافقت نشاندہی کران بلکہ پنہ اتہ منز اکھ فلسفیانہ پیغام تہ زدنک ظاہری لباس لاگتہ جہنہ انسان ولی بنان۔

امہ نوعیت کس کلامس یمجہ از یہ سائنس سماجس منز اہمیت نکیار موجود سماجی صورتحالس منز پنہ از یہ یحییٰ یوی کردار موجود یم مذہب حقیقت پس پشت تراوتہ یا امیک استعمال کرتہ دنیاوی مفادون ہند حصول خاطر کران پنہ۔ شیخ العالم پنہ یحییٰ یونین روین بے نقاب کرتہ اسہ اصلس تہ تراہس منز فرق کرتہ دوان۔ تسہ کلام پنہ از یہ سون شعور بیدار کران تہ تہ رہنمائی

شیخ العالم ہنسز شاعری ہند اکھ نایاں پہلو پنجہ سماجی اصلاح۔ ہنسز شاعری منہر پنجہ پندہ وقتہ  
 کینن عالمین ہند تہقیدیم نفسانی ناہشن ہندی غلام اُس پنیمہتر تہ مذہب اُس محض ذاتی فائدہ بلکہ  
 استعمال کران۔<sup>۲</sup> ہمن ہنسز نقاب کشائی کرتہ پھنہ نہ محض دینک اصل روح پیش کران بلکہ  
 پنجہ نہ پندہ دور کینن سماجی تہ مذہبی مسائلن تہ برو نہہ کن امان۔ ہنسز شاعری مجھے یہ در شاوان  
 ز خواہس ملیند اوس۔ قمن مذہبی پیشہ وران ہند غلبہیم غلامہری عبادتن ہندس پردس منہر لگن  
 دھوکہ اُس دوان۔ شیخ العالمن چہ ہمن ہندس وتیرس ہیندھ ظہر کو تیر چلاؤ بہتر تہ لگن ہمن ہیندھ پالو  
 تہ دھوکہ ہازی نشہ بچہ بلکہ تلقین کورمت۔

اُزکر ریشی کیلک ریشی  
 ہمن مار کھنیں گم  
 کھاسر ہتھون نشم ریشی  
 اکس گوگل نہیں کرم  
 تہ کھیندہ بیلہ خوداے مشی  
 ریشی ہے توہی تہ ژور کم<sup>۳</sup>

✽

ملہ دہنم کچہ کباری  
 ریشن ہیندہ داری کانت  
 ملن ہنزن کھن پاری  
 چہ ایزی یار کیا تھوڑی ہرانت<sup>۴</sup>

## موجود دورس منتر شیخ العالم ہند کلاچ لکھاری

ڈاکٹر تنویر احمد ریشی \*

شیخ العالم نے زود آہمہ صدی ہند الہ اہم شاعر بننے پنے دور کی سماجی، ثقافتی تہ روحانی مسائل نہایت سنجیدہ فہم و ادراک تہ انسانی ہمدردی سان پیش کری۔ تہنہ شاعری روز تہ زمان و مکان کہن دوان منتر قادی شیخ العالمن شاعری جھے از تہ س وے قدر تہ اہمیت ی و س شس پنہن دورس منتر تہ ینہ والین دورن منتر آس۔ اگرچہ تہنہ شاعری ہند خاص تہ زور حصہ دن اسلام بین تعلیماتن نے فروغ دوان لکرتہ تہ جھے شیخ العالم ہندس کلامس منتر عالمگیر انسانی قدرن ہنر تر جانی۔ تہنہ شاعری چھنہ محض مذہبی حدودن منتر قادی بلکہ جھے س و امیر غیر نیر تہ زندگی ہندن وسیع تر گوش گاشراوان تہ تہنہ فکری وسعت تہ درد مندی جھے تریش ہتین ہنر تریش ہراوان۔ بقول شفیع شوق تہ ناجی منور: ”موسوی فونہ تہ مصری زندگیاہ ہند کی نمایندہ آسنہ کنی چہ شیخ شکر واریاہ طرمدار“<sup>۱</sup>

اگس اہل شاعر سند بحر تہ تھنر نے ہر تہنہ کلاچ اہمیت تہ لکھاری چہ ہر دورس منتر برقرار روزان۔ تہنہ شاعری منتر چھنہ محض پنے دور کی معاشرتی، ثقافتی، سیاسی تہ باقین حالاتن ہنر صدایے باز گشت آسان بلکہ چہ ہنر تہ دوہ کہن قاریان منتر کران۔

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۲۰۱۶ء۔ ص ۸۔

کھبرے بوزکھ کٹہ نوروزکھ  
 اُم کھیرن دُست کوتاہ جلاو  
 عقل تہ فکر تور کوت موزکھ  
 کمر مالہ پیتہ بیوک نہ دریاو (11)

یہ کھبر پچھ دراصل اللہ تعالیٰ ہندس ستھ کن و نفس کن اشارہ بیمہ پتہ یہ سولے دنیا  
 و جودس منز آو۔ یا ہے کھبر سہ کران پچھ ژو داہمہ صدی ہندین دو شونی عظیم شاعران ہند  
 بنیادی موضوع رد و منت لیس پتہ تصوف کس پیر الیس منز کونہمہ صدی ہندین باقی صوفی  
 شاعران ہند بلہ ستھ تہ و تہ یا و کھ بنیو۔

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یا

اکھ نے مہربانیاں کھ نے زبیر ہا  
تنگ گروہ یا عالم و پتہ مور ہا  
اکھ نے پکتہ یا بیا کھ نے بیہ ہا  
ہر کھ گروہ بند کس کیا ہا بیہ

شیخ شرمین ہنر فکر بند مرکزی تسویر چہ و مدائیت نیس اندر لگو کین ویدن چرن منر ما کا  
پتہ۔ یا نے اندر لگو کین چرن بندس و ہارس پتہ کتہ پتہ دراجل ندایہ ہنر تخلیقی قوتہ پر پتہ و  
آیتن۔ لکرامہ خاطر پتہ اتہ ہر ساوی نظامس سنن ضروری۔

ندایہ پتہ اکے ناو محس پتہ  
ذکر روس اکے کچھا مو  
وہر ویدن اکے پتہ  
رزقہ روس کا نہہ پتہ

ندایہ سند بلو یادوست نو پاری فون تہ عیاں پتہ مگر تہ کرتہ تہ پتہ اللہ تعالیٰ ہندس اتہ  
کمزرس اعاطہ کرن عقل تہ حواسو ہندو سرمد و نیر۔ تکیار انسانی عقل پتہ محدود تہ ندایہ ہنر ذات  
پتہ لا محدود۔ لہذا ہیکہ نہ زائہ تہ محدود پتہ لا محدود اک اعاطہ ممکن سپد تہ۔ مگر انسانہ ہنر زانی کل  
پتہ تس اتہ مابعد الطبیعیاتی سوچیں زائن دس پیہ آماد کرتہ پتہ تریشہ ہوتے ہنر دنیا منر  
کدان۔

موت مجھے پہنچے تے کو تو ڈر نہ  
 کھیلے منہ کڈو ڈاڑھ تھ کھڑ  
 موت مجھے شہر تھ پہنچے روس نہ ملو نہ  
 سلبہ کو نہ گیا کہ گار تھ کتھ (10)

یعنی بیتہ اکہ پاسہ موت پہنچے بندہ پانٹھی ظالم بچہ دھومہ پاسہ بچہ بچہ موت شہر بتلی پانٹھی بیتہ  
 دنیا کی حرکت غلط ضروری تہ۔ امی موتہ جی بچہ بیتہ دنیا کی آون باون نظام پلوں یس مختلف  
 صورتن منہ وچ بدلاؤ بدلاؤ انسانہ بنہ عقلہ کچھ شکہ متاثر بچہ کران۔ بیتہ العالمن بچہ امیک  
 ڈرامائی صورت حال جمالیاتی اندازن مشرقہ کتھ در شوونت

ڈمی ڈیلا ٹھم ندوبہ وئی  
 ڈمی ڈیلا ٹھم سم نہ تار  
 ڈمی ڈیلا ٹھم تھر بھولہ وئی  
 ڈمی ڈیلا ٹھم گل نہ خار

یا

ڈمی ڈیلا ٹھم شبنم بیوان  
 ڈمی ڈیلا ٹھم بیوان سدر  
 ڈمی ڈیلا ٹھم گنہ بچہ بیوان  
 ڈمی ڈیلا ٹھم بھولہ وئی نور

کھوڑے چار توڑم  
 موزم ند لوب تہ فہ  
 سیدھ نہ دینتہ صاحب گوزم  
 اہر ز تووم پٹن روح (7)

اے ریح تو بیچ پچہ حضرت شیخ العالم بیس شکر کس منہ پتہ کنی کران دنتہ پچہ علامہ اقبال سند  
 خودی بند آلو کن گودھان:

نفس مودہ بدے  
 نفس بڑ سودا مجھے  
 نفس پٹن رٹن عدے  
 نفس برزنتہ ندا مجھے (8)

یعنی ندا پر زمانہ و غلطی پٹن پان پر زمانہ و غلطی۔ مسٹر ایگہارٹ سند وٹن پچہ:

"To get at the core of God at his greatest,  
 one must first get into the core of himself  
 at the least, for no one can know God  
 who has not first known himself." (9)

پٹن پان پر زمانہ و غلطی پٹن پان پر زمانہ و غلطی۔ مسٹر ایگہارٹ سند وٹن پچہ:  
 شعوری آگے۔ امیر بڑ پٹن انسان پٹن عارضی مودگی (Temporariness) تہ محدود  
 (Finitude) بند احساس گنان۔ شیخ العالم ہنز بڑ خوبی مجھے یہ ز سہ پٹن دور اندیشی بڑ مونگی دو  
 شوے تعمیر کی کیو تخریبی پہلو ہاوتہ المکہ ناگزہ آسک ہاند ہاند کران:

ڈالیں مجھے مند تیس گئے کار  
 ڈالیں مجھے پر بتس کر نہ آلے  
 ڈالیں مجھے منزا قحس ہیون مار  
 ڈالیں مجھے پان کڈن گز لے  
 ڈالیں مجھے کھیون ویہ نہ گار (5)

نہیں با یہ چھ حضرت شیخ لعالم نفس ہمس کر تیس ہوس وڑھوار بانورس وڑھ قشیمہ دوان مگر ہتھ  
 مچن اہس کا یہ رنج و تہ نہ در شاوہر تیس انسان سند اصلی جوہر چھ

نفی میون زن ہوس تے  
 اُمی ہس کر کریم کاتیاہ بل  
 ماسہ منزا کھا لوس تے  
 نہ پتھ اُمی ساری تل  
 ہوی تھو تھو کلہ دو گس تے  
 کھن دی زس کر یہ ہند پھل (6)

عیتین مجھے یہ کتھ نہ رہتس تھا وئی لایق زینتہ اکہ طرفہ انسان ہندس نفس اندر خاڈین (ند  
 لوب نہ فہم) ہند غلیہ مولا وچہ تتر چھ امیک مقابلہ کرنہ بلہتہ اسد ہے ذاتس یا ووادس  
 وڑھوئی ہند اکہ تفتہ فخر نہ بیوست آمت کرنہ چھ ہڑا ہندس ساری ہے ووادس روشن کران  
 چھ نہ نیمہ برکتہ تیس پانس منزا ہنن اصلی آسن (حضرت انسان) در نیمو یوان چھ

یہ دُروے انہار آئن جیو اُگس شخصس تمہ ورا تھو یوان۔ ییلہ سد شعوری طور بیدار آسہ۔ تکیا ز شعوری بیداری جیو انسان سُنہ سد وچہٹ یس اُس باقی موجوداتن منز سہرس مقام عطا جیو کران۔ یہ جیو شیخ العالم ہنر شعوری پو و فنگلی ہندے نتیجہ ز سہ جیو زندگی گزارا جیو عہدہ منزل مستقل مزاجی ہند رویہ اپنا و تھو ژودا ہمہ سد ی منزلے تمہ ساتھ ییلہ نہ عالمی در سگا ہن منزل کتہ نہ ماحولیاتی شعبہ قائم کرنگ ٹوٹے اوس<sup>۴۴</sup> ان پوٹل تیلہ ییلہ ون پوٹل<sup>۴۵</sup> و تھو انسان ہند عظیم ہستی آسنگ ثبوت فراہم کران۔ زمین ذراتس منزل و قیج معقول فراوانی نہ مناسب ورتا و نہ جیو کہ انسان ہنر اتھو شعوری پو فنگلی کن بیمہ آہ اشاہ:

آدن سو تھو جیو مین اول نہ

برو نہہ گر رٹھ مالہ پلن تاو

اتھو تھو نہ گروہی سو تھو جیو رٹھل نہ

نہس کر گونگل سے کر کراو (4)

یہ جیو نا کا ہر ز رٹھے اُر گونگل (محنت) کر سے ہیکہ پگا و کراو یعنی میک بھل حاصل کر تھو۔ مگر شرط جیو اُکے، سہ گوا انسانس جیو امہ ہلہ تھو پلن نفس آمادہ کرن۔ تکیا ز نفسا کیتہ جیو انسان ہنر انلی خصلت نہ امہ نشہ اند ہیتہ لوب ہیون پٹھنہ ممکن۔ ووں گوو نہ ہیکہ اتھو کا پہ رٹھ نہ تھو دنیا س کیو نہ وائس دنیا س منزلہ نہ ہلہ تھو کامیابی ہند ژریہ بنا و تھو۔ حالانکہ نفس کا پہ رٹھ جیو سبھا کر لائٹ۔ شیخ العالم ہند ون جیو امہ ہلہ تھو:

ژالٹن جیو ذرملہ نہ ترٹے

انفرادیت بیا کہ اجتماعیت۔ شیخ العالم ہنسز بخوبی سمجھے یہ زمانہ چھپے ہوئے منظر کھلے یہ آکس نکال دے  
بلکہ چھپے نہ محض ترجمانی بنیاد پر یہ زیادہ زور پر وائس مقابلہ انسانہ ہنسز اس وقت وائس دوان۔

نہری شاپلر اندری شامی

ممبرن کھسان کڑی کڑی کار

مولوی ڈپڑیہ مولانا رومی

نہی ملے ڈپڑیہ ہر استغفار

یا

گوچر رہے ہر دے نو لکھ

نول تہ لکھ دزاسے نہ وائے منظر زائہ

سزا نو ہر من نو شاد رکھ

گاڈ تہ ہو ذرا بولے کھتی نہ زائہ

یا

اتھ گندیائس مودم رندو

امیر ہر ہر ہر مل ہو تھی نو

امیر تسبیح، عاصم تہ جندو

امیر بھیند نہ اتھ تہی نو (3)



نہ چھا۔ یو ساروے منزائے کینہ ہم ساری؟ نہ چھائے کینہ امیر علاؤ تہ بدینہ کینہ۔ کینہ سے بچ نہ کینہ، نکلیا نہ آسن تہ بچا کہ قنک آسن۔ کینہ سے بچیں نہ یو منز کینہ بلکہ بدل کینہ تمام۔ فرض سوالس منز سوال پاؤ سپد تہ بچہ جواب تہ پائس سوالہ ہوت آکار زمان۔ توے ذات کیاہ گہ؟ یا ذات کتہ ونو؟ امیر کس جوابس منز بکینہ حاتہ ونیک نام بدو بدو عالمو تہ دانور و یو کھمت بچہ تمہ کس فارواض آسنس متعلق بچہ مارن ہایدیکر سند و ن:

"One cannot undertake to define being without falling into the absurdity; for one cannot define a word without beginning in this way, 'it is....' This beginning may be expressed or implied. Thus, in order to define being one must say it is.... and hence employ the word to be defined in its definition". (2)

لہذا انسان ہندس ذاتس متعلق بیلہ تہ کاٹہ تعریف (definition) دی آسہ، اسی ہیکہ نہ کتہ تہ گند تہ زور تہ پراس منز بیان کر تہ بلکہ بچہ تہ زندگی کو تخصیہ ہند ساری پہلو بد نظر تھاؤ ضروری۔ تھے کتہ بیلہ تہ اسہ شیخ العالم ہندس کلامس منز انسائے سند تصور بد آسہ کڈان تیلہ بچہ اسہ تشہ کلیم کلام زیر نظر تھاؤن لاندی۔ نکلیا تہ بچہ انسائے ہند تم ساری مختصر یا صفات پنہن الگ الگ شرکین منز تمہ آسہ پیش کری ہتہ بیکہ ونہ رلاؤ تہ بچہ ہم انسائے ہند پاسل و وادیج توضیح کرنس منز وارہمس عدس تام کامیاب سپدان۔ انسائے سند گہ دینک مختصر بچہ تشہ بسیار پاسل یعنی ز تہ تہ تھاؤن وول انہار اکہ اقدروں تہ بنا کھ پروں یا اکہ

کلیدی لفظ:

وہو، جوہر، بسیار پاسل، سر ساوی انہار، لفسائیتھ، فنائی، کنبہ، مابعد الطبیعات۔

لل دہدیتہ پنجہ پزانہ کا شاعر شاعری منہر و نیم یوژ ناو حضرت شیخ العالم (۱۳۳۸-۱۳۷۸) سند۔ لیس ٹو داہمہ تہ پنداہمہ صدی ہند نامور تہمد درجک مائل تہ عارف، اکہ پاپہ یوژ دہینی پیتوا تہ اکہ سینچے تہمدار تہ رنگ بستہ کچھریچ علامت پچہ۔ سہزاندہ، شمس العارفین، کا شاعر اعظ تہ علمدار کشمیر، ہوی بیون بیون القاب پچہ شیخ العالم ہنر بسیار پاسل شخصیتہ ہند اعلان۔ (۱) تہمدس کلامس پچہ عرف عامس منہر کا شاعر قرآن تہ ومان۔ نکلیا تہم پچہ پنہن شہر کبھن منہر قرآنی تعلیمات ہنر باو تہ تبلیغی انداز کر پچہ۔ ہونی بیلہ شیخ شہر کبھن منہر انسان ہند تصورک نیب ژھاران پچہ اسہ پچہ نیمہ کچہ ہند یوژ پچہ احساس گنان ز شیخ العالم ہنر دہراندیشی کوتاہ وسعتہ تہ وہراو پچہ اوسمت۔ نکلیا زندگی ہنر رنگارنگی پچہ تہمدس کلامس منہر مکمل طور عیان، اتہ پچہ سانبھن باقی صوفی کیوسری شاعر ہندی پانچو یک رنگی ہند ہنر عالم قاری ہندس زہننس منہر بے مایگی پاد کران۔ بلکہ پچہ انسانی زندگی ہندن سارنہ عنصرن متعلق تہمہ آیہ کچہ آہر کر پچہ زقاری لیس پچہ پنہن ذاتک یا آسک۔ جوہری عنصر نمایاں تہ واضح صورتس منہر آچھن ہنر ہنہ کن یوان۔ پچہ لکہ ذات یا آسن پچہ اکہ فار واضع تصور یا موضوع۔ تہ زن گوو کاہنہ شخص پچہ پیشہ کچہ ہو ستاد، لیس اکہ مخصوص ناو، کرام، روزن بانے، رنگ، خولہ خطا پتر پچہ۔ اُمی بے متعلق زن پر ژھو زابنہر اصلیتہ یا ذات کیاہ پچہ؟ یا کس چیز پچہ نہ لیس نہ رکیہ پچہ؟ ناو یا، پیشہ یا، روزن یا بے پچہ رنگ؟

# انسانہ سند تصویرتہ کلام شیخ العالم

ڈاکٹر مجاہد امین \*

تلفیص:

دنیا ہنس منہ موجود ہر جگہ کاٹھہ لڑا تھ لادو سے پٹنہ عقلیہ تہ شکلیہ ہندس لہو آس پیٹھ پٹن  
آسن درشاوتھ بے کان چھ مگر انسانہ سند مسلہ چھ بنا وکھہ۔ انسانہ ہندس بیار پاسل آکارس،  
بہر ساوی انہارس (آدم بستان منہ چھ بہر) تہ سیما کی دلوہارس مکی مکی تہنہ آتھ روس زانی کل کیو  
زون کل چھ تہس باقیہ ساروے موجود اتو لیش بچان تہ بدون کدان۔ چونکہ انسانہ ہنہ زانی کل  
چھ فطری تہ فطرک تھانے چھ ٹھہلاوی یا ٹھہراوی نو عینک۔ دو فی اگرے اتھ گندیہ کرنہ  
امیک ہر زانوان انہار، و بجا تہ خوبصورتی گرمہ تھامہ۔ مثالیہ اکہ جاییہ پیٹھ نیلیس جاییہ ٹیچہ  
واتناونک تصور آہا وینہ تہ وری وادن تہ رہتہ وادن ہندس تہ اُمی آہا تہ حقیقی کو تہ ہند پیٹھ  
برقی زر (twitter) ٹانک سفر طے کرتھ بیوکمت اگرے تہ انسان کو تہ ہنہ تھکاوت تہ رفتار  
الگ الگ کرتھ۔ من سام ہیز ہر آہے۔ گوو کاٹھہ پلا چہ پلا پلا کرن تہ پلا پلا کرتھ پیٹھ مکمل  
کرنک یہ اصول چھ موجود دور چہ زانی ہانکلیہ ہند کری وائچہ تہ جے اصول کامیہ منہ اتھ چھ پیٹھ  
مضمونل منہ شیخ شریکین منہ انسانہ سند تصور۔ کس موضوعس پیٹھ تمہ آہے کتھ کرنہ آہہ زانسانی  
شخصیت کیو زندگی ہندی ساری پہلو چھ قاری میں بروز ٹھہ کتھ دیدمان سپدان۔

اسٹنٹ پروفیسر گورنمنٹ ڈگری کالج فرسل کلام

ہندے نوم پدونی " یعنی من شریکین منزجے دانائی ہنزکتہ۔ سے دانائی ہنزکتہ جے اسے از فکر تران۔ نیلے اسی ہنہ نیو اتھو ماعولیا نیک توازن خراب کرتے مشکلاتن منزبان ترود۔ شیخ العالم ہجہ کشپہ ہندس یزجتہ حص ہنلورمت نہ فیو تجربہ ٹس اتھ دوران ٹیہ من تجربن ہند تخلیقی انہار ہنمن شریکین ہند ذریعہ بنومت۔ لہذا جتہ شیخ العالمس فطرت یا ونو ماعولیا نیک سون مشائدا ومنت۔

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دُمی دُلا تُنھم شبنم سداوان  
 دُمی دُلا تُنھم سداوان سدا  
 دُمی دُلا تُنھم گنہ پچھ سداوان  
 دُمی دُلا تُنھم پھولہ دُن نور

مرکھ شریکین منز پچھ دُنہچ بے شبائی بند احساس مو سمن ہندو مختلف معروضو ذریعہ  
 ہاونہ آہتی۔ پتہ منز شولہ وڈی ند، پھولہ وڈی تھر بہارچ نایندگی جتھے کران۔ سداویون پچھ وڈی پچ  
 حکاکی۔

شیخ العالِم اوس مذہبی تہ رؤمانی علمس پیٹے دسترس آسنس ستر ماعولیا نک تہ  
 علم۔ جنگلن پنزا سمیت بند ذکر پچھ شیخ العالِم پتہ شاعری منز بار بار کورمت۔ جنگلن وڈا  
 واتنک اکھ بوڈ بار ذریعہ پچھ انسانہ پنزا لالچ۔ یہ لالچ زیہ گوڑ حس زیادہ کھوتہ زیادہ مال و دولت  
 ماسل کر تھ جسمانی راحت پزافان مگر اُمس پچھ پتہ بند علم زیہ محض پتہ لالچی ہند وچہ کتہ  
 پتہ پان خطرس منز تراوان۔

تھدے جنگل سر گئے سنی  
 اتھہ کھو روں و تھہ کورت نیایہ  
 بگہ بندے نوم پڈوئی  
 تہ پتہ مہترے بزم د

انسانو اگر اندھا دندہ جنگل ڈھنڈیک تھپہ دواوڑ جنگل تھدے بالن کن تہ اُبی سرن نہرہ آب  
 تہ تھہ سنی۔ شیخ العالِم پچھ پتہ علمی بھڑک پانہ تہ احساس اوس مت توے پچھ وڈی مت بگہ

کس کس یہ منز مردن ناو

شیخ العالمن مجھے پنہنہ شاعری منز فطرتی نکائی تہ ماحول ویرہ جاناوہ ناظر عام زبانہ ہند  
استعمال کورمت، یمن لفظن سید سیود معنی آسنس بری شاعران تخلیقی معنی تہ پشرومت  
چندہ مثلاً ماگ، ہزدار، کھول، اوریر، بشل، پوئی، شوگ، ہونہ، ریتہ کول، شپن، شیشر گائیہ، کوسٹور  
، شراون، سمسار، ہار، ون، ہیزی، واندر، لگر، گویچہ، سنگر، بال یا، تہ کونگل بیتہ۔ یمن لفظن منز ہند  
تمن لفظن ہند تعداد زور ہند تعلق لاگئے یا ونو فطرت بری ہند۔ ہیر کند درج شہر کس منز مخریتہ  
کول تہ اکھ موسم تہ موسم منز انسان کھلہ ڈولہ بھیر تہ تصور تہ کام کران ہند۔ ہونی تہی اتہ ریتہ  
کالیں منز زور لکیتہ محنت کرنی سے ہند ہونہ کالیں منز سوکھیزاوان۔ یاہ ماگچہ تر منز ہیکہ نہ اندر کندہ  
دار تہ بر تر وور تہ وشنیرک مز لکیتہ۔ ہونی یادے کاہہ تہ شخص یمن ہونہ دس منز شہنہ ہینہی نہ  
دور و نیزن یہہ، یکیار اُمی بھنہ ریتہ کالیں منز کینہہ تہ آسان کورمت تہ لہذا چہ شخص شخص  
تکلیف نصیبس۔

ہونی وچھو موسمن ہنز تبدیلی کتہ کئی مجھے شیخ العالمن باوہرہ:

دُمی دُلا تھم ند شولہ وئی

دُمی دُلا تھم سُم نہ تہ مار

دُمی دُلا تھم تھر بھولہ وئی

دُمی دُلا تھم گل نہ تہ غار



ہتھے پاتھی تھی شیخ العالمن نہیں بایہ زمینہ سون و وقت تہ امہ زمینہ منہ ہی قمیسی چیز نہ ان ہو تم  
 مجھن نہ اہمیت دہمہ نکلیار زمینہ مجھے بنیادی اہمیت تہ زمینہ منہ نیرن والین چیزن مجھے  
 مانوی اہمیت۔ اچ مثال مجھے نیتہ شہر کس منہ میلان:

کونگ مجھے گاسہ تہ زمین سونا

بندہ جت گڑھی تہ کربے کر

زمین مجھے کھین خوردنی بندہ ذریعہ۔ پتہ اتھ محنت و مشقت کرنہ مجھے ہوان اتھ ہجہ رنگہ رنگہ چیز  
 ہو پدان مگر شرط پتہ ز انسان گڑھ و قس پتہ محنت کران۔ یعنی یس انسان سونہ کالس زمینس  
 بول ویہ سنے لونہ ہر فصل۔ امہ نیالچ ویرہے پتہ شیخ العالمن بد خواصورت اندازس منہ کرہہ۔

سے ڈالہ بندہ ہی و و و و و

ڈھانڈتہ کڈس ہامہ کافی

سونہ ہی و و و ہر ہی لونہ

سے ڈا و جتس لاگتہ وانی

\*\*\*\*\*

بارس تہ شہر اوس یس و ہجہ ہورو

تس پوس تہ ماگس وٹن واو

شہس تہ واوس یس نہ وورو

تس روٹس تہ وڈنس وڈے کزاو

ہر نہ رہتہ یس وڈس وورو

میں سیراب۔ مذکورہ شریکس مندرجہ آج اگے صورت یا نو ذریعہ کو کہہ نہ ناک / چشمہ۔ ناک چھ کو کہہ  
 ہند اگر مگر شریکس مندرجہ ہا وہ آفت برآہ ملن چھ ناکہ راو یعنی اگر سے رفوشت۔ وجہ کیا د چھ  
 بدن والین بیٹے ترا وہ آفت۔ ہر گاہ ناگن آب کم گدھ کو کہہ چھتے تمہ بروئے ہو کھان۔ ناک  
 ملن زن بروئے کالم و ہری وریس آب اوس آسان چھ ہونی ہو کھن میوان یکبار ماحولیا کی توازن  
 ڈول جنگل مندریس شہن چھ شکوہ مندر وری وریس موجود اوس روزان نہ فیوٹن ہونی گرمی  
 ہا حصہ کنز ہدی کلن۔ نتیجہ ذرا وری ملن ناگن جنگل ہند یہ سخ آہک ذریعہ اوس تم ناکن مندر  
 ہندی آج وری سے سپر نہ کو کہہ دو چھ پاؤں بالے۔ امہ آبی پکریج (Water cycle) برپا  
 نمایندگی چھتے شریکس مندر نہ کہ انداز مندر کہ آپہ:

سخ مل کتر شتر گا گئے شہن

تم بیون بیون پاؤں کرا شہن

یا مہ کھو کھو پور کنز رو

نامہ تم ن ٹون اکے گوہ

شیخ العالمن چھ ہر کھو وہ آفت شریکس مندر آبی فطری پکریج اگہ وری تصویر بروئے کن ترا وری۔ ہونی  
 گوہ انسانی ذفل اندوزی سے وری اتھ فطری آبی پکریس نو قصان۔ اللہ تعالین اس آج دستیابی  
 مناسبت صورت مندر انسانی دستیاب تھا وری فطری طور آفاقی گرمی سے وری کھو آچھ صورت مندر  
 انسان استعمال کران چھ مگر انسان ہنر خود غرضی کنی چھن ہونی فطری طور و بگلان بلکہ  
 چھ ماحولیا کی توازن خراب کو چھ کنز بے وقت گلان۔ ملن آبی ذخیر ہند بے وقت نہ بے  
 موسم کلن چھ سائے نو ذرا وری و ہر فاطمہ الارا چھ گھنٹی وایان۔

دُری پیلہ نہ دنیا بس منز مختلف انقلاب آستی اُس یمن انقلاب بند اثر ماعولس پیٹہ پڑے  
 اوس تہ شیخ العالمن پتہ قمن دھ بن مین گونی کرہہ زامیک منشی اثر پتہ کھلم زور اڑ پیٹہ۔ ماعولیائی  
 تنقیدن لب و ہمہ صدی منز ہو تھہ و اشہر مگر کاشیر ادیب قولہ چھے اہ نو دہمہ صدی پیٹھے  
 امیک مختصر ادب منز لبہ یان۔ شیخ العالمنس اُتھی دس مزید ورنہ کر تھہ چو بشر بشر صابن  
 پتہ کتابہ "یمن پدن مے ورنہ ارگوڑے" منز لو کھنت:

"ماولیائس متعلق اگس بین الاقوامی کانفرنس منز تقریر کران پیلہ بندوستانچہ ورنہ  
 عظیم آنچانی شرمیتی اندراگانہ حی شیخ العالم سند قولہ دتھ یہ دوپ بیان کور تہ عام لاکن یہ پتہ  
 لوگ زہ خیال اوس مے ساز مے ہتہ دُری بروہہ اکر عظیم کاشیری بوہمت کتھ سنن والہو بوو  
 نارت زہہ شخص کوتاہ اکاش تہ آگاہ چو اوہمت تہیہ کتھ تمہ سامتہ وئی پیلہ نہ ماعولچہ اولادگیہ  
 تہ اتھ دواہ واتک کاہہ میلے وئی بس منز تھہ اوس۔ بہر حال تہ پیٹہ پیلو ویہ دوپ ماعول  
 کس تحفظس متعلق اکہ باقاید نعر پیٹہ منز مانیک اکہ سوڈر وہر اوہ چو آہمت۔ 3

ہو وئی کینہہ شکر کریش یمن منز ماعولیا چچ ذکر اکہ تہ یہ طریقہ چھے کر تہ آہر:

آہ یمن ماگہ رادارووکہ

سادارووکہ زورن منز

نہر گرن کور پتہ تھارووکہ

راہ ہونزا رووکہ کاون منز

آب چو زورڈاڑ ہند غلط بنیادی ضرورت تہ یابے آب چو اللہ تعالین نہ تہ تہر اڑ پیٹہ  
 مختلف صورتن منز دستیاب تھوہمت تاکہر مینس پیٹہ پڑتہ قسملی زور ڈاڑ سپدن امہ آہ

سند ذہنی پلو کو نام آسہ۔ مذہبی، عقیدتی تہ فلسفی رنگ اولک طرف تر اہتہ پتہ شیخ العالمیہ شاعری  
منز اکہ حصہ سہ نتہ منز ماحولیاتہ خصوصاً کلر گئی، جنگل، زمین، زراعت موسم بہترین ہند ذکر کورنت  
ہتہ۔ ماحولیاتہ لحاظہ جتھے ٹی رہنہ شاعری ہندی ہر حصہ: اکہ گوو شاعری ہند نہ حصہ نتہ منز شیخ  
العالمیہ کا نہ مذہبی ان وکتہ ویرہ حناوہ فطر فطرت ہندی چیز مبعوض چہ بناوہتی۔ وونی گوو شاعر  
سند مقصد ہتہ مذہبی کتبہ ہنر تکمیل رہنہ۔ دویم حصہ ہتہ نتہ منز شیخ العالمیہ ماحول موضوع  
بناوہتہ انسانہ سند رویہ تہ ماحولک رد عمل عکساوہتہ ہتہ آمت۔ ہر گاہ زن اہنہ شاعری منز۔ متھن  
شکر کین ہند تعداد کم ہتہ مگر کم آسنہ باوجود جتھے۔ تمن شکر کین س و اہمیت تہ افادیت یاسہ ونہ  
کین ہدیہ سائنس تہ تمن شاعرن ہنر شاعری جتھے یم ماحول کین تحفظ منز شاعری تخلیق  
کرہہ چہ یا کران چہ۔

مینہ ون گودے ریش العالم ہتہ اکہ ذی شعور تہ ذی عیس شاعر۔ ٹی جینہ صرف کا شری  
اسلامی تعلیماتے یات ہتہ ناوہتی بلکہ جنن تہ وقس منز کا شریں رتہ سارے لوکن یہ  
رہنہ دہرہ ہر گاہ ماحولیاتہ توازن بگڑ تیک اثر پتہ سارے روزاژن پتہ۔ شیخ العالم سند اکہ  
مشہور دوپ ہتہ:

”آن پو شہ تیلہ تیلہ ون پو شہ“

ان مطلب گو وفتا تہ ون چہ کا شری پانٹھی جنگل ونان۔ یعنی نیس علم آسہ ونہ کین  
سائیس ونان چہ نہ جنگل مہ ژنو امہ ہتی ہتہ سیدی پانٹھی انسان رتہ تمام روزاژن خطہ۔ امہ  
رتہ ذلہ ماحولیاتہ توازن تہ ماحولیاتہ توازن ذلہ رتہ انسان کتبہ پانٹھی رتہ انسان خطہ منز بہنہ نہ  
ونہ یہ ونہ کین، بکلیاڑ پناہ سائنسی علم چہ آسہ سارے۔ البتہ چہ یہ ونان روزاژن بہنہ اٹھ شتہ

فطرت؟ فطریت زور دین ہے اتھرومائی تنقیدس نزدیک انان، ہونی گوو کلیم پائٹھی جیہ نظر لے  
تنقید فطرت ہنر نکالی بیٹھے زور دوان۔

ہونی ہر گاہ اسی کاتھرس ادبس متعلق کتھ کرو بیٹھ ماحولیاتج نمایندگی ژوداہمہ صدی  
بیٹھے شاعر وینہ شاعری منز کرہہ جتھے مگر بحیثیت تنقیدی اصطلاح جتھ وینہ یہ کاتھرس ادبس منز  
متعارف سپدلے۔ ہونی یادوے کاتھ نقادان جتھ بیوی نوکتھ تنقیدی بحثیں دوران ثلثت یہ  
آسہ ٹو آسہ فن پارس منز بیہ کاتھ موضوع ورمہناونہ غلطی ضمن ثلثت۔

ماحولیاتی تنقیدک اصطلاح یادوے یارپس منز وینہ صدی ویندن انری دہلین منز  
متعارف سپد ہونی گوو تنیک مطلب جتھ زور دواہ کیاہ آسہ نہ پینہ نس اندر یکجس متعلق یا ونو  
فطرت متعلق ادب تخلیق کرنس دوران وینہ صدی بروہہ جتھ بیوی ادب کورٹ۔ ادب  
جتھ سائبک اکھ ذی شعور تہ جسہ ہوشیار نمایند، پس پینہ سماج (جتھ منز فطرت تہ شامل جتھے) وقفا  
وقفا ذکر کران روزان جتھ۔ جتھے بیوی اکھ ذی شعور تہ جسہ ہوشیار کاتھ شاعر جتھ حضرت شیخ العام  
پس لل ذیہ بند بمعصر اوس۔ کتھر منز جتھے پتہ وتہ بیٹھے مختلف عالمو، فکارو، صوفیو، عقیدتی تہ  
مذہبی شاعرو تہ مفکر و نرم ہزوومت۔ یمن صوفیو، عقیدتی تہ مذہبی شاعران منز جتھ حضرت شیخ  
العالم ناسیہ تہ زانیہ آمنت۔

شیخ العالمن ذیت (Contribution) جتھ کاتھرس ادبس منز پڑتھ رنگہ مطالعہ غلطی بیٹھے  
دلچسپ۔ ٹی سز شاعری جتھے فکارانہ صلاحیت اعتبار تھرتہ موضوعی تہ فلسفانہ تناظرس منز  
قابل داد۔ عام طور جتھ ٹی سز شاعری منز ژوداہمہ صدی ہند کاتھ سماج، ثقافت تہ کلیم  
پائٹھی کتھر ہند ماحول عیان۔ یہ جتھ ہونی قاری ہندس ذہنی وسعتس تہ صلاحیت بیٹھ دارودار بر ٹو

تنقید پیداوار کی ذرائع یہ اقتصادی طبقاتی تلاش متبنی منکران ہیں، تھے کئی چیز ماحولیاتی تنقید ادب منکر زمین مرکز (Earth-Centered) طریقے مطالعہ میں زور دوان۔

ماحولیاتی تنقید چیز باقی تنقیدی نظریاتوں میں نہ لحاظ منفرد زامیک تعلق چیز ہذا خود زمینیں سیکڑیلہ کہ زن باقی تنقیدی نظریات انسانیں محض پندہ مطالعہ مرکز غلط متعین کری چیز ہیں۔ ماحولیاتی تنقید چیز ادب مطالعہ ماحولیاتی تصور کس طریقے کار میں کران۔ انسانی ثقافتیں یہ فطر درمیان میں رشتہ موجود چیز اے رشتہ مطالعہ کرتے ہیں ماحولیاتی تنقید غربت یا دوان یہ یہ غربت سمجھنے عدم توازن بجایہ برابری یہ باتیں احترام یہ اصولیں پیشہ قائم۔ مذکورہ تنقیدی نظام امتیازی وصف چیز یہ یہ چیزیں نئے ادبی تصویری ہندس تصور تسلیم کران زیر چیز چیزیں سماجیاتی یا انسانی ساختہ (Socially linguistically constructed) لہذا زن امر بروہہ باقی تنقیدی نظریات ہنرمند کہ خصوصیت اس۔ اتہ کتہ مزید وائش کڈتے ہیں چیزیں پیرین وقت،

Perhaps the most fundamental point to make here is that "ecocritics reject the notion.....That everything is socially and/or linguistically constructed....."2

ماحولیاتی تنقید اس اور دوسری دتھ وائی اس نئے تبیین پیشہ چیزیں طریقے کار چیز تہ طرز مطالعہ ناو میں زن زبان، ثقافت، جنس یا تاریخی و سماجی عوامل یہ محرکات سیکڑیلہ زمین مرکز یا ماحول بنیاد پیشہ دتھ چیز۔ یہ چیز فطرت ہندس مساوی حقوق نظر انداز کران والین فرسودہ تصورات ہند مطالعہ کرتے ہیں کتہ بروہہ کن تراوان زمینیں چیز ہذا خود



ماحولیاتی تنقیدک اصطلاح کو رگ و دھنیکہ مہر 1978 منر ولیم ریکرٹس (William Rueckert) پوس آکس مقالہ منر "ادب تہ ماحولیات: ماحولیاتی تنقیدس منر اکہ تجربہ (Literature and ecology: An experiment in ecocriticism) استعمال۔ امہ پتہ آوہ 1992 منر ادب تہ ماحولیاتی مطالعہ ناظر اکہ ادبی تنظیم (ASLE) یعنی (Association for the studies of literature and environment.) قائم کرنہ بیگ مقصد ماحولیاتی ادب تحقیق تہ ترویج کرنی اکر تہ نئے منر مغربکی تہ مشر فکر ادب تہ دانشور شامل کرنہ آے۔ یادوے ماحولیاتی تنقیدک اصطلاح امریکی نقادون شیرل گلاٹ فیملی بن (Cheryl Glotfelty) مروج کور تہ ہوئی گوہار کی لگو برطانوی مامی امہ ماحولیاتی تنقید (Ecocriticism) ونہ بجایہ سبز مطالعات، ماحولیاتی شعریات، سبز ثقافتی مطالعات بیتر ہوو ناوو سکر زائمنہ مگر ادبی دنیا س منر گوہ تنقیدی نظریہ "ماحولیاتی تنقید" ناوے مشہور۔ شیرل گلاٹ فیملی بن چو ماحولیاتی تنقیدک تعریف پتہ کجی کر رہی

"What is then ecocriticism? Simply put, ecocriticism is the study of the relationship between literature and the physical environment. Just as feminist criticism examines language and literature from a gender conscious perspective, and Marxist criticism brings an awareness of modes of production and economic class to its reading of texts, ecocriticism takes an earth-centered approach literary studies."<sup>1</sup>

ترجمہ: ماحولیاتی تنقید کیاہ چو؟ عام لفظن منر بیگو و متجزیر چو ماحول تہ ادبکہ رشتہک مطالعہ۔ پتہ کجی تائیدی تنقید زبان تہ ادب پر کہ صنفی افتراقات بین بنیادن پتہ کجی کران مار کسی

منز فطر تس متعلق کجی یا مثالیہ بدس۔ یتیمین مجھ یہ شہد توبہ قران شیرفیس کن۔ ”فلما آصلت  
 ماحول“ ترجمہ ہے: جب اس نور نے اپنے ماحول (آس یا کے چیزوں) کو روشن  
 کر دیا۔ (البقرہ۔ ۱۷۰) قران کس آیت شیرفیس منز چھ ”ماحول“ لفظ بے واضح اندازس منز پیش  
 آمت کرنہ یہ ماحولیات چھ اتمی برز منسوب۔ یتیمہ نیش مراد چھ سانہ اُندی کلنیک عناصر  
 حیات، یمن پیٹ سانہ زندگی بند دار و مدار چھ: فطری آب و ہوا، زمین، کھلی گئی، جنگلن ہندی رجسٹری  
 سلسلہ، ہو جنگلو برز زمینہ پیٹ زندگی آباد چھتے تو ہم چیز زندگی توازن بخشان چھ۔ تیلہ ہیکو ویتھ بر قران  
 کریم یہ چھ ماحولیاتس متعلق صاف و پاک آب و ہوا، حیاتیاتس یہ زندگی پیٹ تصویر ناظر بنیادی بر  
 مانان۔ قران شیرفیس منز چھ درج:

ترجمہ: اور وہی ہے جس نے اپنی رحمت سے پہلے ہواؤں کو بھیجا جو خوشخبری دینے  
 والی ہوتی ہیں اور ہم نے آسمان سے پاک کرنے والا پانی اتارا۔ تاکہ ہم اس کے ذریعے  
 کسی مردہ شہر کو زندہ کریں اور وہ پانی اپنی مخلوق میں سے جانوروں اور بہت سے لوگوں  
 کو پلائیں۔ (القران۔ ۴۸، ۴۹)

یتھے کجی چھ باقی مذہبن منز ماحولیا چھ ذکر اکہ نیتہ بیدہ طریقہ کرنہ آہر۔ یتھنہ ذکر یتیمین ضروری چھنہ۔  
 ماحول لفظک تعلق چھ عربی زبانہ برز۔ امیک معنی ”گرد و نواح“ یہ اوٹد ہاکہ پیتر چھ۔  
 یہ چھ اکہ بیسار پاسل اصطلاح یکک اطلاق مختلف طریقو برز سپدان چھ۔ گرد پیشکو تم سارے  
 طبعی، سماجی، معاشرتی یہ ثقافتی ماحولیم کایناتس منز موجود مخلوقاتن پیٹہ اثر انداز سپدان چھ  
 چھ ماحول کہ اصطلاح کس واکیرس منز شامل۔

انسان کتھہ کئی ہنیکہ قدرتی چیزن ہند فائدہ نغلس مکتی من قدرتی چیزن ہنز حفاظت تہ کرتھہ۔ شیخ  
العالمہ شاعری جتھے ماعولیائی تنقید ناظر و رایہ متن فراہم کران یکبار اتھ منزجہ قدرتی خوبصورتی  
تہ اتھ خوبصورتی ہندس حفاظت متعلق شعور بیدار کرینج توتھہ تہ موجود۔ اہنز شاعری منزجہ اسہ  
انسان تہ ماعولس درمیان تعلق بہترین بناونہ ناظر علی رہنمائی تہ ماسل سپان تہ سنی جتھے  
یہ ژرنہ ون تہ لاگان زماونج حفاظت جتھے سائی اجتماعی ذمہ داری۔

### کلیدی الفاظ

ماعولیائی تنقید، رومانیت، حیاتیات، آبی پکر، ماعولیائی توازن، ماعولیائی شعریات، سہز مطالعات، ادب۔  
سہز ثقافتی مطالعات۔

ماعولیائی تنقید کیاہ جتھ؟ امنکو مدد دی تہ دایہ کیاہ جتھ؟ یہ کمرہ ہنیکہ ملکہ مطالبہ جتھ  
کران؟ کاتھرس ادبس منز خصوصاً کاتھرس شاعری منز جہا امچہ مثالہ بدس کیتہ تہ؟ امہ قسمہ کین  
کئی یا سوالن پیٹھ یہ نہ مقالس منز وزن نکتہ تہ مکتیہ یہ نہ وچھنہ ز حضرت شیخ العالم ہند بن  
شہر کین منز کتھہ کئی جتھ ٹی ماعولیائی تنقید کی عنصر و تاویج کوشش کرہہ۔ گ ڈیپے کتھہ جتھے یہ زیادہ  
کتھہ مغربی دنیاہس منز پڑواہ وری یا شہیڈ وری بروہہہ جتھ دس آسان و و تھمت، سو کتھہ جتھے  
کاتھرس ادبس منز قمرہ پتہ ہرنہ، تجزیہ کرنہ یوان۔ یہیلہ پتہ آفرس تمہ کتھہ ہند سون مطالعہ جتھ  
سپان تہ اسہ جتھے یمہ کتھہ ہنز ژرنہ ون لگان ز امہ کتھہ ہند بنیادی اگر جتھ مشرقی علوے۔ پتہ  
نہ چاہے اسلامی تاریخ آسا یا نہ کتھہ مذہب تاریخ آسا۔ وونی گووا کہ نہتہ یہ طریقہ جتھ من توار کئی

## ماحولیاتی تنقید تہ شیخہ شرک

ڈاکٹر باوید احمد نجار \*

تمغیہ

ماحولیاتی تنقید جو ادب تہ ماحولیاتس درمیان باہمی رشتہ کہ مطالعہک ماو۔ یہ تنقیدی طریقے کار جو ادب پر کھاوہہ ورنہ کتھہ پیٹے زور دوان ز ادبس منز کتھہ کنی چہ فطری ماحول، حیاتیاتی رنگا رنگی تہ ماحولیاتی مسائل پیش کرنہ آہتی تہ یمن ہند اثر کیاہ چہ انسانی زندگی پیٹے مرکز تنقیدی مزاج چہ زور دوان ز ادب کتھہ کنی چہ ماحولیاتی شعور بیدار کرتھہ ہرکان تہ ہتی چہ ماحولیاتی نظام دنجہ تھاونہ کین تدوز کن ہنز رہنمائی تہ فراہم کران۔ شیخ العالم یم شیخ نور الدین نورانی تہ علما ر کشمیر ہونو ناوو ہتی زانہہ چھنے یوان چہ کشہ ہند معروف صوفی، عقیدتی تہ مذہبی پیشوا تہ شاعر۔ شیخ العالم شاعری منز چہ صوفی، عقیدتی تہ مذہبی لوکتن ہنز ویرہئے آسنس ہتی ہتی قدرتی حسن، ماحولیاتی توازن تہ قدر ز ہنز بھر پور عکاسی کرنہ آہہ۔ شیخ العالم شاعری ہند مطالعہ کرتھہ چہ عیان سپدان ز ثمر ہنز شاعری منز چہ ماحولیاتس ہتی محبت تہ احترامک پیغام تہ بیوست۔ مگر ہندین اکثر شریکن منز چہ قدر لکی عناصر: پہاڑ، جنگل، زمین، آب، کولہ، براعزت بیتہ بیوی موضوع ویرہناوہ آہتی۔ یمن موضوعن منز چھنے نہ کتھہ ہنز بھر پور عکاسی سپدان ز اکھ

\* اسٹنٹ پروفیسر نظامت فاضلاتی تعلیم کشمیر یونیورسٹی

”یہ تجربہ چھ بڑی یا چھوٹی مکاشفانہ تجربہ پس منسلک ہندس سپنس منظر مستور ہے۔ نہ پختہ ہیکان  
 پر رو پیٹھ اُتھ لکنا ز کا نہ جاندار یا بے جان ہیکہ نہ یہ ویر اوتھ“ ۴۴  
 بہر حال حامدی کا شمیر بن چھ یمن دون شکر کن منظر تھ یا چھ تجربہ طریقہ کار ہتی تخلیقی تجربہ لون  
 کو ڈمٹ نہ پر کھوونت ز مطالبہ کرن وول چھ سال ہیو کران نہ اول پیٹھ آخر س نام چھ نہ ہیکرن  
 منظر آواہن یوان یچہ منظر بصری ہیکر، سامعہ ہیکر، لمسہ ہیکر، ذوقی ہیکر نہ شامعہ ہیکر یوان چھ یمن چھ  
 خواہ نمہ نہ ومان۔ یہ سأل چھ فکشن نشہ الگ یون نہ ہدون سأل۔ شیخ العالم ہندن یمن  
 شکر کن ہند مطالبہ کرتھ چھ یہ باس میلان نہ یہ کینزہ حامدی کا شمیر بن اتھ متعلق یو کھمت چھ نہ  
 چھ باقی تنقیدی نظریہ بن ہندہ تنقیدی مقالہ نشہ مختلف نہ متنوع۔ اتھ اکتشافی تنقیدی  
 مقالہ منظر چھ تجربہ کلی وحدت برومہ کن یوان نہ نہ کینہ پہلو۔

قوالہ

۱۔ حامدی کا شمیری: تناظر نہ تجربہ، کاٹھر دیار مُنت، کشمیر یونیورسٹی، حضرت بل، سرینگر، ۲۰۰۷ء،

ص ۶۱

۲۔ حامدی کا شمیری: تناظر نہ تجربہ، کاٹھر دیار مُنت، کشمیر یونیورسٹی، حضرت

بل، سرینگر، ۲۰۰۷ء، ص ۶۰

۳۔ القرآن۔ سورہ البقرہ، آیت ۱۳۸

۴۔ حامدی کا شمیری: تناظر نہ تجربہ، کاٹھر دیار مُنت، کشمیر یونیورسٹی، حضرت

بل، سرینگر، ۲۰۰۷ء، ص ۶۵

تجربہ چھ پرنتہ اگھ نقاد پانہ تخلیق کران تہ اتھ چھ تخلیقی تجربہ ومان۔ امیر اعتبار ہیکن نقادون ہندو اگھ تخلیقہ پٹھ مختلف تخلیقی تجربہ بروہہ کن پتھیتہ منز تجزیاتی طور طریقس کام ہینہ یان چھ۔

مادی کا شمیرن چھ اتھ تنقیدی مقالس منز مذکور شیخ العالم ہندس تریمس شتر کسمنز امیک شعری کردار اتھ شروکس منز باونہ آمہ سفرک سردار یا امیر قرار دیتمت یس سفرس منز اتھ پٹن تہ ہمسفرن ہند گردن مال باوان چھ۔ یہ شترک چھ ”دومی دھنم ند تولہ وٹی“ شترکہ اشہ ہینہ اعتبار مختلف براٹھ منز چھ گ وڈنگہ مصرعہ پٹھ آفری مصرس تام واقعہ یا قصہ مسلسل پانٹھو دیدن گروہان۔ ”زونم نہ منز ما ڈووت یہیے“ مصرعس منز لفظ زونم کہ صدا س قری وسہ انفرادیت بروہہ کن یان چھتہ تمہ تلہ چھ ننان زمادی کا شمیرن چھ یہ مصرعہ اتھ شترکس منز سفر کران والبن ہندس امیرس ستر منسوب کورمت یس درست چھ نکیار عام طور چھ قافلہ ستر اگھ زونٹھ یا امیر آسان۔ بہر مال امیر کتھ تہ چھ مادی کا شمیر یس اتھ شترکس منز موجود تجربہ فون کدس تہ و سجادس منز اتھ روٹ کورمت۔ اتھ مذکور شترکس منز چھ مادی کا شمیرن تخلیقی تجربہ لیکن لیکنان بناوہ مبالغہ آرائی کام ہیز ہریتہ منز تم اتھ شترکس منز سفر کران والبن ہند منزل مقصودس تام نہ واقعہ کتھ کران چھ۔ بہر مال اتھن چھ بناوہ مبالغہ آرائی تہ تاہلی کام ہینہ آہر تہ اتھ تخلیقی تجربس چھ معیار ہندی ہنز ضرورت۔

اتھ تنقیدی مقالس منز چھ مادی کا شمیرن شیخ العالم ہندس ہینس شترکس منز اگھ راج باوتھ کرہریتہ منز تلح حقیقت دیدن گروہان چھتہ یس ”ک وڈنی نہ ہوزان دم دم گتھ“ مصرعہ ستر بروہہ کن یان چھ۔ بقول مادی کا شمیری:





معنی کھوتہ زیادہ قصبہ غالب دیدن گرہ خان۔ تاہم چھوٹے دو نوے یعنی قصبہ یہ معنی اتھ مادی کا شمیر نیس تجربہ پس رنگارنگ، آسودہ یہ دلچسپ بناوان نیس زن اکتشافی تحقیق کھ پرزناون نشانہ چھ۔ اکتشافی تنقیدس منزچہ ہاتھ کھن علاوہ لفظن ہندین رحابن یہ گراہن یہ سلن ہوان۔ یہ کھتہ مد نظر تھاوتھ چھ مادی کا شمیر بن امیر مذکورہ شریکس گودنیکس یہ دوہس مصرعس منزہم مطابقت یہ ہم آہنگی و جھٹہ یہ کھتہ بروہہ کن آئی ہر زاتھ منزچہ ونگ ہلے تصور۔ ہندی کئی پینہ مذکورہ اس منز محمد آسان چھتہ تہ چھتہ نیس ہنس منز بے کنار سپدان۔

بہر حال مذکورہ چھتہ اتھ مذکورہ شریکس منز مادی کا شمیر بن زندگی، وق یہ حتمہ کس معنیس منزہم نیس زن علامتی معنیس منز کھ معنی آستہ ہیکہ نکلیا بقول مادی کا شمیر بن یہ چھ شاعر ہند کمال زمرہ چھ اتھ شریکس منز استعاراتی شبہہ کاری تھ اندس تام و اتناوی ہر پینس یہ علامتی معنیس ہوان چھتہ۔ مذکورہ شریکس منز چھوٹو لونی تھ، گل یہ فار لفظ چھ مادی کا شمیر نیس اتھ تجربہ پس رنگارنگی یہ جمالیات دگر شوروان یہ دلچسپ بناوان یہ یرن دول چھ اتھ منز آوراوہ ہوان۔ یادوے اتھ مذکورہ شریکس منز شیخ العالم، بن زوران الگ الگ مصرع بن پینہ مبنی آستہ زوران الگ الگ کھن ہنز باوتھ کر ہر چھ تاہم چھ اکتشافی تنقید موجب مادی کا شمیر بن پین تخلیقی تجربہ بروہہ کن پکناوان پکناوان ند، نم یہ تار پتہ یہ کھتہ بروہہ کن آئی ہر زاتھ مذکورہ شریکس منز چھتہ چھوٹو لونی تھ سودرن سکھاوی ہر یہ چھ اکتشافی تحقیق بناکہ پرزناون نشانہ۔ بہر حال اتھ بارس منز چھ مادی کا شمیر بن یہ کئی رقمطراز:



دُمی دَہنٹھم تھر پھو لہ وئی  
دُمی دَہنٹھم گل نہتہ نار

\*

(۲) آدن بھوہرس دُورن تہ ڈارن  
سارے وُمر گیم نارن س ٲتی  
وُدی کوہہ رووس نو لوئی بیارن  
وہ لکچہ پانم ستارن س ٲتی

\*

(۳) آئیے یات تہ گرہ سو کو تو  
زونم نہ منزما دُوقت پیے  
اُس کیناہ کرو آس لل پاتو  
پکان پکان پکان گے

\*

(۴) ہا ہے اکہ سگر تاہ زن وزان  
گنبد وزان ون ون گتہ  
س و زن اشاہ ستین بو زان  
کھ زن نہ بو زن دُم دُم گتہ

الگ الگ پائٹھر تہ ورتا ونہ آہتر تہ امتزائی پائٹھر تہ۔ امتزائی تنقیدی طریقہ کارس منز چہ نقاد  
 بیک وقت مختلف تنقیدی نظریہ ہن نشہ استفادہ کرتہ ہیکان۔ بہر حال وق گذرئس دکر دکر چہ  
 سماجی، سیاسی، اقتصادی تہ ادبی تغیر تہ تبدیلی یوان روزمرہ تہ نتیجہ چہ بہ درامت ز ادب تہ  
 دانشوران ہند سوچ تہ شعور تہ چہ وق گذرئس دکر دکر تغیر تہ تبدیلی دکر پرتھیوومت تہ  
 پچاٹھیوومت۔ امہ دکر چہ وئس تام باگہ بورت ادب ہارس آمت۔ اتہ تنوظرس منز چہ  
 مادی کشمیری تہ امہ تغیر تہ تبدیلی ہندی مرحلہ منز گذر تہیتر۔ مو چہ کاتشرس ادبس منز مختلف  
 تنقیدی نظریہ لوب تھاوتہ کاتشرن ادبی فنہ پاردن پیٹہ یئن تنقیدی نظریہ ور تووومت۔ اتہ  
 ”اکتشافی تنقید“ ومان چہ۔ امینک وجہ چہ بہ ز مو چہ مختلف تنقیدی نظریہ ادب پارم ورتا ونہ  
 تہ پرکھا ونہ باہتہ نا لگہار قرار دتی ہتر تہ تہندن نظرن منز چہ ہم تنقیدی نظریہ پرا لینیتری تہیتر کس  
 ہارس منز مو پئن نوو نظریہ پیش کورنت چہ۔ یہ نظریہ چہ مواردو زبانی منز پیش کورنت تہ اتہ چہ  
 مو ”اکتشافی تنقید کی شعریات“ ناو تھاوومت۔ کاتشرس منز چہ مو امہ نظریہ کین کینون  
 پہلون پیٹہ یو کھمت۔ اتہ مو ”اکتشافی تنقید: کینہ پہلو“ ناو تھاوومت چہ۔

اکتشافی تنقید چہ اکہ نئی نظریہ۔ یہ نظریہ چہ متنس منز گیتہ تخلیقی تجربہ نون گذرئس تہ ہرزما وئس  
 پیٹہ زور دوان تہ اتہ منز چہ معنیس نا نوی اہمیت دہ یوان۔ بہر حال مادی کشمیری چہ شیخ  
 العالم ہندی زور شکر امی نظریہ ہتر پرکھا ونہ کوشش کرہ ہتر تہند تجربہ پچھلے تنقیدی زبانی منز پیش  
 کورنت۔ ہم زور شکر کی چہ تہ کئی

(۱) دمی دہنم مد شولہ وئی

دمی دہنم نم نہ تہ

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شمیم احمد\*

مختص

وق گزرنس رتري چو سماجي، سياسي، اقتصادي ته ادبي تغير ته تبديلي ۽ ان روزمره ته نتيجو چو ۽  
درامت ز ادب ته دانشوران ۽ هند سوچ ته شعور ته چو وق گزرنس رتري تغير ته تبديلي ۽ هندن  
مرطن منر گزرومت۔ امه رتري ونس نام باگه بارت ادب بارس آمت۔ اتو تونظر منر  
چو مادي کشميري ته امه تغير ته تبديلي ۽ هندی مرطبه منر گزريمتري۔ تو چو کاشرس ادبس منر مختلف  
تنقيدی نظريه لوب تماوتو کاشرس ادبي فن ۽ پان پيڻ پان تنقيدی نظريه ور تو وومت ۽  
”اکتشافی تنقيد“ ومان چو۔ ۽ نظريه چو متنس منر گچو تخليقی تجربو فون کدلس ته پرزنا ولس پيڻ  
زور ووان ته اتو منر چو معنيس ثانوی اهميت دنه ۽ ان۔ شاعر سند کاڻه ته تجربو چو آلا ورا ۽  
برونه کن ۽ ان ته ۽ چو غور و فکر ته مشايد رتري ته زانن لبان۔ بهر مال مادي کاشميري چو شيخ  
العالم ۽ هندن فون شرکين منر علمي ته تخليقی تجربو پر کحو وومت ته فون کو وومت۔ ۽ تخليقی  
تجربو بیکو تخليقی تجربو ته آست ته اصلي تجربو ته۔ تخليقی تجربو چو نه تجربو بس نه نظاونه آس نه  
آمت۔

کلیدی لفظ: اکتشافی تنقيد، تخليقی تجربو، شرکي، پرزنا ولس نشانه، مصلح اهميت ته بیکو۔  
کاشرس منر چو ونس نام ادب پارم ولساونه ته پرکھاونه بلهته کي ياد تنقيدی نظريه ور ماونه آست  
۽ من منر علمي تنقيد، پيڻ تنقيد، مارکسي تنقيد، تار آتی تنقيد، نفسياتی تنقيد پير چو۔ ۽ علم نظريه چو بعضو



سائگ ینیلہ واصل حق سیدئس پئے خدا دلہ کس دنیا ہے اندر جلو گر سیدتہ وصلک مے  
 پاؤتہ حیاتی بختان تہ سائگ پئے دلہ کس دنیا بس منز غوطہ دتہ لال تہ نوآہر لبہ مالا مال  
 سیدان۔ مقبولس تہ پئے پلن معنوق حقیقی جلو گر سیدتہ پانے منز موجود لبہ آمت۔ توے پئے  
 وصل پراؤتہ اکے وجود بیتہ پانے منز کم۔

مس بیتہ تہنرے یاری بند

کس ونہ پنجم ہے نشہ لولو

بہ نلکے رخ و دو صحن دلبر

دئس وئی واہ از ہر دینہ

غرض مقبول امرتسری سند اکثر کلام پئے صوفیانہ رموز اتو تہ اسرا و سوز برتہ۔ ٹم پئے بند  
 شاعری اندر من زاو باران بند تذکریا نوی سطرس بیتہ کورمت بلکہ ہمین تفلیقی ہنر مندی تہ فن  
 شناسی بند تہ بر ملا اظہار کورمت۔ ئس ہنر زبان دانی تہ لفظ ورتا و پئے اعلا قسک۔ یہ کتہ آہ  
 گ وڈے گوش گزار کر تہ ز مقبول امرتسری بندس شاعرانہ اظہارس تہ کلامس بیتہ جھنہ ونہ تہ  
 کاٹہ مثبت بحث کہ تہ آمت ٹم کئی تہنر فن شناسی تہ شاعرانہ شخصیت ادبی ملقن اندر آوز  
 بچن۔ وقتک تقاضہ پئے ہر مقبول امرتسری بندس کلامس گروہ گ وڈ انوار سام بیتہ سوز ناگر  
 تہند شاعرانہ مرتب سید عام ملقن اندر واشگاف۔

توالہ:

شاد غلام محمد۔ ترتیب، کھیات محمد مقبول ٹاکی، علی محمد ایند سنہ، لال پوک سر ہنگر، 2017۔  
 منور، ناجی۔ ترتیب، کلام مقبول امرتسری، سن ایند ایس پبلیکیشنز، 2021۔

ہو ہو مقبولہ برس و ترس و تری

روح جوان بندہ اذ روح اللہ

ساگمہ بنی زندگی بند مقصد حیات پختہ وصل حق پر افان۔ تیس پختہ یہ عقیدہ زبہ پختہ پختہ  
اصلی اگر نہ کر نام زہنہ گوشت اکہ قطرہ۔ پس پختہ یہ پختہ پختہ اصلی اگر سہ پختہ پختہ پر افان  
پختہ۔ یعنی پختہ واصل گل پر حان یا ولو قطرہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ  
تیس دار ہے کھن یا نار ہے دزن، نہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ  
مالس منز وصل حق پر افانک طلب۔ وصل یہ وصل پر افانک اشتیاق پختہ مقبول امر تیری پختہ  
کلاک مہ پختہ مول۔ تیس پختہ یہ کتہ پختہ زبہ واصل حق پس مہ وصل پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ  
پر افان اہمی سکون۔

دون پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ  
تیس وصل سین اصل قسمت تیس پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ

وصلک مہ تیس دامہ دامہ پختہ پختہ  
اصلک مہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ

پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ  
پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ پختہ

مشتعل علاؤں منہ مبتلا تہ غرق گروہتہ پنجہ سالکس دنیا بکس درس درس منہ پلہس  
معشوق حقیقی سند بلو تہ عکس درینٹھی یوان۔ مقبول امرتسری تہ پنجہ من بلون تہ تجلیں ہند  
گواہ۔

یار بھی اُس تہ ہر شاہیے  
وہ چمن دلہ کے شہید لولو

❦

وأتھ ہئے چُجے درس درس  
ہر باہ وئی دوبرس کن

ذکر یچھے سالکس سو بہتیار میر پتہ نہ پلن رومانی سفر آسان بناوتھ ہیکر۔ ذکر ہستی چنہ  
سالکس پلن معشوق حقیقی ذنبہ راونس منہ مدو میلان۔ فکر تہ ذکر ہند انتہائی کمالہ پتہ چنہ سالک  
وہدس اندریتہ ذاتی وجود اور تھ عالم گیر وجود لبان۔ قطر ہلہ سوزد بنان۔ مقبول امرتسری ینتہ پنجہ  
اذکارن ہند تہ ذکر تہ بہنہ بلند ہی تہ رومانی طاقتک اظہار کورمت۔

یار سند وصل ترے بندہ یے زاہ  
ماصل فکر بکئی ذکر کرتس تہ لولو

❦

ذاکر و ذکر ہند توش کرتو  
منہ معرفت حق توش کرتو

❦

تصویر کرنے ہڈی ہے اہم مکتب خیال پھر ایجابیہ (Theistic)، وجودیہ (Monistic) (ہمہ اوست) ہے شہودیہ (Moderate Pantheism) (ہمہ از اوس)۔ ہو مکتب خیالو ہمنہ وحدت الوجودی فلسفہ زیادہ اہم نکلیا اکثر صوفی پھر امی فلسفہ پر و کار۔ وحدت الوجودی نظریہ کنی جھن ابدی ذات اے س و جھن خداے ہن ذات عقدس، باقی یہ کینہہا ہے پاد سپہ ہے تمی ذاتک ظہور۔ لہذا پھر ہر جہ کا نہہ چیزس وے ذات ہے تمی ذاتک حصہ یا یہ کینہہا موجود پھر ہے سوہے پھر "ذات مطلق"۔ وحدت الوجود گوو وجودک اے آسن، اکھ آسک مطلب گوو بیاکھ ہے پھر پھر نہ آسنس برابر۔ اکثر صوفی شاعر ورتو ہے فلسفہ ہے نظریہ ہنہ شاعری اندر، تو زون وحدت الوجود کیہ نظریہ کنی کاینا تیس منز موجود ہر جہ کا نہہ چیز خدا سہہ نوارک حصہ۔ مقبول امر تسری ہے پھر وحدت الوجودی فلسفہ قایل۔ تہنہ اکثر شاعری جھن امی فلسفہ ہار گشت۔

واجب الوجود موجود زائن

سے مجھے پائس وجودس منز

تو شان روز تو وصلیچ شادی

لین المادی الاح

ۛ

ہر طرف درخش جت دتی ہے مے وڈی ہے ہر طرف

ہیر ہونہ ہے جھکے ہے ہر با درنگ و تاز دلہو

میں نے ان سے۔ مجھے وہ زکیر اندر لوب ہے واد صوفی شاعر و زائن یونہی شاعری اندر ذات و صفات کی چھپید مسلمہ و ہر ہناتو تہ راز و نیاز ہے کچھ باو۔ مقبول امر تہری ہے مجھے یوب صوفی شاعر و منہر اکہ، یس سند کلام صوفیانہ رموزن، اسرارن تہ زو و بارن ہند آئے ہاوان ہے۔

عمیق حقیقی چھ تصوفک بنیادی مقام۔ پتہ پتہ تصوفی پور لڑ درتھو چھ۔ مقبول امر تری سندس کلامس منزجہ عشقک موضوع سبھا ہے اہم۔ اکہ سا لگ۔ یندہ عشقہ سندس اندر غرق سید۔ بھنہ پتہ ٹھہرن تہ مشکلات بند واسے رنگ قابل۔ بلکہ پتہ نہ عشقہ ناہ درتھو ایدی سکون تہ قرار لہ نگ طلب گار۔ پرتھ کا نہہ فرد ہیکہنہ افینک گوب بارونہ تھ، بلکہ چھ خالے کا نہہ کا نہہ امی نازک تہ تہ مرزا لک دلدادہ۔ مقبول امر تری عن چھ عشقہ مشکلی پسندی نہندہ با مٹ۔ پتہ پتہ مٹھی دہنمت۔

دریا پنچہ عشق سون وسن جتہ منہ پنچھو آسان

یہم یار تیرے مہر گئیہ تم کو تو کھستی ہے

مقبول ہے عشق پس کر چرخ منہ میجر لبیک قابل۔ نس اگر کا نہ ہے چہ کر لائے آسہ باوجود  
تہ رومانی سکونک قرار گا و لبہ آمت ہے نہ ہے عشق۔ تووے ہے عشقہ بارزن بار بار ساک  
کر نک تہ ہے عشق پدیک تشنہ طلب۔

وَأَتَتْهُ نَعْمَةً مِّنْ مَّوَالِيهِ

عشق ہے تو ہے اسرار

ہاں کرو فکر نہ اذکار نہ

سائل کر عشق نہ بن بازارن

دریافت کردیم پتہ بودوے مقبول نس آفس تہ نہ آفس پیٹہ کینز جن شک تہ شہہ یاد گئی مگر  
 پروفیسر غلام محمد شاد ہندو کی تحقیق نو سپدہ پتہ آسہ ضرور تمن جواب پہلے تقریر بازی پیٹہ قنفت  
 لوگت۔ مقبول امرتسری سند الہ پلہ ساکم کلام پتہ فنیہ ہازر آمت نس غزل، وزن، نعت  
 ، منقبت تہ مثنوی پیٹہ محیلا پتہ۔ مگر بہ قسمتی جتہ یہ نہ مقبول ساکم کلام ہازرینہ پتہ تہ شخصہ نس  
 ہنز فن شناسی تہ شاعرانہ ہنز مندی پیٹہ ناس قلم نغنیہ آمت۔ سند کلام پتہ واریاد کینہہ لیکن  
 منگ کو تہ کس نام بلند قامت تہ نظر شناس نقاد ہنز ون گاران۔ تہنر شاعرانہ شخصہ  
 متعلق کیا نہ نقادان ہند قلم ناموش تہ ہیکن کبیا وجہات آستہ مگر میانی کوی صرف اکہ یعنی "من  
 ترا حاجی بہ گویم تو مرا حاجی گوی"۔

مقبول امرتسری ہند نس کلامس بہ غور زول دتہ پتہ تہنر فن شناسی تہ تخلیقی ہنز مندی  
 علاوہ یہ کتہ تہ واشگاف سپدان سند کلام پتہ دون نو تہنیدہ کھوڑر ٹھہر آوتہ۔ اکہ حسبہ پتہ کلا ناک  
 سند پتہ منر مقبول بختیت اکہ تاشوق یا نور ومانی پرور شاعر و ملان پتہ، بیا کہ حسبہ پتہ کلا ناک سند پتہ  
 منر مقبول تصوف کین ترا وبارن زول دتہ آگس پ وختہ کار صوفی شاعر سند انہار رمان پتہ۔ مگر  
 ہندی کینہہ غزل تہ ناس یا مگر اکثر وزن پتہ امی صوفیانہ سوچن ترا یہ ہندی عکس۔

کثیر روز اولہ پیٹے مختلف رومانی فلسفن پتہ تجزیہ گاہ۔ پتہ لب پر پتہ آکر رومانی  
 پھلسفن پتہ مقدور مطابق شہرت تہ استقامت۔ ہد مت، شومت، رلیست تہ اسلامی  
 تصوف پتہ قہ پھلسفہ یو کثیر ہنز زمین پتہ رومانی ارشاد تو مکی مشکاؤ۔ غرض کہ کثیر ہنز زمین اندر پتہ  
 رومانیک موال عمیق تہ وسیع شہرس پیٹہ ہوست۔ یہ کتہ جتہ لازمی تہ پتہ ذہنہ اندر نرم لبن  
 وائس پر پتہ فردس آسہ رومانیک فطری زہر، میک الظہار نہ پتہ زندگی ہندس پر پتہ آگس موڈس



## مقبول امرتسری ہنسز صوفیانہ لے

امتیاز عالم =

تلفیص:

مقبول امرتسری سند شاعرانہ فن یتھ ویتہ ادبی ملقن ہنسز و نظرونشہ دورہ یتیلہ کہ  
زن تہنسز اکثر شاعری وونی بازہ آپرہ یتھ۔ سند شاعرانہ قد یتھ بلند قامت وول یتھ  
تہنسز شاعرانہ شخصیت یتھ بسیار پاسل۔ تہنسز شاعرانہ کلامس زول ویتھ  
مٹیک نہتہ مول بہ کران یتھ ویتھ اشہ ضرورت تاکہ مقبول شاعرانہ مرتب گروہ  
واضح۔ یتیلہ تہنسز کلامس بہ غور مطالعہ کرو یتیلہ یتھ سند کلام دون نویتن ہنسز،  
اکہ یتھ تہنسز شاعرانہ کلاٹک کم کاسہ حصہ نہ یتھ منہز مقبول امرتسری اگس تا شوقہ  
شاعر بند عقیت ووتلان یتھ، یتاکہ حصہ یتھ کلاٹک نہ یتھ منہز مقبول تصوف کہن  
زآوہارن زول ویتھ اگس پ ویتھ کار صوفی شاعر سند انہار رمان یتھ۔ ٹمر ہندی  
کینہہ غزل یتھ خاص پانٹھو اکثر ورن چہ امی صوفیانہ سوچن تراہ ہندی عکس۔

کلیدی الفاظ: بلند قامت، بسیار پاسل، نہتہ مول، شاعرانہ مرتب، نویتن، پانختہ  
کار۔

مقبول امرتسری اوس محمود گامی یتھ روسل میزان ہمعصر شاعر۔ ائس 1976ء ائس تام  
گٹامی ہنسز یردن ژحایہ روزتہ ادبی ملقن اندر مشرفس گوہ۔ گ وڈنچہ لہ ناہی منور ہندی ذکر

«اسلٹ پروفسر گورنت ڈگری کالج بدگام»

الانعم - نورنامہ یعنی کلیات شیخ العالم (ترتیب و ترجمہ) - شیخ محمد عثمان اینڈ سنز تاجران کتب،  
سرینگر، ۲۰۱۶ء۔

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گوئیوم بار تہ تراوکس      بورگوب گوم تہ تراوکس

حاصل:

معروضی تجزیہ کرتے ہیں میر عبداللہ بھٹی ہندو متیہ ترتیب دینے آمت کلام شیخ ٹوس  
ترتیبیں مندرجہ صائیں اسے بروئے کمر تراوتمہ ہڑگو پڑی پانچو شیخ شریکین ہندو بزرگ تہ مثنی  
پھیرک اہام تہ تنازعہ ختم۔ نامی صائیں بچہ یہ کلام حرفو مطابق ترتیب دیتے کاتبہ شریک  
ڈھارٹس مندرجہ صائیں یہ تہ۔ سائیں نقادین، عالمن، محققین، طالب علمین بڑے کلام معتبر  
زائے حضرت شیخ العالم سنہ ہند، فن شناس تہ زبان ساز شخصیت ہندی باقی گیتہ پہلوئی کڈنی۔  
حضرت شیخ العالمس ہڑمسلک تدریسی کیو تحقیقی ادارن بڑے کلیات معتبر تہ مستند زائے  
ہوئی پٹنیں تدریسی تہ تحقیقی پروگرامن مندرجہ بحیثیت Text شامل کرنی۔

کلیات:

آزاد عبداللہ۔ کشمیری زبان اور شاعری، جلد ۱۔ جموں کشمیر اکیڈمی آف آرٹ کلچر اینڈ لنگویج،  
سرینگر، ۱۹۵۹ء۔

شوق، شفیع، نامی منور۔ کاشمیر ادبک تواریخ۔ ڈیپارٹمنٹ آف کشمیری، حضرت بل،  
سرینگر، ۱۹۹۲ء۔

منور نامی۔ کلیات شیخ العالم۔ علی محمد اینڈ سنز، سرینگر۔

نفسے میا نے ہیر واگو

دڑے دگو بھولم نہ ذات

پا نے میا نے ہستہ فن شو صو

پاپ بھی پو ٹھان دن کیو رات

نفسے میا نے ہیر واگو

دڑے دگو بھولم نہ زانہ

مندعن ہستہ ٹولم شکو

پاپتہ سگو ٹولم نہ زانہ

ناجی

پاز یو دیکھ پانزہ مورکھ

تیر ماز مورکھ سولے مجھے نماز

شوس تیر شنیاس میل یو دکرکھ

سیودے سولے مجھے وہانتر نماز

وہانتر ہڈی

پار مو

پاز یو دیکھ پانزہ مورکھ

تیر ماز مورکھ سولے مجھے نماز

شوس تیر شنیاس میل یو دکرکھ

سیودے سولے مجھے وہانتر نماز

وہانتر (ابھینتر): اندریم

ناجی

گنیر رک کران پنجم گراو

امبرہر ڈھینم تیر ہاوکس

سری گوم گر تیر ہو کھلی گیم ناو

رانی (کھوت)

گنیر رک کران پنجم کاو

تیر پنجم انبر ہاوکس

سری گوم گر تیر ہو کھلی گیم ناو

وندہاے گر سا سا بر نیرے نہ زائیدہ ۴۴ ۴۵ ان پوشہ تیلہ ییلہ ون پوشہ ۴۶ ہو کر دلی حضرت شیخ  
 العالمس گندمتر۔ ناجی صائبز کئی چھ بیتی سدن نفس یہ صفت راتھ منزہ حضرت شمس ستر  
 مندوب وژن تہ شرکین ہنز شاعرانہ صورت زمانی تقاضو مطابق بالکل نر تہ واضح۔ اے کج  
 ہیکہ ہون یہ نسخہ باقی نسخن مقابلہ مستند تہ معتبر مانئہ۔ حضرت شیخ سدن وژن چھ تصدیا یہ یہ تخلیقہ  
 یمن منز تشبہ، استعارہ ترکیبہ، ہیکہ، لفظی تلمہ تراویہ باقی گون نر چھ۔

ناجی صائبہ ترتیب و ہمتیں کھیاتہ منز ڈاڑی مے کینہہ شرکی بیٹہ متنی مقابلہ اسی من شرکین  
 ہتر کرتھ ہیکو یم سانو معروف تہ سر کر د شیخ شنا سو ہاومت چھ امید تقابلہ ہتر ہیکہ شیخ شرکین حوالہ  
 زک تہ ہرون بروہہ کن ہتر۔

ناجی	شاد
آدم ہو پدا فن س و ہا	آدم ہو پدا فن ژو ہا
آیہ، ناہ، واہ تہ میہ	آیہ، واہ، نار تہ میہ
سہ ییلہ انہ ہو در پھٹھی آو	ان بیٹہ اورے پھٹھی آو
دوہن ز دنیا رن نالہ متہ	دنیا رن نالہ متہ
گند ییلہ گلن ورز نہ واہ	گند ییلہ گلہ نس ورز نہ واہ
ہترے آو عیتے مرہ	ہیتی آو تہی موڑی

زراڈی پور چھ کیمو ویدئے ۲ کلو میٹر دور گام۔ اسے چھ کولگامی ضلع منزبے شمار زراڈی۔  
 روڈ چھ کولگامی علاقے منزبے سیٹھاہ مانوس لفظ۔ ڈمر گووشتہ، کولگام کس ہیر مس کچھ علاقے منزبے  
 ڈمر ناؤک گام یہ حضرت شیخ بنز زیارت یہ مجھے۔ ڈمر چھ بڑے بالو سڑوالتھ کنیلر علاقے آباد۔  
 ہتھ کالہ آس آس یہ ویرے کز اچ زمین ستر وینیر۔ یو شخص شہر کین کو یہ گلین منزندگی  
 گرامہ آس آس کیا آس زراڈک یا ڈمر زمینک تصور۔ تھے پانچو ئیس نہ گامہ غیر درامت آس آس نہ  
 کیاہ زانہ ڈچ پیسہ لوکھر۔ شیخ العالم سند کلاٹک اصلی متن زانہ موکھہ گروہ آس محقق گامی یہ  
 شہری زندگی ہندو علی یہ غارہی حقیقہ من بند شعور آس۔ اے علاقہ وار لفظ پیسہ کز اوس شیخ  
 العالم سند متن پرن یہ بھجن دشوار بنیو مت۔ ناجی صابس اوس شہرک یہ گانک مشاہدہ ہو۔  
 تو کوہ پتھری سندس قلمی نسخ باقی ریش نامن یہ نور نامن سڑو موازہ یہ دین باوتھ زمین ریش  
 نامن منزدرج شریکین ہندی متن کتھ پانچو پیسہ بے معنی یہ بے مطلب۔ ناجی صابن ون چھ  
 صحیح کلام شیخ پرن وائر یا تھر کرک وائر آس پانہ یہ شاعر یا او سکے شاعرانہ مزاج۔ تو چھ بعضے  
 حضرت شیخ سند کلام پھر نہ ورتے آس پانہ یہ ہاتھ ہندی کر مہ۔ ناجی صابن ورن چھ مزید زکسر منز  
 اوس ہاتھ بازی ہند رواج اوپر اوپر نام۔ وقت گزرنس سڑو گوویر سند کلام یہ کلام شخص سڑو۔ ناجی  
 صابن چھ گوئل ناچ مثال دتھ یہ وونت زینت مقبول ورن پٹھہ پتھری سندس قلمی نسخ منز  
 کتھہ ہایہ موجود۔ ناجی صابن کز بھتہ امہ ورنچ زبان شاہیری دورک کاتھر بلکہ مجھے یہ تخلیق  
 ہٹھان یا ڈوگر دور کس کاتھہ بان شاعر سنز۔ مجھے پانچو جھکے۔ ہو ذیوم دیتس گرکھ ورنون۔ ”گر



زائن۔ ہر محقق کو وہ پس زبانہ یا لفظن بندس صوتیاتی، مارفیمیاتی یا جلیاتی بدلاؤس واقع  
 آسے۔ شیخ العالمہ سند کلامک درست متن زہارن واکر محقق گروہن شیخ العالم سند وچ کثیر ہندین  
 علی پہلون ازوی منز آسے۔ شیخ العالم زاو کیموہ پس از تحصیل ہید کواثر ہجہ۔ کیموہ پنچہ پرائس دلو  
 سر پر گنس تہ ہو گز ارونی پر گنس منز باگ۔ یم دو شوے پر گن خصوصاً ہو گز ارونی پر گن پنچہ داں  
 فصلہ کہ اعتبار کثیر منز ساروے کھوتہ درخیز۔ اتھہ آو Rice Bowl of Kashmir تہ ونہ۔  
 سروالہ لارنس کور اتھہ علاقہ ساروے کھوتہ زیادہ مائیہ Levy تہ مقرر۔ دانیک پادادار زیادہ  
 آسہ کہ سبے آواتھ انتہائی ملقس ہوم شالی بک ناودنہ۔ کثیر منز آیہ گوڈیتھ آپاشی غاٹر راجا سر  
 نامین ہندی دس سوہ من ناوچ..... اتھہ علاقہ منز کھنہ۔ کرنا بکی ملین ہنز بغاؤڑ نشہ ہتھ رہنہ  
 موکھ دست لاہے علاقہ ہمارا با گلاب سنگھن تمن جاگیرس۔ لہذا یاتام نہ کولگا م تہ ہو گز  
 آروہ کین کھن، ذرائین، نمبلن، پرن تہ بھلین ہند تصویر بروٹھ کتہ آسہ قوام کلام شیخ پرن  
 پنچہ نامکن نکلیاز تمور تاوی پنہ زمانہ مطابق مروجہ، بر محل تہ ویدی لفظ:۔

زراڈے سُم سینی تو دگس میانس

اندون وائتہ جھس دوان

کیا کر نفس ژمروں ینس

وتھہ راوانس ژینی تو میون

Peculiar آواز مثالی زور، نزن، مری فارسی میں منہ چہ اتھ۔ آواز ہے | مقرر مثالی

مرگان، زلا وغیرہ۔ اوام اول کاشرس منہ اڑا تہ اڑا

کاشرس منہ اچ | صوتیم مری ہاونہ یوان۔ چہ پاتھر اسی اڑا تہ اڑا | آگونیہ پری یوان۔ ناجی

صائیں چہ مزید ون زات |، اچھا، اچھا، اچھا مصممہ آیہ کاشرس منہ بصری طور واریاہ زوری

ہاونہ۔ ہونی وتویم صوتیم منہ بصری شکل دستیاب نہ آسنہ کس صورتس منہ کس ہیکہ ہا

ہستی سند قلمی نسخہ ہر تہ۔ بقول ناجی ایتہ چہ لیکھتہ۔ چالین چہے پر متن کرن اتہ بیتہ متن

درست پاتھر یون پنجنہ سہل۔ امیک درست متن چہ عرق رزی مرگان۔ توے چہ بقول

ناجی ساڈی بیتر ترتیب کارانہ گنن منہ تیر لایان ہم خالی نشانن لگان چہ۔

ناجی صائیں چہ متن لفظن یا ترکیبن ہنز بے شمار مثالیہ دژمہیم ترتیب کارو غلط پاتھر

ہاومتی چہ۔

صحیح	غلط
تسلیم	تسلیم / تحسلی
ہنگر اچہ	یہ نگر چہ
ورنیں	اور نون

اکثر نسخن منہ چہ شیخ شریکین ہندی تحری متن دینہ آمتری ہم بے معنی تہ بے مطلب چہ۔ شیخ العالم

چہ یفنیہ زہانہ، زمانک، معاشرک، تہذیبک ہر تہ طرح دارنمایہ۔ تسنن شاعری زانہ گئیہ تسنن زمانہ

یہ کلام کو دن اچھے منظر شامل نہیں زیادہ ، زمانہ ، اسلوب ، طرز ، مدعا یہ لہجہ لہجہ حضرت شیخ  
العالم ہندس کلامس پڑھنا اوس ۔ تم کو کورسہ سورس کلام روئیں نہ اس ہند تحقیق کچھ  
حضرت شیخ سند پڑ کلام اوس ۔

3۔ شیخ العالم ہندی ہم یہ کلیات ازلیک تمام بچا پنہ آہ تہند نجم بدھا ونہ موکبہ آو تہ سورس  
کلام من منظر شامل کرنہ نہیں شیخ العالمس متعلق تہند من پڑ بوجن ، آشنہ تہ دو متن کتہ باتھ رنگ  
شکر کین ہندس سورس منظر دراو ۔ حق چہ یہ زیہ کلام آو شیخ العالمس یہ واریا ہے کاکر لیکھنہ  
تہ بقول ناجی ” واریا ہن قوم ہندس لکھ ادب منظر چہ بنہ نین ہیرون ہندس عرس منظر یہ  
شاعری موجود “ ۔ پڑ چہ یہ زسانو شیخ شنا سو اوس پڑ چہ دشواری کچھ تہقی سند قلمی نسخہ پس  
پشت تراومت ۔ اچھ نسخ منظر چہ حضرت شیخ العالم ہندی تریہ خوبصورت وزن نما نظمہ یم  
گوڈنکہ پھر ناجی صائن زیر بحث کلیات منظر گڈے شامل کر متی چہ ۔ اچھ قلمی نسخ متعلق  
چہ ناجی صائن یہ وثن :-

” امیہ قلمی نسخہ مدببہ تحریر پڑن تہ پڑتھ ہا معنی لفظن تمام واثن پڑھ پڑے کرواٹھ معاملہ مگر یہ تحریر  
نظر انداز کرتھ کلیات مرتب کرنگ دعو اکرن کوسہ دانائی چھ “

(ناجی منور ۔ صفحہ ۱۴)

ناجی صائن مو فی اہم کتہ زی وسہ کاشر شاعری تہقی پس تہ محمود گامیں بروہہ  
لیکھنہ آہ تہ منظر چھنہ اڑا تہ اڑا ہون صو تہمن ہنر بصری صورت واضح ۔ اڑا چہ کاشر ق لکھ

موزون طریقہ پانہ ناوتھ یہ کلیات مرویہ کاشٹرس رسم خطس منز از لوسر ترتیب ۔ میر عبداللہ بہتقی سند قلمی نسخہ چھ کشمیر یونیورسٹی بمنزریہ سرچ لایبری منز از یہ محفوظ ۔ جون گووامیر لنگلی نقل ہیکن اور جانن آستہ ۔ پروفیسر پارمون یہ چھ امیر لنگلی تذکرہ پنہ کتابہ Unity in Diversity منز کوڑمت ۔ یہ نسخہ اوس نہ عام قادی بندہ غاظرہ زن سہل ۔ یہ اوس تیوتھے چھ پرین نیتہ الی منز لبندہ آمت پندامہ صدی ہند Voynich Manuscript از نام کاتبہ پڑتھ بیوک نہ ۔ آچمن ہند تیل زائتھ کور ناجی صائبن یہ قلمی نسخہ Decrypt ۔ ناجی گوو تحقیق ، تجزیہ ، تجزیہ یہ مثاہد ہوی آلہ ورتاوتھ کلام شیخ العالمک اصلی متن پرنناونس منڈ کامیاب ۔ یہ کلام پرنس سڑگیہ نس یہ دہر نہ سارے وائس خرچ ۔ ناجی صائبن ترتیب دتی ہنس اتھ کلیاتس مقابلہ ہیکو باقی سارے کلیاتہ بمن بنیازن پیٹھ غیر مستند مانٹھ ۔

1۔ میر عبداللہ بہتقی اوس محمد پاکیک بزرگ شاعر یہ عالم دین ۔ کشمیر منز اوس بہتقی خاندانک علمی یہ دینی مرتبہ واریاد بلند ۔ ناجی یہ شوق بندہ ونہ کھو اوس اتھ خاندانس شاہمیری خاندانس دھڑ قریبی رشتہ یہ معروف مورخ جی ایم صوفی بندہ ونہ چھ میر عبداللہ بہتقی بندہ رطلک واقعہ کشمیر ہندین ہندین واقعن منز اکھ ۔

2۔ ناجی صائبن چھ بہتقی سند ژورمت کلام ساروے کھوتہ معتبر یہ مستند مومت ۔ ناجی صائبن جوار پنہ ریش العالمس سڑ منسوب کلاانک اکھ بوڈ ذہیر اوس زبانی رواہون یہ محفوظ قلمی نسخن بندہ ذریعہ بہتقی یس نیش وومت نگر تمی کری اتھ سارے کلااس پنہ بصیرتہ مطابق ژار نہ نے

تعارف:

ہتمیو پانزو وڈلیو پیٹھ آسہ حضرت شیخ ہند کلامیہ واریاہ کلیات پچاپنہ نہ وومید پچہ زآینہ نہ روزیہ سلسلہ جاری۔ یادوے ساڈی ریش نامہ نہ نور نامہ سداسہ صدی پتے بارس آسہ مگر امیک مطلب گوہ نہ ہرگز تمہ بروٹہ کیاہ آسہ ہے نہ شیخ العالم سند کلام لیکھنہ آمت۔ اسہ نش پچہ تم نہ مسند شہادڑ موجود ہو کینز آسہ یہ وٹھ ہیکو ز حضرت شیخ سند کلام لیکھ بابا انسن نہ گتو پندتن حضرت شیخ ہنزے حیاتی منہ۔ پتھ پامٹھو نہ حضرت شیخ سند کلام ترین ہتن ورن نہ صرف زبانی زبانی بلکہ تحریری طور نہ آکھ سلسلہ پیٹھ پٹیں نسلس تام منقل۔ سم ظریفی پچھنہ نہ ز سداسہ صدی تام ہیکو نہ اسہ شیخ العالم سند کلام لیکھ قلمی نسخہ رزھراوتھ۔ وون گووئس کلام حضرت شیخ سند زبانی منقلی ( Mnemonic Transmission ) کینز اسہ تام ووت تمیک متن کور سانیو مسوہ نگارو نہ نقل نویو پچہ بدل کرتھ پیش۔ پتھ پچہ یاز ز کینزو خانہ نہ تعلی باز رکا (رو کور پتھ کتھ مازاونہ بابت نہ پتھ انا بحال تھاوہ موکھہ اتھ کلامس پندہ آسہ کرنی۔ لاسے وجہ پتھ زہرن واکر پچھنہ شیخ العالم سندس معتبر نہ غیر معتبر کلامس درمیان تمیز کرتھ ہیکمکتی۔

نامی سانی ترتیب دژمہ کلیات شیخ العالم منظر عامس پیٹھ پتھ پتھ ہیکن کلام شیخ العالمس متعلق یاد گمتی پتھ سارے شک نہ شیمہ دور گوہتھ۔ یہ پتھ دراصل حضرت شیخ نور الدین نہ کلانک گوڈنیک کلیات نیس کثیر ہندو آکر معروف عالم، شاعر نہ عالم دین میر عبداللہ بہشتی عن ارداسہ صدی عیسوی منہ ترتیب دیت نہ نامی سانی دیت علی تحقیق نہ تجربہ کی سارے

# کلیات شیخ العالم: بہیقی تہ ناجی

شفقت الطاف

مختصر:

مردوم ناجی صاحب دس ترتیب آئیں شیخ العالم سندس کلامس پیڑہیکو اسی سبیلے کھتہ کرتھیں۔  
اسی حضرت شیخ العالم ہنرتم سارے کلیات بروصہ کتہ آسن یم امین کائنات، موتی لال ساقی،  
غلام بنی گوہر، اسد اللہ آفاق، ابو نعیم، قاری بیت الدین تہ غلام محمد شادناویجو ترتیب کارو  
ترتیب دترہیں۔ امیر علاؤ ہیکو اسی سبیلے کتہ کتاب کین والین نشہ شیخ العالم ہنر کلام تہ تم تہ  
کلیات و ہنر ہندی ترتیب کار امیر سارے ویدی چھتہ۔ ہن سارے مذکورہ کلیات منتر چھ  
منظم تحقیقی تہ تجزیاتی اصول لوب تماوتھ۔ سوبے کلام شامل کرنہ آمت لیس کا شمرین  
ریشو نامن، نور نامن تہ باقی قلمی لسن منتر لیکھتھ اوس۔ ہن مقالس منتر پیڑہ بہیقی سندس  
مسودس پیڑہ یعنی ناجی صاحب ”کلیات شیخ العالم“ کتہ ہن تجزیہ معروضی، الحاقی تہ تقابلی  
طریقہ کار پانہ ناوتھ کرنہ۔

کلیدی الفاظ: تحقیقی، تجزیاتی، نور نامن، قلمی لسن، الحاقی

استاد روضہ کشمیری، کشمیر یونیورسٹی



کشمیری سیکشن

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مدیر  
ڈاکٹر محمد مطہر امین  
ڈاکٹر افشانہ قیوم



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