

Dogmas and Doctrines of the Roshnites and the Dispute of Pantheism

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ABSTRACT

The Roshnites (Illuminati) also called “Rokhanian” in Pashto, a sixteenth century religio-political movement in the Pashtun dominated regions of Pakistan and Afghanistan, effected social mobilization on an unprecedented scale. The movement aimed at doctrinal reforms but soon it turned out to be a political movement. The leader of the Movement, Bayazid Ansari (also called “Pir Rokhan” by his devotees and “Pir Tareek” by his opponents), a mystic practitioner believing in mystic doctrine of Wahdatul Wajud (pantheism) urged people to acknowledge him as “Pir-e-Tamam” (ultimate spiritual guide) and as “Imam-e-Zaman” (contemporary world leader), seeking unquestioned allegiance and obedience. His teachings generated a controversy which resulted in wars and fighting. The paper aims at examining the controversy as to whether it was dogmatic, revolving around mystical experiences or politically motivated as believed by some people.

The dogmas and doctrines as expressed by the leader of the movement are embodied chiefly in his book called *Khairul Bayan*, believed to be divinely inspired and revealed, and the same has been benefited from. The assertions of Bayazid Ansari and the contesting arguments of the chief rival called Akhund Darveza have been examined in the light of comparative mystical expressions given by other Sufi practitioners of pre and post periods. Relying on internal evidence from *Khairul Bayan*, it has been established that the dispute was embedded more in religion than in politics.

KEY WORDS: Mysticism, Pantheism, Dispute, Subjective and Objective Observations in Sufi Practices.

Introduction

The dogmas and doctrines of the Roshnites are embodied in the books of Bayazid Ansari (*Pir Roshan* or *Pir Tareek*), the founder, namely *Khairul Bayan*, *Siratu Tawheed*, *Maqsoodul Momineen*, *Farhatu Talibeen*, *Halnama*, *Maktoobat*, *Wajeed de Shulook*, *Roshni Nama*, *Tazkeer-e- ‘ilm*, *Farhatul Mujtaba* and a newly discovered book titled *Darveshnama* (Shinwari, 2007, p-2). *Khairul Bayan*, however, is the fundamental book which consists of the main teachings and messages of Bayazid in their original form. *Khairul Bayan*, there fore has been

largely drawn upon in the course of the present research. Written in four languages concomitantly that is Pashto, Arabic, Persian and Hindi, the book is said to have been revealed to and written and read by Bayazid himself and he enjoined it upon his sons, lieutenants and followers to read and teach it to the other people. Bayazid's family and his followers held the book in high esteem so as to fulfill the wishes of their master (Kaka khel, 1969, pp 1z,lh).

Qalandar Mohmand, a modern Pashto scholar and poet claims that original Khairul Bayan was written in Pashto only with no Arabic or Persian text and that the currently available version (discovered by Maulana Abdul Qadir, Director Pashto Academy, Peshawar in the library of Tubengen University, Germany (in 1967) is the exegesis of the original one, fulfilling the expositional requirements of the time (Khweshki, 2003, pp-20-21), a claim which is not being agreed to by modern authorities on Roshnites. It is however manifest from page 301 of Khairul Bayan that the currently available version is not the one written by Bayazid himself, but by Faqir Tuwi, disciple of Pir Roshan, for Bibi Khair Khatoon in 1061 A.H, about 72 years after the death of Bayazid Ansari.

Khairul Bayan as Revealed Book

“Like Risala-e-Ghosia of Abdul Qadir Jilani, Kitabul Mawafiq of Naffiri and Lam'at of Shah Waliullah, Khairul Bayan is deemed to have been revealed to Bayazid” (Khweshki, 2003, p-19). The tone and tenor of the book testifies the fact that it has been prepared in light of the divine command such as is evident from the style of its narration, “oh Bayazid, write down and narrate Khairul Bayan in the style of Sura-e-Rehman (a chapter in Quran) as revealed to Prophet Muhammad” (Ansari, 1967, p-13). When Bayazid was overwhelmed by headache and his end was approaching near, his disciples assembled and requested him for some advice. Bayazid said, “What ever has been revealed to me (dawned on me), I have recorded them in Khairul Bayan. I have not concealed anything from them and have presented them with full justice. To the prophet and his heir (Bayazid), it is ordained that whatever is given to them in revelation, they should convey it to the people as such” (Qasmi, 1967, p-54).

The proclamation on the part of Bayazid that Khairul Bayan had been revealed to him was made a subject of great controversy by Akhund Darveza, a leading cleric and mystic of his time. Declaring content of the book as non-sense religiosity, disjointed and hate materials for scholars, he degraded it to the level of better calling it Kharrul Bayan (statement by a donkey) rather than Khairul Bayan (statement of welfare). To Akhund Darveza, the book was full of profane statements (Qasmi, 1967, p-52).

A study of the book Khairul Bayan, however, reveals that it contains praise of God Almighty, pray for riddance from sins, seeking virtues, desire for right path, constant remembering death; torment of the life after death, accountability of the Day of Resurrection and a fear of the torment of Hell (Ansari, 1967, pp10-22). The

book also has a discourse about the fundamentals of Islam such as Kalma-e-Shahadat (statement validating entry into the fold of Islam), Salaat (offering five times obligatory prayer), Fasting in the month of Ramazan, Zakat (Poor Tax), Haj (pilgrimage) and a description of mandatory and non-mandatory rituals(Ansari, 1967, pp-81-102). It is a detailed account of the Quranic injunctions about human conduct, faithfulness, knowledge, mysticism and a purified life.

Bayazid as “Pir-e-Kamil” (Perfect Divine)

Bayazid’s disciples considered him as a Perfect Divine and believed him to be a spiritual guide sent for the guidance of the whole of humanity. To them, Bayazid’s inner self was purified and enlightened. They, in fact, had heard a voice from the Unseen bidding them to call Bayazid as “Pir Rokhan” (the illumined spiritual guide) (Qasmi, 1967,p-13). Bayazid also was directed through a revelation that in contemporary period there was no “Pir-e-Kamil” except he himself who was heir of Prophets and custodian of their messages (Ansari, 1967, p-33). The revelation further stipulated that obedience of “Sheikh-e-Kamil” (Perfect Spiritual Teacher) was mandatory for all those who claimed to be Muslims. “Those who refused to obey the command of “Sheikh-e-Kamil” and preferred to obey the command of other half cooked “Pirs”, they are out of the pale of Islam” (Ansari, 1967, p-237).

According to Bayazid, “Pir-e-Tamam” (Perfect Spiritual Guide) is that person who has passed through the seven stages of mysticism and has stepped in the eighth stage called “Maskanat” (stability). A man in the eighth stage is called “Miskeen” (the stable) and is known as “Pir-e-Kamil”. The only “Miskeen” at the moment, according to him and his followers, was Bayazid himself to whom every one owed obedience (Kaka Khel, 1969, p-mj). Bayazid was also instructed in a revelation that on the day of resurrection, “Pir-e-Tamam” would rise in the company of Prophets and that the imperfect Pirs claiming perfection would rise in the company of Satans. Likewise, a person obeying the command of “Pir-e-Tamam” will remain a Muslim and those obeying the commands of the Imperfect “Pirs” will continue to live the lives of infidels and rise in the company of infidels (Ansari, 1967, pp-59,60 and Kaka khel, 1969, p-mh).

Eight Stages of Bayazid’s Mysticism

Bayazid Ansari, unlike other Sufi practitioners, talked of eight stages in Muslim mysticism. The stages that he described are: 1. *Shariat* 2. *Tareeqat* 3. *Haqeeqat* 4. *Ma’rifat* 5. *Qurbat* 6. *Waslat* 7. *Wahdat* and 8. *Sakoonat*.

In the Shariah stage one has to strictly follow the sayings and precepts of Prophet Muhammad (SM). In this stage one has to observe and fulfill the five basic demands of the religion of Islam such as uttering Kalma (confirmation of faith by tongue); Salat (Prayers five times a day); Fasting in the Month of

Ramazan; *Zakat* (paying poor tax) and *Haj* (pilgrimage of the Ka'ba in Makka). Also one has to abstain oneself from all kinds of sins and evil deeds. Commitment to the observance of Shariah commands generates devotion to the religion of Islam and the same is considered essential for spiritual progress and uplift (Khweshki, 2005, pp-109-111).

In the second stage called *Tareeqat*, the mystic Sufi focuses his attention on *Qalb* (heart) and makes it purified by consistent remembering of God Almighty until the purified heart and soul are able to guide the Sufi practitioner in a particular direction. In this stage the Sufi becomes ascetic and works hard to liberate his *Qalb* from the influence of Satan and base desires. Having purified his heart and soul, the Sufi practitioner attains spiritual heights and follows the directions of heart and soul in his conduct. (Khweshki, 2005, p-112)

In the third stage that is *Haqiqat*, the mystic Sufi is required to remember God Almighty silently in congruence with each heart beat. Here a *Guman* (sense of presumption) is developed which is then converted into an unshakable belief until complete cleansing of heart from unbelief is attained (Khwashki, 2005, p-113)

Ma'arifat, the fourth stage, leads the mystic Sufi into an area where he sees things with the eyes of the heart (*Qalb*). Here the mystic Sufi sees the light of the Being and also sees every physical object as a real existence. Bayazid described this stage as the *Asrar* (secrets) of the Prophets (Khweshki, 2005, p-114)

Qurbat is the fifth stage in general terms but the first stage in terms of mystical observations (Urdu *sair*). Here a mystic feels himself in close proximity to God Almighty and sees the Being as surrounding everything. Also in this stage, the mystic hears sounds of everything offering praise of Allah. (Khweshki, 2005, p-115)

In the sixth stage that is *Waslat*, the mystic loses his own individuality and forgets about his own being. Here he sees only one Real Being and what he says and acts are part of Reality. (Khweshki, 2005, p116)

In the seventh stage called *Wahdat*, a mystic identifies and sees Reality with reality. Here everything has a Real Existence. This is the third observation and in mystical terms the highest stage. From the point of spiritual heights, it is the acme (Khweshki, 2005,p-116).

Bayazid describes the seventh stage of mystical experience as *Wahdat* (Unity) where man loses his own entity and submerges completely in the Entity of God Almighty. Bayazid was instructed in revelation recorded in *Khairul Bayan* (Ansari, 1967, p-273) which runs, “ Man, when he completely submerges Me, should remember Me and forget about his own existence. 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. Undoubtedly my Entity is part of everything just as is part of the human body. (*wa fi anfusakum afala tubswerun. Wa nahnu aqrabu elaihe men hablil wareed. Zaatallahu ta'ala kaana (kaza) ma'al insane fe kulle haal wa makaan haadi waele dee.*) The unity of Being, both of men and God, were clarified to Bayazid in another instruction on the analogy of fish

inside water, the latter being as indispensable for the former (Ansari, 1967, p-269). The event of the unity of all existence was further clarified through another example which states that “the drop of rain water remains water only when temperature remains the same. Colder temperature turns it into ice while the heat of sun rays again turns it into water. Exactly in the same manner man’s entity is part of the Divine Self. Because of doubt, its quality has changed. When the sun of the idea of unity will rise, its light would remove the doubt and man will again turn into Divine Unity” (Ansari, 1967, pp-275,276). According to Khairul Bayan, the idea of split in the Unity of Being rather than thinking as sole one being is forbidden and it is mandatory for every one to reach a stage in mysticism where he can observe himself as part of the one Eternal Being. (Ansari, 1967, p-277).

Sakoonat, the eighth stage, is the last stage in the Roshnite mysticism. Here a mystic moves to the stage of Eternity or Baqa or Baqa Billah or Takhluqu Biakhlaqillah. Here the mystic is called Miskeen and here he occupies the position of Naib or Deputy or the vicegerent of the Prophet (SM). This “Miskeen” is the Imam (leader) of the people of his time who is also called “Sahib-e-Zaman” (contemporary leader) or “Qutub” or “Pir-e-kamil”.. Spiritually he has been granted Real Existence. His soul has found peace and is at rest. But from the point of physical body and its characteristics, he is mingled with the other creatures of God Almighty. Here he is bound of Shariah and preaches Shariah. (Khweshki, 2005,p-117).

The Doctrine of *Wahdatul Wajud* (Pantheism)

The belief in the unification of all beings with the Divine Self, as explained in the seventh stage of Bayazid’s mysticism, technically is called *Wahdatul Wajud* (Pantheism). Bayazid in this doctrine did not present anything new; indeed it was an old concept in the world of mystical experiences. “Hassan ibn-e-Mansur and Bayazid Bustami owned similar ideas about the unity of existence. Mohiuddin ibn-e-Arabi popularized this doctrine and was considered as its *Imam* (leader). Persian poets like Fareeduddin Attar, Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi and Maulana Nuruddin Jami were also among the protagonists of this doctrine” (Qasmi, 1967,pp-82-83). Owing to the significance of the term *Wahdatul Wajud* and its counter term *Wahdatul Shuhud*, it is pertinent to have a closer view of both of them.

Wahdatul Wajud, according to Mohiuddin ibn-e-Arabi, the chief protagonist of the doctrine, recognizes the existence of only One Real Being, negating the existence of all other beings, big or small. The physical world, according to him, in reality is the manifestation of that One Real Being. This One Real Being is indivisible and can be neither more here nor less there (Farzana, 2005, p-2). The One Being manifests itself in a physical form and knows how to create plurality from its Unity and such a form of creation is known as *Ta’ayyun* (determinism). The manifestation in different forms are, in reality, the representation of the Being in its entirety. The concept was explained by the example of water, ice, and vapor

as different manifestations of the Being in its entirety (Farzana, 2005, p-2). “The stage prior to the multiplicities in physical form is known as *Ahadiya* or the stage of Absolute Unity. The second stage is known as the *Wahdah* or “Uincity” when internal distinctions begin to emerge. These have not yet assumed physical form and are mere conceptual prototypes of future material manifestations” (Farzana, 2005, p-2). The stage of *Wahdah* is then followed by intermediary stage but the final stage involves the actual physical representations of the prototypes in the existential stage (Farzana, 2005, p-2).

The manifestations of the One Being are of three types: spiritual, symbolic, or physical. But there is no essential difference between the plurality that we see and the “ transcendental Unity from which it emerged”. God in the physical form “suffers, wills, and takes pleasure in the enjoyment of the physical world as a part of it” (Farzana, 2005, p-2).

Further, the plurality of physical forms based on the realization that it is truly one with the Divine also struggles to secure Union with the Being again, love being the chief propelling force. This force urges union with the Divine but can not make any significant progress because of its being “trapped” in the physical body. The mystic practitioner therefore attempts to facilitate and liberate the love of the Divine by denying the body the physical or worldly pleasures (Farzana, 2005, p-3). Increased remembrance of Allah brings about the “unitive” experience and the mystic therefore has to devote himself/herself to this practice. Once the “unitive” experience is realized, the mystic practitioner may declare himself/herself God because he/she begins to see that in reality there is only One Being and also begins to believe in the unity of existence (Farzana, 2005, p-3).

The Doctrine of *Wahdatul Shuhud* (subjective observation of Unity of Existance)

Mujaddid alf sani or Imam Rabbani, commonly known as Sarhindi, the proponent of the doctrine of *Wahdatul Shuhud* in Islamic mysticism differed fundamentally with Ibn-e-Arabi’s concept of *Wahdatul Wajud*. To throw some light on this new doctrine in Islamic mysticism, it is pertinent to quote an observational expression of a Sufi practitioner called Abd al- Mu’min which was reported to the Mujaddid and the latter remarked thereupon:

Abd al- M’min said, ‘Heavens and Earth and God’s throne and Hell and Paradise have all ceased to exist for me. When I look around I find them nowhere. When I stand in the presence of somebody, I see nobody before me: nay even my own being is lost to me. God is Infinite. Nobody can encompass Him; and this is the extreme limit of experience. No saint has been able to go beyond this’ (Iqbal, 1989, p-152-153).

Hearing this, the Mujaddid replied

‘The experience which is described (above) has its origin in the ever varying life of the Qalb (heart) and it appears to me that the recipient of it has not yet passed even one-fourth of the innumerable “stations” of the Qalb. The remaining three-fourths must be passed through in order to finish the experiences of this first “station” of spiritual life. Beyond this “station”, there are other “stations” known as Ruh, Sirr-i-Khafi, and Sirr-i-Akhfa, each of these “stations” which together constitute what is technically called ‘Alam-e-Amr’ which has its own characteristic states and experiences. After having passed through these “stations”, the seeker of truth gradually receives illumination of Divine Names and Divine Attributes and finally the illumination of the Divine Essence... this ‘Alam-e-Amar’ ie ‘the world of directive energy’ must be passed through before one reaches the unique experience which symbolizes the purely objective’ (Iqbal, 1989, p-153).

According to Sheikh Ahmad Sarhind who refuted the doctrine of Wahdatul Wajud (philosophy of pantheism) and advocated his own doctrine called Wahdatul Shuhud, the seeing of One Being by most Sufis (mystics) in their mystical practice is mere subjective observation and perception, which phenomenon the Mujaddid described as Tawheed-e- Shuhudi (observational unity based on subjective perception). The Mujaddid contended that God is above and beyond his creation and therefore transcendent, not immanent as advocated by Ibn-e-Arabi. God is One Being, distinct from his creation Who creates by the power of His words and not by “Ta’ayyun” as proposed by the advocates of Wahdatul Wajud. Sarhindi maintains that the world is not God (huma ust) but proceeds from God (hum az ust) and has an existence independent of the Divine Being which is ephemeral and illusory existence (Farzana, 2005,p-4). “ The world, though unreal and illusory has an identity of its own because reflections and attributes of God elevate it from non-existence. The illusory object in the world therefore has free will. His actions are his own and not of God” (Farzana, 2005, p-4).

Concepts of Fana and Baqa

The concepts of Fana and Baqa in mystical experience can further clarify the distinction between the doctrines of Wahdatul Wajud and Wahdatul Shuhud. Fana Billah, the first stage in mystical experience, is merging with the divine essence or unification with God or the existence of the self in God and is a “stepping stone” towards the ultimate goal of attaining Baqa Billah (consciousness of being independent of God). In the Fana experience, the Sufi forgets himself but when he reaches the stage of experiencing Baqa, he regains consciousness of some of his

individuality. Here the distinction between one's self and the Divine Being again becomes manifest. (Farzana, 2005, p-4).

Further, Fana is imagined and not a real experience. It is therefore Fana Shuhudi or perceived annihilation and merging with Dine, while to the advocates of Wahdatul Wajud, Fana is a real experience (Farzana, 2005, p-5). Sarhindi believed that some mystics remained trapped in the first unitive stage ie the stage of Fana who unable to proceed to the next stage, remain deprived from the realization of being separate and distinct from the Divine Being. Such Sufis, according to Sarhindi, preach the doctrine of Wahdatul Wajud. Both Mansur Hallaj, claiming "Ana al Haq" (I am the true Being) and ibn-e-Arabi who preached and advocated Wahdatul Wajud, were entangled in the Fana stage and thus were in illusion (Farzana, 2005, p-5).

To Sarhindi, the real Fana is to forget the "not-divine", to free oneself from the love of this world and to purify the heart from all personal desires and wishes as is expected of a real servant, while real Baqa is to fulfill the wishes of the Lord, to make His Will one's own without losing one's self identity (Farzana, 2005, p-5).

Sarhindi claimed that his ideas were in harmony with the Quranic discourse of belief in a transcendent God, submission to His Will, and human limitations of God's forgiveness. His views on Fana-e-Shuhudi rather than Fana-e-Wajudi gives him a preponderating position over his doctrinal adversaries because they were in line with pristine Islamic theology (Farzana, 2005, p-5).

The Wahdatul Wajud (Pantheism) of Bayazid

There is a passage in Khairul Bayan whereby a mystic practitioner (Muwahhid) having reached the stage of unification with the Divine is forbidden to perform Islamic religious rituals (such as obligatory prayers) signifying submission to God, for it amounts to polytheism (Shirk), but if he abandons rituals, he is regarded by the other people as infidel. Therefore, if the mystic practitioner desires that he should neither be polytheist nor infidel, he should outwardly engage himself in rituals so that other people in pursuance of him may not abandon the practice of performing the religious rituals. The actual text runs:

گورہ اور مندن پہ عارف موجد بندے چہ پھر لہ یگانگی پس تر و خلاص وین لہ بندگی اور لہ گناہان، پہ بندگی زما پہ
نظر مشرک شی، پہ پریمبولو (ے) کافر پہ نظر د آدمیان۔۔۔ موجد کہ غواری بقع طاعت چہ نہ پیرے مشرک نہ پر کافر شی
تروے بریہ چہ دہ آدمیانو دہ و پاندے دے مشغول کا پہ عبادت تن و آندام چہ دہ پہ بھنہ ز مالہ عبادتہ نوزنی نور آدمیان۔

“Gora war mundane pa aarif muaahad hagma de che khapsar la yagangai pas taro khlas weni la bandagai aw la gunahan. Pa bandagai zama pa nazar mushrik shee pa pre khulo ye kafir pa nazar da admian... Muaahhid ke ghwari hagma taat che neh pre mushrik neh pre kafir shee taroi boy ache da aadmiyan da wrande de Mashghul ka pa ibaadat tan war andaam che da deh pa bahana zama la ibaadata neh oozi nor aadmiyan.” (Ansari, 1967, p-276).

According to this statement, a mystic practitioner having reached the stage of being himself a divine is free from the practice of obligatory prayers and other rituals, and that if he thinks that with his abandoning of obligatory prayers, other people may follow suit, he should then perform prayer only for a public show. Contemporary mystics of repute and religious scholars like Pir Baba and Akhund Darveza in the Buner area opposed this doctrine of Bayazid and left no stone unturned to prevent him preaching such like ideas.

“The time in which Bayazid lived was the time when the philosophy of Wahdatul Wajud was very popular among the Muslim mystics of India, but this philosophy was hardly distinguishable from the Hindu philosophy of Vedanta, says Maulana Abdul Qudus Qasmi, an expert on the Roshnite affairs. He further says, “The fact is that the philosophy of Wahdat was not Islam’s own philosophy. Therefore a little afterwards in the days of the Mughal monarch, Jehangir (1605-1627), this philosophy was contradicted and opposed by Mujaddid alf-e-Sani Sheikh Ahmad Sarhindi on the ground that it was not in consonance with the dictates of Shariah” (Qasmi, 1967, p-84).

To Akhund Darveza, Bayazid had no Pir (spiritual guide) to guide him and without a Pir, a mystic experimenter often sees Barzakh-e-Ruh (status of human soul after death) and he begins to think it as God and as such he is misled by the idea and turns infidel. According to him, mysticism is a knowledge that can not be reduced into writing and can be made possible only with a prolonged sitting in a spiritual exercise under the guidance and supervision of a spiritual mentor not less than a Pir-e-Kamil (Kaka Khel, 1969, p-nb). Akhund Darveza believed that it is more important to keep one self away from a Sheikh-e-Jahil (ignorant spiritual guide) than to keep one self protected from the influence of a Satan. The reason is that a Sheikh-e-Jahil can not differentiate between God and human spirit. If the spiritual guide of a Sufi is sound, then he helps the mystical practitioner to separate the light of his own spirit from the light of God (Kaka Khel, 1969, p-nj).

Akhund Darveza was a theologian of high repute and at the same time was well versed in the knowledge of the spiritual world. When he joined the company of Pir Baba in 1554 A.D, he carried the title of Sheikh-e-Afghan. Thereafter he spent long 28 years under the spiritual guidance of Pir Baba (died in 1583 A.D.) who allowed him to teach mystical lessons to other people in four different orders of mysticism called Kibr-e-Wiyya, Chashtiyya, Suharwardiyya, and Shattariyya (Kaka Khel, 1969, pp- ko, kz, kh). Akhund Darveza went from village to village and engaged the followers, disciples and Deputies of Bayazid in debates. Some time, he did so all alone and some time in the company of his followers. Occasions

also arose that Akhund Darveza was encircled by Bayazid's followers and planned to murder him, but the tongue of the Akhund as well as his mind could not be silenced. Some time they came across each other in groups and issued threats and warning to each other, but the Akhund's struggle against Bayazid and his movement went unmitigated (Kaka Khel, 1969, pp-kj,kd).

Hate for Roshnites because of Akhund Darveza's opposition

Four hundred years later, Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar, a notable Pashtun dramatist and writer recorded, " I am a Muhammadzai by descent and born in village Umerzai, Hashtanagar. In childhood I was reading in a Maktab (Mosque school) and had sittings with the Mullahs and mystics... There was a child who used to sit and read lessons with us. One day one of the Sheikhs of our Mosque asked me to avoid sitting together with this boy. I asked why? You may consult your teacher, he replied. The Sheikh then elaborated that the family of this boy and his elders had provided protection to Pir-e-Tareek (darkened spiritual guide) ie Bayazid and his followers. Akhund Darveza has sent curse and damnation upon them and has prayed that his family should remain for eighteen generations in the Fire of Hell. Hindus and Christians are better than him. Thus we hated the boy who then ashamed left the study in the Maktab" (Akbar, 1966, p-6).

"In the Hujra (parlor for Pashtun get together) and mosque", says Abdul Akbar Khan, "instead of using the world Kafir (infidel) for a person who performed an irreligious act, the people used the word Tareeky (the follower of the darkened saint ie Bayazid) to signify a forbidden act. It was the general perception of the people about the followers of Bayazid that they do not make a distinction between the forbidden and the non- forbidden (Halal and Haram), citing the following statement attributed to Bayazid and his followers:

چرک خو یو مارغه دے چے چا او نیوہ دہغه دے

جونہ خودی کھلونه هر شوک دے بو یوینہ

Charg kho yaw maargh wo che cha onew da hagh wo and jona kho de guloona har sok de boyaweena (Akbar, 1966, p-9) In the grave yard of Utmanzai, there were a few tombs about which the elders and Sheikhs asked the people not to pray for them because they are azaryan (cursed) and have died their death in a state of being Tareeky (followers of Bayazid) (Akbar, 1966, p-9).

Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar is of the opinion that the struggle of Akhund Darveza and Pir Baba against the Roshnite Movement of Bayazid Ansari was being carried out under the influence of the Mughal monarchs and has attributed

the struggle to political motives. He says, “ The Pashtuns of Sarhad (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and of mountains were independent and was a big power. The disciples of Bayazid had spread from Kaniguram (South Waziristan) up to Swat and Bajaur and had devotion to Bayazid to the extent of madness. Thus consolidating such force into a single platform could pose a serious threat to the Mughal monarch, Akbar the Great (1556-1605). Therefore he used imperial tactics to divide the Pashtuns nation and then to rule over them”, saying further, “ the Mughal kings had a hand in the opposition of Pir Rokhan (Bayazid) and Rokhanyan (his followers) and also had a hand in the allegations leveled against them., using the instrument of religion” (Akbar, 1966, p-13). This statement of Abdul Akbar Khan, seen in the light of the dogmatic and doctrinal debates that were current among the followers of Bayazid and the followers of Akhund Darveza, appears meaningless.

Bayazid preached that every one must have a spiritual guide (Sheikh) and a person who does not have a spiritual guide has no religion at all. In support of his claim, he quoted a saying of Prophet Muhammad (SM) which runs: *la deena liman la sheikha laho... nabi weeli dee 'alaihissalam* (Ansari, 1967,p-251). He quoted another tradition of Prophet Muhammad (SM) which says, “A person who revived my way of doing things is my vicegerent and the vicegerent of other prophets before me and those who obeyed the command of my vicegerent, in fact, obeyed me and those who disobeyed my vicegerent, in fact, disobeyed me” (Ansari, 1967,p-230). Bayazid claimed that he and his disciples and followers were on the right path while all others were misguided and hence involved in the dirt of polytheism. This the Ulema of the time and his father opposed (Qasmi, 1967, pp-12,13). Those who did not believe in the mission of Bayazid, invited his scathing criticism. The Ulema, The Pirs, the Maliks, the Khans and even the kings were not spared. Bayazid was blunt, not mincing words and nothing could deter him from what he wanted to preach. He was harsh towards his opponents. When some people wanted him to soften his words, he replied, ‘I do not say anything unlawful; I see you are misguided and in darkness and polluted in the dirt of polytheism; I want to bring you out of this darkness and make you truly benefited by the religion of Islam’(Qasmi, 1967, p-17). The Ulema and theologians of the time rose against him and engaged him in polemic debates, but Bayazid pointed to the deficiencies in the conduct of the people and the evils prevailing in the society and in this way he used to silence his opponents (Qasmi, 1967, p-16). But the most powerful weapon of Bayazid to silence his opponents was the force of his chilla (Practice of focusing attention on some one in spiritual meditation). He invited his opponents to sit together with him in an exercise of joint meditation wherein once he focused his attention upon the person opposing him, he instantly began to see situations and things which he could not deny. The man, upon rising from the chilla, even if he was the staunch opponent of Bayazid, used to become his firm disciple (Qasmi, 1967, p-88).

The assertion and practices of Bayazid also called Pir- Rokhan (the illuminating spiritual guide), claiming to bring out the people from the darkness of polytheism to the light of true knowledge and a right path, has been interpreted differently by different scholars. Olaf Cairo, for example in his versatile book, "The Pathans", by a stretch of imagination has described the doctrines of Bayazid as "revival of Kharijite Schism" (Cairo, 1958, p-202). He also says, " They (the doctrines of Bayazid) may be styled as Ismaelis or Mulhahida, for in many respects the tenets of Bayazid, the Ansari, have a manifest analogy to those of Hassan bin-e-Saba, the Mulhidi; and Agha Khan, the Persian Prince who died lately in Bomabay, was looked upon in his life time as their head" (Cairo, 1958, p-202). In support of his claim, Cairo has referred to the agreement on the point by Major Raverty who had an insight into the Pushtun affairs and the Encyclopaedia of Islam, both of whom saw an influence of Mulla Suleman, an Ismaeli teacher, on the mind of Bayazid while the latter was in Jallundhar in his tender age. A resemblance in Ismaeli teachings and the teachings of Bayazid has also been seen by Maulana Abdul Qudus Qami, another authority on the Roshnites affairs when he says, "like the Ismaelis, Bayazid considers it mandatory to recognize the Imam-e-Zama as the spiritual head of the time and, like them, considers his obedience as compulsory"(Qasmi, 1967, p-88). Cairo has also been led to believe that Bayazid had a belief in the transmigration of souls but this notion has been brushed aside by a modern theologian, Taqweemul Haq kaka Khel. Kaka Khel states, "we do not find anything explicit or implicit in Khairul Bayan about the belief of transmigration, nor does it appear as part of Bayazid belief system. Bayazid disciples, however, have spoken sentences which can be inferred as alluding to transmigration, but those have been repudiated by Halnama as not being the belief of the Roshnites" (Kaka Khel, p-sd)

Conclusion

Bayazid Ansari, the founder of the Roshnite Movement, sought unquestioned obedience of all the people. He posed himself as the only Pir-e-Kamil (perfect spiritual guide) of his time and hence the true vicegerent of Prophet Muhammad (SM) and all the Prophets upon which he justified his claim of unquestioned religious leadership of all the people. This notion of Bayazid was contested by the theologians of his time, notably the Akhund Darveza who questioned his claim of a Perfect Spiritual Guide. According to Akhund Darveza, Bayazid was a half-cooked Pir who had not passed all the stages of mysticism and was in illusion.

The fact is that Bayazid's dogmatic assertions and doctrinal interpretations, of which we find evidence in the currently available Khairul Bayan, mostly resembled the doctrines of Wahdatul Wajud as explained by ibn-e-Arabi before him and since they were not in congruence with the teachings of Prophet Muhammad (SM), therefore, the theologians of his time, like all other times, opposed his teachings and tried to prevent its spread among the masses.

The doctrine of Wahdat ul Shuhud, which in subsequent years was propounded by Mujaddid alf Sani, the most venerated Sufi and theologian of his and subsequent times, has further exposed the imperfection of Wahdat ul Wajud as a mystical doctrine and hence the claim of perfection of Bayazid's mysticism. The arguments and mystical contentions of Mujaddid alf Sani and particularly his interpretation of the concepts of Fana and Baqa appear sounder and nearer to pristine teachings of Islam.

One thing however is noticeable in Bayazid's mysticism. He has classified his mystical experience in eight different stages. The discourse in Bayazid's mysticism up to the seventh stage is a discourse about Wahdat ul Wajud. But in the eighth stage that is the stage of Sakoonat, it appears that he is touching what the Mujaddid calls Baqa. But in the light of the too much emphasis in Khairul Bayan on the doctrine of Wahdat ul Wajud, one is constrained to agree that Bayazid believed more in the doctrine of controversial Wahdat ul Wajud preached by ibn-e-Arabi than in the doctrine of Wahdat ul Shuhud of Mujaddid Alf-e-Sani. It seems that in his mystical experiences he had gone ahead of Ibn-e-Arabi, but had lagged behind the Mujaddid. Bayazid has not explained the last stage of his mysticism in as clear and scientific manner as that of the Mujaddid and this gives credibility to the idea that he was more with Ibn-e-Arabi than with the Mujaddid. As Ibn-e-Arabi's teachings were not in congruence with the pristine teachings of Islam so were the teachings of Bayazid Ansari and this is why the Ulema of the time opposed him tooth and nail. It can, therefore be safely concluded that the Dispute of Akhund Darveza and his followers with Bayazid Ansari was embedded more in religion than in politics.

Also, it seems improbable that the quarrel of Akhund Darveza with Bayazid was politically motivated, the former opposing the latter on directions from the Mughal monarch Akbar the Great (1556-1605) as suggested by Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar. Firstly, Abdul Akbar Khan has not advanced any tangible evidence in support of his claim. Secondly, though for some time the doctrine of Wahdat ul Wajud was popular among the Indian Muslims, yet it has never received universal recognition among the Muslims of the world before and After Ibn-e-Arabi, for it clashed with the basic tenets of Islam. It seems more probable that Akhund Darveza's opposition of Bayazid and his followers was motivated more by religious than political considerations. Moreover, quarrel and killings in matters of dogma in the sixteenth century was not an unusual phenomenon.

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