

particularly by women on journeys—whose escorts may walk on foot beside them, cf. Kipling's description of the Sahiba's pilgrimage in *Kim*. The *ratha* may also be used in formal processions [see MAWĀKIB, 5]. Flat wheeled carts may also be drawn by horses, bullocks, buffaloes, camels and even by elephants (Firūz Shāh's banners were so heavy that they had to be carried on elephant-carts). For light transport, especially within towns, small horse carriages (*ekkā*, *langā*) were in general use (Tavernier's *Travels* describes such carriages, although he does not use either word); they might also be used for longer journeys, when the horses could be changed in relays on the *dāk*-system. More elaborate carriages after European models were introduced at the end of the Mughal period, and in provincial courts such as Lucknow. Mention should also be made of the hand-cart, commonly used to transport goods in towns.

There was also the possibility of transport by water on the great rivers; the canals [see NAHR, 2. India] were for irrigation purposes, and were not navigable. The common river-boat was the *badjā* (see *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Budgerow), a sort of barge without a keel, propelled by poles or by oars, on the deck of which cabins might be mounted. For the *ahaurā* which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii, 109 ff., tr. Gibb, iii, 600-2) describes in the river-procession of the governor of Lahārī in Sind, see the account in MAWĀKIB, 5, above. Fanny Parks, *Wanderings of a pilgrim in search of the picturesque*, London 1850, describes a royal pleasure-boat on the river Gōmatī at Lucknow as being "made in the shape of a fish". A sort of raft was used by Firūz Shāh to transport one of Ashoka's pillars to Dihlī from the Mīrāth district, see J.A. Page, *A memoir on Kolla Firoz Shah, Delhi* (= *Memoir ASI*, lii), Dihlī 1937, with illustrated extract from the anonymous *Sirat-i Firūz Shāhī*. There were also, of course, smaller craft without number on the rivers. Sea transport across the Arabian Sea, especially for the pilgrim traffic to the Hīdjāz, was by the vessels known as *ghurāb* [see SAFĪNA] and "car-rack" (?Ar. *karāka*; see *Hobson-Jobson* s.v.).

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see also S. Digby, *War-horse and elephant in the Delhi Sultanate*, Oxford 1971, which, although concerned primarily with military aspects, is useful in general, especially regarding the supply of transport animals.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

NAKSH [see KITĀBĀT].

NAKSHBAND, KH^wĀDJĀ BAHĀ' AL-DĪN, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (718-91/1318-89), eponym of the Nakshbandiyya [q.v.], a still active Sūfī order that has been second in the extent of its diffusion only to the Kādiriyya [q.v.] (with which it has often been intertwined, especially in India and Kurdistan). The epithet Nakshband is sometimes understood in connection with the craft of embroidering, and Bahā' al-Dīn is said, in fact, to have assisted his father in weaving the embroidered Bukhārān cloaks known as *kimkhā* (Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Bākī b. Muḥammad 'Alī, *Maḳāmāt-i Shāh-i Nakshband*, 8). More commonly, however, it is taken to refer to the fixing, in the purified tablet of the heart, of the imprint of the divine name *Allāh* by means of silent and permanent *dhikr*. To the people of Bukhārā, whose patron saint he became, Bahā' al-Dīn was known posthumously as *kh^wādja-yi balā'-gardān* ("the averter of disaster"), with reference to protective powers bestowed on him during his novitiate. Elsewhere, especially in Turkey, he is popularly called *Shāh-i Nakshband*.

Descent from the Imām Dja'far al-Šādiq has been attributed to Bahā' al-Dīn Nakshband, but although the Imām does always appear in his initiatic *silsila*,

contemporary and near-contemporary sources make no mention of *sayyid* ancestry. They stress rather the position of Bahā' al-Dīn as the seventh in a series of Central Asian masters (*kh^wādjaḡān*) of Sūfism which was inaugurated by Abū Yūsuf Hamadānī (d. 534/1140 in Marw). Soon after his birth in Muḥarram 718/March 1318 in the Bukhārān hamlet of Kašr-i Hinduwān (later renamed Kašr-i 'Arifān, out of deference to him), Bahā' al-Dīn was adopted as the spiritual son (*farzand*) of Kh^wādja Muḥammad Sammāsi, the fifth descendant of Hamadānī. Sammāsi immediately assigned the infant's future spiritual training to his own principal *murīd*, Kh^wādja Amīr Kulāl. Kulāl counts as Bahā' al-Dīn's immediate predecessor in the *silsila*, for it was he who transmitted to him the essentials of the Path: the link of companionship (*nisbat-i suhbat*), instruction in the customs of the Path (*ta'lim-i ādāb-i tarīkat*), and the inculcation of *dhikr* (*talkin-i dhikr*) ('Abd al-Rahmān Djamī, *Nafahāt al-uns*, 381).

Nonetheless, as befitted the founder of a new order, Bahā' al-Dīn kept the company of a wide variety of spiritual instructors. Early during his association with Amīr Kulāl, he had a vision in which he saw his six predecessors in the *silsila*, beginning with Kh^wādja 'Abd al-Khalīk Ghidjuwānī (d. 617/1220), a successor of Hamadānī. This vision amounted to a second initiation, for Ghidjuwānī enjoined on Bahā' al-Dīn—among other things—the exclusive practice of silent *dhikr*, as opposed to the vocal *dhikr* in which Amīr Kulāl and his circle customarily engaged. Once back in the world of external reality, Bahā' al-Dīn began to comply with this command, but Amīr Kulāl continued to hold him in high esteem. He ultimately pronounced his preceptorial duties to be at an end and freed Bahā' al-Dīn to seek out other *shaykhs*, "both Turk and Tadjik".

The ethnic and linguistic differentiation between Turk and Tadjik was reflected, in 8th/14th century Transoxianan Sūfism, in a dichotomy between the Yasawī order (founded by Kh^wādja Aḥmad Yasawī (d. 562/1167 [q.v.], another disciple of Hamadānī), which flourished among Turkic speakers, and the Persian-speaking *kh^wādjaḡān* and their adherents. Since the Nakshbandiyya was destined to spread to almost every region of the Turkish world in the space of a few generations, it was appropriate that Bahā' al-Dīn should spend part of his apprenticeship with the Yasawī masters who were known to their contemporaries as the "Turkish *shaykhs*" (*mashāyikh-i turk*).

First, however, Bahā' al-Dīn spent seven months in the company of another Tadjik *shaykh*, Mawlānā 'Arif Dīkgarānī, perfecting under his guidance the practice of the silent *dhikr*. He next spent two or three months with Kutham Shaykh, a Yasawī master resident in Nakshshab, before joining the following of a second Yasawī *shaykh*, Khalīl Atā, for a full twelve years.

The chronological problems posed by the sources (works of hagiography, the Timūrid chronicles, and the *Rihla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa) are impossible to resolve, but it seems certain that Khalīl Atā is identical with Kaḍān/Ghazān Khān, a singularly ferocious individual who ruled over the Čaghataiyid khanate for roughly a decade. It is tempting to see in Bahā' al-Dīn's association with Khalīl Atā the origin of the penchant of several later Nakshbandis for establishing ascendancy over rulers, but such an interpretation is excluded by a careful reading of the sources.

After the overthrow of Khalīl Atā, Bahā' al-Dīn retired to his birthplace to begin training his own disciples, most of whom came from Bukhārā and its environs. He left the region himself only three times,

twice to perform the *ḥadijī* and once to visit Herat. There he met with the ruler, Mu'izz al-Dīn Husayn, and explained to him the principles of his path.

He died on 3 Rabi' I 791/2 March 1389, and was buried at Kaṣr-i 'Arifān. Surrounded by a continually expanding complex of buildings, the tomb became a place of pilgrimage for Muslims from all over Asia as well as the site, for Bukhārāns, of spring festivities known as *'id-i gul-i surkh* ("red rose festival"; see O.A. Sukhareva, *Bukhara v XIX veke*, Moscow 1966, 38).

Bahā' al-Dīn's principal successors were Khwādja 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār (d. 802/1393), whom he had honoured with marriage to his daughter; Khwādja Muḥammad Pārsā (d. 822/1419), a prolific author who counts as founder of the learned traditions of the Nakshbandī order; and Mawlānā Ya'qūb Čarkhī (d. 851/1447), who originated in the region of Ghazni. 'Aṭṭār was the leading figure among these three, but it was Čarkhī who proved the most important for the continuation of the Nakshbandī line; he was the preceptor of Khwādja 'Ubayd Allāh Aḥrār (d. 896/1490 [q.v. in *Suppl.*]), under whose auspices the Nakshbandiyya both established its supremacy in Central Asia and began its expansion in the wider Muslim world.

Bahā' al-Dīn left behind no writings (with the possible exception of the litany named after him, *Awrād-i Bahā'iyya*), and he even discouraged his disciples from recording his sayings. The precise outlines of his teachings are, then, hard to discern, not because of the profusion of hagiographic legend that enshrouds so many Sūfis, but because of the exiguous and sometimes elliptic nature of the sources. It is particularly difficult to establish why he should have become an eponymous figure, the central link in the *silṣila* of which he is a part, instead of, for example, Ghidjduwānī. The eight principles of spiritual conduct (*kalimāt-i kudsiyya*) first enunciated by Ghidjduwānī have, after all, been reiterated in Nakshbandī handbooks down to the present; precisely the fact that Bahā' al-Dīn added three further principles to the eight would seem to reinforce the primacy of Ghidjduwānī. These three were: *wuḳūf-i zamānī* ("temporal awareness"), the constant examination of one's spiritual state during *dhikr*; *wuḳūf-i 'adadi* ("numerical awareness"), the enumeration of the times *dhikr* is performed in order to discourage the intrusion of distracting thoughts; and *wuḳūf-i kalbī* ("awareness of the heart"), the direction of attention to the physical heart in order to make it participate in the work of *dhikr*.

All three principles relate, then, to *dhikr*; combined with the fact that Bahā' al-Dīn set himself apart from the other disciples of Amīr Kulāl through insistence on silent *dhikr*, this suggests that the question of *dhikr* was crucial for the early coalescence of the Nakshbandī order.

Other features of early Nakshbandī practice were also linked to the concern for sobriety and anonymity implied by the choice of silent *dhikr*. Among them are the repudiation of music and dance (*samā'*); the deprecation of charismatic feats (*karāmāt*); the avoidance of retreats in favour of the keeping of pious company (*suhbat*); and the shunning of distinctive forms of dress. All these features are highly reminiscent of the Malāmātī movement of Niṣhāpūr, and it may be suggested that Bahā' al-Dīn Nakshband was the heir to the traditions of the Malāmātiyya [q.v.] although not in a formal, initiatic sense.

Other recurrent features of the Nakshbandī path, such as fidelity to the *ḥarī'a* in the political and social

spheres as well as in devotional life, and a marked hostility to Shī'ī Islam, were established in later periods; they cannot be traced directly to Bahā' al-Dīn. Similarly, the mildly critical attitude to Ibn 'Arabī adopted by some Nakshbandīs of the Muḥaddidī line cannot be attributed retroactively to Bahā' al-Dīn and his circle. Although there is no trace of acquaintance with the concepts of Ibn 'Arabī in the dicta of Bahā' al-Dīn, both 'Aṭṭār and Pārsā were enthusiastic exponents of his work.

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(H. ALGAR)

NAKSHBANDIYYA, an important mystical *ṭarīka* [q.v.] or order.

1. In Persia

It is a paradox of Nakshbandī history that although this Sūfī order first arose among Persian-speakers and virtually all its classical texts are written in the Persian language, its impact on Persia has been relatively slight. This statement requires qualification only for the period of the genesis of the Nakshbandiyya when, it might be argued, Transoxania and the eastern reaches of Khurāsān still counted as parts of the Persian world.

The rise of the Nakshbandiyya to supremacy in Transoxania appears to have begun already in the time of Khwādja Bahā' al-Dīn Nakshband [q.v.] himself, although the nascent order did not yet exercise political influence and in the Kubrawiyya [q.v.] it faced a still formidable competitor. Khwādja Muḥammad Pārsā (d. 822/1419), sole adherent of Bahā' al-Dīn among the *ulamā'* of Bukhārā, had to endure the hostility of his colleagues for a number of reasons, not least being his enthusiasm for the works and concepts of Ibn 'Arabī [q.v.]. However, it was also in connection with Pārsā that the Timūrids established their links with the Nakshbandī order, when Mīrzā Shāhrukh secured the return of Pārsā to Bukhārā after a period of banishment. Those links, important for