BAYAZID ANSARI AND ROSHANIYYA SUFI SILSILAH:
A SYNTHESIS OF SPIRITUAL TECHNIQUES

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Abstract:
"This research article discusses the “Roshaniyya Sufi Silsilah” established and propagated by Bayazid Ansari in the first half of the sixteenth century A.D. He was a “Wahdat-ul-Wajudi Sufi” settled in Kaniguram, a town situated in the South Waziristan agency of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan. He emerged during the regime of Mughal Emperor Akbar. To propagate his ideas, Bayazid initiated a movement which is called “Roshaniyya Movement”. The study aims to explore the nature and direction of Bayazid to establish the fact that he was a Sufi with an extremist approach and profound inclination towards the concept of “Wahdat-ul-Wajud”. The study presents a balanced and analytical approach of the teachings and techniques he adopted to propagate among the masses. For that purpose different approaches would be studied to grasp fully the topic under discussion. Mostly the writings of Bayazid and other primary sources have been utilized to investigate the subject from various perspectives.”

Keywords: Roshaniyya Sufi Silsilah, Propagated, Wahdat-ul-Wajudi Sufi, Emerged, Mughal Emperor, Extremist Approach, Inclination, Grasp.

Introduction
In Muslim literature there are two basic alternatives available to seek eternal salvation. One is to get education and to know about the existence of nature. Through extensive learning human beings can understand esoteric (the metaphysical and spiritual realities) and exoteric (personal discovery of one’s self) paths. In an attempt to explain this relationship between Allah and human being, one often relies on religion to define his attainment of spirituality. Reading the religious literature and indulgence in worship from one of the basic
requirements to achieve an exalted place. Emotions, traditions and communion play integral parts in formulating human being relations with religion and Allah. Understanding the sovereign and exalted position of Allah comes through excessive learning and reading. This is associated with the traditional way of learning and teaching.

The alternative available for getting spiritual salvation is mysticism which is regarded the most endeavouring, comprehensive and thoughtful way. In Sufism taking the oath of allegiance of a pir (spiritual guide) and, under his guidance, getting the mystical salvation through extensive adhkār and awrād is considered the most profound way. In fact, most of the sufis in the Muslim world adopted this path to get very near and to encompass and grasp the unity of Allah, almighty. Along with reading and learning this experiential path has been preferred mostly by Muslim mystics and sufis.

Bayazid Ansari, a sixteenth century Wahdat-ul-Wajudi sufi, influential religious figure and reformer was one of the most enduring personalities among the north-western Pakhtuns. He wrote many treatises, books and diwans (poetry collections). The subject matter of his writing and that of his movement are tasawwuf, existence of Being, Pir-e-Kamil (perfect spiritual guide), human being and his relationship with Allah, etc. He has combined in himself the tradition of extensive learning and meditation. In dealing with all these mystical issues he adopted an inherently extremist and militant approach with the application of Sufic perception and ideas. The way he propagated his ideas clearly to demonstrate the spiritual overtone of Bayazid and Roshaniyya Movement. It was a struggle for reforming religion in line with Wahdat-ul-Wajudi Sufic revival.

However, most of the writers have explained the struggle of Bayazid in the political setting of the sixteenth century north-western Pakhtun areas. It was a time when the anti-Mughal sentiments among the Pakhtuns were on the rise, hence the struggle of Bayazid was given an anti-Mughal and Pakhtun nationalist colour. The over-emphasized political studies on Bayazid, produced by some writers, not only undermined the fundamental objective of his movement but also made him one of the most controversial figures in the history of South Asia especially among the Pakhtuns.
In the process he was trapped in the political jingoism which side-tracked the achievements of the movement in the field of *Wahdat-ul-Wajudi* Sufism. The present article aims to explain the Sufic philosophy and discourse of the Roshaniyya Movement to better grasp its exact nature and direction. It is to be explored that how a new and distinct sufi *Silsilah* (order) was developed and implied in a volatile remote region. The objective is to prove the premise that despite Bayazid anti-Mughal connotation, he was a Muslim sufi of high calibre. In fact, he worked hard to spread his teachings. It is tremendously clear on the basis of available primary evidences that he was not a forerunner of Pakhtuns’ nationalist politics.

There is a great deal of confusion over Bayazid’s authentic date of birth. *Kitab Dabistan-ul-Mazahib* has given a vague statement that he was born one year before the battle of Panipat. Many other writers also uphold this view that he was born in 1524-25 (931-32 AH). The version of *Hal-nama* seems more confusing than others. It pointed out that Bayazid was born some years after Babur captured Bhera. The account of *Babur Nama* is that he overran Bhera in 1519 but then returned to Kabul due to the attack of Shah Beg Arghun. If one assumes the statement of *Babur Nama* an authentic version then the likely year of his birth would be 1521. *Hal-nama* states that Bayazid was of five years by the time Babur overthrew Ibrahim Lodhi. It means that he was born in the city of Jalandhar somewhere in 1521.

One cannot come across any other authentic source about his exact date of birth. *Hayat-i-Afghan* and Olaf Caroe mentioned that he was influenced by Mullah Suleiman in Jalandhar which indicates that he spent sufficient time during his early childhood with his mother in the city. During these early years he got basic education in Jalandhar under the supervision of his mother. This point has further been elaborated by Akhun Darwaiza and supported by Olaf Caroe that he got initial influence from the ideas of Mullah Suleiman in the city of Jalandhar. Owing to these accounts one can safely assume that at the time of his departure to Kaniguram, Bayazid was grown enough to grasp the basic mystical technicalities. It also indicates that he was born some years before the last Indian invasion of Babur. On the basis of these opinions and
analyzing the events occurred in those days it may be argued that he was born in 1521.

A fundamental question arises as to why Bayazid Ansari, the founder of a distinct sufi Silsilah has been so much controversial among the Pakhtun and non-Pakhtun writers. Despite his tremendous contribution to Pakhtu literature, Sufism, social and religious reform initiatives, he is still regarded a heretic by most of the conservative mullahs. Tariky, (a Pakhtu term meaning ‘darkened one’) the person who deviate from the true path of Islam was usually referred to for the followers of Bayazid. This term was so forcefully penetrated that it is still in vogue among the Pakhtuns.11

After going through his writings, it is easy to understand his actual place and the role he played in the history of South Asia. He can rightly be called as the “Ibn Arabi of the subcontinent” due to his unshakable belief on the concept of Wahdat-ul-Wajud with which he added new sufic practices. The establishment of Roshaniyya sufic Silsilah has placed him among the most influential Muslim sufis during the sixteenth century. His elaboration of mystical technicalities, argumentative skills, thought-provoking sermons, strength of his discourse, and above all establishing the Roshaniyya Silsilah are some of his great achievements. The ideas of Bayazid and Roshaniyya Silsilah has inspired thousands of people including influential local tribal malaks, court nobles, poets, writers and even womenfolk of that medieval Pakhtun society. It was under this profound influence that he is regarded a political figure more than a Sufi saint. The political interpretations of Bayazid and Roshaniyya mystical order need not outright rejection but fresh analysis in the light of his ideas. His approach is vividly explained in his own books, and the literature produced by his close disciples.

Bayazid thought that religion leans heavily upon man’s righteous efforts. It often requires diligent service and works, in expectation of earning the eternal salvation. To him this is the greatest reward of Allah for the human being. Through power of self-motivation, self-control, and self-determination, salvation is hoped for from Allah. Any misgivings or, for that matter, shortcomings on the part of individual result in disappointment, chronic guilt, and ultimately an unfulfilled relationship with Allah. Apart from religion and its rituals, a strong relationship with Allah
comes from His amazing love and grace reaching out to especial and the beloved human being. It has always been Allah’s desire to reveal His Being to those illustrious human beings. However, for its attainment one has to undertake extensive meditation, indulgence in adhkars and learning. In the beginning, Allah desired an everlasting, loving relationship with the creatures. Adam was made in Allah’s image, then chosen to wisely manage “everything that [had] the breath of life in it.”

1. Influences on Bayazid

From the writings of Bayazid one can easily takes a timid idea that he was influenced by the teachings of some early Muslim sufis. In Maqṣūd-al-Muminin he mentioned Bayazid Bustami (d. 874), Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani (d. 1166) and Ibn Arabi (d. 1240). He was greatly influenced by the concept of Wabdat-ul-Wajud of these sufis. As mentioned earlier Olaf Caroe provides a different version regarding his initial association with a mystic of Ismaili sect at Jalandhar. He has given the name of Mulla Suleiman who initially developed his interest in Ismaili doctrine.

Akhun Darwaiza in his celebrated work Makbzan writes that Bayazid was influenced by Mullah Suleiman, the heretic, who destroyed his belief. In this regard the most important thing is to look into the matter that to what extent Bayazid’s thoughts have been affected by the persons with whom he associated in different periods of his tumultuous life. And what kinds of ideological debate took place between them and to what extent Bayazid inspired from their ideas. One cannot find any sort of window dressing or self-serving arguments that he borrowed from other sufis or learned personalities. The fact is that he often implied common mystical terms in innovative style and interpreted it in a way to be comprehended by the common masses. His style was eloquent and his discourse was based on strong arguments. Bayazid interpreted verses of Quran and sayings of the Holy Prophet (SAW) and never indulged his followers to grasp the intricacies and technicalities of Sufism. His method was simple and based on rational thoughts due to which thousands of people were attracted to join his movement.
1.1 Shaikh Ismail

At the start of his spiritual pursuits Bayazid developed differences with his father. Then, for some time, he tried his luck in business pursuits. Business was his family’s old profession and a profitable enterprise. He undertook several business trips to different cities of India, Qandahar, Turkistan, and Samarqand. In one of his trade journeys, he met his cousin Shaikh Ismail Ansari, son of Khudadad and a famous saint of Ismaili sect. He often listened to his sermons on religion, mysticism, *Taubid* (Oneness of Allah), creation of the universe and many other topics. In the company of Ismail, he resumed the process of learning but in a different way. He has always been curious about knowing mystical technicalities. In fact, he developed strong intimation with Ismail and often exchanged with him views about the unity of Allah and His relationship with human beings. He took keen interest in the religious discourse and afterwards decided to take the oath of allegiance to Ismail. One of the central themes which he often discussed and took inspiration was that of *Pir-i-Kamil*. From the mystical sessions with Ismail he got the idea that without the proper guidance of a *Pir-i-Kamil* he would not get the highest place in Sufism.

Bayazid developed his interest in these ideas due to his concern with Sufi doctrines. The way Shaikh Ismail imparted early training suited the concerns with which he tangled in early childhood. Traits of inquisitiveness and exploring mystical thoughts did not appear abruptly in his character. He was a scion of a religious family and he could have got some mystic influence at home. Earlier, his family was attached with the shrine of Shaikh Baha-ud-Din Zakariyya (d. 1262) of Multan, a famous Suhrawardi Sufi of the thirteenth century. Probably, he learnt about Muslim mystical traditions at home in Jalandhar and Kaniguram.

It was a time when a patch-up between father and son was made through the efforts of local elders. His business accomplishments also reconciled his father who always compelled him for such profitable earning. However, his liaison with Ismail made his father furious. His rivals in Kaniguram propagated that Ismail was spreading heretical ideas among the locals. Being a shia Ismaili by belief people disliked his presence in the area. This made some of the people resentful of his presence in the town. Some even
sought permission of Bayazid’s father named Abdullah to kill him due to his heretic beliefs. As Ismail was his nephew and son-in-law therefore, he neither accepted his views, nor issued fatwa (religious decree) to eliminate him. Abdullah warned Bayazid several times for his contact with Ismail. He impressed upon him to go to Multan and seek spiritual guidance from the Gaddi Nashin (spiritual successor) of Shaikh Baha-ud-Din Zakariyya. His father promised him of necessary facilitation as well as gift which were to be given to the spiritual successor of Shaikh Baha-ud-Din Zakariyya. Bayazid refused the proposal that he would not get any spiritual salvation in return of any gift or nazr. However, against the advice of his father, he frequently visited the house of Ismail and developed understanding with his ideas and beliefs. Ismail was, however, reluctant to give him special awraads or adhkars without taking oath of his allegiance. Or probably, he wanted to convert Bayazid into the Ismaili sect to which he clearly demonstrated his reluctance. One can safely say that sectarian difference was one of the reasons due to which Ismail has not given him special treatment.

Shaikh Ismail guided him to perform i’tikaf or chillas (meditation or seclusion) which was a mean for perceiving the truth. Seclusion adhere people to concentrate fully in grasping the oneness of Allah. These exercises influenced the mind and psyche of Bayazid so much so that he soon felt its spiritual effects. The more he undertook meditations and physical austerity, the more he found its natural effects. He found that the Sufic practices and seclusion had profound mental and psychological effects. In fact, the concept of Pir-i-Kamil was the central point of his teaching which he learnt from Ismail. He lucidly described in Sirat-tu-Tauhid:

To realize and explore the ultimate Truth are obligatory upon human being. Worship, obedience, charity, generosity and good deeds are not acceptable to Allah without knowing Him in reality. It comes through the teaching of Pir-i-Kamil.

1.2 Hindu Yogis

It is not an out of the box argument that it was during his stay at Jalandhar that he got early acquaintance with Hindu mystical thoughts. His familiarity with the Hindu pundits injected in his mind the idea of the transmigration of soul. This is the belief that
the soul returns to human life after death. It is the theory known as the transmigration or re-incarnation of soul.\textsuperscript{19} This theory had been held in many parts of the world. It is still a cardinal tenant of modern theosophy. This belief is the corner stone of Hindu philosophy of unity of \textit{atman} and \textit{Awagon}. It is believed that birth is not the creation of soul; it is the transmigration of soul from one body to another. It is possible that Bayazid adopted this belief from some Hindu \textit{pundits} either in Jalandhar or during his journeys to various parts of India. Some local sources indicate that he believed on the incarnation of souls instead of life in hereafter. This point was mostly exploited by his opponents. They argued that he did not believe in the day of judgement and life hereafter which is a fundamental belief in the Islamic faith.\textsuperscript{20} But in broader perspective this belief is the corner-stone of the sufis who upheld \textit{Wahdat-ul-Wajud} concept in Muslim mysticism. Hindus worship many gods and goddesses because they considered them as reflection of God on earth. This shared ideas landed the beliefs of Hindu yogis and Muslim concepts of \textit{Wahdat-ul-Wajud} close with each others.

Moreover, the concept of \textit{Wahdat-ul-Wajud} (unity of being), made Bayazid curious about the ultimate unity of Allah.\textsuperscript{21} He expressed his interest to attain the highest mystical stage for spiritual salvation. In the initial stage, these two ideas of Ismail largely attracted his attention. Both concepts i.e. unity of Being and \textit{Pir-i-Kamil} were according to the Sufi tradition in much wider spectrum in Muslim world. However, in South Asia it was a time when most of the ulema and people considered these concepts as heretical. \textit{Wahdat-ul-Shahud} (unity of witness) was mostly followed by the sufis and ulema considered it according to the teachings of Islam. The views of Bayazid although, not un-Islamic in nature and contents, were against the established norms and traditions.

In his new house, he underwent several times in excessive meditations (\textit{chillas}). He was known a mystic person in his locality. During these meditations he indulged in the extensive remembrance of Allah. Once, he saw Hazrat Khidr (AS) saying to him in dream that he was his brother in belief. He was given \textit{Aab-i-Hayat} (water of immortality) by Hazrat Khidr. This incident further increased his interest in sufi experiential observations. Afterwards, his perceptions changed to a large extent. He used to visit shrines, graveyards and
started regular reading of the Holy Quran along with mystical, philosophical and religious literature.\textsuperscript{22}

2. Bayazid’s Ideas and Teachings

Bayazid believed in the Islamic traditions of \textit{Sunnah} and \textit{Ijma}. Most often, he argued in his writings with examples from history, Muslim Sufic traditions, quotations from the Holy Quran and \textit{Abadith}. He was a man with sharp aptitude and inquisitive mind. In the start he wanted to realize the spirit of prayers and rituals. He was a bold preacher and practised what he thought to be correct according to the injunctions of the Quran and \textit{Sunnah}. His extensive readings and expertise in the field of \textit{Tasawwuf} increased his knowledge tremendously.

Through meditations, he wanted to find the right path towards \textit{Tauhid} (belief in oneness of Allah) and came across different experiences. He became seriously engaged in invoking mentally the divine name (\textit{Ism-i-Azam}). It has been stated that he heard the voice from the unknown one and received inspiration from Allah. According to his own writings, some time, he was directly addressed through revelations from Allah. Moreover, he claimed to have got inspirations and received knowledge in dreams. Secret remembering of \textit{Kalima Tayyebah} and understanding its meaning during meditations were the main components of his spiritual exercises. Devotion, \textit{adhkars}, \textit{awrads}, seclusion and unshakable belief in the unity of Allah were central points in his Sufic \textit{Silsilah}. Once it was revealed upon him that:

In the phase of \textit{Shariat} the meaning of \textit{Kalima} is that there is no God but Allah. In the second stage which is \textit{Tariqat} it means that there is no endeavour of human being but to seek Allah. In the next step which was called \textit{Haqiqat} the meaning of \textit{Kalima} is that nothing exists except Allah.\textsuperscript{23}

In the process, he passed through various spiritual stages and discovered new dimensions in mysticism and its methodology. Following are the eight phases or stages of mysticism mentioned by Bayazid in his writings. These stages are his personal accomplishment in mystical exercises. In fact, he mentioned the attainment of all these stages an essential requirement to become a
No other Sufi has discussed these stages in such details. Mir Wali Mahsud is of the view that he added some new concepts and created a distinct order through comprehensive elaboration of these eight stages. In fact, he termed all these stages interconnected and central theme of the Roshaniyya Silsilah.

2.1 Pir-i-Kamil and the concept of Hadi

Through mysticism Bayazid rose to a position of an influential pir in the eyes of the general public when they observed his deep spiritual attachment and forceful rhetoric. It was after extensive meditation in his home that he himself observed some extraordinary experiences in his life. Afterwards, he claimed for himself the position of Pir-i-Kamil (perfect spiritual guide). He was disposed to study, undergo meditation and contemplation. This aspect of his life has been discussed by scholars from different angles. Some of them accused him of shirk because of his eccentric religious ideas while other elevated him to be a leading religious reformer and Sufi. The aim before Bayazid was to liberate humanity from the sufferings imposed upon them by the traditional jurists and self-seeker ulema. He was critical of the hypocrisy of jurists, and the selfish ulema who exploited the ignorance of the common people to fulfil their own greed. The concept of Pir-i-Kamil was the central focal point of Bayazid probably for two reasons. Firstly, it was an accepted mystical doctrine and secondly through its application he carved out a supreme position for himself among his followers.

On the authority of Sirat-al-Tauhid, Abdul Akbar Khan reported that Bayazid believed in the concept of Pir-i-Kamil. He listened sermons of learned men and spent most of his time following the principles of Islam and sayings of the Holy Prophet (SAW). From the start, a life of austerity was pursued with complete abstinence from all sorts of sins. Apart from other things, he liked Sufi music. He held the belief that truth could not be ascertained without a spiritual guide. True guidance cannot be obtained without following the path of the prophets or their heirs i.e. al-Mashaikh al-Kamilun (the perfect Gnostics). It is inevitable for the seekers of truth to follow and obey the perfect guide. The true guide is the one who guide people according to the principles of Islam, teaching of the Quran and through the true path of Taubid (the Unity of Allah). Bayazid closeness with Shaikh Ismail was a matter of
concern for his father. In religious domain Ismail was more inclined towards Ismaili sect. Although he did not convert however, he believed in the finality of Ismaili Imam. The concept of Pir-i-Kamil resembles with the Ismaili shias' belief of imamat. Bayazid did not claim to be the Imam-i-Zaman, but he projected himself to be the true hadi (guide). And this is according to the tradition and belief of the Ismaili Muslims who firmly hold imamat as a hereditary office which transferred from one imam to the next. The belief is fundamental among the Ismaili Muslims who are being led by a living imam in every time period. He mentioned it frequently in his writings:

Understanding and consistent search of truth is obligatory upon every individual. Worship, obedience, good deeds have no value without knowing of Allah. And achieving this is difficult without a Pir-e-Kamil.\(^{27}\)

It has been noted that Ismail moulded his mind and infused in him the idea that the attainment of the spiritual height was impossible without a Pir-e-Kamil. The concept of Pir-e-Kamil of Bayazid was more precise and according to the Sufi injunctions of Islam. It has been stated in the commentary of Sirat al-Tauhid that Ismail told him that whoever devote himself to the remembrance of Allah at his heart, he would be rewarded with good return and high rank by Allah.\(^{28}\) Therefore, his next step was to undertake a search to find out a Pir-e-Kamil to guide him towards the attainment of spiritual heights.\(^{29}\) A profound influence of his intimacy with Ismail was his indulgence in the Sufi metaphysical experiences through adhkars. The idea of Pir-e-Kamil struck to his mind because he heard from ulamaa that once Hadrat Muhammad (SAW) noted that:

He, who has no spiritual guide, has no din (religion).\(^{30}\)

Bayazid was of the view that he is hadi and all his preaching has been revealed upon him.\(^{31}\) So it indicates the resemblance and influence of Ismaili tradition on his teachings. He directed his disciples that if they intend to repent in front of Allah, they must repent at the hand of a guide who is near to Him. Every disciple must make a treaty and bound himself through an unshakable pledge of allegiance with him. Every seeker must act according to the instructions and follow his commands. Bayazid explain it that
allegiance means adherence with prophets. And allegiance to the prophets is just like a treaty with Allah. He argued that Allah says in this regard:

Lo! Those who swear allegiance unto thee (Muhammad), swear allegiance only unto Allah. The hand of Allah is above their hands, so whosoever breaketh his oath, breaketh it only to his soul’s hurt; while whosoever keepeth his covenant with Allah, on him He bestows immense reward.  

2.2 Shariat (Islamic way of conduct)

Literally Shariat means the outwards expression of the fundamental principles of Islam. In this stage one has to fulfil the five basic beliefs of Islam i.e. uttering Kalima Tayyebah (verbal confirmation of the faith), offering five time prayers a day, fasting during the month of Ramdan, paying zakat (poor tax) and Haj-i-Baitullah (Pilgrimage of Ka’ba in Mecca). In the Roshaniyya sufi Silsilah one has to abstain from all kinds of evil deeds. Obedience to the commands of Allah and the teachings of the Holy Prophet (SAW) was compulsory without least deviation. This devotion in return generates attachment to the religion of Islam. It was the initial tough spiritual training for his disciples. Under the direct guidance of Bayazid they disciplined themselves in the observance of Shariat with strong commitment. Adhkars and awrads were given to them for purification of heart and soul. Offering prayer without grasping its logic, Bayazid writes, has no importance in front of Allah. He explained it in the light of a tradition of the Holy Prophet (SAW): “Praying is not complete unless it is offered with full attention.” In this way, he said, the duty of Abl-i-Shariat (those who upheld Islamic code of conduct) is to hold firm faith on the unity of Allah. For Bayazid performing rituals is meaningless. Attachment with full devotion with Allah was necessary to step-in in the next stage. The stage of Shariat has been described by Mirza Khan Ansari, a Roshaniyya poet, in the following words:

This is the true path, to follow Shariat. Shariat is telling the truth and becoming truthful person. Islam has five basic beliefs, Muminin obey all of them. Quit evil deeds and telling lie, slander and asceticism. When one fulfils the stage of Shariat, he finds the path of Tariqat.
2.3 Tariqat (the Right Path)

In the stage of Tariqat, Bayazid declared, the focus of sufis should be the purification of his heart from false superstitions. The outward expression of Shariat needs to take firm hold deep in the heart of every sufi. He should liberate his heart from the influences of evil desires which is crippling his spiritual pursuits. In the Roshaniyya Silsilah consistent remembrance of Allah should be a regular exercise until the absolute purification of heart and soul from all sort of dirt. In this way the purified heart and soul guide the sufi in the direction of spiritual elevation.36

Tariqat was to recognize four basic elements i.e. heart, ruh (soul), nafs (self) and satan (devil). Disciples were taught to find the truth with complete obedience to the basic principle of Islam. ‘satan’ and ‘self’ were defined as sources of evil to engage them in worldly affairs and wicked suggestions. The party of angels on the other hand, constantly remind them of eternal rewards, obedience and good conduct. Bayazid identified Tariqat as the inner knowledge. It is called as “the world of angels” for sufis to follow angelic way therein. A disciple reaches to a stage wherein he attains purification of heart and soul. It is obligatory for them neither to give up the knowledge of Tariqat nor stuck therein forever.37 They should make efforts to step forward into the next stage after complete purification. Mirza Khan Ansari has thus explained Tariqat in the following words:

Tariqat is the habit of angles, i.e. obedience (of Allah) all the time. That (purified) heart is like a kingly throne, on which two rivals fight i.e. good and evil. Whichever get ascendancy, human being expresses its effects in actions and deeds. If it follows Satan, it would ruin soon. Good actions will protect him from the fire of hell. On adopting angles’ habits, it would worship like piety human.38

2.4 Haqiqat (The Reality)

Haqiqat is the third step explained by Bayazid in the Roshaniyya Sufic Silsilah. Usually in this stage a Guman (sense of presumption) gradually grapples the heart of a mystic. During the process a determine approach filling the heart of individual about the unity of one Being i.e. Allah. The presumption then alters into a firm belief
with constant remembrance of Allah with each heartbeat. At the end, disciple reaches to a place where he attains complete purge of heart from other false belief through devotion to Allah. It is a stage of high moral. Bayazid authenticated his statement by quoting from the Holy Quran:

O Muhammad, call upon your Lord humbly
and in secret. Lo! He loveth not aggressors.\(^{39}\)

He divided the remembrance of Allah into five categories i.e., remembering by tongue, remembering by soul, remembering in secret, remembering in absentia, and remembering in a state of unawareness. The last one, according to Bayazid, is the stage where the mystic attains the degree of \textit{Ism-i-Azam}.\(^{40}\)

Focusing on the function of soul Bayazid stated that \textit{Ilm-al-Haqiqat} (knowledge of the reality) is about the soul and \textit{Alam-al-Haqiqat} (world of the reality) is the \textit{Alam-al-Jabarut} (world or realm of the Powerful).\(^{41}\) He clarified it further by saying that world of powerful is world of soul. Mystic needs to know three kinds of souls attached with every human body. One kind is called permanent or continuous or the normal human soul. It gets out of the body at the time of sleeping. It always remains alive and accompanied by wisdom. This permanent soul is responsible for all the actions. Allah will ask about the affairs and conduct of human being in the temporal world from that soul. Second type of soul is called settled or sentient. Human body is alive through the pulsation of this soul. The third form of soul is naturally superior. It remained attach with other souls, states of heart and mind, cosmos. Its relation with all souls, states of mind and senses is like the relation of fish with the water in ocean. Due to its superior nature it has been given the names of \textit{Ruh-al-Amin} or \textit{Ruh-al-Azam} (Greater Soul). This has been amply clarified by Mirza Khan Ansari in one of his poems:

When one engulfs in the crisis of presumption, he needs to indulge in the remembrance of Allah frequently and should abstain from lassitude. Get rid of evil deeds and demonstrate deep attachment and love with the divine Being (Allah). This is the remedy of Kamil (Pir-i-Kamil) which blesses the ailing. Rinse away presumption from heart and get an illuminated soul.\(^{42}\)
Bayazid Ansari accomplished propinquity in feeling the Divine Reality during the stage of Haqiqat. By frequent remembrance, many mystical ambiguities were solved in this stage. However, he found himself confronted with the appearance of more spiritual crisis. The more he elevated to the higher stage, the further he faced new aspects and phases of unity of the Being, life and hereafter. Therefore, he deemed it essential to get complete knowledge of Haqiqat through which he could pass into the next stage of Marifat.

2.5 Marifat (The Gnosis)

Mysteries of Marifat have been opened upon him through his closeness with Allah. The knowledge of the Marifat is about the essence of Allah. He saw that the being of Allah exists in each and every creature. Its secrets directly come from Allah and the sufi can see it through the eyes of heart. Allah says “Allah will exalt those who believe among you, and those who have knowledge, to high ranks.” Marifat is to see with the eyes of the heart, the being of Allah. Allah Says “Naught is as His likeness; and He is the Hearer, the Seer.”

Once, when Bayazid was perplexed on the existence of the Allah on earth he asked his father that how people would sight Allah in heaven. His father replied that they will see Allah everywhere in paradise. It was the stage where he saw things with real insight. With the eyes of heart, he observed the inner moment of every creature. It was the stage where the light of Beings and real Existence of every physical object was revealed upon him. This stage was referred to by Bayazid as the asrar (secret) of the prophets. This was the forth station in his Sufic order.

Bayazid firmly followed the belief practised by the Wahdat-ul-Wajudi sufis that in everything there is the Being of Allah. He has covered the human being from all side and nothing is concealing from Him. When he discovered the Being of Allah through the eyes of heart, it is open upon him not to harm the creatures for the sake of Allah. It is incumbent upon every disciple in Roshaniyya Silsilah that he should understand his relationship with Allah. Every mystic can observe Him around through the eyes of heart. Ansari has described this stage thus:

The illumination of the soul is to see the Marifat. He is like an ocean and one can see it through the eyes of heart. He has neither a particular colour nor permanent
abode elsewhere. He illuminates souls and revealed *Marifat* on blissful and auspicious persons.\textsuperscript{46}

### 2.6 Qurbat (The Nearness)

It is though the fifth stage in general terms but the first station in mystical observation. Bayazid spent some time in the stage of *Marifat*. One night he was addressed through the blessing of Allah and was bestowed with the true *Sami* (listener), *Arif* (knowledgeable) and *Muqarrab* (intimate companion or nearest to Allah). In fact, with all these blessings he entered into the stage of *Qurbat* (Nearness). He termed this stage *Kashf* (unveiling) and *Sma’at* (hearing). He learnt that Allah is near unto His servants as He says “And verily I am nearer to him than his jugular vein.”\textsuperscript{47}

Close proximity with Allah was observed which surround each and every Being. It is to perceive the *Aswats* (sounds) of the creatures i.e. birds, animals, waterfall, winds etc and understand its hymns. Moreover, he was blessed to understand the voice of everything around him. He comprehended the way birds, animals and other living things praised Allah. Some voices were of wrath while others were of kindness and mercy. Anger and mercy are united in the Being of Allah. Not a single whisper was detached from the absolute tone of Allah. The tone of compassion creates the ability of knowing Allah’s blessings. It gets him out of evils and *shirk*. The sounds of fury indulge human beings in transgression. Bayazid was blessed to understand the tenor of all the sounds. The stage of *qurbat* has been described in the following verse of the Holy Quran:

> There exists none that is not praising Allah, Verily you understand not their praising of Allah\textsuperscript{48}

Ansari has described this stage in the following stanza:

> All sounds are from the same Being, some are of fury and other of blessings. If they are on earth or heavens, all praising Allah. Listener (*Sami*) understands every sound and enjoys its hymns.\textsuperscript{49}

After observing special favour of Allah, Bayazid then offered special thank to Allah and indulged in worship with a fresh zeal. He believed that every voice contains a gist of Allah’s pre-eminence. For getting further height in mysticism, he continued spiritual efforts for the highest stage of *Pir-i-Kamil*. The more he passed through various
stages, the more he increased his hunt for the real truth. He mentioned that it is necessary to make advancement while at the same time keeping in touch with all the previous stages.  

2.7 *Waslat (the Communion)*

Waslat is the second station of mystical observation and sixth stage in the Roshaniyya sufi Silsilah. After passing through tough spiritual exercises, sufi loses his own individuality and care less for his own being. Bayazid explains that the knowledge of *waslat* in a way is a direct linkage, friendship and communion with Allah. The Sufi, while carrying the orders of Allah, losing himself so much as he has no personal choices except the choice of Allah. He hears the voice of Allah with the ears of Allah and remembers the essence of Allah as all other existence is one with the essence of worshipped.  

Allah, Almighty says “Don’t you hear! All things reach Allah at last.” In *waslat* the mystic forgets about his personal needs. Here he sees only one real being i.e. Allah and what he says and acts are part and reflection of that Reality. Here the disciple understands the reality of life. He considers it a sacred trust of Allah. It revealed upon him to discipline his life according to Allah’s commands. Bayazid has quoted a verse from the Holy Quran “say (O Muhammad); the cause belongeth who wholly to Allah. They hide within themselves (a thought) which they reveal not unto thee.”  

Bayazid has himself recorded in the *Maqsud-al-Muminin*:

I perceived my Lord with my Lord. They hear the voice of Allah with the ears of Allah, and remember the Essence of Allah with such a remembrance as all other existing things are one with the Essence of the worshipped. They say right words with the mouth of Allah. They do such actions as are related with self annihilation and with the Being of the Worshipped, till they realize the meaning of this verse within themselves, “Everything will perish save His countenance.”

Mirza Khan Ansari mentioned about the stage of *Waslat*:

Those who forget the existence of his being, he witnesses and see the existence of one real Being (Allah).
2.8 Wahdat (the Unity)

Wahdat is the world of Alam-al-Lahut (the world of the Divine Being). It is the knowledge of Taubid and the world of the unity of Allah. In this stage a mystic identifies and sees reality with the real truth. This is the highest point and the third station in mystical observation. It emphasizing that ‘there is no true existence except the ultimate Truth (Allah). The only truth within the universe is the unity of Allah, and that all things exist within Allah only. Every creature emerges from adim (non-existence) to wujud (existence) out of His thought only. Hence the existence of God is the only truth and reality (Haq), and the concept of a separate created universe is falsehood (Batil). Passing through a series of stages (muqamat) and subjective experiences (ahwal), Bayazid reached to a stage wherein the process of absorption developed until complete annihilation of his self (fana) took place and he has becomes Insan-i-Kamil, the (perfect man).

The sufi, Bayazid narrates, does not share his existence with the Being of the Worshipped because this could lead him to infidelity. He quoted a verse from the Holy Quran “Lo! Whoso ascribeth partner unto Allah, for him Allah hath forbidden paradise. His abode is the fire. For evil-doers there will be no helpers.”57 He understands the reality to disintegrate his narrow self-concepts, social self and limited intellect (feeling like a drop of water aware of being part of the ocean). Every mystic remember Allah and deny his separate existence. They chanted slogan that there is no God but the real Truth. The stage is also called Fana-fil-Taubid (extinction with the unity) or Fana-fil-Haq (extinction in the reality). Ansari described in his poetry:

The moment a mystic mingles with the real Being, he observes the ultimate unity therein. One is absolves (in this stage) from restrictions of doing worship, nor will he do evil deeds. Wrong doing to other creatures would not be his habit....... he has fulfilled the right of worship after he protects his honour.58

Bayazid described that in the stage of Wahdat a mystic completely submerged in the Divine entity. Allah says “Behold I am inside the hair and inside the flesh of men, inside their blood, veins, bones and brain, inside everything that is part of human body. He
further mentioned that the devotees are united with Allah and have no separate existence altogether. Sufi forgets himself, forsakes human attributes and accepts features of Allah. All other attributes vanish from him even his ‘self’.

Don’t you see! There are visible signs of the existence (of Allah) in your bodies.

This feature of submergence with Divine unity was defined like fish in the water, the latter as indispensable for the former. Split in the Divine unity is forbidden according to Bayazid Ansari. He asserted that it is mandatory for all the people to reach to a stage where he can observe himself part of one eternal being.

2.9 Sakunat (The Tranquility)

Sakunat was the most difficult journey and the last station in the Roshaniyya Sufic Silsilah. It was the highest stage attained by Bayazid Ansari. He describes that the knowledge of Sakunat is to grasp the existence of Allah. The stage is referred to as “the world of poor”. He says that prophets wished to have the grace of being a member of Muhammad’s Ummat (followers); and Muhammad (SAW) chose for himself the rank of the poor, as he says “O my Lord! Give me the life of a poor man and let me die poor, and raise me along the group of the poor”. In this stage a sufi became upright externally and internally i.e. by body and soul. He became a perfect servant and possessor of the knowledge of all these mystic stages.

With passing through this stage Bayazid reserved some supreme statuses for himself. He called himself Miskeen, Sahib-i-Zaman (the contemporary leader) and the Naib (Deputy or vice-regent) of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW). Obeying him is incumbent on all the Muslims. Disobeying his order would invite the wrath of Allah.

A visible variation between soul and body was noticed in the stage of Sakunat. Miskeens’ souls usually adopt Divine attributes. Soul is transformed to a Divine component and disregard bodily needs. It became over and above from bodily attributes like eating, sleeping, talking etc. However, soul could not be made accountable for the actions of human body. There is no stage above the Sakunat because Miskeen transforms himself into a part of Divine unity. Miskeen moves to the phase of eternity. He became the Imam (guide or leader) of all the people of his time. Mirza Khan Ansari eloquently defined Sakunat in the following verse:
Only Truth will exist because he believes in revelations. Features of appearance are void and the quality of soul is eternal salvation. The mystic is like a king ruling the people. He will be complete Kamil (Pir-i-Kamil) as he adopts Allah’s ego.⁶⁴

In this way he passed through the eight stages which he himself conceived essential for spiritual elevation.⁶⁵ At the end he proclaimed himself as Miskeen and kept invoking the divine name of God. He started the propagation of his mission after he thought that he had acquired all the credentials of a complete spiritual guide. In this pronouncement he elevated himself to the position of Pir-i-Kamil at the age of forty and soon became popular in the surrounding areas. These spiritual stages were his self-conceived which he attained without the help of any spiritual guide or mentor. Revelations and dreams were often quoted to explain all these happenings before his disciples. He was a gifted orator and possessed strong argumentative power. He used to say that he was the person upon who has been revealed the truth of the divine secret. Likewise, he told the people that obeying him was incumbent on all the masses. Obeying him was obeying the Apostles of God and therefore obeying God. He would lead those who sincerely obey him through the above stages to Tauhid.⁶⁶

Conclusion
The claim of Bayazid Ansari to be a Pir-i-Kamil is tremendously clear from his own writings and teachings. The place he carved out for himself, the influence he exerted among the people largely revolved around his sufic-cum-religious epicentre. He used to be an anti-Mughal religious and spiritual person and nothing more than that. In fact, throughout history these types of sufis never felt at ease with the political agendas of their respective ruling elites. Above all, his Pakhtun social background and political setting made him more dangerous and risky in the Mughal court circle. He followed and practiced Wabdat-al-Wajud concept of Sufism. However, he added some mystical experiences with the already established concept of the unity of one Being. In the process he has established a new sufi Silsilah in Muslim Sufism that is called Roshaniyya order. Indeed it was one of his great achievements. He propagated his ideas despite
tough resistance from the traditional ulema and some local sufis. He deviated from the traditional Islamic teachings which made him controversial in the eyes of considerable number of people. Some of his ideas and teachings were extremely harsh and extremist in nature which made common Pakhtuns sceptical about his movement. He created well-knit propaganda machinery though his disciples whom he sent to far-flung areas to spread his message. His writing primarily concerned with religion, Sufism, and Islamic discourses. There is not as single point or reference on the basis of which one should call him a Pakhtun nationalist leader. This is simply anachronism.
REFERENCES

1 Adhkar is the plural of dhikr that denotes the remembrance of Allah with those legislated duas [supplications] or dhikrs like saying Astaghfar, Subhan Allah, Alhamdulillah and Allahu Akbar and other statements that stemmed from the Prophet Muhammad. Some of these Adhkars are specified on various times of the day however, dhikr generally can be said during any time of the day. Those persons who remember Allah receive more blessings. Dhikr can also include the recitation of the Quran as well.

2 Awrad is the plural of wird which means devotion or deep spiritual attachment specific to a particular Sufi Silsilah (order). These are extensive prayers in which the inner or the substance of the tariqah or Silsilah is defined. An initiate or beginner is given the secret wird of the order upon completion of training by the spiritual guide, transferring the spiritual power of the chain of transmission from the founder of the order and Muhammad to the initiate. Taking wird is equivalent to full initiation into that specific sufi Silsilah.


7 Ibid, p. 6.


10 For instance Sana Haroon mentions that during the Nineteenth century when differences arose between Akhund Abdul Ghaffur of Swat and one of his Khalifas Kotah Mulla, the latter was dubbed a heretic and the disciple of Bayazid Ansari. See Sana Haroon, Frontier of Faith: Islam in the Indo-Afghan Borderland (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), pp. 44-45.

11 For a detail study of the sufi and religious discourse of Bayazid Ansari see Bayazid Ansari, Maqsud-al-Muminin.

12 Caroe, The Pathans, p. 201.

13 For a detail study of the point of view of the rival group of saints sees Akhun Darwaiza, Makhzan. He challenged Bayazid and his teachings on the basis of prevailing Islamic jurisprudence and Sufi traditions of that time. He himself practised Wahdat-ul-Shahudi concept in Islamic mysticism.
The re-incarnation of soul is a fundamental belief in Hinduism. According to this belief a soul after coming to existence re-incarnates again and again on earth till the time when it becomes perfect and reunites with its source. During this long process it enters into many bodies of various creatures and passes through many births and deaths. This concept has been mentioned in a verse of Hindu religious texts like Bhagavad Gita. Jayaram V, Hinduism and the Belief in Rebirth, accessed on Hinduwebsite.com 12/10/2017

Aab-i-Hayat meaning water of life or immortality is associated with Khwaja Khidr (AS). It is believed that the water of life is hidden in the most northern part of the earth in the dark. He who finds a sip of drink will become immortal. Some Persian allegories say that Alexander, the Great sought after it in vain. It is also said that Prophet Khidr, found it and that is how he became immortal. See Saif-ur-Rahman Masud, Pir Rokhan ao Rokhani Inqilab (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1998), p. 13.

The idea of Pir-i-Kamil or Shaikh-i-Kamil is one of the main topics of the Roshaniyya discourse of Bayazid Ansari. He extensively discussed it in his writings and speeches. He was of the view that for getting eternal salvation and the highest stage in mysticism, the supervision and guidance of a Pir-i-Kamil is very much necessary. The achievement of nearness with Allah, without the guidance of a true saint, is impossible. See for more details Himayatullah Yaqubi, Mughal-Afghan Relations in South Asia: History and Developments (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 2015).

Bayazid Ansari, Maqsud-al-Muminin, P. 64.

Akbar, Rokhanian da Mughalo Tarekyan, p. 23.
32 Bayazid Ansari, *Maqsud-al-Muminin*, p. 64.
38 Holy Quran Chapter (7) surat al-a’rāf verse No. 55.
39 Holy Quran Chapter (7) surat al-a’rāf verse No. 55.
40 Holy Quran Chapter (7) surat al-a’rāf verse No. 55.
41 *Alam-ul-Jabrut* (Realm of Power) is Arabic and a sufi term which means to connect two things. It is like a bridge because it connects the three levels of non-creation i.e. *Alam-i-Hahoot* (Realm of He-ness), *Alam-i-Yahoot* (Realm of first manifestation) and *Alam-i-Lahoot* (Realm of absolute Unity) with the stages of *Alam-i-Malakut* (Realm of intelligence) and *Alam-i-Nasut* (Realm of physical bodies). These six stages are called Sufi cosmology. The level of Jabrut is related to the level of creation of souls of human beings. Here Allah created the souls of human beings from *Rooh-e-Qudsi*. These terms in Sufi cosmology have been discussed in details by Ibn Arabi in his book *Fusus-al-Hikma*.
42 Ibid., p. 125
43 *Quran*, 28:11.
44 Ibid, Sura Al-Shura (42:11).
47 *Holy Quran*, Sura Qaf (50:16).
49 Ibid, p. 126.
50 Ibid., 19
52 *Holy Quran*, Sura Al-Shura (42:53).
54 *Quran*, 3:154.
56 Masud, *Pir Rokhan*, p. 127
58 Masud, *Pir Rokhan*, p. 128. In this stage when one submerges with the unity of Allah he should not consider himself equal with that of Allah. Satan always
tries to deceive mystic by instilling in him the impression of his being a part of Allah. One considers himself above and supreme from other human beings is not true mystic. True mystic can identify the evil spirit of Satan to lead him in opposite direction.

59 Mahsud, Introduction to *Maqsud-al-Muminin*, p. 76.
60 *Holy Quran*, Part 27, (Sura Zariat).
63 Masud, *Pir Rokhan*, 129.
64 Ibid, p. 129.
65 A mystic, according to Bayazid, becomes *Pir-i-Kamil* by going through the stages of *Shariat* (Islamic code of conduct), *Tariqat* (the right path), *Haqiqat* (the reality), *Marifat* (gnosis), *Qurbat* (nearness), *Wasalat* (communion), *Wahdat* (unity) and *Sukunat* (tranquility). See Hamid-ul-Haq, Roushaniya Movement, p. 87.