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The History of Sufism in Multan: New Data from the Urdu *Tadhkirah* Tradition

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Abstract

The medieval history of Sufism in Multan is relatively well known. A figure such as the famous Suhrawardī Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā from the thirteenth century embodies this prestigious period. Our article shows that the Sufi brotherhoods have continued to flourish until today, far beyond what traditional historiography describes. Using unexplored sources—mostly modern Urdu hagiographies devoted to the sacred history of Multan—we reconstruct the biography and the bibliography of many Sufi shaykhs as well as the lineages, especially Qādirī and Chishtī, from which they come; we identify several mausoleums and lodges across the city; eventually, we reveal the existence of marginal mystics who marked the religious memory of this heritage city of the Pakistani Punjab.

Keywords

Multan, Pakistan, hagiography, Suhrawardiyyah, Qādiriyyah, Chishtiyyah, marginal Sufis.

The city of Multan, in Pakistan's Punjab, is known for its architectural, historical, and religious heritage. In 2011, a UNESCO-Islamabad branch project celebrated the "cultural assets of South Punjab" in a photography book highlighting the impact of Sufism on Multan's patrimony. It reads, "These mystics gave to the region a heritage which is still held sacred by their numerous devotees and followers although much of its philosophical underpinning has been lost."[1] The perverse effect of such promotions, however generous and legitimate they may be, is to fuel the belief that the

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[1] Sajida Haider Vandal, *Cultural Expressions of South Punjab* (Islamabad: UNESCO, 2011), 24–25.

seventh biggest city of Pakistan, having lost its Sufi identity after the medieval period, became an open-air museum of Islamic mysticism in the subcontinent.

In contrast with this somewhat official and state-sponsored version of history, the local religious milieu sees a continuity of Sufi life well beyond the "golden age" of the eleventh and twelfth centuries CE. From the late 1930s onwards, Muslim memorialists wrote and published in Urdu language hagiographical compendiums centred on Multan. Often ignored by Islamologists (with a few exceptions such as Marcia Hermansen)[2] since these books are not scholarly studies and do not provide original data on great figures such as the Suhrawardī shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā (d. 661/1262), modern publications are nevertheless of great interest in that they continue the story where classical hagiographies left off and make use of little-known (or hardly accessible) writings produced in the early modern and modern periods.[3] Thus, from such texts readers can learn of the existence of either early modern or late classical less well-known Sufi masters who marked the religious life of Multan until at least the 1980s. Incidentally, Urdu *tadhkirah*s (memorial compendia) offer a contemporary vision of Sufi sanctity, which reflects present-day concerns and debates among the religious milieus of Punjab.

After a brief survey of the history of Sufism in medieval Multan, we shall present a corpus of four hagiographical collections. Cross-referencing these sources will make it possible to reconstruct the biographies of several holy men and the fate of their shrines. Lastly, we will conclude by discussing the general conception of Sufi sanctity that emerges from modern Urdu hagiographies devoted to the "city of saints" (*madīnat al-awliyā'*).

A Brief History of Sufism in Medieval Multan

The ancient Mulasthana was renamed Multan by the Arabs who conquered the city in the eighth century CE. The destruction of the central Hindu temple by the Ismā'īlī preacher Ḥalam b. Shaybān in the second half of the tenth century CE might be considered the beginning of the Islamisation of Multan, although more subtle processes and the development of Islamic religious lifestyle were already changing the confessional landscape. Rather than destructions and despite political turmoil (Ghaznavid takeover, Fatimid resilience, and Ghurid invasion), it is religious constructions, which give early

[2] Marcia K. Hermansen and Bruce B. Lawrence, "Indo-Persian Tazkirahs as Memorative Communications," in *Beyond Turk and Hindu: Rethinking Religious Identities in Islamicate South Asia*, ed. Bruce B. Lawrence and David Gilmartin (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida, 2000), 149–75.

[3] For example, in his *Auliyā-i Multān* (Multan: Ayaz Publications, 2011), Farḥat Multānī mentions *Hamārē Valī* and *Qiṣṣē Allāh Wālōṇ Kē*, among others.

evidences of Muslim in general and Sufi, in particular, activities.[4] Hagiographical retrospectives must be read with scrutiny from this respect; anachronistic seems the appellation of "Sufi" for enigmatic saints like Dīwān Chāwalī Mashāyikh (d. 131/748?) and Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Multānī (d. ca. 3rd/9th c.) while details lack for figures such as the Chishtī Sufi Aḥmad b. Zayn al-Multānī (d. 577/1181).[5] Yet, confronted with architectural data, later sources become more reliable or, at least, evoke facts that are not mentioned in medieval hagiographies. We read also in the chronicle *Tadhkirat al-Multān* written in Persian in 1278/1861 by Makhdūm Sayyid that the saint Shāh Yūsuf Gardīzī (d. 531/1136), an alleged descendant of Imām Ḥusayn who migrated from Gardez (in present-day Afghanistan)[6] to Multan in 481/1088, lived with another holy man surnamed Mauj Daryā (d. 527/1133)—not to be confused with ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Mauj Daryā (d. 735/1334) buried in Pakpattan and Mauj Daryā Bukhārī (d. 1013/1604) buried in Lahore—outside the town then settled inside the walled city. Both preached Sufism in Multan's area. A unique architectural edifice with its flat roof and rectangular plan, Gardīzī's mausoleum (figure 1) was erected in 547/1152 in the city near Bohar Gate whereas Mauj Daryā's shrine, which no longer exists, may have been located one mile away, near Pul Moj Darya.[7]

This example reminds historians of Islam willing to reconstruct the past and to advance working hypothesis that it is not useless to meticulously explore the hagiographic sources, by using additional fieldwork data if any (architecture, archaeology, epigraphy, oral traditions), and by cross-checking and linking together the information scattered throughout the hagiographies. It is this method, deliberately positivist and "old-fashioned," one might say, that we will use in this article, without concerning ourselves with discourse analysis and other speculations on the interpretation or the reception of these texts. However interesting they may be in other areas, these theoretical approaches seem to us to be premature, at least in the case of Multan and its

[4] Yohanan Friedmann and Peter A. Andrews, "Multān," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* ed. C. E. Bosworth, 2nd ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993), 7:548–50; Ashiq Muhammad Khan Durrani, *History of Multan: From the Early Period to 1849 A.D.*) (Lahore: Vanguard, 1991), 12–14.

[5] Sayyid Sibṭain Gīlānī, *Multān kī Ṣūfiyānah Shāʿirī* (Lahore: Punjab Institute of Language, 2008), 17; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir wa Bahjat al-Masāmiʿ wa ʾl-Nawāẓir* (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1420/1999), 53–54, 75; Gerhard Böwering, "Češtīya," *Encyclopedia Iranica*, online.

[6] For place names (cities, neighbourhoods, locales), we use modern Anglicised spelling.

[7] Quoted in Durrani, *History of Multan*, 24; al-Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, 82–83; Sayyid Muḥammad Aulād ʿAlī Gīlānī, *Muraqqaʿ-i Multān* (Lahore: Jadhib Publishers, 1995), 105, 205–206, 213–14; Shaukat Mahmood, "Islamic Inscriptions in Pakistani Architecture to 1707" (PhD Diss., University of Edinburgh, 1981), 326–31; Heinz Gaube, "Das Mausoleum des Yūsuf Gardīzī in Multan," *Oriens* 34 (199): 330–47.

agglomeration, as long as the most elementary knowledge, in terms of historical Sufism (the actors, the places, the practices, etc.), is lacking.

Let's again take up the course of history. The shaykh from Gardez inaugurated, in a sense, the migratory movement of Central Asian Muslims to the Indus during the mid-twelfth and thirteenth centuries CE, a movement which marked deeply the religious culture of Multan. Two Sufi orders were particularly active: the Chishtiyyah and the Suhrawardiyyah. We list below the most important shaykhs and provide the main references among primary as well as secondary sources. Our primary references include the following hagiographical compendiums: The *Siyar al-auliyā'* composed in Persian by the Chishtī Sufi Muḥammad b. Mubārak 'Alawī Kirmānī (better known as Mīr Khurd, d. 770/1368) around 1350 CE; the, again, Persian *Siyar al-'Ārifīn* by the Suhrawardī Sufi Ḥāmid b. Fażl Allāh Jamālī (d. 942/1536) for which we use the Urdu translation since it provides textual edition and footnotes; Muḥammad Ghauthī Shaṭṭārī's *Gulzār-i Abrār* compiled around 1022/1613, again in the Urdu translation; the *Akhbār al-Akhyār* completed in Persian by the Qādirī polymath 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Dihlavī (d. 1052/1642) in 999/1591; the *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā'* written in Persian by the Suhrawardī mufti of Lahore Ghulām Sarvar Lāhōrī (d. 1397/1890) in 1280–81/1864–65; and 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Ḥasanī's (d. 1341/1923) *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, a large collection in Arabic authored by a Sufi chairman of the Lucknow educational institution, the Nadwat al-'Ulamā'.

Born in Osh (present-day Kirghizstan), Quṭb al-Dīn Bakhtyār Kākī (d. 634/1235) was initiated by Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī (d. 627/1230) in Baghdad and then crossed Khurasan to reach Multan where he became close to the aforementioned Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā. Bakhtyār Kākī is known for having magically protected the city against the Mongols. After that, he settled in Delhi where he was buried. Among Bakhtyār Kākī's disciples, the most famous was Farīd al-Dīn Ganj Shakar (d. 664/1265) whose family migrated from Kabul to Punjab in the middle of the twelfth century CE. At the age of eighteen, he came to Multan to study. At the seminary of the mosque-madrasa of Minhāj al-Dīn Tirmidhī, he met Bakhtyār Kākī and became his follower before leaving for Delhi. Ganj Shakar's shrine is located in Pakpattan (ancient Ajudhan). A disciple and deputy of Farīd Ganj Shakar was a certain Shaykh 'Ārif who acted previously as imam of a high official in Uch and Multan. Later, the renowned Chishtī poet Amīr Khusraw (d. 725/1325) started his career as a court poet in Multan for five years. In Delhi, he was initiated by the famous Chishtī shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā' (d. 725/1325), as was Ḥusām al-Dīn Multānī (d. 735/1335?), also known as 'Uthmān b. Dā'ūd, an ascetic

scholar versed in Sufi classics.[8] Less detailed are the life itineraries of two scholars affiliated to the Chishtiyyah, namely Ḥujjat al-Dīn Multānī and Shihāb al-Dīn Multānī who both lived in the thirteenth century CE. The first was a close disciple of Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā' and wrote in Arabic a poem of the Chishtī masters' lineage descending from the Prophet to Niẓām al-Dīn. Interestingly, the second, who participated in Niẓām al-Dīn's multiple rituals, was also a learned expert in Arabic language and literature.[9]

The Suhrawardiyyah order was introduced in Punjab by the aforementioned Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā, about whom many things have already been said in scholarship except perhaps, that the saint inspired a modern hagiographical tradition in Urdu language,[10] which should be addressed as a topic in itself. Suffice it to recall that the deputy (*khalīfah*) of Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī established a lodge (*khānaqāh*), which attracted followers from Iraq, Khurasan, and Central Asia. His shrine—a fine piece of architecture built in the shaykh's lifetime—became a major centre of pilgrimage. He founded a large family in which several sons and descendants acted as Suhrawardī leaders. The following names count among the most notable: Ṣadr al-Dīn 'Ārif (d. 684/1285) was the shaykh of the order in Multan and showed a certain independence towards the ruler and court officials. Inversely, his son Abū 'l-Fatḥ Rukn al-Dīn (d. 735/1335) submitted to the

[8] Sayyid Muḥammad b. Mubārak 'Alavī Kirmānī, *Siyar al-Auliyā' dar Aḥvāl-o malfūẓāt-i Mashāyikh-i Chisht*, ed. Muḥammad Irshād Quraishī (Lahore: Markaz-i Taḥqīqat-i Fārsī-i Īrān-o Pākistān, 1978), 58–101, 266–76, 280; Ḥāmid b. Fażl Allāh Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, trans. Muḥammad Ayyūb Qādrī (Lahore: Urdu Science Board, 1989), 21–78; Muḥammad Ghauthī Shaṭṭārī, *Gulzār-i Abrār*, trans. Fażl Aḥmad Jīwarī (Lahore: Maktabah-i Sulṭān 'Ālamgīr, n.d.), 54; 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlavī, *Akhbār al-Akhyār fī Asrār al-Abrār*, ed. 'Alīm Ashraf Khān (Tehran: Anjuman-i Āthār-o Mafākhir-i Farhangī, 2005), 47–50, 97–103, 173–76; Ghulām Sarvar Lāhōrī, *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā'* (Lucknow: Nawal Kishore, n.d.), 343; al-Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, 94, 173; Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1997), 1:134–35, 138–39, 153–54, 168–69, 179–80; Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farid-u'd-Din Ganj-i-Shakar* (Aligarh: Muslim University, 1955); Richard M. Eaton, "The Political and Religious Authority of the Shrine of Bābā Farīd," in *Moral Conduct and Authority: The Place of Adab in South Asian Islam*, ed. Barbara D. Metcalf (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 333–56.

[9] Kirmānī, *Siyar al-Auliyā'*, 229, 327, 539; al-Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, 156, 166; Ayako Ninomiya, "To Whom do You Belong? *Pīr-Murīd* Relationship and *Silsila* in Medieval India," *Kyoto Bulletin of Islamic Area Studies* 2, no. 1 (2008): 50; Aziz Ahmad, *An Intellectual History of Islam in India* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1969), 68.

[10] Shamīm Maḥmūd Zaidī, *Aḥvāl-o Āthār-i Shaikh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā Multānī-o Khulāṣat al-'Ārifīn* (Rawalpindi: Markaz-i Taḥqīqāt-i Fārsī-i Īrān-o Pākistān, 1974); Nūr Aḥmad Khān Farīdī, *Tadhkirah-i Ḥażrat Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā Multānī* (Lahore: Maḥkamah-i Awqāf-i Panjāb 1400/1980); Ḥamīd Allāh Shāh Hāshimī, *Aḥvāl-o Āthār-i Shaikh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā Multānī* (Lahore: Taṣawwuf Foundation, 2000).

Tughlaq sultans to the point of losing the control over his *khānaqāh* to which access was given by the governor of Multan. The saint's body had been buried next to Bahā' al-Dīn, then the coffin was transferred to the present mausoleum, which figured among the major sites of the city. Succession conflicts and the execution of Rukn al-Dīn's nephew Shaykh Hūd led to the decline of the Suhrawardiyyah as a powerful institution in the Punjab.[11] However, Multan continued to give birth to active Suhrawardī Sufis. For example, Rukn al-Dīn's grandson Yūsuf succeeded his father Ismā'īl as shaykh and was considered a great mystic who protected the city. A late descendant of Bahā' al-Dīn, Kabīr al-Dīn Quraishī (d. 994/1586) became the head (*makhdūm*) of his ancestor's shrine. Ṣadr al-Dīn's disciple Ḥusām al-Dīn obtained the *nisbah* Multānī even though he migrated to Badaun to form a circle of disciples. In fact, several Suhrawardīs were trained in Multan then left their hometown to other cities, such as Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (d. 740/1339) who settled in Delhi and Samā' al-Dīn Multānī (d. 901/1495) who established the Suhrawardiyyah in the Mughal capital whereas Ḥusain Multānī (d. 945/1539) visited the imperial camp of Humāyūṇ in Deccan to pay him respect but came back home later on.[12]

This short "who's who" of medieval Sufism in Multan seems to suggest that after the golden age of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries CE, which saw the rise of two brotherhoods advanced by brilliant shaykhs, only secondary figures (to whom medieval and early modern hagiographers paid little attention) emerged among Sufis and that the city definitively lost its attractiveness, returning to the shadows, far from the great religious centres that were Lahore and Delhi. Still influenced by the "declinist" historiography of Islam, this scenario is too simple to be believed. Waiting for more investigation based on manuscript resources, especially those existing in private Sufi collections, it is thanks to modern books on "friends of God" (*auliyā'*) that we discover other facets of the history of Islamic mysticism in Multan.

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[11] Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, 143–209; Kirmānī, *Siyar al-auliyā'*, 498; Dihlavī, *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, 50–53; Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, "The Suhrawardi Silsilah and Its Influence on Medieval Indian Politics," *Medieval Indian Quarterly* 3 (1957): 109–49; Ahmad Nabi Khan, *Multan: History and Architecture* (Islamabad: International Islamic University, 1983), 189–98, 215–36; Rizvi, *History of Sufism in India*, 1:190–94, 213–15; Qamar-ul Huda, *Striving for Divine Union: Spiritual Exercises for Suhrawardī Sūfīs* (London: Routledge, 2003), 109–72; Anna Suvorova, *Muslim Saints of South Asia: The Eleventh to Fifteenth Centuries* (London: Routledge, 2004), 132–54.

[12] Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, 194, 251–69; Dihlavī, *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, 425–27; al-Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, 142–43, 168, 246, 287, 329, 346, 400; Rizvi, *History of Sufism in India*, 1:210, 285–87; Humaira Faiz Dasti, *Multan: A Province of the Mughal Empire (1525–1751)* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1998), 267–77.

Modern Urdu Hagiographies of Multan's Sufis

The first collection of saintly biographies focusing on Multan was published in 1938 and reprinted in 1963. Written in Urdu by Muḥammad Aulād ʻAlī Gīlānī, the *Auliyā'-i Multān* consists of 271 pages and contains a section of thirty-eight biographies following a historical survey of Multan.[13] Bashīr Ḥusain Nāẓim's *Auliyā'-i Multān* published in 1971 covers the same list of thirty-eight biographies.[14] The *Auliyā'-i Multān* by Farḥat Multānī, which came out in 1980, represents a turning point since the book of 288 pages greatly extends the list of saints, reviewing no less than 164 of them.[15] We also have a later publication (date unknown, ca. 2000), namely Imtiyāz Ḥusain Shāh's *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā'-i Multān*, which to an extent duplicates the preceding as we find the same list of biographies.[16] A final *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā'-i Multān* has been published in 2017 or 2018 by a certain Muḥammad Ḥusain Qādirī who limits himself to summarising the preceding publications.[17]

Regrettably, there is not much information about the authors of these works. On the basis of the short forewords (*dībāchah*) and the general tone of these *tadhkirah*s, in addition to the authors' other publications if any, we can assume that they are Punjabi historians specialised in Islam and literature. Such is the case of Muḥammad Aulād ʻAlī Gīlānī who was a student at the prestigious Emerson College founded in 1920. According to an interview that we conducted in March 2018 with a member of Muḥammad Aulād ʻAlī's family, he served as chief officer at the Secretary District Board of Multan. We will return on this Gīlānī family (a *sayyid* lineage established by Muḥammad Ghauth Gīlānī, a descendant of the famous ʻAbd al-Qādir Gīlānī, d. 561/1166, who settled in Multan in 863/1459)[18] in the section devoted to the Qādiriyyah. Encouraged by readers willing to learn about pious and holy men, he decided

[13] Muḥammad Aulād ʻAlī Gīlānī, *Auliyā-i Multān* (Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publications, 1963).

[14] Bashīr Ḥusain Nāẓim, *Auliyā-i Multān* (Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publications, 2005).

[15] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*.

[16] Imtiyāz Ḥusain Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān* (Multan: Kutubkhānah-i Ḥājī Niyāz Aḥmad, n.d.). A fifth book is Nadhar Muḥammad Sairānī's *Auliyā-i Multān* (Multan: Kutubkhānah-i Ḥājī Niyāz Aḥmad, 1982), but we have not been able to get access to this reference. In March 2018, we met the author (owner of the book center Kutubkhānah-i Ḥājī Niyāz Aḥmad in Multan) who ensured us that his book was only a digest of about 39 pages length.

[17] Muḥammad Ḥusain Qādirī, *Tadhkirah-i Awliyā-i Multān* (Lahore: Akbar Booksellers, n.d.).

[18] Syed Zain-ul-Abdin Shah Gilani and M. Sibtain Raza Gilani, *Brief History of Gilani Sayyads* (Multan: Darbar Pir-e-Piran, n.d.), 38. On the Gīlānī family, see Muhammad Shafique and Ghulam Shams-ur-Rehman, "Descendant Sufism: Dynamics of Gilani's Role in Multan (1849–2013)," *Al-Ehsan* 7 (2017): 3–28.

to compose the hagiography right after having completed a history book on the city of Multan.

More generally and whatever the background of each compiler, the authors of modern hagiographies in Urdu very much continue the tradition of their medieval and premodern predecessors, whose works we have mentioned above, in the sense that they themselves use these earlier texts to complement more recent sources,[19] and insofar as they follow the same structure in their biographical notices, which usually present the saint's family origins, his main activities, his miracles, and the circumstances of his death (with only a few biographies of female saints). We, therefore, contend that these modern publications can be read as primary sources, paying the same philological and historiographical attention to that which we reserve for manuscripts and lithographs. In addition to technical innovations such as footnotes (in some cases), English words, and the reproduction of images of mausoleums, modern hagiographers differ from their predecessors on one essential point, that is, they insist more on the written production of Sufi shaykhs, quoting whole lists of their books. There is, therefore, no break with the classical hagiographic tradition except this inflexion towards the culture of the book.

It is significant that all these memoirs start with Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā, thus suggesting that the Suhrawardī shaykh is perceived as the initiator of Sufism in Multan and the guardian figure of the city. There is no quest for an "archaeology" of Islamic sanctity or asceticism. If short collections tend to follow a chronological order, long compendiums do not make an explicit classification. This apparent disorder is hardly surprising for a literary genre, which is technically cumulative and often favours, at least within Sufi circles, a loose classification of biographies and leaves it to the readers to pick up on such and such biography to illustrate specific teachings.[20] Moreover, there is no change in discourse between 1938 and 2018, as if the Partition of 1947 and the creation of Pakistan did not interest our authors much. Here again, this fact is not surprising since we know that the hagiographic genre remains generally indifferent to the historical context, focused on the spiritual life of the saints and nothing else. A main interest of these sources is to cover a very

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[19] An oft-quoted manuscript is Sa'd Rażavī Mūsavī Qādirī's *Baḥr al-Sarā'ir*, an eighteenth-century hagiography of the Qādirī shaykhs of Multan, written in Persian, now preserved in Bagh Langey Khan Library in Multan. Thanks to Sibṭain Gilanī for sharing a copy with us. Also quoted is the slightly better-known compendium composed in Urdu by Imām al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Gulshanābādī titled *Tadhkirat al-Ansāb* (Delhi: Afżal al-Maṭābi', 1322/1904).

[20] See Alexandre Papas, "Individual Sanctity and Islamization in the *Ṭabaqāt* Books of Jāmī, Navā'ī, Lāmi'ī, and Some Others," in *Jāmī in Regional Contexts: The Reception of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī's Works in the Islamicate World, ca. 9th/15th-14th/20th Century*, ed. Thibaut d'Hubert and Alexandre Papas (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 378–423.

long period ranging from the second/eighth century down to the 1980s, hence supplementing classical hagiographies.

Unconventional Suhrawardīs in Medieval Multan

We will be focusing on modern Sufi saints but, prior to this, it is worth mentioning that certain medieval figures, which were neglected by medieval and early modern hagiographers, have found a second life in modern writings. We call these figures unconventional (to not be confused with the term *bē shar'*, which translates as "without law" and corresponds to specific heterodox practices[21]) in the sense that they represent original, in fact quite unique, personalities in the Multani Suhrawardiyyah. A fascinating case is Khavājah Ḥasan Afghān (d. 689/1290), a disciple of Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā. According to the compiler Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī (d. 736/1336), Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā' reported three anecdotes about the disciple. Yet, only a part of them was retained by later biographers. The first story tells how Khavājah Ḥasan entered a mosque to follow the prayer led by an imam; the Sufi read the imam's thought while he was praying and revealed that the imam was actually thinking of his own business instead of God! In a second provocative narrative, Khavājah Ḥasan corrected a scholar who was mistaken about the orientation of the prayer niche during the construction of a mosque. The third story presents the illiterate Sufi as a visionary, rather than a reader, of the Qur'ānic verses; people placed before him various writings in which Khavājah Ḥasan recognised sacred verses, which appeared to him illuminated by divine light.[22] Such is the impressionistic portrait of Khavājah Ḥasan, a provocative and uneducated Sufi who had mystical knowledge.

It is perhaps because of his unconventional nature that he occupied only a marginal place in the hagiographical compendiums. Modern hagiographers reproduce the three anecdotes in detail and add several additional pieces of information, partly based on Ni'mat Allāh Haravī's *Tārīkh-i Khān Jahānī-o makhzan-i Afghānī* completed in 1021/1613.[23] Concerning the "magical reading" of papers deposed by people before the saint, we learn that there were in fact three lines written down and that he identified the first as Qur'ānic as

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[21] On unruly Sufis, see Papas "Dervish," *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE* ed. Kate Fleet et al., http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_25986.

[22] Nizam ad-Din Awliya, *Morals of the Hearts: Conversations of Shaykh Nizam ad-din Awliya Recorded by Amir Hasan Sijzi*, trans. Bruce B. Lawrence (New York: Paulist Press, 1992), 90–91; Kirmānī, *Siyar al-Auliyā'*, 392; Jamālī, *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, 155–56; Dihlavī, *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, 146; Rizvi, *History of Sufism in India*, 1:203–04.

[23] Ni'mat Allāh al-Haravī, *Tārīkh-i Khān Jahānī-o Makhzan-i Afghānī* (Dacca: Asiatic Society of Pakistan, 1960–62), 2: 634.

the light looked brighter than heaven, the second as a *ḥadīth* since the light reached the seventh heaven, and the third from a *tadhkirah* because the light touched the sky. More concretely, Khavājah Ḥasan Afghān was stated to have been born in 602/1205 within an elite family of *sayyid*s from Khojand, in present-day Tajikistan. His abridged genealogy is as follows: Ḥasan b. Abū Muḥammad b. Sayyid Ja'far b. Mūsā b. Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā Kāẓim b. Ja'far Ṣādiq b. Muḥammad Bāqir b. Zayn al-'Ābidīn b. Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. He would have migrated from the Sulaiman range (in Central Pakistan) to Multan but his name Afghān comes from the fact that he was sent by his master to preach the good word among Afghans. He may have died in 689/1290 and was buried behind the shrine of Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā. Lastly, he is said to be a *khalīfah* of Bahā' al-Dīn and a representative of the Suhrawardiyyah, that is, not simply an esteemed disciple (*murīd*).[24] Whatever the historical accuracy of these data, especially the dates, it is interesting to note that, under the pen of Pakistani memorialists, Khavājah Ḥasan Afghān became a major figure who, despite his strange behaviour, has a noble ancestry in addition to being granted divine knowledge.

A second case is the wife of Ṣadr al-Dīn 'Ārif, Bībī Rāstī (d. 695/1295), better known today as Bībī Pāk-Dāman (i.e., "the chaste") or Bībī Pāk Mā'ī (i.e., "the pure mother"), one of the very few saintly women in Multani.[25] Overlooked in classical hagiographies, except perhaps a passing mention in Lāhōrī's *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā'*,[26] this saintly woman is the subject of a notice in modern Urdu collections.[27] We read that she was the daughter of a certain sultan Jamāl al-Dīn Farghānī who came from the Fergana valley (in Central Asia) to Multan to meet Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā. Bībī Rāstī got married with the saint's son Ṣadr al-Dīn 'Ārif and gave birth to a son in 649/1251, Abū 'l-Fatḥ Rukn al-Dīn. The hagiography claims that, during pregnancy, her father-in-law Bahā' al-Dīn prophesied that her baby would become a great saint. While she lived as a housewife taking care of the home and the family, and respecting the rules of hospitality, Bībī Rāstī enjoyed a pious life made of devotions and the Qur'ān readings. She is supposed to have imparted religious education to women of the neighbourhood. According to her own will, she

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[24] Gīlānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 230–32; Nāẓim, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 83–85; Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 199–200; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 186–87.

[25] Navīd Shahzād, *Żila' Multān: Tārikh, Thaqāfat, Adab* (Lahore, Pakistan Punjabi Adabi Board, 2001), 137.

[26] Bībī Rāstī is actually mentioned in the Urdu translation but apparently not in the original Persian: Ghulām Sarvar Lāhōrī, *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā'*, trans. Ẓahīr al-Dīn B̲h̲attī (Lahore: Maktabah-i Nabaviyyah, 1994), 4:81.

[27] Gīlānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 233–34; Nāẓim, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 86–87; Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 201; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 188–89.

was buried within the walls of the garden courtyard that her father offered at her marriage. With the passage of time, the gardens disappeared but the shrine still exists under the name Pak Mai Qabristan (figure 2). Located near Chowk Shah Abbas, the edifice is covered with blue tiles and is visited mostly by women who bring fried fish and breads as vows. There is also a well, which is supposed to have been built by Bībī Rāstī's father and which is believed to cure people who bathe in it. The historian Zāhid ʻAlī Vāsṭī suggested that the mausoleum has been renovated twice, the first time in 1443 under the reign of Yūsuf Quraishī then in 1648 under the governorship of Murād Bakhsh.[28]

A few other, more obscure, names of Suhrawardī Sufis surface in modern Urdu hagiographies although information is scarce. One of them is Pīr Darbar (d. 644/1246), about whom we only know that he came to Multan during the reign of Jalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh (r. 689–695/1290–1296) and got initiated by Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā. He has been called *Dar bar*, meaning "above" or "in the chest" in Persian because his shrine is located between the graves of Bahā' al-Dīn and Rukn al-Dīn. His original name is unknown.[29] A second one is Pīr ʻUmar Suhrawardī, who was also a disciple of Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā but came from Sindh to Multan at a young age and was credited of having acquired instantly the Sufi gnosis (*maʻrifah*), thanks to a single glance of the shaykh. Besides this unusual phenomenon among Multan saints, modern hagiographers report the following anecdote: During the last days of Pīr ʻUmar, the wife of a *navāb* (governor) came to the Sufi to help her to recover her husband's love. Pīr ʻUmar gave her a small piece of ceramic with magical writing on it and advised her to keep the amulet with her constantly. After a few days, the *navāb* loved her again. To thank the Sufi, the wife gave him a small sack of coins but Pīr ʻUmar started to eat them! The wife stopped him, so he refused the money and asked for a small piece of land for his grave. She gave him a large land area in the south of the house of Ṣadr al-Dīn ʻĀrif. He is buried there until now.[30] The story not only shows the supernatural powers of Pīr ʻUmar Suhrawardī but also his mocking indifference to fame, money, and power.

This interest in unconventional saints reflects, we think, the wish of modern hagiographers to present the diversity of Sufi sanctity in Multan.

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[28] Zāhid ʻAlī Vāsṭī, *Dēkh Liyā Multān* (Multan: Beacon Books, 2002), 233–34. Unfortunately poorly documented, there is another interesting female saint named Pak Bibiya (d. 711/1340 perhaps, according to the shrine stele) who is supposed to have been a disciple of Rukn al-Dīn. Her tomb is located in Husain Agahi Bazar; usually, a *faqīr* stands at the entrance.

[29] Gīlānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 240; Nāẓim, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 93–94; Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 203; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 189–90.

[30] Gīlānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 235–36; Nāẓim, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 88; Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 205; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 191–92.

A New Actor in Multan: The Qādiriyyah Sufi Order

According to most historians of Sufism in the subcontinent, the Qādiriyyah spread in the Punjab in the second half of the ninth/fifteenth century when a descendant of ʿAbd al-Qādir Gīlānī born in Aleppo, Muḥammad Ghawth (d. 923/1517) settled in Ucch and established a long-lasting lineage. The grandson of his son ʿAbd al-Qādir II (d. 940/1533), Ḥamīd Ganjbakhsh (d. 978/1571) introduced the Qādirī path in Multan.[31] Before detailing the fate of this lineage in the "city of saints," it should be noted that modern Urdu hagiographies mention a second lineage of the Qādiriyyah, which would have been introduced much earlier. Although no medieval primary sources are quoted—a lack of evidence which certainly weakens the hypothesis—, the existence of a second lineage remains an interesting track to follow.

Let us summarise the section devoted to the founder of this Qādirī line (figure 3): ʿAbd al-Rashīd Ḥaqqānī.[32] He was the cousin (uncle's son) of Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā but his master was a certain Mīrān ʿAlī Sayyid, with whom he lived three years.[33] On the order of his *murshid*, he moved to the eastern part of the Multan area, a neighbour which had been known as Makhdūm Rashīd from this time.[34] ʿAbd al-Rashīd Ḥaqqānī had no less than four wives; he married the sister of Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā, Kamāl Khātūn, the daughter of the sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq (r. 720–725/1320–1325) Muʿaẓẓam Khātūn, the daughter of a certain Rāy Lūnā named Raj Kanwāl, and an unnamed girl from the Maral cast. He had four sons, named Abū Bakr, Muḥammad, Ḥasan and Ayyūb Shāh Ṣadr Qatāl, although this last person is not identified clearly between one biographer and another. It seems that Ḥasan and Ayyūb ran Sufi lodges, both located in Lodhran district. With regard to his mystical life, ʿAbd al-Rashīd Ḥaqqānī was sensitive to spiritual audition (*samāʿ*) as a story shows. Farīd Ganj Shakar reports that, one day,

[31] Gilani and Gilani, *Brief History of Gilani Sayyads*, 38–47; Dihlavī, *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, 410–11; Rizvi, *History of Sufism in India*, 2:57–60; Arthur Buehler, "The Indo-Pakistani Qâdiriyya: An Overview," *Journal of the History of Sufism* 1–2 (2000): 347–48.

[32] Gīlānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 238; Nāẓim, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 91–92; Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 172–75; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 160–62.

[33] According to Rūbīnah Tarīn, *Multān kī Adabī-o Tahdhībī Zindagī main Ṣūfiyā-i Akirām kā Ḥiṣṣah* (Multan: Beacon Books, reprint 2011), 173, ʿAbd al-Rashīd was the descendant of a companion of the Prophet Muḥammad as well as a relative of Khadījah, the first wife of the Prophet. His family would have arrived from Arabia to Multan under Maḥmūd Ghaznavī (r. 388–421/998–1030). If we believe Farīdī (*Tadhkirah-i Ḥażrat Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā Multānī*, 41), ʿAbd al-Rashīd was born three years after Bahā' al-Dīn (566/1170), i.e., in 569/1173.

[34] Tarīn, *Multān kī Adabī-o Thadhībī Zindagī*, 174, explains that, at the beginning, ʿAbd al-Rashīd lived in a cell (*ḥujrah*); given the growing number of disciples, he arranged a residence with a well and acquired properties for his relatives and followers. Today, the settlement is located towards the east on Vehari road and the well is opened ritually every year for the *ʿurs*.

'Abd al-Rashīd and himself were sitting together in Pakpattan. The *qawwalī* singer 'Abd Allāh recited the Persian poem "The one who is very near the deity / having lost his soul, he is lighter than a hair." Hearing this, 'Abd al-Rashīd fell in ecstasy and began to dance and even flew in the air! Farīd Ganj Shakar had to catch him three times until he dragged him to a cell and asked him to remain quiet. 'Abd al-Rashīd did so. A second story tells that, once, Farīd Ganj Shakar and 'Abd al-Rashīd talked together about spiritual struggle (*mujāhadah*). The latter said that he was almost constantly fasting and praying so much so that, if calculated, he had drunk only a single glass of water and eaten no more than two kilograms of barley within three years![35]

In addition to these mystical feats boasting asceticism, the Sufi is credited with several miracles. One is related to the gift of ubiquity and recounts how 'Abd al-Rashīd Ḥaqqānī was simultaneously in Multan ploughing a field with forty companions and in Delhi rescuing a girl from the sultan's house, which was on fire. A second miracle referring to the Delhi sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq reaffirms both the saint's strength and the legitimacy of his matrimonial strategies. The queen was against the marriage between her young daughter and 'Abd al-Rashīd because of the age difference. Furious, she threw the embers of a stove on the Sufi, but the embers turned into precious stones when they touched him, and people rushed to pick up the jewels. Two months later, the wedding took place. The end of the hagiographical notice describes in a touching way the death of the holy man. He was praying in his cell while someone brought him flowers on behalf of his son Ayyūb Shāh Ṣadr Qatāl. After his prayer, 'Abd al-Rashīd smelled the flowers, put his head on the prayer carpet and died in 669/1270. Nowadays, the saint's birth anniversary (*'urs*) is celebrated each year in the month of June. On this occasion, many devotees come to offer all kinds of commodities. Pakistan's government established a fund to restore the mausoleum, around which 'Abd al-Rashīd Ḥaqqānī's alleged descendants live. Considered a great Sufi too, Ayyūb Shāh Ṣadr Qatāl is buried three miles east of Dunyapur (Lodhran district) and his tomb remains a popular place of pilgrimage.

Again, the role of this figure in introducing the Qādiriyyah order in Multan remains obscure, if not dubious. Instead of an unlikely factual truth, its very evocation in modern Urdu hagiographers as well as the cult surrounding him betrays an attempt to reinforce the legitimacy of the Qādiriyyah tradition by giving historical depth (the seventh/thirteen century, well before the ninth/fifteenth) to the Qādirī presence.

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[35] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 173–74; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 160–61; Tarīn, *Multān kī Adabī-o Thahdhībī Zindagī*, 175–76.

For sure, the second lineage is more clearly documented through the life of one shaykh in particular, Mūsā Pāk Shahīd, who is actually mentioned in scholarship, but only in terms of two facts. First, when Ḥāmid Ganjbakhsh died, succession to him became a subject of conflict between his sons, ʻAbd al-Qādir and Mūsā Pāk Shahīd. Despite the emperor Akbar's decision at court in favour of the latter and, consequently, the marginalisation of the former, the dispute continued. Eventually, Langāh (a tribe of farmer) rebels killed Mūsā Pāk in 1010/1601, hence his title of martyr (*shahīd*). Second, among the many disciples that Mūsā Pāk initiated into the Qādirī path, the most famous was the scholar ʻAbd al-Ḥaqq Dihlavī (already mentioned). Aside from these facts, Urdu hagiographies provide many other details that we now present.[36] The Sufi was born in 952/1545 and his full name was Ḥāmid Muḥammad Jamāl al-Dīn Mūsā Pāk, with Abū 'l-Ḥasan as *kunyah* and *Sulṭān al-Muḥaqqiqīn*, *Quṭb al-ʻĀlam*, and *Jamāl al-Islām* and others as *laqab*. He was educated by his father Ḥāmid Ganjbakhsh who made his son an accomplished scholar in Islam. The young Mūsā Pāk learned the Qur'ān to became *ḥāfiẓ* (memoriser) of the sacred book. He studied Arabic grammar, prosody, and logic. Besides exoteric sciences, he studied esoteric knowledge under his father's supervision. Once his son had completed his education, Ḥāmid Ganjbakhsh decided in 978/1571 to appoint Mūsā Pāk the *sajjādah-nashīn* (successor at the head of the order) instead of his elder son ʻAbd al-Qādir, and gave the former a cloak, a prayer mat, and a ring. At the court in charge of deciding between the two brothers, Mūsā Pāk showed these relics as evidence whereas ʻAbd al-Qādir presented mainly manuscript books given by his father. Eventually, the dispute was decided and Mūsā Pāk officially succeeded his father in 985/1577. Now the head of the Qādiriyyah in Multan, he attracted many eminent disciples to whom he used to explain that the Sufi has to acquire knowledge but, more importantly, he must comply with what he knows.[37]

Hagiographers are prolix about Mūsā Pāk Shahīd's posthumous career and descendants. The Sufi was buried next to his father in Ucch but fifteen years after, his dead body remained intact and was moved by his sons nearer to Multan and then to the city center. His shrine is typical of early modern Multani architecture with its two types of ornamentation, i.e., *kāshī-kārī* (tile

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[36] Gīlānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 244–46; Nāẓim, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 97–99; Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 70–75;Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 63–68.

[37] Curiously not mentioned in our hagiographical corpus, Mūsā Pāk Shahīd wrote in Persian the *Taisīr al-Shāghilīn* (MS Kitābkhānah-i Gīlāniyyah, Uch Sharif) composed of three sections (praises and prayers; non-obligatory prayers; the Qur'ān reading, *dhikr* and *murāqabah*), each containing six lessons. The book is used as a syllabus in the Qādiriyyah of Punjab according to Tarīn, *Multān kī Adabī-o Thahdhībī Zindagī*, 267. It has been published in lithograph in 1309/1891 by Maṭbaʻ-i Ṣiddīqī Fīrūzpūr. There are two Urdu translations.

making) and *gul-kārī* (flower rendering), combined with calligraphic inscriptions of sacred formulas and Qur'ānic verses. Mūsā Pāk Shahīd had four sons: Ḥamīd Ganjbakhsh II, Yaḥyā, 'Isā', and Jān Muḥammad.[38]

The eldest son Ḥāmid Ganjbakhsh II obtained the deputyship (*khilāfat*), became the *sajjādah-nashīn*, and founded a lineage that continued until the 1980s. Most of the lineage members were buried near or within the shrine area of Mūsā Pāk Shahīd. Ḥāmid Ganjbakhsh II's son, named Abū Ghiyāth Sayyid Fātiḥ 'Alī and surnamed Mūsā Pāk Shahīd Dīn (d. 1073/1662), was appointed governor of Multan by the emperor Shāh Jahān in 1068/1657 who also granted him large properties. He was appreciated by Dārā Shikōh (d. 1069/1659) as well. Among the numerous miracles recorded about him, it is related that he predicted the defeat of his protector Dārā Shikōh in the city of Agra. Of Mūsā Pāk Shahīd Dīn's three sons, 'Abd al-Qādir III (d. 1083/1672) appeared as the legitimate successor since both his mother and his father and even his grandfather trained him since childhood. His mother was actually considered a saintly woman (b. 1026/1617) for she had the reputation to meet Fāṭimah (the Prophet's daughter) in dreams every Friday's night. Hagiographers add that she used to recite the Qur'ān when she was pregnant with 'Abd al-Qādir III and the fetus would shake. If she stopped reciting, the child would do the same. Eminent authorities such as 'Abd al-Qādir Gīlānī himself, announced either in dreams or in reality the holy destiny of the infant to the father and the grandfather.[39] Since all his children died young, one of his grandsons, Muḥammad Ghawth II, became the successor. Born in 1078/1667 and died in 1138/1725, the gnostic (*'ārif*) counted Mughal rulers like Muḥammad Shāh Rangīlā (r. 1719–1748) among his followers.[40] His second son, Dīn Muḥammad Shāh (d. 1779) known as Ḥāmid Ganjbakhsh III, succeeded him as *sajjādah-nashīn* at the age of 29. Born in 1696, he initiated many disciples, including Hindus allegedly, and obtained the financial support of Navāb Shujā' Khān (d. 1189/1775) of Multan. As his eldest son Kamāl al-Dīn died very early, the second son Jamāl al-Dīn became *sajjādah-nashīn*.[41] Born in 1758 and dead in 1813, he also received the support of the local *navāb*s.[42] One of his three sons, Ṣadr al-Dīn Shāh (1783–1853), took the lead of Multan's Qādiriyyah. Again, rulers' patronage played a key role in the shaykh's career but this was at a larger scale since Shāh Shujā' Durrānī (r. 1803–1809, 1839–1842) of Kabul funded Ṣadr al-Dīn's soup-kitchen

[38] Gīlānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 252–54; Nāẓim, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 105–06.
[39] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 146–49; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 135–37.
[40] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 149–50; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 138–39.
[41] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 151; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 140.
[42] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 152; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 141.

(*langar*) and the Sikh maharaja of Punjab Ranjit Singh (r. 1801–1839) offered him lands and subsidies.[43] Close relationships with the powers that be continued. While his son and successor Pīr Nūr Shāh (1808–1868) known as Ḥāmid Ganjbakhsh IV, participated in several wars against the British, Pīr Nūr Shāh's son and successor Wilāyat Shāh (1838–1878) was appointed magistrate by the British administration.[44]

Following the lineage from the 1880s to the 1980s, we see that the hagiographers emphasise the education and scholarly culture of descendants. Wilāyat Shāh's eldest son Muḥammad Ṣadr al-Dīn Shāh (1868–1945) received only basic education in Islamic studies in a private school (*khāngī darsgāh*)—a new institution in the Subcontinent—[45] but his own son Mujtabā Shāh Gīlānī (1891–1913) studied the Qur'ān intensively, completed the ninth class when he was nine years old, and studied Islamic classics while learning Arabic and Persian. A sort of intellectual ascetic who is described as wearing only a lungi (*tahband*) and a shawl (*chādar*), he used to interpret 'Abd al-Qādir Gīlānī's *Futūḥ al-Ghayb* to divulge secrets to people and help them in various matters, especially studies and exams.[46] Another son of Muḥammad Ṣadr al-Dīn Shāh, Ghulām Muṣṭafā Shāh Gīlānī (1888–1949) also studied the Qur'ān in depth and was admitted to a college in Lahore. Once graduated, he was given a high position by the British government and became an expert in religious studies as well as Arabic and Persian. After performing the *ḥajj* (pilgrimage), he acted as *sajjādah-nashīn* and restored the shrine of Mūsā Pāk Shahīd.[47] Both the shaykh and the grandfather trained the son Muḥammad Shaukat Ḥusain Gīlānī (1914–1982) who succeeded his father as leader in 1949. Besides his public activities in diverse politico-religious movements in Pakistan, especially the *Khatm-i Nubuvvat* (finality of the prophethood) and *Niẓām-i Muṣṭafā* (System of the Prophet), the Qādirī shaykh was nominated president of the Anjuman-i Islāmiyya of Multan, a teaching institution, and thereby founded many colleges such as the Wilayat Husayn Islamiyya Degree College, the Alamdar Husayn Islamiyya College, and the Gilani Islamiyya Law College, along with several educational institutes for girls.[48]

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[43] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 153–54; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 142–43.
[44] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 155–56; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 144–45.
[45] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 159–61; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 148–50.
[46] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 162–67; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 150–55.
[47] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 235–36; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 224–25.
[48] Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 228–30. On the *Khatm-i nubuvva* movement, see Tahir Kamran, "The Pre-History of Religious Exclusionism in Contemporary Pakistan: *Khatam-e-Nubuwwat* 1889–1953," *Modern Asian Studies* 49, no. 6 (2015): 1840–74; on the *Niẓām-i Muṣṭafā* movement, see Seyyed Vali Reza Nasr, *The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution. The Jama'at-i Islami of Pakistan* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994), ch. 8.

These various citations may help to reconstitute a history of the Qādiriyyah of Multan, which remains to be written. From this respect, it is worth to note that the Gīlānī family linked to the actual Sufi lodge of Mūsā Pāk Shahīd has produced several writings related to their prestigious past, including a recent hagiography of Mūsā Pāk Shahīd.[49]

Late Chishtī Shaykhs

The Chishtiyyah order certainly did not cease to exist in Multan after its "golden age," but the fact is that very few scholars paid attention to the later history of the Chishtiyyah in Punjab, which experienced a renewal (to use Sajida Sultana Alvi's word) from the eighteenth century onwards thanks to the activities of several Chishtī leaders. The only Multani shaykh who has been studied in detail is Ḥāfiẓ Jamāl Muḥammad Multānī (d. 1226/1811) on the basis of Najm al-Dīn Sulaymānī's (d. 1287/1870) *Manāqib al-Maḥbūbain*, which is actually the biography of two Chishtī masters: Nūr Muḥammad Mahāravī (d. 1205/1790) and his deputy Shāh Muḥammad Sulaymān Taunsavī (d. 1267/1850).[50] In brief, we know that, in line with the initiatory tradition of Sufi pilgrimage,[51] Ḥāfiẓ Jamāl Multānī received mystical inspiration from the tomb of the Suhrawardī saint Rukn al-Dīn. In Delhi, he studied texts on Sufism with Mahāravī's master, Fakhr al-Dīn Dihlavī (d. 1199/1784), and then became a knowledgeable deputy (*khalīfah*) of Mahāravī. In the lodge founded by Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā five centuries earlier, Ḥāfiẓ Jamāl Multānī initiated into the Chishtiyyah a Suhrawardī Sufi named Khudā Bakhsh Multānī (d. 1249/1834) who then became one of his *khalīfah*s. He is mentioned only briefly in modern Urdu hagiographies.[52] Ḥāfiẓ Jamāl was also venerated for having protected the city of Multan against Sikh invaders.

[49] Muḥammad Sibṭain Riḍā Gīlānī, Sayyid Iftikhār ʿAlī Gīlānī and Saʿīd al-Raḥmān, *Tadhkirah-i Sayyid Mūsā Pāk Shahīd Gīlānī* (Multan: Bahauddin Zakariya University, 1432/2011).

[50] Najm al-Dīn Sulaimānī, *Manāqib al-Maḥbūbain*, trans. Iftikhār Aḥmad Chishtī (Faisalabad: Chishtiyyah Academy, n.d.), 246–60; Rizvi, *History of Sufism in India*, 2:311–12; Muḥammad Akhtar Chīmah, "Najm al-Dīn Chishtī aur un ki Kitāb *Manāqib al-Maḥbūbain*," *Fikr-o Nazar* 26:1 (1988): 73–90; Sajida Sultana Alvi, "Renewal of the Čistī Order in Eighteenth Century Punjab: Converging Paths of Two Sufi Masters; Mawlānā Fakhr al-Dīn Awrangābādī and Nūr Muḥammad Mahāravī," in *Muslim Cultures in the Indo-Iranian World during the Early-Modern and Modern Periods*, ed. Denis Hermann and Fabrizio Speziale (Berlin-Tehran: Klaus Schwarz-Institut français de recherche en Iran, 2010), 217–46.

[51] For example, see Alexandre Papas, "Vagrancy and Pilgrimage according to the Sufi Qalandari Path," in *Devotional Islam in Contemporary South Asia: Shrines, Journeys and Wanderers*, ed. Michel Boivin and Rémy Delage (Oxon: Routledge, 2014), 15–30.

[52] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 218; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 205. He left Multan to study in Delhi, and then settled in Khairpūr in Punjab. He authored a Persian treatise on *waḥdat al-wujūd*, the *Taufiqiyyah Sharīf* (MS Āstānā-i ʿĀliyyah-o Khānaqāh-i Muʿallā, Khairpūr). For

Further details can be found in modern Urdu hagiographies about the origins of Ḥāfiẓ Jamāl Multānī.[53] We read that he was born in 1160/1747. His father Muḥammad Yusūf b. Ḥāfiẓ ʻAbd al-Rashīd was a member of the Aʻwān, an important Punjabi ethnic group. Ḥāfiẓ Jamāl's meditations at the shrine of Rukn al-Dīn mostly took place during the night. Once he dreamt of Rukn al-Dīn who advised him to go to Mahār (in south-west Punjab), that is, where Shaykh Mahāravī lived. During the probationary period of Ḥāfiẓ Jamāl's training under Mahāravī's supervision, the disciple travelled together with his master very often and served him day and night, for example by pouring water in a pot for the ablutions. Ḥāfiẓ Jamāl also managed the food system in the lodge. An anecdote reports that once Ḥāfiẓ Jamāl Multānī was sitting with Mahāravī and the latter's master Fakhr al-Dīn Aurangābādī (Dihlavī) (d. 1199/1785). Fakhr al-Dīn pointed out that Multan province had been entrusted first to the Suhrawardīs then to Chishtīs, therefore it was urgent to send a *khalīfah* to Multan to spread the Chishtiyyah. Mahāravī did so and sent Ḥāfiẓ Jamāl.[54] In Multan, the new shaykh founded a *dīnī madrasah*, which became a major educational institution in the city. He was himself an accomplished scholar, having the reputation of being an expert, not only in the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth* but also in the philosophy of *waḥdat al-wujūd* (unity of existence) inspired by the teachings of the famous Ibn ʻArabī and explicated by the no less famous polymath ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 898/1492). Hagiographers also enhance another aspect. Ḥāfiẓ Jamāl was a Sufi and a combatant (quite a usual combination in Indian Sufism) in the sense that he fought against the Sikhs with his bow and had trained Multan's citizens to protect themselves through archery. Lastly, we read that he got married twice but no child survived. He died of bilious fever and was buried in Multan (figure 4). Three books collected his sayings (*malfūẓāt*): the *Fażā'il-i Rażaviyyah* by his *khalīfah* ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz Parhāvarī (d. 1239/1824), the *Asrār al-Kamāliyyah* by his *khalīfah* Sayyid Zāhid Shāh (d. 1245/1829), and the *Anvār-i Jamāliyyah* by his Multani *khalīfah* Munshī Ghulām Ḥasan Shahīd, to whom we now turn.

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substantial biographies, see Imām Bakhsh Mahāravī (d. 1300/1881), *Gulshan-i Abrār*, trans. Shāhzādah Nūrjahāniyāṇ, MS Multan, 1950, pp. 279–308, and Khavājah ʻUbaid Allāh Multānī, *Sirr-i Dilbarāṇ*, 1324/1906, trans. Miyāṇ Muḥammad ʻAbd al-Bāqī (Multan: Maktabah-i Fayażān-i Sunnah, 2013), 39–46.

[53] Gīlānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 87–93; Nāẓim, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 109–112; Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 87–93; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 80–86.

[54] According to Sulaimānī, *Manāqib al-Maḥbūbain*, 46, in the dream, Rukn al-Dīn and Mahāravī were sitting together; Rukn al-Dīn took the hand of Ḥāfiẓ Jamāl and put it into the hand of Mahāravī to introduce Ḥāfiẓ Jamāl.

The young Ghulām Ḥasan[55] (d. 1265/1849 or 1260/1845) was educated in both exoteric and esoteric sciences by Ḥāfiẓ Jamāl Muḥammad Multānī. His title *munshī* (scribe, penman) is due to the fact that he came from a family of secretaries, his father Jān Muḥammad being a secretary of the Sikh governors Dīvān Sāvan Mil (r. 1821–1844) and his son Dīvān Mūlrāj (r. 1844–1849). Ghulām Ḥasan himself worked as scribe with his father at the palace of Navāb Muẓaffar Khān (r. 1779–1818). It seems that, later on, Dīwān Mūlrāj became a devotee of Ghulām Ḥasan. Although hagiographers celebrate the physical beauty of the saint, to the extent that people used to say "Glory be to God" when they looked at him, and that one of his disciples, a certain Miyān Aḥmad Yār, celebrated his splendour, they mostly stress his intellectual charisma. A main aspect of his literary production was the poetical explanation of the philosophy of *waḥdat al-wujūd* in continuity with his master Ḥāfiẓ Jamāl Muḥammad Multānī. Much of Ghulām Ḥasan's poetry deals with this concept in relation to mystical love (*ʿishq*) and sincerity (*ṣidq*), referring very often to the figure of Ḥallāj.[56] His writings include three treatises in Arabic on Ḥanafī jurisprudence entitled respectively *Faḍāʾīl al-Ḥanafiyyah*, *Shamāʾīl al-Ḥanafiyyah*, and *Khaṣāʾil al-Ḥanafiyyah*; the unfortunately lost *Īnshāʾ-i maʿnī* (probably in Persian); a book in Arabic on various issues in Sufism titled *Kalimāt al-Inṣāf*; the *Mathnavī-i Nūr al-Hidāyat*, which provides explanations of Sufi theory through 1260 Persian distiches; the aforementioned *Anvār-i Jamāliyyah* in Persian; and the *Dīvān-i Ḥasan*, a collection of poetry in Persian, dealing with love, the lover, and the beloved.[57] Ḥasan was his penname when he wrote in Persian while he used "Gāman" (meaning "stanza" and, by extension, a type of poetry in Saraiki) for Urdu and Saraiki poetry.

If Ghulām Ḥasan was credited to have magically protected Multan from the British, it is ironic that, according to the *tadhkirah*s, a British soldier shot the shaykh when he was in prayer. The martyr left behind two sons, Makhdūm Ghulām Yāsīn and Rukn al-Dīn. The first one, as the elder, became the *sajjādah-nashīn*. Ghulām Ḥasan Shahīd's shrine (figure 5) is situated near the Agha Pur neighbourhood. Besides the Sufi legacy of Ḥāfiẓ Jamāl in terms

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[55] Gīlānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 262–63; Nāẓim, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 112–13; Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 115–17; Ḥusayn Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 107–109.

[56] Tarīn, *Multān kī adabī*, 357.

[57] According to Tarīn, *Multān kī Adabī-o Tahdhībī Zindagī*, 352–59, his writings also include: *Risālah-i Mauj Daryā* (in Persian) about oneness (*tauḥīd*); *al-Baḥr al-Mawwāj* (in Arabic) also about oneness; *Ḥusniyyah dar Bayān-i Muṣṭalaḥāt-i Ṣūfiyyah* (in Persian) about the terminology of Sufism; *Risālah-i Nūr al-Hudā* (in Persian) written for his son Makhdūm Ghulām Yāsīn; *Rafīq al-Fuqarāʾ* (in Arabic) written for his son Rukn al-Dīn; *Dīwān-i Mutafarriqah* (in Urdu, Saraiki, Hindi and Punjabi), a collection of multilingual poetry.

of Chishtī revival and the veneration of his shrine, Pakistani hagiographers emphasise his linguistic achievements in that the shaykh was the first Sufi in Multan who composed odes (*ghazal*) in Urdu[58] whereas he was known for mastering Arabic, Persian, Hindi, Punjabi, and Saraiki.

Another disciple of Ḥāfiẓ Jamāl Muḥammad Multānī mentioned in modern memoirs is Muḥammad Mūsā Pāk Ṣiddīqī whose *laqab* was *Shahbāz-i jahāṇ*.[59] Himself the descendant of a holy man named Wajīh al-Dīn (d. 971/1563) who came from Iraq,[60] he was born in 1196/1781. His spiritual master had a high opinion of him, we read, and Mūsā Pāk Ṣiddīqī is credited with authoring many books on Islam but all of them seem to have been lost. Mūsā Pāk Ṣiddīqī built a mosque and a madrasah to spread his teachings, attracting thousands of students. His reputation went far beyond Punjab, so far so that, according to a popular story, a king of Khurasan had a metaphysical question and sent someone to Hindustan to get an answer; no one could give a solution but Mūsā Pāk Ṣiddīqī. His followers included, again, Navāb Muẓaffar Khān who, according to the master's will, distributed stipends to students. The shaykh died in 1261/1845 and was buried in the Husain Agahi Bazar in the inner city of Multan—a place that the saint had miraculously saved from the flood a few years before. In Husain Agahi Bazar, there are also the mausoleums of Mūsā Pāk Ṣiddīqī's sons. The first, named Khudā Bakhsh (d. 1311/1894) was well versed in *fiqh* and *tafsīr*[61] and the second is Muḥammad Ḥusayn Bakhsh Chishtī (d. 1311/1893) about whom we find some more details. Born in 1299/1882 and initiated to the Chishtiyyah by his father, the young Ḥusayn Bakhsh Chishtī applied rigorously Sufi usages (*ādāb*) (i.e., supererogatory prayers, intense fasting, the Qur'ān reading sessions, etc.). In the last days of his life, he made his son Dildār Bakhsh the *sajjādah-nashīn* of the lineage. He died on Muharram 4, 1379/July 11, 1959 in a mosque after having performed prayer.[62]

The last—and more "substantial"—Chisthī holy man on whom recent Pakistani hagiographers have focused is Khavājah 'Ubayd Allāh Multānī (d. 1305/1888), a disciple of Khudā Bakhsh Multānī (mentioned above).[63] Called by several *laqab*s, such as *Maḥbūb Allāh*, *Fānī fi Allāh*, and *Bāqī bi Allāh*, the shaykh was surnamed *Faqīr Qādirī*. He was born in Multan in 1219/1804 and was the second son of a certain Muḥammad Qudrat Allāh who educated

[58] Rūbīnah Tarīn, *Multān kī Adabī-o Tahdhībī Zindagī*, 382.
[59] Gīlānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 266–68; Nāẓim, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 115–17; Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 141–45; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 131–34.
[60] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 103; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 96.
[61] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 218; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 205.
[62] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 110–13; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 103–105.
[63] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 131–35; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 121–25.

him in religion. Allegedly, the young boy memorised the Qur'ān. After his father's death, 'Ubayd Allāh followed the teachings of Khudā Bakhsh Multānī but the sudden departure of the latter, who had to flee the Sikh conquerors of Multan, forced 'Ubayd Allāh to find another teacher. He learned the science of *ḥadīth* with Khavājah Muḥammad Gul Aḥmadpūrī (d. 1243/1827), a Chishtī scholar and *khalīfah* of Qāżī Muḥammad 'Āqil (*khalīfah* of Nūr Muḥammad Mahāravī) who authored the hagiographical supplement *Takmilah-i Siyar al-Auliyā'*. 'Ubayd Allāh could then go to Khairpūr to acquire knowledge about Sufism with Khudā Bakhsh Multānī. In 1232/1816, at the age of 13, the disciple took the pledge of allegiance (*bay'ah*) to his master. 'Ubayd Allāh stayed there for some time and eventually obtained the *khilāfat* (deputyship). Hagiographers assert that he actually took *bay'ah* in four Sufi lineages, i.e., Chishtiyyah, Suhrawardiyyah, Qādiriyyah, and Naqshbandiyyah, but privileged the Chishtiyyah.

Back home in Multan on the orders of his master, Khavājah 'Ubayd Allāh settled down in Qādir Ābād, a peripheral neighbourhood of the city. There he built a *khānaqāh*, which was changed into a mosque at some point under the name 'Ubaydiyyah. Three other mosques were erected at his instigation in Khairpūr, Jhang, and again in Qādir Ābād. Khavājah 'Ubayd Allāh Multānī used these buildings to spread his spiritual teachings. Among his disciples, the most famous was Najm al-Dīn Ma'rūf Karkhī (d. 1312/1894) who succeeded Khwāja Muḥammad Gul Aḥmadpūrī as *sajjādah-nashīn*. Beyond institutions and education, it is his indefatigable writing activity, which stands out. If his biographers probably exaggerated the number of his books (almost a hundred!), it is true that Khavājah 'Ubaid Allāh Multānī authored many volumes and pamphlets in Arabic, Persian, and Saraiki, both in prose and poetry. He dealt with a wide range of topics: Sufism primarily but also theology, sanctity (*walāyah*), legal matters (*fiqh*), medicine, ethics, the life of the Prophet, the Qur'ān, and ḥadīth. More originally perhaps, he discussed the status of women; argued against Wahhabism; and wrote about Adam's forgetting.[64] The prolific Sufi left a strong impact on the Chishtiyyah in contemporary Multan from the intellectual point of view. Married twice, he had four children (two girls and two sons) from his second wife. One of his sons, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Multānī (d. 1330/1912) was buried in Jeddah. Deceased in 1305/1888, Khavājah 'Ubayd Allāh Multānī's shrine is located in Multan (figure 6). According to a legend, he died on the day of *'urs* of Ḥāfiẓ Jamāl Muḥammad Multānī, a festival that he attended each year. For this reason, Khavājah 'Ubayd Allāh's descendants organised the funeral at the shrine of

[64] Muḥammad 'Ādil, *'Ibād al-Raḥmān* (Multan: Shawroom Khwāja Tax, 1999), 1:261–382, gives a descriptive list of 56 writings.

Ḥāfiẓ Jamāl and buried the body in Qādir Ābād between the two mosques built by the late Khavājah ʻUbayd Allāh.

Seeking to provide a rather "intellectualist" image of the saint, modern memorialists did not mention any miracles whereas an actual Sufi author such as Muḥammad ʻĀdil devoted a large section of his biography to the saint's miracles.[65] Muḥammad ʻĀdil is a religious scholar of Multan, a relative of Khavājah ʻUbayd Allāh Multānī and the grandson as well as disciple of the Sufi mufti ʻAbd al-Shakūr who was the fourth *sajjādah-nashīn* after ʻUbayd Allāh. Under the title *ʻIbād al-Raḥmān*, meaning "servants of the Merciful" in reference to all *sajjādah-nashīn*s whose names begin with *ʻabd* (pl. *ʻibād*), he composed a two-volume book.[66] Similar to modern *tadhkirah*s, the volume features pictures of Sufi shrines but, unlike them, it also includes images of relics (hat, shirt, shoes, palanquin, etc.), reinforcing thereby the devotional dimension in the representation of sanctity.

Marginal Saints: *Uvaisī*s, Ascetics, Ecstatics, and Dervishes

A unique contribution of Urdu *tadhkirah*s to the history of Islamic mysticism and devotional Islam in Multan is the "exhumation" of deceased marginal saints although most of them did not leave clear traces: no dates, no biographical details, etc. Usually relegated to the distant past by historians of Sufism, radical mystics still roamed the streets of modern Multan and continue to haunt the city's memories. In the absence of written records, Pakistani authors interviewed tomb custodians and pilgrims to collect information. For almost all the figures they mention, authors underline that marginal Sufis were educated and respected the *sharīʻah*, but we should bear in mind that, as a matter of fact, they were most probably illiterate, self-made, and ostensibly antinomian.

One exception, both in terms of documentation and spiritual pedigree, is Maulānā Shāh ʻAlī Mardān.[67] Born in 1188/1775 in the old city of Multan near Būhar Gate, he came from a family of Uvaisī Sufis, that is, Sufis initiated by the spirit of a master *in absentia*. His grandfather ʻInāyat Allāh Uvaisī was the descendant of a certain Faqīr ʻAbd al-Qādir who migrated to India from Iraq.

[65] Ibid., 1:149–254.

[66] Ibid., 1:2–3, 21–22. It might be interesting to note that, before starting his work, the author asked the permission of ʻAbd al-Shakūr's son Maulānā ʻAbd al-Wadūd. The latter did not accept, arguing that Muḥammad ʻĀdil would better prepare himself to follow the Sufi path than writing a biography of masters! Finally, the author obtained the permission from Mawlānā ʻAbd al-Wadūd's son ʻAbd al-Laṭīf (interview by the author in March 2017).

[67] Nāẓim, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 117–19; Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 125–30; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 116–20.

ʿInāyat Allāh used to constantly fast and practice complete reliance on God (*tawakkul*). His shrine is located at Būhar Gate. ʿAlī Mardān's father, Ḥāfiẓ ʿAlī Madad Uvaisī was a knowledgeable Sufi who spent time in prayer and solitude. He was buried next to his father's grave (ʿInāyat Allāh).[68] As for ʿAlī Mardān himself whose original name was Maqbūl al-Raḥmān, we read, after having completed his religious education, he taught in a madrasah in Multan. More than for his teaching activities, he was known for his piety and supernatural powers. For example, he collected water every day in the morning throughout the city to assist people in performing their ablutions. His most famous power was ubiquity: a part of his body used to separate in order to recite the *dhikr* formula "Allāh Hū"; it is reported that he went to Bahawalpur to teach at the congregational mosque, the *navāb* came to see him but could not find the saint who, at the same time, was meeting with God according to his companions![69]

Besides these *Uvaisī*s, we find five cases of severe ascetics (*zāhid*, pl. *zuhhād*). Bābā Hiran spent time praying and wandering in forests and deserts; he wanted to stay hungry most of the time, having no meal over long periods; he despised supernatural feats and lived in secrecy, even though he was famous for his power of clairvoyance. His shrine is near the General Hospital, opposite the Multan Cantonment.[70] Bābā Ghulām Shabbīr is described as a practitioner of *faqr* (poverty), detachment (*tajrīd*), and discipline (*riyāżat*); indifferent to popularity, he was in constant immersion (*istighrāq*) in God and enjoyed Sufi musical performances (*samāʿ*). His shrine is near the railway station at Chowk Sadu Hassam.[71] Pīr Bukhārī was also an adept of *istighrāq* and lived away from worldly things. Many people paid visit to him in order to fulfil their wishes. He is buried near the Jandala factory in the direction of Khuni Burj.[72] Called *zāḥid* and *ʿābid* (worshiper), Shāh Dīn Bairāgī spent his nights praying and always took small meals; he declared that human beings were like angels but when they looked for food they became satanic; he avoided *samāʿ* sessions but considered that its spiritual effects were lawful. His shrine is located near the Alamdar College.[73] Lastly, Bābā Barnē Vālī was a pious and erudite Sufi who offered prayers day and night, and neither slept nor ate over long periods; he had just a carpet for sleeping. His shrine can be found on a terrace close to Thana Haram Gate.[74]

[68] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 168; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 156.
[69] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 126–27; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 117.
[70] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 94; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 87.
[71] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 96; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 89.
[72] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 99; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 92.
[73] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 103; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 96.
[74] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 105; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 98.

Another category of marginal saints listed (laconically) in modern Urdu hagiographies is that of the ecstatics or ravished (*majdhūb*, pl. *majādhīb*). Let us give a few examples. A certain Pīr Makkī Shāh adopted a simple way of life and served poor people on a daily basis; he was fond of *samāʿ* and analysed the dreams of people.[75] Also a *samāʿ* enthusiast, Shāh Risāl had a simple lifestyle devoted to prayer. His shrine is situated outside the Haram Gate.[76] Sayyid Ḥusayn Bukhārī was the same type of ecstatic saints who experienced *shukr* (gratitude), *jadhb* (rapture), *tawakkul*, *qanāʿat* (contentment), *ṣabr* (patience), *ʿishq*, and *maḥabba* (mystical love).[77] More original, Basant Shāh was a *majdhūb* to whom the wife of an English man had become spiritually attached; she visited the saint daily against her husband's wishes; the jealous husband tried to kill Basant Shāh but water came out of his gun instead of bullets! He was finally reassured and forgiven by the holy man. The shrine still exists today, in the neighbourhood of Ganj.[78]

Hagiographers found many more names of dervishes (*darwīsh*, pl. *darāwīsh*) despite, again, the lack of biographical data. With the exception of Pīr Wlā, a member of the Lār caste, who was affiliated to the Chishtiyyah through Khudā Bakhsh Multānī, none of these dervishes belonged to a brotherhood.[79] Some were characterised by their taste for *samāʿ*, such as Dā'ūd Jahāniyān and Bābā Hārūn Shāh. The first is buried at Thalla Sadat outside the Delhi Gate and the second close to Haram Gate on the same road as Shāh Risāl's tomb.[80] Bābā Shāh Bahrām was also passionate about *samāʿ* and danced during concerts; he used to distribute to people all the things he may get. His *mazār* is located on the opposite direction of Multan city railway station. Many pilgrims go there, especially on Thursdays.[81] Others lived in complete poverty (*faqr*, *darvīshī*) and stayed among the needy, like Pīr Isḥāq whose shrine is in Multan Cantonment[82] and Maʿṣūm Shāh Bukhārī, whose body rests on current Masoom Shah Road.[83] Some individuals chose to remain continually silent, such as Sayyid Ibrāhīm Shāh[84] and Bhāvan Shāh,[85] while

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[75] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 98; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 91.
[76] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 105; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 98.
[77] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 106; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 99.
[78] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 222; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 210.
[79] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 175; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 163. The Wala chowk neighbourhood near Aghapura has been named after him.
[80] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 118; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 110.
[81] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 96; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 89.
[82] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 100; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 93.
[83] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 104; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 97.
[84] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 108; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 101.
[85] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 109; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 102.

others privileged celibacy, like Dādan Shāh Bukhārī[86] and Faqīr Jatī Abdāl.[87] The former lived in prayer and was content with water and dry bread; he was buried near Chowk Shaheedan. The latter is believed to have been a servant of Dārā Shikōh who went to Multan after the capture of his master by Aurangzēb ʻĀlamgīr (r. 1658–1707). Today, Faqīr Jatī Abdāl's mausoleum is not allowed to women—a rare case in Muslim saint veneration.

Several dervishes are mentioned because of their peculiarity. Among them, there is Bābā Dādā about whom we learn that one day he drew water from a well and wasted it shouting, "There is a big fire." A few days after someone came from Delhi and said that he saw the dervish fighting against fire in Delhi. His body is in the graveyard of Pīr ʻUmar.[88] Jhanḍā Faqīr used to say, "Hell has been prepared." After some time, a jail was constructed! Nowadays, prisoners light up lamps at his shrine, which is located on a terrace in the District Jail of Multan.[89] Described as a *qalandar* (vagrant dervish), Mīrān King Asvār was originally named Khing Savār ("grey horseman") as he was always riding a horse. With the passage of time, his name changed into English: King.[90] Pīr Luḍan Kuḍan is famous for having one brother and one sister who were all dervishes and buried at Pak Gate.[91] What is fascinating with the hagiographical focus on dervishes and marginal saints in general is that it, on the one hand, enhances diversity in the representation of Sufi sainthood and, on the other, opens a rare window on the everyday religious life of the city through modest holy places that only Multan is known about.

Conclusion

In sum, Pakistani hagiographic sources of the twentieth century allow us to highlight four phenomena in the history of Sufism in Multan: the existence of unconventional members of the medieval Suhrawardiyyah; the emergence of the Qādiriyyah order and its great development over the long duration; the renewal of the Chishtiyyah from the eighteenth century onwards, especially from the point of view of its intellectual production; the survival, according to a particularly varied typology, of marginal Sufis which are still the object of veneration today.

More generally, our corpus of Urdu hagiographies offers a conception of Sufi sanctity which is not centred upon the usual esoteric speculations about

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[86] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 99; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 92.
[87] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 210; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 197.
[88] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 216–17; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 204.
[89] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 221; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 209.
[90] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 227; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 216.
[91] Multānī, *Auliyā-i Multān*, 230; Shāh, *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān*, 220.

proximity with God (*walāyah*) and relation to the Prophet (*nubuwwah*). The tone is generally factual, making little use of laudatory formulas and theological terminology. This does not mean that hagiographers talk about Sufi saints in an academic way, concerned about objectivity, "critical distance" and rational truths. They report miracles; they mention all kinds of Muslim mystics; they uncritically quote sources; they use poetry, and so on. Their concern is elsewhere, in Multan, so to say. We mean that Pakistani memorialists have assigned to Sufi holy men, more than any other, the role of city "markers." This is not simply through their monumental mausoleums and the cult surrounding them but equally through their saintly presence, their posthumous existence, perpetuated by beliefs in their *barakah* (supernatural blessing) as well as their manuscripts and printed books. Marcia Hermansen already discussed in detail the ways late Sufi biographical literature reflected and even constructed city-based identities in South Asia, sometimes despite the nationalist discourses or in response to the contemporary threat of chaos.[92] The case of Urdu *tadhkirah*s on Multan confirms her views. While neither founders nor patrons of this city of the Pakistani Punjab, saints in twentieth-century hagiographical discourse give historical depth and geographical width to contemporary Multan. Whether Muḥammad Awlād ʻAlī Gīlānī's *Auliyā-i Multān*, Bashīr Ḥusain Nāẓim's *Auliyā-i Multān*, Farḥat Multānī's *Auliyā-i Multān* or Imtiyāz Ḥusain Shāh's *Tadhkirah-i Auliyā-i Multān,* all of these publications promote what we may call an urban conception of sanctity. Urdu *tadhkirah*s restore the forgotten past of the city, going back to the eighth century to reach the 1980s, while almost ignoring the British period. Narratives describe a space defined by initiatory travels, community settlements, shrine locations, and Sufi institutions covering the district of Multan, which appears as the spiritual heart of Punjab. From this respect, it is no coincidence if modern hagiographers forged the expression *madīnat al-auliyā'* (city of saints) to name Multan, in parallel (perhaps in competition) with the Lahore-city-centered hagiography entitled *Madīnat al-auliyā'* by Muḥammad Dīn Kalīm Qādirī (d. 1989).[93]

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[92] Marcia Hermansen, "Imagining Space and Siting Collective Memory in South Asian Muslim Biographical Literature (*Tazkirahs*)," *Studies in Contemporary Islam* 4, no. 2 (2002): 1–21. The city of Multan and its hagiographical tradition are mentioned on pp. 14–15.

[93] Muḥammad Dīn Kalīm Qādirī, *Madīnat al-Auliyā': Lāhōr main Madfūn 636 Auliyā-i Kirām kā Mustanad aur ʻAẓīm Tadhkirah* (Lahore: Islamic Book Foundation, 1982). On the author and his massive book, see Hermansen, "Imagining Space and Siting Collective Memory in South Asian Muslim," 19–20.

Appendix

Figure 1: Mausoleum of Shāh Yūsuf Gardīzī, 2016 (by Muhammad Touseef)

Figure 2: Mausoleum of Bībī Rāstī, 2018 (by Muhammad Touseef)

Figure 3: Mausoleum of ʿAbd al-Rashīd Ḥaqqānī, 2018 (by Muhammad Touseef)

Figure 4: Mausoleum of Ḥāfiẓ Jamāl Multānī, 2018 (by Muhammad Touseef)

Figure 5: Main entrance of the mausoleum of Ghulām Ḥasan Shahīd, 2018 (by Muhammad Touseef)

Figure 6: Main entrance of the mausoleum of ʿUbaid Allāh Multānī, 2018 (by Muhammad Touseef)