

Chapter 14

A Garden Amidst the Flames: The Categorical Imperative of Sufi Wisdom

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Since the murder of Benazir Bhutto in Liaquat Bagh on December 27, 2007, again and again death has cast its fearsome shadow over the promised land of the Indian Muslims. Media reports of target killings, suicide bombings, beheadings, and death and destruction by intercontinental remote control roll over us every day like garish billboards advertising: irreligious deeds in the name of religion, brutality and barbarism in the name of democracy, national dishonor in the name of political expediency, all beamed out in high definition, all available for replay at the push of a button day or night.

Caught in the vise grips of enemies whose names and faces they will never know, the people, the sovereigns of the democratic state, take to the streets in the futile rage of a wounded beast, throwing stones, smashing car windows, burning tires, and bashing the heads of their fellow countrymen whose duty it is to keep public order.

But pictures of blood splattered casualties can also distract attention from the all-important fact that victims of terrorist attacks are often martyrs of the Idea of Pakistan, Quaid i Azam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah's vision of Pakistan as the homeland of the Indian Muslims in which every citizen, regardless of his personal faith, is an equal shareholder in the state and has equal freedoms of religion and expression. This social contract of Pakistan has been underwritten again and again in the blood of these martyrs of humanity, the defenders of the vision of a nation any man could be proud of.

In the days following the assassination of Shahbaz Bhatti on March 2, 2011, it seemed that the 26 shots that Mumtāz Qādiri had fired killing Salman Tasir on January 4 might truly have "sent Pakistan over the edge" as one *Washington Post* reporter put it. I read the *sūra al-Hijr* and contemplated its chilling implications for a mankind that was clearly on the path of error:

Iblis said: "In the manner in which You led me to error, I will make things on earth seem attractive to them and lead all of them to error, except those of Your servants You have singled out for Yourself"...

(Allah said:) “Surely, Hell is the promised place for all of them. ... As for the God fearing, they shall be amid gardens and springs. They will be told: ‘Enter it in peace and security.’ And we shall purge their breasts of all traces of rancor; and they shall be seated on couches facing one another as brothers.” *al Qur’ān, sūra 15, 40–45*

But two events of recent days may be seen as cause for hope for the normalization of human relations in Pakistan: The leader of the *Jami’at ul-Ulema i Islam*, Maulana Fazl-ur-Rehman, took a brave position when he publicly stated that “abuses or aberrations” of the blasphemy law could indeed be discussed in the National Assembly,¹ and Shaykh-ul-Islam Hazrat Mufti Muhammad Idris Usmani of the Jamia Islamia² was no less courageous when he issued a *fatwa* condemning lawlessness regardless of one’s religious motivations. While both men have undoubtedly placed themselves in great danger—two attempts on Maulana Fazl-ur-Rehman’s life were made on two consecutive days, killing 19 of the Maulana’s followers—their courage may, after all, bring Pakistan back from the brink of chaos.

While considering the deeper historical and cultural layers of Pakistan set against the background of Maulana Fazl-ur-Rehman’s and Mufti Muhammad Idris Usmani’s Islamic course correctives, I come to the conclusion that the nine centuries of compassion for one’s fellow man that are immediately associated with the names of Mu’in ud-Dīn Chīshī (d. 1236/633), Farīd ud-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar (d. 1265), Nizām ud-Dīn Auliya (d. 1325/725), Nasīr ud-Dīn Chirāg-i-Dihlī (1276–1356/757), Hazrat Banda Nawāz Gīsūdīrāz (1321/721–1422/825), Shah Abdul Latīf of Bhit (d. 1754), Bulhe Shah (d. 1752), and countless other noble men who had the courage to reach out to their fellow man, regardless of his religion, caste, or ethnic origin—this common bedrock of universal ethics in the cultures of South Asia cannot be destroyed by the bombs and bullets of the misguided faithful, nor by the cynicism of hardened target killers, the arrogance of drone bomber imperialism, or the machinations of shamelessly corrupt political leaders.

On February 13, 2009, one of the most beloved *pīrs* of Pakistan, Pīr Nasir ud-Dīn Nasīr, died at Golra Sharif near Islamabad. Less than two hours later the roads leading to Golra Sharif had to be closed because of the cars of thousands of his followers who were trying to reach Golra in time to be present at Nasir ud-Dīn Nasīr’s *namāz-i-jināza* (funeral prayers). Nonetheless, only twelve days later, it was possible for the BBC correspondent Barbara Plett to market her report “Can Sufism Counter the Taliban” in which Sufis and their cults are presented in terms of Western stereotypes of hashish-smoking and dancing dervishes with little or no political significance rather than as beloved and holy teachers of ethics and morals.³

To know the values of a people one must probe more deeply than is possible in daily journalism. If the national outrage against the Taliban for publicly

whipping a seventeen-year-old girl made the Taliban press spokesmen seem to lose their self-confident voices for a few days,⁴ the destruction of any major Sufi shrine, such as Bābā Farīd at Pākṣattān, Datta Ganj Baksh in Lahore, or Lal Shabaz Qalandar at Sehwan Sharif, might well prove to be their undoing. Whoever has experienced the joy and merriment of a wedding in Punjab or Sindh with music and dance or the *‘urs* of a great *ṭīr*, which itself is seen as a wedding to the Almighty, and is also celebrated with music and dance, will know that the great majority of the people of Pakistan would never accept the Taliban idea of an Islamic society of rigid laws forbidding the joys of life and all-encompassing systems of intimidation and brutal punishments to enforce them.⁵

This year the 1014th *‘urs* of Hazarat Tabl-i-Ālam Bādshāh Nathar Walī (d. 1079/474) will be celebrated in Tiruchirappalli in Tamil Nadu, India. For more than one millennium the shrine of Nathar Walī has been a place of interreligious dialogue between Hindus, Muslims, and Christians. While a thousand years of Sufi traditions in the Subcontinent may not have resulted in the production of significant contributions to the metaphysics of *tassawuf*, Sufis of the Subcontinent have, without doubt, helped to shape the largest multireligious culture in the world. Not by hashhish smoking or ecstatic dancing but by the fusion of Divine Love to words and feelings that can be understood by all have the Sufis of the Subcontinent become the teachers of all, whether Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Parsi, or tribals. The indomitable strength of Sufism lies in its readiness for dialogue with and unconditional esteem for the other.

There are good reasons for trusting these deeper ethical values of Pakistani society, for they are the same collective values that underlie the one institution in Pakistan that survives all crises and functions when all else fails: the family. The thoughts that follow are the temporary harvest of my ongoing search for this heart of hearts of Pakistan:

O people! Behold!

*We have created you from a male and a female
and have made you into nations and tribes
so that you might come to know one another.*

*Verily, the noblest of you in the sight of Allah
is the one who is most deeply conscious of Him.*

Behold! Allah is all-knowing, all-aware. [al-Qur’ān, 49:13]

In 1165/560, one of the most enlightened religious thinkers of all time was born in Murcia in the Muslim Almohad Empire of southern Spain and North Africa. As a young man ‘Abū ‘Abdullāh Muhammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Muhammad ibn al-‘Arabī al-Hātimī al-ḥā’irī, who was later to be accorded the honorific titles “Reviver of Religion” and “al-Shaikh al-Akbar,” was deeply conscious of the immanence of Allah in all things and, above all, of Allah as the Source of the three religions of Ibrahim: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. According to pious

tradition, as a young man he would keep vigil at night in a cemetery listening for messages from the hereafter. One night the young ibn al-‘Arabī was blessed with visions of Moses, Jesus Christ, and Muhammad (Peace and Prayers be upon Them!). Later in life in the *Futūhāt al-Makkīyyah*, ibn al-‘Arabī wrote:

There is no knowledge except that taken from God, for He alone is the Knower. ... The prophets, in spite of their great number and the long periods of time which separate them, had no disagreement in knowledge of God, since they took it from God.⁶

Though ibn ‘Arabī left al-Andalus in 1200/595 at the age of thirty-five never to return, his mature thought and teachings would always reveal their roots in that Golden Age of Muslim Spain in which the mystics and thinkers of the three religions that acknowledge Ibrahim as the prophet of God interacted freely and shared their visions of the One God and His Creation. Long before there was a terminology to describe what we today know as ‘Inter-Faith Dialogue’ ibn ‘Arabī’s mystical vision “Everything Is He” (*hama ūst*) found expression in a perception of a world filled with dialogue with and appreciation of the faiths of others:

O marvel! A garden amidst the flames!
My heart is capable of every form,
A cloister of the monk, a temple for idols,
A pasture for gazelles, the votary’s Ka’ba,
The tables of the Torah, the Koran.
Love is the creed I hold: wherever turn
His camels, love is still my creed and faith.

Tarjumān al-Ashwāq (“The Interpretation of Divine Love”)⁷

Even for the casual observer it is obvious that for ibn ‘Arabī, Allah is understood to be free of confinement in human constructions such as “church,” “monastery,” “temple,” “Ka’ba,” or of confinement to any one of His Holy Revelations. Both the *Torah* and the *Holy Qur’ān* are the Word of God in ibn ‘Arabī’s view. Moreover, he engaged in interfaith dialogue as a learner and not a converter, celebrating as fully as possible the different paths to God. In both attitudes ibn ‘Arabī, were he to be alive today, would easily find himself at home in the interfaith dialogue of present-day liberal Protestantism and the “centered set” as opposed to the “bounded set” theology of the emerging Christian churches.

While the ontological monism implied in ibn ‘Arabī’s vision of the divine as “Everything Is He” was (and is) rejected by the majority of the orthodox Sunni *ulema*, his influence on medieval Sufi thought is beyond estimation. If only to explain, modify, or correct the apparent pantheism in the great Shaikh’s vision,

by the first half of the fourteenth century every Sufi from al-Andalus to Hindustan had at least heard of, if not seriously studied, ibn ‘Arabī’s *Fusūs al-hikam* (“Bezels of Wisdom”) and *Futūhāt al-Makkiyyah* (“The Meccan Revelations”). Though the first explicit references to ibn ‘Arabī’s doctrines of the Oneness of Being (*wahdat al-wujūd*) appear suddenly *en masse* in the writings of the Sufis of the Subcontinent in the latter half of the fourteenth century,⁸ there is evidence to suggest that even as early as Hazrat Mu‘īn ud-Dīn Chīshṭī of Ajmer (d. 1236/633), who was a contemporary of ibn ‘Arabī, a doctrine very similar to ibn ‘Arabī’s unity of being was the centerpiece of Chīshṭī teachings in the Indian Subcontinent. As the late Khaliq Ahmad Nizami (1925–1997) noted:

The firm faith in the unity of being (*wahdat al-wujūd*) provided the necessary ideological support to Mu‘īn ud-Dīn’s mystical mission to bring about the emotional integration of the people amongst whom he lived.⁹

Aziz Ahmad also affirms that

the sheet-anchor of the Chīshṭī order was the doctrine of *wahdat al-wujūd* which explains the influence on it of ibn al-‘Arabī’s almost pantheistic ideas.¹⁰

And Sayyid Athar Abbas Rizvi concurs that

the devotional approach of Shaikh Nizām ud-Dīn Auliya regarding the doctrine of *wujūd* was not basically different from the speculative one of Ibn ‘Arabī.¹¹

While, with Hazrat Banda Nawāz Gīsūdirāz (1321/721–1422/825), the *Ālīfa* of Hazrat Nasīr ud-Dīn Chirāg-i-Dihlī (1276–1356/757), a major reinterpretation of Chīshṭī mystical teachings with regard to ibn al-‘Arabī’s *wahdat al-wujūd* appears to take place, the doctrine of the Unity of Being is revised to the Unity of Witnessing (*wahdat al-shuhūd*),¹² at the same time, the intra- and interreligious dialogue surrounding the mystical perception that “All is He!” becomes even more intense among the mystics—both Hindu and Muslim—of the Indian Subcontinent, producing diverse effects. On the one hand, as a counterreaction, there is an enormous production of literature on Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) beginning from the latter half of the fourteenth century,¹³ while, on the other hand, there is an even more determined outreach by Muslim mystics, especially those who came to India from Iran in the sixteenth century, to join in dialogue with their Hindu brethren, who had reached similar levels of mystical experience through the ontological monism of *advaita-vedānta* and the devotional path of *bhakti*.¹⁴

Beginning with the famous 108 sayings of Hazrat Mu ‘in ud-Dīn Chīshṭī in the thirteenth century one can effortlessly place corresponding teachings from the *bhakti* tradition next to the words of the great Shaikh:

He indeed is a true devotee, blessed with the love of Allah, who is gifted with the following three attributes: (1) River-like charity, i.e. his sense of charity has no limits and is equally beneficial to all the creatures of Allah who approach him, (2) sun-like affection, i.e. his affection may be extended indiscriminately to all like sunlight and (3) Earth-like hospitality, i.e. his loving embrace may be open to all like that of the earth.¹⁵

For Shaikh Mu ‘in ud-Dīn Chīshṭī the highest form of devotion (*tā ‘at*) was

to redress the misery of those in distress, to fulfill the needs of the helpless and to feed the hungry.¹⁶

Already in the early fourteenth century we hear Shaikh Nizām ud-Dīn Auliya voice the mature statement of Chīshṭī’s mystical doctrines with regard to non-Muslims:

Sansār har pūje kul ko jagāt sarāhe
May the whole world worship (Allah)!
May all praise (Him)!

Makke men kōi hūn he Kāṣī ko kōi chāhe
One seeks Him in Mecca, another desires Him in Kāṣī.

Duniyā men apne pī ke payyāri parūn na kāhe
I have found my Beloved in the world.
Should I not bow down before Him?

Har qaum rāst rāhe dīne wa qiblagāhe
Every nation has its faith and the direction of its *qibla*.

Man qiblā rāst kardam bar simt-e-kajkulāhe
But I keep my eye on the tilted cap of the Beloved.

Kajkulā ‘ajabe!
O wondrous Wearer of the Tilted Cap!¹⁷

By emphasizing that Allah abides only in the heart of man, abides equally in the hearts of all men, and is equally absent in the various houses that men build for Him, such as the *masjid*, church, or temple, the Sufis at once made a powerful statement of the equality of all true believers in God and, conversely, that all forms of exoteric religion and the places in which they are practiced are equally ineffectual in bringing one nearer to God. This central tenet of Sufism remains

the chief source of contention between the orthodox ‘*ulama* and the followers of the Sufi Way of the Heart up to this day.

In the oldest surviving lines of poetry in Deccani Urdu the great *Chīshṭīyya* Hazrat Banda Nawāz Gīsūdirāz, despite his criticism of ibn al-‘Arabī’s doctrine of the Unity of Being (*wahdat al-wujūd*), leaves no doubt that he too shares this core value of Chīshṭī mystical doctrine:

‘Allaha ko dekhyā so mainca
‘Allaha nahin milāya kahinca
lokana batae kahī ke kakinca
unhe milāya yahin ke yahinca.

When I looked for Allah
I could not find Him anywhere.
When the people said ‘He’s out there somewhere’,
I found Him here and here only.¹⁸

But it is in the poetry of Bulhe Shah (d. 1754) that the presence of Allah in man is underlined in vivid metaphors taken from the everyday life of the rural Punjab of the eighteenth century:

The Muslims are afraid of cremating the dead body
And the Hindus are afraid of burying it.
But they quarrel about small points
And miss the One who *lives* within.¹⁹

Or

In this dark and slippery world
Men’s eyes are turned outward
So that they cannot see the One within.
Here one is called “Ram Das”
And another is called “Fateh Muhammad”.
But when you see Who is within both
You see neither “Ram Das” nor “Fateh Muhammad”
But only the One without a second.

Or

Men tire themselves reading the *Vedas* and the *Qur’ān*,
Their foreheads are worn thin by rubbing on stones.
But they will never see Allah in Mecca
nor in any other place
because Allah is within man.
He sits concealed in my own heart.²⁰

But

...in his innumerable forms
 Allah is a Sunni here and a Shia there.
 He has matted locks here
 And is clean-shaven there.
 He reveals Himself here
 And conceals Himself there.
 He Himself is the *mullah* and the *qazi*,
 He Himself is the *talīb*.
 Here He is Rumi, there He is Shami,
 Here the *maula* (Master), there the *banda* (Slave).
 Here He is among the distinguished
 There among the commoners.
 Here He is in the *masjid*, there He is in the *mandir*.²¹

Though Allah is present in all beings and in each man's heart, only a *pīr* or a *guru* can teach the seeker the special vision required to perceive Him. Knowing how to spin thread on the spinning wheel is a beloved metaphor throughout the Subcontinent for treading the path of divine love properly. Especially in the final years of human life the spiritual friend guides the seeker on to the union with the Beloved, lest the thread break on the spinning wheel and the soul leave behind the body as a corpse.

As the late Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan (1948–1997) once sang (and thrilled us to the marrow):

Bulhe Shah pleased the Friend with bells on his ankles;
 Ranjha got *jog* by getting his ears split to put on earrings;
 Everyone has to find a way to meet the Friend, whatever the cost.
 (...)
 I will not go to any other door, nor will I return empty-handed.
 O Beloved! Put a new thread on my spinning wheel...²²

In the course of time the poetry of the Sufi *pīrs*, both of the great and famous and of the humble and only locally known, expressed in images and metaphors of everyday life, especially rural life, became familiar idioms of devotional hymns, *qawwalī*, which spoke and still speak to the spiritually minded millions of the Subcontinent regardless of their religious communities, castes, regional languages, or political boundaries.

In the hymns of the most beloved devotional singers or *qawwals*, such as the late Ghulam Farid Sabri (1930–1994) and Maqbul Ahmad Sabri (1941–), Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, and Aziz Miyan (1942–2000), the sublime invitations to spiritual dialogue sung in the twelfth century in the poetry of ibn al-'Arabi and

Shaikh Mu‘in ud-Dīn Chishtī, reechoed in the thirteenth century by Shaikh Farīd ud-Dīn Ganj-i-shakar (d. 1235) and in the fourteenth century by Shaikh Nizām ud-Dīn Auliya and Amir Khusrau (d. 1325), reaffirmed in the early fifteenth century by Hazrat Banda Nawāz Gīsūdirāz, and then woven into deeply moving threads of everyday life in the rural Punjab of the eighteenth century by Bulhe Shah (d. 1754) and Shah Abdul Latīf of Bhit (d. 1752), these sublime words still call the seeker of whatever religion he may be to seek God in his own heart and see God in the heart of his neighbor, be guided by a benevolent master, the Friend, and be ever conscious of Him, on Whom all creation depends equally from second to second and from eternity to eternity:

*Jahan vo hāī, vahan dil hāī.
Jahan dil hāī, vahan sab kuch hāī.
Pehle maqāme pīr samajhne ki zarurat hāī.
Tu merī dīvāngī par
Yeh hush vāle behas farmāī: āchā!
merī dīvāngī par
Yeh hush vāle behas farmāī.
Lekin magar pehle
inhein dīvāna bane ki zarurat hāī.
merī dīvāngī par
Yeh hush vāle behas farmāī
magar pehle
inhein dīvāna bane ki zarurat hāī.
Iske bāwujud bhi yeh Muslim,
Yeh Muslim, Muslim yeh hi
Kehte hāī ka: Masjid māīn ā!
Hindu yeh he kehte hāī: Mandar āchā!
Sikhun kā yeh da‘wah ke: Gurdār āchā!
Aur ‘Esāī yeh kehte hāī ke: Girjā ā!
Phir Kā‘ba, Qalisā, Gurdār vo Gangā
In sāre bākharon se mujhe mañlab kīā
māīn to dīvānī, Khvājā ki dīvānī.
Khvājā ki dīvānī, dīvānī
Khvājā ki dīvānī
māīn to dīvānī, Khvājā ki dīvānī
māīn to dīvānī, Khvājā ki dīvānī²³*

Where He is, the heart is.
Where the heart is, there’s everything.
But first you must understand the spiritual level of the *pīr*.
“You are my Beloved, you are my Beloved.”
Those who know this say “Yes!”

Again, "You are my Beloved."
 Those who know this say "Yes!"
 Those who know this say again "Yes!"
 But first you must be mad about Him.
 Those who know this say again: "You are my Beloved."
 But first you must be mad about Him.
 But, later, these Muslims, these same Muslims
 These Muslims say: "Come to the *masjid*!"
 The Hindus say: "The *mandar* is good!"
 The Sikhs say: "The *gurdwāra* is good!"
 And the Christians say: "Come to the church!"
 Again, the *Ka'ba*, the Cross, the *Gurdwāra*, and the Gangā.
 What's the use of all these places for me?
 I am crazy, crazy about Khwāja.
 I am crazy, crazy about Khwāja.
 (repeated four times).

And no less do we feel the love for one's neighbor in the exhortations of the poet-laureate of the Muslims of India, Mirzā Ghalib Asadullāh²⁴ (1797–1869):

A true heart and steadfastness are the roots of faith.
 If the Brahman should die in the idol house
 So bury him in the *Ka'ba* anyway.²⁵

And

If I have moved to the *Ka'ba*,
 Don't censure me!
 Have I forgotten the people of the fire-temple
 And their claim upon my society?²⁶

Not only does God dwell in the heart of man, it is He Himself Who gives man faith and unconditionally accepts that faith. The highest possible moral position is reached when a person realizes this and, no longer depending upon himself alone, takes the *leap to faith*²⁷ implied in Christ's great teaching:

Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart,
 and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind.
 This is the first and great commandment.
 And the second is like unto it,
 Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.
 On these two commandments hang all
 The law and all the prophets. (*The Gospel of St. Matthew*, XXXII, 34–40)

Conclusion

A strong current runs through Sufism in South Asia that recognizes truths in all religions. Many Sufis understand faith as God's gift. It is not a human work, derived from or mediated exclusively through, membership of one religious tradition. Several chapters in this book draw attention to this current of openness and social inclusion, which remains vibrant despite counter trends from some Muslims.

Notes

- ¹ Raja Asghar, "Fazl says misuse of blasphemy law can be discussed," *Dawn*, March 5, 2011, <http://www.dawn.com/2011/03/05/fazl-says-misuse-of-blasphemy-law-can-be-discussed.html>, accessed August 4, 2011; and Issam Ahmed, "Pakistan attacks reveal widening split between religious parties and militants," *Christian Science Monitor*, March 31, 2011, <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Asia-Pacific/2011/0331/Pakistan-attacks-reveal-widening-split-between-religious-parties-and-militants> accessed August 4, 2011.
- ² Sarah Khan, "Fatwa of Shaykh ul-Islam Mufti Muhammad Idris Usmani about Malik Mumtaz Qadri and his supporter," *Let us build Pakistan*, January 5, 2011, <http://criticalppp.com/archives/36283> accessed August 4, 2011.
- ³ Barbara Plett, "Can Sufi Islam counter the Taleban?" BBC News, http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/south_asia/7896943.stm. Published: 2009/02/24 05:55:03 GMT. Accessed August 4, 2011.
- ⁴ Declan Walsh, "Video of Girl's Flogging as Taliban hand out justice," *The Guardian*, April 2, 2009, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/apr/02/taliban-pakistan-justice-women-flogging> accessed August 4, 2011.
- ⁵ Hugh van Skyhawk, "The Wine Cup of Love and the Message of Peace: Sufi Poetry and Civil Courage", 173–185 in *Journal of Asian Civilizations* (Islamabad), Vol. XXXII, No. 1 (July 2009), pp. 184f.
- ⁶ *Futūhāt al-Makkiyyah*, II. 290. Translated by W. Chittick in: *The Sufi Path of Knowledge* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1989).
- ⁷ *Tarjumān al-Ashwāq* (Madras: Theoso Publishing House, 1911), poem XI.
- ⁸ Syed Shah Khusro Hussaini, *Sayyid Muhammad al-husaynī-i-Gīsūdirāz: On Sufism* (Delhi: Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Dellim, 1983), 10.
- ⁹ Nizami, K. A., "Chishtiyya", in *The Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965), 50–56.
- ¹⁰ Aziz Ahmad, *An Intellectual History of Islam in India* (published in the series: Islamic Surveys, vol. 7, Edinburgh: University Press, 1969), 38.
- ¹¹ Sayid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, (Agra: Agra University 1965), 43 and 54.
- ¹² Hussaini, op. cit., p. 9. Also see S. S. Khusro Hussaini, "Shuhud vs. Wujud. A Study of Gisudiraz", 323–339 in *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad), vol. LIX, no. 4 (October 1985).

- ¹³ Hussaini, op. cit., p. 10.
- ¹⁴ Cf. Hugh van Skyhawk, "Ethical Implications of the *Mahāvākyas* in the Literature of the Cānd Bodhale Circle", 285–294 in *Bhakti in Current Research, 2001–2003*, 285–294, Horstmann, Monika (ed.) (published as vol. XLIV, South Asian Studies, Delhi; Manohar, 2006).
- ¹⁵ Mirza Wahiduddin Begg, *The Holy Biography of Khwaja Muinuddin Chisti* (Tucson: The Chisti Sufi Mission of America and The Hague: East-West Publications Fonds, 1977), 139f.
- ¹⁶ Hussaini, op. cit., p. 7.
- ¹⁷ Cf. Regula Burckhardt Qureshi, *Sufi Music of India and Pakistan: Sound, Context and Meaning in qawwali*, Cambridge Studies in Ethnomusicology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 42; and Hugh van Skyhawk, "Der muslimische Beitrag zur religioesen Dichtung Marāñhī-sprechender Hindus", in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft*, 87–99 (ZDMG), Band 153, Heft 1 (2003), 98f. I remain grateful to the late Professor Dr. h.c. mult. Annemarie Schimmel (1922–2003) for informing me that these famous verses attributed to Shaikh Nizām ud-Dīn Auliya (first stanza) and Amīr Khusrau (second stanza) were actually completed spontaneously in the second stanza by Shaikh Nizām ud-Dīn Auliya's friend ṡasan Sijzī Dihlawī (d. 1328 a.D.) and that the reference to the "tilted cap" refers to the Prophet Muhammad (Peace and Prayers be upon Him!), who, according to a *hadith*, had on his *mirāj* seen Allah (s.w.t.) as a beautiful youth wearing a tilted cap (personal communication, 2001).
- ¹⁸ That is, in the heart. Gesu Daraz's perception of God being 'here and now' can also be found in *sura* 2, *āyat* 109 of the *Holy Qur'an*: 'Whithersoever ye turn there is the Face of God', while the impossibility of seeing Allah is declared in *sura* 6, *āyat* 103. 'Sights do not reach Him.' Similar mystical expressions of the immanence and immediacy of God can be found in Mir Dard (1721–1785): 'The veil on our Friend's Face that's we ourselves: We opened our eyes, and no veil was left.' And in Shah 'Abdu'l Latīf of Bhit (1689–1752): 'One castle and a hundred doors, and windows numberless: Wherever you may look, o friend, there you will see His Face.' Translations from XE "Annemarie Schimmel" Annemarie Schimmel, *Pain and Grace. A Study of Two Mystical Writers of Eighteenth-Century Muslim India*, published in the series: Studies in the History of Religions/Supplements to Numen, vol. XXXVI, Leiden [E.J. Brill], 1976, p. V.
- ¹⁹ Quoted by J. S. Grewal, "The Sufi Beliefs and Attitudes in India," 24–38 in Asghar Ali Engineer ed. *Sufism and Communal Harmony* (Jaipur: Printwell, 1991), 30f.
- ²⁰ Ibid.
- ²¹ Ibid.
- ²² Engineer, op. cit., p. 33. On the development of Sufi folk poetry in the Indian Subcontinent out of Arabic and Persian sources of Islamic tradition, see Ali S Asani, "Sufi Poetry in the Folk Tradition of Indo-Pakistan", *Religion and Literature*, vol. 20: 81–94 (Spring 1988).
- ²³ My transcription and translation of Ghulam Farid Sabri, and Maqbool Ahmad Sabri, "*Khvājā ki dīvānī*", from the album *Legends*, vol. 4, Karachi 1999.
- ²⁴ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. 2, (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1983), 457.

²⁵ Rafia Sultana, *Bhakti-Cult and Urdu Poets* (Hyderabad: Cooperative Press, no date given), 11.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ On the necessity of a “leap to faith,” see Søren Kierkegaard, *The Concept of Anxiety*, translated and edited by Thomte (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980 original 1844).

