CHAPTER TWO
DARD'S LIFE AND TEACHING

Khwaja Mir Dard is buried in a small graveyard inside Delhi near Turkoman gate in what is now a slum area. Few people know the place, fewer visit it. And still, the man who has found his last resting place in this modest tomb was, in his time, one of the great mystical leaders of Delhi, and was, at the same time, the first to write mystical verse in Urdu. Those, who visit his tomb to recite a *fātiḥa* will probably more admire his poetical heritage than his achievements in mystical theology, but it is mainly the latter aspect of his work that concerns us here.¹

For we have to remember that this influence worked under the surface upon the 19th century theologians of Delhi: Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan was related through his mother to Dard; to trace these influences would be an interesting study that might contribute much to our knowledge of Indian Muslim revivalist movements.

EARLY YEARS

Towards the end of his life, Mir Dard wrote a chapter which sounds strange to a modern reader but reflects in a certain way some feelings of the Indian Muslims in the 18th century. Dard's contemporary Azad Bilgrami had tried to collect in his *Subḥat al-marjān* all those Prophetic traditions which pointed to Indian subjects, thereby proving that India is the real homeland of Islam, for Adam, the first in the line of prophets, came from

¹ Besides some articles by the present writer (see Bibliography) there are barely studies on Mir Dard available. The article by S. A. Bazmee Ansari in the EI, 2nd. ed., is valuable; Yusuf Husain Khan was the first to discuss Dard's theology in 'Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture' at some length. In Urdu, Dr. Waheed Akhtar's study deals mainly with Dard's theology, and the long introduction into his *Urdu Diwan* by Khalil ur-Rahman Da'udi offers important material. Some of Dard's works are practically non-existent, like *Wāqī′āt-i Dard* and *Ṣoẓ-i dīl*, which were published by the Matba′a Ansari from 1309/1891 onwards. Quite a number of manuscripts of Dard's poetry are available; the first edition was prepared in 1847 at the request of Dr. Alois Sprenger by Maulana Sahba.²
Paradise directly to Ceylon. Dard, however, finds another reason for the belief that his beloved country was blessed more than any other place by the sun of the Islamic religion, so that the traditional connotation of Hindustan, e.g., 'black,' or 'infidel,' as used since the Middle Ages in Islamic poetry and prose, was in his time no longer valid. He writes:

True, other countries like ʿIraq-i ʿArab and ʿIraq-i ʿAjam are closer in distance to the radiant Medina than India and have been illuminated by the sun of Prophecy earlier due to their proximity, and this remained so as long as that Candle of Reality was shining in the visible world and the twilight of this sun (namely the time of the caliphs and the guiding imāms) lasted. But after the setting of this soul-enlightening sun from the visible horizon of humanity and the disappearance of its twilight from the eyes, India, which because of its outward distance, appeared like the dark night, became full of splendour from the light of this world-embracing sun thanks to the mirrorholding of the moon of the sphere of sayyidship and the Shah of the dynasty of the imāmat (namely the noble existence of the Excellence, the Prince of the Muhammadans) and thanks to the radiance of this moon which is the individuation (taʿāyyun) of the First of the Muhammadans, with strange subtlety of manifestations of Divine Beauty. Now, until the morning of Resurrection the spreading of the light of the spiritual bounty of the Muhammadan Path will firmly continue for the world and its inhabitants. And God and Muhammad are always Helper (Nāṣir) and friend, and everybody who has not found this light has, in fact, turned away his face from the Muhammadan light, for the light of the moon is taken from the light of the sun (D 275).

With these words, Dard introduces us to his theories about the ṭariqa Muḥammadīyya which was founded by Muhammad Nasir, who was for him both real father and mystical leader, and to whom he owes his whole spiritual formation.

Khwaja Mir Dard's paternal family came, like many nobles, from Bukhara; they led their pedigree back to Bahaʾuddin Naqshband, after whom the Naqshbandi order is named, and who was a descendant in the 13th generation of the 11th Shiʿa imām al-Ḥasan al-Askari. Khwaja Muhammad Tahir reached Delhi in the 17th century. He was granted by Aurangzeb high offices; for the religious mentality had turned, at that point of history, in favor of the Naqshbandiyya; the time of 'intoxication,' the dream of a mystical religion which might bridge the gap between Hinduism and Islam was over; and the seed of Ahmad Sirhindī's teachings grew both in the Subcontinent and in Central Asia.
Khwaja Muhammad Tahir had three sons, two of whom married daughters of Aurangzeb's younger brother Murad. The third one, Khwaja Fathullah Khan (d. 1118/1707), married the full sister of Nawwab Sarbuland Khan, a sayyid, who was for a while Mir Bakhshi, Paymaster General.

Fathullah's son was Nawwab Zafarullah Khan, surnamed Rashan ud-daula, who played an important role in politics and war; and also swore allegiance to one of the leading members of the Chishti-Sabiri order, Miran Shah Bhik. He married the daughter of Sayyid Lutfullah ibn Sayyid Sher Muhammad Qadiri, and died of cancer, after a long and eventful life, in 1161/1748 at the age of 94 years. Among his children, Muhammad Nasir, born on 25. Sha‘ban 1105/24.4 1691, played a decisive role. The chronogram of his birth is given as

wārith-i 'ilm-i imāmain wa 'Ali, the heir of the knowledge of the two Imams (i.e., Baha 'uddin Naqshband and Abdul Qadir Gilani) and of Ali,

and he was a 'saint, possessed with a book' (K 137). Muhammad Nasir studied religious and profane sciences with his father and his grandfather (F 23). Then, like most sons of noble families, he joined the Imperial army, but apparently disliked the superficial life of the aristocracy. His descendant Firaq describes in his usual romantic style how the young officer would think of the thirst of the martyrs of Kerbela when he was offered delicious drinks, or would dream of the straw-mat of his ancestress Fatima when velvet and carpets were brought before him (F 23). He left the military service in the time of Muhammad Shah, i.e., after 1719, to devote himself to a religious life and perfect poverty, though we need not take too literally the detailed descriptions of his fasting and other ascetic achievements. As most members of the North Indian aristocracy, he was a Hanafi by creed, and adopted the Naqshi mujaddidi ṭariqa (D 66), associating himself with two of its foremost leaders.

The feudal background of his education still looms large in the imagery of his main work, the Nāla-yi 'Andalib, which seems to consist, at least in some parts, of an autobiography: Its heroes are well versed in all those arts which were expected from a gentleman in later Mughal times: such as arrow-shooting, calligraphy, painting, and music (NA I 784), until they leave military service
to become ‘soldiers of God,’ fighting the spiritual war against their lower selves (NA I 834).

Muhammad Nasir’s masters in the Naqshbandi Path were Pir Muhammad Zubair and Shaikh Sa‘ullah Gulshan.

Pir Muhammad Zubair was the fourth and last qayyûm in the family of Ahmad Sirhindi. The qayyûm, as he is described, ‘is the dignitary upon whom the whole order of existence depends, and under whose control are all Names, Attributes, and things actual and potential. All things, whether they belong to the past, the present, or the future, up to the throne of God and the heavens with the signs of the zodiac are under his shadow. He is the vicar of God on earth.’ ‘The Absolute bestowes upon him a special essence, called mauhûb, given, on which depends the subsistence of the Universe.’ Two Even the qutb, otherwise considered in Sufism to be the highest representative of the mystical hierarchy, is under his rule, nay, is his servant. Sirhindi’s theory of qayyûmiyya surpasses by far the claims of most of the pantheistic mystics with the only, though important, difference that he does not speak, as did the pantheists, of union with God. Still, not many of the wujûdî mystics have claimed to be the depositary of Divine Mercy and to rule the universe. The second qayyûm was Ahmad’s third son, Muhammad Ma‘sum, surnamed al-‘Urwaat al-Wuthqâ, to whom Prince Aurangzeb became attached. He is considered to be responsible for Aurangzeb’s re-imposure of the jizya on the Hindus and to have been instrumental in forbidding music and samâ‘. Ma‘sum’s second son, Hujjatullah II, born in the year of Ahmad Sirhindi’s death, 1624, followed him as third qayyûm; he, too, considerably influenced Aurangzeb. His grandson and disciple Muhammad Zubair, the fourth qayyûm, was born in 1093/1682; his birth was surrounded, like that of his ancestors, by miracles. He is credited with having uttered the profession of faith ‘There is no God but God’ 24,000 times during the 12 hours of the day; further, he repeated the name of God 15,000 times a day, retaining his breath according to the traditional Naqshbandi fashion. It is said (F 42) that these exer-

---

2 For the qayyûm cf. J. Subhan, ‘Sufism,’ and S. M. Ikram, ‘Rûdi Kauthar.’ The Persian original of Ihsan’s Raudat al-qayyûmiyya, the basic work about the development of the idea of the qayyûm, has not yet published; the ms. is found in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
cises during his younger years resulted in a strong influence upon the Mughal rulers: after Aurangzeb’s death in 1707, Pir Zubair sided with Prince Mu‘azzam against Prince A‘zam, the first-born son of the ruler. His protegee eventually succeeded in ascending the throne as Shah Alam Bahadur. Zubair probably continued playing an important role in the endless struggles and feudal strifes which caused the final disintegration of the Mughal Empire. Firaq’s description (as usual, greatly exaggerated) tells how he was surrounded by large crowds when he rode through Delhi in pompous style, and how the princes spread velvet and brocade under his feet when he entered the Lal Qila. His death almost coincides with the breakdown of the Mughal Empire—he died in Dhu ’l-Qa‘da 1152/Febr. 1740, not even one year after Nadir Shah had invaded India and pillaged Delhi where his soldiers killed about 30,000 citizens in a few hours. It is possible that some ideas which recur in Dard’s work, especially those explaining the high spiritual rank of his father and the mystical graces bestowed upon himself, may have developed under the influence of some of the qayyūmiyya doctrines. But this assumption would need further clarification.

However, there was still another relation which impressed deeply Muhammad Nasir—perhaps even more deeply than the former one. It is his friendship with Shah Sa‘dullah Gulshan, for whom he had an ‘enthusiastic love.’ The story that Gulshan did not accept Muhammad Nasir as disciple in mysticism but only in poetry because Nasir was superior to him due to his famous vision of Imam Hasan is historically incorrect, for Shah Gulshan died in 1728, and Muhammad Nasir’s vision took place only in the mid-thirties (cf. F 34 f.).

Shah Gulshan, ‘Rosegarden,’ is known in Urdu literature as the mystic-poet whose fame attracted the Dakhni poet Wali Deccani to Delhi shortly after 1700 and thanks to whose influence Urdu became the fashionable language for writing poetry. Shah Gulshan, son of Khwaja Muhammad Sa‘id (1005/1596-1080/1669), was a disciple of Bedil (d. 1721), notorious for the intrinsic difficulties of his poetry, and it is said that Bedil granted his pen-name to him. He was likewise a friend of the great poet Nasir Ali Sirhindi (d. 1696) who entered, in his later life, the Naqshbandi order to which Shah Gulshan was affiliated for a long time. Gulshan said of him that ‘he was of melancholy temperament,
and beat the drum of ‘I’, and nothing else.’ Shah Gulshan himself is described by Dard as follows:

He had a strange combination of outward and spiritual perfections, and his renunciations and solitude as well as his poetry and his virtues are so famous that everybody knows them. He has (composed) almost 200,000 verses, was a pilgrim to Mecca, and understood the science of music perfectly—in fact, he was a real Rosegarden of the roses of perfection (A 257).

But it seems that the poet-saint had also a good sense of humor and though some miracles are attributed to him one of his biographers holds that he could not always stand the ‘Divine moments’ and therefore mostly devoted himself to poetry. Among Gulshan’s disciples we may mention the Hindu Bedraban Khushgu, the author of a useful collection of biographies, Safina-yi Hindi, further Farhat Kashmiri (d. 1138/1726) and Maimanat; but his fame rests mostly upon his relation with Wali Deccani and Muhammad Nasir Andalib.

The name ‘Andalib, ‘Nightingale,’ was given to the young Naqshbandi mystic by Shah Gulshan, and

his guidance was spread in the world by Andalib, and the uproar of his spring reached everybody’s ear through the Lamentation of the Nightingale (Nāla-yi ‘Andalib, Muhammad Nasir’s famous book).

If this painful one (or: Lord of Dard, i.e., Muhammad Nasir) had not expressed such lamentations, who would have listened to the story of the rose and the nightingale? (A 257).

Shah Gulshan himself had been the disciple of the Naqshbandi mystic Abdul Ahad Miyan Gul, ‘Rose,’ with the pen-name Wahdat, ‘Unity’ (d. 1126/1714), a grandson of Ahmad Sirhindi, who lived in Kotla Firuzabad in Old Delhi and left a small collection of poems. That is why Dard often inserts into his verses puns like this:

Dard (Pain) has so much become the Nightingale of the Rosegarden of Unity
That the manifestation of the face of the Rose made him ghazal-singing ...

Shah Gulshan died of diarrhea in Muhammad Nasir’s house on 21. Jumada II 1140/3. Febr. 1728, when Dard was 7 years old. Muhammad Nasir had married twice. His first wife bore him one son, Mir Muhammad Mahfuz, and died soon. Mir Dard relates
that this brother was full of tenderness and guided him on the right path until 'he put the scar of separation on his heart' and died on 16. Rajab 1154/Sept. 1741 at the age of 29. Muhammad Nasir's second wife, Bakhshi Begum, called Manga Begum, (F 106) was the daughter of a prominent member of the family of Abdul Qadir Gilani, Sayyid Muhammad Husaini Qadiri ibn Nawwab Mir Ahmad Khan, called Mir Umda (F 30). This Sufi died on 2. Jumada II 1156/25.7.1743, at the eve of the celebration of an 'urs for his late wife, when a large number of noble guests had assembled in his house.

At the time of Muhammad Nasir’s second marriage, the whole family lived in a suburb of Delhi, close to a place later called Barafkhane, outside of Shahjahanabad proper. Muhammad Nasir’s father’s stables and private houses were located in this area, and most of the pious people preferred to live there instead of staying in the city. A little canal watered the area; that is why it was called Barâmda kî nāla.

Here, Khwaja Mir, poetically surnamed Dard, was born on 19. Dhu 'l-Qa’da 1133/13.9.1721.

Another son, born about ten years later, Sayyid Mir Muhammad, who had shown remarkable signs of holiness already in his childhood, died on 5. Rabi‘ II 1163/15.3.1750 at the age of 19. The youngest brother, Khwaja Muhammad Mir, with the pen-name Athar, ‘Result,’ was Dard’s most faithful friend, companion and disciple in mysticism and poetry, and succeeded him after his death in the leadership of the order. He must have been born after 1740.

Mir Dard sometimes expresses a touching longing for his deceased brothers. He has also several times talked about the names he was given (K 84): Since the descendants of Baha 'uddin Naqshband are called ‘Khwaja’ and those of Abdul Qadir Gilani ‘Mir,’ his parents gave their first-born simply a combination of these two epitheta, calling him Khwaja Mir. Later he acquired the pen-name Dard, ‘Pain.’ Thus, he addresses himself in a soliloquy:

You have been called Dard not because you should become pained by the pain of things besides God but because you should be completely exempt from corporeal pain and get the pain of the heart which is the means of salvation in both worlds; thus never act in negligence without pain, and become a remedy for all the servants of God ... (D 2).
The connection of his pen-name with those of his father and Shah Gulshan is clear: the lamentation of the Nightingale in the Rosegarden causes Pain in the heart, and this pain should become the main subject of his poetry:

For top to bottom ‘Pain’ rains from the word of our Khwaja Mir (P 15);

or:

Our heart and breast are selling the roses of the scar of friendship—
Our shop does not contain anything except Pain (P 7).

He also talks about his mystical names (see p. 83 f). Mir Dard’s greatest source of pride was the fact that he was a sayyid from both sides. (Even today Indian sayyid families may consider themselves as absolutely superior to any other human being and will tell the visitor how fortunate he is to touch the threshold of a descendant of the holy Prophet.) In this connection he liked to refer to Abdul Qadir Gilani’s verse:

The suns of the first generations have set, but our sun
Is eternally on the highest horizon and never sets (K 459).

The sayyids, children of Fatima, to which both of his parents belonged were elected before all people and possessed the special grace which God had bestowed upon their ancestor Muhammad. And

again after 1100 and odd years this special grace became visible from the interior fountain of (my father), the true sayyid and most true leader, the world illuminating sun of the sphere of sayyid-ship, the greatest luminary of the heaven of sanctity, the heir of the office of prophetic perfections, the vicegerent of Divinity, the master of the prayer-mat of proximity of the imāmat, the place of manifestation of the Muhammadan light, the master of the divine law, he who has attained Divine Truth, the expert of the path, the revealer of gnosis, the lord of divine wisdom, the protector of the nation of Mustafa, the enterprising one, the man of high rank, who is made indigent by Divine Greatness, the strength of the Naqshbandi and Qadiri progeny, who increased the Muhammadan path in value, the helper (naṣir) of the prophetic religion, the venerable Khwaja Muhammad Nasir Muhammadi ...

who unveiled all the mysteries of faith to his children and made them, thus, both his external and real, i.e., spiritual, sons (K 419).
Besides the numerous allusions to the high qualities of his father, Dard sometimes goes into details describing him. He constantly saw him before his eyes and tried to imitate the way how he acted with God and with human beings, for he belonged to that class of masters of spiritual conversation (those with 'living hearts') 'without meeting whom the whole spring of your life is autumn' (K 635). This spiritual conversation, soḥbat, is regarded in the Naqshbandi tradition as one of the most important facets of mystical life. On the other hand it has deeply influenced the whole culture of Muslims in the later Middle Ages so that Mughal culture has been even called a 'culture of refined conversationalism.' To listen to the master, to be guided by his words, and to learn how to behave properly, to understand the hierarchy of values and the spiritual hierarchy among human beings was one of the most important educational contributions of the Naqshbandi order, rather of the mystical fraternities in general to Muslim cultural life. Not in vain uses Mir Dard in his writings the word bi-adab, 'without etiquette, ill-mannered,' as an expression of deepest abhorrence.

The story that he even rebuked the Mughal emperor Shah Alam II who attended his mystical gatherings, because he did not completely conform to the etiquette by stretching out his aching leg, shows the importance he attributed to the rules of behavior. The perfection of adab to the highest degree was revealed to Dard in his father—the perfect inward beauty of Muhammad Nasir was reflected in his outward beauty (A 73) so that everybody who saw him became bewildered, and people came to kiss his feet when he rode on horseback through the streets of Delhi, whether they knew him or not. The quality which particularly impressed him was his father’s capacity to practice khalwat dar anjuman, 'solitude in the multitude,' a very important practice among the Naqshbandis, though, as a mystical attitude, mentioned in the earliest Sufi biographies. It means that the spirit of the mystic rests so completely in God that it cannot be disturbed by those who seek his company and guidance:

Though the door of guidance and the gate of visits for the sincere friends was permanently open, he used to sit constantly in the nest of 'solitude in the multitude;' and though he never became careless in his works of obedience and worship and did not neglect for a moment his supererogative prayers and the reading of the Quran and dhikr and
litanies (aurād), still he was a workshop, composing books and keeping conversation with his friends, and fulfilled the duties towards those who were entitled to them; and though his body was outwardly weak and frail, his inner strength and spiritual power was perfect to such a degree that he was never and absolutely not affected by any disruption in the times of his sitting and getting up and in any part of his daily routine (K 636).

Mir Dard claims that he was interested in religious problems already in his early childhood—small wonder when we recall the atmosphere of his paternal house, full of poetry and mystical love. He may have been three or four years old when he was puzzled, as many children of this age, by the question of his own existence. But he (of course, in a back-projection which is typical of old age) sees here already the specific religious interest which was to characterize him throughout his life. That is why he describes his state of mind and tells how he was grasped by the longing to swim in the ocean of Reality when he could scarcely talk. Fīraq, as usual, embellishes the story with touching details and dates it back to Dard’s second year (F 116 f.). Dard himself tells how he spent most of the nights awake, and cried until his nurse and the other servants became perplexed and worried and tried all kinds of remedies on him. But he did not speak nor answer any questions, until his ‘noble mother,’ his grandmother, and his paternal aunt gathered and discussed the matter, thinking that some misfortune might have befallen the child, or that he might be afraid of something in sleep; tenderly they blew prayers and four qul (Sura 112) upon him (even today it is common to utter some prayers and ‘breathe’ over the sick part of the body).

But when nothing worked they eventually brought the story to the blessed ears of the Venerable Qibla of the Worlds (i.e., his father), and that manifestation of Divine Mercy came down, and when I saw the perfect beauty of the Pir and leader towards truth, I jumped impatiently like mad from my bed, run about and rubbed my head and eyes on his necessarily fortunate feet and cried bitterly without control. And I lamented: ‘O venerable father, my breast is so narrow, and involuntarily tears come and come. I wish that the truth should be discovered unto me so that my heart may find consolation, for I do absolutely not understand the depth of my own reality—who I am and why have I been born and why do I live and whence, and where, and who is my creator, and the creator of all those things, and what is the goal of this creation?’
His father then slowly began to introduce him into mystical theology, and in this moment the close relation between father and son began, a relation which lasted as long as Mir Dard was alive, and waxed stronger day by day even after his father's death. The problem, however, 'Who am I?' never ceased occupying his mind, and he recurred to this question even in his last verses, his last sighs (see. p. 97 f.).

Mir Dard must have been busy studying the different branches of science (including Rumi's Mathnawi):

> In the middle of my youth I studied the formal sciences such as fundamentals of faith, and logics, and elements of law, and Sufism, and others as much as necessary, but I did not rub my foot in this path like the Mollas who cling to the husk, or the Sufis who do not understand and not see, for I did not leave that goal from my hand unless I understood it well, nor did I lift my foot from that place unless I could see it in details ... (D 216).

He did not become a ḥāfīz—but:

> God threw upon my heart clear signs (āyāt) though I do not know the Quran by heart (K 65).

It must have been during this period that his father was granted a revelation which was destined to reform Muslim mysticism. Dard tells in the 'Ilm ul-kitāb (85) that his father

remained silent for seven days and nights and never turned to this world of humanity and did nothing of the necessities of human nature, like eating and drinking and the like, and remained lonely in his cell. We young boys attended the place at the time of ritual prayer so that he might lead us—but if I should write what events happened to us servants in those days when every time the door of the cell remained closed ... Then I fell alone on that threshold and lay down day and night on that floor and cried silently, bitterly, and did absolutely not turn to eating and drinking. Only once, on the command of the venerable mother who ordered me to be taken into her room and ordered me to eat in her presence I ate, forcing myself, a few mouthfuls for the sake of obeying her, and rushed again towards the cell, and the other family members and servants came at the time of prayer and then went to their own places. But I remained there, fallen on the floor, as much as my mother did not like that I remained there alone and downfallen, and was very agitated and ordered some men to remain close to me; but I did not allow anybody to come closer. And the bedspreads and cushions and whatever she sent I never used. And involuntarily I slept a bit ...
But when God eventually on the eighth day sent Muhammad Nasir back to the world of humanity and he found his son in this desperate state,

the ocean of forgiveness became extremely agitated and the breeze of acceptance blew intensely, and he took me with his noble hand from the ground and embraced me full of grace and tenderness and kissed my forehead and kindly said many words of good tidings about me, which even now do not come unto my tongue ...

Mir Dard then asked his father about his experiences and was introduced into the secrets which had been entrusted to him. Thus he was the first to offer allegiance to this new path which Muhammad Nasir gave to the world. He asked him how to name the new tariqa, but his father answered:

If my intention had been such, I would name the tariqa after my own name, as the others do. But all of us are children, lost in the sea of identity and drowned in one ocean. Our name is the name of Muhammad, and our sign is the sign of Muhammad. Our love is the love of Muhammad and our claim is the claim of Muhammad. One must call this order the tariqa Muhammadiyya, the Muhammadan path. It is exactly the path of Muhammad, and we have not added anything to it. Our conduct is the conduct of the Prophet, and our way the Muhammadan way.

And thus, Dard writes 35 years later:

Though this servant, who is less than a straw in his own view, is not more than a weak grass in the rosegarden of the Muhammadan path, yet the grace and acceptance of my venerable master Andalib has made this nothing more than all and made him the First of the Muhammadans, and the top-rose of the bouquet—and what sorts of favor did he open and what kind words did he say about me, the rebel ... (D 254).

The saintly spirit who had descended upon Muhammad Nasir was that of the Imam Hasan, the grandson of the Prophet (K 85), (who is, by the way, also regarded as the first qutb, ‘Pole’ in the Shadhiliyya order). In Firaq’s romanticizing account of this event he addressed him, saying: ‘My dear grandfather has sent me specially to you so that I may fill you completely with interior knowledge and sanctity’ (F 26). This story is taken from Athar’s Mathnawi about the family-saga. Dard became, thus, ‘the threshold of the Muhammadan court,’ or, with an expression usually used for the relation between the Prophet and Ali ibn Abi Talib,
'the door of the town of knowledge' (K 587). Since the ṭariqa Muḥammadīyya is the focal point in Muhammad Nasir's main work, which was written in 1740, the event must have taken place sometime in the mid-thirties of the 18th century. Firaq is certainly right when he gives Dard's age at this event as being 13 years, but we doubt that the boy's fame as a saint immediately after his allegiance to his father was miraculously made known to the inhabitants of Delhi, and that he performed his first healing miracle the very next day (F 32).

The first fruit of Dard's new interest in religion is his booklet Ḡṣr as-ṣalāt, 'Mysteries of Ritual Prayer,' which he composed at the age of 15 during his seclusion in the month of Ramadan.

Shortly afterwards, at the age of about sixteen, Khwaja Mir Dard got married to a young lady of twelve (whose name, however, is not given by the sources; F 187), for, as his father says, 'a married dervish will be a hundred times superior to a single dervish' (NA I 895).

A number of later biographies mention that Mir Dard served temporarily in the Imperial army, but that may be due to a confusion of his and his father's biographies, for neither he himself, nor Firaq specify his occupations. He only says:

A long time in my youth, as a consequence of youth and the strength of animal powers I had in my heart the search for natural and fleshly appetites and the wish of passion to gratify my desires; and a short while I was in the dress of wordly-mindedness and in the position of a man of the world; and when I began some work I looked up the lucky and unlucky days and in a certain way hoped from the sky for help. And since my mind was negligent and I was ignorant of the heart of the matter I kept my eye on things which came from the time-servers, and waited for the rise of worldly degrees and the gaining of my imagined goal which the people of this world carve in their heart. And whatever we possessed—jāgir and high office—I considered a royal fortune. I tried to recommend myself to the great amirs of the Emperor and those who were close to the ruler ... (K 473).

At the time of Nadir Shah's invasion, when Delhi was sacked in March 1739, Aurangzeb's daughter-in-law, Mihrparwar Begum offered shelter to Muhammad Nasir and Mir Dard, for she was afraid lest the houses outside the rampart suffer even more than the imperial town. The mystics, however, refused the offer, and 'thanks to the Muhammadan banner and the benevolence of Nasir' their place in Barāmda kī nāla remained outside the reach
of the looting soldiers. Nevertheless, they eventually accepted the renewed invitation, and the princess built a nice compound for them, comprising of houses, a mosque, a meditation room and a large space for musical gatherings, the meetings for the celebration of ‘urs, and gatherings of poets. This compound in Chēluṇ kā kūcha remained in the hand of Dard’s family for a long time; its last traces disappeared after partition.

A few months after the fall of Delhi an event took place which drew Mir Dard still closer to his father. It was the death of Muhammad Nasir’s spiritual guide, Muhammad Zubair, in February 1740. Muhammad Nasir—as he states himself—had at that time

hoped to express a number of subtleties of the religious law like the rituals of pilgrimage into which not everybody’s understanding can enter,

in an understandable way, but the news of his master’s death deeply shocked him. When his friends came for a condolence visit, he

told this story in Hindi language during three nights to them, and thanks to the Divine influence all those who listened to it were deeply impressed and started crying and weeping ...

Some of them even became enraptured and fell in ecstasy on the ground, and many of them entered the ṭariqa Muḥammadiyya. The story which Andalib told to his friends in the language of Delhi, ‘Hindi’ or ‘Urdu,’ was later on elaborated ‘without difficulty in the Persian language.’ In noting it down, Mir Dard was his father’s assistant, as Andalib states:

And the happy and fortunate Khwaja Mir who is my middle son (and verily, about him the word ‘The best things are those in the middle’ came true) took paper and pen into his right hand and sat besides me and wrote down letter by letter (NA I 3).

At rare occasions Bedar, one of Andalib’s disciples in poetry served as secretary instead of Dard. The book which came thus into existence, and comprises in its present print two volumes of more than 900 pages folio size each, was completed in 1153/1741. It was called Nāla-yi ‘Andalib, ‘The Lamentation of the Nightingale,’ and its chronogram is formed from the words nāla-yi ‘andalīb gulshan-i mā’st, ‘The Lamentation of the Night-
ingale is our Rosegarden’ (pun on the name ‘Gulshan’, Andalib’s mystical master). It is an allegorical story of rose and nightingale, the representatives of love and beauty. (The story itself begins, though, only after ca. 600 pages). This traditional topic of many Persian and Urdu poems is elaborated in high Persian prose, and interspersed with many poems. As in most of these allegories one story develops out of the other, and again, wise words form the quintessence of the stories. The whole machinery of traditional Indian tales is mixed with allusions to Mughal history: there is the pious king and the wise merchant, ‘Jupiter’ and ‘Sun,’ musicians and dancers, the Hindu ruler converted to Islam, rebellion in the Deccan, white elephants and hunting parties; but every allegory is meant to explain the ‘pure Muhammadan Path,’ the ‘behavior of the Muhammadans’ (NA I 813). The nightingale, eventually, emerges as a symbol of the Prophet of Islam (NA II 712), who had so often been called by pious poets the ‘nightingale of the higher spheres’. The stories are interspersed with detailed theological discussions, thus about the various schools of Sufism (NA I 789 ff., 882 f.) and the different madhhabs of Islam or Shi‘a imamology (NA II 583). Long paragraphs about the minutest details of ritual purity (Na I 446-49), fasting (NA I 842, II 217) and other problems do not lack. Dard’s antipathy against the representatives of the theories of wahdat al-wujūd can be understood from his father’s attacks against this group of Sufis (cf. NA I 622, 797, 808 and more). Muhammad Nasir, however, is not as critical of Hallaj’s famous word ‘I am the absolute Truth’ as his son; in fact, he even uses it in a charming story of an enamored gazelle who imagines himself to be a human being and calls ‘I am a man’ just as Mansur called ‘I am God’ (NA I 132).

Sometimes Andalib inserts Hindi dhóras into the story, and of special interest for the historian of religions are his allusions to Hindu philosophy and Hindu customs. He thus discusses in detail Yoga practices, which he considers to be a remarkable achievement but they are, of course, much inferior to the experiences the pious Muslim can reach through meditation, and by attaching himself completely to the Prophet.

For the Western reader who may enjoy some of the charming allegories, it is not easy to understand why Mir Dard called his father’s work ‘the billowing of the Divine wisdom ... inspired from God’ (K 38). For the young mystic this ‘excellent book’
which he had heard word for word from his venerated father's mouth became, eventually, the only source of inspiration, as he often repeats:

My gnostic knowledge ('awārif) and my learning do not come from reading the 'Awārif [Suhrawardi's famous handbook on Sufism] and my knowledge of the realities exists not because of (Ibn Arabi's) Ḷūṣūs and Futūḥat—it is only from the abundant grace of the book Nāla-yī 'Andalib that the door of all realities and subtleties was opened for my ignorant heart and I became part of the act, 'And we have taught him a knowledge from what is with us' (Sura 18/65) (D 216),

This book changed him completely, so that he gave up outward sciences. All the pictures of what is besides God became extinguished from my breast and always the cry 'O Nasir (helper), o Nasir' was in my heart and tongue, and my state and word are completely conformed to the Nāla-yī 'Andalib, nay, even more, I am the speaking book of the sincere Muhammadans...

I read neither the 'Awārif nor the Futūḥat or Ḷūṣūs
The Nāla-yī 'Andalib became my special litany;
God made me a sincere Muhammadan—
In me there is nothing, but sincerity (K 90)

Dard always acknowledges the superior merit of the Nāla-yī 'Andalib, and even 'bent from age, the foot in the stirrup,' each sigh of his is 'O Nasir, o Nasir' (A 35). Muhammad Nasir himself considered this book to be the plain exposition of the Muhammadan Path, 'full of longing for the beloved,' but still, he thought it necessary to explain its narrative contents as allegorical with the classical simile 'lion'—'man':

If, for instance, somebody calls a brave man in praising him a lion, nobody will look for claws and tail in him (NA II 900),
and love of the idol is only a symbol of being caught by the love of the lightful and shapeful manifestation of the Lord (NA II 902).

The fact that Andalib tried to interpret his own poetry (which strictly follows classical imagery) is echoed in Mir Dard's numerous sentences about the relation between reality and poetry, and of poetry and mysticism. Andalib was absolutely certain that his book was extremely valuable, and recommended it for tafa 'ul, 'future-telling' (NA 902); his son, even more, stressed the divine quality of the Nāla (K 434) which yields marvellous predictions of the future (that is also true, as he held, for his own magnum
opus, the ‘Iml ul-kitāb). The modern reader will find, in its sweet style tinged with melancholia, a strange reflection of the vicissitudes of time under which Delhi and its unlucky inhabitants smarted in those years. Firaq recalls from his childhood (F 89) that the Nala-yi ‘Andalib, whose original manuscript was destroyed during the Mutiny 1857, used to be read to the members of the family: the ladies, all acquainted with Persian, told their children the touching stories of the Rose and the Nightingale until they were able to understand their deeper meaning. It is surprising, though, that Mir Dard never mentions his father’s second book, still extant in manuscript, e.g., the Risāla-yi hūsh-afzā, a book on ‘mystical chess’ which Muhammad Nasir composed to distract some of his disciples from chess playing: chess symbolism was common in Persian and Urdu poetry before him, and he has tried to explain the different events of human life in the terminology of chess (F 91), as his son, too, did later in his prose and poetry.³

If we believe Firaq, Muhammad Nasir must have invented a number of strange things (F 92), like the ‘wandering tent,’ and the ‘bath for everywhere,’ and the ‘candle without tears’ and similar items. His famous cane, called an-Nāṣirī, with the word Nasir engraved in it in an artistic tughrā, was for a long while in the family. Later, this peculiar type of tughrā was used by the members of the family for the sake of blessing (M 93 f).

Dard claims that, for a while in the blossom of his youth, he ‘made run the mount of negligence in the arena of passion and lust,’ but

youth was still there when I drew off my hand from this passing and unstable world, and at the age of 29, I put on the garment of the dervishes ... (N 289).

---

³ The imagery of chess was widespread in Persian poetry, the most famous example being a verse in Kháqání’s (d. 1199) qaṣida on Madaʾin/Ktesiphon. Andalib’s Risāla-yi hūshafzā is found in the Library of the University of the Punjab, Lahore, written in a rather illegible shīkasta. Andalib himself has used the chess imagery quite often, thus NA 1 42, I 526:

Without fraud one cannot proceed in the chess of time:
The king must go sometimes crooked, sometimes straight.

In NA 1 654 all technical terms of chess are used to express full obedience to the beloved’s order. Dard, too, has several verses in this style; in N 114 he builds up a paragraph on the imagery of nard, backgammon.
That was in 1750, two years after the lascivious king Muhammad Shah had died at the age of forty-five, and his son Ahmad Shah, addicted likewise to pleasure, followed him on the throne. The Mughal empire had broken into pieces—the Deccan, Oudh, the Rohillas in the Doab, the Bangashs at Farrukhabad did no longer recognize the central power; the Mahrattas controlled large territories, the Jats were virulent in Agra and its environments, and Sikh threatened the Panjab. The civil war between the rival wazirs Safdar Jang of Oudh and the young, ruthless Imad ul-Mulk in 1753 'when the two cities of Delhi were held by the rival factions and fighting went on ... for six months, paralysed the Empire ...' And Nadir Shah's successor, Ahmad Shah Durrani, invaded the Panjab several times, coming from his native Afghanistan. The useless king of Delhi was eventually deposed and blinded by his vizier and Alamgir II was put on the throne in 1754.

A certain period of alleged 'worldliness' notwithstanding Dard was not too much interested in things outside the path, and even before officially joining his father's tariqa he devoted himself to the service of the convent, as he tells later (N 49):

My disposition has been, from the beginning, such that never any worldly work came from me, and I was and still am completely inexpert in these things. But before, I was engaged for a while according to my own opinion in the affairs of the other world; and with pretention I served the brethren of the path and exercised the path and the writing down of a book and tried to be useful to people and to sweep the court of the 'Qibla of both worlds' and in the instruction and education of brethren and children and completion of assemblies and invitations of people and showing the people the way as far as I could ... But now I am by grace without reason exclusively drawn by special attention and brought to such a station that I am only the mirror-holder of 'God does what He wants and orders what He will-eth' and traverse the road of 'And you do not want unless God wants,' for I have no longer remained myself that good or evil could appear from me, or something come out of my will.

Dard followed his father not only in the mystical path but also participated in the assemblies of poets which were frequently held in Delhi. He studied poetry with Khan-i Arzu, the 'Aristotle of Urdu literature' in the early 18th century. The mosque Zinat al-masâjid, built by Aurangzeb's daughter, Zinat un-Nisa, was a favorite place where mystical poets used to meet. In this mosque Muhammad Nasir Andalib, faithful to Shah Gulshan's instruc-
tions, used to arrange a *mushā'ira* (meeting of poets) on the 15th day of every month, his son accompanying him. During the sessions, he became friendly with the future master of Urdu love-poetry, Mir Taqi Mir, who was a few years junior to him. Mir himself tells in his *Nikāt ash-shu'arā* that Andalib had foretold him that he would become *mir majlis*, ‘master of the assembly,’ and these words proved true. After Andalib’s death, the organization of *mushā'iras* was disrupted and Mir asked his friend Dard for the permission to continue the tradition, which permission was granted. Mir Dard himself took part in these meetings until they came to a close due to the political events which almost completely paralyzed the cultural life of Delhi.

It happened during these years, between Dard’s entering the order and his father’s death (1749 to 1758) that he was granted a number of inspirations. They were Persian verses and short sentences of wisdom in concise rhymed prose called *wāridāt*, ‘things coming.’ The genre of *wāridāt* is quite common among Muslim mystics, who feel that their words have been inspired by God; cases of ‘inspired’ writing in Turkey happen even today. Mir Dard had the opportunity to read these *wāridāt*—111 in number—to his father who very much appreciated them.

On the ‘worldly’ scene it was the time when the Afghans and the Mahrattas met in the Delhi plains, when Delhi was looted once more in 1757, this time by the Afghan ‘friends;’ two years of Ahmad Shah Durrani’s military activity eventually culminated in the third battle of Panipat 1761, Jan. 6. The Mughal Emperor Alamgir II was assassinated in 1759 by Imad ul-Mulk; his heir had already flown to the eastern provinces of India where he reigned in exile under the title of Shah Alam II, and was recognized, in 1761, by Ahmad Shah Durrani, the victor of Panipat. In Delhi, the able Rohilla chief Najib ud-Daula was left in charge of the kingdom.

Muhammad Nasir Andalib died on 2. Sha‘ban 1172/2.4.1759 and was buried in the graveyard near Turkoman Gate at a place which the Prophet himself had indicated to Mir Dard (F 96), for, as the quatrain on his tombstone says:

He was the foot-print of the Lord of ‘If thou hadst not been’ (e.g., Muhammad).
Dard's close relation with his father is expressed in a daring Arabic pun on letters in the beginning of the 'Ibm ul-kitāb:

Praised be God who helped (nasara) his servant and made him now the dot of the inside of the n, as he was previously the dot beneath the b, in order to unveil the hidden secret, and opened for him the door of the Town of knowledge and 'taught him a knowledge from Him' (Sura 18/65)

Dard claims here, as elsewhere, that he stands in the same relation to his father Nasir as Ali, the 'door of the town of knowledge,' stood in relation to the Prophet, and he continues in explaining the word ibn, 'son':

Alif is the divine connection, and b the blessing (baraka) of Muhammad, and n the help of Nāṣir. When they are connected in special equality and combined in a particular way, then the form of ibn 'son' results from the gathering of those lofty roots; (ibn), in which there is contained what is contained, and who is a secret of his father, to show openly the Muhammadan Path (K 60).

In him, the 'son' of Nasir Muhammad, the divine, the prophetic, and the paternal qualities are hidden, and he is called to use them in order to guide the people to these basic principles of religion.

Dard's relation with Muhammad Nasir did therefore not end with the father's death:

Even though he has disappeared from the outward eye, yet in the inward actions there is (thanks to Divine grace and the attention of the holy spirits) not a single hair's breadth interruption in the relation with his presence. Nay, but every day the approximation became closer, and the company in speaking and hearing became better than is feasible in this visible world without real existence. And every moment it is said with strange tongues without speech: 'Peace be upon you, o people of the tombs, and if God will we shall reach you.' And every moment the glad tidings of 'Do not think that those who are killed for God's sake are dead ...' (Sura 3/163) is heard by the corner of the ear that understands the inner meaning. God knows whether I—in consequence of the order 'Die before ye die'—have completely left this world and entered the world of spirits, or whether his Highness has—according to 'Verily the saints of God do not die'—the capacity of meeting and conversation without body, just like all the living beings, or whether these two acts come together so that I, thanks to Divine grace, have a bit of participation in the world of spirits and open the way to that world; partly, too, a certain connection is still existent for those good spirits because of their friendliness
towards us who believe in them, for the sake of help, and they can
come and go on the way 'without how’ in this world. And o woe to
me that in spite of all these signs of grace my heart, the seat of
negligence, did not acquire these goods as its behaves, and the arrow
of separation still sits in heart and liver ... (K 636).

This close and constant relation with his father notwithstanding,
we see that Dard’s stylistically beautiful lamentation about
the loss of his parents (K 556) leads him again to accept the fact
that the true faithful should turn to God, to Him who is kinder
than seventy loving mothers and more merciful than the affectionate father.

Andalib’s personality occupied the central place in Dard’s
thought, and his hope was to follow him soon (K 417), after
bringing his life to a good end thanks to his constant spiritual blessing and the help of the Prophet. A few years after his father’s death he was consoled by an audition as he tells in one of the last paragraphs of his last book (S 329), about twenty years after the actual event. God promised him (and here the words are ‘translated’ into Persian though otherwise the auditions are given in Arabic):

O Pain of my Beloved! (Or: O my beloved Dard!) and Lamentation of
my Nightingale, we shall give you good tidings about three great and
important things and soothe you with our special caress;
1) O Secret of the father and Pain with Result [i.e., Dard’s brother
Athr, (‘result’)], we shall make your resurrection according to the
words ‘It belongs to a person’s happiness that he resembles his father’
so much in the real form of your great father and high spiritual guide
that absolutely nobody from among family and foreigners, and no one
from among strangers and friends shall see a difference between you.
2) O Sign of God and Knower of God, we shall inform you beforehand about the year of your departure from the world and the state
of your transfer from this place, and shall not send the messenger of
death with the good news without damage without [previous] information in a [visible] form, whether you like it or not.
3) O Master of tauhid and Confirmed by Support, a while before the
days of death arrive and before the moment of passing away comes
many clear miracles and strong supernatural powers shall appear from
you, and numberless witnesses and clear evidences shall come so fre-
quently and without interruption that involuntarily and indispensably
friend and rival will acknowledge the stand of your right and title, and
will obey and follow you, and the nature of family and strangers,
present and absent, will not find the possibility of denying you.
This divine promise was almost fulfilled, when Dard wrote these lines—he had reached the age of his father (66 lunar years) and strange signs of Divine grace were showered upon him ceaselessly so that he hoped for the end and for reunion with his father.

Neither Muhammad Nasir nor his son did think much of miracle-mongery. Yet, a miracle is connected with Andalib’s tomb. Mir Dard tells (K 495) that his father’s tomb had no roof or dome so as to be exposed to the weather. Nevertheless, twelve years after Muhammad Nasir’s death, the place had remained always pleasant for the visitors: cool in summer and warm in winter, so that those who visited it and kissed its threshold were refreshed even during the hottest days of summer, when everywhere else the earth was burned. Everyone who has visited Indian shrines in summer at high noon, walking barefoot through the precincts will gratefully acknowledge Muhammad Nasir’s kindness towards his disciples.4

Dard himself tells only one other miracle connected with his father, although he says in passing that there are many. Once a disciple of Muhammad Nasir travelled through Bengal when his caravan was attacked by highway robbers. Suddenly, a most beautiful knight appeared; he frightened the robbers so much that they ran away and the caravan continued on its way. The hero was Muhammad Nasir who, though in Delhi, had heard the prayer of his disciple and helped him. Small wonder that most of the travellers immediately entered the Muhammadan Path (K 146)! Miracles of this kind are frequently attested in Muslim hagiography and even in modern oral traditions: the mystic is constantly in spiritual relation with his disciple and has the capacity to make himself visible, for a short while, when the disciple requires his help and intensely concentrates upon the master. Such a manifestation for healing or consoling purposes is by no means unusual even today in Naqshbandi circles.

---

4 I visited the tomb in September 1975; it is indeed open, and besides Andalib, Mir Dard, his son Alam and his brother Athar are buried there; two small tombs in the modest enclosure have no names. The ground is clay, and the location is situated on a little hill—that may account for its ‘coolness’.
After Muhammad Nasir's death, Mir Dard became his successor as the leader of the Muhammadan Path. He 'supported himself on the trust in God and did not lift his foot from his place,' as his friend Mir Taqi Mir says. He never left Delhi in spite of all misfortunes that came over the city; misfortunes and afflictions which caused most of the poets, musicians and scholars to wander East in search of livelihood. Dard, however, continued his preaching, writing, listening to mystical music, and instructing poets. In his mystical instructions, he strictly followed the rules of the Naqshbandi mujaddidi school, and besides explaining the theoretical foundations of his thought he describes many practical regulations in his different books. Likewise, his poetry is filled with classical expressions of Naqshbandi mysticism. In one point, however, he did not follow the tradition of the oruer, and that is his love of music; music and samā' are prohibited as religious expressions by the Mujaddidi school. One can understand this sober attitude of the 'orthodox' tariqa better when remembering how the rulers of Delhi after Aurangzeb, especially Muhammad Shah, took to music and indulged in doubtful pleasures; but it is well known that from the beginning of Sufi history most theoreticians of mysticism have rightly suspected that the samā' sessions were only a pretext for many would-be mystics to reach a not always spiritual rapture.5

We have not got many explicit statements by Dard about his attitude towards music; his booklet Hurmat al-ghinā, 'Veneration of Music,' printed in 1843, is extremely rare. A few notes in 'Ilm ul-kitāb and Nāla-yi Dard allude to the fact that some of his pious colleagues did not approve of his inclination to music. We do not know, however, the source of this criticism. The way Mir Dard confesses candidly that musical sessions were frequently held in his house, seems somewhat amusing and (at least for a modern reader) not completely convincing:

My samā' is from God, and God is every time witness that the singers come from themselves and sing whenever they want; not that I would call them and would consider it like worship to listen to them, as

---

5 The Problem of samā' has been discussed from the time of Sarraj onward, see the bibliography in Schimmel, 'Mystical Dimensions of Islam', p. 178 ff.
others do; but I do not refuse such an act. However, I do not do it myself, and my creed is that of the masters (i.e., the Naqshbandiyya). But since I am imprisoned in this affliction according to Divine assent—what can I do? God may absolve me: for I have not given a fatwā that this should be licite, and I have not built the mystical path upon samā', so that the other masters of that path, who have absolutely no idea of the way of modulation, should have become dissonant and sing about me all those melodies which one should not sing, and open the lip of reproach without reason in my absence ... (N 35).

These attacks must have been particularly strong in the early 1770's, for Dard had noted down a few days earlier another sentence about those colleagues who weave like spiders the web of reproach and blame because of his inclination to music, although his creed is perfectly sound (N 25).

Some years later he tried to defend his interest in music as something rather theoretical. We may accept Firaq's statement that he had studied books on classical Indian music (even though he was probably not acquainted with Sanskrit, as this author claims, F 147); he had, as we are told, an amazing voice and an enchanting way of singing Indian rāgs and rāgnis (F 148), an art, which he practiced, however, only in the company of some experts in music. Thus he writes:

My listening to melodies and songs is (neither) of that kind in which the adulterers and fornicators of passion and lust listen, for they are overcome by their animal natures; nor of that kind in which the Sufis and the Wayfarers listen with delight and love, for that is a sign that they are overcome by the mode of unity; but it is the same way as scholars and virtuous people study other mathematical sciences. For although the Muslims have no belief (which is) in accordance with the philosophers, yet they study all the natural, mathematical, and theological sciences and understand their real character and their subtleties well. Verily the science of music is most subtle and belongs among the mathematical sciences, and influences the soul, as he knows who knows this science. However, I am not so enthusiastic about these things as those who are completely absorbed in them, and I do not consider this whole act to be good, as the samā' people among the Sufis think. But I do not consider it as bad as the husk-mollas suppose (it to be). In any case, God knows that I do not call the musicians and do not give relish to them, and if they would not come during my whole life I would never think of listening to them. And further, one does not know which wisdom God has put into my listening to them, that he sends all the perfect artists of this art to me without my will and makes me hear them as long as it is destined ... (A 77).
Dard’s logic is, of course, infallible—since he does not call the musicians, and they still continue coming, it must be God’s order—why, then, should he oppose it?

However, what ever ‘the deeper wisdom’ be, the musical sessions in his house were famous. This can be well explained: his father’s master, Shah Gulshan had been called the ‘second Khusrau,’ alluding to Amir Khusrau Dihlawi (d. 1325), the Muslim poet and greatest musician in the Indian Middle Ages. Muhammad Nasir himself was also fond of music. This is obvious from the numerous allusions in the Nāla-yi ‘Andalib which reflect his knowledge and understanding of music through the words of his heroes. Mir Dard, therefore, arranged for the memory of his father a samā’ -meeting on every second and 26th day of each month, to which thousands of pious listeners flocked, enjoying the nightly music, kneeling as etiquette would have it, on both knees in perfect quietude. (F 46).

This love of music finds a literary outlet in Dard’s poetical imagery. To be sure, musical imagery, and allusions to instruments and modes of singing are frequent in the work of his predecessors, particularly in Maulana Rumi’s verse. In the case of Dard, the symbolism is more personal due to his being a practicing musician. He uses the symbol of the nay, the reed flute, favorite with poets since the days of Rumi’s Prooem of the Mathnawi, and his advice to make oneself empty so as to become a true flute (P 23) is perfectly in tune with earlier images. His body is all complaint like a nay (P 122), and his conviction that his poetry was a divine gift was expressed frequently in comparing himself to the nay, touched by the Divine breath.

_Sometimes the lamentation of the heart is the sound of the harp for me,
sometimes my heart becomes narrow from the melody of the reed flute.
There is no way out from the song of gratitude and complaint—
as long as the string of breath exists, this harmony remains the same_ (P 85).

He could compare himself to a qānūn, from whose different tunes the connoisseur may understand his magāms—a clever pun on magām which means both ‘musical mode’ and ‘mystical sta-
tion' (P 82). It is therefore not surprising that even most complicated mystical definitions are couched in the imagery of music:

The instrument of the degree of existence does not bring forth the sound of manifestation from itself, and the chord of its unity has no voice outside the harmony in itself (S 52).

Life is bound
to the instruments of the body and tied to the chord of breath ... God Most Merciful may show the longing lovers behind every parda ('veil,' and 'mode') of branching out and behind every tune (maqâm) the manifestation of reality without veil (parda) so that the voice of the one unique light comes through the multitude of high and low pitches and of every going up and down ... (S 24)

His Urdu verse that:

*High and low are all alike in their own view,
for in the instrument high and low pitch are alike* (U 15),

points to his favorite theme, the unity behind the multitude. He felt that he belonged to his fellow beings and was yet distinct from them, and when Mutanabbi (d. 965) has used in this connection the image of musk, which is part of the musk deer and yet higher than it, or when Ghalib was to use the image of the single long bead (imâm) at the end of the rosary to express the same feeling, Dard does it in a musical way:

*We are among creatures, but we remain separate from all creatures
Just as, in rupak tâla, the first beat is also outside the pattern of counting.*

(In the rhythmic system of Hindustani music, the rhythmic cycle of seven beats known as rupak tâl is distinguished by having a first beat that is not accented; while technically being counted, this first beat is thus made prominent by its very lack of accent).  

And in this world, which is replete with confused sounds like a kettledrum (P 77), the mystic felt that in his sayings:

*I came out of myself like the melody* (P 121).

---

6 I owe this information to Dr. Brian Silver, Harvard University.
Perhaps the most touching expression of his state is that of a 'painted tanboura' without sound—

_Silences are murmuring on the chord of my instrument_ (P 27).

One may classify in this category also the numerous verses in which Dard tells that he is only an echo, although stonehearted people will not even cast back the echo of his words to him. The idea of the chain in prison which gives a strange sound (an image invented by some of his predecessors in the Indian Style) occurs likewise several times; and so does his self-portrait as the bell of the caravan (U 121), again very popular with Sufi-minded poets.

As much as Dard talks about the problems of theology and the relation between poetry and religion, he never mentions those poems which have made his name immortal, e.g., the small collection of little more than a thousand Urdu lines. In these verses which look extremely fragile he has introduced into Urdu, the vocabulary of traditional Sufism and Persian poetry with such an ease that one barely senses the deep mystical meaning of his lines. He became the undisputed master of mystical Urdu poetry, and is probably the only poet who has achieved a complete blending of mysticism and verse. His poems are short, often composed in short meters, too, and their imagery, though following traditional love-lyrics, reflects the loneliness of the great mystic: he complains that nobody listens to his words, and everybody talks about his own grief. What a strange life:

_Is this a heart, o Lord, or else a house for guests?_
_Sometimes there lodges grief, sometimes there lodges rest._
(U 5)

Are human beings not like footprints on water (U 42), or their lives like a footprint on the way towards non-existence? (A 207). Or is this whole created world anything but a Fata Morgana—dust which looks like water (P 15, 38), the pearls of which disappear again from one's hand. And still he feels that he is a footprint of someone greater, lying in the dust in order to show people the right path, as he explains in highflown terminology a lovely Persian quatrain, which is almost verbatim repeated in Urdu. Then again, he sees himself as a wet eyelash or a cut-off vine; at night, he feels dark like the evening, at dawn he has a torn shirt like the
morning, and is as flighty as the passing wave of the morning breeze. And the hand of heaven turns him even after death 'like sand in an hourglass' (P 59). He strives to discover the one Divine beauty under the manifold manifestations, whether he sees the world as a dream, a fountain reflecting the sun (U 61), or a shadow play, or, most charmingly, as a bottle containing a fairy. Dard's central idea, e.g., that the divine light is hidden behind the gross material bodies, makes him particularly fond of this image, which was often found in Rumi's verse and then, again, in Indo-Persian lyrics. For him, it is more than a poetical game; for his heart is fragile like glass:

I keep in my heart your picture
just as a fairy is kept in the bottle (P 134).

Love opens the eye of vision until the lover understands that:

in every stone is glass,
in every glass-bottle a fairy (U 111).

Deeper and deeper layers of understanding are unveiled until he perceives the Divine beauty whose subtlety, latfat, is hidden in the coarseness, kathaflat, of created things (P 70). And thus he carries over the image into his prose to point to his favorite idea:

As much as the Divine Most Holy Essence is higher than every pure and impure rank of the contingent existing beings, yet every stone of material creatureliness is, like the bottle of individuation, a place of manifestation for the fairy of divine fineness (D 339).

Only when the glass-bottle is broken, the fairy can be duly recognized: to be broken, shikast, is one of the central terms in Naqshbandi poetry. Thus, the traditional image of the soulbird which

---

7 The hourglass must have become fashionable shortly before 1600; Ibrahim Adilshah of Bijapur mentions it in one of his poems, as did the court poets of the Jihangir period. A famous painting by Bichitr shows Emperor Jihangir sitting on something like a hourglass-like throne; it is dated 1625 (cf. Ettinghausen, Paintings of the Sultans and Emperors of India, plate 14). The image occurs very frequently in Bedil's poetry, and Andalib admonishes his reader:
Be sober like the sand of the hourglass,
and go ahead in counting your days (NA I 438)

8 The image of the 'fairy in the bottle' was very common with the Indo-Persian poets of the 17th century; Shah Gulshan asks his beloved to look in the mirror: then she would have the fairy and the bottle (= glass) together. (Ikram, Armaghân-i Pāk, p. 281). In Bedil's Diwan (Kulliyāt 1), the image occurs on pp. 71, 100, 114, 147, 259, 260.
breaks his cage, or ‘breaks’ the colors of his wings, occurs often in Dard’s verse.

He also ponders the unsolvable contrast in the garden of this world, that rosegarden which he has described time and again in sweet and fragrant words. But ‘why does the dew weep while the rose is smiling?’ (U 45). Is this not the story of his own life?

*Our meeting is like that
of the dew-drop and the rose—
All the smiling is from you,
all the weeping is from us* (A 276).

For, as he says elsewhere:

*Like dew, for a moment into the weeping eye,
have we come for the sake of seeing* (P 130).

Dard had a considerable number of disciples. Most important among them are Qiyamuddin Qa’im Chandpuri (d. 1795) who was considered to be one of the best ghazal-writers in 18th-century Urdu literature, and also produced a biographical handbook on Urdu writing poets. Besides, Thana‘ullah Khan Firaq belonged to Dard’s circle; his uncle, the poet Hidayat, had likewise been instructed by Dard. Muhammad Ismail Tapanish (d. after 1814) migrated to Lucknow where he attached himself to the sons of Shah Alam II. Mushafii was happy to have met Dard several times before migrating to Oudh. There are also some Hindu poets who joined the circle of the ‘sincere Muhammadan’ Dard. And the Hindu Lachmi Narayan Shafiq expresses the hope that Dard might pass through his town, ‘for to meet such people is something like worship.’ Small wonder that Dard’s son Alam (d. after 1807) was also a poet in his own right. Most remarkable, however, are the achievements of his younger brother Mir Athar, whose *Mathnawi Khwāb u khayāl*, Dream and Phantasy, is a most intriguing love story which has been regarded as the sublimation of a deep personal experience the vanity of which the young poet realized thanks to his brother Mir Dard (as prologue and epilogue explain).

Only toward the end of his life we find a few sentences that give a clue to his growing fame, although he complains (N 64) that nobody really knew him as he is, so that everybody ‘runs in the arena of his own opinion concerning me.’ He regards the
fame which comes in old age as 'the sound of the drum of departure;' yet, in a fit of pride he cannot help mentioning that already

from my early youth the Phoenix of my fame spread its wings over the four directions ... (N 147).

In A 311, that means: after 1193/1779, Dard confesses, apparently with some pleasure:

Though 1, a person sitting in the corner and choosing solitude, have never set my foot outside my house and am absolutely not inclined to show and spectacle; yet, by Divine grace, a large number of people have made the sweet remembrance of my words the sweetmeat of their assemblies, and due to their good opinion they do not look at the faults of me who consists completely of shortcomings.

Still later, towards the end of his life, he boasts and complains of his success as a writer in one and the same sentence:

After becoming the everyday talk of élite and ordinary people and becoming famous in the world, I have become for myself a strange pain; I have become a headache (cf. P 54). I wrote surprising acceptable things and fell on the tongues of men and gave the reins of free will off my hands. May God make me say whatever He wants and in a way that pleases Him—I do not claim to be a poet nor do I pretend to be a master (S 237).

A few lines later he sighs that:

The bird of my individuation has fallen into the snare of fame, and as much as he longs for complete annihilation, he cannot help saying 'Perhaps that God's will even after my death will keep this perishable being fettered in the cage of existence some more time—as long as it is decreed—by means of his name ...' (S 239).

But these sentences with their strange blending of pride, hope for fame and an uncouth feeling that a mystic should not gain fame as a poet, are the only remarks Dard himself makes about his poetical art. Compared to the very scare information about his poetical activity we find many more allusions to his mystical experiences which were the only 'real' thing in life for him.

From the day Mir Dard succeeded his father he had been deeply involved in writing books for guidance and in teaching people, so that toward the end of his life he could proudly attest:

We with confused state have never and from nobody hidden the mode of love and serene purity in our heart, and not a single secret of the
secrets of the Path and religion is left which we had not written down, and we did not keep quiet in the assemblies that tongue of resplendent explanation of the candle of the assembly, and we have delineated the complete rules of the lofty Muhammadan Path. Thus, all our inward and outward states are manifest from our discoursing and writing ... (D 336)

Although he sometimes modestly claims not to be a typical ascetic, yet the burden of directing people toward the right path has been given to him,

Since for God, talent is not a condition, but for the talent, His gift is the condition (A 186).

His attitude seems at times simple and unpretentious, his high self-esteem notwithstanding; the dangerous mode of tashayyukh, i.e., to behave like a self-made mystical leader which he blames often in others, is, as he asserts, not found in him (S 244). But apparently he, too, had to suffer from envious colleagues (A 335); yet he felt that he lived under the constant protection of his Naṣir (helper) and knows the 'scorpion-natured hypocrites' too well to be worried by their behavior. And in one of his last notes (S 255) he praises God who has led him and put him on the seat of conveying the message and spiritual directorship which he has adorned with clearest explanation and finest description. But he considers himself

not a Sufi that I may open the door of Sufism, and not a molla that I should show debate and disputation. I am a pure Muhammadan, and I am intoxicated by the 'pure wine' (Sura 76/21). And from me, the intoxicated one, you must hear the Tale of the Beloved, and from Dard the madman you must listen to the Lamentation of the Nightingale, for the Lamentation of the Nightingale is in the world because of the pain, and pain (Dard) because of the Lamentation of the Nightingale (N 50).

_The Sufi by his Sufism became absolutely pure,_
_The molla blackened the page with mentioning grammar,_
_We, whose heart has gone, o Dard, have read our lesson_
_In the school of love from the Lament of the Nightingale._

Mir Dard put down his ideas first in the 'Ilm ul-kitāb which was intended as a commentary for the Wāridāt which he had offered to his father. Their number is 111:—110 is the numerical value of the name Ali, his ancestor, and the odd number is added
'since God is an odd number and loves odd number' (K 97). There is no logical sequence in these Waridat—they have appeared without outward reason from God (cf. K 91); but when these unbound words from the Well Preserved Tablet came down into the temporal and spatial fetters of pronunciation and writing they became separated and

reached from their spiritual subtlety (latafa) the material coarseness (kuthafat) of writing.

Therefore he had to put them into an order of earlier and later verses. Dard's brother Mir Muhammad Athar had urged him to collect the Waridat and to explain them, and just as the voluminous Na-la-ya' Andalib grew out of a story told in three nights, the 111 waridat developed into the 648 big pages of the 'Ilm ul-kitab (called by some admirers 'the greatest ocean of Sufism'). Dard meditated on its contents for a long time, and he wrote it down almost 12 years after his father's death, when he was about fifty lunar years old (K 473).

The 'Ilm ul-kitab is a strange book: 'Since in the seal of the hearts of the lovers the name of their beloved is engraved,' each of its chapters (after a long introduction to the whole work) begins with the invocation 'Ya Nasir,' alluding to his father's name, but of course, also reminding the reader of God's name an-Nasir

so that everybody who reads the books and risalas and compositions and writings should first see this famous name, and everywhere in the book of our actions this blessed name is written, and all the sins and rebellions of us, the sinners, become wiped out and forgiven through the spiritual power of his name (S 17).

An-Nasir is further a surname of both the Prophet and of Ali, and the prophet's daughter Fatima, Ali's wife, was likewise called an-Nasira (K 95), so that Dard could exhaust almost every possible meaning of this blessed word. Muhammad Nasir himself had, as Firaq tells, suggested that every member of his house should bear a name connected with 'Nasir' for the sake of blessing; thus, even the servants were called Nasir Quli or Nasir Bakhsh. It was believed that by this sacred name the members of the family would always remain victorious and successful; every letter which began with the formula Huwa an-Nasir, 'He is the Victorious' was supposed to yield a positive result for the writer (F 92).
After the *basmala*, the name of the chapter is given, relying upon some Quranic words: then an Arabic introduction explains the inner meaning of this title and—at least sometimes—the broad outlines of the chapter. Its main part is usually in Persian, often highly technical, and full of terms of logic and other sciences; it also occurs that a whole chapter is composed exclusively in Arabic, such as N. 85 ‘About the Appearance of the Names and Qualities and the Concealment of the Essence.’ Eventually one reaches a quatrain, e.g., one of those *wāridāt* which form the essence of the chapter, further a text in rhymed prose, interrupted by numerous long comments. A *fäida* usually closes the chapter. The length of a *wārid*, plus explanations, varies from 2 to 10 pages. The Western reader will certainly enjoy the original *wāridāt*; their long winded commentaries in sometimes abstruse formulations are less enjoyable. Dard discusses in them all the stages and stations of mystical life, and sometimes includes interesting information about his own life; he ends with a praise of love, which means for him primarily love of his father-*shaikh*, and love of the Prophet. The contents of the *Ilm ul-kitāb* show that Mir Dard was well versed in the traditional Sufi and non-Sufi literature. He quotes the commentary of Zamakhshari, confronting his interpretation of the Light-Verse (Sura 24/35) with that of Imam Ghazzali (the only theologian whom his father, too, mentions by name; he cites Taftazani and Ashʿari, the Theology of Aristotle, the commentaries of Ibn Arabi, Abdur Razzaq Kashi and Qaisari; among the Sufis the Naqshbandiyya from Bahaʾuddin Naqshband to Ubaidullah Ahrar and Ahmad Sirhindi is, of course, well represented; but there are also quotations from Bayezid Bistami, the *sultān al-ʿārifīn* (K 300), whose negative theology had a certain attraction for the Central Asian and Naqshbandi mystics (contrary to al-Hallaj whom Dard despises thoroughly). Besides Ghazzali, his model-writer from the Baghdadian school, Abu Talib Makki (d. 990), is mentioned; among the poets Hafiz, Jami, and especially Maulana Rumi are cited—the latter mystic is often quoted in Andalib’s *Nāla*, too. The number of quotations, though, diminishes in the course of time.

Dard’s aim is to support each and every of his theological thoughts by quotations from the Quran and the Prophetic traditions; for what can not be found in these sources is for him
non-existent. It is natural that he, like all mystics, had a predilection for certain Quranic verses and *hadith*. The central Quranic word of his theology is also the favorite verse of earlier Sufis. ‘Whithersoever ye turn there is the Face of God’ (Sura 2/109). The introduction as well as many details of the *'Ilm ul-kitāb* show that Dard was a thinker in the Hanafi *'ā*ri tradition—his *‘aqīda* (p. 72 f.) fits exactly into the well-known type of orthodox Muslim creeds with its belief in the reality of corporal resurrection, the possibility of the vision of God in the other world, the idea that faith can neither increase nor decrease by works, that *'imān* and *islām* are one and the same, that man is higher than the angels, etc. He follows also the nominalist way of the Ash'arite school by declaring that good is what God has declared to be good. The long *‘aqīda* in the introduction is followed by a discussion of the differences between *hamd*, ‘praise,’ *shukr*, ‘thank,’ and *madh*, ‘praising’; he then turns to one of his favorite topics about the Divine names and their manifestation in creation and finally proves that the names of the Prophet, *Muḥammad* and *Ahmad*, show his close connection with God since the root *ḥmd* can be used only in relation with God.

The reader is taken by surprise when Mir Dard turns towards the end of his deliberations (No. 110) to the subject of love, a topic so dear to generations of mystics who sung of their intoxicating love in immortal verses, after losing themselves completely in the joy of suffering through love. Dard who used the word love, *maḥabba*, not very frequently in his book offers us in this chapter a short *mathnawī* of 30 verses in the meter *hazaj* which begin with a chain of anaphors, repeating *maḥabba* 19 times; and thus is very similar to the *mathnawi* *Daryā-yi īshq* by his friend Mir Taqi Mir. But the difference in content is revealing: Mir sings of the endless power of love as revealed in the sufferings of a loving couple, and follows the model of mystical love songs closely. Dard, on the other hand, describes love as an ocean; when this sea billows the stream of the power of faith and the current of the relation of creed begins to sweep away reason and intellect like straw and casts all doubts and unnecessary thoughts on the shore, so that obedience of God, the Prophet, and the *imāms* alone remain in the heart. That means, love is for him nothing but a state somewhat more comprehensive than faith; the definition of love as ‘obedience,’ typical of the early ortho-
dox stance, is maintained. Then, after a longish description of love, which conforms in its poetical expression to normal Sufi poetry and is made 'orthodox' only by Dard's commentaries, he turns, via a short homage to the Prophet, to his father, a turn which is introduced by the hemistich 'Love is the helper (nāṣīr) of the lovers' and followed in the 19th verse by an allusion to Shah Gulshan, 'Love is the spring for the rosegarden of the heart' (p. 641). The meditation ends again in a prayer in which the mystic claims:

This is the song of the nightingale, not pain,
and asks for spiritual help for himself and his brother through his father, for

though my book (of actions) is absolutely black like the tresses of the beloved, I am a madman, fettered by the chain of love of my friend (i.e., Andalib (p. 644)).

The final paragraph of the 'Ilm ul-kitāb (p. 648) is typical of Dard's theology—the book ends with a quatrain in honor of the Prophet:

That holy essence is present in every moment
And looks everywhere on the state of the inhabitants of the world.
My hand is at the skirt of the Prophet and his family—
In both worlds is Muhammad the Helper (Nāṣīr).
I mean: the holy essence and the purified spirit of the most eminent Repository of Guidance, the Shelter of Prophethood, whose firm religion is living and standing till doomsday, is in every moment and every wink with us, the Muhammadans, in a presence without how, and alive in spiritual life, and the state of the whole world and its inhabitants is clear and evident for him. And as he in the time of his corporal life inspite of being in this world explained the good things of the other world and eyewitnessed the world of barzakh and resurrection, just so, inspite of having left this perishable world and having entered the world of spirits he is conversant with the state of this world and is all the time present and viewing and preserving and helping (nāṣīr).
And I, who is the smallest of the Muhammadans, put the hand of my seeking favor at the skirt of the intercession of the Intercessor of the sinners and his pure family, and I have such a love for the Prophet and his family on my carpet, and the same pure essence of Muhammad is our helper in both worlds.
And the elegance of the word Muḥammad Nāṣīr which occurs in the
quatrain is not hidden from understanding; for it is both a hint to the
just mentioned meaning and at the same time the blessed name of the
‘Qibla of both worlds’ and ‘Ka‘ba of both existences,’ the veritable
sayyid and most right imām, the helper of the nation and the religion,
the prince of the Muhammadans, Khwaja Muhammad Nasir Muham-
madi ...

It is indeed a fine pun on the name of his father who is here, as in
a number of similar cases, brought into such a close union with
the Prophet that the reader is confused as to whom the reference
belongs.

After finishing this magnum opus, Mir Dard composed the
book which is, besides his Urdu diwān, best known—the Nāla-yi
dard, ‘Lamentation of Pain.’ Its name is, of course, modelled
after the Nāla-yi ‘Andalīb. Shortly afterwards followed the Ah-i
sard, ‘The cold sigh’: both expressions occur already towards the
end of the ‘Ilm ul-kitāb when the author writes about this book
though like a cold sigh and a lamentation full of pain you should not
read it superficially and you should know that these few words are
full of many meanings ... (K 586).

Dard explains the compositions of his Nāla with the fact that
he, who constantly walks on the street of ‘Who knows God talks
much’ and only rarely turns the reins of useless explanation to-
wards the corner of silence according to the word ‘Who knows
God becomes silent’ had composed his important book and con-
sidered it finished;

but still, after the completion of that book scattered words trickled
down on the confused heart, and involuntarily and necessarily the
tremulous hand moved to jot them down and made nothing but my
own poems enter this risāla.

His brother Athar collected the words, and thus

the drops which came down from the cloud of Divine mercy were
brought together (N 2).

Mir Athar invented also an elegant chronogram for the beginning
of the Nāla-yi dard which yields the date 1190/1776 (N 3).

Dard felt that his Nāla, which we would classify as a kind of
spiritual diary, was a most effective means for guiding people the
right way, and thinks that

those hearts in which my complaint has no result are certainly harder
than a mountain or even more obstinate, for when one complains in a
mountain range, at least an echo comes from that side—now in those stonehearted people, if it has not even that much influence that a first echo comes up or a teardrop rains from the eye of their insight, then they are naturally worse than mountains ... And if I should utter such lamentations in a mountainous place every hill would become torn to pieces from its influence ... O woe to you, you have put the cotton of 'They have ears and do not hear with them' into your ears and keep the veil of 'They have hearts and do not think with them' on the face of your intellect that you do not listen to my lamentations with the ear of your heart! (N 244).

Mir Dard composed the Nāla and the following three books according to the same principle: each book contains 341 short paragraphs called by names corresponding to the general title. Thus the Nāla-yi dard has 341 nāla 'lamentations' the Ah-i sard comprises 341 ah, 'sighs,' the Dard-i dil, 341 dard, 'pains,' and the Sham-'i mahfil, 341 nūr, 'light.' The number 341 was chosen because it is the numerical value of the word Nāṣir, so that Dard's mystical connection with his father and guide is once more established.

After Mir Dard had finished his 'Lamentation,' when he had

drawn the hand from writing, and the steed of his pen, which was hot-racing and wanted to run about more, became disappointed and had no more hope for continuing his race—but as in the veil of every despair there is hope hidden,

a rain of continuous inspirations suddenly reached his heart, and he started writing again, according to the Quranic verse 'The sea would be empty before the words of my Lord come to an end.' (Sura 18/109). His faithful brother again found the chronogram for the Ah-i sard which gives the year 1193/1779. Dard himself regarded the two first risālas as one book and probably had hoped to write the Ah while still involved in the Nāla, for there are some hints to the expression Ah-i sard. Although, as he complains, the copyists and writers of his time do not like to write long books he urges them to keep the two short books in one binding and not to separate them from each other (p. 71-72). Indeed, they are very similar, consisting of short sighs, some prayers, aphorisms which allude to peculiarities of the mystical path in lovely, though complicated Persian style; in short, they are a kind of devotional book interspersed with verse. The depth of Dard's religious feeling is palpable, and the reader who has
struggled his way through the 'Ilm ul-kitāb feels happy in the more emotional atmosphere of these two books of which the Ah-i sard seems to me even more perfect as a work of art. Dard, this stern defender of the difference of 'abd, the human servant, and rabb, the Divine Lord; who so often has attacked the representatives of sukr, 'intoxication' appears in these later works more mellowed, and softened by the fire of Divine love. He now uses sometimes the symbolism of the lover and beloved, and even speaks of his own 'intoxication.' But again, in the Ah, the author complains of those with hard hearts whose cold thoughts are not impressed by his sighs, though many people want to note them down and relate them to their friends (A 180). He admits that these books are not 'so far from the understanding of common people' (A 147) as the 'Ilm ul-kitāb.

When the composition of the second book was finished the same thing happened as before: the mystical writer found that the rain of Divine inspiration did not cease, and that

as much as my elementary form became weaker, yet my power of speech did not become weaker (A 332, cf. A 339, D p. 135).

Thus he began to note down his two last books at the same time as the chronogramm shows in 1195/1781. But he finished Dard-i dil slightly before completing Sham 'i mahfil. He considered those four risālas to be a complete introduction into his thought,

which should keep away everybody from the four sides of greed and passion and bring into view the four sides of the manifestation of 'Whithersoever ye turn there is the Face of God' (Sura 2/109) and make man sit squatted (Persian 'squared') on the four pillows of contentment and firm constancy and make him independent of everything besides God (D 194).

This way of playing with numerals reminds the reader of Nasir Andalib's way of describing the six formulae of faith as 'protections for the six directions of the world' which are crowned by the prayer for the Prophet. The last two risālas are less attractive than the first two; the sentences become more involved, the paragraphs longer and more tedious. The Dard-i dil contains a comparatively great number of prayers and heart-felt complaints, further meditations on old age and death; Sham 'i mahfil is, as its name indicates, meant for the edification of the assembly of readers and listeners. Now and then the unusual way of applying
highly poetical images to very abstract contents puzzles the reader more than is the case in earlier treatises. It seems that Dard noted down his warmer and more personal feelings in *Dard-i dil* while keeping the more didactic passages for *Sham‘-i mahfīl*. He finished the latter book in the beginning of 1199/the last days of 1784. He had just reached the age of 66 lunar years and died shortly afterwards—strangely enough, his *Wāridāt*, too, had been completed a few days before his father passed away at the age of 66 lunar years. The date is indicated by a chronogram by 'his brother in this world and the next, and work-companion in the inward and outward' (S 341).

Dard's Persian *Diwān* was collected from the poetry scattered in his prose work, and is not an independent book.

All of Dard's books give some interesting insights into his mystical life, but only a few words are devoted to the world and what is in it. This is all the more surprising as the time after Nasir Andalib's death was characterized by major events in the political field. During the period in which the *Four Risālas* were composed, e.g., between 1770 and 1785, many changes took place in Delhi. In January 1772, Shah Alam II returned to Delhi, and being a good poet in his own right, with the penname *Aftāb*, 'Sun,' he used to attend some of the meetings in Dard's house. His main advisor, the Persian born Najaf Khan, who was on good terms with the British, died in 1782. Then, the Mahratta chief Sindhia maneuvered to seize control of the court, supported by Warren Hastings. The Rohillas had proved, again, a source of unrest, after the increasing ambitions of the British and the Nawwabs of Oudh had resulted in the death of their gifted leader Hafiz Rahmat Khan in 1774. The young Rohilla Ghulam Qadir thought of revenge; he became *amīr ul-umrarā* in 1787. One year later he blinded Shah Alam II and was in turn cruelly put to death by Sindhia's troops. The poor king continued to rule under the protection of the British until he died in 1806—a blind 'Sun,' whose sad fate Dard did not live to see.

**MYSTICAL THEOLOGY**

Mir Dard's extremely close connection with his father led him to develop one of his most surprising mystical theories. Since the Middle Ages, *fanā † fi 'sh-shaikh*, annihilation in and identifica-
tion with the mystical leader, was considered necessary in the orders. As moderate a mystic as Ghazzali had stressed the importance of complete surrender to the shaikh so that the murid would be like the corpse in the hand of the washerman; the great Persian mystical poets like Attar and Rumi had touched the same chord. Dard underlines the importance of the pir more than his predecessors:

God's custom is to bring spiritual bounty from the living to the living, and even Uwais al-Qarani, known as 'Sufi without shaikh, was, according to him, spiritually connected with the Prophet and received his initiation into the path through him; for initiation is the basis for successful progress in the tariqa. Direct illumination is impossible—either it happens after the initiation or the mystic, after his first experience, seeks a master to guide him further (K 638).

The shaikh is in his group like the prophet in his people (K 60) as he says with a hadith, and the office of shaikh is vicegerency of the prophecy, and thus not available to every saint (K 451). From fanâ 3 fi 'sh-shaikh the adept should reach fanâ 3 fi 'r-rasûl, 'annihilation in the Prophet,' and eventually fanâ 3 fi Allâh, 'annihilation in God'—a state which had been during the first centuries of Islamic mysticism, the only goal of the wayfarer. The 'threesfold annihilation' is an upward movement which leads the disciples to higher experiences of reality and culminates, according to most classical doctrines (at least with those who prefer mystical sobriety to mystical intoxication) in baqâ 3 billâh, 'remaining in God.' Baqâ 3 is, however, also the first stage on the way down, for, as Mir Dard formulates it:

Fanâ 3 in God is directed toward God, and baqâ 3 in God is directed toward creation, and one calls the most perfect wayfarer him who comes down more than others, and then again gets firmly established in the baqâ 3 in the Prophet, and he who is on this descendant rank is called higher and more lofty than he who is still in ascent, for the end is the return to the beginning ... (K 115).

---

9 About the importance of initiation cf. Meier, 'Vom Wesen der islamischen Mystik', p. 16.

10 Cf. the quotation of the Naqshbandi master Abdur Rahim Fedai Efendi: 'Our lowest way is the ascent from creation towards God, our highest way is the descent from God to creation' in H. L. Șuşud, Islam tasâvvetfunda Hacegân hanedani, p. 161.
But, and here a new interpretation begins, higher than he who has reached baqa\(^3\) in the Prophet is he who has found baqa\(^3\) in the shaikh, for he has completed the whole circle.

This (is the) terminating rank which God Almighty has kept for the pure Muhammadans whereas the others with all their power cannot be honored by it. Most of those with weak faith who are without love—in the thought that they consider themselves as annihilated in God and in the Prophet—say about these most perfect mystics who find the intense love of the mystical leader and the utter-most degree of veneration of the pîr, that they be still in the rank of fanâ\(^3\) ft 'sh-shaikh and strongly bound by this relation ... But we have surpassed this rank! (K 116)

And he attests that he,

the lowest of the Muhammadans, has been created for the sake of venerating his pîr, and for the relation of faith. Thus, everybody who venerates the pîr and has faith is my soul and the beloved of my heart (N 117).

I think we can not blame those mystics who would not acknowledge the new spiritual rank of baqa\(^3\) ft 'sh-shaikh which Mir Dard defended, for this was born out of his own personal experience in his relation to his father, a relation which nobody else could possibly imitate or experience.

It is the follower of the Muhammadan Path who is exclusively blessed with his experience. And this tariqa Muhammadiyya is, indeed, the center of Dard’s preaching and life. In his view, kalâm, philosophy and mystical knowledge are merely servants of the tariqa Muhammadiyya, which is higher and subtler than anything else (K 157). For—as Dard says, with an allusion to the classical tripartition shari' a-tariqa- haqîqa, the haqîqa Muhammadiyya (the pre-eternal reality of Muhammad as the first individual) is higher than all the other individualizations; therefore, the shari' a Muhammadiyya superseded every other law, and the tariqa Muhammadiyya is, logically, the best and most comprehensive path leading to salvation (K 64; cf. 376, 380). To be sure, a number of religious leaders in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries—like the Idrisiya-Sanusiyya affiliations in North Africa and especially Ahmad Brelwi in India, who derived his attitude from Dard’s school—had called their tariqas ‘Muhammadiyya,’ and the veneration of the Prophet was their central
aim; however, it will be difficult to find a statement like Dard's words:

Humanity consists of Muhammadanism,

so that someone who is not a 'Muhammadan' remains outside the fold of the faithful; he is, so to speak, not a human being at all, but intrinsically worse than an animal, as is proved by the Quranic word 'They are like beasts' (Sura 7/178) (K 432).

The 'sincere Muhammadan' will be qualified by the qualifications of the four caliphs, as Dard's father says (Na I, 430, 435), and the Prophet himself grants his companions, friends and disciples all the degrees of the stages of proximity, like the 'proximity to the perfections of Prophethood,' of vicegerency, of wisdom, etc., according to the degree of their annihilation in him, their association with him, their dependence upon him, etc. (NA II, 335).

But how to become a 'sincere Muhammadan' and thus reach salvation? Dard, following his father's fundamentalism, sees in the tariqa Muhammadiyya nothing but the perfect reliance upon the Quran and Prophetic tradition. He stresses, thus, the importance of the five pillars of faith; among them, prayer and fasting are, as for most mystics, central.

Throughout his work, Mir Dard made many allusions to the classical ways of education of the adept in the Naqshbandi tradition. There are, of course, differences in the mystical ways: some schools begin with the education of the lower soul—the 'greater holy war' (K 533); others with the purification of the heart; but since the mystical path is considered a cyclical movement, either way is useful (K 534). The disciple has to know that

Evil is what the religious law declares as evil (K 432)

and that 'this world is the seed-bed for the other world' as Maulana Rumi's favorite hadith claims (K 526):

Each of our actions is like a rose or a thorn which we plant for ourselves (K 98).

Eating, drinking, dressing are subject to detailed rules (K 521ff.; cf. the classical handbooks on Sufi education). Perfect trust in God, tawakkul, is basic for the disciple, but if he experiences mental discomfort during his attempt to rely absolutely upon
God's gifts, he had better earn his livelihood and follow the Prophet's advice:

Bind your camel's knees notwithstanding your trust in God (K 241, 243).

Dard knows the importance of qabāl, the state of constraint, since

the stronger the compression the larger the expansion (bast). (K 124)

Former masters had regarded the complete surrender to God in the state of qabāl as preferable to the joyful expansion of the self in bast. Over and over again patience is recommended:

Complaint and lament are calamities, patience and constancy are blessings and causes of salvation (K 552).

As for the dichotomy of the states of ṣabr, patience, and shukr, gratitude, so often discussed by the early Sufis, Dard links them exclusively with their primary cause, not with the world:

The sincere Muhammadans keep the antimony of 'The sight did not rove' (Sura 53/17) before their eyes and do not care so much for the benefits and afflictions of this world as to connect their gratitude and patience with them (K 346).

One of the requirements of the path, especially among the Naqshbandis, is soḥbat, the conversation with the master, which guarantees not only a perpetual control of the disciple's progress but the constant flow of spiritual energy from the shaikh to the murid. For according to the ḥadīth, 'Religion consists in giving good advice.' In rare cases the perusal of the master's books can be substituted for oral soḥbat (K 499; cf. 431).

The result of the whole 'journey,' and devotions and recollections is that the heart becomes free from all besides God, and is made ready for constant presence and vision, so that it keeps in its hand the thread of patience in affliction through contentment with fate, (the thread) of enduring distasteful events, and that of the strength to refrain from carnal desires (K 307).

On the path different kinds of revelation (kashf) can be experienced. (1) kashf kauni, as the result of asceticism, pious actions and purification of the lower soul; it becomes manifest in dreams and clairvoyance (2) kashf ilāhī, a fruit of constant worship and polishing of the heart, which results in the knowledge of the
world of spirits and cardiognosy. (3) kashf 'aqlī, which can be reached by polishing the moral faculties, and can be experienced by the philosophers as well. (4) kashf imānī is the fruit of perfect faith, after man's acquiring proximity to the perfections of prophethood; then he is blessed by direct divine addresses; he talks with the angels, meets the spirits of the prophets, sees the Night of Might and the blessings of Ramadan in human form in the 'ālam al-mithāl ... (K 443). ¹¹

Miracles will occur to the wayfarer; they are real and true, but miracles are the menstruation of men (K 449), for the friends of a king will never divulge the secrets he entrusts to them. Dervishdom does not consist of astrology and geomancy (K 447), but many of the contemporary shaikhs are nothing but ‘religious shopkeepers’ (K 445).

Dard often attacks those who remain in the state of sukr, intoxication; overwhelmed by their mystical states, they sing tunes which ought not to be sung (K 284) for as the shari‘a prohibits ‘real’ wine, thus the tariqa forbids the ‘spiritual wine,’ e.g., the divulgence of the subtleties of mystical union (K 183). In the state of sukr the mystic experiences not a complete annihilation but only the qurb an-nawāfil (K 250) which is expressed in the famous hadith:

... My servant doth not cease to draw nigh unto Me by voluntary works of devotion (nawāfil) until I love him, and when I love him, I am his ear, so that he hears by Me, and his eye, so that he sees by Me, and his tongue, so that he speaks by Me, and his hand, so that he takes by Me.

Much higher is the state reached by the qurb al-farā 'īd, the proximity of the legally prescribed actions, for this is the state of the Prophet, which is higher than that of the saints (NA I 272).

This statement is closely connected with Dard’s attitude toward the adherents of the theory of wahdat al-wujūd who usually speak of the qurb al-nawāfil. ¹² According to his interpretation,

¹² A good analysis of Mir Dard’s theology is found in the hitherto unpublished thesis by J. G. J. ter Haar, ‘De visie van Shah Wali Allah al-Dihlawi op de wahdat
they imagine to have direct access to Reality, and overwhelmed by their idea that there is only one reality, they go so far as to interpret even the Quran according to their insight and rely, on the whole, too much upon their intellects, while the followers of the *wahdat ash-shuhūd* closely follow the revelation and wander on the path of faith, allowing the intellect only a secondary role. The intellectualist approach of many interpreters of Ibn Arabi and his doctrine is indeed a problem for the historian of Sufism even in our day.

On the other hand, Dard accuses in harsh words the broad masses who repeat the idea that ‘Everything is He’—every little Yogi has the mouth full of these ideas, and here lies the major danger: everyone who talks about *wahdat al-wujūd* without having reached the experience (which is, in itself, legitimate) is a heretic. For it is extremely dangerous (as he points out in *Wārid* 28, which deals with the various forms of mystical *tauhīd*) to see God as *kullī tabī‘ī*, a ‘natural Universal’ which is manifest in the creatures. In this chapter, as often in various chapters of his books, Dard emphasizes the good Naqshbandi formula *Hama az ṭāṣ*, ‘Everything is from Him,’ and his favorite image, that of the mirror, fits well into his interpretation of the Divine transcendence, for if the world is regarded as a mirror which reflects God’s beauty, then it is clear that mirror and reflected beauty are two separate things, and that the mirror gains its value only by its capacity of reflecting true beauty, while its back side is black and, so to speak, non-existent (an image used in almost the same formulation by Maulana Rumi). Dard carefully elaborates his point, not denying that the followers of *wahdat al-wujūd* may have some truth in their subjective experience, but, as he says in an interesting comparison, the followers of the *wahdat ash-shuhūd* are like the physicians who follow the Greek medical system, and usually help people, or at least do not harm them, whereas the other group is comparable to Indian physicians who may be able to heal a man immediately but also to kill him quickly—as most of them do indeed, as he sarcastically adds (K 183 f.).

Yet, even the differences between the two types of *tauhīd*
point merely to a higher reality: neither *wujūd* nor *shuhūd* are Quranic terms, and the only goal which the faithful should try to reach is the *taḥād-i muḥammadi*, as preached in the *ṭariqa Muḥammadiyya*.

Dard knows from experience that the 'children of the Path' usually go through a period of intoxication when they reach ‘adolescence,’ i.e., the middle stages of the path, and then they want to talk without restraint about love and union; but when they mature, i.e., come down in the circle of the path, they become moderate, and in old age, when the circle is completed, they prefer silence (K 127).

Dard often speaks of the cyclic movement of the mystic:

*Commencement and determination are one in our circle,*  
*We are the line of the compasses—our end is our beginning.*  
(P 27)

This movement is connected, in his theological view, with the figure of the *shaikh*, not, as we would imagine, with a return to the primordial source of life in God.

In his theories of ascent and descent Dard does not explicitly describe—as his father and many others had done—the 'journey towards God' as man's ascension to the rank of that divine name which is his Lord, *rabb* (NA I: 271), since every creature is *marbūb*, the passive correlation of one of the active divine names (the Prophet Muhammad being the *marbūb* of the name Allah, K 110). Dard discusses God's Most Beautiful Names in a longish chapter (K 196ff.); he first explains, in Arabic, their essence, then, in Persian, their relation to the creation, for:

It is the light of the Names which illuminates creation (P 76)

and the 100 Names are comparable to the hundred petals of a centifolia, which form one flower, as Andalib had said in a lovely verse (NA I 260). God, best described as Light (Sura 24/35) reveals this light in various degrees in the creation; it becomes visible first in the Prophet (K 111; D 203), and

one must see the divine Beauty in the Mustafian (= Muhammad's) mirror.

---

13 About the problem of *rabb-marbūb* see H. Corbin, 'Creative Imagination', p. 120 ff.
Hence the rays of the divine names enter the world, and are made manifest in man, who is the stage for the manifestation of the names and attributes (K 464), the microcosm reflecting the divine attributes (K 139), so that Dard can proudly address God:

Whatever we have heard of Thee, we have seen in man (U 28).

Such claims lead him in his poetry sometimes to expressions which we would expect rather from faithful followers of the theory of Unity of Being. He not only claims, as did hundreds of poets in Turkisch, Persian, Urdu, Sindhi, and Panjabi that:

\[ \text{In the garden of the World} \\
\text{we are rose, and we are thorn,} \\
\text{where there is a friend, it's us,} \\
\text{where a rival: it is us} \text{(U 56),} \]

but reaches what seems like uninhibited subjectivism in verses like this:

\[ \text{The rose of the world withered due to our withering;} \\
\text{The heart of mankind froze due to our freezing;} \\
\text{We were the cause of the consideration of the world—} \\
\text{The world became nothing due to our dying} \text{(P 77).} \]

For it is the heart of man in which God dwells rather than in heaven or eath (A 302), as Dard says, quoting a well-known hadith qudsi; it is man who is

the seal of the degree of creation, for after him no species has come into existence and he is the sealing of the hand of Omnipotence, for God Most Exalted has said 'I created him with both my hands.' (Sura 38/77) He is, so to speak, the divine seal which has been put on the page of contingency, and the Greatest Name of God has become radiant from the bezel of his forehead. The alif of his stature points to God's unity, and the tughrā of his composition, e.g., the absolute comprehensive picture of his eyes, is a ḫād with two eyes which indicates divine ipseity (huwiyya). His mouth is the door of the treasure of divine mysteries which is open at the time of speaking, and he has a face which everywhere holds the mirror of the face of God (Sura 2/109), and he has an eyebrow for which the word 'We honoured the children of Adam' (Sura 17/72) is valid... (K 422). For, if he reaches the experience of unity he resembles himself an alif, with the numerical value 1, and is taken out of the numbers connected with imagined multiplicity (K 561).
In fact,

*Although Adam had not wings
He has reached a place that was not destined even for angels* (U 9).

It is this high rank of man which enables him to ascend through the stages of prophets toward the proximity of Muhammad, and thus towards the ḥaqīqa Muḥammadīyya, the first principle of individuation. Dard has experienced this way which is not uncommon among Sufis. (I remember a conversation of some people in Istanbul who explained that Pir X and Pir Y could not get along well ‘since this one is on the stage of Moses and that one on the stage of Khidr’).

Mir Dard first discusses the problem of vicegerency, ḵhilāfāt. According to him, real vicegerency of the Prophet is conditioned by proximity of time—the time of the ḥulāfāʾ ar-rāšidūn was finished, as Muhammad had predicted, thirty years after his death, when Ali was murdered in 661. However, for the saints such a proximity of time is not necessary. He himself is the first and true vicegerent of his father, the Prince of the Muḥammadans, who was both by his descendancy as true sayyid and his experience closest to the Prophet. His own title First of the Muḥammadans points both to the proximity in time and in space, and to him the Prophetic hadīth can be applied: ‘He is the first who believed in me and the first who will be resurrected on Doomsday with me.’ Then he writes in Arabic, as always when he conveys his deepest secrets:

And He made him his closest friend (ṣaft) and his vicegerent on earth and the first vicegerent by virtue of the Adamic sanctity; (Sura 2/31) and God saved him from the ruses of the lower self and the Satan, and made him His friend (nāfīṭ) by virtue of the Noahic sanctity; and God softened the heart of the unfeeling before him and sent to him people of melodies by virtue of the Davidic sanctity; and He made him ruler of the kingdom of his body and his nature, by a manifest power, by virtue of the Solomonic sanctity; and God made him a friend (ḵḥaltīl) and extinguished the fire of wrath in his nature so that it became ‘cool and peaceful’ (Sura 21/70) by virtue of the Abrahamic sanctity; and God made the natural passions and slaughtered his lower soul and made him pure from the worldly concern, and he became completely cut off from this world and what is in it, and God honored him with a mighty slaughtering (Sura 37/108) in front of his mild father,
and his father put the knife on his throat in one of the states of being drawn near to God in the beginning of his way, with the intention of slaughtering him for God, and God accepted him well, and thus he is really one who has been slaughtered by God and remained safe in the outward form, as his father gave him the good tiding ‘Who has not seen a dead person wandering around on earth may look at this son of mine who lives through me and through me he moves;' and in this state he gained the Ishmaelian sanctity.

And God beautified his creation and character and made him loved by Himself and accepted by His beloved (Muhammad) and attracted the hearts to Him and cast love for him into the heart of his father—a most intense love—and he taught him the interpretations by virtue of the Josephian sanctity (Sura 12/45f);

and God talked to him in inspirational words when he called him ‘Verily I am God, put off the shoes’ (Sura 20/12) of the relations with both worlds from the foot of your ascent and throw away from the hand of your knowledge the stick with which you lean on things besides Me, for you are in the holy valley’ (by virtue of) the Mosaic sanctity ...

And God made him one of His complete words and breathed into him from His spirit (Sura 15/29; 38/72), and he became a spirit from Him (Sura 4/169) by virtue of the Jesuic sanctity.

And God honored him with that perfect comprehensiveness which is the end of the perfections by virtue of the Muhammadan sanctity, and he became according to ‘Follow me, then God will make you loved by His beloved’ and he was veiled in the veil of pure Muhammadanism and annihilated in the Prophet, and no name and trace remained with him, and God manifested upon him His name The Comprising (jāmi‘) and helped him with angelic support.

And he knows through Gabrielic help without mediation of sciences written in books, and he eats with Michaelian help without outward secondary causes, and he breathes through Israfilian breath and loosens the parts of his body and collects them every time, and he sleeps and awakes every day and is drawn toward death every time by Azrailian attraction. God created him as a complete person in respect to reason, lower soul, spirit and body, and as a place of manifestation of all His names and the manifestations of His attributes, and as He made him His vicegerent on earth in general on humanity generally, did he also make him the vicegerent of his vicegerent on the carpet of specialization, especially for completing His bounty upon him in general and in special, and for perfecting his religion in summary and in detail, and He approved for him of Islam outwardly and inwardly, (cf. Sura 5/5) and made him sit on the throne of vicegerency of his father, as heritage and in realization, and on the seat of the followers of His prophet by attestation and Divine success from God. And he inclined on his invented throne called al-mi‘yar, and ‘Ornament of the prayer-niche and the pulpit,’ and put on his God-be-
stowed crown and lifted his Muhammadan banner and called the faithful with special invitation to the pure Muhammadanism, and returned to His prophet and was united to His friend thanks to the attraction of his Lord to whom everything returns. (IK 504 f.)

This description contains a large number of allusions to the qualities of the Quranic prophets who stand for the various psychological qualities of man, which are perfectly integrated in the Prophet Muhammad: Adam is the vicegerent of God, Noah, of course, is connected with the salvation from the dangers of the flood. David—the alleged author of the Psalms—is, in Islamic tradition, gifted with unusual musical powers which manifest themselves in Dard in his fondness of music and the constant visits of masters of music to his house. But David is also the prophet endowed with the capacity of softening iron and making it into coats of mail, just as Dard was able to soften the hearts of the worldly. Solomon is the ruler over man and spirits. Abraham, thrown by Nimrud into the blazing fire, found the pyre cool like a garden, and becomes, thus, the model of happiness in suffering, or, as in Dard’s case, an image for the sublimation of the fire of wrath and lower qualities. Ishmael, not Isaac, is the proposed offering according to the Quran; but we do not know to which event in his youth Dard alludes in this passage. Did his father, in a state of mystical rapture, act like Abraham and was willing to sacrifice his most beloved son at the beginning of the Muhammadan Path? Does it refer to the sufferings which young Dard experienced when his father had his first visions? Or is this a kind of initiation-act which is reminiscent of the initiation in many a primitive society, and especially in Shamanism? Or is it only the experience Dard had while his father was graced with the vision of Imam Hasan? In any case, something unusual must have happened, when the boy was still very young.

But it seems typical of later hagiography that Firaq, in his account of his ancestor’s mystical experiences, skips this detail of the ‘Ismailian sanctity’ from his integral translation of the passage (F 124). Joseph is, in poetical and mystical imagery, not only the model of perfect beauty but also, as in Dard’s passage, the prophet who could interpret dreams.

Dard mentions here only a certain number of great prophets, not all of those who are mentioned in the Quran, and then, in the most important book on prophetology, Ibn Arabi’s ḥikam
as representatives of the different relations of the Divine with the sphere of humanity. One may be tempted to connect this description with that given by Muhammad Nasir (NA I 243, 259 and II 652 f.) who—though not completely logical—connects seven or nine attributes of God with the great prophets as it is not rare in later Sufism: Adam manifests the Divine Will or—in the larger chain which he considers typical of the tariqa Muhammadiyya—Creativity; Jesus, Life; Abraham, Knowledge; Noah, Power; David, Hearing; Jacob, Seeing; and Muhammad, Existence, i.e., the most comprehensive attribute (which is the hallmark of the tariqa Muhammadiyya, as Nasir held). All these degrees should be traversed by the mystics. However, Dard’s list is more comprehensive and varied, and only in a few cases conforms to the list of his father.

Strange are his relations with the four great archangels, and the passage that his limbs were loosened and put together every day reminds us, once more, of shamanistic practices. A number of Muslim saints in India had the ability of dissolving their limbs so that spectators sometimes were horrified by this sight. When Dard mentions the ‘God-bestowed’ (wahbi) crown one is reminded of Ahmad Sirhindi’s qayyyumiyya doctrine according to which the qayyum is granted a special quality which is mauhub and distinguishes him from the other beings. However, it is difficult to discern where the throne and the crown belong which the mystic had received from the Lord and which made him the real representative of Him and His prophet on earth—although here influences of the qayyyumiyya doctrine seem to be close at hand. As to the ‘Muhammadan banner’ it plays an important role in the symbolism of his father’s book, where it is described as a kind of lance; ‘When some brave hero takes it in his hand, and a number of people with sword and shield surround him, he can alone and

---

14 Michael is the angel in whose hands is, inter alia, the nourishment of living beings; this quality of his is alluded to by the masters of Persian mystical poetry, such as Sanâ’i, Attar, and Rumi, and was mentioned still by nineteenth century poets like Ghālib in Delhi. Cf. M. Horten, Die religiöse Gedankenwelt des Volkes im Islam, p. 62.

15 Shāmān tales contain numerous examples of the loosening of the limbs during initiation. There are also some examples from Muslim saints, mainly in India, thus Pir Chhata in Sind: ‘Somebody saw (during the dhikr) that the limbs of this love-slain man fell apart, and each of them with a separate tongue proclaimed the name of God’ (M. A’zin Thattawi, Tuḥfat at-tāhirin, p. 159); cf. Dara Shikoh, Sakīnāt al-auliyya p. 207.
on his own, gain victory over them’ (NA I 322, cf. 834, II 868).

We have another interesting document about Mir Dard’s mystical life in K 61 ff. He has (K 402) asserted that the things which were unveiled to him and which God made understand him, are beyond the state of the venerable Shaikh Ibn Arabi ‘who is the leader and the fountain-head of the Sufis ...’ and whose terminology he uses to a large extent in spite of his aversion to the dangerous wujūdiyya-theories and his repeated claims that he is neither a Sufi nor a molla, but simply a ‘pure Muhammadan.’ His account about his visions is revealing in supporting his claim to have reached an extremely high mystical stage (though members of the mujaddidi school often claimed, and still claim, that they have passed the delusive state of wahdat al-wujūd and have reached the much superior state of wahdat ash-shuhūd). Dard’s experience is of a slightly different kind. He begins in Arabic, for God talked to him, and such an audition is possible only in the language of the Quran:

He spoke to me: O Vicegerent of God and o Sign (āya) of God, verily I have witnessed your state of servanthship (‘ubūdiyya); now you witness my Divinity, for you are My servant and he whom I have accepted and whom My prophet has accepted.

I said: O Lord, I witness, that there is no God but Thou, and I witness that Thou are a witness over all things. O my God and object of my worship, and there is no goal for me besides Thee! I am the family-member of Thy beloved and part of Thy Nightingale.

And He said: O ‘Abdallah, o who knows God (‘arif billāh), verily I have made you a place of manifestation comprising all My manifestations, so bring now My signs to all my creatures. And I have called you the Utmost Sum Total (jam‘) and the Muhammadan Sum Total, and who obeys you obeys God and the Prophet.

I said: O Lord, I accept all Thy orders and call the people to Thy religion and Thy Islam; so lead them to me and to my father so that I may lead them to Thee and to Thy prophet, and Thou guidest whom Thou willst.

He said: O you to whom have come the wāridāt, o Source of the signs, verily We have made you a sign for people so that perhaps they become guided, but most of the people do not know.

I said: O Lord, Thou knowest what is in me and I do not know what is in Thee—if thou punishest them—they are Thy servants, and if thou forgivest them—Thou art the Wise.

And He said: Say: If Reality were more than that which was unveiled to me, then God would verily have unveiled it to me, for He, Most High, has completed for me my religion and perfected for me His
favor and agreed for me Islam as religion, and if the veil would be
opened I would not gain more certitude—verily my Lord possesses
mighty bounty. (cf. P. 8).

After this report of his vision in which he was invested as the
ture successor of the Prophet, Mir Dard goes on speaking of the
ames which God had bestowed upon him. We know that some
Muslim mystics in early times used different names for them-
selves—one of the most confusing chapters in the biography of
the martyr mystic al-Hallaj was (at least for his family and his
emies), the fact that he called himself differently in every
country, and letters were addressed to him accordingly. Later
mystics were graced with the knowledge of their heavenly names
which were different from their normal names—Najmuddin
Kubra is an outstanding example of this experience. Dard who
had dwelt quite a while on his proper names Khwâja Mir and
Dard, gives, in this paragraph, a strange combination of his ‘real’
names. His longish discussion of the Divine Names is closely con-
ected with this subject: for the Divine names are the vehicle
through which God can be recognized in the world and thus he,
who knows his own names knows those of God, according to the
hadith ‘Who knows himself knows the Lord;’ for the divine
names become manifested in different human beings. Dard, like
many mystics before him, has understood the Quranic story that
‘God taught Adam the names’ (Sura 2/32) as a symbol for ‘in-
vesting him with his Divine attributes.’

The name and mark which is Khwaja Mir Dard is only my relative
name which was fixed, not my essential name; for in the essential
name there must not be the consideration of one who considers it and
the putting of one who puts it (on somebody). And it must not
disappear when the person disappears.

And I have got many of these attributal and relative names, namely:
Light of the Helper - Son of the imām - Lamentation of the Nightin-
gale-Pain of the friend-Pain with result (Dard with his younger
brother, Athar)—Secret of the father—Rosegarden of Reality—Nightin-
gale of the path—Sign of God—He who knows God—the Great Khwa-
ja—My 1 (man-i man)—the Place upon which the inspirations have
come down (mūrid alwāridāt)—Who has been supported by support—
the Master of tauhid—Spirit of the world—Behind the Behind—Pure
Muhammadan—First of the Muhammadans—Guide of the Helper—
Proof of the Helper—Essence of the Helper—Adornment of the Help-
er—Unseparable part—Adjoining to the One—and other names which
can not be counted ...
For He taught Adam all the names, that means He made man the place of manifestation for all His names and cast the light of His perfections into this mirror. But according to the custom of the Lord I shall show before you 99 names which point to my all comprehensive human reality, and at some time I have been elected with them: Light (nūr) · Manifestation (zuhūr) · Knowing · Known · Summarizing · Separating · Comprehending · Collected · Outward · Inward · Witness · Witnessed · Hearing · Heard · With Beauty · With only little tremendous Majesty · Intended · Existent · Non-existent · Imagined · Seeker · Sought · Lover · Beloved · Speaking · Seeing · Slave · Living · Guiding · Unique · Disciple · Feeling · Perceptible · Gifted with reason · Intelligible · Source of divine signs · Compriser of attributes · Noble from two sides · Happy in both worlds · Repentant · Going · Pure · Without Fear · Patient · Grateful · Trusting in God · Guaranteeing · Merciful · He upon whom mercy is bestowed · He who is forgiven · Kind · Wise · Faithful · Muslim · Dear to the hearts · Leader · Independent · Meaningful · Truth · Absolute · Fettered · Supported · Named · Enigma · Magnet · Who is without cheating · Most complete manifestation place · Greatest part · Reality of realities · Well wisher of the creatures · Divine melody · Instrument of awareness · Loving heart · Sincere servant · Absolute certitude · Clear explanation · Man of good qualities · Companion on the path · With straight character · Without needs · Billowing ocean · Speech without tongue · Tongue without speech · Friendly heart · Soul · Saint · Rich · Poor · Prince · Eternal · Guided · Heir · Viceregent of God · Drawn near · Refined · Acting · Comprehensive · Sent · Lord of the Prayer mat. And my essential name is in Persian the word man, 'I', and in Arabic the word anā', 'I' ... (K 62).

This concept 'I' is common to every language and to everybody and through it the one Divine existence manifests itself—Andalib had argued in exactly the same way, only adding the Urdu pronouns (NA I 245).

Dard's 99 names—as well as his attributive names—are psychologically highly interesting. They are put together apparently partly according to reasons of harmony, for many of them rhyme. Arabic and Persian expressions alternate without fixed rules, and one is surprised to find a large number of names which are used, otherwise, only for God himself—from Light, which is the central concept of Divine existence in Dard's theology, to Behind the Behind, one of the favorite expressions of Sufis to denote the ineffable Divine existence.

Dard does not develop further theories from this unveiling of his own divinely bestowed names, and only once, in a later sentence (N 306) he alludes to these 99 names and stresses the com-
bination pāk-bībāk, ‘pure, fearless,’ which helps him to live according to the Quranic word ‘They do not fear the blame of a blaming one’ (Sura 5/59). This peculiar set of names gives him the strength to speak whatever is in his heart, so ‘that no shopkeeper-shaikh could explain the reality with this correctness, not any contemptible ecstatic could utter words of such truthfulness.’

The idea of surrounding a human being with a large number of honorific names is definitely inherited from his father who has, in the Nāla-yi ‘Andalīb, invented long chains of titles for his heroes (NA I 84, II 123) and heroines (NA II 127) and even negative attributes for the evil forces (NA I 290). In Dard’s case they may also point to the problems that puzzled him for his childhood to his last day: the search for identity.\(^{16}\)

THE ASCETIC AND ‘THE WORLD’.

Dard’s spiritual diaries, as we may call his Four Risālas, only rarely speak of the afflictions which his hometown had to undergo almost every year. His friend Mir compared Delhi to a colorful picture-book full of miniatures, which are now faded; Dard, in turn, said in a quatrain with clever puns, written according to the sequence of the book shortly after 1190/1776:

Delhi, which time has now devastated:
Tears are flowing now instead of its river.
This town had been like the face of the lovely,
And its suburbs like the down of the beloved ones!

The blessed town of Delhi, in which is the burial garden of the ‘Qibla of the Worlds’ and which God may keep cultivated until resurrection was a wonderful rosegarden, but has now been trampled down by the autumn of events of time. It had lovely rivulets and trees and in-

\(^{16}\) The problem is very well summed up by Merlin Swartz in his article, ‘The Position of Jews in Arab Lands’, in: Reflections on the Middle East Crisis, ed. H. Mason, p. 30: ‘A man’s name was viewed as participating in the very essence of his person and, as such revealed something of the essential character of his being. This meant, in effect, that a man’s name was bound up in the most intimate way with the question of his identity.’ R. Kipling’s ‘Kim’ contains also a fine remark about the importance of the name (ch. 11). The dhikr of the Divine Names, mentioned NA II 108, meant for Dard to ‘acquire the Divine names’ (K 217), as it was said takhallaqu bi-akhlāq Allāh, Acquire the qualities of God, a remark which may help to understand his own 99 names.
habited places of people of all kinds, and has now become the plunder of the blow of fate. It was in every respect of the surface of earth alike to the face of the moonlike beloved and charming like the freshness of the mole (pun on sabzi, ‘greenery’ and ‘freshness’). O God, keep it from all the afflictions and calamities and make it a safe place and nourish its people from fruits and grant that those who enter it be safe. (N 104).

Though he alludes once to ‘the sphere which goes awry and the froward time and the different events which they produce’ (D 154) he maintains that those who have found themselves close to God are steadfast in their behavior; but it seems that he, too, was troubled by the unlucky inhabitants of the town who sought shelter and help with him. The relevant sentence may have been written about 1196/1782 when the whole of Delhi territory was afflicted by a famine which ‘swept away something like a third to a half of the rural population’. May we perhaps date to this period his strange Persian quatrain about the swarms of thronging locusts which, however, disappear because they have no true leader? (P 94). Dard complains that the confused thoughts of the sons of time make him pensive, perplexed and grieved, and that ‘from all the four sides strange strange whirlstorms of dust of their minds’ rise:

From four sides the dust of hearts rose so much
That it brought me, while still alive, under the dust.

He prays that God may preserve the unhappy population and not allow foreign armies to enter the town, and keep the inhabitants free from affliction and pillage and from difficulties in earning their lives, and preserve them from thinking that

one has to go here, or to go there ... What behoves them is to follow the path of God and the Muhammadan path, so that they may pluck the roses of inner blessings from the rosegarden of their company and listen to the lamentation of the Nightingale and understand his books.

To realize this ideal was probably difficult for the poverty stricken, hungry and helpless inhabitants of Delhi!

However, Dard’s preoccupation with the people was not only theoretical although he never entered practical politics as did Shah Waliullah. Late in his work (D 270) he once more speaks of the destructions and how people sought shelter and tells that he, for about a year, used to spend all day, from before the morning
prayer till after the night prayer, at his father’s tomb, without taking with him any friend or child; in the evening the friends would gather and would drag home ‘that bewildered person of the valley of faith’ but early in the morning he turned again to the sacred place where he offered his prayer, hoping for help from an-Nāṣir, The Helper. A quatrain describes this state—his father’s tomb is the threshold from which he does not want to get separated.

These visits were the only interruption of his daily routine. He tells that he constantly lived in the bait al-ma‘mur of his Pir, i.e., in his paternal dargāh, and never went out but to visit his father’s tomb, for:

it has been said ‘Who is in one place is everywhere, and who is everywhere is nowhere’ (A 312).

Yet these are only a few scattered remarks. In general, the afflictions that came over Dehli did not disturb him too much; they rather proved to him that real life is found only in the Divine Presence:

Why should I go out? It means just a loss of time, for everywhere there is nothing apparent but annihilation in annihilation and at every place the lustre of ‘Everything is perishing but God’s Face’ (Sura 28/88) becomes visible. And I melt every moment like ice from the vision of the sun of Reality and destroy in every wink my personification which is bound by supposition: not a sound of a chord lifts the head of desire from the shirt of my heart, and not a harmony raises the flame of sound from the harp of my heart. There is no suitability in body and soul, and no capacity in the marrow of my bones, and the most strange rosegarden of ‘I recognized my Lord through the vitiation of my intentions’ blossomed, and everywhere the twig of ‘There is nothing sought but God’ sprouts (D 33).

Indeed, why should he go out? In true Naqshbandi fashion (which is a development of earlier mystical theories) Dard tried to practice safar dar waṭan, ‘journey in one’s home,’ one of the eight principles on the Path. He himself has explained this term (K 468): it means, first, that the wayfarer leaves his lower and bad qualities, reaches works of obedience, and acquires praiseworthy qualities in his interior journey. This results in the mystic’s return to God and his constant raising through the various ranks of existence, and eventually leads him to the place of Unity, where his true homeland is. This is the technical aspect of safar dar waṭan, but Dard, like many of the 17th and 18th cen-
tury poets in India uses the term also as a poetical device. Combined with another important aspect of Naqshbandi training, the *khalwat dar anjuman*, 'seclusion in the multitude,' he analyses this constant interplay of journey and being at home:

_Existence is travelling, non-existence is home,
the heart is solitude, and the eye multitude_ (U 127).

The sky, too, is constantly caught in 'travel in its home' (P 11, U 8), and so is the candle when it melts, travelling toward annihilation (P 124). If one sees it correctly, travelling is home, and home is travelling (P 14, cf. P 24, 35), until the seeker has reached a state of selflessness where there is

_no thought of a journey,
no reminiscence of home_ (U 54).

Here, in this world, the mystic experiences exile and prison: Dard speaks of the *qaid-i firang*, 'European prison,' an expression that had become popular after the first attacks by the Portuguese on Indian harbors in the mid-16th century. Nasir Andalib had frequently used this word and since the Europeans were connected, in some strange way of poetical thinking, with colorful paintings, Dard connects the multicolored show of this world with a European prison into which the soul-birds have fallen, bewitched by the lovely hues and shapes (S 61). And thus, he strove to liberate his soul-bird from the dazzling outward world and travel back home, to the colorless source of colors.

As little as Mir Dard speaks about the terrible events in the political life in Delhi during the third quarter of the 18th century, as silent is he about other facts of daily life. What did he think about family life, women and children? Once he admonishes men in a longish sermon (K 523) not to overdress, 'for outward decoration is a sign of inward depravity,' and, he continues:

_This is the sake of women. These creatures with weak intellect which God has created for this occupation have nothing but this work on their carpet, and if they do not adorn themselves what should they do and what would happen, and as long as they do not show themselves nicely to their husband, how could that work which is necessary for begetting and procreation be done frequently and nicely, and how would the human race appear?
Was this traditional Islamic view the real opinion of a man who spoke with such deep love of his venerable, pious mother? Even more: his father had spoken with high regard of the pious and God-seeking women who entered the Muhammadan Path and will gain their reward already in this world (NA II 344), and had praised the *muʿminat*—the believing women:

What shall I say about the pious women? For some of them have progressed so far that they have surpassed many men in learning and mystical knowledge and love and charity ...

He was sure that they, too, will be blessed with the vision of God in the other world (NA I 832), an idea not generally accepted by Muslim theologians. Of course, Muhammad Nasir, too, held that the wife should regard her husband as the representative of the Lord, according to the Prophetic tradition: 'If it were permissible to prostrate before anyone but God, I would say that the wives should prostrate before their husbands' (NA I 578)—a *hadith* which reminds us rather of Hindu ideals of marriage where the husband is, in fact, the representative of Divine power. Muhammad Nasir even uses the idea of man being the manifestation of the different Divine names and qualities in an allegory: the virgin recognizes, in the moment of consummation of marriage, in her husband the qualities of Tremendous Majesty (*jalāl*) instead of those of Mercy (*jamāl*) to which she was used before; but the husband explains to her that this seeming cruelty of his by piercing her body is only the sign of highest love by which she reaches 'naked union' (NA I 560).

As for Dard himself, his prejorative remark about women was, like some other paragraphs of the *ʿIlm ul-kitāb*, probably merely theoretical, for in later time in his life (N 70) he all of a sudden exclaims in the midst of mystical discussion:

I love my wife and family very very dearly and am very much captured in the love of wife and children. God knows whether this comes from the animal powers, or is due to human modes, or is only a sensual love, or barely the appearance of the Lordship of Mercifulness—in any case, my friend is he who loves them. For today or tomorrow it will happen that I lift my foot from here and entrust them to the Real Protector and Helper; who but the merciful God will love them after me?

Of course, he puts his love of his family into a wider frame; just as the Prophet said 'Fatima is part of me,' thus they are part of
him, since love of the family of the Prophet is a duty for every believer, it includes his own family (being true sayyids) too—every blessing uttered for Muhammad and his family works also upon his family.

This ‘family’ also comprises particularly the fourth caliph, Ali ibn abi Talib, ‘the unveiler of the pre-eternal knowledge, the one acquainted with hidden and open mysteries’ who is, according to his own statement, the dot beneath the letter b of the basmala:

All mysteries of the Divine speech are in the Glorious Quran, and all the mysteries of the Quran are in the Sūrat al-Fātiha, and all mysteries of the Fātiha are in the formula Bismillāh, and all the mysteries of the Basmala are in the b of Bismillāh, and all the mysteries of the b are in the dot beneath the b, and I am this dot beneath the b (K 75).

This high place of Ali leads Dard at a later point to meditate about the veneration of the ‘Shah of Najaf,’ whose love is necessary for every ‘true Muhammadan’:

If you have the pearl of Aden in your hand but do not bring the richness of the heart into your hand, nothing but empty-handedness will be your gain, and if you have the pearl of Najaf in your palm, and do not engrave the love of the Shah of Najaf in your heart, then there is nothing for you but rubbing the palms of regret (S 212).

Love of the family is one of the outstanding features in Mir Dard’s personality. If one remembers the harsh words of some early Sufis against the fetters of family life, the love of family and children, or reads how leaders of the Chishtiyya order in India were notorious for the disinterest in their families one understands that Mir Dard’s attitude is by no means typical of a Sufi. Time and again he mentions he beloved brother, Athar, and his relation with his own son, Mir Muhammad Diya un-Nasir, reflects in a certain way his own relation to his father Andalib (K 639/540):

O ignorant and veiled man—the tenderness of the father which is lavishly spent upon the son is a manifestation of the kindness of His lordliness, for in this form the Lord of Lords nourishes His slave, and casts love from Himself into the heart of the father, so that he may love his son and show high ambition in nourishing and educating him. Further, to follow him—I mean the father—and to obey the sire who is the place of manifestation of the names ‘Creator’ and ‘Lord’ is essentially the same as to obey Him ... just as he who obeys the Prophet
obeys God; for the Prophet is the spiritual father, and that is why his pure wives are called the mothers of the faithful, and the father is the vicegerent of the Prophet, ... especially when the father is a sincere Muhammadan and also a spiritual guide, for thanks to the grace of God a rotten and unworthy son never comes to such an excellent father. O God, forgive me and my parents and be merciful to them since they have educated me when I was little ...

Dard continues his meditation about the relation of father and son until he concludes that a special relation of love exists between them—the father is, for the son, the manifestation of Divine mercy, and the son is, for the father, a Divine gift (wahb),

and the tenderness and education which we have seen from our elders towards ourselves should be executed upon our little ones, and we should not make faults in polishing and instructing them and should spread the shade of mildness on their head, but not so much that they become spoiled and useless ... (K 556).

Dard had three children—at least, the names of his three surviving children are given as Alam, Barati Begum, and Zinat un-Nisa Begum. Mir Alam, who lived for a long time in Bengal, became leader of the convent after his uncle Athar. His son, Mir Muhammad Bakhsh died during his father's lifetime; a daughter, Amani Begum, had a daughter Umda Begum, who, in turn had a daughter Shams un-Nisa Begum. Her son, Nasir Nadhir with the pen-name Firaq, is the author of the Maikhana-yi Dard, the only comprehensive description of Dard and his family. As to Barati Begum, she died without issue; Zinat un-Nisa was the mother of the poet Muhammad Nasir Ranj (d. 1845), one of whose daughters was married to the poet Momin Khan Momin (d. 1851) who, besides writing charming love poetry has also praised and encouraged the followers of the ṭariqa Muḥammadīyya under Ahmad of Bareilly and Ismail Shahid in their struggle against the Sikh.

Dard sees his family first and foremost as the family of 'pure Muhammadans' and thus he tells:

Just as the lamentation of the venerable Nightingale completely includes the meaning Pain, 'Dard,' and pain becomes generated and results from it, thus dard, 'pain' comprises the meaning of 'result', athar, and result comes from pain, and thus my dear brother is in this respect my associate, and we are two brothers both in form and in reality—in form because we are from one mother and father, and in reality because we are on one path and knowledge. In short, when the
time of mercy came and Divine mercy became effervescent, I took all my children and the family of the Qibla of Both Worlds under my protection and made them enter the rank of a sincere Muhammadan, and made them pass before the eyes of his Excellency and this High Person accepted them with the view of grace, and I brought all my family and children and the relatives of the Qibla of Both Worlds according to their different ranks and took them till resurrection under his protection and brought them to his Eminency, and he sponsored them under his fold and brought them in the presence of the most holy Prophet, and he took all of them in the fold of his intercession and brought them in the palace of Divine proximity and wanted intercession for them. From there it was (divinely) directed: 'They have been honored by Sincere Muhammadanism and belong with their faith and their confidence into the group of Our servants who have been brought near and upon We have mercy and forgive them ...' (K 418).

And at present, the author asserts, a number of friends and disciples who have studied his and his father's books have come, and he has brought them into the Divine presence and considered them his own family according to the prophetic tradition 'Who walks on my way these are my family.'

It is, in a certain way, consoling to see that in the following paragraph Dard explains at length the possibility that even those elect ones, nay, even he, himself are still weak creatures and liable to sinning.

It may be mentioned at random that the family tradition counts even some jinns among Mir Dard's disciples, who had been converted by his son Alam in far-away Bengal and then stayed in his house (F 143).

OLD AGE

Life passed from station to station:

*Childhood passed, and then youth was reached;  
Now comes old age—do not be negligent.  
As much as you are on your own place like the thread of the rosary,  
The stations pass on the way like beads (R 116).*

Dard's last books contain numerous allusions to his age (he was in his late fifties when he began to compose the Nāla). Now
the time for return to the Lord has come, and it is better to retire from people and to consider the world a hut of sorrows in repentance and penitence (N 33).

Somewhat later he thinks that he now better 'should keep the flame of the tongue silent' (A 201). This image can be better understood when one thinks of the general poetical idea that old age resembles the morning. As for the candle, it has to be extinguished at dawn. This morning is welcome to him, for it brings peace of the heart, which makes the day radiant.

But I have spent the night of youth also mostly awake and have never rested like immersed on a bed of negligence, and even though I have slumbered a trifle I became soon awake again and opened the eye of understanding-a-warning and looked towards the state of old age ... and spent my whole life in waiting for death (D 309).

We find a great number of verses with this imagery in Dard's Persian and Urdu lyrics and he has commented upon this imagery in a long-winded paragraph (K 276); the morning, bearing the shirt of the night is like the poet's breast out of which the heart comes sun-like (U 122); but the longer the more he sees in the whiteness of dawn a reminder of the shroud (P 11, 53).

Happy that he has left behind him that night of youth, he enjoys the fact that with the decline of animal powers and the perfection of human qualities, man loses sensuous appetites and resembles more the angels (D 180). These thoughts moved him, in his 62nd year, when he began to write down Sham'i maḥfil; for at this age there is no time for long hope (tūl-i amal) (Intr. cf. P 35). What should one do at this age?

Now one should make the eye weep like the dew-drop and expect the rise of the sun of the smaller resurrection, and not slumber in the sleep of negligence like narcissus-buds ... (S 86).

Essentially he seems to enjoy his age though

age which brings damage has made me very lean, but the help of my Pir had put light into my cup so that I can light the candle of guidance from this light and do not burn from the grief of weakness of old age, and I do not turn too much toward the repair of my body and do not spend much thinking in caring for it; but I estimate well the handful of bones which I have as morsel for the mouth of the grave, and do absolutely not open the door of caring for the body, and do not fall into the snare of thinking how to get fatter ... (S 170).
The danger of spoiling his 'material body which is God's she-camel' (Sura 7/71) (S 261) was certainly far from the mystical poet about whose ascetic practices his biographers tell amazing things. Besides, the economic and political situation in Delhi in the 1780's was certainly not such that a man could easily enjoy life and get fatter.

After all, contentment was the major quality of the ascetically minded mystics from the very beginning of Sufi history; and Dard says, with a slight attempt to joke, and using the comparison, eye = goblet, which frequently recurs in early Urdu poetry:

Here, you have to be content with two goblets,
It is the house of the eye, not a house of drunkenness. (U 65).

Mir Dard is reported to have rigorously kept his fast, until the 'fingernail of the crescent' opens the closed mouth of the fasting servant (P 91/92); he even added to the prescribed ways of fasting, as modern leaders of the Naqshbandiyya, too, ascribe great importance to rigid fasting, though otherwise this order does not begin the instruction with 'breaking the lower self' of the novice but rather with purifying and educating his heart. Firaq, as several others, mentions a certain kind of fasting, called dirh ḥāqa, which consisted of abstaining from food and drinking for 21 nights and days (F 121); other aspects of Dard's fasting are likewise mentioned. We are inclined to sympathize with the complaint of his little daughter when a plate, dreamt of for days, was carried away by the father to feed the guests in the mosque instead of his family ... To what extent these stories are historically true, is difficult to prove: they conform to the traditional ascetic ideal but must contain at least some truth.

Mir Dard proudly speaks of his poverty (faqr). When he confronts general poverty and poverty of the elite, the latter is for him, as for Attar, an equivalent of fanā, 'annihilation,' and permanent remaining in God, and is 'a rank among the ranks of proximity':

And praised be God who made me one of the poor who are exclusively kept in God's way, and made 'poverty my pride' so that I became independent of everything besides Him, and made the Divine Greatness (kibriyā) my cloak and Grandeur my veil, and veiled me in the light of His tremendous Majesty from the views, and showed me to the eyes by
the appearance of His mercy and honored me with the robe of honor of the subsistence of truth in God ... And I am under the domes of His wealth and Greatness, and nobody but He and His prophet knows me by my countenance since I am the poor of His door and the beggar for mercy from Him, and my Lord did not allow me to go to the doors of the princes and the sultan, and I belong to the ‘benchers’ (ahl-i suffa) of poverty which was the pride of our Prophet ... I belong to his family which God has purified. God is the friend of the faithful and it is He who made me one of the sayyids and sent upon me blessings and opened my breast and put off me my burden which pressed my back and uplifted my memory so that I found ease in the very pressure, and together with outward pressure I found inward ease in every state (K 605) [the whole paragraph is in Arabic].

That means, he is closest to his ancestor, the Prophet, because of the high rank of poverty which brings him under the protection of God—

From the fountainhead of poverty
drank the date-palm of my richness (P 6).

He compares his poverty to a wilderness:

Praise be to God that this wretched madman until now has nicely traversed the endless deserts of poverty and never nourished the beasts of animal imaginations in the corner of his free mind—may God make him reach by virtue of His grace the end of this sacred valley ...

(N 82).

But faqr is not only the state of which the Prophet was proud; Ali ibn Abi Talib is likewise credited with having written the line:

We are satisfied with the lot of the mighty among us;
We have knowledge, and the ignorant have money.
For money disappears soon,
But knowledge remains and does not finish.

His poverty is not bankruptcy (U 90) but rather the kingdom of absolute peace of mind; when one longs no more for the king’s crown nor for the beggar’s cap. It is told that he, in his youth, asked Muhammad Shah, the ruler, not to disturb him by his visits (F 121) though he later did not mind the presence of Shah Alam II in his musical sessions. Still, he sings proudly:

Kings are never mentioned, Dard, in our meetings;
Only sometimes Ibrahim Adham has been mentioned!
(U 15).
For he, the prince of Balkh, gave up the throne for the happiness of perfect poverty. In a charming verse Dard sings:

On the throne of rulership sits everyone, o Dard,
Who gives his throne to the wind, like Solomon (P 13).

The greatest evil is ḥirṣ, 'greed', a word which occurs often in Dard's later prose and his poetry. He admonishes his disciples to forget everything in recollecting God

so that the spider of negligence does not weave the warp and woof of the thought of expecting livelihood in your mind, and the fly of greed never sits on the gracious table of inward collection (jan'īyat) (D 200).

Greed, as much as wealth and power which result from it make man stonehearted—Dard had more than enough opportunities to watch the greed of the politicians who struggled in Delhi with every kind of intrigue, hatred, and meanness. He reverses the classical image of the rain drop which gains its real value by becoming a pearl:

Whosoever becomes mighty and rich, his heart becomes hard—
Every drop which became a pearl gets a stone-heart (P 34).

He was free from this kind of greed, but free also from the greed which caused most of his contemporary poets to leave Delhi for a safer place where they could better sell their poetry. He had been waiting for death throughout his life,

and I thought every sound which I heard to be the lament of mourning for myself, and considered every door which I saw the gate of my own grave. What shall I say how I brought the night of my youth to an end with sleeplessness until this day, and how I passed it with awareness so that I sometimes put my ear on the sound of the feet of the coming of my beloved and sometimes opened the door of my heart to 'Truth came and falsehood was destroyed' (Sura 17/83) (D 309).

In this expectation he had spent his youth until he was blessed with the overwhelming vision of Divine reality in which he, then, lived throughout his ripe age.

But the question 'Who am I?' which had made him cry in his childhood never ceased puzzling him, though on a higher level of mystical embarrassment:
Drowned in the sea of pure bewilderment the shore of which is invisible, and so much lost in the ocean of the vision of the Absolute Being that I can not see a trace from my own partial existence, it is impossible that I should come to myself—and how could I reach, then, God? (N 271, cf. N 136).

His poetry touches the same chord and sometimes reaches expressions which we would rather expect in a modern 'poet of the Ego' than in a mystic who is supposed to lose his self in constant contemplation, if not union, of God:

*If the shaikh makes me reach God, what does it matter?  
Oh, I offer myself to him who brings me to myself! (P 11)*

For, as he says in another verse:

*We are unaware of our own manifestation in this garden:  
The narcissus does not see its own spring with its own eye  
(P 45).*

In all his ecstatic moments and his search for an answer he could never find

the answer to the question 'Who am I? and how and where shall I die and how and why did I live till now?' And I see the gnosis and interior knowledge of all the human beings beneath this greatest amazement of mine—for they have woven the warp and woof of imagination for themselves; and I find the peace and quietude of the individualities of my race beneath this highest bewilderment of mine, for they have found consolation with their own thoughts of reckoning and supposition. From the Eternal Help (i.e., Abdul Qadir Gilani) the word 'My foot is on the neck of every saint' appeared perhaps in the effer-vescence of such a state, and from the beloved of the Most Exalted, Shah Naqshband, the phrase 'Whatever was seen and known is all otherness and must be denied with the word No' probably came on his lips in the moment of such an unveiling—in any case, until the breaking of resurrection this very light of the sun of 'I have a time with God' sheds its rays on the heart of his pure family, and the grace of this pure Muhammadan gives light to this group (N 63).

Again, the highest vision and complete detachment from this world is granted especially to members of the family of the Prophet—both Gilani and Naqshband were *sayyids*, and the Prophetic tradition 'I have a time with God to which even Gabriel has no access' is the central truth: for in this experience the closest possible approximation of man and God has been expressed, an
approximation which can be inherited (as he thinks, exclusively) by the Prophet’s offspring.

Nevertheless, the question of his own existence is repeated again and again:

Though a world sings the fame of me, the lost one, and people come and look at me according to their thoughts, but ... the door of self-knowledge does absolutely not yet open, and it was not yet found who I am and for what all this longing of mine is. And still stranger is, that in spite of not knowing (myself) I always remain in the torture of my self. Then it was understood that the figure of my existence sits like a bezel with the name of somebody else, and the dream of my selfhood sees, like velvet, the thought of others, and I am just like a seal with my mind dug up from my side, and like velvet, my whole body is standing hair, top to bottom wounded by existence.  

17 God may keep me safe from the evil in both worlds and leave not the burden of the suspicion of my existence in my head ... (S 120).

The image of the bezel is very frequent in mystical poetry (certainly not without allusions to Ibn Arabi’s *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, ‘Bezels of Wisdom’).  

18 The heart of the saint is often compared to a ringstone on which the Divine names and attributes are engraved. ‘All my faults become perfectly correct like a sealing’ (P 144), but it behooves man to get away once the impression of this seal is left in the world (P 84), e.g., when his outward form disappears, which points to the engraved name of God (P 56), for the bezel has no selfishness (*khūdī*) (P 7, cf. P 147). Dard once sees his attributive names engraved on the seal of his own existence, and becomes confused as to his real being all the more as he is ‘black-faced’ (e.g., disgraced) like a sealing—ring (K 505)—who is he, and where does he stand in front of the Divine Reality? Although everybody knows him, and although he is capable of explaining so many things to his disciples, he has not found himself—‘like a mirror, completely drowned in the perspiration of confusion’ (N 205).

Dard’s famous Urdu verse:

The states of the two worlds are clear to my heart—
Till now I have not understood what I am ... (U 49)

---

17 In Persian, the velvet is considered to be sleeping, when it is soft and no hair stands up: the image of the velvet whose hair stands up and which is, so to speak, awake in confusion or horror, became very fashionable in 17th and 18th century Indo-Muslim literature, mainly in Bedil’s work.

18 More bezels: P 118, 146, U 96, 139; as image of transitoriness P 101: the kings of the world are compared to sealstones which have now been lifted.
reflects the same attitude, and may have been written at the same time when he sighs (N 326):

As much as I came to know God, I did not become selfknowing, and though I reached God I did not reach myself; for to know God is the same as to acknowledge the inability of knowing oneself ...

The reason for this seeming contradiction is that selfknowledge belongs only to God, namely the knowledge of the Essence itself. Such a knowledge, however, is impossible for the contingent being which lives and exists only through Divine grace. Classical Sufism had already held that the right to say 'I' belongs only to God; Dard, like many mystics, expands this idea, and yet tries to find the secret of his own existence which is non-real as far as it is contingent and not necessary, and is real as far as it is endowed by God with existence and forms the mirror of and the manifestation-place for the Divine Names. Thus the question 'Who am I?' can never be solved properly. Dard strictly denies the possibility of essential union of man and God, which would mean that man is part of God. Man is created in time and can never become God even though all Divine names are manifested through him. This is the idea which he defends against the wujūdī-mystics. Sometimes, though, his argumentation passes the limits of logical expression.

In the last phase of his life he once more sighs:

Woe, where shall I seek my lost heart and which side should I go to follow it, and whom shall I ask what is good for it, and how can I become 'one with heart' (ṣāhib-i dīl)? For my melancholy heart has, in thinking of the Essence which is the 'Behind the Behind,' gone so far from itself and has hidden itself so much from my dull view that no information about its going reaches this imaginary individuation—and how could it reach anybody else? And the sound of its feet does not reach the ear of me, the unknown—and how less could others hear it? But then I understood that according to the fact that everything which falls into a salt mine becomes salt, this consumed one has reached the degree of absence, attaining slowly the place which he has reached, and concealed itself from my outwardly-seeing eye in the veil of concealment and got lost in the very place where it ran around. And 'everything perishes save His Face' (Sura 28/88) (D 161).

The lost heart, so common in the mystical poetry, is completely submerged in the world of the Unseen, the Divine essence, perhaps, as some Naqshbandis would say, in the 'adam,' the 'positive Not-Being,' i.e., the divine 'beyond Allah.' The image of the salt
mine is found as early as in Attar’s poetry and in Rumi’s Mathnawi for the state of fanā and spiritual regeneration, as Rumi says:

When a dead ass falls into a salt mine,
He puts ass-ness and the state of death aside (M II 1344).

Dard’s constant preoccupation with death and annihilation—so typical of classical Sufism—resulted in his high evaluation of a common custom in popular Islam, e.g., visiting of tombs, since ‘tombs are so to speak the footprint of those who have gone the way of annihilation’ (A 162).

In his ‘aqīda, Dard faithfully defends the reality of the eschatological instrumentarium, although the only goal for the mystic is eternal life in the contemplation of the Divine Light. However, it is a sign of love that people should visit the tombs of their deceased family members, and recite there the fātiha and other efficient prayers so that God may also grant them a good end thanks to this good deed. For such a visit is an atonement for sins, and people may become more thoughtful about their own end: big people would become more tender and gracious toward the small, and the small would understand that their happiness lies in serving the great people (A 247). The faithful should also look after the tombs and keep them well and urge others to visit the tombs of the great, i.e., of the pious and saints, and they should gather to remember the anniversary of their death. Only those without insight do not consider such visits necessary or do not find spiritual happiness and bliss in such an act, for

they do not see any difference between stone and brick, or between Ka‘ba and church.

How could they, then, hope to find the intercession of those whom they have neglected? (S 117)

The one who has no living heart
Does not come to our tomb ... (P 39)

he says in one of his poems, and the mutual relation of the living and the dead is expressed in the lines:

You must pass by the tomb of us, the strangers—  
As long as we were alive, we passed through your street  
(p 46).
Often he had mentioned, in his poems, life as a sleep, a dream, according to the Prophetic tradition 'Human beings are asleep, and when they die they awake'. Every manifestation in this world, so full of grief, seemed to him the longer the more like a passing dream the interpretation of which can be found only in the other world. He complains that numberless beautiful figures have gone under the dust, which thus has turned into a treasure-house of beauty, but every handful of dust was once a heart (P 96)—an idea which was certainly not new in Islamic poetry, but has, in its Urdu expression, influenced Ghalib's famous ghazal with the rhyme-word hogā 'in, 'have been'. Now it becomes time for him to go, since 'all friends have gone to sleep' (U 93). And he expressed this feeling in his most famous line:

\[
\text{Woe, ignorant man, at the time}
\text{of death this truth will be proved:}
\text{A dream was, whatever we saw,}
\text{whatever we heard, was a tale} \text{(U 2)} \text{19}
\]

A dream—but for north western India it was such a nightmare that even the hope for the morning-light of eternity at the end of this night was no longer expressed in verses full of hope, as Rumi had done long ago in triumphant joy. Dard rather believed in his father's verse:

\[
\text{The stories of love are long, very long—}
\text{Where is the sleep of non-existence? (NA II 718).}
\]

To be sure, our poet had reached a state where he saw unity in the conflicting manifestations of the One and where the rose became the perfect paradox:

\[
\text{Joy and grief have only one shape in this world:}
\text{You may call the rose open-hearted (with joy), or broken-hearted ... (U 41),}
\]

But even the feeling that his own fame was growing was only the cause for a short sigh for Dard: he knew that man, listening today to tales, will fall asleep soon, and become a tale himself (P 137).

19 The combination of 'sleep' and 'tale' goad back to 12th century Persian poetry, and was a favorite topos in Indo-Muslim poetry: children are put to sleep by telling them tales.
Thus he finished his last aphorisms and was taken out of this perishable world on January 11, 1785, at the age of sixty-six lunar years—that means, exactly at the age his father had reached. He considered the promised time of his death a spiritual grace, since 66 is the numerical value of the word ‘Allah.’ He was buried close to his father in the place near the Turkoman Gate in Delhi, called the Baghiche-yi Mir Dard, and what he says about the saints who have been blessed with living, radiant hearts, can well be said about him:

The lustre of the star of happiness of those with enlightened mind never accepts dimness, and the luminousness of the luminary of the fortune of those with living hearts becomes not dark, even after their death. Even if the destroying Time does not light a candle at the tomb of those great men, still, every morning and evening, or rather permanently, a confidence burns in the grief of those pure people. God Almighty is always their companion and friend in the tomb, and the independent heart of their friends is the candle of their grave. To die and to live is the same for those whose lower soul is annihilated, and eternal duration is the fate of those who have left themselves. During their life they had dug out their hearts from themselves, and after death are they living and steadfast in the life of eternally remaining in God. (S 80).