

The Arrival of Naqshabandi Order from *Hijaz* to the Malay World: 16th until the Early 19th Century

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Abstract

This historical study tells a chronology on the arrival of the Naqshabandi order from Hijaz to the Malay World throughout India and Central Asia.. Naqshabandi Order in the Malay World is identified came from the revival of Ahmad al-Sirhindi from India. His revival in the Naqshabandi Order called as the mujaddidiyyah caused the order at the beginning in Mecca undergone major polemic during 16th until 17th century. However, later, it is a well-established in middle of 18th and 19th century with minor polemic by al-Sirhindi's late charismatic reputable legacies effort who migrated from India to Mecca. Their struggle is most welcomed by Malay scholars domiciling in the Mecca city for study and pilgrimage travelers. They are responsible spreading the Order directly from Mecca to their homeland in numerous provinces in the Malay World, particularly in the early 19th century, until now.

Key words: Naqshabandi , Ahmad al-Sirhindi, India, Malay world,.

Naqshabandi Order is a Sufi practice founded Muhammad Baha al-Din from al-Bukhara, a region in the Central Asia. The word Naqshabandi ascribed to Baha al-Din consists of two Persian word meaning painting in the heart. His heart was drawn with the word Allah. Figuratively it indicates his heart having perpetual presence to Allah. From the impact of this accident, the word Naqshabandi is applied persistently until today, by his serial heirs over the world. Naqshabandi's spiritual lineage ends to the Prophet Muhammad SAW via Abu Bakar al-Siddiq. However, Naqshabandi order before Muhammad Baha al-Din had been established by Abdul Khaliq al-Ghujadawani. He was a Chief of the Naqshabandi Order because he founded in it eleven principles with Persian terminologies. The coming of the Naqshabandi Order from Central Asia to Hijaz at the early period started with Baha al-Din, Muhammad Parsa, Abdul Rahman al-Jami, Ubaydullah Ahrar and the other outstanding masters while performing the pilgrimage. At the time of pilgrimage, they initiated many disciples into the Order (Weismann, 2007) . Hijaz is the region where Mecca and Medina, the Holy Cities are located. Both cities are also noted as al-haramain (the sacred territory). Hijaz in the present day is known as the Kingdom of Saudia Arabia. The Naqshabandi Order is identified not only diffused in Mecca by the Central Asia masters but also masters from India. So, in the Holy cities, Naqshabandi adaption was mostly taught by masters from central Asia and India. The development of the Naqshabandi Order in Hijaz appeared into two major lines; the non- *mujaddidi* and *mujaddidi*.

The first refers to the Naqshabandi Order spread by non-*mujaddidi*'s masters like Muhammad Parsa, Ghudanfur bin Jaafar, Tajuddin al-Hindi and the other masters before Ahmad al-Sirhindi or masters whom their spiritual lineage associated to Baha al-din without intersection with Ahmad al-Sirhindi. The second alludes to the Naqshabandi Order revolutionized by Ahmad al-Sirhindi, and later diffused by his serial legacies. The word *mujaddidiyyah* attributes to the Naqshabandi Order have a crucial message. It attributes to Ahmad al-Sirhindi as he revitalized the Naqshabandi rite eighteen modes of *muraqabah* such as *muraqabah ahadiyyah* (contemplation of the Oneness) until *la ta'ayyun* (non determination) known as *maqamat al-mujaddidiyyah*, theory of ten *lataif* (subtitles) and *wahdah al-shuhud* and strict shari'ah compliance. Due to his great contribution, he is cited as al-Imam al-Rabbani and Mujaddid al-thani.

In early last 15th and early 16th, the arrival of Naqshabandi Order in Hijaz initiated with non- *mujaddidi* master, Sibghatullah Baruji. He was an Indian scholar adopted the original Naqshabandi and Shatiri within Ibn Arabi's teaching.. He arrived in Medina in 1596 and built spiritual lodge there. Several scholars such as Ahmad al-Shinawi (d.1620), Ahmad al-Qushashi (d.1661) and Ibrahim al-Kurani (d. 1690) were initiated into the Naqshabandi Order by him. Sibghatullah's effort to extent the Naqshabandi Order in Hijaz also associated by another non- *mujaddidi*'s master from India, Tajuddin Zakaria al-uthmani (d. 1642). He was a contemporary Ahmad al-Sirhindi learning Naqshabandi Order from similar instructor, Muhammad Baqi (1563-1603). Tajuddin settled down in Mecca after his second pilgrimage in 1631. Scholars in Mecca and Medina such as Abdul Baqi Mizjaji, Ahmad b Ibrahim Allan (d. 1642), Ahmad al-Nakhli participated in the Naqshabandi Order under his instruction. He strengthened his position in Mecca by translating Persian Naqshabandi book such as *al-uns* by Abdul Rahman Jami and *Rashahat 'ain al-hayah* of Ali Husain into Arabic word. He is an adherer to Ibn Arabi teaching and in *wahdah al-wujud*. (Weismann 2007). Almost all Naqshabandi's figures from non- *mujaddidi* in Mecca at that time favorably viewed to *wahdah al-wujud* as presented by Ibn Arabi.

The *mujaddidi*'s line primarily comes to Hijaz through Adam al-Banuri (d. 1663) , a direct Ahmad al-Sirhindi's disciple in the 1642M. Adam Banuri translated selective of Maktubat and wrote many epistles exposing *mujaddidi*'s thought such as *kalimah al-ma'arif*, *khulasah al- ma'rifah* and *nikat al-asrar*.. The controversy toward *mujaddidi*'s teaching arises on Adam Banuri's explanation of the superiority of *haqiqah al-ka'abah* to *haqiqah Muhammad*. It invites intellectual dispute with Ahmad al-Qushashi. To help resolve this disputed issue, Muhammad Masom sent his disciple, Ahmad Jarullah a-Jurjani, a Bukharian to Mecca. In 1656M, Muhammad Ma'cum and his brothers Muhammad Said and Muhammad Yahya and their family as well as a large entourage went to Mecca for pilgrimage. They later domiciled in Medina for three years. Muhammad Ma'som did his utmost to appease Ahmad al-Qushasi and his associates, and his work is fruitfulness. To clarify *mujaddidi*'s teaching, Muhammad Ma'cum followed his father's work compiling letters known as maktubat ma'sumiyyah written in Persian in three volumes contains 652 letters. Among the scholars who took a pledge oath to *mujaddidi*'s line was Isa b Muhammad al-Ja'fari al-Thalibi al- Maghribi and Abu Salim Muhammad al-Ayyashi, the author of al-Rihlah al-Ayyashiyyah.. The former took a pledge with Muhammad Ma'sum and was authorized to teach *mujaddidi*'s order, dhikr and *wahdah al-Shuhud*. The second took an oath with Badruddin al-Hindi Due to the highly positive reception of *mujaddidi*'s teaching, Muhammad Ma'som left his deputies, Ahmad Jarullah and Badruddin al-Hindi in Haramain in order to teach numerous disciples, resident and pilgrimage in *mujaddidi*'s line. Their efforts won the respect of the local scholars (Weismann 2007; Mohd Nasir 2009).

However, the controversy on *mujaddidi*'s thought became worse in 1682M. Some Indian scholars requested fatwa from Sharif Mecca on the contentious *mujaddidi*'s teaching in his maktubat, and al-Mabdad wa al-Ma'ad. As a result, Hijaz's scholars replied to them by bringing out fatwa in Arabic.. They highlighted on 32 issues in Mujaddidi's ideas as against to the viewpoints of Ahl al-Sunnah wa Jama'ah such as maqam *haqiqah al-ka'abah* is higher than *haqiqah al-muhammadiyyah* and others. A number of Hijaz's scholars wrote treatises refuting Mujaddidi's teaching such as Muhammad bin Abd Rasul al- Barzanji wrote *qadh al-zand wa qadah al-rand fi radd jahalat ahl al-sirhind*, *al-nashirah al-najirah li al-firqah al-fajirah*. Hasan b Ali also produced *al-ansab al-hindi li ittisal kufriyyat Ahmad Sirhindi* (Friedman 1971: Mohd Nasir 2009)

This refutation in the form of Fatwa toward Mujaddi's teaching countered by the learned *mujaddidi*'s scholar, Muhammad Beg al-Uzbeki. He is proficient in both Persian and Arabic . He traveled from India to Haramain to meet directly the scholars to clarify properly the allegation and to rectify the fatwa.

He answered in a scholarly form to each 32 issues in his treatise *‘atiyyah al-wahhab al-fasilah bayna al-khata’ wa al-sawab* completed in 1094H. For example, Muhammad Beg rectified sentence and meaning of the *haqiqah al-ka’bah afdal* (the reality of Holy Ka’bah is superior) to the *haqiqah al-muhammadiyah* (the reality of muhammad). It was interpreted that the Ka’bah as the Holy material house is superior to the Prophet Muhammad SAW. In fact, the real word is *haqiqah al-ka’bah fawq* (above) the *haqiqah al-Muhammadiyah*. It meant the *haqiqah al-ka’bah* (the reality of Ka’bah) refers to its immaterial form existence in the *‘alam al-amr* (world of command) is above *haqiqah al-muhammadiyah* in the *‘alam al-khalq* (world of creation). Another correction is *iradati billah muttasilah bila wasitah aw ay bila min gayr wasitah Muhammad* (my will to Allah without mediation or without the mediation of the Prophet SAW). He rectified it is wrong translation and fabricated from its origin Persian word. The correct idea in true translation *silsilatu iradati muttasilah billah min ghairi tawassut ahad wayadi naib yadillah wain ittasalat bimuhhammad sallallahucalaihwasallam biwasait kathirah fi al-tariqah al-naqshbandiyyah wa al-chistiyyah wal-qadiriyyah* (my chain connect to Allah without intercession of one and my hand is deputy to the hand of Allah even my chain connects to Muhammad within many intercession in Naqshabandiyyah, Chistiyyah and Qadiriyyah) . The another issue *Inna tariqi subhani* (my path is a path of the transcendence of Allah), the word ‘*subhani*’ is not similar to the word of Abi Yazid al-Bistami to glorify me in the state of ecstasy, the ‘*ya*’ adjective, is not *ya al-mutakallim* but rather to indicate aspect of *tanzih* (transcendent) of Allah in the state of sobriety it is associating in word but has distinctive meaning (Muhammad Beg 1094H; Friedman 1971).

Muhammad Beg viewed that the fatwa produced by Haramain scholar is authentic from the eyes of scholars that may cause to the chaotic and misunderstand between the followers of Mujaddidi’s line over the muslim world and exerted a huge negative impact to them and the image of Sirhindi as the renown scholar. For him, his action to rectify immediately the fatwa is right and essential for that purpose. He concludes that the fatwa is unsound and should be rectified as it is based on misleading Arabic translation of original Persian *maktubat* where it drive to misinterpret actual meaning, terminology and sound sentence from the Persian original *maktubat* (Muhammad Beg 1094H).His answer is amazing. He brought the actual text of the Persian citation of *maktubat*, and translated it to the proper Arabic translation. Besides that he supported Ahmad al-Sirhindi’s teaching by the clarification of the classical sufis literatures such as *al-futuh al- makiyyah*, *risalah al-quds*, *ihya’ ‘ulum al-din*, *Sharh al-Fusus*, *Sharh al-‘aqaid* and *al-bahr al-maurud fi al-mawathiq wa al-‘uhud*, *tafsir al-jalalain*, *tafsir al-baydawi* and others authentic books. His effort is backed by numeral scholars such as Hasan b Muhammad Murad al-Tunisi al-makki, Ahmad al-Bishabishi al-Misri al-Shafie al-Azhari, Jalaluddin al-Bathi and Muhammad Farukh Shah (Friedman 1971)

Thus in the 17th century, as a result of the impact of this polemic, Abdul Samad al-Falimbani (d 1789M), a disciple of Muhammad bin Abdul Kariim al-Saman al-madani and a great Malay Sufi scholar and prolific writer in *tasawwuf* did not enlist Ahmad al-Sirhindi literatures such as *al-maktubat* and *al-mabda’ wa al-ma’ad* to be reviewed by a student in Sufism in his book, *Siyar al-salikin*. Even Mujaddidi’s heirs and teaching existed in his period, but he rather inserted Sufi’s literatures from non mujaddidis masters like Tajud al-Din, Ahmad Ibn Allan, Ahmad al-Qushahi and Abdul Ghani al-Nablusi. It may be argued that he attempted to avoid the controversy raised if *maktubat* misunderstood by the uninitiated students based on a misleading Arabic translation. It seemed he wanted to maintain the unity of thought in Ibn Arabi’s school as held by almost all Mecca scholars. This occurs because of no proper complete Arabic translation made by any reputable Mujaddidi’s scholars who are dominated by non Arab scholars. No detailed studies are available on the development of Naqshabandi Mujaddidi in al-Hijaz during this century . The polemic around Mujaddidi’s teaching and doctrine among scholars eventually faded and decreased. This situation gave advantages to the legacy of non *mujaddidi*’s masters such as Ahmad al-Qushashi and his followers in Madina. Ismail al-Uskuduri, the student of Muhammad Abu Tahir, son of Ibrahim al-Kurani (d 1798M) and Muhammad Uthman al-Mirghani disseminated Naqshabandi to Sudan and Zabid (Weismann 2007)

However, in the mid 18th and early of 19th century, the Naqshabandi from *mujaddidi*’s mainstream Haramain gradually become assertive. Most of Naqshabandi’s admission came from the late *mujaddidi*’s outstanding heirs. This is because of the restless efforts made by a number charismatic mujaddidi's heirs in dispersing its teaching scholastically. Mecca in the late 19 century became a centre of many sufi orders to be initiated in such as naqshabandi, qadiri, khulwati, shazili, sammani, shatiri and others. Many rituals and ceremonies like *halaqah al-dhikr*, *haul*, *mawlid*, *burdah* and spiritual places like *zawiyah*, *khanaqah*, and *ribat* were formed.

The Malays initiated into sufi's orders were the students domiciled in Mecca for study various Islamic sciences. Some of them were the Hujjaj (pilgrimage) from the outside got initiation into sufi Orders rapidly during the pilgrimage period. Consequently, some of them were authorized as *khalifah* (deputy) to spread it in their local home. Among the prerequisite required by Mecca scholars before participating sufi order was having preliminary fundamental and satisfactory Islamic knowledge subjects such as *usul ul-din* and *fiqh* in order to make the practice of sufi order fruitful (Snouck 1970). In the Mecca's period, the Naqshabandi Order from the *mujaddidi's* mainstream was divided into two main lines; Ahmad Said (1802-1871M) and Khalid bin Ahmad al-Shahazur (1779M-1827M). For the first, based on his effort, Naqshabandi is known as Naqshabandi Mujaddidi Ahmadi and the second known as Naqshabandi Mujaddidi Khalidi. Both are the imitators and preachers of *mujaddidi's* thought and rites in the Naqshabandi Order.

Ahmad Said (1802M-1871M) played a progressive role in spreading Naqshabandi Mujaddi in al-Haramain. He was a descendent of Ahmad Sirhindi. His effort was supported by his biological and non biological heirs. Ahmad Said was a spiritual heir of Abdullah Dehlawi' from Batallah, India. He also was contemporary with Khalid bin Husain al-Sharuzi. Ahmad Said's name later put after the word mujaddidi as ahmadi. It signified he maintained Ahmad al-Sirhindi's legacy and descendent. He adept the practice *khalwah fi al-jalwah* and *suhbah* in his basic training. He had three sons; the first was Abdul Rashid (d 1287H). The second was Muhammad Umar (1828-1881) and the third was Muhammad Mazhar (b. 1831) (al-Bakini 1999)

Ahmad Said became a chief successor of Abdullah al Dihlawi (d.1834M) after his death in India. He led the cloister of Shah Abdullah al-dihlawi and continued to expand the light of *mujaddidi* for 23 years. In 1857M, he traveled from India to Mecca and settled down in Madinah. A hundreds of Arab and Turk pledged oaths to him. Ahmad Said had many deputies. Some of them were his biological and non-biological deputies. The former was Shah Abdu Rashid (1822-1878M), Shah Muhammad Umar (1828-1881M) and Shah Muhammad Mazhar (1832-1884) . Whereas, the second was are Abdul Salam Wast, Dost Muhammad Qandahari, Irshad Husin and Muhammad Jan al Makki. All of his non biological deputies initiate student in several parts of India like Delhi and Rampur but Muhammad Jan al- Makki went to Mecca to initiate student there. Shah Abdul Rashid was the eldest son of Ahmad Said. He moved to Mecca after the demise of Ahmad Said in Madina to guide his father's former disciples on the path of Mujaddi's tradition. He then died in Mecca and buried in Jannah al-Ma'la. His task continued by his son, Shah Muhammad Ma'som. He had already established his own cloister known as *khanqah Ma'sumiyah* at Rampur for 23 years. He left Rampur to Mecca for continuing Shah Abdul Rashid position and later died in 1923M. Meanwhile, Shah Muhammad Umar, a second son of Ahmad Said (1244-1298/1828-1881) took a position as his heir in Madina. However, after several years in Madina, he returned India until he died there. In India, he appointed his son Shah Abu Khair al *mujaddidi* (1855-1923) to lead his cloister in Delhi (al-Nadwi 1994).

In Madina before Shah Muhammad Umar returned to India, he appointed Muhammad Andakhawi al-Bukhari as his spiritual heir. He domiciled in Mecca, and died in Ta'if. Wan Sulaiman bin Wan Sidik (1872M-1935M) , a Malay scholar lodged in Mecca for 20 years from 1887M until 1906M for study . He initiated in Naqshabandi throughout Muhammad Andakhawi al-Bukhari in the Mountain Marwa, Mecca. Before Wan Sulaiman returned to his homeland in Kedah, Muhammad Andakhawi appointed him as his 34th heir to reveal the order to the Malay world particularly in Kedah. He disseminated the Naqshabandi Mujaddidi Ahmadi order to his local people and aristocratic class. He was appointed as the third Islam in Kedah in ruling Islamic administration and religious affair in Kedah in 1920M until 1935M. The title of Shaykh Islam is the highest position and supreme executive in Kedah Islamic department. Sultan Abdul Hamid a ruler of Kedah and his brother Tunku Mahmud, Regent of Kedah practicing the order under his initiation. Wan Sulaiman was the first Malay scholar learned the primary translated Arabic *al-maktubat* by Muhammad Murad al-Quzani in Mecca with the first printing in 1899M. He was identified the earliest Malay scholar who brought in a number of thought of Ahmad al-Sirhindi in the Malay World. This is evident from his several concise works in Islamic creed, Naqshabandi's history and Ahmad al-Sirhindi clarification on *wahdah al-wujud* in jawi script such as *nur al-sati' wa sayf qati' wa hujjah qawiyyah fi bayan tariqah 'aliyyah naqshabandiyyah mujaddiyyah* in 30 April 1927, *ayyuha al-ikhwan ila dar al-ridwan limardati al-rahman fi tashih 'aqa'id al-Islam wa al-iman multaqqah min maktub al-Imam al-rabbani al-mujaddid Lialf al-thani* in 11 December 1918 and *hawd al-mawrud fi bayan wahdah al-wujud* in 29 January 1916 (Muhammad Khairi 2010)

Shah Muhammad Mazhar was the third son of Ahmad Said. He built three cloisters in Madina known as Rabat Mazhari in 1873 situated between Bab al-nisa' and Jannat al-baqi' (al-Nadwi 1994: 324). He also continued Ahmad Said's task in teaching Naqshabandi Mujaddidi Ahmadi. He wrote in Arabic about tasawwuf, Islamic law's and tariqah in his book, *maktubat mazhariyyah*. He initiated many people in Mecca. Among his heirs were Abdul Hamid Shirwani, Muhammad Saleh al-Zawawi and Muhammad Murad al-Quzani (b 1272H). Muhammad Saleh al-Zawawi wrote in the small treatise in Jawi script on Naqshabandi's rite as taught by Muhammad Mazhar *kayfiyyah al-dhikr 'ala tariqah naqshabandiyyah mujaddidiyyah ahmadiyyah*. His epistle exerted great influence on his pupils in the Malay World. Among his disciples in the Malay world were Raja Muhammad Yusuf al-Ahmadi, a 10th Yamtuan Muda, Riau Lingga Governments (Wan Mohd Shaghir 2000). The word al-ahmadi here, perhaps signifies his spiritual ascription to Naqshabandi Mujaddidi Ahmadi

Abdullah al-Zawawi, a son of Muhammad Salleh al-Zawawi also played the pivotal role. He was posited to a high position as a Mecca Mufti. Then he became a mufti in Pontianak government when he migrated to West Kalimantan Indonesia. While he was in Mecca, sayyid Yusuf Ali al-Zawawi (his son) and Sayyid Abdul Rahman b Sayyid Muhammad Idrus (1817-1917) also known as Tokku Paloh took the order from him. Tokku Paloh is the author of *Ma'arij al-lahfan ila haqa'iq al-'irfan*. Tokku Paloh was the spiritual master initiating the order to Abdul Rahman Limbong and Sultan Zainal Abidin III in Terengganu. Meanwhile, Muhammad Murad al-Quzani also taught many Malay people in Pontianak, Indonesia such as Ismail Jabal, Sayyid Ja'far b. Muhammad al-Saqqaf, Sayyid Ja'far bin Abdul Rahman al-Qadri and Haji Abdul Aziz. Whereas, Sayyid Abdul Azim al-Maduri, an Indonesian domiciled in Mecca taking this order from Abdul Hamid al-Dagistani and Muhammad Salleh al-Zawawi. He wrote an epistle in Malay Jawi script about the ritual of Naqshabandi, *Inilah Kaijiyyah Berdhikir Atas Tariqah Naqshabandi* published by *matba'ah al-taraqqi al-majidiyyah al-uthmanniyyah bi makkah al-mahmiyyah* in 1322H. One of Abdul Azim's deputies in Mecca was Kiyai Haji Zainal Abidin Kwanjar, an Indonesian, diffusing the order in Bengakalan, Madura, Indonesia. Later, his effort was extended by his heir Sayyid Muhsin al-Hinduwan in Madura. (Wan Mohd Shaghir 2000:65-77 ; Mohd Nasir 2009:435-440). Meanwhile, Muhammad Jan al-Makki (d.1852M) also non biological Ahmad Said's deputy initiated Khalil Helmi. Later, Ahmad Khatib al-Sambas domiciling in Mecca for study took lesson the Naqshabandi Mujaddidi Ahmadi from Khalil Hilmi. Ahmad Khatib al-sambas reconciled the Naqshabandi and Qadiri Order as one identity. The Qadiri's rite is more dominated than Naqshabandi in his practice. His action made the both Sufi orders famously called by the Malays as al-Naqshabandi wa al-Qadiri Order (Kharisudin 1998).

Among the Muhammad Mazhar's outstanding heir was Muhammad Murad al-Quzani. He played a greater and very important role in establishing the mujaddidi's idea in Mecca. He translated *maktubat* into a proper Arabic. After Muhammad Mazhari's death, he got companionship with Abdul Hamid al-Dagistani and Muhammad Saleh al-Zawawi. He was subsequently appointed by Muhammad Saleh al-Zawawi as his spiritual heir. He was a learned disciples and proficiency in both Persian and Arabic. He obtained a deep teaching mujaddidi's school of thought from his masters orally and revision mujaddidi's literatures such as *al-maktubat al-ma'sumiyyah*, *al-maqamat wa al-ma'mulat al-mazhariyyah*, *rasail Ahmad Said and Muhammad Mazhar*, *al-maqamat al-dahdabiyyah*, *munaqib al-imam al-rabbani*. Besides that, he deeply understood Ibn Arabi's school by revision *futuhat al-makkiyyah*, *fusus al-hikam* with numerous commentaries, *shuruh al-ta'iiyyah al-kubra*, *Sharh al-Luma'at*, *lawa'ih al-Jami*, *sharh al-ruba'iyyah* and *sharh al-khumariyyat*, and revising *tafsir*, *hadith*, *siyar*, *tarajim al-mashaikh wa al-'ulama'* and *tawarikh al-umam* (Mohd Nasir 2009). This indicates that in Mecca's era many late Mujaddidi's student and teachers had an open stance to Ibn Arabi's doctrine. They appreciate it as a considerable sufi's treasure. Even in Sirhindi's period occurred great polemic between *wahdah al-shuhud* and *wahdah al-wujud* in India and also reverberated to Haramain for certain time.

Muhammad Murad al-Quzani's translation to *maktubat* came from the order of Muhammad Salleh al-Zawawi. He viewed the importance of the proper Arabic translation of *maktubat* for non Persian speaking students and scholars as well in Mecca so that they can conceive the Mujaddidi's teaching properly. *Maktubat* is regarded as the magnum opus and premier reference to understanding mujaddidi's principle in the Naqshabandi Order. It is the main medium for spreading Ahmad al-Sirhindi's thought in many aspects such as theology, fiqh, politic and tassawwuf issues. *Maktubat* is serial collective letter sent by Sirhindi to his pupils and his contemporaries. It contains three volumes. The first volume contains 313 letters is named *al-durr al-ma'rifah* compiled by Yar Muhammad Badakhshi Talqani..

The second volume contains 99 letters is named *nur al-khallaq* compiled by Khawajh Abd al-Hayy, and the third volume has 122 named *ma^crifah al-haqaiq* compiled by Muhammad Hashim Kashmi. Besides *maktubat*, he also translated into Arabic, *al-mabda' wa al-ma^cad* of Sirhindi and *rashahat ayn al-hayah* of Ali Kashifi and writing *dhayl a-rashahat* as continuing works of *rashahat* by Ali al-Kashifi exposing the rest Naqshabandi masters beginning from Muhammad Zahid until Muhammad Salleh Zawawi. His Arabic *maktubat* translation also composed some marginal of note and footnote and commentary such as *tarjamah ahwal al-Imam al-rabbani, kitab al-rahmah al-habitah fi tahqiq al-rabitah* of Husain al-Dawsari, *risalah al-mabda' wa al-ma^cad* and *'atiyyah al-wahhab al-fasilah bayan al-khata' wa al-sawab* of Muhammad Beg al-Uzbeki (Mohd Nasir 2009). By Muhammad Murad al-Quzani's effort, the mujadidi's teaching regained its sound perception among the Mecca scholars at that time. His Arabic translation named *mua^rrab al-maktubat al-sharifah al-marsum bi al-durr al-maknunat al-nafisah*, and its cover page entitled *al-maktubat li al-Imam al-Rabbani Ahmad Sirhindi Mujaddid al-Thani* was publishing and edition by *matba'ah al-Miriyyah al-kainah bimakkah al-mahmiyyah* in 1899M.

Whereas, Khalid bin Ahmad al-Shaharuzi (1779M-1827M), a heir of Abdullah al-Dihlawi also played a similar role like his contemporary, Ahmad Said bin Abi Said. Khalid bin Ahmad elected the practice of *khalwah al-arba^cian* as his essential rite in the Naqshabandi Order and training his disciples by meal from vegetarian while in seclusion as a temporal abstinence. This fact is found in *majmu'at al-rasa'il* by Sulaiman al-Zuhdi. Thus, his order is known as Naqshabandi Mujaddidi Khalidi. In Mecca, his order located on the Mount of Qubais headed by his trusted representative Abdullah al-Zinjani al-Makki. He built his cloister in the mount of Qubais as accommodation to perform seclusion and spiritual initiation. Among Khalid bin Husain's heirs engaging major role in teaching the Malays into his Order were Ismail bin Abdullah al-Minangkabau, Sulaiman b. Hasan Qarimi, Yahya al-Daghistani, Khalil Parsha, Ali Reda and Sulaiman al-Zuhdi b. Hasan al-Mikhaliji.. Those are responsible chiefs dispersing the Naqshabandi Mujaddidi Khalidi to the Malay world throughout their Malay representative such as Abdul Wahab al-Rokan, Ahmad b. Muhammad Baqir, Muhammad Tayyib b. Abdullah and Muhammad Hashim Buayan. (Abdul Manam 2003). These Malay figures engaged great effort in spreading Naqshabandi Mujadidi Khalidi in many parts of Malay World, including Indonesia.. Their main reference in Naqshabandi's rite was *majmu'at al-rasa'il* written in a collective form by Sulaiman al-Zuhdi.

Naqshabandi Mujaddidi Khalidi taught by Khalid bin Ahmad's deputies began to be critiqued by some scholars. Salim b Abdullah b Sumar in Singapore in 1850M and Sayyid Uthman b Abdullah in Batavia in 1880M criticized the order. Both are Arab from al-Alawi's family. Abdullah b Sumair criticized Ismail b Abdullah al-Minangkabau as spreading false teaching but did not accuse the Order. The second directed his critic to Sulaiman al-zuhdi as he welcomed disciples of all sort of people who had insufficient Islamic fundamental knowledge, teaching the summary training of Naqshabandi rite at his cloister and gave numerous Indonesia pilgrimage Ijazas and appointing khalifa to many parts of the archipelago. (Brunesson 1999). The critic toward the Naqshabandi Mujaddidi khalidi became worse in the early of 19th in Mecca and Indonesia. Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabau (1852-1915), an Indonesian scholar in Mecca criticized the rite of the late Naqshabandi' Mujaddidi Khalidi in his epistle *idhar zaghl al-kazibin fi tashabuhihim bi al-sadiqin, al-ayat al-baiyinat li munsifin fi iddah khurafat ba^cd al-muta^casibin and al-sayf al-battar fi muhiq kalimah ba^cd ahl al-iqhtirar*. The critic circulates in major Naqshabandi ritual such as *rabitah, khatam al-khwajakan, khalwah (Seclusion), sanad (spiritual genealogy)*, temporal abstinence of meal manufactured from animal while in seclusion, *dhikr lata'if*, and *al-nafi wa al-isthbat*. His epistle got immediate intention from Muhammad Saad Mungka in his epistles such as *irgah al-unufi muta^canitin fi inkarihim rabitah al-wasilin and tanbih al-awwam 'ala taqirrat ba^cd al-anam* (Sulaiman, 2002; Wan Mohd Shagir, 2009). Such critics never stop the Naqshabandi Mujaddidi Khalidi's mainstream from spreading to the Malay World. The order then is shortened to Naqshabandi Khalidi. The word al-mujaddidi is dispelled as it is infrequently used.. However, nothing critic appears to Naqshabandi Mujaddidi Ahmadi taught by Ahmad Said even he sharing similar fundamental and ritual with Khalid bin Ahmad with some distinction. The Naqshabandi taught by Ahmad Said does not practice *khalwah al-arba^cinat* (physical forties seclusion) and no prohibition of eating a meal made from animal stuff while seclusion. He emphasizes much to *khalwah fi al-jalwah, suhbah* and moderation in meal without any abstinent in taking meal manufactured from animal.

In summary, in the early 19th, the Naqshabandi order carried out by Malay society comes from the impact of Ahmad al-Sirhindi's revival and the effort of his serial outstanding heirs.

Thus, the Naqshabandi order is founded in the Malay World transmitted from India, to Mecca and then arrive in the Malay World taught by Malay adherents. They learn it during their domicile in Mecca for study and in pilgrimage. In the Malay World, Naqshabandi Mujaddidi is identified dominated by two major line; the first from Khalid bin Ahmad and the second from Ahmad Said bin Abi Said. Both are the late Ahmad Sirhindi's legacies successfully established the Naqshabandi Mujaddidi Order to be the most prominently by the Malays in the early 19th century until now.

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