SUFISM IN MARATHWADA: A STUDY

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO SHIVAJI UNIVERSITY, KOLHAPUR

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Social Sciences

Ву

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DECLARATION BY STUDENT

I hereby declare that the thesis entitled "Sufism in Marathwada: A

Study", completed and written by me has not previously formed the basis for the

award of any Degree or Diploma or other similar title of this or any other

University or examining body.

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i

DECLARATION BY GUIDE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled "Sufism in Marathwada: A

Study", which is being submitted herewith for the award of the Degree of Doctor

of Philosophy in History of Shivaji University, Kolhapur is the result of the

original research work competed by Shri. Shaikh Musak Rajjak, under my

supervision and guidance and to the best of my knowledge and belief the work

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ii

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CONTENTS

Chapter	Title	Pages
	Declaration of Student	(i)
	Declaration of Guide	(ii)
	Acknowledgments	(iii)
	Notes on Dates	(v)
	Glossary	(vi)
One	Introduction	1-42
Two	An Outline of Mystical Ideas and Its Spread in Deccan	
Three	Sufis of Marathwada	83-152
Four	State Patronage at Sufi Shrines in Marathwada Region (Up to First half of Twentieth century)	
Five	Sufi Literature, Interaction with other Religious Sects and Impact	
Six	Conclusion	327-341
	SelectedBibliography	342-381
	Appendixes Illustrations (Maps Paintings Photographs	

INTRODUCTION

- 1. Choice of Topic
- 2. Scope of Study & Timeline (Period)
- 3. Review of Literature
- 4. Significance of Study
- 5. Evaluation of the Sources
- 6. Persian Sources
- 7. Dakkhani & Urdu Sources
- 8. Marathi Sources
- 9. European Sources
- 10. FarmanandSanads
- 11. Notes on Terms and their translation
- 12. Chapter scheme
- 13. Historical Method
- 14. Historical Background of Sufism in India ubcontinent
- 15. A History of Sufis in Early times
- 16. Geography of Marathwada

AN OUTLINE OF MYSTICAL IDEAS AND ITS SPREAD IN DECCAN

- 1. Islam and Sufism
- 2. Sufi Terms
- 3. Philosophy and History of Sufism
- 4. Beginning of Sufism
- 5. Islam & Sufism in Indian Subontinent
- 6. Sufism and Delhi Sultanate
- 7. The Early Silsilas (Orders) in Indian Subcontinent
- 8. Sufi Ideology and Contribution to Indian Culture
- 9. Chishti Ideas towards the State
- 10. Means of Livelihood
- 11. Qadiriyya Silsila in Deccan
- 12. Shattariyya Silsila in Indian Subcontint
- 13. Naqshbandiyya Silsila
- 14. Female Sufis in Indian Subcontinent
- 15. Sufism in Deccan.

SUFIS OF MARATHWADA

- 1. Dargahş Silsilas & Sufis of Khuldabad
- 2. Mazaars (Tombs) & Sufis of Daulatabad Region
- 3. Sufis of Paithan
- 4. Sufis of Beed Region
- 5. Sufis of Parbhani Region
- 6. Sufis of Latur Region
- 7. Sufis of Osmanabad
- 8. Sufis of Jalna Region
- 9. Sufis of Aurangabad Region
- 10. Other Mazaarsand Dargahsin Marathwada Region
- 11. Sufis of Kandhar Region
- 12. Muslim Marathi Poets and Sufism in Marathwada.

STATE PATRONAGE AT SUFI SHRINES IN MARATHWADA

(Up to First half of Twentieth century)

- 1. Sultanateand Islamic World
- 2. DeccanSultanatændIslamicWorld
- 3. Sultanatænd Sufism in Indian sub continent
- 4. Sufism in Marathwad&egion& Capital migration from Delhi to Daulatabad
- 5. Sufi Dargahs & Bahamani Empire in Marathwa Ragion(1347-1527 AD)
- 6. Khuldabad€Daulatabad & Nizam Shahi of Ahmednager
- 7. Farooqui Dynasty & Sufi Dargahs in Khuldabaca(uza)(1370-1601 AD)
- 8. Mughals and Sufism in Aurangab Region
- 9. Asaf Jahin Nizam State of Hydabad and Sufism in Marathwada 2/41948AD)
- 10. Sufism in Aurangabad & British India
- 11. Dargahs in Marathwada and Maratha rulers

SUFI LITERATURE, INTERACTION WITH OTHER RELIGIOUS SECTS AND IMPACT

Malfuzatand Sufi Literature (Persian)

Persian Malfuz Literature in Marathwada

Dakkhani & Urdu Literature in Marathwada (up to 1950 AD)

Sufi Folk Literature in Deccan

Urdu Literature of Sufism in Marathwada

Marathi Bhakti Poets and Sufism in Marathwada

Sufi interactions with other sects

Impactof Sufism

Influence of Sufi ideas on society

CONCLUSION

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Original Sources

Persian Manuscripts Arabic Manuscripts Published Primary Sources Persian & Arabic

Urdu

English Marathi

2. Secondary Sources

English Hindi Marathi Urdu

- 3. Dissertation and Thesis
- 4. Articles & Published papers
- 5. Government Records & Gazetteers
- 6. Reference Works & Encyclopedia
- 7. News Papers
- 8. Islamic Tradition & Quranic References
- 9. Web Sites
- 10. Travel Accounts

APPENDIXES

- 1. Pre Bahmani Sufi Literature In Marathwada
- 2. Initiatic spiritual Genealogy of Chishti SufiBawis Khwajal) of Khuldabad, District Aurangabad
- 3. PrincipalSaints Dargahs and Rulers tomb in Map of Khuldabad:
- 4. Mughal and Deccan Farmans from Khuldabad Deccan
- Hazrat Sangade Sultan•s Geneology through Heirs (blood relations) and Successors (Sajadanashins)
- 6. Spiritual and Familial Geneology of Hazrat Said ud d**a**ji **S**ayyah Sarvar Maqdoom Rafai of Kandhar

ILLUSTRATIONS

Maps:

- 1. Map of Bahamani Empire in Deccan In AD 1400
- 2. Map of Deccan in AD 1525
- 3. Map of Nizam Shahi, Qutb Shahi, Adil Shahi in Deccan AD 1675
- 4. Map of Administrative divisions of Maharashtra and Marathwada location.
- 5. Famous towns in Arabian Persian and North West Indian territory.
- 6. Map of Hyderabad Nizam State
- 7. Map of Mughal Empire in 1719.

Paintings:

- 1. Bhakti Saint, Sufi and Mughal nobel
- 2. Buddhist Yogi and Sufis in Central Asian Painting
- 3. Rags, sufi dancing
- 4. Amir Khusro and Nizam al Din Awliya

Photo/ScannedBlocks:

1.	Turatpir Dargah, Parbhani.	10.	Sepulture of Malik Ambar in Khuldabad.
2.	Dargah of Burhan al Din Gharib Chishti of Khuldabad.	11.	Sarwar MaqdoonRafai Mazaar Kandhar
3.	Saint Eknath of Paithan. Imaginaryphoto from Paithan temple	12.	Urs festival and Sandal at Sarwar Maqdoom Rafai Kandhar Dargah.
4.	Sai Baba of Shirdi	13.	Zikr practice at TuratpiDargah at Parbhani.
5.	Quranic Inscription at Burhan al Din Dargah Khuldabad	14.	Dargah of Nizam al Din Awarangabadi
6.	Cover page of ,Rawzat al Awliya Persian Urdu tex Published book.	15.	Dargah of Shah Noor Hamwi atAurangabad
7.	Cover page oMajmua	16.	€Hindu Turk Samwa b y Saint Eknath
8.	Sepulture of Khwaja Raju Qattal Hussaini of Khuldabad.	17.	Entrance and Tomb of Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir at Khuldabad
9.	Tomb of Last Qutb Shah Tana Shah at Khuldabad.	18.	Bibi ka Maqbaraa of Aurangabad

Glossary

(Arabic, Persian and Indian terms)

AbdServant, slave.

Adab Right conduct, the Muslim ideas of the harmonious life

Ahl -i- Bihisht lit., 'the people of Heaven', a phrase used by Sufis to describe

themselves

Ahl –i- Dunya lit., 'People of the World', a phrase used by some Sufis to describe

the lay population

A village or a part of one occupied by Brahmins and held either Agrahara

rent free under special grants or at a reduced rate of assessment

the so called 'low born' people, a title used at times for the Indian Ajlaf

converts to Islam in India

'alim (pl. Ulama) a learned man, in particular one learned in Islamic legal and

religious studies.

Ana'l – Haqq 'I am the Truth', presumably a self divinizing slogan raised in

ecstasy, attributed to Husayn ibn Mansur Hallaj, for which he was

condemned to death

lit., 'People of the Platform', a group of the Companions of Ashab al- Suffah

Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) who had devoted their lives to

worship and learning

the nonourable people, the respectable people, those whose Ashraf

> ancestors had come from outside the subcontinent, or claimed that they did so people of Arab, Iranian, Turkish or Afghan descent.

Ashur Khanah Place where the Shias keep Alams (vestiges)

Asr Late afternoon prayer / Salat

Garden Bagh

Bandah bandagan, a slave servant Baradari brotherhood, the patrilineage within which by custom marriage is

prefereed.

Baoli a well with stairs

Barakah blessing, grace, spiritual influence.

Batin internal, inward or esoteric

Bayi'at oath of allegiance

Bazar Market

Bin Son of

Bismillah the opening phrase of the Qur'an, and the opening phrase of every

surah except the ninth: Bism Lhah ir-Rahman ir-Rahim (In the Name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful). As a consecrational

formula it is repeated before carrying out many daily duties or

functions.

Chasht prayer performed immediately after sunrise

Chillah a forty day period of solitary seclusion, spent in fasting and prayer

Chauth One fourth of the revenue demanded by the Marathas from various

rulers as the price of forbearing to ravage their territory

Daff drum

Da'irah a type of a Sufi dwelling

Darvish Faqir

Darbar court of a ruler, Royal court

Dargah a Sufi shrine or tomb

Darwesh Sufi Fakir; a beggar who goes from door to door, one who has

given up all his worldly possessions, and either lives in a Khanqah

or as a wandering mendicant

Dharmshala Rest house, charity house

Dhikr recollection, remembrance. Used in the sense of remembering

Allah,, for as Allah says in the Qur'an: 'Remember Me. I will remember you'. Qur'an 2:152. The practice of dhikr, or more

spedificaly dhikru'llah.

Divan a collection of poetry.

Diwali Hindu festival of lights and the worship of Lakshmi

Fana passing 0 away, annihilation of the self. The final stage of fan' is

fan' al fana' (the passing away of passing away), when one is no

longer conscious of having attained fana'.

Fakir a poor man. A Mystic. A term used to denote a follower of the

Sufi path. A faqir is spiritually poor – that is, he / she seeks to relinquish 'the self' and its associated 'riches'. The Persian for faqir is darwish and form these two words come the English 'fakir'

and 'derwish.

Faqr voluntary poverty

Farman a mandate or order; Government rhetoric written order.

Fatiha the opening sura of the Quran; also the prayer for the deceased.

Fatwa the point of a mufti, on a point of law.

Figh understanding, knowledge, intelligence, the technical term for the

science of Islamic jurisprudence, that is the discipline of elucidating the Shari'a, holy law, and the resultant body of rules.

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Gaddi lit., 'a throne or seat of authority', hereditary custodianship of a

Sufi shrine

Gaddi nashini hereditary custodian of a Sufi shrine

Gazal a short poem of between ten and fifteen verses, used primarily for

love poetry

Goshanishin a recluse, 'one who sits in a corner'.

gunj a small trading centre, often a focus of Hindu cultrure.

Habshis Abyssanians, African slaves

Hadiths the sayings and doings of the Prophet Muhammad based on the

authority of a chain of transmitters

Hajj the annual pilgrimage to Mecca

Hakim usually a doctor practicing unani tibb / medicine, traditional

Islamic medicine, but might also mean phiolosopher or very

learned man

Hadith ahadith; saying or statement of the Prophet Muhammad. A hadith

qudsi is a Divine Saying, in which Allah speaks through the mouth

of the Prophet.

Hal ahwal; spiritual state.

Halal permitted under Islamic law

Haqiqah inner reality; from the same root as al haqq; meaning 'the Truth' or

the Real.

Haram forbidden under Islamic law

Hindvi particular language of India

Hujra a small room, a cell

Idgah A place of worship on the Id days of Ramzan and Bakrid

Id ul Fitr Ramazan festival Id

Id ul Zuha Barid festival

Ihsan virtue, spiritual life. One of the three basic principles of Islam, the

other two being iman and islam.

Imam Religious head

Iman Faith. One of the three basic principles of Islam, he other two

being Islam and Ihsan

Ilm Knowledge, especially the revealed or esoteric knowledge that the

non-Sufi laityis capable of acquiring and which Sufis must acquire

before moving to the lhigher stages of the Path

Inam Gift / endowment

Insan al Kamil 'Perfect' or 'Universal' Man. A term used to denote a fully

realized human being.

Islam submission to the Divine Will. A term used to denote a fully

realized human being.

Jagir land grant

Jihad lit., to make an effort or struggle; often used for a holy war in

Islam; in Sufism, war with self nafs

Kafir an infidel, an unbeliever

Kalima The Muslim confession of faith, 'There is no God but Allah, and

Muhammad is his Prophet'.

Kalam theology

Karamat a miracle believed to have been performed by a Sufi

Khairat Charity

Khalifa one who has been given Khilafat, by his pir, the right to make his

own disciples in the order to which they belong; Head of Islamic

Empire

Khanqah hospice, a building for Sufi activities where pire, may live, teach

their disciples and entertain travelling Sufis.

Khilafat Caliphate or successorship to the Prophet Muhammad as the leader

of the Muslim community; Spiritual succession in Sufism

Kilafatnamah the 'letter of succession' that formalized the granting of a Khilafat

Khirqah a worn and patched cloak granted to a disciple by his / her

preceptor symbolizing spiritual succession; initiatic mantle; a patiched frock worn by Sufis, often passed from a Pir to a Khalifa

to symbolize the latter's legitimate succession.

Khutba Religious address, Friday sermon

Khwajah a title for a lord, master, noble, or an aristocrat; also used as an

epithet for Sufi Shaykhs

Langar Alms house, distributing food in charity at Sufi Khanqah or

Dargah

Lataif the five organs of subtle or inner perception. Their names,

locations and associated colors are: *qalb* (mind or heart), left side of hest, yellow; ruh (spirit), right side of chest, red; sirr (inner consciousness), solar plexus, white; Khafi (hidden depth or intuition), forehead, black; *akhfa* (most hidden depth or deep consciousness), centre of chest, green. The *lataif* are not to be confused with the chakras or energy centers of Eastern tradition.

Madad-I ma'ash revenue free grant, often made by the Mughals to support scholars

Madrasa a school for 'ulama

Mahfil-e- Samaa a Sufi musical gathering

Majlis A local assembly in Shias; Sufi assembly.

Majdhub lit., 'the drunken or the absorbed', an enraptured person, generally

having lost sanmity and self control

Maktubat letters, often the collected letters offering guidance or counsel form

a saint

Malfuzat 'utterances, sayings, annals, a term applied to a genre of Sufi

literature which is devoted to the deeds and particularly the sayings

of saints

Makruh disliked

Mansab post or rank supported by cash payment or the assignment of

revenue from land, under the Mughals.

Maqamat, spiritual station.

Maqam –i- Qurb lit., the place of nearness, the goal of the Chishti Sufi. It signifies

the place either of companionship with Allah or of unit with Allah,

depending on the Sufi.

Math Hindu convent

Mawlana title given to leading 'ulama

Mashaykh plural of Shaykh, Sufi teachers or instructors / guides

Mehrab Nitch

Minbar the pulpit in a mosque form which the khutaba or sermo would be

given

Momin a pious Muslim

Mubah neutral

Mufti an expert in the shari'a, who gives opinions in cases of law and

conscience; Expounder of Islamic law

Mujawar Manager of Tomb, Dargah etc.

Mulla learned man

Murid the disciple of a sufi pir or shaykh

Murshid a spiritual mentor, or a preceptor

Mustahab Favored

Musallah a prayer mat

Mutawalli Caretaker of Dargah or Khanqah

Nafs nufus; variously defined as soul, mind, self or ego. The nafs is

frequently described as having seven levels or stages: the Commanding Self; the accusing or Reproachful Self; the Inspired Self; the Tranquil or Certain Self; the Satisfied or Contented Self; the Harmonious or Satisfying elf; the Fulfilled or Purified and Completed Self. The passage through these seven stages constitutes

a path of transformation.

Na't poem in praise of the Prophet mhammd

Naqqarkhana Drum beating house at Dargah or Darbar

Nazar Gift, Present; Any present or offering given by an inferior to a

superior. At the Dargahs, this refers to the gifts of flowers, coins, sweets, etc., given as votive offerings by male and female devotees

to the Sajjada Nishin.

Panchakki 'water mill', name of the shrine of Shah Musafir and Shah

Palangposh in Aurangabad.

Parwana a warrant or order often addressed to a subordinate officer

Pir a Sufi master able to lead disciples on a path of spiritual or

mystical development

Pirzada Descendant of Sufi

Qualandar Islamic ascetic

Qawwali songs performed by professional singers, which in a Sufi context

often tell of how spiritual understanding was jpased down to a

saint

Qazi Muslim judge appointed by the government of enforce Islamic law

Qutb Khana Library

Quillah Fort

Quilledar Head of fort

Rags devotional or ecstatic dance

Ruh the higher self, the human spirit or soul

Sadquat Truthfulness

Sadqah an act of charity meant to ward off evil, suffering or disease

Sahari food taken at midnight before observing a fast

Sajdah prostration

Sajjada successor to the leadership of a pir or shaykh

Sajjada nashini hereditary custodian of a Sufi shrine

Salam salutation or greeting

Salat ritual prayer in Islam

Samaa devotional Sufi music; a Sufi concert

Sayyid a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh)

Shaykh a sufi master, Arabic term, equivalent to the Persian pir

Shari'a the law of Islam, based on the Quran and the Hadiths

Sharif Singular form of ashraf

Shia Sect of Islam, followers of Hazrat Ali

Shirk polytheism, associationism; the opposite of tawhid.

Silsila chain, meaning sufi order, Sufis linked by common spiritual

descent form a founder; a Sufi Order or Tariqah traces its descent from the Prophet Muhammad via an unbroken initiatic lineage

passed from Shaykh to Shaykh

Shuqr ecstatic intoxication or drunkenness

Sultan lit., 'one who wields political authority', an epithet used by

Muslim kings and rulers

Subhedar Governor

Sufi Islamic saint

Sunni Major sect of Islam, followers of Four Khalifas

Tawbah penitence

Tafsir exegesis or commentary; in the Islamic curriculum of the Qur'an

Taifah a group of Sufis

Tariqah the spiritual Path leading form Shari'ah to Haqiqah. The word

Tariqah also denotes a Sufi Order or brotherhood, such as the

Qadiriyyah, Naqshbandiyyah or Mevleviyah.

Tasbih Beeds, rosary

Tasawwuf Islamic mysticism or Sufism

Tariqah lit., a path, a way, or a method; a spiritual lineage or an initiatic

genealogy like a silsilah

Tawhid affirmation of the Divine Unity; the opposite of Ghaflah.; unity,

oneness

Tawiz Counterfeit tomb; an amulet; any gift given by a Pir to a Murid,

originally a written Zikr for the follower to memorize; an amulet or

charm given by a pirzada to the followers at a Dargah

Tazkirah collective biography, a classical production of Muslim civilization

'ulama alim

'urs the term used, first, to describe the saint's marriage, with God

when he dies and, second, the annual festival held at his tomb to

celebrate the event

Wajib Fard; obligatory, duty

Wahdat al Shuhud

/ Wahdat al wujud the unity of appearance, phenomenological monism as contrasted

with wahdat al wujud, the 'unity of being', ontological monism. The former emphasizes the transcendence of God and the latter the

immanence of God.

Walayat Lit., to be near, or to be close to; closeness or love of Allah, often

translated as saintship or sainthood

Wilayat spiritual territory or domain under the spiritual jurisdiction of a

Sufi Shaykh

Wali saint, friend of God

Waaf Pious endowment

Wazir Minister

Wuzu the custom of washing hands and feet and face before offering the

Namaz

Yogi or Jogi Ascetic

Zamindar landholder

Zawiyah a corner; Sufi meeting place, Khanqah; Turkish Tekke.

INTRODUCTION

Among the administrative regions of Maharashtra State, the region in and around mid-Godavari basin is known as 'Marathwada'. Its headquarters are situated at Aurangabad City. The Marathwada region includes the eight districts of Aurangabad, Jalna, Parbhani, Beed, Osmanabad, Latur, Nanded and Hingoli. Ajanta Hills are situated on the North and Balaghat Hill Range lies in south central direction in this region. The Godavari, the Dudhana, the Purna and the Manjara are the major rivers in this region.

Historically, Marathwada has a rich cultural background. In the sixth Century BC, the region was ruled over by Mulak and Ashmak Janapadas, who were followed by Maurya and Nanda Dynasties (second and third Century BC), Satvahana Dynasty (third Century BC to third Century AD), Chalukya, Vakataka, Rashtrakuta and Devgiri Yadav Dynasties (fifth to thirteenth Century AD). During this period, historically, culturally and politically important centers like Ajanta, Verul, Bhokardan, Tagar (Ter), Lattalur (Latur), Kandhar, Aurangabad, Pratishthan (Paithan), Udgir, Naladurg, Ausa, Ambad, Jalna, Daulatabad, Khuldabad and Nanded, came to be developed. On the arrival of Muslims in the Deccan in the thirteenth Century AD, the rules of Khilji and Tughalaq were stabilized in this region. Malik Ambar of Nizamshahi settled and developed the city of Aurangabad in 1610 A.D. During the rule of Tughalaq (thirteenth to fifteenth Century AD) and thereafter, during the rule of Bahamani Empire, cities and towns like Daulatabad, Khuldabad, Aurangabad, Kandhar, Bidar, Udgir, Ambad, Nanded, were settled or developed. All the five Muslim Shahis (Adilshahi, Bidarshahi, Qutubshahi, Imadshahi and Nizamshahi) of the south ruled at on or other time over this region. Aurangabad was reputed as the capital of the Mughals' southern subhas. Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb headquartered himself at Aurangabad for twenty five year in Deccan. In later years,

Aurangabad became the capital of Nizami Asafjahi dynasty (1724-67 A.D.). Nizam subsequently shifted his capital to Hyderabad (1767-1948 A.D.).

The philosophy of Sufism came to be evolved in Arabia and middleeast in the 8th Century AD With the passage of time, the spiritual-mystical philosophy of the Islamic cult got divided over the religious practices and customs and several sub-cults (Silsilas or Tariqas), each one named after is chief proponent, came into being. The spread of Sufism began in Marathwada region situate in the mid-Godavari basin began in the 12th century AD and the Sufi silsilas of Qadriya, Chishtiya, Junaidi. Suharawardiya, Naqshbandiya and Rafaiya became particularly popular in the Marathwada region.² Their respective Qadari, Chishti, Rafai, and Naqshbandi Dargahs area famous even today, and there Hindu and Muslim devotees come to pay reverential homage. The Sufi saints settled in Marathwada had produced voluminous Sufi literature.3 These include Malfuzats, genealogies, autobiographies, translations, Tafsir (definitions), (Traditions), Figah (religious law), Qirat (incantational Hadis pronunciation), Ilm (Knowledge), Nasab (genealogical reports), Qalam (Islamic thoughts), etc.

1. Choice of Topic: Until now many national and international scholars have done an intensive research in the history of the Islamic tradition in Indian subcontinent or South Asian region. Mention may be made of Dr. Muhammad Suleman Siddiqi, H. K. Sherwani, Richard Eaton, Prof. Nile Green, Prof. Carl Ernst and Simon Digby. Muhammad Suleman Siddiqi had done the research study on the Sufis of Gulbarga and Bidar Deccan region under the Bahmani dynasty. Richard Eaton had done the work on the Sufis of Bijapur Deccan region. He covered the study of Adilshahi Deccan Sufism. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami had also the work on Sufism in Northern India. He wrote the book on Sufism in thirteenth century India. Sherwani H.K. and P.M. Joshi covered the some short facets of Sufism in central Deccan in medieval Deccan in their book on 'History of Medieval Deccan'. Nile Green, Ernst Carl and Simon Digby had covered the literary history of sufis of Deccan during Sultanate and

Bahamani period. Simon Digby had the approach on Persian Sufi Malfuzat literature of Naqshbandi Sufis of Aurangabad under the Mughal region. In addition, in the leading foreign and indigenous journals and periodicals a number of research articles have been appeared in Sufism in Indian including Deccan. However, whatever research done with regards to Sufism in Bijapur, Gulbarga, Bidar and Hyderabad Deccan region. Very short work has been done on Sufis of Marathwada region. It is based within central Deccan Marathi speaking area. It was known as *Marathwadi* in Nizam state of Hyderabad. Setu Madhavrao Pagadi's work 'Sufi Sampradaya', published in 1953 makes several general references to the Sufis in Marathwada, but still deeper study of this topic has not been conducted. So far as the knowledge is concerned; even the research review does not find the special work furnishing information on the Sufism in Marathwada up to mid twentieth century AD.

This study takes a historic review of the spread and development of Sufism in the Marathwada region. It is also include a study of important Sufi saints, their Shrine (Dargah) traditions of Sufi silsila like Qadari, Chishti, Rafai, Naqshbandi, Suharawardi etc. in Marathwada division. There is a lack of prior detailed study on this topic and this study is the maiden venture in this respect has much importance. The study has the both national and international importance.

2. Scope of Study & Timeline (Period): The present study has the expansion or time period scope since Twelfth century AD to Mid twentieth Century AD. The study is about the historic review of the spread and development of Sufism in Marathwada region. It is also include a study of some important Sufi Saints, Dargahs, and the traditions of Sufi silsila like Qadriya, Chishtiya, Rafaiya, Naqshbandiya, Suharawardiyya etc. The Sufi literature was also written by the Sufis and their disciples in historic period of Marathwada in Persian and Urdu. The study is also observed the Sufi relations and interactions with other sects and regional literature. The study covered the history of spread of Sufism in Marathwada region including the tradition of various Sufi silsila and Sufi saints in Marathwada. The study also discussed the Sufi literature of Marathwada in various languages and the contribution within Sufi doctrines too.

3. Review of Literature: A good deal of literature is available on the Sufi history of northern India. Number of research works available on the Sufism in North India, Sufi and Bhakti tradition in North India etc. But very few published literature are available on the Sufism in Marathwada. The scholars have carried up to now no research work in the theme on 'Sufism in Marathwada, from twelfth to mid twentieth century AD'.

The collected works of Professor Mohammad Habib in two volumes, Politics and Society in Early Medieval Period (1974), have been edited by K.A. Nizami, and include many articles related to Sufis and Sufism in North India. Though brief and precise, they offer very useful insights into the lives and teachings of Chishti Sufis, such as Shaykh Nasir al Din *Chirag-I Delhi* and the lay-Sufi poet and music composer, Amir Khusau. An important article included in it, a pioneering work on the subject, deals with the authenticity of sufi literature, including the Malfuzat, or the conversations of the Sufi Shaykhs in their assemblies recorded by their disciples. This collection of articles also includes research articles dealing with the state and politics in the Sultanate era. However, none of these articles analyze the Sufis and Sufism in Marathwada or central Deccan periphery.

Another monumental work on Indian Sufism is Sayyid Athar Abbas Rizvi's 'A History of Sufism in India', (1986). Its first volume covers the history of Sufism in India till 1600 AD. However, none of these two volumes of S.A.A. Rizvi analyze the Sufis and Sufism in Marathwada. Rizvi just mentioned the few lines on the Chishti circle of Burhan al Din in Daulatabad fort capital of Sultanate period.

Setu Madhorao Pagadi explained the spread of Islam and Sufism in Deccan from twelfth century AD to Seventeenth century. His book, 'Muslim Samajatil Adhyatmdarshan: Sufi Sampraday, Tatwadnyan Aani

Kaary', [Spiritual Philosophy of Muslim Society: Sufi Cult, Philoshophy & Works] discussed the major Sufi saints in Deccan area. Burhan al Din Gharib, Muntjib al Din Zar Zari Zar Baksh and Zain al Din Shirazi of Khuldabad were spiritual personalities in medieval Deccan. They were spread Islam in this region. But Hayat Kalandar, Nizam ud din of Paithan, Sarwar Maqdoom of Kandhar had disputes with the local Hindu Math institutions about the settlement and spread of Islam. Pagadi wrote the all aspects of violence and establishement of Sarwar Maqdoom Khanqah on the ruins of Shiva temple in Kandhar. Shah Moiz ud din of Paithan had ruined the temple of Hindu deties in Hillocks near Godavari river Ghat and established the Khanqahs on it. These mixed and critical notations explained by Pagadi in his book, about the both side of Sufism and spread of Islam in Deccan i.e. peace and violence.

Tanvir Anjum had done the research work on 'Chishtia Silsialh and the Delhi Sultanate: A Study of Their relationship during 13th and 14th centuries'. But the study has not the special focus on the Sufis of Daulatabad during Tughlaq period. Some of the important biographies on Sufis include Muhammad Salim's The Holy Saint of Ajmer (1949), K.A. Nizami's The Life and Times of Shaikh Farid -ud- Din Ganj -i- Shakar (1955), Zahurul Hassan Sharib's Khwaja Gharib Nawaz (1961), Iqbal al Din Ahmad's Tadhkirah-I Gesudiraz of Gulbarga (1966), Mohammad Habib's Hadrat Nizam al Din Awliya: Hayat aur Ta'limat (1970 Urdu), Jafar Qasimi's Baba Farid ud Din Mas'ud Ganj -i- Shakar (1971), W. D. Begg's The Big Five of India I Sufism (1971), Gurbachan Singh Talib's Baba Sheikh Farid: His Life and Teaching (1973), "Shaikh Nasir ud Din Mahmud Chiragh-I Dehli as a Great Historical Personality", in K. A. Nizami's edited work Collected Works of Professor Mohammad Habib -Politics and Society in Early Medieval Period (1974), B. S. Anand's Baba Farid (1975), W. D. Begg's The Holy Biography of Hazrat Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti (1977), Nizami's two other works, The Life and Times of Shaikh Nasir ud Din Chiragh -i- Dehli (1991), and The Life and Times of Shaikh Nizam ud-Din Awliya (1991), and Shabbir Hasan Nizami Chishti's Sawanih-I Baba Farid Ganj Shakar. The few references had been noted in these above mentioned biographical works about the sufis of Deccan.⁹ But these references are mainly on Gulbarga, Bidar and Hyderabad.

An important systematic and scholarly work is K. A. Nizami's Tarikh –i- Masha'ikh –i- Chisht (1980). In addition to a preliminary discussion on the evolution and sources of Sufism, and the organization of silsilah, it examines the development and growth of the Chishti silsilah till its revival in the eighteenth century. The work highlights the less known aspects of the lives and teachings of the Chishti Sufis, and fills an important gap in scholarly research on Indian Sufism. Though quite analytical, the work does some notes on the Sufism in Deccan also.

Some scholars had works on the regional focus as well. For instance, Gholam Rassol's work Chishti Nizami Sufi Order of Bengal (till amid 15th Century) and its Socio Religious Contribution (1990), studies a sub branch of Chishtis, originating from Shaykh Nizam al Din Awliya. As its title indicates, it deals with the contribution of the Chishti Nizami Sufis of Bengal to Society and Religion, and only tangentially focuses on the relationship of the Chishti Nizami Sufis with the state. Like that, none of this, any work done on the Sufism in Marathwada. Richard Eaton's Sufis of Bijapur 1300 – 1700 (1978) gives the Sufic history of Bijapur Subha. It covered the social roles of Sufis in the Medieval Bijapur region.

Gulbarga and Bidar are the famous Sufi centers in North Karnataka of Deccan region. This region located by the south side of Marathwada. Sayed Shah Khusro Hussaini's work Sayyid Muhammad al Husayni –i-Gisudiraz: On Sufism, (1983) deals with the views of Khwajah Gesudiraz pertaining to issues in Sufism, such as Prophethood and Saintship, and Samaa. The study does not take the review of the Sufis from Marathwada periphery, which is north side of Gulbarga. Hazrat Raju Qattal Hussaini's Dargah is situated in Khuldabad, District Aurangabad today. He was the father of Gesudiraz Banda Nawaz of Gulbarga.

Carl W. Ernst and Bruce B. Lawrence's Sufi Martyrs of Love: the Chishti Order in South Asia and Beyond (2002) is a very incisive and brilliant methodological inquiry into Sufism, with a focus on the Chishti Silsila. It is focus on Northern Indian Sufism. Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui's article, "The Early Chishti Dargahs", in Christian W. Troll's Muslim Shrines in India (1989), briefly discusses the relationship of the descendents of early Sufis of Chishti Silsila with the Sultans of Delhi. Similarly, Simon Digby's article, "The Sufi Shaykh and The Sultan: A Conflict of Claims to Authority in Medieval India", Iran (1990), discusses the relations between the Sufi Shaykhs and the Sultans of Delhi with reference to the concepts of wilayat or spiritual domain of a Sufi Shaykh in Sufism. It also assesses the role of the Sufi Shaykhs of various silsila as 'king makers' since, according to the Sufi belief, the Sufis at times bestowed kingship upon individuals. It argues that the Muslim rulers were the de facto power holders of the regions over which the Sufi Shaykhs exercised their authority, and the latter had a direct influence on the political events as well. Simon Digby also published the translation of Malfuzat -e- Naqshbandiyya: Halat -e- Hazrat Baba Shah Musafir Sahib (2001). It covered the Sufi Malfuz literature of Nagshbandi circle of Aurangabad. He is also published The Nagshbandis in the Deccanin the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Century AD: Bab Palangposh, Bab Musafir and Their Adherents¹³, in M. Gaborieau, A. Popvic and T. Zarcone, Nagshbandis: Cheminements et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musulman (1990).

Pagadi Setu Madhawrao wrote *Sufi Sampradaya* (Marathi1953), on the Sufi philosophy and its history in Marathi language. His notes covered the references about the Sufis of Marathwada. Muhammad Suleman Siddiqi wrote the book on The Bahmani Sufis (1989). His book covered the Sufis of Gulbarga and Bidar region. He discussed the early Sufis like Burhan al Din and Muntjib al Din Chishti of Khuldabad. Dr. Siddiqi begins narrative from the early Muslim settlements in the south. It is now well established that Muslim mystics both in the north and the south settled in their respective areas long before the waves of political conquest

touched those regions. Long before Muhammad bin Tughlaq turned his attention to the south, Shaikh Nizam ud Din Awliya had sent some of his disciples to the Deccan to set up Chishti mystic centers there. Amir Khusau presented a mathnawi, Sahifat -ul- Ausaf, to Prince Juna Khan (future Muhammad bin Tughlaq) in which he lauded the climate, geographical situation and the scenic beauty of Daulatabad. The mystics entered this land with new hopes and new aspirations. Siddiqi has recreated, with all its light and shade, the cultural milieu of medieval Deccan. The creation of a second administrative city in the South by Muhammad bin Tughlaq paved the way for the political unification of the country and brought about a cultural revolution which the Sufis avidly nurtured. Scholars, poets, administrates, merchants and artisans flocked from all directions ad annihilated he distance between Delhi and Daulatabad.

When Muhammad bin Tughlaq's hold over the Deccan loosened, the Bahmani kingdom rose up like phoenix from its ashes. It adopted regional trappings and an era of the consolidation of regional cultural traditions began. Dr. Siddiqi has studied the saints of different spiritual affiliations in their historical context; has pointed out the main points of difference in the attitudes of the saints of the north and the south and has put forward balanced views. ¹⁵ He has arranged facts meaningfully and constructed contexts but avoided establishing causal connections which often lead astray the unwary reader.

Carl W. Ernst's Eternal Garder: Mysticism, History, and Politics at a South Asian Sufi Center (2004), gave the historical information about the Chishti Sufi circle of Burhan al Din Gharib of Khuldabad. His main focus is on the Political history of the Khuldabad shrines. Carl W. Ernst's article on 'An Indo Persian Guide to Sufi Shrine Pilgrimage', in Manifestations of Sainthood in Islam, edited by Grace Martin Smith and Carl W. Ernst, gave the historical information about the Deccan Sufism. Nile Green's Indian Sufism since the Seventeenth Century: Saints, Books and Empires in the Muslim Deccan, gave the historical information about

the Urdu hagiographical accounts on Sufis of Mughal Deccan (2008). His another book Making Space: Sufis and Settlers in Early Modern India (2012) gave the historical information about the Sufism in South Asia including Marathi speaking region of Central Deccan. Nile Green's another article 'Stories of Saints and Sultans: Re-membering History of the Sufi Shrines of Aurangabad', in Modern Asian Studies (2004) gave the evidence about the Sufism in Aurangabad.¹⁶

Prof. U.M. Pathan's *Musalman Sufi Santanche Marathi Sahitya* (Marathi 2011) gave the history of Muslim Marathi poets in Maharashtra. His evidences gave the historical information Shah Muntjib al Din Bahamani, Ambar Husain, Shaikh Chand Saheb Qadiri, Shaikh Muhammad Shrigondekar of Shrigonda, Allam Khan, Shah Muni, Latif Shah etc. These poets wrote the Marathi spiritual literature with interaction with Sufi, Nagesh, Warkari, Natha, Datta, Anand and Jain Cults of Maharashtra periphery.¹⁷

4. Significance of Study: The study has the national and international repute. For the first time, the study has done based on the primary and archaeological sources. The doctrine of Sufism leads to unity of mankind. Akbar's policy of Sulh-i-Kul (Pease with all) was also based on the Sufi ideas. Maulana Jalal al din Rumi sums up the substance of the story in his own characteristic way: "The religion of love is apart from all religions. The lovers of God have no religion but God alone". Hafiz Shirazi echoes it in his own superb way: "The good of this world and that can be summed up in a few words: that is kindness towards friends and hospitality towards enemies." Sufism and Bhakti movement made mark departure from orthodoxy in religions both in Islam and Hinduism. These movements were attempts for close affinity of people, cutting across all barriers. Sufism is a way to reach Allah through the rigorous practices of salat (prayer), faqr (poverty), Zikr (remembrance of Allah), fana (anhilation) and safa (purity of body and soul). Important components of these practices are tauba (repentance), zuhud (asceticism), tawakkul (trust in God), reza (satisfaction) etc. In this pursuit a Sufi moves through

different stations of mystic experiences. Bhakti movements are also a mystic movement, an offshoot of Hinduism, but a reaction to its ritualism, castism and social stratification.

Sufism became an important institution during the medieval period with great moral sway over the state as well as the populace at the hands of Shaikh Muin al Din Chishti, Shaikh Qut al Din Bakhtiyar Kaki, Shaikh Farid al Din Ganj -e- Shakar, Shaikh Nizam al Din Awliya Dehlawi and Shaikh Nasir al Din Chiragh-i- Delhi of the Chishti order. Similarly, simultaneously, rather subsequently, emerged Bhakti movement is in the fertile soil of Indian spiritualism. The brightest stars among them were Kabir, Tulsidas, Meera Bai, Nanak, Chaitanya, Namdev etc. Sufism and Bhakti movement in India also led to cultural and linguistic interaction between the two civilizations. The influence on each other was immense. Indian languages imbibed Persian and Arabic vocabulary. On the other hand, cultural tenets of Islam also received fulsome impact of local dialects and culture. The most important and interesting outcome of the said intercourse was on the metaphysical and philosophical thoughts, beliefs and practices. Shaikh Farid al Din Ganj -i- Shakr, popularly known as Baba Farid al Din played an important role in transforming the religious, linguistic and cultural ethos of the land. Amir Khusro brought revolution to the Indian poetry and literature. Like these movements in Northern Indian subcontinent, in Marathwada or Marathi speaking region central Deccan had also the Sufi institutions and Shaykhs. They had also the social reform ideas and practices in their Khangahs. Both Hindus and Muslims became the followers of Sufi Saints, cutting linguistic, religious and caste barriers. Chapter number three and fourth have the discussion about the spread of Sufism in Marathwada and its interaction with society and polity. Chapter number fifth discussed the doctrine of Sufis and their interactions with other religious sects in Marathwada. Saint Eknath presented the Sufi ideas in his 'Hindu Turk Samvad', Marathi dialogue. Nizam al Din Awarangabadi and Shah Noor Hamwi had the interactions with Yogi Cults in Marathwada. Datta Cult and Sufis had interacted within the sixteenth century Marathwada. It was reflected the literature of Shaikh Chand Bodhale and Shaikh Muhammad Shringondekar's literature in Marathi language. 18

The study takes a historic review of the spread of Sufism in Marathwada region. The Sufi centers like Kandhar, Khuldabad, Daulatabad, Aurangabad, Ambad, Vaijapur, Jalna, Beed, Osmanabad, Latur, Parbhani and Udgir had the rich Sufic heritage and historical monuments. The study has observed by evidences about the traditions of various Sufi silsila and Sufi saints in the territory. It is the significance of study that to study the Sufi literature and it's contribution towards Sufi doctrine in Deccan history. Significance of topic is that, the topic of study covered the all facets of Sufism in Marathwada by historical approach with the historical review of the Sufi relations and interactions with other sects during the study period i.e. twelfth century to mid twentieth century AD. The study has the hope, that it will be well received by all scholars and students of the religious history and cultural history of Deccan.

- **5. Evaluation of the Sources:** The present study is based on the study of source material in Persian, Urdu and regional languages like Marathi, falling under the following categories:
 - Collection of letters written by Sufis
 - Sufi discourses known as Malfuzat
 - Treaties on the Sufi silsila doctrines and Sufi biographical accounts
 - Literature of contemporary poets and nobles
 - Medieval accounts written by travelers, pilgrims and sufis
 - General and dynastic histories of the period, like *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* etc.

Concerned to the subject a large number of original unpublished and published sources are available in Persian, Marathi, English and Urdu. In this research work an extensive use of such sources is made. In addition, the study is supplemented also by the standard secondary sources. The sources have been collected by the various institutions and archives. These are the Andhra Pradesh State Archives, the Salar Jung Museum and

Archival Library Hyderabad, The Oriental Manuscript Library and Research Centre Hyderabad, the *Idarah -e- Abdiyat -e- Urdu* Hyderabad, the Maulana Azad Arabic and Persian Library Meccan Masjid Hyderabad, the *Asafiya* Library Hyderabad, the Bharat Samshodhak Mandal Pune, the Pune University Library, the Archaeological Survey of India Library Aurangabad, the Marathwada Archives Aurangabad, Barrister Khardekar Library Shivaji University Archives section Kolhapur and University Library Dr . Babasaheb Ambedkar Marathwada University Aurangabad; etc.

Sufi literature has been classified in various categories by different historians and scholars of Sufism. The broad categories include the following:

- 1. *Malfuzat* (the collection of conversations and discourses of the Sufis compiled by their disciples.
- 2. Maktubat (the collected correspondence of the Sufis).
- 3. Treatises written by the Sufis on themes related to Sufism.
- 4. *Tadhkirat* (compilation of anecdotes and biographical accounts of the Sufis composed by the disciples or devotees of the Sufis; often referred to as hagiographical literature).
- 6. Persian Sources: Kashf al Mahjub was the first Persian book in Indian subcontinent which gave the information about the sufis and Sufism in early period. Abul Hassan Ali Ibn Usman al-Jullabi al-Hajvery al-Ghaznawi also known as Daata Ganj Bakhsh, which means the master who bestows treasures a Persian Sufi and scholar during the 11th century. He significantly contributed to the spreading of Islam in South Asia or Indian sub continent. He was born around 990 AD near Ghazni, Afghanistan and died in Lahore in 1077 AD. His most famous work is Revelation of the Veiled or Kashf Al Mahjub or المحجوك, written in the Persian language. 19

Fawa'id u'l Fu'ad: Amir Hasan's Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad set the tradition of Malfuz literature writing in Indian subcontinent. It has been

planned and prepared in a very systematic manner. Every Majlis has a date and the conversations are recorded in a very exact, accurate and succinct manner. Every Majlis has the lively atmosphere of an assembly. The topics of discussion change, with the change of audience and visitors. Amir Hasan Ala-i-Sijzi Dehlawi (1253-1336) was the founder in Sufic literature in Deccan also. Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq, in 1329 AD, shifted his capital from Delhi to Daulatabad in the Deccan. Most of the nobles were required to migrate from Delhi and settle at Daulatabad. He experiment failed and after three years the Sultan ordered a return march to Delhi. The Chishti writings tell of a number of sufis who participated in this migration. Amir Hasan Sijzi, had left Delhi to settle Daulatabad – Khuldabad area. First time he compiled Malfuzat in Delhi and Daulatabad (Deccan).

He recorded the sayings of his master Shaikh Nizam al-Din Auliya Dehlawi, to preserve his words for future generation. Burhan al-Din Gharib Chishti, the major disciple of Nizam al-Din Awliya, led the sufis who participated in the migration of the Muslim elite of Delhi to the Deccan capital of Daulatabad in 1329. Also the circle of Burhan al din Gharib followed the Malfuz tradition of writing model of Fawa'id al-Fu'ad. A Persian masnavi ('poem') in honor of Burhan al-Din Gharib Khuldabadi Chishti and his disciples written by Amir Hasan Sijzi, which must have written not long after arriving in Daulatabad. The Fawa'id al-Fu'ad begins with the conversation of Shaikh Nizam al-Din Auliya in his majlis on Sha'ban 3, 707 AH/ January 28,1308 AD; the last assembly proceedings recorded by Amir Hasan in Sha'ban 19, 722/Sep.2,1322.20 This is a record of 188 gatherings. Also it covered a period of roughly fifteen years with gaps and intervals. Nizam al-Din Awliya lived in Delhi for more than half a century (b.1236-d.1325 AD). Compared to that, the Fawa'id ul-Fu'ad has very limited record in number. But it has very depth and light on the moral and spiritual ideals of the Shaikh Nizam al-Din Awliya and his method of instruction and guidance.

Ahsan u'l Aqwal: Ahsan u'l Aqwal is a collection of the conversations of Shaikh Burhan u'd din Gharib of Khuldabad in

Aurangabad region of Marathwada. ²¹ Shaikh Burhan al din Gharib (654 – 741 / 1256 – 1340) was the famous disciple of Nizam al din Awliya of Delhi and *Khalifa* in Deccan. The *Ahsan al Aqwal* or *Ahsan-u'l-Aqwal* had been written by the disciple of Burhan al din, Maulana Hammad bin Hammad Kashani in 738 / 1337, some twenty years before the death of Shaikh Nasir u'd din *Chiragh* in Delhi.

'Majma'a' of Sayyid Raju Yusuf Husaini of Khuldabad

Dehlawi: *Majmu*'a or *Majma'a* Persian manuscript is available at Salar Jung Museum Library Hyderabad. Sayyid Raju Yusuf Husaini had migrated from Delhi during Muhammad Tughalq period towards Daulatabad. He was the father of Gesu Daraz Banda Nawaz of Gulbarga. Raju Qattal (d. 730 / 1331) wrote the *Majma'a* in Persian language on the mystical philosophy of Sufism and Prophet Muhammad's life. This *Majma'a* copy contains: Lama'at (ff. iv-6), which describes the short notes on the lives of the Holy Prophets and the twelve Shi'it Imams in two Lama's. *Akhbarat* (ff. 9v – 42), is the collection of several questions put to the Holy Prophet by his companions on different topics and their answers. ²² Each question begins under the heading and is preceded by. This *Majma'a* copy of Salar Jung Museum contained, the Dakhani *masnawi*, in ff. 42v – 43v.

Nafa'is al Anfas wa lata'if al Alfaz of Rukn al Din Kashani

Dabir: This is the very famous Malfuz literature about Sufi circle of Khuldabad Deccan. The first and perhaps most important of the Malfuzat texts emanating from the circle of Burhan al Din Gharib also followed the model of Fawa'id al Fu'ad. This was Nafa'is al Anfas wa Lata'if al Alfaz (Choice sayings and Elegant words), compiled by Rukn al din Dabir Kashani in forty eight sessions between Muharram 732 / October 1331 and 4th Safar 738 / 1 September 1337. This Malfuz had written by Rukn al din Kashani Dabir. As his title 'dabir' indicates, he was a secretary in the service of Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughlaq's administration at Daulatabad. Dabir noted in his Malfuz text that, he wished to write the book like Amir Hasan Sijsi, Fawaid al Fuad. Dabir proposed the Malfuz writing plan

towards Burhan al Din Gharib. Burhan al din approved this Malfuz project. Burhan al din said, "For a long time, this idea has been established in my mind", and encouraged Rukn al din Dabir Kashani for his work.²³ Rukn al din understood from this that he would have the great fortune to play the same role for Burhan al Din Gharib as Hasan Amir Sijzi had been performing for Nizam al Din as recently as ten years previously.

Shamail al Atqiya wa Dala'il al Anqiya: Shamail al Atqiya, written by Rukna al Din Kashani Khuldabadi. Rukn al Din Kashani wrote the Malfuz literature on the sayings of Burhan al Din Gharib of Khuldabad, as Shamail al Atqiya wa Dala'il al Anqiya (Virtues of the devout and proofs of the pure). Rukn al Din began writing Shama'il al Atqiya during the lifetime of Burhan al Din Gharib. The Shaykh approved the first few sections and bestowed upon Rukn al Din the title "The spiritual secretary", dabir-I Ma'nawi. The book completed after the death of Burhan al Din Gharib.

Hidayat al Qulub wa Inayat Ullam al Ghuyub: Hasan Mir of Khuldabad wrote the Persian Malfuz on the sufis of Khuldabad. This manuscript placed in the Library of Dargah -i- Hadd-I Kalan or Khuldabad Greater Dargah Society, Khuldabad, Dist. Aurangabad. The Dargahs of the two brothers Burhan al Din and Muntajib al Din Zar Zari Zar-Baksh in recent times have formed a single joint institution, known as the Greater Dargah Society Khuldabad. The archival library secured the heritage of Khuldabad and documentation of Sanads, Farmans and Inam papers. Hidayat al Qulub wa Inayat Ullam al Ghuyub text written by Hasan Mir in 1344-67 AD. Zayn al din Shirazi (d. 1371 AD) was the principal successor of Burhan al Din Gharib of Khuldabad. Hasan Mir was the Chishti disciple of Khuldabad circle. He compiled the teaching of Zayh al Din Shirazi Chishti. It is known as Hidayat al Qulub wa Inayat Ullam al Ghuyub (Guidance of hearts and aid for knower of the hidden) between 745 / 1344 and 769 / 1367. Hasan Mir started the Malfuz with banda-I Kamina (lowly servant) called himself.²⁵

Gharaib al Karamat wa Aja'ib al-Mukashafat of Kashani Majd al Din: Majd al Din Kashani, was the murid of Burhan al Din Gharib of Khuldabad. He recorded Burhan al Din Gharib's miracles and revelations in a work called Gharaib al Karamat wa Aja'ib al-Mukashafat (The Rare Miracles and wondrous unveilings). Majd al Din reported the first meeting of Burhan al Din Gharib and Chiragh-I Dihli Chishti of Delhi. Majd al din started the writing with the migration of Burhan al Din from Delhi to Deccan. The seven hundred or fourteen hundred disciples of Nizam al din Awliya of Delhi migrated to Daulatabad Deccan in early phase of thirteenth century. Masjid-I Chahardih Sad Awliya, the mosque of fourteen hundred saints built in between Daulatabad and Khuldabad. These events recorded in this Malfuz. Majd al din Kashani gave the lifetime information in hagiographical records of Burhan al din in his Malfuz. When Burhan al Din Gharib became seriously ill in 735 / 1334, his disciples began to pack his belongings, intending to take him back to Delhi. He refused to leave, however, and pointed to the spot where he did his devotions, declaring that he would be buried here.26 Today there is the Dargahs of Burhan al din Gharib in Khuldabad.

'Malfuzat-I Sarwari' or Makkashfatai Sarwari: The Malfuzat of Hazrat Saidoddin Rafai is available in Kandhar Badi Dargah. These collected by Amir Hamza, Hyderabad in 1899 AD, and both Persian Urdu translation published in 1899, from Hyderabad. Original manuscripts are available at Badi Dargah. The Malfuzat have briefly discussed the subjects as – Shariat, Hakikat, Baiat, Sama, Prophet Muhammad and his life, Ahan (Ajaan), Aquidah (faith) etc. The Malfuzat also translated by Munshi Muhammad Amir Hasan Saheb in 2001, into Urdu.²⁷

Fath al Awliya: It is written by anonymous writer of Khuldabad Chishti circle. This manuscript gave the information about the Political and cultural relations with Khuldabad Sufi circle. It focuses on the Faruqi state relations with Zayn al Din Shirazi Dargah. It was written in Burhanpur in 1030 / 1620. These manuscripts gave the information about Mughal Inams and other political relations with Shrines of Khuldabad

Deccan. Mughals patronage continued after conquest of Faruqis of Khandesh. Mughals conquered Khandesh in 1009 / 1601. Fath al Awliya started from Akbar and Jahangir period. It gives the information about Sufis of Burhanpur, Khuldabad and North Maharashtra region. Fath al Awliya discusses the life and thinking of Burhan al Din Gharib of Khuldabad. Fath al Awliya also gave also the information about female sufis of Khuldabad.

Rawzat al Awliya al Maruf bi- Nafahat al Asfiya: Rawzat al Awliya al Mauf bi-Nafahat al Asfiya, the Persian book written by Ghulam Ali Azad al-Bilgrami. His original name was Mir Ghulam Ali Husaini Wasiti (1116-1200/1704-1786) however he is best known as Ghulam 'Ali Azad Bilgrami. He was born in Bilgram, a small town of scholars in Awadh and gained reputation for possessing command over all topics of literature and learning. He was instructed in language, by Mir Abdul Jalil of Selsibil; in prosody and polite literature by Mir Saiad Muhammad; in the Quran by Shaikh Muhammad Hayat; and in all excellences by Shaikh 'Abdul Wabhat Tantawi. As a youth he left Bilgram and stayed for two years in Delhi. He visited Lahore and Multan and made acquaintance with scholars of these cities, and lived for five years in the province of Sind. He then traveled to the cities of Mecca and Medina. This book gives the detailed information about the Sufi saints of Khuldabad (Rauza) and their shrines.

Manaqib -e- Fakhriyyah: The life of Maulana Fakhr ud din Chishti Nizami bin Nizam al Din Awarangabadi (d. 1199 / 1785), a celebrated saint and reformer of his time. This biographical book written by Nizam ul Mulk Ghazi ul din Khan bin Amirul Umara Ghazi ud din Khan bin Nizam ul Mulk Asif Jah I, in 1201 / 1787. Maulana Fakhr ud din Chishti was the Murshid of Mughal emperor Akbar II and other dignitaries of the Mughal court. The work is divided into five Babs (chapters). Chapter one, discusses the life and works of Maulana Fakhr ud din. Second chapter are on his ideas of Sama and other chapter about the Murid training and Chishti philosophy. Author wrote the description of Nizam al

Din Awarangabadi's *aamad* (coming) in Deccan and its spiritual beneficence for the '*People of Asaf Jah*'. Nizam al Din was presented as a great teacher and as having secured the devotion of Nizam al Mulk, who was once again said to have received a Sufi initiation from Nizam al Din.³⁰

Malfuzat -i-Naqshbandi: Shah Mahmud wrote the Malfuzat -i-Naqshbandi in eighteenth century Aurangabad. He noted the all spiritual and political events in Auragzeb's Deccan and later Asaf Jahin Nizam state. Mughal soldier Ghazi al din Khan Firoz Jung (father of first Nizam, Nizam al Mulk Asaf Jah I) was migrated from Central Asia. He was the greatest General in the Deccan for Mughal Empire. Malfuzat -i-Naqshbandiyya gave the all events and the migration of Naqshbandi saints from Central Asia to Deccan. Mughal sources also showed the levels of the continued immigration into the Mughal Deccan realm during the reign of Aurangzeb. M. Athar Ali also stated the history of Mughal Nobility and Central Asian migration in Indian subcontinent. According to Digby Simon, immigration apparently increased during the seventeenth century as the decline of the Uzbek kingdoms was pitched into ever starker contrast with the expanding Mughal emporium to the South.

Malfuzat -e- Naqshbandiyya divided into nine parts:31

I.	The life of Baba Sa'id, called <i>Plangposh</i> :	Early life, Baba Sa'id serves Shaykh Darwish Azizan, Baba Palangposh comes to Tashkent and his Initiated in the Kubrawiyya Path, Visits Mashhad, Meccan Medina, Deccan.
II.	Baba <i>Palanposh</i> and Baba Musafir: Their Travels and Arrival in the Deccan:	Baba Shah Musafir's Early life and his meeting with Baba Palangposh,
III.	Baba Musafir Settled in Aurangabad:	Travel to Aurangabad, Establishement of Takya (Khanqah), Masque, Construction of the Step Well, Erection of the Waterwheel, The supply of Water from the Reservoir, Panchakki.
IV.	Nawab Ghazi al din Khan in Deccan and	Meer Shihab al din Episode, Baba Palangposh teels in Deccan, Nawwab

Takya:	Ghazi al din Khan Bahadur, Feroz Khan Jang devotees,
V. The Practice of Baba Palangposh:	Aurangabad Bazaar, Cloth traders from Bengal, The dream, Tasawwuf.
VI. Baba Musafir:	In the service of Baba Palangposh, Baba Musafir on Holy Poverty, Faqir, Religious Law, Prayers.
VII. Baba Musafir sayings:	Power of Discovery, One told in a dream to become Baba Musafir's Disciple, The Garden by the River, Employment for Men of Wilayat in the Deccan, Holy duomg.
VIII. Hazrat Shah Musafir Saying:	Feasting the Shaykh, Construction of the Great Tank in the Takya.
IX. The Khalifas and Friends of Shah Musafir:	Mir Mahmud, Kalifa Abd al Rahim, Abd al Karim, Khalifa Khwaja Muhammad Sa'id, Shah Qalandar, Hajji Ashur, Mawlana Mushfiqi, Sufi Muhammad Wafa, Mir Arab, Baba Shah Khadim, Shah Kuchak, Shah Nazir, Khwaja Alim, Mawlana Abd al Jalil, Khwaja Mir Shah, Shah Jan Allah, Hajji Sadiq, Shah Haydar Tashkandi, Hazrat Khwajaj Zakariay Samarqandi, Abd al Wali Dahbidi.

Kashkul -e- Kalimi: This Persian text written by Shah Kalim Allah in seventeenth century (c. 1101 / 1690). It covered the philosophy of Nizam al din Awarangabadi and Zikr. This is the book of Nizam al din's master Kalim Allah Jahanabadi. A major part of text was written in Delhi. The book explained the Chishti practices and Sama, Qawwai etc. The work also discussed the benefits of the postures of Yoga or Baytak -e- Jog. 32

Tuhfat al Shu'ara: This Persian book written by Afzal Beg Qaqshad in mid eighteenth century Deccan. This Persian poems and anthological work gave the literary information about the Aurangabad Sufi circle in Nizam al din Awrangabadi's period.³³

Maktubat -e- Kalimi: Shah Kalim Allah Jahanabadi wrote the Maktubat -e- Kalimi, in Persian. Nizam al din Awarangabadi Chishti was born in the region of Awadh around 1076 / 1665. Nizam al Din was originally a migrant to the Deccan from North India. As a young man Nizam al Din travelled to Delhi, which like Aurangabad a few decades later was enjoying a period of royal and aristocratic patronage under the aegis of Shah Jahan that was as beneficial to its Sufis as to its other

inhabitants. There Nizam al Din came into contact with the followers of the influential Chishti Shaykh Kalim Allah Jahanabadi (d. 1142 / 1729). In part through the influence of Kalim Allah's own master Yahya Madani (d. 1101 /1689), Nizam al Din became the initiate and eventually the favorite of Kalim Allah. Nizam al din spend several years at the *khanaqah* of his master before setting off for the Deccan under the latter's explicit instructions. Nizam al din Awarangabadi preserved the Maktubat of Kalim Allah. ³⁴

Nizam al Qulub (Order of the Hearts): Nizam al din Awrangabadi wrote a Persian treatise entitled Nizam al Qulub means Order of the Hearts, on the practice and various techniques of dhikr. The text is notable for its discussion of Yogic methods of breath control and of meditations borrowed from other Sufi traditions, probably a result of Nizam al din's initiation into several orders beside his primary Chishti affiliation.³⁵

Ma'athir al Kiram: This Persian book written Ghulama Ali Azad Bilgrami (d. 1200 / 1786) of Aurangabad. He gave the account on the spread of Naqshbandiya Sufism in Aurangabad town. Specially, he noted the Naqshbandiyya migration from Central Asia to Deccan. He gave the development of Naqshbandi Khanqah at Panchakki and the tradition of influences in local milieu.³⁶

Khazana ye Amira: This Persian treaty written by Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami in Aurangabad. He wrote also the famous Persian book on Sufis of Khuldabad, Rawzat al Awliya. Khazana ye Amira described how Sufis continued to arrive in the Deccan during the reign of Nizam al Mulk from Central Asia, Iran and the Arab countries as well as from elsewhere in India. He noted the all grants and the gifts of Dargah in Aurangabad. Azad Bilgrami noted the all events about the Aurangabad Dargahs and Nizam al Mulk.³⁷

Ahsan al Sham'il: Original copy of manuscript is available at Tawnsa Dargah Library, Tawnsa Sharif, Pakistan. It had also published in

text with translation in Delhi and Aurangabad. Kamgar Khan gave the information about the Nizam al din circle in Aurangabad Dargah. He noted the dhikr and other Sufi practices like Sama, Qawwali etc. Kamghar Khan also referred the Hindu devotees of Aurangabad shrines in his book. Shah Noor Hamvi was the deep relations with Hindu ascetics. His cult interacted with the Manapur Parashar Math at Daulatabad. After Shah Noor's death, the circle surrounding the Chishti Sufi Nizam al din (d. 1142 / 1729) in Aurangabad also included a number of Hindus. The Malfuz also noted the relations of political personalities with Nizam al din Awarangabadi Dargah.³⁸

7. Dakkhani & Urdu Sources:

Shaikh Muhammad 'Ashraf' Biyabani: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf Biyabani was the famous Sufi saint of Ambad, Dist. Jalna in Marathwada region today. He wrote 'Nawsar Haar', in Dakhani language. It was the Marsiya or shaokgeet. In Nawsar Haar, he wrote the poems about events in Qu'ran which are related to the Prophets lives. ³⁹ He wrote:- "Allah Wahid Haq Subhan,

Jeenpar Sarjyaa Bhuin Aasmaan"

Saint Eknath (1528 - 1599 AD): Saint Eknath was the grandson of famous Marathi poet Bhanudas. Eknath was born in Paithan, near Aurangabad. He accepted the discipleship of Saint Janardan of Daulatabad. He wrote Bhagwat, Bhawarth Ramayan, Shukashtaka, Aanand Lahiri, Bharud etc. His *bharud* poems are famous in folk culture of rural Marathwada today. He was influenced by Sufi philosophy. His 'Hindu Turk Samvad', poem (dialogue) famous for it's Marathi – Dakhani tone.

Wali Dakhani Awarangabadi (1668 – 1741): Wali ud din Waliallah alias Wali Dakani was from Aurangabad. He went to Delhi and then Ahmadabad. He died in Gujarat. He known as Bab –i- Adab Urdu, means the father of Urdu language. After the Wali Awarangabadi, Dakhani language converted into the full form of Urdu with influence of Persian Language. Wali developed the Rekhta form of preliminary Urdu language.

He wrote 450 Ghazals in Urdu and Dakhani, which are influenced by Sufi ideas.

Shah Turab Ali Dakani: He was from Tirnamal, Tamil country. He was the famous scholar of Sufi philosophy and Astrology. He wrote number of books in Dakhani language: Juhure Kulli, Ganjul Asrar, Gulzar –i- Wahdat, Dnyan Swarup, Aain'ye, Masnawi Mahrabin –o- Mullah and Mansamzaawan etc. The five manuscripts of Mansamzaawan secured in Sir Salar Jung Museum Library, Hyderabad.

"Are man nako re nako ho diwana,
Are man muzhe bol tera thikana,
Kahan sun Huaa hai yaha tera aanaa.
Na tera yahaoo Khaish naa koi yagaanaa,
Yahoon su kahan fir tera hogaa jaanaa.
Agar tu hai pardesh piche diwanaa,
Are man nako re nako ho diwanaa."

 $Mansamzaawan^{41}$

Rawzat al Aqtab al Ma'ruf bi-Mazhar-I Asafiyya: This book written by Rawnaq Ali in 1931 at Aurangabad during Nizam state of Asaf Jahin. From the historiographical view, Rawzat al Aqtab (Garden of the World Axes), published in 1931. It had recorded the antiquarian researches of a learned local schoolteacher named Rawnaq Ali. He used the most primary sources and other rare manuscript for write the book. He surveyed thoroughly all Malfuzat in Khuldabad and Aurangabad region and collected the 'Urs information with dates. He requested to Nizam court at Hyderabad for support the renovation and maintenance of saints and kings shrines or Dargahs in this region. He quoted the Zayn al din ShirazI's travel to North Indian Chishti shrines or Dargahs in 1347 AD. School Teacher Rawnaq Ali, was a member of the Nizam's administration, reported that in 1310 / 1892, the greater Dargah were receiving 'From some old towns', an unspecified endowment income twice the size of that given to the lesser Dargah, while the shrine of Ganj-I Ravan had an income from the towns of Soli Bazhan and Nadirabad. The Nizam declared these incomes free of all duty in 1333 / 1914. By 1931, there were over seven hundred attendants (*Khuddam*) attached to the greater Dargah, over four hundred attached to the lesser Dargah, and on hundred fifty attached to the shrine of Ganj-I Ravan; three hundred students were supported by the Nizam's donations, as were charitable kitchens at the tombs of Aurangzeb and the first two Nizams.⁴² According to the Mughal documents in Dargah Library Collection at Khuldabad, this property was earmarked for the greater Dargah from the early 1700 and was continued by the Nizams.

Mahbub al Watan Tazkira-I Awliya-I Dakan: Mahbub al Watan Tazkira-I Awliya-I Dakan, written by Muhammad Abd al Jabbar Malkapuri in Hyderabad circa 1899 AD. The two volumes published first time in Hyderabad by Matba-I Rahmani Press. He noted and wrote the Sufi migration and spread of Sufism in Bahamani empire. Also Malkapuri wrote the history of Sufis of Bidar, Gulbarga, Kandhar and Hyderabad. Abd al Jabbar Malkapuri noted the sufis of Aurangabad Deccan. Malkapuri gave the historical information about the second famous Sufi of Aurangabad, Nizam al Din Awarangabadi. Like Shah Noor and the town's Naqshbandis, Nizam al din was originally a migrant to the Deccan from North India, and was born in the region of Awadh around 1076 / 1665.

Aftab-e-Dakan: Aftab e Dakan Urdu text written by Tara Sahib Qureshi. He gave the information about Shah Noor Hamvi Dargah in Aurangabad during first quarter of Twentieth century. Shams al Din Chishti came from Hyderabad to Aurangabad. He was resident of Hyderabad, who had been living for many years at the shrine of Mu'in al Din Chishti in Ajmer. He managed the Shah Noor Dargah administration in Aurangabad. Tara Sahib Qureshi noted all history of Shams al Din in administration works. Shams al din's appointment at the shrine seems to have been an official one made by Hyderabad's Department of Religious Affairs. He worked as Sajjada Nashin of Shah Noor Dargah. He set about restoring the derelict buildings of the shrine, replacing roofing and floors that had collapsed or disappeared and re-initiating the celebration of Shah Noor's death anniversary. Fazilat Jung became the administration

(mutawali) of the shrine after Shams al din's death. He was the minister for religious affairs (Umur -e- Madhahabi) in Nizam state.⁴⁴

Nur al Anwar: Nur al Anwar is the Urdu translation of Khizan u Bahar of Baha al Din al Hasan Uruj of Aurangabad. This Persian manuscript preserved at Shah Noor Hamvi Dargah of Aurangabad. Nur al Anwar gave the original information about the Shah Noor Hamvi and the all lifetime sketch in Aurangabad. Shah Noor settled in Aurangabad before the arrival of the Chishti Nizam al din or the city's Naqshbandi Shaykhs, Shah Plangposh and Shah Musafir. Shah Noor had the number of disciples in Aurangabad and Deccan. Diyanat Khan, the Diwan of Aurangabad Subha was also the murid of Shah Noor. This manuscript Khizan u Bahar, in Persian was written by Baha al din Hasan Uruj (d. 1230 / 1814). He noted the all biography of Shah Noor. He recorded the Pir Muridi relationship of Shah Noor in Aurangabad. From north India, Shah Noor was travelled to Deccan. Shah Noor had arrived in Aurangabad in 1070 / 1660. He settled at *Moti Karanja* area of Aurangabad town. established Khangah. The town Aurangabad originally established in 1610 by Malik Ambar, the vizier of Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar. In that period, Shah Noor had the very spiritual importance in Sufi circle of Aurangabad in 1660 era. The number of murid increased very fast in newly established Sultanate and Mughal town, Aurangabad. As Shah Noor's following grew, these circumstances changed and some years later (around 1091 / 1680) a large khanaqah was built for him by a wealthy devotee, Diyanat Khan, in the prestigious surroundings of the imperial suburb of Qutbpura. Several other official figures of the Mughal administration in the city were among Shah Noor's followers, including the chief judge (Qazi al Qauzat) and market regulator (Muhtasib) of the city, Muhammad Ikram and Qazi Muhammad Mas'ud. One of the wives of Aurangzeb Alamgir Badhshaha may also have been a disciple.⁴⁵

Khazinat al Asfiya: This Urdu book wrote in Ninteenth century Nizam State. It covered the Sufis of Punjab, North India and Deccan. Short information is available here about the Sufis of Aurangabad. Khazinat al Asfiya gave the basic information about cult of Nizam al din

Awarangabadi Dargah in Aurangabad. The author of this book, Ghulam Sarwar Lahawri wrote the information about the Sufi circle of the Aurangabad.⁴⁶

Tadhkira -ye- Riyaz Husayni: Mardan -e- Aftab Alamtab -e- Man: Inayat Khan gave the historical information about the spiritual interaction of Shah Noor with other religious cults in Aurangabad region. Shah Noor also seems to have had contact with the Hindu ascetics who, with their long established association with Hindu holy sites in the region of Aurangabad, formed part of the religious life of the city with which Sufis sometimes interacted. Indeed, shortly after Shah Noor's death, the circle surrounding the Chsihti Sufi Nizam al Din (d. 1142 / 1729) in Aurangabad also included a number of Hindus. Although it is difficult to be sure with how many of these Hindu ascetics Shah Noor was associated, surviving literary and architectural evidence bears witness to his close connections to at least one such figure, the noted Sadhu Manpuri Parshad. 47

Halat u Zindagi ye Nizam al din Awliya Awrangabadi: Urdu book wrote by Sayyid Hasan of Aurangabad. He was the devotee of Shrine of Nizam al din Awarangabadi in Aurangabad. Sayyid Hasan was the local college teacher and religious scholar. Placing emphasis on not only the Chishti tradition of musical performances but also on its tradition of 'peace for all', Suhl -e- Kul, Sayyid Hasan sought to present a tolerant vision of Sufism as the answer to India's problems of communal violence and Islam's own problems of violent express. As a religious teacher, Sayyid Hasan had his own clear vision of Sufism's role in the twenty first century and of the timelessness and adaptability of the Sufi message, which he has presented as open to all regardless of religion, race or class. His Urdu hagiography of Nizam al din book gave the all information about Chishti practices and Samaa etc. Nizam al din had first wife coming from the family of the great Deccan Chishti saint Gesu Daraz Banda Nawaz of Gulbarga. Through these wives, Nizam al din had five sons and seven daughters, the latter marrying into the families of local religious and political elites.48

Athar al Sanadid: After the death of Nizam al din Awarangabadi, his son Fakhr al din Awarangabadi Chishti migrated to Delhi. Fakhr al din was succeeded in Delhi after his death by his son Ghulam Qutb al din (d. 1232 / 1817) rather than by one of his disciples (murid). Qutb al din's career was briefly summarized by the great Muslim Modernist Sayyid Ahmad Khan (d. 1315 / 1898) in his celebration of the peoples and places of Delhi, Athar al Sanadid, which is discussed in more detail about the personalities in Delhi. After the death of Fakr al din's son, Ghulam Qutb al din, in 1232 / 1817 and his burial at the Dargah of Bakhtiya Kaki on the outskirts of Delhi, Mahrauli near Qutb Minar. He was succeeded by his own son, Ghulam Nasir al din. He was better known by the nickname of Kale Miyan (the Black Gentleman) in reference to the darkness of his complexion, Ghulam Nasir al din was part of the religious world of Delhi in the year before the Great Revolt of 1273 / 1857. Ghulam Nasir al din was the master or Murshid of the last of the Mughal Emperors, Bahadur Shah (r. 1253 / 1837 - 1274 / 1858). British American historian quoted the references about Nasir al din in the daily diaries of Bahadur Shah Jafar of Delhi. Bahadur Shah Jafar send 200 rupees to Ghulam Nasir al din to defray the expenses incurred at the celebration of Fakhr al din's death anniversary (Urs) in 1268 / 1851. Old Delhi ruined by British forces after the revolt and Nasir al din's home also destroyed by British soldiers. 49

Tadhkira -ye- Buzurgan -e- Dakan: Barkat al Awliya: During the first half of the twentieth century, these seismic shifts in languages use, literacy and the technology of the book had a considerable influence on the literature surrounding Auragabad's saints. The use of Urdu increased compare to Persian. Nizam state had also used English and Urdu in administrative works. Reflecting the declining fortunes of Persian throughout India, the nineteenth century Tadhkira tradition experienced a certain discontinuity with the rise of Urdu prose. Contemporary with this was the spread of cheap lithographic printing in India, which affected the Aurangabad tradition in different ways. Persian scripts printed in Delhi, Lucknow, Nizam's Hyderabad, Calcutta, Lahor and Kanpur cities. He wrote the Urdu hagiography of Sufis of Deccan. Malkapur and Naqwi were

very influencing personalities in Urdu literature in Deccan with Urdu as a Islamic language. *Barakat al Awliya* gave the all over information about the Sufis of Khuldabad, Aurangabad, and other parts of Marathwada Deccan region. Naqwi summarized the Deccan history from Mughal era to the Nizam Sarkar of Hyderabad. He added the political, spiritual and religious facets of the history of Deccan.⁵⁰

8. Marathi Sources: Kamal, the son of Kabir wrote about Namdev in his poem (*Hindi*):

"Dakhanmai Nama darzi, Unko Banda Vitthal hai, Aur seva kuch nahi jaane andar bhitar keshav hai // Uchar Myaane Bhayo Kabira ramacharankaa bandaa hai Unko put hai Kamal donoka bolbalaa hai ||"

Kamal, the son of Kabir said that, Saint Namdev was bounded by the Bhakti of Shri Vitthal of Pandharpur. He had the Bhakti of Keshava inside and outside. And Kamal has the very respects about Kabir and Namdev. Namdev was born in 1270 at Narsi, Parbhani region. He was second famous saint from Marathwada after Eknath. He explained his ideas on *Moksha* and *Bhakti* into *Hindi* Dakhni and Marathi language. His poems had the place in Gurugranth Saheb Granth of Sikhism in northern India. Saint Eknath was the second famous saint in Marathwada after Dnyaneshwar. He had born at 1533 in Paithan. He was the disciple of Saint Janardan Swami of Daulatabad fort. His books named 'Eknathi Bhagavat' and 'Bhavarth Ramayan', are famous today. According to Nandapurkar N.G., Eknath was the 'Ek' (the one) 'Nath' (saint god / guide) of the Maharashtra Varkari cult devotees. Samadhi of Eknath situated at Paithan near Godavari river bank.

Number of Muslim poets and author has been contributed Marathi literature in Medieval Maharashtra. These authors were influenced from Jain, Shaiv, Mahanubhav, Nath, Bhagvat Varkari sects. Shaikh Muhammad, Shah Mundi, Husain Ambar Khan, Jamal Shah, Allam Khan, Shaikh Sultan etc. authors had contributed Marathi literature. These curious literature facets had made synthesis culture with harmony in Medieval Maharashtra.

Allamkhan was the devotee of Nagesh cult in medieval Marathwada. Bhanji Trimbak Deshpande wrote the book on Nagesh 'Nageshlilamrut', in 1824. In this book, he wrote the 'Alamkhan Aakhyan', in 39th chapter. The Samadhi (tomb) of Alamkhan situated at Karali Karle in Osmanabad District of Marathwada. He wrote the spiritual Abhang on Nagesh Nath. He was very famous today in this region. Ajam was the Muslim Marathi poet in seventeenth century Maharashtra. He was one of the disciples of Shaikh Muhammad Shrigondekar. Ajam's folk Aarti lyrics are famous today to the glory of Shaikh Muhammad Shrigondekar Saheb; in District Ahamadnagar. Hazrat Ladle Mashaykh Raghavchaitanya (c. 1460 - 1560) was the Marathi saint of Datta sect in Marathwada - Karnataka frontier region. Muslim called him as Hazrat Mashaykh Aland Sharif Awliya. Hindu, Jain and Lingayat Veershaiv devotees called him as 'Sadguru', the best teacher / guide. His tomb or Samadhi situated at Aland, District Gulbarga. Husain Ambarkhan (1603 -1653) was famous Marathi poet in seventeenth century Maharashtra. He wrote 'Ambarhusaini', the edited book on Gita, after Dnyaneshwar. His gitatikaa was contained 871 lines in Marathi. In his words, that was the Gita Bhavarth Dipika. His father Yakut Khan, was a servant at Daulatabad fort in Nizamshahi of Ahmadnagar. Vaijyanath of Tanjor (Tamil Nadu) has written in his book 'Chidambarjayanti Strot', about Ambar Khan. He said that Husain Ambar Khan was the 'Dev' of Kali Yug in that period.⁵¹ Chand Bodhale Sayyad Qadiri was the Muslim poet in seventeenth century Marathwada. His guru was Shaikh Raje Muhammad Qadiri. His name was quoted in 'Shijara-i- Quadiri', by Shaikh Muhammad Shrigondekar Sayyad as Sayyad Chandsaheb Qadiri. Chand Bodhale was the Guru of Shaikh Muhammad Shrigondekar and Swami Janardan of Daulatabad.

Shaikh Raje Muhammad Qadiri Shaikh Chand Bodhale Qadiri

Shaikh Muhammad Shrigondekar

Swami Janardan

Saint Eknath of Paithan

The tomb of Chand Bodhale Qadiri situated at Daulatabad near Fort. This Dargah visited by Hindu and Muslim devotees. Shaikh Muhammad Shrigondekar was born at *Dharur* village. He wrote *Yogsangram*, Nishkalank Bodh, Pawan Vijay and Dnyansagar. His devotees are both Hindu and Muslim come to his Dargah / Samadhi at Shrigonda. Shaikh Muhammad is known as 'Kabir' of Maharashtra. His father was Raje Mahammad and mother Phulai. He was belonged to Qadiri Sufi silsila. Shaikh Muhammad Shrigondekar said that Chand Bodhale was the follower of Dnyaneshwar also. And both saints (Bodhale and Eknath) were influenced by Dnyaneshwar. Maloji Bhosale was the pupil or Shishy of Shaikh Muhammad. Maloji built a 'Math' in 1595 AD at Shrigonda in Ahmadnagar for Shaikh Muhammad. Shaikh Muhammad knew the languages like Marathi, Persian, Urdu and Sanskrit. He wrote in Yogsangram that, Kama (Sex), Krodh (anger), and Alas (laziness) are the enemy of human being. In Nishkalank Bodh, he did critical analysis on blind faith, rituals and slavery of religious mediators. Shivswroday, was the Sanskrit book of Shaikh. Also his Rupake, Bharude and Abhang are famous today in central Deccan Marathi speaking region.⁵²

9. European Sources: Historical records published by British Museum and India Office Library (now Commonwealth Relations Library), London UK, gave the information about the social and political position of early modern and colonial Indian subcontinent. 'Memoir Illustrative of the History, Geography and Statistics of the Deccan', British Library, Mackenzie Collection, Vol. XLIII (1783) gave the cultural information about the Aurangabad under Nizam state of Asaf Jahin Hyderabad. Political Survey of the Deccan, British Library, Hastings Collection, Mss. 29, written by Grant J. (1782), gave the same information. Number of Printed text collection from Times of India Steam Press, Bombay gave the historical information about the Marathwada under the Nizam. 'His Highness the Nizam's Tour in the Aurangabad District by the Special Correspondent of the Times of India,' (1883) gave the historical and political information about the Aurangabad periphery. T.W. Beale's The Oriental Biographical Dictionary, (1881) gave the few

lines on the Sufis of Aurangabad Deccan. Beale noted the Shah Noor Hamwi's shrine cult of Aurangabad in his Biographical dictionary, which was published din British India from Calcutta. S.A.A. Bilgrami's Landmarks of the Deccan: A Comprehensive Guide to the Archaeological Remains of the City and Suburbs of Hyderabad,' (1927) gave the information about the Dargahs of Khuldabad, Daulatabad and Aurangabad. American scholar C.A. Campbell's Glimpses of Nizam's Dominions, (1898) gave the information about the religious cults in Muslims of Marathwada. P.M. Taylor's Sketches in the Deccan (1837) also gives the historical information about the Aurangabad, Ellora and Ajanta. W.H. Bradley's Statistics of the Circar of Dowlutabad, (1849) gives the important information about the Daulatabad fort town in Nizam's dominion.

Other European language sources are also gave the historical information about the Sufism and cultural information about the Deccan. Nicolai Manucci's Storia do mogor or Mogul India, 1653 – 1708, translated into English by Irvine W. at London. This travel account gives the cultural information about the Aurangzeb's Deccan. French traveler Jean De Thevenot gives too the environmental and information about the spiritual practices at Khuldabad Dargahs. He wrote his travelogue 'The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant', which is translated into English (1687) and published as Indian Travels of Thevenot. 53

10. Farman and Sanads: The published documents of Revenue Department of British India and the independence India, gives the historical information about the Grants of rulers to Sufi Dargahs of Marathwada periphery. Yusuf Husain Khan's Farmans and Sanads of the Deccan Sultans, (1963) gave the information about inams of Deccan Dargahs. Number of Collected Manuscripts about Farman and Inam Sanads has been collected at Greater Dargah Association of Khuldabad, District Aurangabad office library.

A fifteenth Century revenue a Memorandum Manuscripts collected at Greater Dargah Association Library Khuldabad. These grants

documents proclaimed by Sultan Mujhid Shah Bahamani, Sultan Muhmmad Hsan Shah Bahamani, Sultan Ala al Din Bahaman Shah, Sultan Mahmud Shah Bahamani, Sultan Humayun Shah Bahamani etc. Another Collection related to Mughal and Deccan Farmans from Khuldabad. These Manuscripts related to the Dargahs of Shaykh Burhan al Din Gharib, Hazrat Shaykh Zayn al Din Shirazi Chishti and Shaykh Muntajib al Din Zar Zari Zar Baksh of Khuldbad. These documents related to Emperor Jahangir (24 Shawwal 1035 / 19 July, 1626), Emperor Shahjahan (14 Rajab 1046 / 12 December, 1636), Emperor Alamgir Aurangzeb Gazi (24 Sha'ban 1101 / 2 June, 1690) and Emperor Bahadur Shah (7 Rajab, 1122 / 1 September 1710) etc. 54

11. Notes on Terms and their translation: When a word is translated from one language to another, it is important that the translation must be faithful to the meaning of the word translated. Since all languages contain their specific world views, the task of translation becomes challenging. It gets further complicated when concepts are to be translated, particularly when the concepts are religious, since a small difference in meaning may create problems in explanation and analysis. For instance, terms such as saint and sainthood carry distinctive connotations, and one is liable to confuse them with the Christian, Hindu concepts of sainthood, therefore, the terms Sufi and Sufism have been used in the present study instead. According to the Christian concept of sainthood, the holiness of saints is recognized by the Roman Catholic process of canonization. On the contrary, there is no such practice in Islam, as the Sufi Shaykhs do not need any formal recognition of their spirituality from any authority. To avoide confusion, certain Arabic and Persian terms have been left un-translated, such as Umara, Dargah, Khalifah, Khulafa, and Sajjadah Nashin, but briefly explained in the text or references where mentioned for the first time, as well as explained in the glossary. However, terms which have found way in common parlance as well as standard dictionaries of English language, such as Sultan, Sultana, Sultanate, Shaykh, Sufi, Islam, Imamate, Quran, and Sunnah (Tradition) have neither been translated, nor italicized. 55

- 12. Chapter scheme: The present study comprises six chapters.

 The details of chapterisation are as under:
 - 1. Introduction
 - 2. An Outline of Mystical Ideas and Its Spread in Deccan
 - 3. Sufis of Marathwada
 - 4. State Patronage at Sufi Shrines in Marathwada Region

(Up to First half of Twentieth century)

- 5. Sufi Literature, Interaction with other Religious Sects and Impact
- 6. Conclusion.

13. Historical Method: Sufism, a distinct branch of religious and Islamic studies, has been a subject of interest to scholars of religious studies as well as sociologists, anthropologists and historians. They have acknowledged the problems and limitations in undertaking a social scientific study of Sufism. But the present study broadly employs a historical approach, while the use of concepts of sociology and anthropology has been avoided. The present research study is originally try to carried out all aspects of Sufism in Marathwada. The study have done strictly adhered to the historical method and observed internal and external criticism. The study tried to observe strict objectivity also. The descriptive analytical approach is historical chronological in the present study. The historical narrative in the study traces the origin and development of Sufism in Arabia, North Africa, Persia, central Asia and Iraq ant the advent of Sufism in Indian subcontinent. It also briefly narrates the political history of Indian subcontinent within twelfth to mid twentieth century AD especially Deccan.

In terms of arrangement or organization of data, the present study differs from both the dynastic histories and popular hagiographies: the former employ an annalistic scheme of periodisation (classification), and arrange data in historical periods based on dynasties, while the latter organize data according to the Sufis, or the major events in the life of a

Sufi. The present study arranges data in terms of the different phases in the Sufi silsila, Sufis and other sects, Sufi literature and practices, the relationship between the Sufis and the rulers etc. All the dates in the study are in Christian Era (Anno Domini) or CE, except where alternative Anno Hijrah (AH) have been indicated, where pertinent, with AH. Moreover, the names of places that are common, such as Delhi, Ajmer, Khuldabad, Daulatabad, Aurangabad and Mecca and non English words which are commonly found in English dictionaries such as Sultan and Sufi, have not been transliterated. But the words like Persian and non English origin explained with meaning and *italicized* typed.

14. Historical **Background** of **Sufism** in Indian Subcontinent: Early relations of Muslim world and Indian subcontinent had been made in seventh century AD. As per the order of the governor of Baharin, Arab traders group visited India first through Tanta port near Mumbai in 15 AH / 636 AD. It was during the time of Hazrat Ummar Caliph. The next interaction was on Broach and also Dabhel which was the capital of Sindh. There were military conflicts. After some years and during the realsm of Hazrat Ali, the Caliph (39 AH / 660 AD) and Amir Maaviya, a governor was appointed to watch the boundaries of Sindh. By the time Muhammad bin Qasim conquered Sindh in the eight century. He included the subas of Sindh and Multan in Islamic rule. After Muhammad Ghazni, Sultan Muiz ud Din Muhammad Ghori conquered Lahor and established the administration into North West Indian territory. Soon after that states of Multan, Gujarat, Lahore, Ajmer, Delhi, Gwaliar, Badayun etc. were captured. By and by Muslim rule came to be fortified in Indian subcontinent, whose capita was declared as Delhi in 1193 AD. However, after the death of Muiz ud Din Muhammad Ghori, his slave, Qut ud Din became the King of Hindustan and founded the 'Slave Dynasty' in 1206 AD. The Kings of this dynasty ruled up to 1290 AD. 56 The following dynasties are from thirteenth century AD to the Early Modern era, who ruled Indian subcontinent.⁵⁷

- 1. The Slaves AH 602 / 1206 AD to 689 / 1290.
- 2. The Khilji AH 689 / 1290 AD to 720 / 1320.
- 3. The Tughlaq AH 720 / 1320 AD to 815 / 1412.
- 4. The Sayyids AH 817 / 1414 AD to 847 / 1443.
- 5. The Lodi Pathans AH 855 / 1451 AD to 923 / 1517.
- 6. The Mughals AH 932 / 1526 AD to 1274 / 1858.

The following dynasties of Indian subcontinent including Marathwada region: (Dates given are dates of accession except at the end of a dynasty)

1. Khaljis (Delhi and Daulatabad)

Jalal al Din Firuz Khilji	AH 689 / 1290
Rukn al Din Ibrahim	AH 695 / 1296
Ala al Din Muhammad	AH 695 / 1296
Malik Na'ib (Malik Kafur)	AH 715 / 1316
Qutb al Din Mubarak Shah	AH 716 / 1316
Nasir al Din (Khusraw Khan)	AH 720 / 1320

2. Tughalaqs (Delhi and Daulatabd)

Ghiyas al Din	AH 720 / 1320
Muhammad ibn Tughluq	AH 725 / 1325
Firuz Shah	AH 752 / 1351
Ghiyas al Din II	AH 790 / 1388
Abu Bakr	AH 791 / 1389
Muhammad Shah	AH 792 / 1390
Nasir al Din Mahmud II	AH 795 / 1393
Dawlat Khan Lodi	AH 816 / 1413- 817 / 1414

3. Bahmanis (Entire Deccan: Gulbarga, Bidar, Daulatabad)

Ala al Din Hasan Bahman Shah	748 / 1347
Muhammad ibn Hasan	759 / 1358
Ala al Din Majahid	776 / 1375
Da'ud Shah	780 / 1378
Muhammad II	780 / 1378
Ghiyas al Din	799 / 1397
Shams al Din	799 / 1397
Ahmad Wail	825 / 1422
Ala al Din Ahmad II	839 / 1436
Ala al Din Humayun	862 / 1458
Nizam	865 / 1461
Shams al Din Muhammad III Shihab al Din Mahmud	867 / 1463 887 / 1482

Ahmad III	924 / 1518
Ala al Din	927 / 1521
Wali Allah	928 / 1522
Kalim Allah	931 / 1525 – 934 / 1527.

4. Faruqis of Khandesh (Khandesh, Burhanpur, Northern Deccan)

Malik Raja Faruqi	772 / 1370
Nasir Khan I	801 / 1399
Adil Khan I	841 / 1437
Miran Mubarak Khan I	844 / 1441
Ayna or Adil Khan II	861 / 1457
Da'ud Khan	909 / 1503
Ghazni Khan	916 / 1510
Alam Khan	916 / 1510
Adil Khan III	916 / 1510
Miran Muhammad I	926 / 1520
Ahmad Shah	943 / 1537
Mubarak Shah II	943 / 1537
Miran Muhammad II	974 / 1566
Hasan Shah	984 / 1576
Raja Ali Khan or Adil Shah IV	985 / 1577
Bahadur Shah	1005 / 1597 – 1009 / 1601.

5. Mughals (Hindustan, Deccan from Akbar rule)

Babur	931 / 1526
Humayun	937 / 1530
Akbar	963 / 1556
Jahangir	1014 / 1605
Shahjahan	1037 / 1628
Aurangzeb	1068 / 1668 – 1119 /

Aurangzeb 1068 / 1668 – 1119 / 1707 Later Mughals (Northern India) 1119 / 1707 – 1274 / 1858.

6. Asaf Jahin Nizams (Hyderabad Deccan, Aurangabad

Marathwada, Berar)

Nizam al Mulk Asaf Jah I	1137 / 1724
Muhammad Nasir Jang	1161 / 1748
Muzaffar Jang	1164 / 1750
Asaf al Dawla Salabat Jang	1165 / 1752
Nizam Ali	1175 / 1762
Akbar Ali Khan Sikandar Jah	1803
Nasir al Dawla Farkhanda Ali Khan	1829
Afzal al Dawla	1857
Mahbub Ali Khan	1869
Usman Ali Khan	1911 – 1948.

15. A History of Sufis in Early times: It is difficult to deny the Sufi contribution to the spead of Islam in Indian subcontinent. Abu Hifs Rabi bin Sahib al Asadi al Basari, a traditions and ascetic came to Sindh where he died in 776 AD. Mansur al Hallaj made a voyage to India by sea in the tenth century. The first Sufi to Lahore that history names during the 1005 AD when a Hindu king had his rule is the Sufi Shaikh Isamil Lahori. As written in Tazkira -e- Ulema -e-e Hind, he was the first to introduce the Tafsir -i- Quran and Hadis of Prophet in India as a theosophist, as well as the first to intimate an interest in this typical learning. Many people accepted Islam on his hand. Nathad Vali (d. 430 / 1039) was mainly responsible for the spread of Islam in Madura and Trichinopali. He came from Turkey. His Dargah stands yet in Trichinopali where he breathed his last. His successor Sayyid Ibrahim Shaheed was born at Madin in 564 / 1163. His Dargah located at Eravadi. In the eleventh century Baba Rihan came to Broach from Baghdad accompanied by some saints. On his hand, Prince of Broach accepted Islam. Nur ud Din (1094 -1143 AD) spread the Sufi ideas in Gujarat and Deccan. Kunbis, Kharvas and Koris of Gujarat accepted Islam on his hand.⁵⁸

Ali bin Usmin Hujwiri, the author of *Kashf ul Mahjub* and who was a native of Ghazna and who after travelling extensively to Muslim countries settled down at Lahore where he died in 465 / 1071. He was very famous Sufi saint in Lahore. After him Shaikh Farid ud din Attar, the celebrated suthor of Mantiq ut Tair and Tazkirat ul Auliya visited India in the twelfth century. Khwja Muin al Din Chishti came to Ajmer in 1197 and died there in 1234. On the way from Delhi to Ajmer the Shaikh spread Islam. *Siyar ul Awliya* noted that, Khwaja called the deputy of the Prophet of Allah in India (al Hind). At the hand of Baba Farid ud din Gunj Shakar, a *jogi* with his entire cult accepted Islam. Also in Punjab region eleven tribes had accepted Islam under his hands. Sufis in Deccan had done the work of spread of Sufism and Islam. Burhan al Din Gharib,

Muntjib al Din Chishti and other Qadiri, Chishti, Rafiayi Shaykhs had spread the Sufism in Deccan.⁵⁹

16. Geography of Marathwada: "Marathwada", is a region of India's Maharashtra state, which corresponds to Maharashtra's Aurangabad Division. In Nizam State of Hyderabad had this region, known as 'Marathwadi'. Marathwada was part of the former Hyderabad state of British India until November 1, 1956, when it was transferred to Bombay state, which in 1960 was divided into Maharashtra and Gujarat. India became Independent on 15 August, 1947 but Marathwada joined independent India on 17 September 1948. On this day, the Indian Army took Police Action or operation Polo. Marathwada is home to significant Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, Sikh and Muslim monuments like Aurangabad, Khuldabad, Daulatabad, Ajanta, Ellora, Kandhar, Udgir, Ambad, Shaktipeeths like Mahur and Ambajogai and Jyotirilingas like Ghrishneshwar (Verul / Ellora), Nagnath (Aundha) and Vaijanath (Parli). The Samadhi of Guru Govind Singh, the tenth Guru of Sikh community at Sachkand Nanded. And also Marathwada is called the land of saints (Hindu and Muslims both) like Dnayneshwar (Apegaon, Taluka Paithan, Dist. Aurangabad), Nivruttinath (Apegaon), Sopandev, Muktabai (Apegaon), Eknath (Paithan), Samrth Ramdas (Jamb Samarth, Dist. Jalna), Namdev (Narsi Dist Beed).

Marathwada region (division) comprising of eight districts, viz. Aurangabad, Beed, Hingoli, Jalna, Latur, Nanded, Osmanabad and Parbhani. The location of Marathwada is on 70 5' – 20 5' North latitude forms the part of the vast Deccan plateau all of India and is one of the six divisions of Maharashtra State. ⁶⁰

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Chapter 2

AN OUTLINE OF MYSTICAL IDEAS AND ITS SPREAD IN DECCAN

Islam, major world religion founded by Muhammad in Arabia in the early seventh century AD. The Arabic word Islam means 'submission', specifically, submission to the will of the one Allah. Islam is a strictly monotheistic religion, and its adherents, called Muslims, regard the Prophet Muhammad as the last and most perfect of Allah's messengers, who include Adam, Abraham, Moses (Moosa), Jeses (Isaa) and others.¹ The sacred scripture of Islam is the Quran, which contains Allah's revelations to Muhammad. The sayings and deeds of the Prophet recounted in the Sunna are also an important source of belief and practice in Islam. The religious obligations of all Muslims are summed up in the Five Pillars of Islam, which include belief in God (Allah) and his Prophet and obligations of prayer, charity, pilgrimage and fasting. The fundamental concept in Islam is the Shariah or Law, which embraces the total way of life commanded by Allah. Observant Muslims pray five times a day (Salat/Namaz) and join in community worship on Friday at the mosque (Masjid), where worship is led by an imam. Every believes is required to make a pilgrimage (Hajj) to Mecca, the holiest city, at least once in a lifetime, barring poverty or physical incapacity. The month of Ramdan (Ramzaan) is set aside for fasting (Roza). ²

Alcohol and pork are always forbidden, as are gambling, usury, fraud, slander and the making of images, in addition to celebrating the breaking of the Fast of Ramadan. Muslims celebrate Muhammad's birthday and his ascension into heaven (Miraj). The Id al-Adha festival inaugurates the season of pilgrimage to Meccan. Also celebrated by Muslims are in all worlds. Islam founded by Muhammad in AD 622 (Ist AH). Islam spreading rapidly to many part of the Near East, Middle East and Far East during the later first millennium AD, reaching China for example, by the eighth century AD. Islamic civilization covers a vast area from the North Africa shores of the Atlantic to the western periphery of the Pacific and

from central Asia to sub-Saharan Africa. It is bound together by the shared heritage of Islam and its associated intellectual traditions like Sufism. ³

Muslims traders and settlers came to the Indian subcontinent (south Asia) within a generation of the Prophet's death. By the end of the seventh century AD, Muslims had conquered parts of Afghanistan, and from the tenth century AD, Muslims began to conquer Parts of the North Indian plain. Bengal, Assam and Orissa were taken early I the thirteenth century, and parts of Kashmir in the Fourteenth. In the early sixteenth century, the Muslim Mughal dynasty was established on the ruins of the Muslim sultanate of Delhi by Jahir ud din Babur, a descendant of Timurid and Chingaz Khan. The dynasty was rule northern India and eventually controls most of the south as well until the last Mughal emperor was expelled by the British in 1857AD. ⁴

1. Islam and Sufism: Prophet Muhammad (Sallalahu alaihiwasallam SAW / pbuh) was born in Meccan in 570 AD into the Hashim clan of the Quraysh tribe. The time of Muhammad's birth the most powerful and prestigious tribe in Mecca. They were also highly successful traders and had turned Meccan into one of the most important cities in Arabia. The trade route linking the Mediterranean with Southern Arabia and the Indian Ocean passed close to the town. At that time in contrast to the monotheistic religions of the neighboring Byzantine and Persian Empires the Arabs had a pantheon of pagan deities. Although they worshipped at the deities Shrines, the focal point of worship for the Arabs was the massive cube shaped shrine of the Kaba (in Mecca), which stood at the heart of an ancient sanctuary (haram) in Mecca. Know as the Holy House or House of God, it was dedicated to al-Lah (Allah), the High God of the Arab pantheons. The Ka'ba was also the setting for an annual pilgrimage lasting several days, during which hostilities between warring tribes were suspended as Arabs from all over the peninsula made their way to Mecca to perform the traditional rites and rituals. These included circling around the Ka'ba and touching the Black Stone set in one of its corners. 5

Prophet Muhammad (pbuh/ Peace be upon him), orphaned at an early age, his father, Abdullah, had died before he was born, and his mother Aminah, before he was six. The young Muhammad was brought up by his grandfather, Abd al-Mutallib. During the hajj Abd al-Mutallib provided food and water for the pilgrims. Muhammad was eight; he went to live with his maternal uncle, Abu Talib, who like Muhammad's grandfather was connected with the religious rituals of the Meccan sanctuary. He was also a merchant, and when Muhammad was about twelve years old he began to take him on trading trips, sometime lasting several months. As the years passed, Muhammad's impeccable conduct in business earned him a reputation for honesty and he became known as the Trusted One (al-Amin). Muhammad married with Khadijah, when Muhammad was twenty five and Khadijah was forty. She was a wealthy widow. Their seven children only their daughter Fatimah survived beyond childhood. ⁶

Literally 'Islam' means submission, surrender, obedience and peace. Islam stands for complete surrender and submission to Allah, Islam envisages that the way to peace and progress for man lies in submission to Allah. The message of Islam is enshrined in the declaration of faith, "There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is His Messenger". Islam establishes the link between man and his creator, and thereby lifts him in the scale of values. Islam endows man with the purpose of life, makes him the vicegerent of Allah, and confers on him the status of the crown of Creation.

Islam is primarily a matter of faith. Such faith stands for certain beliefs. Such beliefs are, belief in the unity of God; belief in the finality of the Prophethood of Muhammad (pbuh) belief in the prophets that Allah commissioned from time to time belief in the Holy Quran and other holy books revealed to the prophets from time to time; belief in the angels; belief in life after death; and belief in the Day of Judgment. Such beliefs are intended to insulate in human belief in himself, and belief in his destiny. Motivated and fortified with the faith in Islam, man can virtually move mountains and rise to any height. ⁷

Allama Iqbal has quoted with approval the definition of 'religion', "Religion is a system of general truths which have the effect of transforming character when they are sincerely held, and vividly apprehended". Islam is 'Din', Din is defined as – a divine institution which guides rational beings, by their choosing it, to salvation here and hereafter and which covers both articles of belief and action. 8

Islam was born seventh century when Europe was still enveloped in the 'Dark Age'. Islam established for the first time a proper equation between man and woman. Islam brought home the point that all authority belongs to Allah, and men are to exercise authority as the agents or representatives of Allah. Islam enunciated the doctrine that all power is a trust. Thus while in other polities, power leads to corruption, the exercise of power in an Islamic polity is a matter of elevation, the fulfillment of the trust. Islam postulated the doctrine of the brotherhood of man. Islam provided the doctrine of equality long before the West realized as a consequence of the French Revolution that all men were born equal. Islam elevated women and conferred on them rights which they did not possess before. Islam improved the status of slaves and paved the way for the abolition of slavery. 9

2. Sufi Terms:

Waqt:	Mystical Moment	Qabd:	Contraction
Huzu:	Presence	Sahw:	Sobriety
Maqam:	Station	Bast:	Expansions
Ghyub:	Absence	Suqr:	Intoxication
Hal:	State	Jam:	Concentration
Farq:	Separation	Qurb:	Proximity; etc.
Fanna:	Passing away		

According to Sufi theory, a seeker of the Truth had to traverse various stations, and undergo various states. Station was one which was reached through one's own effort. State was something bestowed by Allah out of His Grace. Some of the stations are: Tauba – conversion; Mujahada – Earnest striving, Khalwa wa'usla – solitariness and

withdrawal. Wara – abstention; Zuhd – self denial; Samt – silence; Khauf – fear; Rija – hope; etc. Some of the states according to al Qushayri are: Ubudiyah – servanthood; Iradah – desire; Mahabah – love; Shauq – yearning etc. 10

Imam Ghazali (d. 1111 AD) affected synthesis between orthodoxy and Sufism. He was one of the greatest thinkers of Islam. His famous book Ihya Ulum Ud Din (Revival of the Science or Religions), in which he held that Sufism provided the foundation for religion. His thesis in this book is that the happiness of mankind lies in following the injunctions of Islam. Abdul Qadir Gilani was primarily a theologian. He wrote Al Ghunniya tut-Talibin Tariq ul--Haq (sufficiency for the seekers after the path of truth) which is recognized as the text book on religion. Ibn al Arabi's well known works are Fatuhat al Makkiyya (Mecca Revelations), and Fusus al Hikam (Bezels of Wisdom). He propounded the doctrine of Wahadat ul Wujud. According to this concept Allah is the Only Reality, and the Only Thing that exists. The concepts envisage that the universe is an emanation of Allah. The theory is based on the Sufi concept "To whatever side I turn, I see naught but Allah". The fame of Jalal ud-Din Rumi rests on his unique poem 'Mathnavi'. The poem is a masterpiece which presents a panoramic view of the Sufi gnosis and attainment of communion with Allah. The poem has a very high status in world literature. 11

3. Philosophy and History of Sufism: In Islam, the term 'Mysticism' is synonymous with *Ihsan* (embellishment of conduct), *Qurb* (approaching Allah), *Tariqat* (road, i.e., the Journey unto Allah), *Suluk* (journey, i.e. unto Allah), and *Tasawwuf* (etymologically means – to don woolen cloth). This last term, oddly enough is most commonly used. Sufism or Tasawwuf is variously defined. ¹²

These are many opinions regarding the origin of this word. They may be summarized as follows:

Ahl us Suffah: Some Sufis like to link the name to Ahlus Sufaah (people of As Suffah) who was at the time of the Prophet (pbuh). They

claim that there are read resemblance between the sufi adept and Ahlu Sufa. These were poor people from the Muhajireen who migrated from Mecca to al Medina fleeing the persecution of the pagan Arabs. They were driven away from their homes and had neither money nor families, nor a place to stay. The prophet Muhammad and the companions assisted them and he allowed them to stay in a courtyard by his Masjid, Masjid e Nabwi. The Sufis would like to establish a linkage with the Prophet's era and claim as well that Muhammad approved the early weed of Sufism exemplified in Ahlus Suffah (followers seated on the bench of the Mosque at Medina in the time of the Prophet). 13

As – Saf al-Awwal: Some Sufis claim that Sufism comes from As-Saff al-Awwal (First Row) 'standing before the Hands of Allah, the Most Mighty and Most, Majestic, by virtue of the high determination and eagerness towards Allah in their hearts and by positioning their inner most before Him'. 14

As - Safaa: On the Sufis claim that the term is derived from As - Safaa which means clearness, purity, sincerity.

As-Suf: Many Sufis from the past and present consider that the term Sufism refuse to the wearing of woolen clothing (soof). This is also the opinion of Shaykh ul-Islam Ibn Taymeeyah. Also Ibn Khaldoon inclined to this opinion in his famous Muqaddimah. 15

Tasawwuf, an Arabic term, is generally translated as Sufism. The term for the process of realizing ethical and spiritual ideals; meaning literally – becoming a Sufi. The ideal Qualities evoked by their derivations are the key to the concept of Tasawwuf as formulated by authors of the tenth century, such as Sulami (d. 1021 AD), while acknowledging that the term Sufi was not current at the time of the Prophet. Sufi theorists maintained that this specialization in spirituality arose in parallel with other disciple such as Islamic law and Quaranic exegesis. But the heart of Sufism, they maintained, lay in the ideal qualities of the Prophet Muhammad and his association with his followers. Sufism described ethical and spiritual goals and functioned as teaching tools to open up the possibilities of the soul.

In practice, the term Sufi was often reserved for ideal usage, and many other terms described particular spiritual qualities and functions, such as poverty (faqir, darvish), knowledge (alim, arif), mastery (pir) etc. ¹⁶

4. Beginning of Sufism: Muhammad led as extremely simple life, consciously avoiding all ordinary pleasures of an average man. He preached the message of Allah during the day and prayed to Him for a major portion of the night (the Quran LXXIII, 201). He spoke nothing but the truth. Some scholars traced the seeds of Sufism to the early stages of the second century of the Hijrah Calendar; while others pointed out that the early features of it began before the year 200 after Hijrah AH. The early deviation was exemplified in exaggerations in worship and extremism in avoidance of the worldly life. In the beginning, some people became interested in leading a pious life of Zuhd (an abstemious way of life), patience, clemency, sincerity, truthfulness, although some of them exaggerated and (or), introduced innovated forms of worship and innovated concepts. Then those who attached themselves to such practices became lax in allowing singing and dancing, something which they refer to as Samaa (singing aimed at stimulating a state of Wajd (ecstasy) and excessive worship). 17

During of the third century *Hijri*, introduction of new concepts and practices became more evident. Some became interested in monasticism (living like monks), while others spoke of poverty, hunger, sleeplessness, wonderment, seclusions, dancing, clamping, innovated forms of Dhikr etc., much abandoned marriage and the seeking of means of sustenance. ¹⁸

The Quran may be taken as a major source of Sufism. The experience of revelation that descended upon the Prophet Muhammad left its mark in numerous passages testifying to the creative power of God and the cosmic horizons of spiritual experience. Allah in the Quran is described both in terms of over whelming transcendence and immanent presence. In particular, the ascension (*Miraaj*) of the Prophet Muhammad to Paradise, as elaborated upon from brief reference in the Quran (17:1-2; 53: 1-18), provided a template for the movement of the soul toward an encounter

with the Creator. While it was commonly accepted that the Prophet's ascension was accomplished in the body, for Sufis this opened up the possibility of an internal spiritual ascension. The notion of special knowledge available to particularly favored servants of Allah, particularly as illustrated in the story of Musa and *al*-Khidr (Quran 18:60-82), provided a model for the relationship between inner knowledge of the soul and outward knowledge of the law. Another major theme adopted by Sufis, was the primordial comment (7:172) between Allah and humanity, which established the relationship with Allah that the Sufi disciplines sought to preserve and restore. A broad range of Quaranic terms for the different faculties of the soul and the emotions furnished a basis for a highly complex mystical psychology. ¹⁹

Sufism has the importance for *Dhikr* (remembrance), which having Allah constantly in mind and heart. Sufi scholars have related that Allah has three thousand Names. One thousand are only known by angels, one thousand known ony by Prophets, 300 are in the *Torah* (Old Testament), three hundred are in *Zabur*, three hundred are in the *New Testament*, and 99 are in the Holy *Quran*. This makes 2,999 Names.²⁰ One Name which has been hidden by Allah is called Ism Allah al -A'zam: The Greatest Name of Allah. Someone who would like to repeat all Name of Allah should first say at least 700 times: "*La ilaha ill'llah Muhammad Rasulullah*" [There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is His Messenger]. ²¹

Other Sufi beliefs have also importance in daily life practices. *Futuwa* (chivalrousness), fulfilling the terms of the Tradition, "God will not fail to attend to His servant's need, so long as His servant attends to the needs of his Muslim brother with complete self disregard."

Firasa (insight), as the Prophet said, 'Bewares of the believer's insight, for he sees with the Light of God'. Khuluq (moral character), the highest quality praised by God in His Prophet, saying, 'Verity thou art (grounded) upon a noble (azim) character'.

Wilaya (being in God's protection, sainthood), based on the Quranic text, 'Verily Allah's protégés (Auliya) have no cause to fear, neither do they grieve'. Duaa (prayer), being constantly suppliant to Allah, for God says, 'Pray to Me, and I will answer you'. Faqr (poverty), for the Prophet said, 'he poor shall enter Paradise five hundred years before the rich'. Adab (decent manners), as the Prophet said, 'God mannered me, and taught me good manners', i.e. in religious conduct. Ma'rifa (gnosis), which appears to mark the transition complete from 'stations' to 'station', for this kind of knowledge comes into the heart from God when the mystic has stilled all the motions of his heart. Mahabba (love) is a consequence of God's Love for human being. Shaaq (yearning) is to be constantly with Allah. 22

5. Islam & Sufism in Indian sub-continent: Caliph (Khalifa) Omar (634-44AD) had appointed Usman ibn Abul Asi governor of Bahrain and Oman in 636 AD. This governor dispatched an army to Tana (near Bombay Island), and sent his brother Hakam with a traders group and force to Barauz (Broach), and another brother, Mughira, to the Bay of Debal (at the Mouth of the Indus River).

Caliph Usman (644-56AD), ordered his governor in Iraq to send a person to the confines of Hind to bring bock communication about trade and conflicts. In the reign of Caliph Ali (656-61AD) and Muawiya (661-80AD) the introduction of trade had been done. There were some conflicts at debal and the mouths of Indus. Hajjaj became the Governor of Iraq (695-714AD) occurred the incident which was to lead to the conquest of Sind. A shipload of Muslim Arab girls, the orphans' daughters of merchants who had died in Ceylon, was being sent as a present to Hajjah by the Singhalese ruler when it was intercepted by the Pirates of Sind. After that, Hajjah sent two successive raiders to Daibul; they met with swift disaster. The seventeen year old Muhammad ibn al Qasim was given charge of the Sind frontier in 711-12 AD. Qasim had catapults set up manned by 500 men, and dug an entrenchment. Daher's governor was defeated. Muhammad built a mosque, and settled four thousand colonists

there. King Daher had Arab military against Qasim. Muhammad Allafi, the Muslim military leader, who was in the service of Daher by long time. He refused to fight against their co-religionists. ²⁴

Muhammad then conquered Brahminabad, Alor and Multan. At Alor, for example of secular history, lives were spared and temples were not touched. Toleration of belief was now officially extended to the Hindus. Muhammad Qasim announced that, "Temples shall be regarded in the same light as the Churches of the Christians, the Synagogues of the Jews, and the Fire Temples of the Magians (Persians)". Islam had been spread in Sind and frontier periphery. In the time of Caliph Umar, the *Sarandip* (Ceylon) people had impressed by Islam. Large conversion had been done there. Medieval writer Ferishta said that the King (Raja) himself embraced Islam in 660 AD. ²⁵

These days, Islam had spread over south Asia and China by traders and Sufis. The Prophet Muhammad's (pbuh) uncle is said to have died at Canton (China). Al-Dimishqi states that Islam reached Indo-China in the days of the third Caliph, Usman. Trade routes developed within Kerala, Malabar, Cambay to China, Malaya towards Arabian Gulf.

Sulaiman (c.851AD), the earliest of the Arab travelers to India whose account survives, claims that the stability of the state of *Balhara* is due solely to, 'the favor shown to the Arabs. In fact, among all the kings there is no one to be found who is as partial to the Arabs as the prince and people of *Balhara*'. Al-Masudi (943AD) said that the peace of the Muslims was not disturbed in India and that Islam flourished. The mosques of the Muslims were large and splendid. ²⁹ Balhara is undoubtedly a corruption of the Sanskrit Ballbharaja (Supreme King). This title was assumed by the Chalukyas in the sixth century AD, adopted by their successors the Rashtrkuta during their rule (747-973AD), and then again resumed by the Chalukyas who ousted their rivals. ³⁰

The information derives from three copper plates with Sanskrit inscriptions found at the village of Chirehani in the Thana district. The inscription states that the *Taajika* (Arab), *Madhumati* (Muhammad) had

became ruler of the whole *Samyaana* (modern Sanjan) by favor of the Rashtrkuta King Krishna II. The Arab *Sugatipa* (Subakta), is started to have donated a village and some land to the temple of a goddess at Samyana by permission of his overlord King Indra III in 926 AD, in addition to providing a charitable feeding house in that town, and floating wooden platforms for crossing large streams in that district. Arab contributed social works in Rashtrkuta era. The Masjids established in Daibul, Ar-Rur (Alor), Seidar, Meimor, Multan, and Heidur, and to a Jami Masjid at Cambay.³¹

Before twelfth century, Islam had been developed and extended in Indian sub continent. The population of Muslims increased till sultanate period, Sufi and Bhakti movement made the synthesis culture within medieval India. Is Islam and Sufism has long history within India. It can also claim to be Indian religion because different facets of Islamic culture developed in Indian sub continent. Indian Islam has specific characteristic and to differentiate it from the Islam of Arabia. It has a secular achievement with Bhakti Sufi Synthesis. When Islam came to Indian subcontinent, there are various casts in society. In the thinrtenth century, there were Sufi Awliyas, such as Mu'in al-din Chishti Khwaja Gharib Nawaz of Ajmer, by whose efforts; whole tribes were converted into Islam. Kabir and Nanak were in contact with Sufi teaching. The Sufi saint Ali Abu of Sind, was acquainted with Yoga practice. Dara Shukov studied Vedant and Sufi philosophy jointly. Islam and Vedanta teachings, especially when theosophy is available to mediate between them.

6. Sufism and Delhi Sultanate: Both Sufis supported the Sultanate as the theoretical upholders of Islamic law and questioned them as rulers whose morals and legitimacy might be doubtful in practice. Some Sultans in turn had made state patronage of Sufis as a cornerstone of policy. Some time conflicts had been arose within sultans and Sufis. The tension between saintly and royal hagiographies comes out in the open when conflicting accounts of the same events from different literary genres are set side by side (Malfuz and political literature). Ziya ud-Din

Barni was the pupil of Nizam al-Din Awliya of Delhi. The problem of tension between Sufis and Sultans may be illustrated by Barani's relationship with Sufism. Barani's distortion of Sufi teachings on politics and ethics is particularly clear in his account of the meeting between the Abbasid Caliph Harun al Rashid and the Sufi ascetic Fuzayl ibn Iyaz. In Barani's version, the Caliph went to see the ascetic to ask how to compensate for the sins he had committed as a ruler. Fuzayl was very reassuring and told Harun that God (Allah) would forgive his sins and even make the Kingdom prosper as long as his faith was sound and his intentions pure. Muhammad ibn Tughlaq's policy to employ Sufis as members of his administration, whether they linked it or not, and Barani by this anecdote indicated his approval of this policy. He used Mahmud of Ghazna (and here Harun al-Rashid) as symbols of ideal royal behavior, and Fusayl ibn Iyaz, a member of the Chishti initiate lineage, was to represent the proper behavior of the mystics. According to Ernst Carl, this tension between Sufis and Sultans, and identifying the dominant historiographical genres, are interpretive tactics that are crucial to the understanding of the sources on the Indo Muslim history. 34

6.1. Amir Khusrav: He was born at Patiali near Delhi in 1253 AD. At a very early age he displayed an uncommon genius. His poetical genius was essentially lyric, though he tried his hand at all forms of poetry with remarkable success. He studied Sufi Philosophy order the guidance of Shaikh Nizam al-din Awliya who was his spiritual preceptor. He was in the service of the Mamlut Kings Ghiyas ud-Din Balban, and Muizz-ud-din Kaiqubad; the Khalji Kings Jalal ud-din, 'Ala-ud-din and Qutb ud-din Mubarak Shah, and Ghiyas ud-din Tughlaq. 35

Khusrav composed ninety nine works on different subjects in Persian. His Khamsa (Quintet), Panj Ganj, composed as a rejoinder to Nizami's similar work, comprises the allegorical and mystical *Matla-ul Anwar* (The Rising of the Lights) in 3310 verses, two love poems *Shirin wa Khusrav* in 4124 versus and *Laila wa Majnun* in 2360 verses, the *Ai'na I Sikandari* (The mirror Paradises) in 3350 verses, dealing with the

adventures of Bahram. He composed in AD 1315, comprising 4200 verses, and the allegorical *masnavi*, *Qiran-us-Sa'dain* (The conjunction of two Auspicious Planets). The *Taj ul-Futuh*, a *masnavi* poem, the Nuh Sipijr (The Nine Spheres) written in AH 718 and dedicated to the Khilji Sultan Qutb ud-din Mubarak, the Rasa'il-I'jaz on prose composition, the *Tughluqnama*, the *Miftah-ul-Futuh*, the *Afzal ul-Fawa'id*, the *Tarikh -i-Dilhi* and the *Khaza'in-ul-Futuh*, (a history of the reign of 'Ala ud-din Khalji) are some of his other works. He died in AD 1325.

6.2. Khwaja Najm ud-din Hasan Sijzi Dehlvi Khuldabadi: Hasan Sijjzi of Delhi (b.AD 1253 D. 1327), son of 'Ala-i-Sanjari, a friend of Amir Khusrav, was one of the court poets of Sultan 'Ala-ud-din Khalji. His lucid and charming Ghazals earned him the title of the 'Sa'di of Hindusthan'. ³⁷ He was the favorit disciple or murid of Shaikh Nizam ud-din Awliya Dehlwi. He wrote Malfuzat on the Shaykh. He recorded chronologically from AD 1307 to 1322 under the title "Fawa'id-ul Fu'ad" which according to 'Abd ul-Haqq, was the highest authority with the disciples of the saint. The historian Ziya ud-din Barani, who was his contemporary, has spoken highly of his poetic gifts. ³⁸

6.3. Other Persian Literature: Abu Abdullah Muhammad, better known as Ibn Batutah, came to India, in Sultanate period. ³⁹ Ziya ud-din Barani (b.AD 1285) was also famous Persian language writer in India. He wrote *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*, the *Sana-i-Muhammadi*, *Salat-i-Kabir*, *Inayat nama-i-Ilahi*, *Ma'asi-i-Sa'adat* and *Hasrat-nama*. In AD 1327, he wrote the *Tatikh-i-Firuz* Shahi to which a detailed reference has been made above. Isami wrote in verse the *Futuh-us-Salatin*, on the model of Firdausi's *Shahnama* dealing with the history of the rules of India from the rise of the Ghazhavid dynasty to AD 1350. This work was dedicated to the founder of the Bahamani dynasty, Ala-ud-din Hasan Shah Bahamani.

Shaif-ud-din bu-Ali-Qalandar (d. AD 1324) wrote the *Maktubat* (epistles), the *Hikamatnama* (The Book of Wisdom), the *Hukmnama-i-Shaikh bu-Ali Qalandar* (The commands of bu-Ali Qalandar), and the *Masnvi-i-bu-Ali Qalandar*. Khwaja Muhammad Imam (d.1335), the

grandson of Shaikh Farid-ud-din, wrote the *Anwar-ul-Majalis* (Illumination of Assemblies) which contains a collection of the sayings of Nizam-ud-din Awliya. Ziya ud-din Barani's the *Hasratnama* (Book of Regret) was his own mystical experiences about Sufis. He was the murid of Hazrat Nizam ud-din Awliya.

Farid-ud-din (d.AD 1351) wrote the Sumr-us-Sudur (Pleasure of Hearts), a collection of the sayings of Hamid ud-din Naguri. Ziya ud-din Nakhshabi was the authorship of the Adab ut-Talibin (The Ways of the Seekers) and the Intibah ul-Muridin (The Awakening of the Disciples) is attributed to Nasir ud-din Chiragh -i-Dihli. Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak Kirmani (d. AD 1368), a Murid of Nasir ud-din Chiragh Dihli, was the author of the Siyar ul-Awliya (Lives of Saints). Yusuf Gada (d. AD 1372), who also was one of the murid of Nasir -ud-din Chirag -i-Dihli, wrote the Tuhfat-un-Nasa'in (A Gift of Admonitions) in AD 1351 for his son Abu-1-Fath. This work deals with the duties and observances of a Muslim. Sayyid Muhammad better known under his surname Gisudaras (AD 1321-1422), was a favorite disciple of Nasir ud-din Chiragh-i-Dihli, whose sayings he collected under the title of Jawami ul-Kilam. Sayyid Muhammad bin Jafar (d. AD 1486), who had the honor of being the chief disciple of Nasir ud-din Chiragh-i-Dihli wrote several treatises or religious subjects. On Sufism he wrote the Badr ul-Ma'ani (Ocean of Mystical Meanings), containing thirty six letters dealing with various Sufi topics, and Asrar-i-Ruh on the Mysteries of soul. 40

7. The Early Silsilas (Orders) in Indian sub-continent: The Suharawardi and the Chishti silsila flourished and spread in Sind, Punjab, Delhi and Awadh region. Multan, Uchch and Gangetic plains, all were covered by *khalifahs* of silsila. Especially Chishtis established their *khanqahs* centers at Ajmer, Narnaul, Suwal, Nagaur, Hansi, Ajodhan (Rajputana & Punjab) and in some part of Uttar Pradesh. Later on the *silsilah* spread into other parts of the country and Chishti centers sprang up in Indian sub-continent with Deccan.

K.A. Nizami said, "What factors determined the success or failure of a silsilah in a particular region and how did a saint attain all India status in those days of limited means of communication?"41 Unless the sufi awliyas or saints of a silsilah identified themselves with the problem of the people, their worries, their hopes, and their aspirations. The popularity and success of the Sufi saints in Indian sub continent was due to their understanding of the Indian conditions and the religious attitudes and aspirations of the Indian people. They adopted many Hindu customs and ceremonials in the initial stages of the development of their silsilah in Indian sub-continent. The practices of bowing before the Shaykh (pir, leader, guide), presenting water to visitors, circulating zabil, shaving the head of new entrants to the mystic circle, audition parties (sama) and the Chillah-i-ma'kus (the Inverted Chillah) had close resemblance to Hindu and Buddhist practices and consequently, the appeal of the silsilat in non-Muslim environment. Particularly when the saints who represented it led an extremely simple and pious life, was tremendous. 42 A saint's fame was carried from one place to another by travelers, merchants, scholars and musicians who broke the isolation of medieval towns and established cultural and commercial countries on a large scale.

7.1. The Chishti Sufi Silsilah in Sub-continent: The Chishti silsilah was introduced in India by Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din Sijzi, who reached here before the Turkish Sultanate conquest of Indian sub-continent. The Shaikh was a native of Sijistan and was, on that account, called Sijzi. ⁴³ In Futuhat-us-Salatin, author Isami said that Sultan Muhammad bin Tughalaq once visited the tomb of Mu'in ad-din Chishti. ⁴⁴

Maulana Hamid bin Fazlullah popularly, known as Maulana Jamli (d.1536) gave detailed account about the Life of Muin al-din Chishti. The *Tadhkhirah* named *Akhbar ul-Akhyar* of Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddis-i-Dehlwi (d.1641AD) gave the information about the Shaikh. Shaikh Mu'in ud-din was born in or about 536AH/1141AD, in Sijistan, east Persia (Iran). ⁴⁵ His father Sayyid Ghiyas-ud-din, a pious man of some means, died when his son was in his teens. After some year he visited the

Khanqahs of Samarqand and Bukhara and acquired religious learning at the feet of eminent scholars of his age. Then he went Haroan at Nishapur and joined the Khanqah of Khwaja Usman. He visited nearly all the great centers of Muslim cultures in those days- Samarqand, Bukhara, Baghdad, Nishapur, Tabriz, Aush, Ispahan, Sabzwar, Mihra, Khirqa, Astarabad, Balkh and Ghazan- and acquainted himself with almost every important trend in Muslim religious life in the middle ages. His moral and spiritual qualities attracted many people to his fold and he appointed his khalifahs in Sabzwar and Balkh. Shaikh Auhad-ud-Kirmani, Shaikh Shihab-ud-din Suharawardi and many other eminent Sufis benefited by his company. He turned towards Hindustan. After a brief stay at Lahore, where he prayed and meditated at the tomb of the pioneer sufi teacher, Shaikh 'Ali Hajweri, he proceeded to Ajmer. One time, explaining his views about the Universe, the Muin ud-din Chishti said, "When we transcended the externals and looked around, we found the lover, the beloved and the love (itself) to be one, i.e. in the sphere of Oneness all is one". 46

7.2. Spread of Chishti Sufism in Indian sub-continent: Shiakh Mu'in-ud-din popularized the Chishti silsilah in northern India – Shaikh Hamid ud-din Sufi in Rajputana and Shaikh Qutb ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki in Delhi. ⁴⁷ First worked in the rural, the other in the urban milieu. Shaikh Hamid ud-din Sufi (d.679AH/1276AD) was a posthumous child of Shaikh Muhammad al-Sufi, a descendant of Sa'id bin Zaid, one of the ten leading companions of the Prophet. He was the first Muslim child to see the light of the day in Delhi after its conquest by the Muslim Rulers. He joined the circle of Shaikh Ma'in ud-din's murid. Impressed by his devotion to the mystic way of life, Shaikh Mu'in ud-din gave him the title of Sultan-u't-Tarikin (King of Recluses). ⁴⁸

His life at Nagaur affords one of the earliest glimpses of Muslim family life in the Indian country side. He lived in a small mud house and cultivating a single *bighah* of land. ⁴⁹ His wife - a lady of fervent piety and strong mystic temperament – spent her time in cooking and spinning like a peasant woman. ⁵⁰ Shaikh Hamid ud din was a strict vegetarian. ⁵¹ He had decided not to accept the royal gifts. Shaikh Hamid ud-din was a man of

affable temperament and wide human sympathies which made him a popular figure in Nagaur. His catholicity of views is best illustrated by the fact that he could discern and appreciate spiritual virtues in non-Muslims also. ⁵²

7.3. Hazrat Farid-a'd-din Mas'ud Ganj-i-Shakr: He came to Lahore and settled there. But some time later, his all family members killed by Mongol invasion. He took to mysticism. Hazrat Shaikh Farid uddin Mas'ud Ganj-i-Shakar (1175-1265AD), gave to the Chishti silsilah the momentum of an organized spiritual movement. He had born in a Kazi family of Kahtwal (near Multan). It was in a madrasa attached to a mosque in Multan that he first met Shaikh Qutb ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki and got himself initiated into the Chishti discipline. After completing his study of the external sciences ('ulum-i-Zahri), he turned to spiritual practices. After completing his course of mystic discipline at the feet of Shaikh Qutb ud-din, he settled at Hansi, an ancient town in the Hisar district. Later on he moved to Ajodhan. Shaikh Farid trained and tutored a very large number of disciples (murid). The famous khalifahs of the Shaikh were Hazrat Shaikh Jaml ud-din Hansvi, Shaikh Najib ud-din Mutawakkil, Shaikh Badr ud-din Ishaq, Shaikh 'Ali Sabir, Shaikh 'Arif, Maulana Fakr ud-din Safahani Shaikh Nizam ud din Auliya etc. 53

Maulana Badr-ud-din Ishaq, another distinguished *Khalifah* of Shaikh Farid, was an eminent scholar at Delhi. He was the general supervisor of his *jama'at khanah*. Maulana write a scholarly book on Arabic grammar – *Tasrif-i-Badari'i*. 54

Shaikh 'Al ud-din 'Ali bin Ahmad Sabir, the founder of the *Sabiri* branch of the Chishti silsilah, is said to have beer a prominent disciple of Shaikh Farid. The Sabiri Silsila, however, came into the full light of history when Shaikh Ahmad 'Abd ul-Haqq (d.837AH/1433AD) established a great mystic center at *Rudauli* (at in the Barabanki district) and began to propagate the teachings of the silsilah. ⁵⁵

Hazrat Shaikh Nizam ud-din Awliya was the most outstanding Khalifa of Hazrat Shaikh Farid. He worked for one century in Delhi for

Chishti silsilah. ⁵⁶ On Ramzan 13, 664AH/ 1265AD, Shaikh Farid granted his *Khilafatnamah* to Shaikh Nizam ud-din Awliya and instructed him to devote his life to the propagation of the Chishti mystic principles. Zia ud-din Barani has gives us a detailed account of the popularity and influence of the Shaikh. He wrote, "Shaikh Nizam ud din had opened wide the doors of his disciple / murid nobles, plebian's, rich, poor, learned and illiterate, citizens and villagers, soldiers, warriors, free man and slaves and these people refrained from many improper things, because they considered themselves disciples of the Shaikh Nizam ud-din Awliya ...". ⁵⁷

Amir Khusro regarded his teacher or *Murshid* Shaikh Nizam ud-din Awliya as a person who possessed the qualities of both Jesus Christ and Khizr. He believed that Khawaja was not made up of water or soil rather; he had the quality of both Khizr and Jesus Christ. Khizr has been known to show correct path to human beings and to lead them to Salvation. On the other hand, *Isaa* or Jesus has also been known as *Al Masih* because whomsoever Jesus touched was healed. ⁵⁸ Urdu poet Iqbal also noticed these qualities in Hazrat Shaikh Nizam ud din Awliya when he said:

"Teri lahad ki zayarat hai zindagi dil ki, Masih -o- Khisr se uncha muqam hai tera", [To visit your place is one of the most important ambitions of my life, because you occupy a much higher place than that of Khizr and Masih.] ⁵⁹

Various books are available on the life and preaching of Hazrat Nizam ud-din Auliya. The Fawa'id-a'l-Fu'ad has been compiled by Amir Hasan Alaus Sijzi Dehlawi Khuldabadi, a friend of Amir Khusro. Shaikh Nizam ud-din Auliya also went through it and approved its drafts. 60 Shaikh Nizam ud-dins Auliya spent seventy years of his life to teach human beings the moral and spiritual values and to bring happiness to exhausted and distressed souls. Shaikh Nizam ud-din Auliya always believed that without love of Allah, life is meaningless. Love is a quality which is found only among human beings even angels is quite unaware of the feeling of love. Shaikh Nizam ud-din Awliya (Auliya) love for Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) was a part of his life. He always emphasized

the relevance of Sunnat-e-Rasul (life style of Prophet Muhammad) to lead a life of spiritual peace. Hazrat Nizam-u'd-din Awliya always emphasized the relevance of inner purification. He always believed that hatred and jealousy created more problems than it solved. Hazrat Nizam ud-din Auliya always propagated the concept of brotherhood, which is a primary source to bring happiness to human heart and patience always helps in resolving issues. Anger never helps in solving problems and therefore one should always follow the principle of forget and forgive. He believed that human nature revolved around Nafs (ego) and Qalb (soul). Nafs is the center of mischief and strife while Qalb s the center of peace and good will. Action under the direction of Qalb removes all types of misunderstanding and strife between individuals. Therefore, he suggested that one should be guided by Qalb to remove all kinds of bitterness. Shaikh Nizam ud-din Auliya was deadly against ill-gotten wealth. He advised his disciples to depend only on legitimate earnings. He suggested them to reject wealth which are ill-gotten, forbidden and unlawful. He always advised his followers to earn bread and butter for the family lawfully. It is equal to Namaz. 61

Shaikh Nizam ud din Auliya died at seventy eighth, *Rabiul Akhir* 725 AH. Shaikh Rukn-ud-din Multani led his funeral prayer (*Namaz i-Janaja*). The way of tree is known for its fruits, a teacher is known for his disciples. Shaikh Nizam ud-din Awliya had a number of murid and *khalifas* who went to all parts of the India to invite people to the path of honesty. Chiragh Dehlavi, Shaikh Qutb ud-din Munawwar, Maulana Fakhru ud-din Zaradi, Maulana Burhan ud din Gharib Khuldabadi, Maulana Wajihuddin Yusuf, Maulana Akhi Siraj, Maulana Sahmsuddin Yahya and Qazi Muh ud-din Kashani were very distinguished disciples of Shaikh Nizam ud-din Auliya. ⁶²

7.4. Suharawardi Silsilah: Due to Mongol invasion in Iran and 'Ajam area, many of the disciples of Shaikh Shihab ud-din Suhrawardi migrated to Indian sub-continent. One time he said that he had many disciples in India. Shaikh Jalal-ud-din Tabrizi, Qazi Hamid ud-din

Nagauri, Sayyid Nur ud-din Mubarak Ghaznavi, Shaikh Baha ud-din Zakariyya, Maulana Majd-ud-din Haji, Shaikh Zia-ud-din Rumi, were among his celebrated *khalifahs* in India. Tabrizi wondered in India in Hansi, Badaun, Delhi and Bengal. He converted a very large number of Hindus to Islam. The devotion of a section of the Hindus to him is clearly evinced in the Sanskrit work, *Shekasubhodaya*. ⁶³ Qazi Hamid ud-din Nagauri spread Suharawardi silsilah in northern Indian sub-continent. He allowed mystical songs and dances. Sayyid Nur'ud-din Mubarak Ghaznavi Maulana Majd ud-din Haji and Shaikh Ziaud-din Rumi were too nears the rulers and the bureaucracy to plan for the expansion of the silsilah. But Shaikh Baha ud-din Zakariyya studied carefully the problems of the contemporary Muslim society. He established his Khanqah Multan and organizing his silsilah on an effective basis. ⁶⁴

8. Sufi Ideology and Contribution to Indian Culture: Gnosis (ma'rifat) or Union (wasl) being the facet of mystical life, ways and means were explored through which one could reach his ideal. "You must know that the way to God", writes Shaikh 'Ali Hajweri, |"..is of three kinds, magam, hal, tamkin. Magam (station) denotes any one's 'standing', in the way of God, and his fulfillment of the obligations appertaining to that 'station' and his keeping if until he comprehend its perfection so far as lies in a man's power. It is not permissible that he should quit his 'stations' without fulfilling the obligations thereof. Hal (state), on the other hand, is something that descends from God into a man's heart, without his being able to repel it when it comes, or the attract it when it goes, by his own effort 'station' denotes the way of the seeker and his progress in the field of exertion and his rank before God in proportion to his merit, the term 'state' denotes the favor and grace which God bestows upon the heart of His servant. Tamkin denotes the residence of spiritual adepts in the abode of perfection and in the highest grade. Those in 'station' can pass on from their 'station', but it is impossible to pass beyond the grade of tamkin". 65

8.1. Service for Humanity: Muslim mystics of Indian looked upon social service as the supreme object of all their spiritual exercise. Shaikh Mu'in ud-din Chishti was asked about the highest form of devotion, he replied that it was nothing but helping the poor, the distressed and the downtrodden. All the great mystic teachers of medieval India agreed with the view point of the Chishti saint. Live in society and bear the blows and buffets of the people, was the advice which a mystic teacher always gave to his disciples. ⁶⁶

Shaikh Nizam u'd-din Auliya reported to have observed, "Devotion to God is of two kinds, *lazmi* (obligatory) and *muta'addi* (communicable). In the *lazmi* devotion, the benefit which accrues is confined to the devoted alone. This type of devotion includes prayers, fasting, pilgrimage to Mecca, recitation of religious formulae, turning over the beads of the rosary etc. The *muta'addi* devotion, on the contrary, brings advantage and comfort to others; it is performed by spending money on others, showing affection to people and by other mean through which a man strives to help his fellow human beings. The reward of *mutu'addi* devotion is endless and limitless". 67

A mystic was expected to reject the world (dunya). In fact, it was not the world as such which the mystics rejected but the materialistic approach towards life and its problems which they hated and despaired. The mare a man got involved in materialistic pursuits, farther he drifted from his spiritual objective. The sufis of India believed in a pacific and non-violent approach towards all problems of human society. Self criticism is the best way to minimize chances of friction in human society. Shaikh Nizam ud-din Awliya once told his audience, "If there is strife between two persons – say, 'between me and some other person, its solution is this'. I should on my part, cleanse my heart of al ideas of revenge. If I succeed in doing that, the enemy's desire to do some harm to me would also be lessened." There are both good and bad tendencies in every man. In mystic terminology one may say that there is nafs (animal soul) and there is qalb (human soul) in every human being. Nafs is the

abode of mischief, strife and animosity; *qalb* is the center of peace, good will and resignation. If a man opposes you under the influence of his nafs, you should meet him with qalb. The *qalb* will overpower the *nafs* and the strife would end. But if a man opposes *nafs* with *nafs*, there can be no end to conflicts and strifes. ⁶⁹

9. Chishti Ideas towards the State: According to Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, the sufis of Indian sub-continent those belonging to the Chishti silsilah, cut themselves off completely from Rulers, Kings, Politics and government service. Nizami said that, this attitude was based on various considerations, Psychological and legal, religious. 'Living for the Lord alone'. Khwaja Abu Muhammad, an elder saint of the Chishti silsilah, declined to accept the presents of a prince with the remarks: 'None of our elder saints has accepted such things'. Some saints adopted an extremist attitude in this matter and treated everything associated with the ruler and the state as an obnoxious symbol of materialism. ⁷⁰

Khwaja Muin ud-din Chishti never visited the Sultan who had very great regard for him. Shaikh Farid ud-din Ganj-i-Shakar continued the traditions of his master. He warned his disciples against consorting with kings and Princes. Sultan Balban had great faith in Baba Farid. But his respect or devotion could not, in any way, influence the saints' outlook or policy towards the Sultan. The Chishti saints not only abstained from the Society of Kings and nobles, they rejected also their offers of jagirs and endowments. They thought that acceptance o suck gifts would make them subservient to the royal wish and fetter the independence of their soul. They used to say, "The King gives a village and holds us under an obligation; our Providence gives us our daily bread without placing any such obligation". When Iltutmish offered a jagir to Shaikh Qutb ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki, he declined to accept it. Shaikh Nizam ud-din Auliya refused to accept the royal grants with the remark. 71 Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki emphatically declined to accept the distinction of Shaikh ul Islam, though he had a soft corner for Iltutmish. 72

- 9.2. Suharawardi Attitude towards the State: Suharawardi saints to royal courts provided them with opportunities to help the poor people by getting their grievances redressed by the Sultan. It is said that about Shaikh Rukn u'd-din that whenever he left his residence for the court, people gathered round him in large number and filled his dolah (palanquin) with petitions to be handed over to the Sultan with recommendations for sympathetic consideration. Also Suharawardi saints believed that by establishing personal contact with the rulers they could bring about a change in their outlook.
- 10. Means of Livelihood: Muslim mystics of the middle ages permitted only two means of livelihood to their senior disciples, *ihya* (cultivation of waste land) and *futuh* (unasked for charity). The mystic should, first, surrender himself completely to God. He should give up faith in 'means' and look to God as his immediate as well as ultimate sustainer. Majorly the Sufi saints rejected the gifts like villages, orchards, land etc. No regular or guaranteed payments should be accepted. Sufis believed in *Rizq-i-Mazmum* i.e., basic necessities of life, food and water. ⁷³

Allah is responsible for supplying them to every living being – man and animal. The Quran refers to *rizq-i-Mazmum* when it says:

"There is no moving creature on earth but its sustenance dependent on God: He knows the time and place of its definite abode and its temporary deposit: All is in a clear Record." – Quran 9:6

Rizq-i-Mau'ud means subsistence which Allah has promised to the pious people, as the Quran says"

"And He provides for him from (sources) he never could imagine."

- Quran 65:3

The Hindu religion has caste system. The unassuming ways of the mystics, their broad human sympathies and the classless atmosphere of their *Khanqahs* attracted these despised sections of Indian society to its fold. Sufism have with a liberal and unorthodox faith, it prepared the ground for the egalitarian Bhakti and Sufi Movements which engulfed

India in succeeding centuries. Some typical Muslim concepts, especially the tenets of equality and brotherhood influenced Hindu caste system. ⁷⁴

Before Hindus, Muslim lifestyle and equality had new. All Muslims lived, slept and ate together. The sacred Book was open and accessible for all. Thus demonstrating the Islamic idea of tauhid as a working principle in social life, the medieval khanqahs became the spear heads of Muslim culture. They sat cool and collected in their khanqahs and taught lessons for human love and equality. In Khanqah, all were together – rich and poor, high and low, townsfolk and villagers, men and women, the mystics fought against illiteracy. The sufis, however, rose to the occasion and released syncretic forces which liquidated social, ideological land linguistic barriers between the various culture groups of India and helped in the development of a common cultural outlook. ⁷⁵

The early Indo-Muslim adopted an attitude of sympathy and understanding towards all cults and ceeds. Amir Khusrau who is, by far, the most powerful exponent of this attitude of medieval Muslim mystics, refers to Hindu customs and ceremonials in a spirit which must have been instrumental in discovering the principles of essential unity between different religions. He declares, "Though Hindu is not faithful like me, He often believes in the same thing as I do." ⁷⁶

The eagerness of the Muslim mystics to establish closer relations with the Hindus and understand their religious life and thought facilitated the evolution of a common medium for the exchange of ideas. Since the earliest known sentences of the *Hindvi* language are found in the mystic records, the fact that the birth place of the Urdu language was the Khanqah of the medieval sufis, can hardly be doubted. The significant aspect of the mystic contribution to Indian society deserved to be noted. The Urban revolution, which had come in the wake of the establishment of Turkish power in India, had brought with it certain moral laxities and social vices, a necessary concomitant of culture growth. A cursory glance through the pages of the Qi'ran-us-Sa'dain of Amir Khusro and the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zia ud-din Barani gives an idea of the atmosphere

that prevailed in Delhi after the death of Balban and before the advent of 'Ala 'ud-din Khalji. The *khanqahs* acted as a counterweight in maintaining the moral equilibrium of the medieval society. Barani said in *Tarikh i-Firoz Shahi* that, vices among men had been reduced. This is the very significantly remark on these mystics in India. ⁷⁷

11. Qadiriyya Silsilah in Deccan: The Qadiriyya order was introduced into the Indian sub continent by Mir Nuru'llah bin Shah Khalilullah, a grandson of Shah Nuru'd-din Muhammad Ni'matullah (Wali) bin Abdullah. Nimatulah Shah born in Aleppo, Syria, in 730/1330. He came to Deccan. He founded the Nimatullahi order of the later Shiaa. Sufis branch in Deccan. His descendants in India could therefore track their spiritual genealogy directly back to the Qadiriyyas because of the Shah's intimate relations with the Qadiriyyas of Iran. According to Firishta's, Gulshan i-Ibrahimi, Bahamani Sultan, Shihabu'd-din Ahmad I (825/1422-839/1436) welcome to Shah Ni'matullah at Deccan. Some references also available in Brhan-i-Ma'asir of Saiyid Ali bin Azizllah Tabataba. The new town founded by Sultan at to near Bidar, named Ni'matabad. According to Ferishta, the Bahamani Sultan was also given the title, Maliku'l-Masha'ikh, as well as official precedence over all other sufis in the Deccan most notably. Later Niamtullah's disciples made Qadiriyya order generalized in Deccan. 78

11.1. Other *Qadiri* Sufis of Indian sub-continent: 79

Sr.	Name of Sufi Saint	Place of	Date of Birth /
No.		Khanqah & Dargah	Death
1.	Shaikh Bahlul Daryai	Lahore	d. 983/1575
2.	Shaikh Husain	Lahore	d. 1008/1599
3.	Hajji Abdul Jamil	Lahore	d. 1082/1671
4.	Saiyid Shah Balaul bin	Shaikhpura near	d. 1046/1636
	Saiyid Osman bin Saiyid Isa	Lahore	
	Qadiri	Lanore	
5.	Saiyid Muhammad Ghaus	Lahore	d. 959/1551
	Bala Pir (grandson of Shaikh		
	Abdul Qadir Sani II)		

11.2. Shaikh Abdul Haqq Dehlawi Qadiri: Abdul Haqq Qadiri was the son of Shaikh Saifud Din Qadiri (b. 920/1514 – d. 990/1582). Shaikh Saifuddin was another prominent Qadiri Shaykh of Akbar's period. He expresses his own feelings towards Tasawwuf and Wahdat al-Wajud (Unity of Being). He expressed his ideas at Akbar's court on his gratefulness to Allah that he was neither a scholar nor a theologian. Abdul Haqq Dehlawi Qadiri (b. Muharram 858/1551-d. 21RabiwalI 1051/19June, 1642) was extreme seriousness in education, learning and training. Saiful ud-Din had awakened in his son a passionate interest in the Qadiriyya order. He advised him to become a disciple of the Qadiri pir Shaykh Musa. In September 1578 when Emperor Akbar resumed second round of religious debates, that time abdu'l-Haqq came in touch with abu'l Fazal and Faizi. Abdul Haqq built the Khanqah-i-Qadiriyya in Delhi in 1611AD. In 1619, Emperor Jahangir rewarded Shaikh Abdul Haqq with honors and gifts. He invited by him to court visit. 80

Shaikh Abdul Haqq Qadiri died at the age of 94 (21 Rabbiawal, 1052/19 June, 1642). His gravestone (epitaph) mentions that the Shaikh had written 100 books. His famous work Akhbaru'l Akhyar, relating to the Sufis of the Sub continent, is prefaced by a long biography of Shaikh Abu'l Qadir Jilani Rahmatullahallai. Marj al Bahrain Fi'l-Jamma bain al Tariqah is another treatise by Dehlawi in which he has attempted to place Tariqah (Sufic way) within the framework of the Shari'ah or Islamic law. Shaikh Ali Muhammad, the son of Shaikh Abdul Haqq, wrote the biography of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani and a dictionary of Arabic, Persian and Turkish words. Shaikh Nuru'l Haqq (b.983/1575-d. 1073/1663), the eldest son and successor of Abdul Haqq wrote a history of India from the earlier times to the accession of Jahangir (1014/1605). The disciples of Abdul Haqq were also spread in Benaras, Bihar and Jaunpur.

11.3. Miyan Mir: Miyan Mir born in 938/1531. Before he had reached adulthood Miyan Mir had been initiated as a Qadiriyya Sufi. Miyan Mir's Pir, Shaikh Khizr, was a Sufi who passionately believed in

rejecting all gifts, even offerings of *Zakat*, unless they emanated from purely pious motives. After the training, Mir began living in mosques in Lahore, spending part of his time attending the lectures of Maulana Sa'dullah, an outstanding alim (scholar) of Akbar's reign. He goes everyday for meditation in forest. According to Dara Shukov this had been the Prophet Muhammad's way of meditating and the Miyan believed it was designed to obliterate all no spiritual thoughts from the conscious mind. 82

In 1620, the Emperor Jahangir, on the rout of Kashmir from Sirhind, was informed that Miyan Mir an outstanding ascetic. He had already left Lahore and was unable to return to see the great Shaikh. At the Emperor's invitation Miyan Mir visited his camp and over welcomed Jahangir byhis mystical discourse. So impressed was the Emperor with the Miyan's asceticism that the dared not present him with any gift except for the skin of a whit antelope (deer) to pray or *salat* on.⁸³

Before his death, Miyan Mir refused to allow the governor of Lahor's physician to treat him. On *Rabiul Awwal* first, 1045/21 August, 1635, Miyan Mir died. The last rites were performed by his disciples and servants, while the Governor Wazir Khan and other leading citizens of Lahore joined the cortege. Dara Shukow had missed the Miyan's funeral. The Dargah of Miyan Mir Qadiri in Lahore, known as Alam Ganj (World Treasury). 84

12. Shattariyya Silsila in Indian subcontinent: Shattariyya silsila spread in Indian subcontinent at fifteenth century AD. It was in fact a branch of the Bistamiyya silsila, one of the oldest of all mystic orders. The silsila had inspiration from the Imam Jafar al-Sadiq (b.80/699- d. 148/765). Another influence on the silsilah came from the mystical stories about the life of Abu Yazid Bastami (d. 261/874). Bistamiyya or Ishqiyya silsila has known as Shattariyya in Indian land. The Indian branch of the silsila chose to call itself the Shattariyya because of the speed with which sufis trained in this order managed to achieve, fanaa. The Shattariyya pirs

claimed, war attained by their disciples at the very beginning of their Sufic ascension. 85

Shah Abdullah is credited with having changed the name of the Ishqiyya order to the Shattariyya. Shah Abdullah studied at Bukhara, Nishapur and Azerbayjan. Then he migrated to Manikpur and Jaunpur in India. He visited Bengal, Mandu and Malwa region. Shattariyya silsila spread in Gujarat and Malwa. From Gujarat it spread into Medina as well as Malaya, Indonesia. Shah Abdullah divided Muslim spiritualism into three categories: *Akhyar* (religious), *Abrar* (the holy) and *Shattar* (Swift paced). All three, he said had their own methods of invocation, remembrance and meditation for the attainment of divine institution, insight and nearness to God. In 80/1485, the Shah died and was buried in Mandu, South of the tombs of the Khalji sultans of Malwa.

Shaikh Ala Qazin Shattari was the founder of Shattariyya in Bengal. 89 Emperor Humayun gave the respect Shattari Sufis in Bengal. Ghausi Shattari had also famous saint in Bengal. He wrote the *Gulzar-i-Abrar*. Shaikh Hafiz Jaunpuri, Shah Abdullah's Khalifa at Jaunpur, was fortunate in having a large number of disciples who lived in various town of northern India between Jaunpur and Delhi. Shaikh Buddhan Shattari, was very famous Sufi Shattari at Panipat. One of Shaikh Buddhan's well known disciples was Shaikh Rizqullah Mushtaqi Rajan (b. 897/1491-d. 20 RabiI 989/24 April, 1581) an uncle of Shaikh Abdu Haqq Muhaddis Dehlawi and the author of a collection of historical anecdotes entitled the *Waqiat I Mushtaqi* as well as several, non extant, Hindi Masnawis. The Hindi *masnawis*, he wrote were the *Paiman* and *Joti Niranjan*. 90

12.1. Other Shattari Sufis in India: 91

Sr. No.	Name of Shattariyya Sufi	Place of Dargah	Death Year
1.	Shaikh Wali Shattari	Bidauli	d. 956/1549
2.	Shiakh Ahmad Mutawakkil	Ujjain	d. 98/1589
3.	Shaikh Makhu	Jainabad	d. 1010/1601
4.	Shaikh Hamid bin Shaikh Lad	Burhanpur	d. n. a.
6.	Shaikh Abdullah Wahid Shattari	Agra	d. 1017/ 1608
7.	Shaikh Ibrahim Qare Shattari	Burhanpur	d. 991/1583

13. Naqshbandiyya Silsila: Khwaja Baa'ud-Din Naqshbad (718/1318-791/1389) founder of this silsila. After him the silsila came to be called the Naqshbandiyya. His tomb, known as the *Qasr-i-Arifan*, near Bukhara, grew into a thriving rendezvous for sufis and other Muslims. It had spread over Bukhara, Central Asia, Heart, Balkh and Badakshan.

The Indian Naqshbandiyyas traced their spiritual descent from Khwaja Nasirud Din Ubaidulah Ahrar, a prominent successor of Khwaja Baha'ud-Din's disciple, Ya'qub Charkhi. Ahrar born in Ramazan 806/March 1404, near *Tashkent* region. His father Khwaja Mahmud Shashi, and grandfather, were also Sufis and were closely associated with the Naqshbandiyya disciples of Shaikh Umar. ⁹³

Nasir ud-din went to Samarqand to study and become 'alim. Then he goes to Bukhara for further study at Naqshbandiyya center. There Maulana Ya'qub Charkhi trained him in the Naqshbandiyya Zikr of Nafio-Isbat, also known as the Wusuf-i--Adadi and advised him to imprint mystically on his disciple the impact of his personality and to engender in them the ecstatic love of the Divine. He returned to Tashkent. established there Khanqah, a madrasa and a Jami Masjid in Tashkent. Sultan Abu Sa'id and his successor gave the Khwaja considerable gifts of farming property which like his original farm. The Khwaja owned more than 1030 villages. On one occasion the Khwaja paid 2,50,000 dinars and on another 70,000 dinars to Umar Shaikh Mirza (the Father of Emperor Babur and a son of Sltan Abu Sa'id) to releiev the Muslims of Tashkent of a large part of their tax burden. He gave double tax of his own cultivation, to state. All revenue from his extensive holdings was put into a waqf (religious endowment) for the benefit of members of his madrasas, khangahs, and mosques, and of sufis, ulama, and travelers as well as deprived Muslims in general. On 29 Rabi ul Awwal 895/ 20 February, 1490, Khwaja Nasir ud din Ubaidullah Ahrar died in Samarqand. 94

Umar Shaikh Mirza was his disciple. Babur was also a lifelong devotee of the Khwaja. 95 Khwajas disciple Shaikh Faiyazi Bukhari came to

Nagaur in Rajasthan. After the establishment of Mughal Empire by Babur, his central Asian soldiers were the spiritual followers of the disciples of Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar. Some eminent Naqshbandiyya sufis also migrated from Central Asia to Indian subcontinent. Among the most prominent were Khwaja Abdush Shahid and Khwaja Kalan, a descendent of Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar, whom Babur deeply respected.⁹⁶

At the time of Akbar, many Naqshbandis came to India from Transixiana to Agra. Mirza Hakim spread Naqshbandiyya at Kabul. Khwaja Khawand Mahmud Naqshbandi Alwi Husaini spread Naqshbandiyya at Kashmir. He born in 965/1557 and was educated at Samarqand, Balkh. Khwaja Muhammad Amin arrived in Srinagar. In the period of Jahangir, Naqshbandiyya spread in Lahore, Agra and Delhi region. In 1015/1606 Khwaja *Khawand* Mahmud reached Srinagar. In 1620 AD, Jahangir visited to Kashmir with Naqshbandiyya centers. ⁹⁷

The most famous Naqshbandiyya Sufi saint was Khwaja Muhammad Baqi Billah berang, born in Kabul in 971/1563. His mother was a descendant of the family of Khwaja Ubaid ullah Ahrar. His brother Mirza Muhammad Hakim was the Viceroy of Kabul. Muhammad Baqi performed tauba (repentance) under many Naqshbandi saints of Transoxiana. He migrated to Delhi and settled at Firuzabad, fort near the Yamuna River. He died at 25 *Jumadul Akhar* 1012/ Nov. 1603 at Delhi. 98

13.1. Naqshbandi Sufis in Indian sub continent: Shaikh Ilahdad (d. 1049/1640), the most senior disciple of Khwaja Baqi Billah. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi was born on 14 Shawal 971/26 May 1564 at Sirhind. He did his education under the guidance of his father by Chishti and Qadiria order. He wrote Maqtaubat on Khwaja Baqi Billah. Shaikh Saifu'd-din (b. 1049/1639), son of Shaikh Muhammad Ma'sum Naqshbandi settled at Delhi in Aurangzeb period. This time, Naqshbandiyya hagiologies assert that the princes and the nobles of Aurangzeb's court obeyed the Saifu'd-din's orders on all religious matters. The Shaikh died on 26 Jumada I 1096/30 April 1685. The brother of Saifu'd-Din Naqshbandi, Shaikh Muhammad Sidddiq, was born in

1057/1647. His re-known disciple was Emperor Farrukhsiyar (1124/1713 – 1131/1719). On 5 Jumada II 1130/ 6 May, 1718, he died in Delhi. 99

14. Female Sufis in Indian subcontinent: In early period Sufism in Basra, Rabia bint Isma'il al-Adawiya had the significant contribution in Sufism. Women continued to play an important role in the movement both as sufis and as the mother of leading sufis. Shaikh Nizam ud-Din Auliya used to say, -

"When the lion emerges from a forest, nobody asks about its sex. The progeny of Adam should adopt piety and obedience to Allah whether they are men or women." 101

Shaikh Hazrat Bibi Sara, the mother of Shiakh Nizam ud din Abu'l Mu'id, an important contemporary of Khwaja Qutb ud din Bakhtiyar Kaki. One time in a drought in Delhi, Nizam ud din Auliya's mother, taking a thread from garment worn by her, he held it in his had, and started praying. Instantly it began to rain. The mother of Baba Farid also had very spiritual ideas. Very families converted into Islam by her. Shaikh Nizam ud din Auliya went to the tomb of his mother for *Fatiha*. 103

Shaikh Nasir ud Din *Chirag-i-Dihli* mentions a female Sufi, Bibi Fatima, who constantly fasted (Roza). She had a maid girl (slave) who worked as a laborer and from these earnings the latter prepared for her lady two cakes of barley each day. These world be placed beside Bibi Fatima's prayer carpet (*Mizaan*), along with a glass of water, and were the only food she took between fast. One night Bibi Fatima believed she was dying, so she decided to eat nothing and not lose a moment from prayer. The bread was given to local dervishes. For forty days and nights she remained without sleep or food, and the bread was given to dervishes. On the fortieth day she died. Shaikh Nasir ud Din concluded the story by saying that Bibi Fatima's life was a true example of the belief that a real Sufi was one who was an *ibnu'l waqt*, that is, understood the real value of human life through a constant awareness of its transience. 104

Moreover, female mystics were never incorporated into khangahs and orders a spiritual succession could not be traced through

them. Often they became hermits or lone dervishes and more often than not, lived without the comforts, both spiritual and material, provided by pirs, and khanqahs. According to Dara Shukoh, Bibi Jamal Khatun, the younger sister of Miyan Mir, was the Rabi'a of her times. She obtained her early training in Sufism from her parents and then Miyan Mir, conveyed the Bibi Jamal his own Qadiriyya methods of meditation and contemplation.

Bibi Jamal lived in Siwistan. Complying with the rules of Shari'a, she married, but Dara Shukov has not recorded her husband's name. After ten years of married life, she separated from her husband and began to lead a life giver to prayer, meditation and difficult ascetic exercise. She died on 27 Rabi Qwwal 1057 / 2 May 1647. 105

Dara Shukov's elder sister, Jahan Ara begam, or Begam Sahiba (even Begam Sahib is used by contemporary historians), or Padshah Begam, as a Sufi and, as mentioned earlier, had initiate her into the Qadiriyya silsila. She was born on 21 Safar 1023 / 2 April 1614 and was one year older than her brother, Dara Shukoh. According to her own statement, she was the first woman in the house of *Timur* to take an interest in Sufism and remained steadfast in her belief in it. Originally she was interested in the Chishtiya silsila and in 1049 / 1639 completed a biography of Khwajaa Mu'in ud-Din Chishti Ajmeri with notices of some disciples. The work was entitled *Munishul Arwah*. After she initiation into the Qadiriyya order in 1050 / 1640 on 27 Ramzan 1051/ 30 December, 1641, she completed an account of Mulla Shah, entitled the *Sahibiyya*. She died in Ramazan 1092/ September, 1681.

15. Sufism in Deccan: After the Khilji and Tughluq dynasty Deccan ruled by Bahamani rulers. Bahamanis conquered *Telangana* in 1373 AD and Warangal in 1421, and the coastal Andhra 1472 AD. On the dissolution of the Bahamani Empire in 1482, its dominions were distributed into the five Muslim states of Golconda, Bijapur, Ahmednager, Bihar and Berar. Berar Imadshahi had been annexed by Nizam Shahi Ahmednager in 1572, and Bidar (Baridshahi) was absorbed by Bijapur in

1109. Ahmednager was conquered by Mughals in 1616 AD, Bijapur, in 1686, and Goldkonda in 1688. Nizam ul Mulk established the seat of an independent government at Hyderabad and Aurangabad in 1724. In thirteenth century Ala ud Din Khilji conquered Deogiri Yadava state (now Daulatabad, in Dist. Aurangabad). That time many disciples of Nizam ud Din Auliya Dehlawi migrated to Daulatabad, Khuldabad (Rauza) and Aurangabad Periphery. Shaikh Nizam ud Din Auliya sent to Khwaja Aziz ud Din Chishti and Kamal ud Din Chishti to Deccan. They were grandsons of Shaikh Nizam ud din Auliya's spiritual master Shaikh Farid ud Din Ganj I Shakar. Khwaja Aziz ud Din settled at Daulatabad. 108

Muhammad bin Tughlaq took historic decision to make Devgiri (Daulatabad) 'a second administrative city / capital', of his Empire. He forced the 'ulama and the mashai'kh of Delhi to migrate to Daulatabad (Deogiri). Many of the Saints who left for Daulatabad like Shaikh Burhan ud Din Gharib Maulana Fakhru ud Din Zarradi Amir Hasan Sijzi, Syed Yusuf Raju Qattal Husaini (father of Syed Muhammad Gesu Daraz), Khwaja Husain, Khwaja Umar and other Chishti saints were brought up in the Chishti mystic traditions of Shaikh Nizam ud Din Auliya and had imbied from him the Chishti mystic principles. Shaikh Burhan ud Din Gharib was the senior most disciple of Shaikh Nizam ud Din Auliya. Maulana Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami calls him Sahib i-Walayat of the Deccan, which shows that his supreme position amongst the mystics was recognized even by the later generations.

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Chapter 3

SUFIS OF MARATHWADA

The spread of Sufism began in Marathwada region situate in the mid Godavari basin began in the eleventh century AD and the Sufi silsilas of *Qadriya*, *Chishtiya*, *Jaunaidiya*, *Suharawardiyya*, *Naqshbandiya* and *Rafaiya* became particularly popular in the Marathwada, region. There are historical references of the visits of nearly seven hundred disciples or *murids* of Nizam ud Din Auliya of Delhi to Daulatabad – Khuldabad area in the thirteenth and fourteenth century. Sufism had spread far and wide in Marathwada region during the administrative periods of Khilji, Tughalaq, Bahamanis and the other Southern / Deccan Muslim Shahis. ¹

1) Dargahs, Silsilas & Sufis of Khuldabad:

1.1 Burhan al-Din Gharib: Burhan al-Din Gharib's Dargah has situated at South Gate of Khuldabad town. He was studied under Nizam ud Din Auliya (Awliya) of Delhi. He was *Khalifah* (spiritual successor) of Nizam ad-Din Auliya in Deccan. Contemporary writers states, that the death of Shah Munajabu-udDin at Daulatabad, his brother Burhan al-Din was sent to succeed him, and was sent to succeed him by Nizam al-Din Auliya, and was accompanied by 1400 disciples (Murid). It appears more probable however, that Burhan ud-Din succeeded the Sultan-i-*Mashaikh* as *Khalifah*, and that he immigrated to the Deccan (*Dakhan*) when Sultan Muhammad Tughalaq transferred the capital from Delhi to Daulatabad. ²

Burhan al-Din Gharib – Life and Teaching: Hamid Qalandar wrote the Malfuz known as, *Khayr al-Majalis*. The *Fawa'id al-Fu'ad* Malfuz literature also gave the information about Chishti circle of Nizam ad-Din Auliya in Delhi. Amir Hasan Sijzi wrote this master peace about the daily life and *Majalees* of Nizam ad-Din Auliya in Delhi. Other Malfuz was *Nafa'is al-Anfas wa Laa'if al-Alfaz* (Choice Sayings and Elegant Words) compiled by Rukn al-Din Dabir Kashani in forty eight sessions between Muharram 731 AH / October, 1331 and 4th Safar, 738 / 1st September, 1337. ³

Rukn al-Din Dabir Kashani gave the information about family background of Burhan al-Din Gharib, in his Nafa'is al-Anfas Malfuz. He refereed that, Gharib had two uncles, one of whom taught Islamic Law in Daulatabad.⁴ Burhan al-Din Gharib had completed all religious education before the age of legal responsibility. He preached the Namaz as imam at the Id festival, when he was seven year old. He was practicing zikr at the age of Six. At sixteen, Burhan al-Din Gharib decided to remain celibate against his mother's wishes. He did not want to marry. He fasted continually until his mother finally gave up her insistence that that the marriage.⁵ Burhan al-Din Gharib had very close relations with spirituality with his Shaykh, Nizam ud-Din Auliya Dehlawi. He was the best one within all khalifas of Nizam ad-Din Auliya. Hasan Mir quoted in his Malfuz, Hidayat al-Qulub wa Inayat Ullam al-Ghuyub, as "Burhan al-Din Gharib has both eyes on me and does not attend to any other". This was the statement by Shaikh Nizam ud-Din Auliya. ⁶

Hammad al-Din Kashani, the disciple of Burhan al-Din Gharib, recorded of him that never in life did he disrespectfully turn his back toward his masters (Shaikh Nizam ud-Din Auliya) tomb in Ghiyaspur (a suburb of Delhi). Burhan al Din received the Khilafat from Nizam al-Din Auliya, the hat of initiation. When Burhan al-Din Gharib migrated from Delhi to Khuldabad, he had a cot with him. Also, when Burhan al Din Gharib was on the deathbed, he called for Nizam ud Din's rosary. At the first time, when Burhan al-Din Gharib went to Khanqah of Nizam ud Din Auliya, the attendant announced that Burhan al Din, a poor man ('gharib') had arrived. The Shaikh remarked that he is indeed poor now, but the whole world will come to know him. Burhan al Din Gharib had spiritual perfection in Khanqah. The Shaykh gave to Burhan, the dominion (vilayat) over the Deccan. 8

In Sama, Burhan al-Din Gharib was completely extreme experienced much ecstasy and said the prayers of lavers. He had a distinctive style in dancing, so that the companions of this saint were called 'Burhani' among the lovers. He was distinguished for his ecstatic temperament and his love of musical sessions. 9

Shaikh Nizam au-Din Auliya died at 18 Rabi'awal 725 / 12 March, 1325. Mir Khwurd explained in his *Siyar al-Awliya*, that Shaikh Nizam ud Din Auliya decied to selection of the ten Khalifas. Other late Sufi hagiographers insisted that Burhan al-Din Gharib had been the first khalifa invested by Nizam al-Din. Majd al-Din Kashani wrote in *Ghariab al-Karamat* that Shaikh Burhan al-Din Gharib was the world axis (*Qutub-i-'Ala*), the supreme figure in the Sufi hierarchy. ¹⁰

Burhan al Din Gharib on Sufism and Pir Muridi tradition: Pir-Muridi means the Master and Disciple relationship in Tasawwuf. Rukn al Din Ibn Imad al Din Dabir Kashani Khuldabad quoted in his book, Shama'il al-atqiya that Burhan al Din Gharib gave the following description of the ideal Sufi master (Shaykh / Pir).

"The perfect master and teacher is that one who is both lover and beloved, both the seeker and the sought, both the impassioned and the impassioning, both the perfect and the perfected, both the astonished and the absorbed. His way is sometimes intoxicated and sometimes sober, at times absorbed and at times affected. The master is the guide and exemplar." ¹¹

Rukn al-Din Kashani once was going to Delhi, accompanying Sultan Muhamad ibn Tughlaq on horseback. Run al-Din rode the whole way with his back to Delhi and his face turned to Burhan al Din Gharib in the direction of Daulatabad. In a similar way, Qutb al-Din Dabir was going to perform pilgrimage to Nizam al Din and as soon as he saw the dome (*Qubba*) of his tomb, he got off his horse and put his face on the ground, performing the rest of the pilgrimage on foot. 12

Rukn al-Din Kashani, the murid of Burhan al Din Gharib, in his speculative work *Shama'il al-Atqiya*, written with the approval of Burhan al-Din, made use of many classical works of *Qur'anic* commentary, hadith, and law, in addition to writings on Sufism. Hadith texts were frequently, "An angel (*farishta*) does not enter a house in which there is a dog or a picture on the wall". The dog, in Burhan al-Din Gharib's view, symbolizes the carnal soul (*nafs*), while the pictures stand for the love of things other than God. Burhan al Din Gharib was teaching stories it can be found also in classical authors such as al-Ghazali. The Chishtis

followed practices based on the *pir Muridi* relationship. They go as pilgrimage to tombs of saints and the observation of their death anniversaries or 'urs. Burhan al Din gave the explanation of this practice, quoted in *Ahsan al Aqwal*.

When a dervish wishes to visit the dead, he presents his wish to the spirit of the dead, goes out of the house and into the road. He goes reciting what he intended, and when he arrives at the head of the tomb he does not stand at the foot. He stands before the tomb and recites the Fatiha (Quran 1) once. The Throre Verse (Quran2:255) once, and Quran 102 three times, Iklas Surah Quran 112 ten times, and durud (blessing the Prophet Muhammad peace be upon him / buh) ten times, and then he returens. 14

The 'Urs: The Chishtis enjoyed the death anniversary ('urs, literally, wedding) of major Saints. They performed al Fatiha and food was blessed and distributed within the all present followers, Shaikh Nizam al Din Auliya celebrated the 'urs of Farid al Din *Ganj-i-Shakr*. *Ziyarat* or pilgrimage to tombs 9mazar / sepultures) was not worship of the people buried there, but a worship of God that looked to the saints as a kind of intermediary. ¹⁵

Jama'at Khana of Shaikh Burhan al Din Gharib: The Jama'at Khana was the center of activities used by the Chishtis. It was the 'House of Gathering'. It was no like the Khanqah. The Chishti jama'at Khana was the residence of the Shaykh. Meals (Langar) were taken there, people slept there, and the basic teaching activities, interviews, and rituals (including samaa) also took place in central room of the jama'at khana. 16

Farid al-Din Ganj –i-Shakkar's concept of jama'at khana was that it be hidden from the people, a retreat rather than a showplace. Nizam al-Din Auliya also maintained a simple jama'at khana in Delhi. Burhan al-Din Gharib and Zayn al Din Shirazi maintained jama'at khana in Khuldabad. The desire for privacy was probably the reason for the selection of Khuldabad, several miles away from the Daulatabad fort, at the site for Burhan al Din Gharib's jama'at Khana. ¹⁷

Burhan al Din Gharib's personal attendant Kaka Shad Bakhsh managed all aspects of jama'at khana administration. Some murid took care of secretarial tasks such as correspondence writing out letters of authorization, and keeping the accounts for the kitchen, (cooking's, water and carrying things). Visitors must follow the rules of jama'at khana. Burhhan al-Din Gharib himself was asked to instruct in manners of jama'at khana.

Burhan al Din Gharib Chishti & His *Tariqa* in Khuldabad - Daulatabad circle:

- 1.2. a) The Disciples of Burhan al Din Gharib: Discipleship (Iradat or desire), or muridi according to Burhan al Din Gharib, is an action of the disciple, not the master. The Shama'il al Atqiya gave the information about murid tradition. Burhan al Din said that the disciple or murid must become a lover of the master's sainthood, so the he can depart from the power of his own longing, and the desirer (murid) can become the desired (muraad) of the master. 19
- b) Farid al Din Adib Chishti of Daulatabad: Farid al Din Adib Chishti was the real disciple of Burhan al Din Gharib in Daulatabad. He was Khalifa of Gharib in Daulatabad region. He was also perfect in the musical audition or *samaa*. He was always practical fasting or Roza. He became initiated when he was eighteen, though Burhan al Din Gharib compared him in spiritual maturity to a disciple of thirty years service. When Burhan al Din Gharib told him that he would become a Khalifa, he wept bitterly and prayed to Allah to take him before his master. Accordingly, he died on 29 Muharram 738 / 17 August, 1337, thirteen days before Burhan al Din Gharib's death.
- c) Sayyid Nasir al Din Paon Payk (The Footman) of Khuldabad: According to Shamail al Atqiya, Sayyid Nasir al Din received his authority along with Zayn al Din Shirazi three days after the death of Burhan al Din Gharib.

- d) Malik Mubarak Chishti: Malik Mubarak was the pious disciple of Burhan al Din Gharib. He was a noble at Daulatabad. His career had the line between court life and Sufism could be very hard to define. After visiting most of the Sufis of Delhi he decided that only Burhan al Din Gharib could be his master (Pir). Burhan al Din Gharib said of him, 'he is both a man of affairs (*kasib*) and a dervish'. He went on pilgrimage to Mecca. He died in Khuldabad just two years after the death of Burhan al Din Gharib, in 740 / 1340. He is also known as Fakr al Din Pir Mubarak Karwan Chishti at Khuldabad.²²
- e) Zayn al Din Shirazi of Khuldabad: Shirazi was the very dominant Chishti figure in Khuldabad Sufis. He was the murid of Burhan al Din Gharib and Khalifa or successor. Zayn al Din Shirazi was born in Shiraz, Iran in 701 / 1301 and came to Delhi withhis uncles after performing pilgrimage to Mecca. He migrated with his teacher Kamal al-Din Samana to Daulatabad. He was against the practice of samaa. After his questioning with Burhan al Din Gharib, he was satisfied, so he converted to Sufism. He learned all knowledge from his master. He obtained the cloak of succession (Khirqa-i-Khilafat) on the 'urs festival of Nizam al Din Auliya on 17 Rabi'al Awwal 737 / 24 October 1330. The pir murid (master disciple) relationship between Zayn al Din Shirazi and Burhan al Din Gharib was very close. By placing Burhan al Din Gharib in the position of the representative of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), Zayn al Din regarded his master as holding the supreme spiritual position of his time. "Without the protection of Shaykh al Islam Burhan al Din", Shirazi remarked, "How would spiritual wayfaring / suluk be possible?" ²³

Shirazi received the spiritual genealogy from his master as a sign of spiritual perfection. He studied the Quran and Sufi teachings. He also observed the work of al Ghazali, Minhaj al Abidin. According to Hidayat al Qulub Malfuzat, Zayn al Din referred to other Sufi classics, such as the works of Qushayri and Hujwiri. Ones time, he said, 'The path of our masters is the path of the heart'. The normal requirements of Islamic law (Fara'iz) and the Prophetic example (Sunna), in his view, establish,

regulations of purity as a trial designed to release humanity from the evil results of their free will. He always performed the worship or *nawafil*. ²⁴

He recommended the following daily nawafil schedule:

The Ishraq prayer / Namaz (at the sun rises)

The *Chasht* prayer (at mid morning before noon)

The Zawal prayer (at noon)

The *Pishin* prayer (at mid day)

The Sham prayer (at the evening)

The Bayn al ash'yn (at between evening and nightfall)

The khuftan namaz (at the bedtime)

The tahajjud namaz (at after midnight to before fazr).

These spiritual practices had to be flexible, in order to deal with the ever-changing nature of the nafs. Shirazi also practiced fast. 25 Zayn al Din Shirazi visited to Delhi in June 1348 AD. According to Azad Bilgrami, Zayn al Din Shirazi had been doing a daily complete recitation of the Quran for the spirit of Nizam al Din Auliya Dargah, staying morning's meditations in his tomb. Firuz Shah Tughlaq met with Zayn al Din Shirazi at Delhi on 18 Safar, 752 / 16 April, 1352. He invited him to stay permanently at Delhi. But Shirazi returned at last to Daulatabad in Deccan. On the way, he visited both arid al Din Ganj-i-Shakkar Dargah at Ajodhan and Muin al-Din Chishti Dargah at Ajmer. Azad Bilgrami discussed the Malfuzat about Zan al Din Shirazi in medieval Deccan. The three lost Malfuzat are Dalil al-Salikin by Azizi, Hubbat al Qulub min Magal al Mahabub, and Hubbat al Mahabba. The last takes place after his return from Delhi, beginning Rajab 755 / August, 1354 and going to the end of his life.²⁶ Shirazi died on 25 Rabi al Awwal 771 / 27 Octomber, 1369, without having any khalifa. Zayn al Din's mazar was built opposite that of Burhan al Din Gharib Dargah. Since he was the twenty second in the Chishti lineage, Zayn al Din is known locally as 'the twenty second master', baa'is Khaja.²⁷

Spiritual Genealogy of the *Chishti Saints* at Khuldabad till *Baa'vis Khaja*

Muhammad, the Prophet (pbuh) d. 10 AH/ 632AD

Ali ibn Abi Talib d. 40/661

Hasan al Basri d. 110 / 728

Abdul Wahid ibn Zayd Fuzayl ibn Iyaz d. 187 / 802 Ibrhim ibn Adham d. 163 / 779 Huzayqa al Mar'shi Hubayra al Basri Abu Dinawari Alu Ishaq Chishti Abu Ahmad Chishti d. 355 / 966 Muhammad Cishti d.411 / 1020 Yusuf Chishti c. 459 / 1069 Mawdu Chishti d. 520 / 1126 Al Sharif al Zandani Usman Harwani d. 607 / 1211 Moin al Din Chishti d. 633 / 1236 Qutb al Din Bakhtiyar Kaki d. 633 / 1236 Farid al Din Gnanj -i- Shakar d. 664 / 1265 Nizam al din Auliya d. 725 / 1325 Burhan al Din Gharib d. 738 / 1337 Zayn al Din Shirzi c. 771 / 1369

According to Prof. Carl Ernst that the Chishti lineage emerged claiming descent from Zayn al Din's disciples Shamna Miran (d. 798 / 1398), whose tomb is in Miraj. Sufi tradition of Khuldabad said that it shows Zayn al Din Shirazi surrounded by six disciples, Sayyid al Sadat, Amir Hasan, Mawlana Ya'qub, Shah Kuchak, Sayyid Shamna Miran and Sayyid Zayn Yusuf; but no Khalifa. Ernst Carl found a copy of *shajara* document in collection of Nurud Din Khuldabadi at Aurangabd. Another tradition spread in Aurangabad that, the five *murid* of Shirazi; named Shams al-Din, Ya'qub Qandhari, Ya'qub, Shah Kuchak, and Qazi Hamid al-Din ibn Qiwan Babi. He *Shajara* document safe at Khwaja Ahmad ibn Khwaja Abdal, in Dargah of Zayn al Din Shirazi Bawis Khwaja, in Khuldabad.²⁸

f) The Kashani Family: There were number of Sufi murid of Burhan al-Din Gharib at Khuldabad – Daulatabad periphery. In this list, the ordinary murid, nobles, administrators, ruling sultans, the Shaykh(s), the religious scholars, soldiers and other residents of Daulatabad Khuldabad region.²⁹ The Kashani family, including both parents and their four sons, were dedicated followers of Burhan al Din Gharib. The father Imad al Din Kashani expressed the intention to become murid of Burhan al Din Gharib, before he died. Their mother, who was a daughter or descendant of Farid al Din *Ganj i-Shakkar*, was herself accepted as a disciple. ³⁰

Majd al-Din Kashani was the first murid of Burhan al Din Gharib from the Kashani family. He tried to give a gold ring to Burhan al Din Gharib by way of thanks. But Burhan al Din Gharib gave it back. He said,

> "By the spirit of Shaikh al Islam Nizam al Din, sell it and spend it. A dervish ought not to receive things of this kind". 31

Hammad al Din Kashani was the author of *Ahsan al Aqwal*, in which he collected Burhan al Din Gharib's teachings and arranged them by subject. Hammad al Din Kashani also write the books on Sufism, named Manafi al-Muslimin on Islamic law and *Risala I Husul al Wusul* and *Asrar al Tariqa* on *Tasawwuf* (Sufism). Azad Bilgrami gave the references in his, *Rawzat al Awliya*. One time in Khuldabad, Burhan al Din helped a murid, Qazi Farid al Din Yusuf, by suggesting a chant to solve his problems. Qazi Farid made pilgrimage to the Dargah of Burhan al Din Gharib to received posthumous instructions, the last time shortly before his death in 761 / 1360, in Sagar near Gulbarga, where he is buried in the southwest corner of Sufi Sarmast's Dargah.

Hammad al-Din Kashani reportedly brought aver a thousand people to become disciples of Burhan al Din Gharib. Burhan al Din Gharib instructed to Kashani to continue in his prayers and study. Hammad al Din Kashani gave information that, Burhan al Din Gharib predicted that Hammad al Din would become a living saint (*Zinda Wali*), implying that this did in fact occur.³⁴

Majd al Din Kashani was the best murid of Burhan al Din. He was the author of *Gharaib al Karamat*, a narrative work summarizing the miracles and revelations of Burhan al Din Gharib, along with a supplement, *Baqiyat al Karamat*, which is no longer extant. He wrote like storytelling. When Burhan al Din Gharib appeared to be on his death bed in 737 / 1337, he asked Majd al-Din and Rukn al-din to pray for him with Quranic prayers. Rukn al Din Kashani was the most prolife writer of the family. He wrote *Nafa'is al Anfas* as a *Malfuzat* in diary form. He also wrote the Quran commentary entitled *Ramiz al-Walihin* (Ciphers / cipher of the mad lovers) and *Shama'il al-Atqiya* as an encyclopedia of Sufi teaching. Burhan al Din Gharib called him 'a collector of stories', and 'the spiritual secretary'. 36

Rukn al Din Kashani recorded frequent events marking his growing intimacy with Burhan al Din Gharib. Gharib introduced a number of his friends from political court to Burhan al Din Gharib, and discussed their family problems with him. Burhan al Din Gharib predicted that Rukn al Din's son Salih would also grow up to be worthy and would sit with him as a disciple. Rukn al Din Kashani gave deep spiritual account on "Burhan al Din Gharib Rahamat ulah alayh (Allah remember him with good and happiness)". 37

attendant of Burhan al Din Gharib. When the sultan presented a gift of three thousand tankas, Kaka suggested accepting it, but Burhan al Din Gharib insisted on distributing it. This event noted by Azad Bilgrami, in his Rawzat al Awliya. Burhan al Din Gharib entrusted him with the responsibility for distributing food and clothing to others. It was Kaka Shad, who undertook the project of constructing his master's sepulture (tomb), as an inscription on the tomb testifies (epithet). For this work, he went to Delhi to have a workman construct a wooden model of the tomb of Nizam al Din Awliya, and brought it down on horseback to serve as a model for the tomb of Burhan al Din Gharib, which was completed in 744 / 1343-44; this wooden model was in existence until very recently. Kaka was the first administrator of Burhan al Din Gharib's shrine, and he died

in 747 / 1346. Azad Bilgrami gave the references cited by Abd al Majid statements about the Gharib's Dargah. Azad Bilgrami also gave the information about inscription and wooden model of *Mazaar*. Carl Ernst searched and inquired about the model, but according to the shrine attendants (*Mujawar*), it is now destroyed.³⁹

- h) Latif al Din Chishti: He was a nephew of Burhan al Din Gharib. He was manager of the ceremonial position of holding the toothpick during meals in the hospice (Khanqah). He was extremely pious in matters such as the Fatiha or reciting Quran over food. He was also the administrator of Burhan al Din Dargah after the death of Kaka Shad Bakht. Lati al Din Chishti had a special shawl that belonged to the Shaykh; it presented by him to Hammad al Din Kashani, before death. Latif died at c. 761 / 1359.⁴⁰
- i) Shams al Din Fazl Allah: Shams al Din Fazl Allah, a brother of Zayn al Din Shirazi and a teacher of the Quran. He was second rank murid of Burhan al Din Gharib. He was the wise dervish into the circle of Burhan al Din Gharib. He is also shown asking whether it is all right to teach children for money and Burhan al Din Gharib approved it.⁴¹
- j) Taj al Din Muhammad Lashkar: He was a former soldier in the Tughlaq reign in Daulatabad. His relationship with Burhan al Din Gharib was more worldly than spiritual. Muhammad Lashkar complained to the Pir (Shaykh Burhan al Din) of his family's poverty. Muhammad Lashkar later was names commander of the Badarket fort and was much better off financially. Around 754 / 1353, Zayn al Din Shirazi named him the third administrator of the shrine of Burhan al Din Gharib. 42
- **k)** Qazi Rafi al Din Muta'allim: Qazi Rafi al Din was the very old murid of Burhan al Din Gharib. He was a learned man within Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughlaq's government. He was the author of a *Risala I Karamat* (Treatise on Miracles). 43
- 1) Ibrahim Burhani: He was the poet murid of Burhan al Din Gharib Khuldabad Chishti. Ibrahim Burhani was a soldier and poet, whose

pen name 'Burhani', was taken from his master's name. He composed the verses inscribed on the wall of Burhan al Din Gharib's tomb. ⁴⁴

m) Other visitors to Burhan al Din Gharib: Burhan al Din Gharib also had frequent visits from members of the scholarly class. These encounters were not always friendly but intellectual discussions and debates. The list of general visitor scholars to Burhan al Din as following:

Aziz al Din Hafiz: an expert on Quranic recitation

Nur al Din Iman: an expert on Quranic readings come from Delhi Sadr al Din Mufti: a descendant of Shihaab al Din Suharawardi Delhi. 45

1.3 Women & Female Sufis in Khuldabad region:

In Chishti circle of Khuldabad, Bibi Hajira was the high status in Khuldabad. She was the mother of Burhan al Din Gharib. Bibi Hajira's tomb is next to the shrine of her elder son, Muntajib al Din Zar Zari Zar Baksh. 46 The five sisters of Burhan al Din Gharib, known locally as 'The Five Ladies', (panch bibiyan), also had a prominent position in Khuldabad Chishti circle. 47 Azad Bilgrami said the information about Khwan Bibi, in his Rawzat al Awliya book. Maulana Zayn al Din Shirazi adopted to her. Shirazi had great affection for her, and for that reason she is known as, 'the adopted daughter', mutabanna sahib - zaadi. She was a great devotee and ascetic. She was known as Maulana Bibi Sahiba. Khwaja Bibi was excelled in religious learning. Once Burhan al Din Gharib said in the speech that, "By the holiness / supreme importance of the good women and the good men". One of these holy women was the mother of Rukn al Din Kashani, herself a daughter or descendant of Farid al Din Ganj i-Shakkar. Burhan al Din Gharib concluded that learning from one's mother was a highly important part of spiritual development. 48 There were four brothers named Khayr al Din, Qabu, Jildak and Abd al Rahman, known as the children (farzandan). They were attendants (Khuddam) of the Shaykh (Burhan al Din Gharib) at Khuldabad Khangah. The four children entered the service of Burhan al Din Gharib in very young age.

Ahsan al Aqwal quoted the incident; Kaka Shad Bakht gave a whipping to Abd al Rahman and Jildak because they disturbed his reading. Again, the two went and complained to Burhan al Din Gharib. He warned Kaka Shad Bakht and said that those who treated his children well also treated him well, and the same held true for ill treatment. 49

Azad Bilgrami explained the importance of Burhan al Din Gharib's treatment of these children, seeing it as an indication that the Shaykh's beneficent influence continued for all future disciples. Burhan al Din Gharib said that the children were his disciples without him having to act like a master. Thus the term, 'Children', is now generalized to mean all disciples (murid). Azad Bilgrami explained also that, Burhan al Din says that the wise protect the children, meaning that the Sheikhs will protect the disciples. The all disciples (Murid) in the Chishtiya order will be protected by Shaykh (Pir). Now days, Hindu and Muslims devotees come to Burhan al Din Dargah or Shrine at Khuldabad regularly. 50

1.4 Shah Mun-tajabu ud-Din Zar Zari Zar Baksh: He was the first Chishti Sufi saint, who came to Khuldabad in Thirteenth century AD. Shah Muntajab ud Din, surnamed Zar Zari Zar Bakkh, meaning 'generous', was one of the earliest of the Chishtiya, and was sent to the Deccan by Nizam ud Din Auliya of Delhi. Munajabu ud Din was accompanied by 700 disciples. His place of Khanqah was near to *Sohan baoli* (pleasing well). Now, his tomb placed near to the well. He died in 709 / 1309.⁵¹

The Chishti Malfuzat *Ghara'ib al Karamat* gave the early information about Zar Zari Baksh. Muntajab ud Din was the brother of Burhan al Din Gharib. Muntajab ud Din came to Daulatabad before the general migration imposed by Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughlaq in 1329.⁵² They were fulltime sufi leaders, who came to Daulatabad before Tughlaq. They did not themselves take part in military activities. *Nafa'is al Anfas*, gave the information about the migration from Delhi to the Deccan. Nizam al Din did send some Chishtis south from Delhi to Malwa and the Deccan. One such murid was Shaikh Musa Daulatabad, who came to visit and ask his advice. Another was Burhan al Din Gharib's brother, Muntajib

ud Din Muntajab ud Din migrated to Daulatabad. He made his Khanqah at Khuldabad (Roza). Burhan al Din Gharib and Muntajib ud Din Zar Zari Zar Bakhsh's mother Bibi Hajira was very highly respected. Bibi's tomb is next to the shrine of her son, Muntajib ud Din Zar Zari Zar Baksh. The five sister of Burhan al Din Gharib and Muntajib ud Din, known locally as the five ladies / panch bibiyan, also had a prominent position. The names of these five women as Bibi A'isha, Bibi Amina, Bibi Khadija, Bibi Maryam and Bibi Sara. But some sources said that only name the first four as sister of Burhan al Din Gharib. 54

Muntajib ud Din was the first disciple of Nizam al Din Awliya in Deccan. Nizam al Din gave the *wilayat* or sainthood (from *vali*, friend [of God], Saint), authority of the dominion of Delhi to Nasir al Din Mahmud, *Chirag I Dehli*, and Malwa to Wajih al Din Yusuf, and so on, in this way, Muntajib al Din received the dominion over the entire Deccan. After Muntjib, his broth Burhan al Din was the Khalifa of Deccan Chishti circle. ⁵⁵

Muntajib al Din departure had been made from Delhi, accompanied by seven hundred Sufi saints. After some years passed, when suddenly one day, Nizam al Din asked Burhan al Din Gharib, 'Was your brother Muntajib al Din older or younger?' From this question Burhan al Din guessed that his brother had died, and in a scene drawn out with many dramatic touches, Malfuz literature describes how Nizam al Din then conferred the *vilayat* (*Khilafat*) of the Deccan upon Burhan al Din Gharib. Nizam al Din presented him with his own sandals as a token of their continuing connection, and also ordered seven hundred (or fourteen hundred) of the assembled disciples to accompany Burhan al Din Gharib in palanquins to the Deccan. ⁵⁶

The story given by historian Ferishta, relates that on the caravan down from Delhi to Daulatabad, by the grace of Nizam a Din Awliya; Muntajib al Din miraculously received a gold coin or bar every day to defray the expenses of the fourteen hundred during the journey. The second story about the relation of Gold and the Shaykh that, in Daulatabad

famine, Muntjib al Din prayed for help the people, where up golden branches grew from the ground. The collection of Sufi legends, *Tazkira I Awliya I Khuldabad Sharif*, gave the information of third story; Zar Zari Zar Baksh was born with a golden diaper (*langota*).⁵⁷

The Sana Bai Ki Bao'di (Well of Sona Bai) situated at near the Dargah of Muntajib al Din. The Hindu princess Sona Bai (Gold Woman in Marathi Language), who became a disciple of Zar Zari Zar Baksh. According to Rawzat al Awliya, she and her family converted to Islam, and she eventually became an adept mystic. Sona Bai's tomb lies between the mazar of Zar Zari Zar Baksh and his mother Bibi Hajira. At Khuldabad, Zar Zari Zar Baksh is also known locally as Dulha Miyan, the noble bridegroom, according to one source because he died young. Hindus and Muslims alike participated in all the rituals at the annual festival of Dargah Urs. 59

The Dargahs of the two brothers Burhan al Din Gharib and Muntajib al Din Zar Zari Zar Baksh in recent times have formed a single joint institution, known as the 'Greater Dargah Society', Dargah- I Had-I Kalan. The other main shrine institution in Khuldabad is the 'Lesser Dargah Society', Dargah-iu Hadd-I Khurd, which oversees the tomb of Zayn al Din Shirazi, Sayyid Shah Yusuf al Husayni Raju Qattal (d. 1331), and some related shrines. The two societies appear to have been formed under the Nizams, since the Shrines of Burhna al Din, Muhntajibal Din and Zayn al Din were administered as a single unit during Mughul times. Papers or Manuscripts in the collection of Farid ud din Saleem of Khuldabad, president of the Greater Dargah Society, documents covers a period from 1605 AD to the early 1800 AD, and comprises a continuous record of Mughul policy toward these shrines, with documents form every emperor from Akbar to Bahadur Shah, as well as from the Nizam of Hyderabad.

1.5 Hazrat Shaha Jalal ud Din Ganj I Rawan Suharawardi:

Saiad Shah Jalal ud din or Ganj Rawan Ganj Baksh (which means "moving treasure"), was born at Khirkan near Bukhara and established the earliest Islamic mission in the Dakhan before the invasion of Ala ud din Khilji. He settled down at Unasnagar, near Daulatabad. Ganj Rawan's tomb at Roza has two trees growing near it, one of which is reputed to have grown from a staff given him by his preceptor, and the other from a branch of the first. Both are said to possess miraculous properties. ⁶⁰

In Khuldabad, Jala al Din, better known by the epithet *Ganj I Rawan* means 'flowing treasure'. 61 Also Azad Bigrami noted the record about Jala ud Din Ganj-i-Rawan. Jalal ud Din came to Khuldabad before the Chishtis. Near Dargah of Ganjarawan a tree, cased to bear fruit for children. Such is the virtue of this tree that barren women may conceive children by eating its fruit. The annual Urs festival is beginning on 26 Zilqada. Ganj-i-Rawan died at 26 Zil Qada 644 AH. 62

1.6 Hazrat Sayyad Yusuf Hussaini Raju Qattal:

Sayyad Yusuf bin Ali Bin Muhammad Dehlawi, popularly named as Sayyad Raja or Shah Raju Qattal Husayni, was a resident of Delhi, which he was migrated in AH 725 towards Deccan. He was accompanied by his sons Sayyid Chanda and Sayyad Muhammad Bandanawaz surnamed "Gaysu Daraz" or " the long-ringletted. Sayyad Yusuf was a Sufi "mashaikh," and wrote a religious, poem called "Tuhfat-en-nasayeh." He died in H. 726 and was buried at Rauza (Khuldabad). He was a disciple of Khwaja Nizam ud Din Awliya and a notable mystic poet. A small manuscript in Persian of about nineteen folios bearing the name Diwan e-Shah Raju Qattal is preserved in the Asafiyya library of Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh.

Gesudiraz wrote about the Sufic history of his father, Raju Qattal Hussaini. Raju Qattal died at 5 Shawwal 731 AH. Malik Ambar built his tomb also near the Dargah. Raju Qattal Husaini Dargah has 15 by 15 square feet in squared hall. The entrance gate has in southern side of the complex. Small Khanqah and Masque attached this complex.⁶³

1.7 Hazrat Haji Nizami Peshimam (Kagajipura):

He was Imam in Hazrat Burhan al Din Gharib's group of Chishti sufis, which came from Delhi. He was Pesh Imam for Namaz in Masjid, and then he called as 'Peshimam' in Khuldabad region. His Dargah established after his death in Kagjipura in Khuldabad.⁶⁴

1.8 Hazrat Shaha Khaksar Qadiri (Suli Bhanjan):

He born at Bijapur, but migrated to Khuldabad. He accepted the Qadiriya silsila in Khuldabad.⁶⁵ He died at Suli Bhanjan village near Khuldabad in Aurangzeb period. He said that the human body made by soil and it will mixed after death in soil. While this quoatation, he famous as Khaksar ('Khak' means soil). His Urs festival celebrates by devotees at every year in 26th Rajjab month. ⁶⁶

Spiritual geneology of Khwaja Khaksar Qadiri

Hazrat Shaikh Abul Qadir Jilani
Shaha Qutub Rabbani
Mehboob Subhani Qadiri
Sayyad Shah Abdul Rzzaq
Shaha Sayyad Zain ul Abidin
Shaha Nasim Ullah Saheb Dost
Shaha Muharir Abdul Rahman Sahab
Shaha Abdul Wahab
Shaha Badr ud Din Haqqani
Shaha Sadr ud Din Sahab Qadiri
Shaha Noor ullah Qadiri
Shaha Munt jab ud Din
Shaha Mehtaab Qadiri
Hazrat Shaha Khakhsar Qadiri (Sulibhanjan Dargah)

1.9 Hazrat Peer Mubarak Karwan:

He was the murid of Hazrat Burhan al Din Gharib Chishti Khuldabadi. He died at 5 Shawwal 731 AH. His Dargah situated 2 Mail from Burhan al Din shrine, every year urs festival enjoyed by devotee at fifth Shawwal month. Female devotees have not permission to enter inside the Dargah.⁶⁷

1.10 Hazrat Bibi Aayasha Maqbaraa:

Another famous female Sufi in Khuldabad was Bibi Aayasha. She was the daughter of Shakh Farid ud-Din Ganj e-Shakhar. Bibi Aayasha had spiritual guidance from Hazrat Nizam ul-Din Auliya Dehlawi. She also migrated from Delhi to Khuldabad with Hazrat Burhan ad-Din Gharib by order of Shaikh Nizam ud-Din Auliya. Every Friday, Burhan al-Din Gharib visited to Bibi Aayasha to check for daily needs. Because Hazrat Nizam ad-Din Auliya ordered to Burhan al-Din for care to Pirzaadi Bibi Aayasha, the daughter of Baba Farid. Her mazaar or dargah located at south side of Khuldabad and opposite to the Dargah of Amir Hasan Sijzi. 68

1.11 Amir Hasan Ala Sanjari Sijzi:

He came from Seistan, also known as Amir Hasan Dihlawi Sijzi and was a disciple of Nizam ud Din Awliya. His original name was Najm ud Din Hasan. He had born at Badaun in AD 1253. He came to Delhi early in his youth and received education according to the current syllabuses of studies. He had heard of Shaikh Nizam ud Din at Badaun, but met him in Dehli. Barani Ziya ud Din tells that he was also well informed about the chronicles of the Sultans and the renowned Ulama of Delhi. 69 Opinion differ on the word Ala which became a part of his name as he himself wrote it as Hasan Ala Sijzi in Fawaid al Fu'ad. May be he borrowed 'Ala' from his father's name which, according to some, was 'Alaud din Sistani, and was generally known as 'Ala'I Sijzi. Amir Hasan, Amir Khusrau and Sultan Ghayathuddin Balban's eldest son, Prince Sultan Muhammad, were contemporaries and received their education in the same academic and cultural milieu which has made Dehli as one of the foremost centres of Islamic learning and literary actibities in the then world of Islam. Sultan Ghyasud Din Tughlaq was succeeded by his son as Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughlaq in 1325, the year when Shaikh Nizam ud Din departed from this world. And it was later in the wake of the implementation of his *farman* for the transfer of population of Dehli to Deogiri (Daulatabad), the new capital of the Sultanate, that Amir Hasan along with countless others, including the elite and the commons both, went to Daulatabad and settled there in 1327. He lived there for about nine or ten years, remembering passionately the god old days spent in Dehli (Delhi). He Died at Daulatabad in 1336 and lies buried there at Roza (Khuldabad).⁷⁰

He was court poet in Sultan Bulban, Giyas ud Din Tughlaq and Muhammad Tughlaq era. He was the best friend of Amir Khusro in Delhi. He was called the "Sadi of Hindustan," and recorded all his preceptor's sayings in the "Fawaid-ul Fawad." Fawa'id al-Fu'ad is a monumental work of spiritual and literary discourses of Shaikh Nizam ud din Awliya who lived in medieval India. Amir Hasan Sijzi gave a didactic classic in the form of recorded conversations. Devoid of supernatural elements, it provides useful information about a large number of Sufi saints and ulama. A living testimony to the accord between the Shariah and Tariqah, therein he apoke on the necessity of prctising values that could transform man into a true human being, full of ove, tolerance, forgiveness, patience, forbearance, sincerity in debotion, adherence to truth and generosity. He left for Daulatabad on the transfer of the capital from Delhi, and died in H. 737 Safar. His tomb is outside of Roza (Khuldabad) in west, and is surrounded by a wall, but has no dome over it. Students offer sugar on the threshold of the tomb on Thursdays, to improve their memories. A mosque and " tekkieh are attached to the tomb; and close by is the grave of the poet Mir Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami of the 12th century Hijri. 71

1.12 Azad Bilgrami:

Azad Bilgrami is one of the most significant scholar of Arabic, Persian and Urdu languages in 18th century India. He is the first Indian poet of Arabic whose poetic compilation is available. The King of Yemen had had acknowledged his poetic genius and accorded him the title of Hassan Al-Hind.

His original name was Mir Ghulam Ali Husaini Wasiti (1116-1200/1704-1786) however he is best known as Ghulam 'Ali Azad Bilgrami. He was born in Bilgram, a small town of scholars in Awadh and gained reputation for possessing command over all topics of literature and He returned from Hijaz to India and lived in the city learning. of Aurangabad, Deccan till his death. Nasir Jang and other nobles of the Nizam's state were his devotees but he avoided worldly favours and preferred life of piety and poverty. Azad was a poet and a biographer of poets. He was the friend of Shah Nawaz Khan, and when the latter was murdered, he collected his friend's manuscripts (Ma'asir al-umara) which were scattered in all directions, and published them. Azad compiled his two diwans of poetry in Arabic and Persian. But among the works of lasting value were the dictionaries of poets. He wrote following books Yad-i-Baiza (Biographies 532 poet), Rauzat ul Auliya (on lives of saints buried in Khuldabad), these books gave the information about sufic of Aurangabad Deccan. He lies buried history near the Dargah of Sufi saint Amir Dehlawi Sijzi (d.1336) Hasan at Khuldabad near Aurngabad India.⁷²

2. Mazaars (Tombs) & Sufis of Daulatabad Region:

2.1 Hazrat Momin Arif Billah Suharawardi (Daulatabad):

Hazrat Momin Arif Dargah lies at the foot of the hills due east of the Daulatabad fort. He was come to Daulatabad before the time of the Khalji conquest of the Deccan, means around 1200 AD. Meaning of his name is *Mumin* 'believer' and *Arif* 'knower'. Sabzawari recorded that Mu'min Arif was descended from the eighth Shii Imam, Ali Riza, and the his death is observed on 20 Safaaar, just as in the case of the Imam. ⁷³ But also in today, is connected with the Suhaarwardi Sufi silsila, and the customary weekly Thursday visits and annual festival prevail. ⁷⁴ He started the Paper industry in Kagjipura, near Khuldabad first time. ⁷⁵

2.2 Hazrat Shaikh Bahaud Din Shuttari Qadiri Langotband Ansari (Daulatabad):

Shaikh Baha ud Din Shuttari Qadiri was famous Qadiri saint in Deccan. His father Ibrahim Bin Ata ullah Qadiri Hussaini Shuttari was a renowned personality in Sirhind. He died in Zilqada 921 AH. His shrine located at Char Kamni Masjid, in Daulatabad.⁷⁶

2.3 Shahab ud din Suharawardi:

Shahab ud din was an able author, who flourished in the 9th century Hijri, and wrote several works. He spent the greater part of his life at Daulatabad of which he was the "Kazi," and had a dispute with Saiad Ajmal the minister of justice about Saiadas or Sayyads and Ulemas. Shahabud din died at Daulatabad about H. 848.⁷⁷

3. Sufis of Paithan:

3.1 Hazrat Sayyad Nizamud Din Chishti (Paithan):

He was originally from Sistan of Iran. He migrated to Daulatabad later. He received Khilafat or successor ship form Khwaja Rukn ud Din Ahmadabad, Gujarat. Nizam ud din came in the 8th century AH, and Burhan ud din gave him a turr or crest for his turban, and the title of " Saidus Sadat" or " chief of chiefs." He left Daulatabad for Paithan, and on his way, he erected a mosque and dome. Saiad Sadat performed a chilla or fast for 40 days within the dome, and after his death a cenotaph was raised to his memory. The patelship of the village of Bhirkan which he populated was for a long time in the hands of Saiads, whose tombs are scattered over the kasba and pet, and are objects of veneration to the inhabitants. He peopled the eastern portion of the town and died in AH. 792. On the Urus day, the spire of the dome over his tomb is adorned by the Mainars or builders of Paithan with a turra or tuft, at the ceremony called " turra churhana," to commemorate the crested turban which Saiad Sadat wore. The Mainars, the Dhanday Momins, and the descendants of the Moghals and Persians who settled about Paithan in the time of Aurangzeb, are among the "khadims" of Saiad Sahib. A date stick, and a "kutchkoal" or beggar's bowl which belonged to the saint, are carefully preserved in the darga. Newly married persons perambulate the tomb three times, and place offerings of food in the beggar's bowl.⁷⁸

3.2Shaha Moiz ud Din Maulana Sahab (Paithan):

He was the disciple of Shaha Muntjab ud Din Zar Zari Zar Baksh Chishti. Shaha Moiz ud Din Maulana come to Paithan by his Shaykh's order and spread Chishtiya silsila there. Muslim weavers were devotees of Shaha Moiz ud Din Maulana at Paithan.⁷⁹

4. Sufis of Beed Region:

4.1 Hazrat Kwaja Abul Faiz Kochakshah Shahanshah Wali Chishti

Shahinshah Wali Sufi Shahinshah Dargah is famous today. Shahinshah Wali was a Sufi of 14th century. He was disciple of Burhan al Din Gharib Chishti of Khuldabad. He came to Beed during the rule of Muhammad Tughluq. His tomb and surrounding areas were built in different periods from 1385–1840. The details can be seen in the history of Beed. It is situated on the eastern elevations. Each year an Urs (fair) is held here on 2nd day of Rabi' Al-Awwal, third month of Islamic Calendar. Mansur Shah Dargah also famous in Beed. Mansur Shah was 18th century Sufi of Suharwardy clan of Sufis. He is said to be a Dharma Guru (spiritual teacher) of Mahadji Scindia. His tomb is in the eastern part of Beed near Khandeshwari temple. Dome of the shrine is made of marble. This historic and famous well is situated about 6 km south of the town. It was constructed in 991 AH (1583) by Sal bat Khan, a Jagirdar of Beed in the period of Murtaza Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar By Constructer Bhasker. 80

4.2 Hazrat Qazi Majhar ud Din Chishti (Kej):

Hazrat Qazi Mazhar ud Din Chishti was the disciple of Burhan al Din Gharib. He came with his Shaykh from Delhi. He was very famous religious scholar in that period. He came to Kej at 740 AH. He spread the Chishtiyya Sufism in this region. His Dargahs visited by many devotees every today.⁸¹

4.3 Mohajib ud Din Chishti (Kej):

Mohajib ud Din Baba Qazi came with Hazrat Muntajab ud Din Zar Zari Zar Baksh from Delhi to Deccan. He migrated from Daulatabad to Kej for spread of Islam in the region. He was pious Chishti Sufi of this region. 82

Mansur Shah Wali (Beed): Maratha ruler of Gwalior, Mahadji Scindia (1761-94) was defeated and severely injured and was missing in the third war of Panipat in 1761. His wife, who is said to be from Beed, went to a Muslim Sufi of Beed Mansur Shah and told him to prey for the return of Mahadji. After return to Gwalior Mahadji called Mansur Shah to Gwalior but he refused and sent his son Habib Shah instead. Mahadji remained thankful to Mansur Shah for all his life. His tomb is in eastern Beed. Reign of sixth NizamMir Mahbub Ali Khan (1869-1911) proved eventful in the history of Beed. Rebels, great famine and floods happened in his reign. Jagirdars were replaced by Awwal Taluqdars (Collectors) in his father's reign and Jivanji Ratanji came as the first collector of Beed in 1865. Districts were created and Beed district was formally settled in 1883. He constructed one habitation and market Mahbub Gunj (now Hiralal Chowk) on the eastern bank of Bendsura, remains of that can still be seen. After a very scarce rainfall in three successive years 1897-99, great famine occurred in Beed in 1900. Thousands of cattle and Hundreds of humans died of starvation and thousands migrated to the neighbouring parts of the country. The census in 1901 reported remarkable decrease of 150,464 in the population of Beed district. Mir Osman Ali Khan (1911-48) came after his father's death. Kotwalis, Police Stations, Schools, Hospitals and Dispensaries were built during his period. Nizams were allies of the British Empire in India. During the countrywide movement for independence, in 19th and 20th centuries they tried to suppress the feelings of nationalism which were spreading due to nationwide efforts of the freedom fighters. Nationalists in the state of Hyderabad did not like Nizam's friendship with the oppressor British Empire. ⁸³

5. Sufis of Parbhani Region:

Parbhani has been described as the land of saints, as several saints have been associated with Parbhani including like saint Namdeo from Narsi, Janabai from Gangakhed. The famous mathematician Bhaskarbhatt was from Bori in Parbhani district. Near Parbhani is the town Selu, where Guru of shri Sai Baba "Shri Babasaheb Maharaj" was living. Sai stayed with him for 12 years during which time he acquired knowledge from his Guru. Originally but somebodies are not known Shri Sai Baba birth place is near to Selu it is Pathari. After some tragedy Sai Baba came to selu & meet with Shri Babasaheb Maharaj. ⁸⁴

5.1 Hazrat Sayyad Shaha Turabul Shanshaha Turatpir (Parbhani):

He was the disciple of Shaikh Mukroddin Shirazi of Iran. He visited Mecca, Madina, Nishapur, Baghdad and other Islamic places for spiritual knowledge enhancement. He migrated to India by the order of Shaikh Shahabuddin Suharawardi of Baghdad. He meat to Khwaja Garib Nawaz Muin ud Din Ajmeri in Medina. Then he migrated to Ajmer. After that come to Parbhani and established the Khanqah. He died in AH 590 in Parbhani. 85

5.2 Baba Tatposh (Parbhani):

His original name was Sayyad Qutbuddin Qadiri. He was the disciple of Khwaja Muhammad Sayyad Badshaha Chishti of Halkatta, Dist. Gulbarga. He settled at Parbhani in 1383. He used only one 'Tat' or bedcloth for rest in whole life. Then he knew as 'Baba Tabposh'. His shrine is situated at Gangakher road, in Parbhani. Hindu and Muslim devotees came every Friday for spiritual wishes.⁸⁶

6. Sufis of Latur Region:

6.1 Hazrat Sayyad Nurddin Nurul Haqq Ishaq Qadiri Pirpasha (Nilanga):

Sayyad Shaha Nuruddin Noorul Haqq Qadiri Pirpasha was the famous Sufi Qadiri saint in Nilanga region. His father Sayyad Shaha Asadullaha Shaha Muhamad Qadiri was the descendent from the heirs of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani, the founder of Qadiria Silsilah. Pir Pasha born at Kalyan region. There is a Dargah, named Sayyad Nooruddin Qadiri, the grandfather of Nurul Haqq Ishaq Qadiri. Nurul Haqq setteled at Nilanga. He built a well for water supply to the agriculture and common people. He died at 21 Rabbisani 1199 AH.⁸⁷

6.2 Sufi Haydar Wali (Nilanga):

He was the famous Qadiri saint in Nilanga region. The successors of Haydar Wali settled in Hyderabad. They visited to Dargah for Urs festival in every year. 88

6.3 Suratshaha Wali (Latur):

He came from Delhi to Latur and settled here. His Dargah has Khanqah and dome. Lingayat people have very spiritual attachments with this Dargah.⁸⁹

6.4 Hazrat Sayyad Sadaru Din (Udgir):

The Udgir city has a glorious historical background and is known for the well built fort from Bahamani age. The fort is bounded by a 40 ft deep trench, as the fort is built at the ground level. In the fort are several palaces Durbar halls and the Samadhi of Udaygir Maharaj which is 60 feet underground level. Udgir was named after the famous Hindu Saint Udaygiri Rishi. There is a famous Jamia Masjid located at Chaubara which is one of the two biggest mosques, the other one is Maqbara mosque which is located in the centre of the city. 90

6.5 Haqqani Baba (Chakur):

Hazrat Haqqani Baba Dargah situated at the hillock near Chakur town. Dargah open for common people at all day time, but closed at night. 91

7. Sufis of Osmanabad:

Hazrat Khwaja Sayyad Shah Ahemad Shamsh ud Din Gazi Dargah is famous in Osmanabad region. Khwaja Sayyad Shaha Ahmad Hussaini alias Hazrat Khwaja Shams ud Din Gazi was born in 17 Ramjan, 642 AH at Khorasan. His father was a famous Sufi saint in the region, Sayyad Shaha Abdul Rahman Hussaini. Sayyad Shaha Ahmad Hussaini memorized the whole Quran in 11th age. Then he migrated to Delhi and enter in Nizam ud Din Awliya's Chishti circle. (Khwaja Amir khurd Kirman, Sirat ul Awliya, p. 482) He migrated to Osmanabad (Dharashiv) in 1311AD. He died there in 15 Jamdilakhir 730 AH. His Dargah attached with a Khanqah and masjid. 92

8. Sufis of Jalna Region:

- **8.1 Shah Latif Shah Latif Qadiri:** He was, one of the seven patron saints of Jalna, was a learned man of Dehli, who accompanied Burhanu-d din to the Dakhan, and separated from him at Pirbohra. He opened two " *maktabs*" or schools near the Jama Masjid at Jalna, and his tomb lies close by. Students offer sugar on the threshold of the tomb, in the hope of improving their memories. 93
- 8.2 Kalbay Kadar Qadiri (Badnapur, Jalna): Kalbay Kadar is a Kalbay Kadar tekkieh at Badnapur near Jalna. When it was deserted, it was sold to the Shiahs of the city, who converted the place into a burial ground. The wealthier Shiahs only temporarily interred their dead in the cemetery, and afterwards transferred the remains to Kerbela. Shaha Jang, uncle of the late Sir Salar Jang, was buried in this cemetery. An inscription over his tomb gives the date of his death as H. 1210. 94
- 8.3 Saiad Rahman Saiad Rahman or Saiad Rafi Qadiri: He came with Aurangzeb, and settled at Jalna. The Malis or gardeners give an

annual feast called "kundun" at his tomb in Anandi's garden beyond the 'Ambad darwaza. 95

- 8.4 Shah Nasir Qadiri: Shah Nasir ud din or Shah Nasir Alla Kadar was instructed by Said ud din of Delhi to accompany Burhan ud din to the Dakhan on a religious mission. The party arrived at Pirbohra, a village 24 miles north of Aurangabad, where the members separated. Shah Nasiru-d din Shah Nasir erected the earliest mosque in Jalna on the site *tekri* or mound. Jala Rao, or Mahomed Islam Khan, a freebooter whom Shah Nasir converted, built the *Khas bhag*, and on his death which happened in a religious war, Nasir Alla became possessed of the "*shish*" or mud fort. Nasir Alla died in the 8th century Hijri, and was buried on the Aurangabad road. ⁹⁶
- **8.5 Muhammad Ibrahim**: The Ashaba has two large iron cauldrons; which contains the grave of Mohammed Ibrahim. There are many other graves in the vicinity, and the place has been used for a long time by the Muslims as a burial ground. 97
- 8.6 Sher Sawar & Raja Bagh Sawar: In Jalna, this mound is now surmounted by a dome which covers the remains of Shaikh Ahmad, surnamed "Sher Sawar" or the "lion-mounted." The attendant "khadim" makes him contemporary with' Abdul Kadar Jilani (H. 561); but the dome is only a "chilla" or cenotaph, and the body was buried elsewhere. The Ashaba also contains the grave of Raja Bagh Sawar, a contemporary of Jan Alla. Raja Bagh Sawar is said to have visited Nirgun Shah Wali, seated on a lion. 98
- 8.7 Tuttu sodagar: Tuttu Sodagar was a wealthy merchant of Surat and a Bohra, who built the "Tuttu" darwaza of Jalna in H. 1126. He died near the 'Ambad gate, on his way back from Rakisbon, and was buried near the mosque which he built. According to an old Urdu proverb, "the children in Jalna were lulled to sleep in cradles of gold," Malis and poor people offer fruit to Pir Ghaib Sahib's Dargah near Tattu Darwaza. 99

- **8.8** Jamshed Khan: Jamshed Khan was a sufi and the governor during Malik Ambar's time. He also constructed the large tank at Jalna, and laid down pipes and reservoirs for the water supply of the city. Jamshad Khan buried in his garden to the north of Jalna. His Dargah and masjid has a "waqf" or pious legacy of 200-bigahs of land, granted by Aurangzeb. ¹⁰⁰
- 8.9 Nizam ud din Suharawardi: He lived at 'Ambad,. He possessed great literary qualifications, and Malik Ambar appointed him kazi of Ambad. His son Baha ud din suffered martyrdom at Ahmednagar, where his tomb is still venerated. Nizam ud din's daughter was buried near her husband at "Nag-jhari," a mile south of Ambad. A document dated H. 1113 in the possession of the present descendant, is sealed by Amjad Ali Khan Fiawar, an employe of Shah 'Alam Badshah. Shah Latif Tawizi came to Paithan and was invested with spiritual power by Maulana Muizzu-d din. His tomb on the bank of the Godavari, opposite to Maulana Sahib's darga, is without a dome. 101
- 8.10 Biyabani Silsila in Jalna Ambad region: Originated with a disciple of Nizam ud din Aulia, called Abdulla, enjoyed the spiritual life in forest or Biaban or desert. Abdul Karim Biabani of Ambad is descended from Abdul Karim the son of Abdulla. Zain ud din Zain ud din Biabani, the son of Abdul Karim, who was born in H. 811 at Ambad, became the Rafai kaliph in H. 811, and died in H. 909. The tombs of his mother and wife are also at Fukrabad, and are called respectively "Pirani Man" and "Bua Man." Offerings of sugar-candy and dates are made to the former. The sacrifices and offerings are made to it on Thursdays and Fridays. It is thus a source of revenue, and was a subject of dispute between two rival parties. A commission was appointed in H. 1284, which settled the matter in favor of the "khadims" of Ravna and Parora. Sayyad Shaha Ziya ud Din Biyabani was the disciple of Sangade Sultan Sufi of Kandhar (Nanded District). He married with the daughter of Sangde Sultan, Fattehshaha Maa at Kandhar. He accepted Rafaiyya silsila khilaphat form Sangade Sultan. He died at 99th age in 10 Jmdil Awwal 909 AH. Sayyad Shaha

Asharaf Biyabani was born in 864 AH in Fukhrabad, Ambad region. He continued the tradition of his father Ziyaud Din Biyabani in Ambad. He started Langar Khana at Dargah. His motto was 'food for hunger and water for thirsty'. Personally the Nizam gave the Inam land, 418 Hector for his Dargah. 102

8.11 Sayyad Sirajud Din Jan ul-Allah Muhammad Gaus Babaullah(Jalna):

Sirajuddin born in Meccan. He come to Delhi with his Murshid or Pir. Then he migrated to Burhanpur. He settled at Jalna near Kundlika river bank. His Dargah built in Mughal architecture style. Qadiri Kahnqah and masjid built by the devotees of Sayyad Sirajud Din. 103

8.12 Sayyad Allauddin Ziya (Rawana Parada Ambad):

Sayyad Allauddin Ziya was from the descendent of Farid ud Din Ganj Shakar. Every Thursday and Friday, people gather for spiritual wishes to Sayyad Allauddin Ziya Dargah in Rawana Parada. Dargah attached by Khanqah and Masjid also. 104

9. Sufis of Aurangabad Region:

9.1 Hazrat Siddiqui Shah Baba (Kannad):

He was the disciple of Khwaja Muntajib ud Din Zar Zari Zar Baksh of Khuldabad. He migrated to Kannad for spread the spiritual ideas of Islam and Chishti silsila to the region. He established the Khanqah at Kannad. Newly married couples go to Siddiqui Shah Baba Chishti's Dargah for fulfill their wishes. Near Dargah, Nagar Khana and Entrance Gate built by Mughal officer. 105

9.2 Kalleshah Shershaha (Kannad):

He was the disciple of Khwaja Muntajib ud Din Zar Zari Zar Baksh of Khuldabad. He migrated to Kannad for spread the spiritual ideas of Chishti silsila to the region. He established the Khanqah at Kannad. He was the friend of Siddiqui Baba of Kannad. ¹⁰⁶

9.3 Hazrat Shahanoor Hamwi Qadiri (Aurangabad):

Shah Nur Hamwi Saiad Shah Nur Hamwi came from Baghdad and lived for some time at Burhanpur and then at Ahmadnagar. He visited Aurangabad after Aurangzeb's arrival, and initiated nawab Diyanut Khan, the emperor's minister, into the Qadiria order. He died in H. 1104, and was buried outside the Paithan gate of the city of Aurangabad. Ma'athir al Umara of Shah Nawaz Khan gave the information about Shahnoor Hamwi. Also, Baha la Din Hasan wrote Nur al Anwar, about the full life account of Shahnoor. According to Baha al Din Hasan, Shahnoor was born in Baghdad. But some scholars claims that, Shahnoor has from the north east part of India. Shah Noor had arrived at Aurangabad in 1070 / 1660. He settled at Moti Karanga Khanqah in Aurangabad. Mughal officer Diyanat Khan built the Khanqah at Aurangabad. Shah Noor died in 1104 / 1692 at Aurangabad. He was buried within that extensive Khanqah.

Shah Noor influenced number of persons in government and administrative bureaucracy. Foremost among these was the aforementioned Diyanat Khan, a courtier belonging to an Irani family who were well established in Aurangabad with strong links to the Mughal imperial bureaucracy. During the reign of Aurangzeb, Diyanat Khan was the Diwan of Deccan Subha. Son of Diyanat Khan, Diyanat Khan II, was also the disciple of Shah Noor. He was the financial administrator or Mutasaddi of the principal Mughal port of Surat. Diyanat Khan II was buried near to Shah Noor after his death in 1141 / 1729. One of the wives of Aurangzeb may also have been a murid of Shah Noor. Zahur Khan Zahr wrote in Nur al Anwar, the name of this wife was given as Nawaba Baiji. 108

Shah Noor was also known by his nickname of Hammami (of the bathhouse). Shah Mahmud Aurangabadi wrote in his Malfuzat e-Naqshbandiyya: Halat e-Hazrat Baba Shah Musafir Sahib that Shah Noor was known by his nickname Hammami. In the Mathir al Umara, this name was ascribed to his practice of giving each of his visitors enough money to visit a bathhous. However, a few decades later the name was explained by

the hagiographer Sabzawari as being due to the saint's ownership of a bathhouse (hamma) in Aurangabad where people went to meet him. Shah Noor's kin name (nisba) was also as Hamadani in later referenbees. It is unclerar whether the nickname gradually metamorphosix into a similar sounding family name denoting prestigious foreign origins. According to Shah Mahmud Aurangabad to the saint's kin name of Hamadani, Shah Noor was the son of Sayyid Abd Allah ibn Abu Ala Hamadani and a Husayni Sayyid, that is a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad via his grandson Husayn. 110

9.4 Sayyad Shaha Zahurul Haqq Bin Meer Hega:

Maulana Hazrat Sayyad Shaha Zahurul Haqq was born in Iraq in 1194. Later he migrated to Balkh and Bukhara, and at last to Delhi. He had the khilaphat from Abdullah Gulam Ali Shaha Naqshbandi of Delhi. He settled at Shaha Bazar in Aurangabad. 111

9.5 Maulawi Nurul Huda:

He was born in 1153 AH in Aurangabad. His father Meer Kamroddin was the famous pious Maulawi in that period. Nurul Huda died in 1303 AH. 112

9.6 Hazrat Baba Shaha Said Palang Posh Naqshbandi:

Shah Palangposh Naqshbandi (d.1110/1699) and his disciple Shah Musafir Naqshbandi (d. 1126/1715) were the very famous saints in spiritual dimension of Mughal Aurangabad. They migrated from Ghijdawan in Central Asia to Aurangabad Deccan. One of the most fascinating biographical sources on the Naqshbandiya in the Deccan is the tazkira entitled Malfuzat I Naqshbandiya, which is dedicated to two Naqshbandi migrants, Shah Muhammad Musafir (d. 1715), the founder of the Naqshbandi takya in Aurangabad, an his Murshid, Shah Said Palangposh (d. 1699). The work was composed around 1734-9 by Shah Muhammad Musafir's son and successor, Baba Shah Mahmud. Both Shaykhs originated from Ghijdwan (Near Bukhara), the location of the

shrine of the pivotal Khwajagani Naqshbandi Shaykh, Abd al Khaliq Ghijdwani (d. 1179), and each arrived in India by 1674-5. The elder Baba Palangposh became a pir or Murshid, during this period of Mughal expansion in the Deccan Shahis, accompanying the army under Ghazi a Din Khan Firuz Jang. In contrast, Baba Musafir established a takya in Aurangabad and organized a popular following. The entire clientele and body of supporters of the two Shaykhs were like themselves immigrats into the Indian subcontinent from the North West, Turanis or Central Asians, with a few assimilated and equally immigrant Afghans and Kashmiris. 115

Prior to their migration they had spent one or two decades in the towns of present day Afghanistan and their hagiography, the Malfuzat e Nagshbandiyya, describes several episodes in their earlier lives set in such towns as Karshi, Kabul and Hasan Abdal. In view of the long and close connections of the Mughals with the Naqshbandi order in Central Asia, the arrival in Aurangbad of a pair of its representatives was ony to be expected. The father of the founder of the Mughal dynasty, Babut, had been a devotee of the great icentral Asian Naqshbandi Khwaja Ahrar, whose Risala e Walidiyya Babur translated into Chaghtai and this affinity with the Naqshbandi order continued. The spread of Naqshbandi Sufism in the Deccn, as indeed in India more generally, was closely associated with Mughal rule. Burhanpur, the centre for the onset of the Deccan conquests under Shah Jahan, had become an important Naqshbandi centre in the decades before Shah Palangposh and Shah Musafir arrived in the Deccan. Some prominent Sufi scholars also in Mughal administrative system as a officers, court members etc. During Aurangzeb Badshah, Khwaja Barkhwurdar Naqshbandi, one such descendant of an earlier Naqshbandi saint, was even appointed as the commander or giladar of the fortress of Awsa(today in Latur periphery of Marathwada Deccan).

Shah Palangposh was the principal spiritual director or Murshid of Shah Musafir. Although Shah Musafir was also initiated his spiritual life by Kubrawiyya silsila in central Asia. But later he accepted by Palangposh as Naqshbandi murid. The move of Shah Musafir and Shah Palangposh down through India probably occurred separately, though both Shaykhs had probably arrived in India by 1085 / 1674. 116 Ghazi al Din Khan Firuz Jang, the father of the subsequent founder of Hyderabad State Nizam al Mulk Asaf Jah and commander of the principal army of the Mughal forces in the Deccan, was the famous murid of Shah Palangposh Naqshbandi. Nile Green, famous sufi history scholar from Oxford, presented the theory about warrior spiritual leaders in medieval world history. According to his theory, the accounts of Shah Palangposh's behavior during his years of military accompaniment with the army of Firuz Jang reveal a striking portrait of a face of Sufism that is rarely seen. Yet warrior dervishes, such as the famous Sayyid Ali Sultan, were also a feature of the history of Anatolia and other regiouns of Islam, including East Turkestan and the Maghreb (North Africa). Their functions reflected the warrior saints of Byzantium, as well as the Sadhu brigades attached to the armies of Hindu kingdoms in Indian subcontinent.

Shah Palangposh's disciple, Shah Musafir, affords some countrast to his master. While still showing the same concerns for his clients' quotidian complaints, Shah Musafir's career led him to settle more urban and domestic matters than his martially inclined master. The recollections of the followers of Shah Musafir of their master recorded in the Malfuzat e Naqshbandiyya paint a portrait of a gentler figure, the undubitable possessor of supernatural powers yet at the same time a warm and humble character. Many closely observed anecdotes describe Shah Musafir paying special attention to widows and orphans, many of whom lived in his takiya, where children or probably dawn from the central Asiam community in the city, were also given an education.¹¹⁷

9.7 Hazrat Baba Shaha Musafir Naqshbandi:

Baba Shah Mosafar was one of the most celebrated Nakshbandis of Aurangabad. He was born at Ghajdavan and studied at Bukhara under Baba Palang Posh Nakshbandi. As Hasan Abdal, his spiritual preceptor gave him his final initiation of Baiat and invested him with the cap and mantle. Baba Shah Mosafar travelled over Bengal and Orissa, and arrived

at Aurangabad by way of Ganjwan Bukhara. He resided in the tekkieh (convent) of Shah Enalit in Katabpura; but resumed his travels again, and after proceeding as far as Mecca, returned once more to Aurangabad. Shah Mosafar was not welcomed this time by Shah Enait, and moved to the Mahmud darwaza, where Shah Sherin, an Azad or free dervish was living. The Azad was well versed in theological literature, but had a regular tavern for his dwelling place as he belonged to the Be-shara class of fakirs, who are hermits and live without the law. However, he courteously gave up the mosque, and retired to Sultanganj; and Baba Shah Mosafar cleared the place of the bhang drinking vessels. As he belonged to fakirs who are travellers and pilgrims living within the law. Shah Mosafar settled down to a monastic life, and was visited by various prominent persons, who reconstructed his humble dwelling with more substantial materials, and added a madrissa, a travellers, bungalow, and a system of water-supply with cisterns and fountains. Among those who called on him were Haji Jamil Beg Khan, Muhammad Tahir of Persia, haji Manzur, a eunuch of the royal harem. Hafiz Abdul Maoni a learned poet of Balkh, and Tahir Beg of Tashkand. Muhammad Kalich Khan gave him the jagir of Kasab-Khera in the Elora pargana, and a mansab of 150 Rs. a month. The emperor Bahadur Shah expressed a wish to call on him, but sent the prime minister instead. And afterwards the emperor's son prince Muiz ud din visited the Baba. Shah Mosafar died in H. 1110, and in H. 1117. Turktaz Khan Bahadur, a noble on the staff of Nizam ul Mulk 'Asaf Jah' erected the present handsome stone tekkieh the mosque, and the Panchaki or water-mill. Twenty years later Jamil Beg Khan added the-ablong reservoir with fountains, in honour of which, the poet Saiad Gholam 'Ali Bilgrami composed a Mesnavi and consecrated it to Imam Husain. 118

9.8 Khwaja Muhammad Saeed:

Muhamad Saeed was born in Bengal. He becomes the famous Naqshbandi Sufi saint of Aurangabad. He was the murid of Baba Shaha Musafir. His shrine located near the garden of Panchakki in Aurangabad city.¹¹⁹

9.9 Shaha Kalandar Shahid Naqshbandi:

Shaha Kalandar was born at Shaha Kuli Barkhan in Balkh region. His father was Khurkhan. After his father's death, Kalandar migrated to Multan and joined Naqshbandi Khanqah as disciple of Baba Shaha Palngposh Naqshbandi. Then he came with Baba Palangposh to Aurangabad. He murdered by a criminal in Aurangabad (13 Safar, 1143 AH). All information found in Malfuzat-i-Naqshbandi manuscript in *Panchakki* Dargah Library, Aurangabad. Shaha Kalandar Shahid's tomb situated in Shaha Palangposh Dargah premises. 120

9.10 Sufi Muhammad Wafa Naqshbandi:

Muhammad Wafa Naqshbandi was the disciple of Baba Shaha Musafir Naqshbandi. He was originally from Hisar region. He was unmarried in all life. He was manager of the Langarkhana in *Panchakki* Khanqah. He died in 1143 AH and buried near Musafir Dargah. 121

9.11 Haji ul Harmani Haji Qasim Naqshbandi:

Haji Qasim was born in Balkh province of central Asia. He migrated to Deccan and joined Naqshbandi Khanqah in *Panchakki* circle. He was the murid of Baba Shaha Musafir. His tomb situated at the Panchakki complex. 122

9.12 Sufi Khwaja Aalam Naqshbandi:

Khwaja Alam was born in Balkh, central Asia. He migrated to Aurangabad with Baba Shaha Musafir Naqshbandi. He died at Surat, within the travel to Mecca for Hajj. 123

9.13 Mirza Ibrahim Naqshbandi:

Mirza Ibrahim was born in Kabul. He joined the Mughal official job in the reign of Aurangzeb Badhshaha. He migrated to Aurangabad and joined Naqshbandiyya circle at Panchakki complex. Baba Shaha Musafir accepted him as murid in his order. He was ever visiting the shrines at Khuldabad, Amir Hasan Sijzi Dargah, Khwaja Hasan Ganjal Rawan,

Burhana al Din Chishti etc. His tomb situated at Panchakki shrine complex. 124

9.14 Muhammad Nazar alias Aakhund Mulla Khamund Naqshbandi:

Originally Muhammad Nazar was from Balkh. He travelled to Iran, and Iran to Mecca, and Mecca to Aurangabad Deccan. He joined Naqshbandi Khanqah at Panchakki. He was the scholar in Islamic theology. Baba Musafir accepted him as Murid. He died in AH 1117 in Aurangabad. His tomb situated beside the Dargah of Baba Palangposh. 125

9.15 Shaha Nizam ud Din Aurangabadi Chishti:

Nizam al Din Aurangabadi was originally a migrant to the Deccan from North India (Kakori or Nagrawn), and was born in the regon of Awadh around 1076 / 1665-6. Nizam al Din travelled to Delhi, which like Aurangabad a few decades later was enjoying a period of royal and aristocratic patronage under the aegis of Shah Jahan that was as beneficial to its Sufis as to its other inhabitants. There Nizam al Din came into contact with the followers of the influential Chishti Shaykh Kalim Allah Jahanabadi (d. 1142/1729). In part through the influence of Kalim Allah's own master Yahya Madani (d. 1101/1689), Nizam al Din became the initiate and eventually the favourite of Kalim Allah. 126 Nizam al Din spent several years at the Khanqah of his master befor setting off for the Deccan under the latter's explicit instructions. 127 Nizam al Din visited several of the cities of the Deccan, including the notable political and Sufi centre of Burhanpur, where is Murshid Kalim Allah seems to have first wished him to settle, before finally deciding to reside in Aurangabad with his master's blessin, where he remained until his death in 1142/1729. 128 Nizam al Din setted in Aurangabad. Kamgar Khan, the Mughal officer in Aurangabad was the famous murid of Nizam al din. Kamgar Khan built a khanaqah next to his own haveli in the Shah Ganj quarter in Aurangabad. This Kamgar Khan later compiled the collection o Nizam al din's recorded conversations (Malfuzat) entitled Ahsan al Shamail. Shah Ganj was the centre of the city and the site of its famously wealthy royal market, near the great palace founded by Aurangzeb. Nizam al din had dicsied to allow the dervishes, like scholl boys in a sweet shop, only to enter the khanaqah in small groups. Nizam al Mulk, the first Nizam of Hyderabad state, was also connected with Nizam al din. For almost forty years after Nizam al Mulk's death, his grandson Imad al Mulk Ghazi al din Khan Firuz Jang III (d.1215/1800) composed an important biography of Nizam al Din's son and successor, Fakhr al Din Chishti. Imad al Mulk claimed that Nizam al Mulk underwent a formal Sufi initiation (bay'at) from Nizam al Din, so rendering himself a disciple (murid) of the Sufi. The number of poet wre associated with Nizam al Din, including one with the classic Sufi pen name of Aashiq (the lover) who was a disciple of the saint. At his master's command, Aashiq wrote an extremely lengthy moralizing mathnawi poem entitled Aslah ye Akhlaq u din (The improwing of Morals and Religios). 130

Nizam al din married twice, albeit relatively late in life, with his first wife coming from the family of the great Deccan Chishti saint Gesu Daraz. 131 Through these wives, Nizam al din had five sons and seven daughters, the latter marrying into the families o local religious and political elites. Like other models of authority in Islam, which of the Sufis thus drew upon genealogical models of kinship in order to articulater, bestow and ultimately inherit the charisma of the saintly master. For example, the emperor Humayun's wife Hamida Bano came from the family of the great Khurasani saint Ahmad e Jam (d. 536/1141), while members of the Safawi royal house of Iran had made strategic marriages with the Ni'mat Allahi Sufi family; the family of the Durrani rulers of Afghanistan similarly intermarried with the Nagshbandi Sufis of Kabul. Upon the death of Nizam al Din in 1142/1729 his son Fakhr al Din was still a child and control of his khanaqah seems to have passed into the hands of one of his depuries (Khalifas), possibly his biographer Kamgar Khan. Fakhr al Din had move to Delhi around 1160/1746. Nizam al din's khanagah and shrine remained in the hands of Kamgar Khan's family. According to Rizvi, S.A.A., claims that Fakhr al Din went to Delhi in order to fill the gulf in Chishti leadership created by the death of Kalim Allah. 132

9.16 Dawal Shah Wali Suharawardi Dargah:

Dawal Shah Wali or Abdul Malik Latif is said to have been the groom of 'Ali. After the death of his master, Dawal Shah Wali travelled about; and monuments were erected to his memory in the different places which he visited. In this manner, there are about 360 *chillas* to him in the Dakhan, besides numerous *astanas* containing some of his sacred relics. He suffered martyrdom at Kattiawad. A *chilla* to Dawal Shah Wali is found within the city walls of Aurangabad to the left of the Mecca gate, and is resorted to every Thursday by Mahomedans and Hindus. ¹³³

9.17 Arif Allah Shah Shuttari (Aurangabad):

Shattari branch of the Qadiriyya, in which the members repeat their devotions with great rapidity. Arif Alla Shah was about the earliest arrival in the Deccan, who belonged to this sect. He was buried in his tekkieh outside the western gate of Ambad, near a mosque about four hundred years old, called Bin khami masjid. Saiad Ahmad of Gujarat spread the Shattaria sect in Aurangabad Maharashtra, probably in the time of Aurangzeb. He was a follower of Burhan ud din, and his shrine is outside the Jafar gate. 134

9.18 Taj ud din Tajud din Qadiri:

Taj ud din Tajud din and Saifud din of Baghdad, the descendants of 'Abdul Kadar Jilani, proceeded to Mecca, and then came to India, where they separated. Tajud din arrived at Aurangabad in AH. 1070, and on his way, converted a band of robbers 14 miles north of the city, some of whom settled down on the spot and founded a village called Tajnanur. He subsequently became a recluse, and retired into a cave on Chaman Tekri, to the east of Daulatabad, where he was accidentally discovered by Aurangzeb when out hunting. The saint was taken out in a very emaciated state, and was attended by the emperor's physicians who carried him to the Bharkal gate of Aurangabad. Tajud din improved in health, and his staff which was buried in the ground began to grow after forty days. The

emperor ordered a mosque to be erected at Chaman Tekri and called it Taimur Beg masjid.¹³⁵

9.19 Shah Unas Qadiri Qawas Jilar:

Shah Unas Shah Unas Kadari flourished at Harsul in the time of Aurangzeb. He probably came from Constantinople, and belonged to the Kavas-jilar order of dervishes. Kanduri is a feast held in his honor. The elders of the Kalbay Kadar ka fakir come from Bidar to Siwar in the Baijapur taluka. The members of this order are often absorbed in silent meditation, with eyes closed or fixed on the ground. 136

9.20 Jalal ud Din Pir Manik Bhandari Chishti:

He is also amongst the earliest disciples of Nizamuddin Auliya. He ran the Langar khana of Nizamuddin Auliya. After the death of Nizamuddin Auliya, he went to the Deccan with Burhanuddin Gharib, and became famous by the name of Bhandari. His shrine is in Fatehabad in the Aurangabad district of Maharashtra. 137

9.21 Suleman Shah Madari:

He was a rich dervish, accompanied Aurangzeb in his early expeditions into the Dakhan, and retired to Gangapur where he died. His darga is in the *barra tekkieh* close to the *shahi bagh* or royal garden. A cenotaph and lamp-pillar to Zinda Shah Madar were also erected in the *barra tekkieh* by Azmat ul la, a son of Soliman Shah who joined the Khadman sect of the Madaria order. 138

9.22 Razzakshahi Silsila of Aurangabad region:

A branch of the Kadaria was founded by Abdul Razak of Baghdad. Arif Shah Sain of this sect came to Ambad, where he erected a mosque. His "tekkieh" and tomb are to the north of Ambad; and the graves of his six successors are close by. Sher 'Ali Shah Sain arrived from the Panjab, and his tekkieh and tomb are near the Shahgarh darwaza of Ambad. The

remains of a furnace are close by, where he made amber beads which he distributed to fakirs, &c. Shah Khaksar came from Bijapur to Roza in the time of Akbar, and his "tekkieh" and tomb are at Sulibhajan. 139

9.23 Rafaiyya Silsila in Aurangabad:

The order was introduced into Aurangabad by Rahmat Alla Shah Rafai in the time of Aurangzeb; and the members became very numerous in the days of H. H. Nizam Ali Khan, when there were 360 houses belonging to them in Aurangabad. During the subahship of Shabar Yar Jang, the Rafais cut themselves with lances whenever alms were refused them. Rahmat Alla and Rahmat Alla came from Baghdad, and lived for thirty years in Musafar Shah's dargah at Panchakki. He then moved into a house in Aurangpura which Aurangzeb's steward built for him. His tomb is beyond the western gate of Aurangabad. 140

9.24 Madaria Silsila in Aurangabad:

One of the four Tafuria sects founded in Asia Minor by Badi ud din Rustami surnamed Zinda Shah Madar. The Madaria is in four subdivisions,-Diwangan, Talban, Ashkan, and Khadman. Some of the fakirs are jugglers, or take about bears, monkeys, from place to place; while others go about playing on a fiddle and singing in praise of Shah Madar. The Madaria do not shave their beard and moustaches on being initiated; and when any person has gained the object of his desires, he invites the fakirs of this order to perform a ceremony called dhammal.

About AH. 1000 Shah Gul Husain, also called Shah Nur Ganj Lashkar, and Shah Daud Ganj Lashkar Maghrobi, two Madaria fakirs came to Roza and Aurangabad respectively, to propagate the tenets of their order. Shah Nur Ganj's tomb is near the Nakhar Khana gate of Roza; and Sultan Saiad Shah Nur, one of his kaliphs, was buried near the Pangri gate. Zabarak Ali Shah another kaliph was taken by H. H. Nizam 'Ali Khan to Hyderabad, but he subsequently returned to Roza where he died, and was buried near the Chauk. Shah Daud Ganj Lashkar Maghrobi

introduced the suborder *Diwangdn* into Aurangabad. His tomb stands near the "tekkieh" called *Til-ki-Mundi*. 141

9.25 Sayyad Nuruddin (Dongaon):

Sayedi Moulai Nooruddin is the 11th century holy Dawoodi Bohra saint whose dargah is at Don Gaon, Aurangabad district. Moulai Noorudin served Shia Islamic Missionary in the tenure of Imam Ma'ad al-Mustansir Billah. Moulai Noorudin was fortunate to and honored to have done *Deedar* (met face to face) of Fatimid Imam Mustansir Billah and gather *Barakaat* (benevolence) of procuring wisdom from Babul Abwaab, Syedi Moayed-iz-Shirazi. As per legend, while he was there two travelers from India went to the court of Imam Mustansir at Cairo, Egypt. They were so impressed that they converted and went back to preach. One of them was Rupnath, whose new name was Maulai Nooruddin. Another was Moulai Abadullah (formerly known as Baalam Nath). With the permission and blessings of Imam Mustansir, Moulai Nooruddin migrated to India. He died in year 1200 AD at Dongaon a village in Aurangabad. 142

10. Other Mazaars (Tombs) and Dargahs in Marathwada region:

10.1 Malik Ambar Tomb: Malik Ambar died at 14 May, 1626 AD. Malik Ambar's *Mazaar* is to the north-west of the town and according to Ferishta it was erected during his lifetime. Nearby stands the tomb of his wife Bibi Karima. The larger of the two contains the mortal remains of Malik Ambar and resembles Nizam Shah's dargah. At a short distance from Malik Ambar's tomb is the open tomb of Tana Shah, the last of the Golkonda kings. To the north of the town is the tomb of Nizam Shah Bhairi which was converted into a trvelles' bungalow by the officers of the contingent stationed at Aurangabad during British days. The dargah of Ahmad Nizam Shah (1489–1509) is built on a raised platform and has an open court all round.¹⁴³

10.2 Abul Mujaffar Muhi ud Din Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahadur Aalamgir Badshaha Ghazi Mazaar (b. 24 October,1618 / 15 Zilqada, 1027 – d. 3 March/20 Feb. 1707): Abul Muzaffar Muhiu 'd-Din

Muhammad Aurangzeb is more popularly known as Aurangzeb or by his title Alamgir (Conqueror of the World), he was the sixth Mughal Emperor, whose reign lasted for 49 years, from 1658 until his death in 1707.

follower of Sufism and he followed Aurangzeb was the Nagshbandi-Mujaddidi Sufism order. He was a disciple of Khwaja Muhammad Masoom, the third son of Ahmad Sirhindi. Aurangzeb's letters written to Khwaja Masoom demonstrate his attachment to his master. After his coronation, he wrote to Shaykh Due to the duties of the empire, he is unable to attend shaykh's company, therefore he may send one of his noble son's to the capital for spiritual and Islamic guidance", the shaykh sent his fifth son Khwaja Saif ad-Din Sirhindi. He guided Aurangzeb to observe the law and to implement Islamic rule throughout the empire, and many other Sufi's also revered Aurangzeb, including the Sufi Sultan Bahu (AD C. 1628 - 1691), who wrote a book about spirituality. The book was written in Persian and titled "Aurang-i-Sh h", to resemble the name of the emperor. The author has praised the emperor with titles such as The Just King. 144 Sayidullah Ismail Khan (later wazir to Shah Jahan), Mir Muhammad Hashim of Gilan and Muhammad Saleh Kamboh were some of his childhood teachers. Aurangzeb had a keen mind and learnt quickly from his reading. He learned the Quran and the hadith very early on and could readily quote from them. Aurangzeb mastered Arabic and Persian like a scholar. He also learned Chagatai Turkic during his tenure at Kandahar Province.

Aurangzeb was a prolific writer of letters and commentaries on petitions. He frequently quoted Islamic verses and wrote Arabic with a vigorous *naskh* hand and would include text from the The Holy Quran. Two richly bound and illuminated manuscripts written by him are located in Mecca and Medina, with another copy preserved in Nizamuddin Auliya Dargah. He used to cover his personal expenses by weaving prayers caps and by writing copies of The Holy Quran.

Aurangzeb had well documented support for a variety of Hindu religious institutions. 145 By 1633, it was observed that a Mughal official

would help lead the procession of the festival at Puri, since it was a considerable source of revenue through the pilgrim tax. Aurangzeb's policies did not substantially change this situation, since many new temples were built in Puri. 146

Aurangzeb died in Ahmadnagar on Friday, 20 February 1707 at the age of 88, having outlived many of his children. His modest open-air grave in Khuldabad expresses his deep devotion to his Islamic beliefs. The tomb lies in Khuldabad (Aurangabad, Maharashtra) within the courtyard of the shrine of the Sufi saint Shaikh Burham-u'd-din Gharib (d.1331 who was a disciple of Nizamuddin Auliya of Delhi) and Zayn al Din Shirazi Dagrah,. The open tomb of the Mughul emperor Aurangzeb is in the shrine complex of Zayn al Din Shirazi. It is now surrounded by a marble platform and screen erected by the Nizam of Hyderabad. Near Aurangzeb's mazar the open tombs of Muhammad Azam son of Aurangzeb and his wife Aurangi Bibi next to the tomb of Khwaja Bibi Sahiba, in the shrine complex of Zayn al Din Shirazi. Women pilgrims who visit Khwan Bibi leave bangles as pledges over the doorway. Painted portrait of a Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb from the late eighteenth century AD preserved in Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, USA. 147

Aurangzeb had often visited Khuldabad as a pilgrim, and the first stipulation in his will had specified that he be buried there: "That they shroud and carry this sinner drenched in sins to the neighborhood of the holy Chishti tomb of the revered leader, Sayyid and Shaykh, Zayn al Din Da'ud Husaini Shirazi, since without the protection of that court [of the saints], which is the refuge of forgiveness, there is no refuge for those drowned in the ocean of sin". Aurangzeb felt ambivalent about the tomb veneration, and in keeping with the conservative tone of his later life, he resisted the temptation to build himself a massive imperial mausoleum in the tradition of his forebears. His simple tomb is technically nothing but an uncovered dirt grave. In the late eighteenth century Sabzawari described it as follows "At the foot of the blessed tomb, of Zayn al Din, is the place of the emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir, buried no more than a few steps from the shadow of that heaven displaying

threshold. The rainwater of mercy falls on the blessed shrine around the tomb of the late emperor. What good fortune that he has found such a pure place and is resting between two saints who may be called the sun and moon of religion that is, between the twin tombs that are like the polar stars, of the revered Burhan al Din and Zayn al Din (Rhmatullah Alayh – Mercy be upon them)". The Mazaar presently has a small tree growing on it, and it is surrounded by a marble platform with elegant grillwork, installed by the seventh Nizam in 1341 / 1922-23. Nearby one also finds the tombs of Aurangzeb's son Muhammad Azam and his wife Aurangi Bibi. 149

Aurangzeb's mazar became a place of pilgrimage with a distinctly political tone to it. When the Maratha King Shahu, grandson of Shivaji, was released from court detention, he collected an arm and went to Ahmadnagar to visit the place where Aurangzeb died, then on to Khuldabad to visit Aurangzeb's tomb and distribute money to the poor. 150

Though his visit to Khuldabad had the appearance and form of a pilgrimage to a saint's shrine, it was in reality a manifestation of political allegiance. Due to the Nizam's largesse, there were constant Quran recitations and an open kitchen in the name of Aurangzeb. 151

According to oral reports, the Nizam used to make a special visit to Aurangzeb's tomb every year on the death anniversary, in which he approached it barefoot as the vassal of the Mughul emperor and not as the ruler of an independent kingdom. 152

10.3 Nizam First Niz m-ul-mulk Asaf Jahan Mazaar: The first Nizam, Nizam al Mulk Asaf Jah (d. 1161 / 1748), was closely attached to the *Chishtis*, and even wrote a biography of a contemporary Shaykh, Nizam al Din Aurangbad (d. 1141 / 1729). He considered patronage of Sufi saints an important state dury, and stressed this point in his testament to his successor. Both the first Nizam and his successor, Nizam al Dawla Nasir Jang (d. 1164 / 1750), were buried along with their wives in separate red sandstone enclosures next to the tomb of Burhan al Din Gharib. 153

The Asaf Jahi dynasty originated in the region around Samarkand, but the family came to India from Baghdad in the late 17th century. Nawab Khwaja Abid Siddiqi (Khulich Khan I) son of Shaikh Mir Ismail Siddiqi (Alam Shaikh Siddiqi) Alam ul-Ulema, son of Ayub Younus Salim Siddiqi, son of Abdul Rehman Shaikh Azizan Siddiqi, fourteenth in direct decent from Sheikh Shahab al-Din Suhrawardi, of Suhraward in Kurdistan, a celebrated Sufi mystic, or dervish, maternal (first), a lady of the family of Mir Hamadan (a descendant of the Prophet Mohammed) (pbuh), a distinguished Sayyid of Samarkand. They were direct descendants of the first Khalifa of Islam, Hazrat Abu Baker Al-Siddiq. Niz m-ul-mulk was a title first used in Urdu around 1600 to mean Governor of the realm or Deputy for the Whole Empire. The word is derived from the Arabic word, Niz m, meaning order, arrangement. The Nizam was referred to as Ala Hadrat / Ala Hazrat or Nizam Sarkar, meaning His Exalted Highness (The last Nizam was awarded this title. It is a hereditary title). Qamar-ud-din Khan Asaf Jah I, 1st Nizam of Hyderabad (20 August 1671 - 1 June 1748), was senior governor and counsellor in the Imperial government of Mughals in Deccan.. Defeated the Imperial forces on 19 June 1720 at Hasanpur and formed an independent state of his own. Confirmed in his possessions by Imperial firman and crowned on 31 July. Named Vice-Regent of the Mughal Empire by the Emperor Muhammad Shah on 8 February 1722, secured the province of Berar on 11 October 1724 and formally made Hyderabad City his new capital on 7 December 1724. Asaf Jahan Nizam I wad died at Burhampur on 1 June 1748, aged 76. He had six sons and seven daughters. The first Nizam ruled on behalf of the Mughal emperors. After the death of Aurangzeb, the Nizams split from the Mughals to form an independent kingdom. Mazaar of Asaf Jahan Nizam I and his wife situated in the shrine of Burhan al Din Gharib Chishti Kuldabadi at Khuldabad, Dist. Aurangabad. A legend about the first Nizam states that, on one of his hunting trips he was offered somekulchas (a bread in Deccan) by a holy man and was asked to eat as many as he could. The Nizam could eat seven kulchas and the holy man then prophesied that seven generations of his family would rule the state. 154

10.4 Tana Shaha Qutb Shaha Mazaar: Abul Hasan Qutb Shah (Abul Hasan Tana Shah) was the eighth and last ruler of the Qutb Shahi Dynasty, who ruled the kingdom of Golconda in south India. He ruled from 1672 to 1687. Earlier Tana Shah's father-in-law Abdullah Qutb Shah was forced by Aurangzeb to acknowledge the suzerainty of Shah Jahan. And his daughter was wed to Aurangzeb's's son Sultan Muhammad. About the year 1683, Abul Hasan Outb Shah appears to have become irregular in payments of taxes to the Mughals and his relations with Sikandar Adil Shah also caused concern among the Mughals. Abul Hasan Qutb Shah consequently refused to be a vassal of the Mughal Empire and prompted Aurangzeb to initiate a campaign to assert the rule of Mughals on Golconda. He attacked Golconda. With his able commanders Nawab Khwaja Abid Siddiqi (Qilich Khan) and Qaziuddin Khan Siddiqi father and grand father of Nizam I (Asaf Jah I). Tana Shah defended the fort for eight months, but Aurangazeb succeeded in capturing Golconda at the end in September 1687. Abul Hasan Qutb Shah surrendered and handed over the Nur ul Ain Diamond, the Hope iamond, the Wittelsbach Diamond and the Regent Diamond, making the Mughal Empieror Aurangzeb the richest monarch in the world. Tana Shan was taken as a prisoner and was imprisoned in the Daulatabad fort (near Aurangabad) where he died in prison after 12 years of captivity. When the Sultan died, he was not buried alongside his ancestors and other Qutub Shahi kings but in a modest grave at Khuldabad near Aurangabad. Tana Shah's Mazaar situated beside the Dargah of Raju Qattal Husaini Chishti Suharawardi in Khuldabad. 155

10.5 Bibi ka Maqbaraa: Bibi Ka Maqbara is a maqbara built by the Mughal Prince Azam Shah, in the late 17th century as a loving tribute to his mother, Rabia Durrani (the first wife of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb). The comparison to the Taj Mahal has resulted in a general ignorance of the monument. This monument is also called the Dakkhani Taj (Taj of the Deccan). The monument's name translates literally to 'Tomb of the Lady'. It is situated in Aurangabad. The tomb in itself represents the transition from the ostentatious architecture of Akbar and Shah Jahan to the simple architecture of the later Mughals. In the form of

a hexagon and angles are ornamented with minarets. Bibi-ka-maqbara was built in 1660 by Aurangzeb's son, Azam Shah, as a loving tribute to his mother, Dilras Bano Begam. In 1720, Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah, a distinguished General of Aurangzeb with the intention of founding his own dynasty in the Deccan, arrived at Aurangabad and made it his capital. He paid a visit to Delhi in 1723, but returned in 1724. Nizam Ali Khan Asaf Jah II transferred his capital from Aurangabad to Hyderabad in 1763. According to the "Tawarikh Namah" of Ghulam Mustafa, the cost of construction of the mausoleum was Rs. 6, 68,203-7 Annas (Rupees Six Lakh, Sixty Eight Thousand, Two Hundred and Three & Seven Annas) in 1651-1661 A.D. 156

11. Sufis of Kandhar Region:

Kandhar, a historical town is located in Nanded District, as a taluka headquartr. Kandhar talika is included in the hilly region of Balaghat, in Nanded District. Kandhar is settled on the north bank of Manyad river. Kandhar town lies on 18.52 North latitude and 77.14' East longitude. ¹⁵⁷ Kandhar's mentioned in the accounts of medieval traveler Al Masudi. ¹⁵⁸ There is abundant water in Kandhar even today, due to the Jagtung Samudra Lake which was constructed durin the Rashtrakuta period. The Kandhar Fort was built on flat ground and was later strengthened and fortified during the Bahamani and Nizam Asaf Jahin rules. ¹⁵⁹

During ancient period, ninth – tenth century AD, Kandhar had various names, i.e. Panchalpur, Krishnapur, Kandharpura, Kandharpuri, Kanhar, Khandhar. Some names had date back to medieval period. Kandharsharif was the famous name during Deccan Muslim rule period. Hence, on the trade routes of the medieval Deccan, Kandhar was a major trading centre on the bank of Manar / Manyad river. The Afghans and the Arab traders knew this town as 'kand-har' similar to the Afghani town of Kandhahaar. Kanha from Krishna (Rashtrakuta King name) and after it was made like Krishna Kanh Kanhar Kandharpur, this is some scholarly opinion about the origin of the name 'kandhar'. Some historians think that the town has derived its name from Krishna III, a Rashtrakuta King, whose

name is mentioned with the title 'Krishnakandhar' in some inscriptions. In the muslim ruled medieval Deccan, Kandhar developed with newly settled fields behind the fort area. There were developed new settlements, agricultural fields. Also, Darghas, Khanqahs and mosques (Masjid) were built there. 162

Sufis of Kandhar: The sufis and Auliyas of Qadiri Rafai silsila came and settled in Kandhar town in mid fourteenth century AD. In subsequent years, Knahdar became the centre of Sufism and fifteen Dargahs were constructed there. 163 Asaint named Hazrat Haji Saidoddin Rafai Sarwar Maqdoom Sayyah, an Auliya, came to Kandhar. He had made a lagre number of followers in Kandhar by his influencing ideas and practices. After his death in 736 / 1358, a big Dargah (Badi Dargah) was built in Kandhar in his commemoration. Every year annual festival has been held in Dargah. Debotees belonging to all religns participate in these festival populary called *Urus*. 164 The Dargah have been given many lands and other sources of income for it upkeep and maintenance. These include commercial complexes, Gardens, agricultural lands and buildings. The government appoints a special management committee to assist the Sajjadanishin in maintaining accounts of these assests. Even today this Dargah follow the traditional method of appointing a successor or Sajjadanishin. At present, Saiyyad Shahmurtuza Mohuyuddin Pir is the Sajjada of Sarwar Maqdoom Dargah.

The presence of Hindu Lingayat Mathadihpati during the inaugural ceremony of succession of Sajjadanishin is considered to be of great significance. The Mathadhipati gives new clothes to the new successor of the Dargah. It is learnt that the tradition dates back to the Nizam's rule. From this, it may be inferred that, all the entres of different religions at Kandhar grew and prospered through mutual cooperation alone. Malfuz writing is one of the most important literary achievements of medieval Deccan. Malfuzat I Sarwar gives the very large information about Hazrat Sarwar Maqdoom of Kandhar. 166

In the case of earlier sufis of Kandhar, primary biographical sources is the Tazkidra written the historian Maulavi Abdul Turab Abu Jabbaar Malkapuri, who campiled his work in 1899 AD from a number of written records, including erlier Tazkirats and discourses (Malfuzats) of Sufis as well as from oral traditions given him by the descendants of some of Kandhar's more prominent Sufis. Amir Hamza, writer of Tarikh I Kandhar gives very information about sufis of Kandhar.

11.1 Hazrat Haji Sayyah Said ud din Sarwar Maqdoom: Malfuzat-i-Sarwari and Tarikh-i-Kandhar gives the historica information of Hazrat Haji Sayyah Saidoddin Sarwar Maqdoom. 169 Under the study of geneology of Sarwar Maqdoom, and find that spiritual and familiar relation to him from 26th as a Sake to Hazrat Imam Hussain Rajallaanh. Imam Husain was the son of Fatima, the daughter of Prophet Muhammad. The geneology as described by Amir Hamza in his book has been usefull to study this Sufi saint from Kandhar. 170

Most of the Sufis of Deccan and Bidar Gulbarga Bijapur Khuldabad area who migrated to the city from the mid fourteenth centuty, belonged to the Chishti, the Qadari or the Rafai silsilas, which had already undergone considerable development in various parts of the Indian Subcontinent before becoming significant in Kandhar. Hazdrat Saidoddin Sarwar Maqdoom was the successor (Khalifa) of his father, Hazrat Sayyad Sarwar Ibrahim Nizamuddin Rafai. He was also benefitted by the spiritual training of Shahikh Nizam ud Din Auliya in Delhi. After the death of Shaikh Nizam ud Din Auliya in 1324, his murids spread all over India from Delhi.

Originally the family of Hazrat Sarwar Maqdoom came from the town of Basra in Iraq. Hazrat Sarwar Maqdoom had the hobby of travellin to major cities having Islamic importance. Hency, he was known by the name 'Sayyah' (literally meaning the traveler). He was also a pilgrim of Mecca and Medina in Arabia. He came to Delhi and become a disciple of Shaikh Nizam ud Din Auliya. After that, he came to Kandhar Deccan at 1325 AD. His Tariqah was known as Qadiriya Rafaiya. The Rafaiya

Tariqa or silsila came from the northern part of Indian sub continent and had originated from the famous Sufi saint Shaikh Hazrat Saiyyad Ahmed Kabir Rafai Rahamtullahalai. Sarwar Maqdoom had died on 17th Rajjab 736 AH and was buried in at Badi Dargah. This badi Dargah originally was s typical structure with square or octagonal base supporting a dome. After the inthakhal of Hazrat Sarwar Maqdoom, his two sons came to Tariqah of Rafai Qadiriya silsila.

11.2 Auliya Hazrat Saiyyad Shah Shaikh Ali Sangade Sultan Mushkil Aasan Rahamtullahaliyah: Hazrat 'Sangde Sultan Mushkil Aasan', the name has come from his honesty and his disciple's belief in his power to solve probims of his murids. Hazrat Sangade Sultan familialy and genealogicaly belonged to the holy family of Hazrat Saiyyad Sa'daat Qutbul Akta Hazrat Saiyyad Ahmed Kabir Rafai Rahamatullah Aliyah, the founder of Rafai Order in Middle East. His grandfather Shaikh Ibrahim was a friend of Hazrat Sarwar Maqdoom Rafai. Gandfather of Sangade Sultan also benefitted from the company of Shaikh Nizam ud Din Auliya in Delhi. Shaikh Ibrahim and his friend Hzrat Sarwar Maqdoom came to Deccan, after the death of Nizam ud Din Auliya. After spending some time in Kandhar, Shaikh Ibrahim went to Kalyani Paragana, where he died. Today, his Dargah stands at Bidar. 179 His two sons, Shaikh Ahmed Jakariya and Shaikh Muhammad Jakariay, continued to live on the banks of the wate tank at Kandhar. Hazrat Sangade Sultan Mushkil Aasan was the son of Shaikh Ahmad Jakaria Ibn Shaikh Ibrahim. 180

Various explanations of this particular name have been offered to Sangade Sultan 'Mushkil Aasan'. One of them states that, 'Sangad' was an area near the border of Sind Provence. The people there were greatly influenced by the speech of Sultan about spiritual honesty, worship practices as well as by the miraculous performed by him. He became so popular there that his murids began calling him 'Sangade' Sultan. Amir Hamza has discussed the geneology of Sangade Sultan, in which he has traced the lineage of Sangade Sultan to the Prophet Muhammad through 32

blood descendants as well as teacher disciple tradition (pir wa Murshid bai't). 182

Hazrat Zia ud Din Biabani, a sufi saint, whose Dargah is at Ambad near Jalna in Marathwada, has writeen about the *Tarikh-i-Rafai* of Sangade Sultan in his Persian book *Mat Lub al-Talibeen*. In 847AH, the second most famous sufi saint of Kandhar Hazrat Sangade Sultan had died. The Dargah has a dome on its square architecture and inside the Dargah, there is a small mosque and an *Ashukhana*. Sangde Sultan had two wives named Hazrat Jamal Bibi Saheba and Hazrat Tara Bibi Saheba. Tara Bibi Saheba, was childless, but Jamal Bibi Saheba had three sons. Two of them were named as Shah Dhadak and Shah Kadak whose Dargahs also are locaed in Kandhar's Gavalipura area.¹⁸³

11.3 Hazrat Haji Khwaja Kayamuddin Shah Qadiri: On the western ditch of the Kandhar fort, the Dargah of Hazrat Haji Khwaja Kayamuddin Shah Qadiri located, it has a square architecture and is in the historical nature of a monument. Hazrat Haji Khwaja Kayamuddin Shah Qadiri was the contemporary of the first Sufi Auliya in Kandhar, named Hazrat Haji Sarwar Maqdoom Saidoddin Rafai. His Khanqah established near Kandhar fort, after his death, his murids bilt a Dargah in his memory exactly opposite the main door of the fort. Tughalaq undertook rebuilding of the Kandhar fort and made a new ditch around it. Thus the Dargah of Haji Khwaja Kayamuddin Shah, like an island, came to be surrounde by water contained in the ditch. Thereafter, the Muruids used to stant outside the ditch for their prayers and for taking their vows. Sometimes, they used small boats to reach the Dargah. The uru festival is celebrated in this Dargah every year on eighth and ninth Muharram, in which both Hindu and Muslim followers' participate. 184 The Dargah of Haji Khwaja Kayamuddin Shah Qadari has a natural and fresh environment for spiritual practice. The location of the Dargah also attracts people with spiritual ideas on the ditch of Kandhar fort. 185

11.4 Hazrat Pir Jala Khud'asarahun Rahamatullah aliayh: Hazrat Pir Jalal Khud'assarahun was belongs to the Chishtiya silsila. His historical Dargah is located in Manaspuri area of Kandhar. This Dargah celebrate its Urus festival on 7 Rabbi ul Sani every year of the Muslim calendar. There are no more historical information about the life and work of Hazrat Pir Jalal Chishti of Kandhar. 186

- 11.5 Hazrat Haji Macci Naqshbandi: Hazrat Haji Macci Awliya came to Kandhar in the first quarter of the fourteenth century AD. Hazrat Haji Macci Saheb Auliya has made a pilgrimage of Meccan and Medina. He belonged to the silsila of Naqshbandiya order. There is a traditional belief that earlier a miraculous lamp using only water as a fuel used to light up the interior of the Dargah during night. 187
- 11.6 Hazrat Shah Suleman Awliya: On the western side of Kandhar town, there is a hillock named, 'Suleman Tekadi'. On the top of this hillock, there is a stage (*Chabutara*) made up of soil onwhich stands a tomb type. This is neither a tomb nor a Dargah. The legend associated with the place states that a flying device with Prophet Suleman in it lands on this hillock on some nights. The folklore also maintains that during every rainy season, a large number of coloured beads are found on the hillock. This came out of Suleman's mine of beads inside the hillock. The devotees have named these beads as *Sulemanwale Dane* (Grains) and buy thuse for spiritual reasons. 188
- 11.7 Hazrat Yatimshah Majzub: Hazrat Yatimshah used to make confusing chatter spoken at a very high speed. He was thought of as a Majhub. Hazrat Yatimshah used to cook beetables and chillis together in a Handi (pot) and eat it. People used to call that pot *Diwani Handi* (Foolish Pot). No other information is available about him. 189
- 11.8 Hazrat Madarshah Dervish: The word 'Derwish' or Darvish used for Sufi person or Fakir in Persian language. Hazrat Madarshah Derwish was the contemporary of Majhub Yatimshah and also was his Khalifa (successor). After his death, is murids built up his tomb near Sangde Sultan Dargah.¹⁹⁰

- 11.9 Hazrat Pir Slar: Hadali area is Some distance away from Kandhar town, where the Dargah of Hazrat Pir Salar dargah located. Historical sources are not available about the Dargah. The Dargah has square shaeped architecture with a well designed stage.¹⁹¹
- 11.10 Hazrat Shah Ismail Saheb Tabakali: His Dargah is located near the Badi Dargah of Hazrat Sarwar Maqdoom. This Dargah is situalted on the bank of the water tank Jagtung Samudra. It was built in 1007 AH /1606 AD. 192
- 11.11 Hazrat Raja Bagh Sawar Khudisarahu: Old structure of the Dargah was restructured by Raja Hirasing, who was administrator or Janhangirdar of Kandhar during Nizam State. Hazrat Raja Bagh Sawar visited the Khanqah of Sufi saint Gesudaraz at Gulbarga. The folk story related him that, he always travelled sitting on the back of his Bagh (Tigher). 193
- 11.12 Hazrat Moh- ud Din Saheb: Actually, he was a trader of elephants. He had come to Kandhar through Hyderabad for the puropose of his trade. But near the south gate of the Kandhar, he was killed by an elephant gone berserk. Hazrat Mohu ud Din Saheb's Dargah stands at that very place today. Behind the Dargah is the tomb of the elephant, who too had died suddenly after killing his keeper. This are is known as 'Hazrat Khandi'. Various devotees regularly visit the Dargah. 194
- 11.13 Hazrat Mastan Shah Saheb Majhub: Hazrat Mastan Shah Saheb had come to Kandhar in 1195 AH after travelling all over Deccan. He had settled near Qazi Mohalla Masjid. He used to wear only a long white cloth and had no family with him. The legend around him also states that instead of normal food, he would eat only the soil along with water. He wonder in the surrounding forest alone and was addicted to Bhang. Raja Hira Singh, the ruling Jahangirdar in that time, made him a rant of Rs. 3 per month and also appointed Badroni and Fida Ali, as the Majhub's service. Hazrat Mastan Shah Saheb Majhub passed away on 17th Shawwal 1261 AH in Kandhar. 195

11.14 Hazrat Maulavi Shah Rafiyuddin Saheb Qadiri: Hazrat Maulavi Shah Rafuyuddin Saheb Qadiri was born in Kandhar. His father, Maulana Muhammad Shamsuddin Ibn Maulana Taj ud Din was the Qazi of Kasbah Bhokar and Dhanora Jahangiri. They live at near Hataipura masjid in Kandhar. He was born on 19th Jamd ud Sani 1164 AH / 1756 in His father was dvotee of Hazrat Sarwar Magdoom. And he named his son Rafuyuddin. Till the age of 14, he was taught by his father Muhammad Maulavi Qazi. He completed his Arabic and Persian studies under the tutelage of Hazrat Kayamuddin Saheb. After completing his initial education, he travelled to the port town of Surat. Later, he travelled to Meccan and Medina for studing Quran and Hadith. On returning to Deccn, he undertook spiritual studies of Naqshbandi silsila under the guidance of Hazrat Shah Muhammad Azimi ud Din Bulkhi at Aurangbad. There is not so much information available about him. From Aurangabad, he proceeded to Arcott, where he received knowledge and guidance from Shaikh ul Mashaikh Hindu Saheb. He also studied the Taria Qadiriya, Naqshbandiya, Shattariya and Rafaiyya from that Khanqah. 196

Hazrat Rafiyuddin Maulavi Rafai is linked with various silsilas like thse mentioned aboe. He returned to Hyderabad after visiting Arcott. In Hyderabad, Nawab Amir Kabir Bahdur and Nawab Rafaitullah Mulk Bahadur had become his murids. From Hyderabad, he went on a pilgrimage of Meccan and Medina. He stayed in Arabiya for nearly three years, studing Islamic philosophy and wrote a book titled, 'Samaratu Meai', which is not available in Kandhar today. On his return to Hydrabad, a large number of people become his followers or murids. At the age of 77, he died on 16th Rajjab, 1241 AH. After his death, his murids and debotees constructed a Dargah over his tomb, near Hazrat Sasrwar Maqdoom, Badi Dargah. It is the second largest Dargah in Kandhar. 197 He had three wives named Hazrat Anwar Bibi Saheba Bin Gayasuddin Saheb Kazi, having four daughters, and Hazrat Khadar Bibi Saheb, having four sons, and Hazrat Pir Maa Saheb having one daughter and one son. Her sons were named - Hazrat Shah Nazmuddin Saheb Rfai, Hazrat Jain ul Abidin Saheb Rfai, Hazrat Khayamulah Maulana Kayam

Shah Saheb, Hazrat Shah Gulaam Nqshabandi Saheb etc. The urs held at Dargah every year. ¹⁹⁸ In the Urs festival of Kandhar, a large number of Hindu and Muslim devotees actively participlate. ¹⁹⁹ A large number of Dargahs and holy pir shrines also exist in the villages on the periphery of Kandhar, such as Adgaon, Andga, Ambulga, Madali Ashtur, Anteshwar, Bhikar, Sangari, Sangari, Balegaon, Barook, Baachoti, Bolka, Balka, Bori, Babulgaon, Bhokmari, Berli, Bhadepura, Bahadurpura, Borgaon, Choundi, Chondi, Chikli, Chikali Bori, Deulgaon, Daithan, Dagad Sangari, Khudanki, Dhanora Makta, Digaras, Gomar, Halda, Takhopura etc. ²⁰⁰

12. Muslim Marathi Poets and Sufism in Marathwada:

In Marathwada region, Allam Khan, Shaikh Muhammad and Chand Bodhale were the famous Sufi Poets who wrote in Marathi and spread the spiritual coexistences within Hindu and Muslim folks. They made poems in Marathi and which are common today in Marathi village culture in Central Marathi speaking region of Deccan or Marathwada periphery.

Eknath's beloved Guru was Janardan Swami (a military commander in the army of Daulatabad in Sultanate of Ahmadnagar). Eknath's dream, the god Datta appears as a beard Muslim fakir or Malang. There is Muslim influence in the Dattatraya sect in Maharashtra and also in the Nath or Yogi tradition which Eknath bears in his very name. The guru of Janardan was Shaikh Chand Bodhale Qadiri. Janardan Swami's place of Samadhi and Chand Bodhale's tomb (Dargah) can still be seen at Daulatabad near fort.²⁰¹

Allam Khan Prabhu was the Muslim Marathi poet in fourteenth century Maharashtra periphery. He was also influenced by Nagesh cult of Shaivism. Bhanji Trimbak Deshpande (1770-1848A.D.) wrote the book, named Aalamkhan Akhyan. Shaikh Muhammad Shrigondekar was the famous Marathi Sufi poet. He had born at Dharur in Beed region of Marathwada. He wrote *Yogsangram*, the Sanskrit book spiritual dimensions of the human being and self development. He is famous today also in Maharashtra as 'Kabir of Maharashtra'. Maloji Bhosale, the grandfather of Shivaji, built the Math for Shaikh Muhammad Shrigondekar

at Shrigonda, in Ahmednagar State in 1595 A.D. Shaikh died in 1660 A.D. at Shrigonda village in Ahmednager.²⁰³ Husain Amberkhan was another famous Marathi poet. He translated the Bhagvat Geeta into Marathi language after the first Marathi translation of Geeta by Dnyaneshwar.²⁰⁴

Muslim Marathi Poets in Marathwada Region

Name	Place of Death / Region	Features / Writings / Relations with	Political Dominion
		Sects	
Allam Khan alias Allam Prabhu (14 th Century AD)	Karali-Karli (Dist. Osmanabad) Shrine	Nagesh Sect with Shiva Features, Devotees come both Muslim and Nageshi	Tughalaq Period in Deccan
Hazrat Ladle Mashaykh Raghvachaitanya (1460-1560 AD)	Aland (Gulbarga, Karnataka) South Marathwada border	Relation with Datta Sampradaya. 'Sadguru', of Lingayata Veershaivits in Karnataka border area	Bahamani Empire
Shah Datta 'Allam Prabhu (1478-1538AD)	Daulatabad Dist. Aurangabad	Famous as Malang Fakir of Datta Cult	Bahamani Empire
Husain Ambarkhan	Marathwada periphery	He wrote 'Ambarhusaini', in Marathi, the translation of Bhagvad Geeta	Nizam Shahi of Ahmednagar of Deccan
Chand Bodhale Sayyid Quadiri	Daulatabad Fort	Sufi Pir	Nizam Shahi of Ahmednagar
Shah Muni alias Shahsen (14 th Century)	Shah Gad (Beed Dist. Of Maharashtra)	Marathi Vaishnavite thinking	Nizam Shahi
Shaikh Muhammad Shrigondekar (17 th	Samadhi / Dargah at Shrigonda in	Well Known as 'Kabir' of	Mughal Empire in Deccan Subha
Century)	Dist. Ahmednagar, originally from	Maharashtra. Author of	(Emperor Shah Jahan and
	Dharur, Beed District of Marathwada	'Yogsangram'. His well-known disciple was Maloji Bhosle, the grandfather of Shivaji.	Aurangzeb Period)
Shah Ali alias	North	Famous for	Nizam state of
Quadir Sha'ali	Marathwada and	Marathi	Hyderabad
Shahir (18 th Century)	Khandesh region	Medieval Shahiri Lyrics Folk, influenced by Sufism.	

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Chapter 4

STATE PATRONAGE AT SUFI SHRINES IN MARATHWADA REGION

(UP TO FIRST HALF OF TWENTIETH CENTURY)

From twelfth to mid fourteenth century witnessed the emergence of local and provincial Sufi silsilas centers in Bengal, Deccan (including Marathwada periphery today), Gujarat and Malwa, whereas regional Muslim kingdoms also sprang up in various parts of Indian Sub continent. One of the major factors which led to the establishment of Delhi Sultanate was the developments relating to the weakening of the authority of the Abbasid Caliphate in the face of the rise of regional leaders, including the Turks, Iranians, who founded many independent and semi independent kingdoms in Central Asia, Persia (Iran) and Afghanistan. The Gaznavid of Kabul and Gazani had succeeded by the Ghaurid rulers. Their slave Turkish general, Qutb ud Din Aybeg, laid the foundation of the Sultanate of Delhi in northern India, practically independent of any higher political authority.

Mysticism is a universal phenomenon, which refers to a streak or a current that runs through many great religious traditions of the world, including Hinduism, Buddhism, Manichaeism, Zoroastrianism, Hellenism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam. In Islam, this tradition is referred to as Sufism or Tasawwuf. Originating from Quranic injunctions and Prophetic Traditions (ahadith), including the sayings and deeds of the Prophet, Sufism as a distinct movement acquired its specific contours at a later stage. The growth of Sufism into a fully developed movement with institutionalized practices was the result of a protracted process stretching over centuries, during which it proliferated over the length and breadth of the Muslim History and region. Sufis had problematic relationship with the Muslim establishment with both the custodians of political and religious authorities. The Kings, which had monopolized political power, were suspicious of its disruptive and revolutionary potential, while the

Ulama, the religious scholars, including the theologians and jurists, particularly those who served on official positions, and had come to represent the religious authority were even more apprehensive of the Sufis. Some of them sincerely contested the Sufi doctrines and practices, while others were envious of the public way which the sufis enjoyed, since the Sufis were seen by the people as an alternative locus of religious authority. Historian Louis Dupre, stated that, the dominant doctrinal trend in the mystical systems of various religious, has labeled Hindu mysticism as the Mysticism of the Self, that of Buddhism as the Mysticism of Emptiness, that of Eastern and early Western Christianity as the Mysticism of the Image, that of Islam and modern Christianity as the Mysticism of Love, and that of Judaism as Eschatological Mysticism.²

1. Sultanat and Islamic World

In 1206, Sultan Ghiyas al Din Mahmud, the successor of Shihab al Din Ghauri, manumitted the Turkish slave general Qutb al Din Aybek, and also bestowed the title of Sultan on him. Aybek was also appointed as the ruler of Indian Territories with Lahore as heir capital in the same year. Sultan Qutb al Din Aybek ruled 1206-1210 AD, and founded the Delhi Sutanat in North India. His successor, Sultan Aaram Shah ruled within 1210-11, proved weak and incampable. Sultan Shams al Din Iltimish (Ruled within 1211-36 AD), who replaced Aaram Shah in 1211, is considered to be the co founder of the Sultanate with Aybek, as he is credited with its consolidation.³

The word 'Sultan' is of Arabic origin, literally meaning power and authority. As an epithet, it refers to a person who wields political authority, or holds political power. Since the Turkish slave general Qutb al Din Aybek was bestowed the title of Sultan and appointed as the independent ruler of Indian territories in 1206 by Sultan Ghiyas al Din Mahmud. He was the successor of Shihab al Din Ghauri. His kingdom came to be referred as a Sultanate. The dynasty he founded (Qutb al Din Aybek) has variously been named as the Early Turkish, Mamluk or Slave Dyansty. It was succeeded by four other dynasties, namely the Khaljis, Tughluqs, Saiyyids and Lodhis. Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq was the first

Indian sovereign to use the title *Ghazi*, "Champion of the faith", on his coins. The rulers of these dynasties too assumed the titles of Sultan. For this reason, their kingdoms are also referred to as Sultanates.⁴

During the early phase of the Delhi Sultanat, many Ulama had migrated from Nishapur, Sinan, Ghaznin, Kashan, Balkh, Sijistan, Khwarism and Tabriz, as indicated from their names, and had settled in the Sultanate. Some of them were closely allied with the state, and had acquired considerable influence at the court as well, whereas some of them kept aloof from state and politics. Similarly, some of them were anti Sufism, whereas others had inclination towards Sufism. The ulama influenced the policies of the Sultanate to a considerable degree. The ulama were appointed to various administrative positions in the Sultanate. These included the following; Shaikh al Islam (literally meaning the chief of Islam) was a permanent position or office in the administrative structure of the Sultanate. It was also an honorific titer conferred upon eminent religious scholars by the Delhi sultans, but two persons could not bear the title in the same place simultaneously. The office of Shaykh al Islam is not to be confused with that of Sadr al Sudur or Sadr I Jahan, who was in charge of religious and judicial affairs in the Sultanate.⁵ Apart from the role of Ulama in state and politics, the symbiotic relationship between religion and politics in the Sultanate is also evident from the high sounding titles and epithets used by the sultans, having overt claims to religious authority. One of the many titles of Sultan Iltimish was Zill Allah fi al Alamin (the shadow of God in the worlds).⁶

1.1 Sultanat and Caliphate World:

By the Sunni theory of Islamic scholars, the Caliphate or Khilafat was the supreme Islamic political authority, constituted as the legitimate succession to the political office of the Prophet Muhammad. Sultan Iltutmish sought recognition from the caliph al *Mustansir*, who sent the Indian born hadith scholar Hasan Saghani to present his investiture in 626 AH / 1229 AD. Ziya al Din Barani noted in his *Fatawa –i- Jahandari*, that Qazi Jala Arus bringing from the Caliph in Baghdad a book written by the

caliph al Ma'mun, detailing the pious behavior of the caliph Harun al Rashid. The latter account sounds suspiciously like the other fictious ancient book that Barani concocted in his book.⁷

Iltutmish's next three successors had reigns too brief to consolidate their power, but Ala al Din Mahmud, who ruled between 639 / 1242 - 644 / 1246, minted coins in the name of the reigning caliph al Musta'sim (reign within 1242-58 AD). Oddly enough after the fall of Baghdad in 1258, Balban continued to mint coins and read the Friday public sermon or Khutba in the deceased caliph's name. The independent Muslim sultans of Bengal still minted coins in the name of the last Abbasid caliph after 1258.8 Jalal al Din Firuz Khalji, who was the founder of Khalji dynasty in Delhi, at 689 / 1290. He issued coins in the name of the deceased al -Mus'tasim. But Ala ud Din Khalji was not interested in this form of protective symbolism. Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq had begun correspondence with the caliph as early as 731 / 1330. In coins dated 742, 743 and 744 AH, Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq used the title name of the recently deceased caliph al Mustakfi Billah 9d. 740 / 1339). He also pressed the motto on coins, 'May Allah make his Caliphate abide for ever'. He had also relations with the caliph of Cairo Egypt, al Hakim II in 744 / 1343. 9

Historian Minhaj –i-Siraj noted in the Tabaqat-I Nasiri, that in 658 / 1260 Sultan Nasir al Din Mahmud entertained Chingiz Khan's grandson Hulagu at an imperial reception, not long after Hulagu's extirpation of the caliphate; in a calculated move, the Sultan's golden throne was decorated with "The Caliphat Seat" – *Masnad-i-Khalifati*, to advertise pointedly Delhi's challenge to the Mongols, and Minhaj-I Siraj celebrated the occasion with a suitable poem celebrating the Delhi world ruler's triumph over the Khan in religious terms, "Congratulations to Islam for this feast of the world's king; from this adornment India became much sweeter than China". Amir Khusraw, the chief murid of Nizam ud din Auliya of Delhi, noted in his book *Diwan-I Nihayat al-Kamai*, the title of caliph had been simply one more epithet to use in praising kings, and he had applied it to Qutb al Din Mubarak Khalji and Ghiyas al Din Tughluq without

worrying about the Abbasid pretender. Qutb al Din Mubarak even issued coins proclaiming himself 'Vicegerent (*Khalifa*) of the Lord of Creation'. 11

2. Deccan Sultanat and Islamic World:

Deccan sultanates also had contacts with the Caliphate of Islamic world in West Asia. It was happened in the breakaway kingdom of Ma'bar in the far south, which had been independent since 1335. Sultan Nasir al Din Mahmud Damghan Shah, in a coin of 745 / 1344, claimed to be 'helper of the Commander to the Faithful', a phrase that could only mean he sought investiture from the Caliph. The first Bahamani Sultan Ala ud Din Bahaman Shah also adopted the black parasol of the Abbasid caliphs as part of his court ritual. The second Bahamani Sultan, Muhammad, who ruled 759 / 1358 to 776 / 1375, sent the queen mother on a state pilgrimage to Meccan, during which she obtained investiture and appropriate symbols from the Abbasid caliph in Egypt. For all the pious posturing, though, caliphate symbolism was only useful as a support or kingship in North and Deccan region of Indian subcontinent. 12

3. Sultanat and Sufism in Indian sub continent:

Generally Sufis both supported the sultans as the theoretical upholders of Islamic law and questioned them as rulers whose morals and legitimacy might be doubtful in practice. According to Carl Ernst, in the polity of the sultans of Delhi, Sufis formed a disparate but recognizable political group, alongside others such as the military, the Turkish nobility, and the religious scholars. From time to time alliances occurred between Sufi and sultan, while just as often conflicts arose. Yet the tension between the two never disappeared. Historical narratives that show Sufi saints giving limitless praise of the virtue and wisdom of rulers are no different from political panegyric, whether they occur in royal chronicles or hagiographies. The problem of tension between Sufis and sultans may be illustrated by Barani's relationship with Sufism. Ziya al Din Barani, the famous historian of Sultanate India, was the disciple of Nizam al Din Awliya of Delhi. He was also the friend of Amir Khusro. It is no

exaggeration to say that Barani's ideas were opposed to Sufi views on politics, even among those Sufis who accommodated royalty in their treatises. The Sufi Shaykh Ali Hamadani (d. 786 / 1385), in his Nasihat al Muluk (Advice for Kings), was strict in demanding that kings follow the example of the Prophet and the first four caliphs; he would not have tolerated Barani's pragmatic concept of following royal customs that systematically infringed upon Islamic law. Barani's elevation of kingship above Islamic law and ethics in the name of Islamic imperialism destroyed the independent authority of religion, at the same time making Sufism irrelevant.¹³

K. A. Nizami has, for instance, generalized the approaches of the Chishti and Suharawardi Sisilahs towards the establishment, which he perceived them as diametrically opposite to each other. The Chsihtis cut themselves off completely from Kings, politics and government service. Their attitude towards the state was characterized by abstention from the company of the Sutans of Delhi and refusal to accept Jaigrs (Land grants) from the Sultans, and rejection of government service. On the contrary, the Suhrawardi Sufis consorted with the kings and visited the royal courts. They supported the extension of the political power of the Sultanate and also supported the political authorities in dealing with the Mongol problem. The relations of the Sultans of Delhi with the Ulama were generally 'close and harmonious', and there was a symbiotic relationship between the political and religious authorities, the latter being represented by the 'ulama'. As pointed out in the preceding chapter, in the Sultanate, the 'ulama' as the custodians of religious authority exercised considerable influence over the Sultans and state policies. Nonetheless, the 'ulama' did not enjoy an exclusive monopoly over religious affairs, as the Sufis seem to have challenged the religious authority of the 'ulama'. Therefore, in addition to the doctrinal differences, there existed friction between the Sufis and the Ulama, particularly those who held official positions, pertaining to the question of religious authority. 14

3.1. Khwaja Mu'in al Din Chishti of Ajmer and Sultanate: Khwaja Mu'in al Din Chishti Gharib Nawaz kept himself aloof from political affairs and the court life of Delhi, thus exhibiting an attitude of indifference towards the State and rulers. But according to Setu Madhorao Pagadi, Khwaja had very political influences in indirect ways about the establishement of Delhi Sultanate. He had left Delhi and settled at Ajmer. Ajmer was situated in a far off place on the periphery of the Sultanate, where the political influence of the state was relatively marginal. Jamali reported in *Siyar al Arifin*, that during his stay in Ajmer, he visited Delhi only twice. On one of these visits, when Shaikh Qutb al Din wanted to inform Sultan Iltutmish about his arrival in Delhi, Khwaja Mu'in al Din prevented him from doing so. 15

3.2. Shaikh Nizam al Din Awliya and Sultanat: Shaikh Nizam al Din Awliya Chishti (b. 1238-1325 AD) was the most distinguished *Khalifah* and the principal successor of Baba Farid. Shaikh Nizam al Din Awliya himself did not write any book. However, his Malfuzat were collected by many of his disciples. Among these, the most renowned collection is rendered by Amir Hasan Khuldabadi Ala Sijzi of Delhi (buried at Khuldabad, Dist. Aurangabad), titled Fawa'id al Fu'ad. 16 The Chishti tradition of detachment from political affairs and court was not only followed by Shaikh Nizam al Din, it is believed to have reached its zenith under him. The Malfuz *Fawa'id al-Fu'ad*, throw light on the Shaikh Nizam al Din Awliya's views regarding political authorities. He maintained a distance from the court and avoided any association with the Sultans. He never accepted any land grant or jagir from his contemporary Sultans, Umara, members of royal family or affluent people in order to retain his independence.

Nizam al Din Awliya explained at a time:

"What have the dervishes to do with the affairs of Kings? I am a dervish, living in your city, and devote myself to praying for the welfare of the Muslims and the King. If the King says something further to me in this regard, I shall leave the place (and go elsewhere). The land of Allah is quite vast". 17

4. Sufism in Marathwada Region & Capital migration from Delhi to Daulatabad:

In 1326-7, Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughlaq embarked on the project of shifting the population of Delhi to Daulatabad in Deccan. Though the territorial stretch of the Delhi Sultanate had been extended to Deccan in the south, the problem of political penetration in its conquered areas was yet to be solved. Sultan Al al Din Khalji had conquered many states in Deccan, but he could not annex the conquered territories to the Sultanate, which remained its tributary states. Daulatabad was made the second capital of the Empire. Barani informs that the imperial forces remained stationed in Delhi, and the stat departments and treasury were not shifted to Daulatabad. 18 Some of the renowned ulama and Sufis who migrated to Daulatabad included Shaikh Fakhr al Din Zarradi, Burhan al Din, Amir Hasan Sijzi etc. But owing to the increasing public complaints and discontent, the decision was reversed in 1337, and people were allowed to return to Delhi. Daulatabad and Khldabad (Rawza) developed as a Islamic teaching centers and sufi shrines. Khwaja Saiyyid Muhammad Husayni Bandanawaz Gesudiraz had developed Gulbarga as Sufi center in Deccan. He was Shaikh Nasir al Din's most renowned Khalifah. He (b. 1321-d. 1422) was renowned writer in Arabic, Persian and Dakhni (the primary stage of Urdu) languages; he was an excellent poet as well as an erudite scholar. He was considered to be the most popular Sufi Shaikh of Deccan, where he spent the last three decades of his life. He settled at Gulbarga, but he could not maintain a safe physical distance from court and kings. He enjoyed cordial relations with Sultan Firuz Shah. However, after some time their relations broke down.

Khwaja Bandanawaz enjoyed cordial relations with Sultan Ahmad Shah (ruled 1422-36 AD), who was a devotee of the Khwajah. The new Sultan granted towns and villages to him, which he accepted. However, he passed away a few weeks after Sultan Ahmad's accession to the throne in 1422. Khwaja Gisudaras was buried in Gulbarga. The new Sultan constructed a splendid mausoleum over his grave. The same year that the Khwajah passed away, the Sultan shifted his capital from Gulbarga to

Bidar. The preceptors of Khwaja Gesudiraz had tried to preserve and defend the space of the Chishti Silsilah in the Sultanate o Delhi. Khwaja Gesudiraz also remained indifferent towards his contemporary Sultan of Delhi, Firuz Tughlaq. However, when he migrated to Deccan, he chose to settle at Gulbarga, the seat of the political power, in the Bahmani Kingdom, at the request of the reigning Sultan. In a changed political environment, Khwaja could not follow the Chishti ideal of detachment from the state and political authorities, and thus, could not maintain the independence of the Chishti silsilah from the state. Later years, it strengthened the practice of *Sajjadah nashini* in the Chishtis, which eventually turned the families and descendants of the Chishti Sheikhs into landed magnates as well as allies of the state.¹⁹

4.1. Muhammad bin Tughluq's Capital policy in Deccan and the Sufis of Rauza (Khuldabad) – Daulatabad:

Muhammad ibn Tughluq's historic decision to make Devarigi or Daulatabad 'a second administrative city' of his Empire was the very organized mystic efforts in the Central Deccan region began. In that time, many of the saints who left for Daulatabad. 20 One of the senior most disciples of Shaikh Nizam al Din Auliya to reach the Deccan was Shaikh Burhan al Din Gharib. Maulana Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami calls him Sahib -i- Walayat of the Deccan which shows that his supreme position amongst the mystics was recognized even by the later generations. He, who laid the foundations of the Chishti mystic ideology and institutions in the south. He was more than 70 years of age when he reached the Deccan. His long contact with Shaikh Nizam al Din Auliya, whose langer khana (kitchen) he had supervised for years, had been instrumental in shaping his personality according to the ideals of the great Shaikh. Shaikh Nizam al Din Auliya presented the ideology of religion. 'Devotion', he used to say, 'is of two types - lazimi (intransitive) and muta'addi (transitive)'. In the lazimi devotion, the benefit which accrues is confined to the devotee alone. This type of devotion includes prayers, fasting, pilgrimage to Meccan, recitation of religious formulae, turning over the beads of rosary etc. The Muta'addi devotion, on the contrary, brings advantage and

comfort to other; it is performed by spending money on others, showing affection to people and by other means through which a man strives to help his fellow human beings. The reward to *muta'addi* devotion is endless and limitless.²¹

Muhammad bin Tughluq ordered to migrate to Daulatabad; but when the Sultan permitted to the people to go back to Delhi if they so desired, he was so much in love with Daulatabad that he preferred to stay there (the Shaykh, Burhan al Din). Kaka Sa'd, the servant of Burhan al Din and famous disciple also, was so anxious to return to Delhi that as soon as he heard the royal announcement, he packed up the Shaikh; sluggage without hes permission. The Shaykh pointed to the place where his grave stands and said that he would rather be there than go back to Delhi. His Malfuzat – Ahsan ul Aqwal, Sham ail ul Atqiya, Nafa'isul Anfas, Gharibul Karamat, Baqiyatul Ghara'ib – throw considerable light on his work in the Deccan. Though a septuagenarian at this time, he had the necessary intellectual alertness to plant a silsilah in a region without any background of mystic tradition.²²

4.2. Political Relations of Sufis of Khuldabad:

According to Hammad al Din Kashani, in a number of situations Sufis could accepted the gifts from someone, who gave the donation which has intention of helping someone to be occupied with God, the donation should not be declared unlawful. Hammad al Din Kashani noted in his Ahsan al Aqwal that, Burhan al Din Gharib said, 'When the Shaykh al Islam Nizam al Din Awliya gave me authorization, he said to me "Take worthy people as disciples, and on the subject of donations, no rejecting, no asking, no saving. If anyone brings you something, do not reject it, and do not ask for anything, but if they bring a little of something good, do not reject it to get it increased, and do not accept by specifying everything or one needs".²³

Hasan Mir quoted the sayings of Zayn al Din to stress the same principles taught by Burhan al Din Gharib with respect to gifts. He observed, "Dervishes do not think of collecting or spending. Since they are sitting next to the treasury of Allah, whenever they spend, another grace arrives. In the same way, a person sitting next to the edge of a stream does not have any inclination to spend the water. Whenever they do spend, another grace arrives. If dervishes keep treasure, no other expense will ever arrive."²⁴

In Malfuzat literature of Sufis of Khuldabad, the number of government administrators appear in the list of visitors to the Sufi Shaykh. Malik Husam al Din Pahlavan -i-Jahan, a military leader who was present during a discussion on performing extra Namaz, in Burhan al Din Gharib Khangah.²⁵ Also the auditor in Sultanate administration Nizam al Din Firuz Majmu'dar, who came with Rukn al Din Kashani during a discussion of preaching.²⁶ Generally, Burhan al Din Gharib rejected the gifts for him personally. Gharib said that the dervishes are not bribe takers. Malik al Muluk Imad al Din was the administrator in Daulatabad Deccan region. Rulkn al Din Kashani was his friend. He brought Malik to meet Burhan al Din Gharib, Malik al Muluk expressed his wish to enter the Sufi path. Gharib gave to Malik a hat. Observing that Malik al Muluk's real name would be 'praised' (Mahmud). Gharib expressed the hope that his life would be praised. Malik came to Burhan al Din's Sufi circle. He rejected the governorship. He was renamed Mahmud in fulfillment of Burhan al Din Gharib's prediction.²⁷ According to Azad Bilgrami, Zayn al Dind Shirazi took advantage of this forced return to capital Delhi in northern India to perform pilgrimage at the tombs of lthe early Chishti saints in Delhi, Ajodhan, and Ajmer. Zayn al Din would be welcomed back to Daulatabad by the Bahmani official Muhammad Ayn al Din Khwaja-i-Jahan and thirty four others, on this return sometime after 752 / 1352.²⁸ Burhan al Din Gharib of Khuldabad tried to stay clear of direct involvement with the court, but they often encouraged disciples to retain government posts, even when the disciples showed signs of wanting to renounce the world. Zayn al Din Shirazi said that, if someone enters the path of poverty, he should not give up his work and acquisition. Service work and the like do not prevent obedience and rust in Allah. Whatever they do, they pursue their work. Alone, you cannot extricate yourself

form attachments and impediments; Allah gives release. Until that time, you should be involved with what you have, and obey, worship, give thanks, and be patient.²⁹

5. Sufi Dargahs & Bahamani Empire in Marathwada Region (1347-1527 AD):

Muhammad Suleman Siddiqi explained the historical development of Bahamani Empire and its administration in the Central Deccan region including Marathwada periphery today.30 After the revolt against Muhammad bin Tughalaq state in Deccan, the Vijaynagar state established in 737 / 1337 and the Bahamani empire in 747 / 1348.³¹ Ala ud Din Hasan Gangu Bahamani, who laid the foundation of the Bahmani stat, proclaimed him as Sikandar e Thani Ala ad Dunya Wa'd Din Abu al Muzaffar Hasan Bahman Shah, tracing his descent from Baman Isfandiyar of Persia (Iran). His coronation ceremony was performed by his spiritual preceptor, Shaykh Muhammad Rukn ad Din Junaydi in the grand mosque of Daulatabad. He also had the blessings of Nizam ad Din Awliya of Delhi who had predicted kingship for him.³² Generally, seventeen Sultans ruled over Bahamani Empire. The reign of Shiha ad Din Mahmud (886-924 / 1482 - 1518) saw the decline of the Bahmani kingdom, with the reemergence of the Mulki, non Mulki conflict leading to many a massacre. Between 1518 - 1527, as many as four rulers succeeded each other before the end of the Bahmani state on the ruins of which emerged five small Muslim states within the Deccan.³³

5.1. Sufi saints and Bahamani Emperors:

According to Sherwani H.K., moral support of Sufi saints and villagers, the new states in Deccan had public opinion in their favour. The Bahamani rulers also enlisted from the very beginning of their rule in the Deccan the goodwill and cooperation of the saints and mashaikh who, apart from many other contributions in the cultural sphere, carried the roots of Bahmani power deeper in public confidence. Ala ud Din Hasan Bahman Shah had great respect for Shaikh Burhan al Din Gharib of *Rawza* (later known as Khuldabad, Aurangabad *Subha* of Mughals).³⁴ Sultana

Muhammad Shah I Bahamani always counted on the prayers of Shaikh Siraju ud Din Junaidi whenever he set out on a campaign. In 1399, whne he marched against Vijaynagar, he sent his son Junaidi to the Shaikh with a large amount of money to be distributed amongst the Sayyids and saints. Ahamed Shah Wali Bahamani (1422-1436 AD) was deeply attached to Syed Muhammad Gesu Daraz and when the latter expired in the beginning of his reign, he enlisted the moral support of Shah Ni'matu'llah's sons. Especially in Gulbarga and Bidar town in Bahamani Empire, the saints of Sufi Silsilahs began to work for public welfare under the patronage of the Bahmani rulers their freedom of action was curtainled and the Khanahs became appanages of the court subsisting on state finces and functioning in concert with the policies of the rulers of the day. With big jagirs to administer it became impossible for the saints to deep succession to the spiritual gaddi open for men of talent. Syed Muhammad Gesu Daraz once expressed his deep concern at this degeneration of the mystic families. 'Surprising indeed is the position of the sons of the mashaikh' he said, 'with what ease they become shaikhs after the death of their fathers. They know not that their fathers attained that position after spending (years of) their lives in jungles, without food and without dress. It was after (undergoing) so many hardships that they attained that status'. 35

Shaikh Zain ud Din Shirazi Dawud of Rawza had relations with Sultan Muhammad I Bahamani. Shaykh's relations with Sultan Muhammad I became bitterly hostile on account of his sympathy with two revels, Bahram Khan Mazendarani and Kumbh Dev. The Sultan had nearly crushed their rebellion lwhen both these rebesl stole out of the fortress of Daulatabad in the night and came straight to Shaikh Zain ud Din. The saint advised them to fly away to Gujrat in order to save their life. Naturally the Sultan felt deeply incensed at this role of the Shaikh in the escape of the rebels. Bahamani rulers also had relations with Syed Muhammad Gesu Daraz of Gulbarga. He was born at Delhi on 4 Rajab 721 / 30 July, 1321; but when Muhammad bin Tughluq forced the saints and celebrities of Delhi, among others, to migrate to Daulatabad his father Syed Yusuf Husainin, better known as Syed Raja migrated to Daulatabad with his

family. Syed Raja's Dargah situated now in Khuldabad behind the Dargah of Zar Zari Zar Baksh Chishti, elder brother of Burhan al Din Gharib. In 1335, Gesu Daraz came back to Delhi with his widowed mother to complete his education. Shaikh Nasir ud Din Chiragh Dehli (d. 1356 AD) was the master of Gesu Daraz. Gesu Daraz also decided to join his master's spiritual discipline immediately after completing his education in external sciences. For years he served his master with single minded devotion and him, the spirit of the Chishti silsilah and a consuming concern for the moral and spiritual uplift of humanity. He migrated to Gulbarga. For about a quarter of a century he propagated the Chishti mystic principles in the Deccan and died at the age of more than a hundred years on 16 Zilqa'dah 825 / 1November, 1422 at Gulbarga. Gulbarga is now situated in North Karnataka region, at the south border of Marathwada division of Maharashtra State. Gesu Daraz's moral support and sympathy considerably enhanced the prestige and position of Bahamani sultans. The king established cordial relations with him and enjoyed his full moral support. The ruler offered a number of villages which, according to Azad Bilgrami, were in the possession of the descendants of the saint till the 18th Century and even afterwards.³⁷

Sufi Dargahs at Rawza (Khuldabad) and Bahamani rulers:

Shama'il al-Atqiya, Nafa'is al Anfas, Rawzat al Awliya and manuscripts at Farid al Din Saleem collection Khuldabad gives the historical information about the Sufi Dargahs and the regimes. The manuscript at Burhan al Din Dargah in Khuldabad is also written partly to explain the organization of the shrine's internal administration.³⁸

Table: Organization of Burhan al Din Dargah:

Organization of Burhan al Din Dargah

(Bandagan wa Mawla Zadagan – Devotees and Master's Descendants) The Master's Descendants (Mawla-Zadagan), descended from the sister of Burhan al Din Gharib Chishti

The disciples (Muridan), descended from Muhammad Lashkar & Rashid al Din

The children (Farzandan), descended from the four brothers Khayr al Din, Oabul, Jildak, and Abd al Rahman.

The newly established state, Bahamani Empire was involved in supporting the shrines in Khuldabad or Rawza region. Bahamani rulers ever visited to Daulatabad, Bidar, Gulbarga and Rawza (Khuldabad) tombs of Sufi saints. Ferishta noted the story about the Rauza connection of Bahamani emperors: upon the Bahamani empire establishment, after the coronation of Ala ud Din Hasan Bahman Shah Hasan Gangu in 748 / 1347, he gifted five mann of gold and ten mann of silver for the Dargah of Burhan al Din Gharib, in the name of Nizam al Din Auliya.³⁹ Muhammad Ibn Hasan, the second Bahmani sultan, who ruled within 759 / 1358 - 776 / 1375, came on pilgrimage to the Dargah of Burhan al Din Gharib regularly. He sent the fruits and meat for Dargah servants. According to Ferishta, the large amount of food in the prayer ration about fifty pounds of meat, and twice that amount of fruit, daily, incidentally suggests a fairly large and growing population of dervishes in attendance at the Dargah. According to the manuscripts at Farid ud Din Saleem collection at Khuldabad Dargahs, it can understood by the new pattern developing in the shrine's relationship with the sultan, in which some of the leading stendants visited the sultan at his coronation, bringing special gifts, and requested an increase in their stipend. Nizam al Din Awliya was ordered to Burhan al Din, "Norefusing, no asking, no saving" [Laa radd wa laa kadd wa laa madd] seems to have been forgotten, for now they felt no hesitation whaever about asking for support.

The Dargahs administrative staff to the sultan took on the appearance of a ritual occasion, since the shrine attendants each time presented food offerings that had been blessed at the tomb (tabarrukat), as well as a turban for the sultan. Ernst Carl explained about these developed customs after the death of Burhan al Din, had political influence within the Dargah administration enhancement. Sultan Mujahid Shah Bahmani also visited to Dargah of Burhan al Din at Khuldabad. That time, historian Ferishta also visited to the shrine. Mujahid Shah also accepted by Zayn al Din Shirazi as a murid. Ala al Din Ahmad II Bahman Shah visited to Burhan al Din Dargah in 839 / 1436. Sulatan Al al Din Humayun Shah Bahmani visited to Rauza in 862 /

1458 and Sultan Shams al Din Muhammad III Bahaman Shah III in 867 / 1463, Sultan Shihab al Din Mahmud in 887 / 1482. According to an inscription in Dargah, Sultan Ala al Din Ahmad II Bahman Shah ordered the construction of the Masjid adjacent to the Burhan al Din Dargah, completed after his death in 862 / 1458. During the reign of the same sultan, the governor Malik Parwiz ibn Qaranfal constructed in 861 / 1457, another mosque next to the Saynsar tank (named after Zayn al Din Shirazi) in Kagazipura. The same Malik Parwiz had also been responsible for the construction of the Chand Minar and Masjic in the Daulatabad fort in 849 / 1445. 42

According to Carl Ernst, it appears that whatever king was in control of the fort Capital of Daulatabad needed to become the patron of the Khuldabad Dargahs, to judge from an incident that took place in 867 / 1462. When Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa invaded the Deccan, and obtained the surrender of the governor of Daulatabad, one of his first acts during the few months he held the fort was to visit the shrines of Burhan al Din and Zayn al Din, and give donations to the residents. 43

Table: Daily stipends given to the Khuldabad Dargas by Bahmani Sultans 44

Sr. No.	Name of Bahamani Sultan	Year	Fruits	Meat & other Food items	Others
1.	Muhammad Hasan Ala al Din	1358	2.5 mann	1 mann, 10 sher	gifts
2.	Mujahid Shah	1375	7.5 <i>mann</i>	3 mann, 30 sher	gifts
3.	Ala al Din Bahamanshah	1436	15 mann	7.5 mann	gifts
4.	Humayun Shah	1458	1 khandi	25 sher	3 villages
5.	Muhammad Shah	1463	5 mann		10 tankas

(mann = forty pounds, sher = two pounds, khandi = twenty mann or 500 pounds)

Table: Daily personal stipends for Family of Latif al Din (called mawla zadagan in later times):

Sr. No.	Recipient	Year	Fruit	Food and other necessities
1.	Latif's Mother	1395	½ mann	10 sher
2.	Fazl bin Latif	1375	½ mann	10 sher
3.	Qadan bin Fazl	1436	½ mann	10sher
4.	Relatives of Fazl	1458	½ mann	10sher
5.	Jalaj and Bara-I	1463	½ mann	10 sher
	Qadan			

6. Khuldabad - Daulatabad & Nizam Shahi of Ahmednager:

Nizam Shah established his rule on Daulatabad fort in 899 / 1493.45Khuldabad also ruled by Nizamshahi. From the presence in Khuldabad of such tombs as those of Ahmad Nizam Shah Bahri (d. 914 / 1508), Burhan Nizam Shah (d. 961 / 1553), and the Nizam Shahs' general Wazir Malik Ambar (d. 1035 / 1626), it can be assumed that the Nizam Shahs stepped into the role of the Bahamanis as principal patrons of the Khuldabad Dargahs. Bahamanis had other Sufi centers also in the empire, like Bidar, Gulbarga and Bijapur. But in Ahamadnagar Empire, Khuldabad had very significant role as spiritual and religious. Ferishta noted that, Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmednager stopped at Khuldabad for paid his devotions at the Dargahs of the holy sufis buried at that place.46 It was paying tribute to the spiritual or symbolic authority of Burhan al Din Gharib over the Deccan. Some Nizam Shahs were Shi'is sect, but they had connected with Khuldabad Dargahs forever. The Nizam Shah Princes continued to have tombs built in Khuldabad. Azad Bilgrami wrote in his Rawzat al Awliya that, the tomb of Nizam al Mulk Burhan Shah Bahri, d. 961 / 1553, placed in Khuldabad. Ferishta records that Burhan Nizam Shah was reburied in Karbala Iraq. 47 Rawnaq Ali noted in his book Rawzat ak Aqtab al Maruf ba Mazhar I Asafi, the tomb inscriptions or epithet showed that the sepulture of Muntajib al Din in Khuldabad dated 971 / 1564 and 1000 / 1591 probably derive from Nizamshah patrons. Murtaza Nizam Shah was also buried in Khuldabad at 996 / 1587 befor his reburial in Karbala. Also

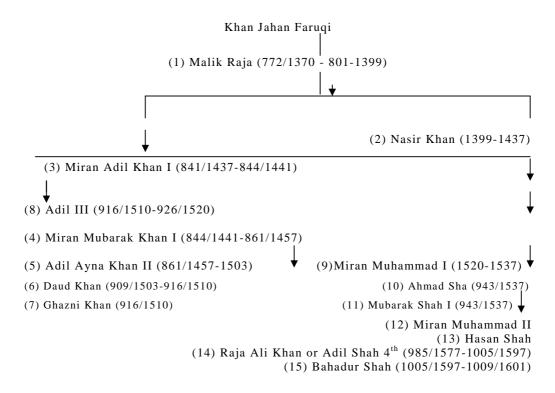
another Bahamani successor state of Bijapur, Ali Adil Shah I, was crowned in 1558 in the tomb of a disciple of Zayn al Din Shirazi, Shams al Din Shamna Miran Dargah in Miraj. So the patronage of Sufi shrines continued from one royal dynasty to another.⁴⁸

7. Farooqui (Faruqis) Dynasty & Sufi Dargahs in Khuldabad (Rauza) (1370-1601 AD):

The Faruqi Kingsof Khandesh maintained the supporting relationship and spiritual connection with the Sufis of Khuldabad. 49 The Farugis named their capital Burhanpur after Burhan al Din harib and the town of Zaynabad across the river Tapti after Zayn al Din Shirazi. 50 The sufi tradition of Khuldabad recorded the story that, Burhan al Din stopped at the future site of Burhanpur for Friday Namaz. It is also said that Malik Raja (d. 801 / 1399), first ruler of the Faruqi dynasty, was a disciple of Zayn al Din Shirazi. He was the founder of two cities in 772 / 1370. Mahdi Hussain remarks that ther long endurance of the Faruqi dynasty was the fruit of the prayers and supplications of the sponsor saint Shaikh Zain al Din Shirazi of Khuldabad (Rauza) and the accepted Murshid (guru) and spiritual guide of all the members of the house.⁵¹ Bahamanis influenced by Nizam ud Din Awliya and Chishti sufis of Khuldabad, Gulbarga. Faruqis also influenced by Sufis of Rauza.⁵² According to Ferishta, the founder of Faruqis dynasty, Malik Raja was the Wazir of Muhammad Bahman Shah sometime after 759 / 1358. He was ruler in Thalner on the Tapti River in north side of Bahamani Empire. He become independent around 784 / 1382. As he and his descendants used the title Khan, their realm became known as Khandesh, country of the Khans. He claims to genealogical connection with the caliph Umar al Faruq. Ferishta visited to Khandesh in 1013 / 1604. Also, Malik Raja had a disciple of Zayn al Din Shirazi, from whom he received an initiatic robe of discipleship and successship (Khiraqa-I Iradat wa Khilafat). This Sufi garment was passed down from father to son, to the end of the Faruqi dynasty over two hundred years later. Islam noted in his Persian poem Futuh al Salatin dedicated to Bahmanis (751 / 1350) had the robe of the Prophet Muhammad, which had been passed down through twenty two generations of Sufi shaykhs to Zayn

al Din Shirazi. Folk story at Rauza said that, nor was this just any robe that happened to belong to the Arabic Prophet, this was regarded as the very shirt that the Prophet Muhammad had worn on the night of his ascension to paradise or *Shab I Meraj*. 53

Table: Genealogy of Faruqis of Khandesh:



The Bahamanis also had relations with the Dargahs of Khuldabad. Bahamanis had the approval from *Abbasid* caliphs as a part of their court ritual. Muhammad Bahmani (ruled within 759 / 1358 – 776 / 1375), sent the queen mother on a state pilgrimage to Meccan, during which she obtained investiture and appropriate symbols from the *Abbasi* caliph in Egypt. That was not the political significance of Khilafat of Middle East in Indian sub continent but the spiritual support to the kingship of Bahamanis in Deccan. Like that, the Faruqis and the Bahamanis also had the spiritual influence in their political affairs to made the relations within Rawza.⁵⁴

Fath al Awliya, the unique manuscript in Khuldabad Dargah collection, written by an anonymous author at Burhanpur in 1030 / 1620. It gives the information about the biography of sufis in Faruqi and Mughal period. The book begins with a eulogy of Jahangir, quotes the old Sasanian adage that 'Religion and politics are twins' (al-din wal-mulk tu'a-man), piously expresses thanks to Allah for the beneficent dynasty ruling Hindustan and concludes with a prayer for the expansion of Jahangir's realm to include the entire inhabited world. According to Fath al Awliya, Burhan al Din Gharib is 'the master of the entire dominion (vilayat) of the Deccan' according to the order of the supreme Chishti authority, Nizam al Din Awliya of Delhi. Faruqi king Nasir Khan was the murid of Zayn al Din Shirazi of Khuldabad. When he come to Daulatabad, he visited to Shaykh at Rawza. He named to town of his empire on Burhan al Din and Zayn al Din Shirazi, Burhanpur and Zaynabad. Zayn al Din replied:

"We are in this region of happy name, on that river bank that was the stoping place of the Sultan (Burhan al Din Gharib from Delhi to Khuldabad travel rout) and the holy warriors of Islam. When you have bilt a city in the name of Shaykh Burhan al Din filled with Masjids and Mimbars, make it your capital. And on this river bank where I and the dervishes have come (Tapti river south bank), let them construct a town and a mosque and call it Zaynabad, so that by this means, when the sign of Islam has become current in these two pieces of land, the name of this dervish will become known in this region." ⁵⁶

Faruqis kings connected to Burhanpur, Zaynabad and Khuldabad Sufi shrines in their all ruling period. But this connection between the later Faruqis and the Kuldabad hishtis would appear to be borne out by the claim of the Nawwabs of Arcot, a principality in the Tamil Nadu region of Far South India, to be connected with the Faruqis. The first Nawwab, Anwar al Din Khan (d. 1161 / 1749), kept a Faruqi pretender under his protection and adopted the latter into his family; by a sort of reciprocal adoption, his official biography seems in this way to regard Anwar al Din Khan as a descendant (via the Faruqis) of the caliph Umar al Faruq. The Nawwab also maintained the Faruqi tradition of patronage of the Chishti order in the Deccan, so that he was known as 'the lover of dervishes'. 57

8. Mughals and Sufism in Aurangabad Region:

8.1 Mughals in North India:

Before the Mughal Empire, India had been influenced by Chishtiya, Suharawardiyya Sufi silsilas in both North and South region including Deccan. Babur, the founder of the Mughal Empire in India, was a devout Sunni who had been deeply influenced by the teachings of a Transoxiana saint, 'Ubaidullah Ahrar. Babur translated into Turkish a didactic poem or Mathnawi by this saint, known as Risala-i-Walidiya. This translation, (Manuscripts) of which exists in the Rampur State Library was published in the Bengal Asiatic Society Journal Special Issue in 1910, in British India. Belief in the concept of Wahdat-al-Wajud, or unity of being, supported by Akbar was accepted by many sufi saints, but a group of orthodox thinkers objected to it on the ground that it abolished the distinction between the Creator and the created and opened the door to pantheism. Saints like Shaikh Abdul Haqq of the Qadiriyya order strongly supported the reinvigoration of Sharia. The lead in organizing a movement against the liberal, eclectic policies of Akbar was taken by Baqi Billah who belonged to the orthodox Naqshbandi Sufi sect which had been popular in Turkistan. Baqi Billah settled near Delhi and many leading nobles from Akbar's court became his disciples. His spiritual successor was Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind.58

Shaikh Ahmad took a stand against the concept of Wahdat al Wujud. He tried to purge from Sufism all such practices and beliefs which he considered un Islamic. Thus, he opposed listening to religious music (Sama) as a means of spiritual ecstasy, long vigils, going to the tombs of saints, etc. He denounced the practices and ceremonies which were derived from Hinduism, and advocated keeping no social intercourse with the Hindus whom he considered worse than dogs. The Qadiriyya order had been popularized in the Punjab by Shaikh Abdul Qadir (d. 1533). His sons were close supporters of Akbar and Abul Fazl. The Qadiriyya order strongly supported the doctrine of Wahdat al Wajud. Miyan Mir (d. 1635) emphasized the mystical element in Sufism, after many sojourns in jungles for ascetic practices, he had settled at Llahore, and attracted great

admiration. The most famous disciple of Miyan Mir was Mulla Shah Badakhshani. In 1639-40, both Dara and Jahanara enrolled as disciples of Miyan Mir. Dara, the eldest son of Shah Jahan, was by temperament a scholar and a Sufi who loved to discourse with religious divines. With the help of Brahmanas of Kashi, he got the Gita translated into Persian. But this most significant work was the Majma ul Bahrain, an anthology of the Vedas in the introduction to which Dara declared the Vedas to be "Heavenly books in point of time" and ' in conformity with the holy Quran', thus underlining the belief that there were no fundamental differences between Hinduism and Islam. It was on this basis of equating Islam with infidelity that the ulama decreed Dara's death after his capture by Aurangzeb. 59

Sultan Ala ud Din Khilji of India used to style himself as 'Khalifatullah' (the Representative or Deputy of God), which was one of the titles assumed by Akbar. An echo of the belief in the spiritual powers claimed by Akbar, moreover, can be traced even in the later Mughal period, for it continued to be a common practice for the courtiers to address their royal master as 'pir-o-Murshid', title which have an essentially spiritual or religious significance and could properly be used only for a moral and spiritual preceptor. It is thus that even the orthodox descendant of Akbar, Aurangzeb. He has address was his father Shah Jahan in his letters, and the same form of address was popularly used in the days of Bahadur Shah II, the last Mughal King of Delhi. 60

The founder of this silsila, Khwaja Bah ud Din Naqshbandi, was born near Bukhara in 1318 and died in 1389, and his teachings became very popular in Turkestan and central Asia. The saint who introduced the Naqshbandiyya in India, Khwaja Baqi Billah, settled down in Delhi a few years before Akbar's death. He however, did not live there long, dying in 1603, at the comparatively young age of 41. It was his pupil, Shaikh Ahmad of Sarhind, popularly known as Imam Rabbani and Jujaddid Ali Thani. He continued the teachings of his master and by the force of his great personality made them popular in India. The central idea of the Naqshbandi school of Sufism which Syed Ahmad represented was to bridge the gulf, as for as possible, between orthodoxy and mysticism, in

other words to purge the Sufistic discipline of all such beliefs and practices which Islam did not sanction or which in some cases were actually repugnant to its spirit. Thus the new system rigidly banned the holding of pantheistic beliefs, the listening to music (sama) as a means of attaining spiritual ecstasy, the keeping of long vigils (chilla and Muragaba), the big concourses of men and women at the shrines of saints (Urs) and the practice of making vows and offerings in the name of these saints for the achievement of worldly ends (nazr and nayaz). It find Syed Ahamd, therefore, waging a relentless crusade against all these things, as they had in his opinion a demoralizing effect and corrupted the religious beliefs of the Muslim masses, and, paradoxically enough, while making apparently fantastic claims about his own spiritual trances, rigidly enjoining conformity with the orthodox belief and practice upon his followers. Syed Ahmad devoted himself with characteristic energy was to wean the Indian Muslims of certain social customs and practices which they had borrowed from their Hindu neighbors, and to rise up their moral outlook and social status generally.61

In Mughal period, the Naqshbandiyya and Qadiriyya Sufi silsila became more popular than the Chishtiya School. Religious divines and scholars continued to hold lucrative posts as Qazis and Muftis, but their power over their royal masters suffered a sharp decline, due to their worldly greed and cupidity combined with senseless bigotry and parochialism. The accounts given by contemporary historians of the fabulous wealth which some of them managed to amass by all sorts of questionable means and their high handed actions in dealing with those who had the temerity to differ from them in religious matters, clearly show the extent of their moral turpitude, so that it was they themselves who were really responsible for their downfall and not any radical change of attitude towards religion on the part of the rulers or their subjects. With the accession of Aurangzeb, greater emphasis was given on theological studies. A manifestation of this was the compilation of the Fatwa I Alamgiri by a board of theologians, bringing together fatwas issued on various points both in India and outside. After Aurangzeb, both the liberal and the orthodox trends in Sufism continued during the eighteenth

century. The Chishtiya order staged a comeback under Shaikh Kalimullah. Many people joined more than one order, thus making for a good deal of eclecticism. Even the sons of Aurangzeb were deeply interested in liberal Sufism. Generally, the liberal and orthodox thinking influenced the elites as well as the non privileged sections of the people. 62

8.2 Sufi Shrines in Khuldabad-Daulatabad and Mughal Rule:

After the expansion of Mughal Empire in Deccan, they had come to contact with Rawza (Khuldabad) Sufi Dargahs. The Khuldabad Dargahs received ample endowments from the Mughals, which are detailed in a series of revenue documents still preserved at the Dargahs. Akbar had conquered the kingdom of Khandesh in 1601, when he captured the fortress of Asir Garh. His son Daniyal was governor of the Deccan at Burhanpur until his demise in 1605. Akbar issued the farman, endowing the shrines with the income of villages in the districts of Bhadgaon, Busawal and Adilabad. According to Jahangir's Farman of 1626, Akbar's endowment consisted of an actual yield (hasil) of 1,250,000 dams (equivalent to 31, 250 silver rupees). Jahangir retained Bhadgaon as the source of the shrine's income, but reduced it in value to an estimated total worth (jam raqmi) of 122, 400 dams, or 3, 060 silver rupees. This is in fact an even greater reduction than it appears, since the actual revenue would always be much less than the estimated total worth. Shortly, it was clear that, the Mughals supported the Khuldabad Dargahs as an extension of their plan for conquest of the Deccan. The last Sultan of Faruqis, Bahadur Shah, was continued to live in Mughal custody in Agra until his death in 1033 / 1624. Fath al Awliya also gave the information about the Mughal expansion in Deccan and its starting point from Khandesh to Ahmadnagar Nizam Shahi, specially the conflicts with Wazir Malik Ambar. Prince Shahjahan managed to bring down a new Mughal army and conquered with sacking the Nizamshahi's new capital of Khirki or Aurangabad, only a few miles from Khuldabad. During this period, when the issue was still in doubt, Akbar's generous stipend to the Khuldabad Sufis remained in effect. Akbar issued it in 1601, village Bhadgaon, Busawal and Adilabad towns. In Shahjahan reign, the source of the

Dargahs' revenue transferred from Khandesh to Daulatabad. In addition, the currency used in the next few documents changes from the copper based dam of Hindustan to the gold based *Hun* of the Deccan. Hindustan means the north Indian Territory in that period. Shahjahan's initial endowment of 1635, combined with an additional sum suggested by the Deccan governor Khan-I Zaman, totals 10, 345.3 *huns* or 36, 209.25 rupees, which reverses Jahanir's drastic reduction, and even raises the sum significantly beyond its value under Akbar. Prince Aurangzeb, governor of the Deccan since July 14, 1636, who reduced these benefices as an economy measure during a deficit period. Though the Deccan was returning to normal, Shahjahan now insisted that Aurangzeb meet administrative expenses with local revenue without benefit of funds from the North.

Table: Mughal Deccan revenue documents related to Khuldabad Dargahs (Dargah of Burhan al Din Gharib, Shaykh Muntajib al Din and Shaykh Zayn al Din): 63

Year	Reign of Mughal Emperor	Endowed Land	Value
1014 / 1605	Akbar	Bhadgaon	1,250,000 dams (Rs. 31,250)
1035 / 1626	Jahangir	2 villages in Bhadgaon	(Rs. 31,230) 122,400 dams (Rs. 3060)
1046 / 1636	Shahjahan	Daulatabad	6845.5 and 3500 huns (Rs.
			36,209.25)
1047 / 1637	Shahjahan	Sara, Daulatabad	
1047 / 1638	Shahjahan	Daulatabad	3500 huns (Rs.
	•	villages	12,250)
1080 / 1669	Aurangzeb	Sara Daulatabad	Rs. 741
1101 / 1690	Aurangzeb	Payan	
1121 / 1709	Bahadur Shah	Sara Daulatabad	74, 106 dams
		village	(Rs. 1175)
1122 / 1710	Bahadur Shah	Bursar Khurd	110, 300 dams
			(Rs. 1378)

Table: Deccan revenue documents related to Dargah of Sayyid Yusuf al Husayni Raju Qattal (father of Gesu Daraz Gulbarga):

Year	Reign	Endowed land	Value
1046 / 1636	Shahjahan	Sultanpur	3 <i>Chawars</i> (360
1004 / 1692	Aumanazah	Cultonaua	bighas)
1094 / 1683	Aurangzeb	Sultanpur	30 bighas
1122 / 1710	Bahadur Shah	Sultanpur	282,067dams
		Village	(Rs.3249)
1238 / 1823	Sikandar Jah	Bumiya Village	Rs. 1095
	Nawab	near Daulatabad	
1242/ 1827	Sikandar Jah		Confirmation of
	Nawab		Recipient by
			Gulbarga shrines

Shahjahan also gave the gift of one thousand gold muhrs equivalent to 14,000 rupees for the 'truthseekers' (ahl –I Istihaqaq) of Burhanpur and Daulatabad in 1049 / 1640. Aurangzeb also gave the personal gift of 500 rupees to the Burhan al Din Dargah in Rajab 1047, and he continued to be a frequent visitor to the shrines in the 1650. Dara Shikuh, also paid a visit to the shrine of Burhan al Din sometime byefor 1049 / 1640, as he recorded in his biographical work Safinat al-Awliya, and he gave gifts. Emperor Aurangzeb continued to remember the shrines in his farman of 1691, and and would be buried in an unmarked tomb outside the shrine of Zayn al Din in 1707. He gifted Payan village to Burhan al Din Gharib Dargah and Shaykh Zayn al Din Dargah, in 1101 / 1690. In 1849, it was reported that Bradley, the 8.4 percent of the land in the Daulatabad district was untaxed in am endowment, and that most of the holders of these lands encouraged good farming.

Aurangzeb had often visited Khuldabad as a pilgrim, and the first stipulation in his will had specified that he be buried there, 'That they shroud and carry this sinner drenched in sins to the neigh orhood of the holy Chishti tomb of the revered leader, Sayyid and Shaykh, Zayn al Din Da'ud Husayn Shirazi, since without the protection of that court (of the saints), which is the refuge of forgiveness, there is no refuge for those drowned in the ocean of sin'. 69 Nizam al Mulk used to make a special visit to Aurangzeb's tomb every year on the death anniversary, in which he approached it barefoot as the vassal of the Mughul emperor and not as

the ruler of an independent kingdom. The urs festival of Aurangzeb celebrated at 7th December 2007 in Khuldabad. It was three hundred death anniversary of the Mughal emperor.⁷⁰

8.3. Sufi Shrines in Aurangabad and Mughal Rule:

Aurangabad was founded in 1019 / 1610 in the name of the Nizam Shah rulers of nearby Ahmadnagar by a former Habshi (Ethiopian) slave, Wazir Malik Anbar (Ambar). Khirki or Aurangabad stood as the last major city to be founded by the independent sultanates of the Deccan prior to the region's conquest by the Mughal Empire of Hindustan or North India.⁷¹ After the initial Deccan Conquests of Shah Jahan, commanded by the Youthfull Aurangzeb, following his own accession to the Mughal throne Aurangzeb moved his court to the Deccan and refounded the city in 1092 / 1681.⁷² Khirki, or Aurangabad also known as Khujista Bunyaad (The auspiciously founded). Aurangzeb also honoured his new capital with his own name and it was with the royal eponym of Aurangabad that the city eventually settled. Aurangabad also had the big Mughal Garden with the 'second Taj Mahal' in Deccan, Bibi Ka Maqbara, the tomb of Aurangzeb's wife Rabiya. Bibi Ka Maqbara is a maqbara built by the Mughal Prince Azam Shah, in the late 17th century as a loving tribute to his mother, Rabia Durrani. The comparison to the Taj Mahal has resulted in a general ignorance of the monument. This monument is also called the Dakkhani Taj (Taj of the Deccan). The monument's name translates literally to 'Tomb of the Lady'. French traveler Jean de Thevenot also gave the account on Aurangabad city during Aurangzeb period. 73

Another meaning of the name of city, Aurangabad, awrang (Throne) or the 'sky', 'coloured paint', bad, means the city. Aurangabad was the trade and wealthy city in Mughal period after and before. The population of the city continued to grow through the first half of the eighteenth century. The manufacture of the embroidered silks originally purchased by the elites of empire remains the city's oldest industry to this day. The city maintained strong military dimensions as well as cultural centre. According to M. Alam, due to North Indian economic and political decline

in Awadh, Punjab and Delhi region, the city Aurangabad had been developed after 1681 AD. Aurangabad established and developed with two hundred domed buildings and fifty two gates in suburb area, *Kille Ark* etc. Mughal Aurangabad witnessed the meeting of the cultures of the Indian north and Deccan south. Nizam al Mulk Nizam I founded his Nizam Asaf Jahin State in Aurangabad, later after his death, Capital migrated to Hyderabad by his successors.⁷⁴

8.4. Sufis in Mughal Aurangabad: Aurangabad was the capital of Mughal Subha in Deccan. Later period, after the death of Alamgir Aurangzeb, Aurangabad becomes the first capital of Nizam State of Asaf Aurangabad city was military centre in Deccan. It was also the meeting centre of North and South Deccani cultures. It saw the development of Urdu and Persian languages in Deccan and had the rich cultural heritage. 75 Aurangabad had also the rich heritage of Sufi literature in Persian and Urdu language. Due to above rezones, Sufis and soldiers were frequent companions in Mughal Aurangabad, often bound together by shared faith, heritage and ethnicity no less than interwoven fortunes. Geographical and cultural features of Aurangabad showed the Sufis life in Aurangabad associated with the royal court, corporate discipleship, varieties of practices and literature in different languages. Many sufis of Chishtiya and Naqshbandiya silsila settled in Aurangabad. These dervishes and Sufi saints had number of murid or followers from different classes (soldiers, labor, architects, painter, poets, subhedars, jahangirdar, fakir and royal court). These disciples attached with Sufi shrines or Dargahs in Mughal and later period in Aurangabad, while not the Sufis attached with these classes in 'm'ashara', (society milieu). All murid gathered at Dargah, Khanqahs for spiritual causes, for Ziyarat or Urs festivals etc. Shah Noor Qadiri, Shah Palangposh Naqshbandi, Shah Musafir Naqshbandi and Nizam al Din Chishti Awarangabadi - were the Sufis who were later transformed into the Aurangabad's foremost saints, Auliya -e-Aurangabad.⁷⁶

Before Mughal rule in Deccan, Qadiriyya, Shattariyya, Jaunaidiya, Rafaiya, Chishtiya silsila settled and developed in Gulbarga,

Bidar, Bijapur, Kandhar, Daulatabad and Khuldabad Rauza.⁷⁷ The richest contemporary source on Sufism in the Mughal city Aurangabad, the Malfuzat –e-Naqshbandiyya that was mainly compiled from the mid 1140 / 1730 period by the Sufi resident Shah Mahmud (d. 1175 / 1762), describes a good many of the kinds of comings and goings we have just sketched.⁷⁸

The men of all ranks in court of Mughals migrated into Deccan in mid seventeenth century AD. The great Mughal soldier Ghazi al Din Khan Jang Firuz (d. 1122 / 1710) was the greatest military general in the Aurangzeb's Mughal Deccan. He was very relations with Sufis in Aurangabad. Number of Merchants and military leaders migrated to Deccan in this period. The Naqshbandi Sufis and dervishes migrated from Central Asia in this period. Due to political and economic decline in North India including Awadh, Punjab, Delhi, the levels of continued immigration into the Mughal realm during the reign of Aurangzeb happened very fast. The Great Uzbek Kingdom had also declined in Seventeenth century AD. Those events had very influence for enhancement of migrations of sufis, dervishes, fakirs, poets and noble personalities in Mughal Hindustan and obviously Aurangzeb's Deccan. Absan al Shama'il Malfuzat text in Persian, gave the information about Nizam al Din Awarangabadi Chishti (d. 1142 / 1729) of Aurangabad.

8.5. Hazrat Shah Noor: *Ma'athir al Umara* of Shah Nawaz Khan, gave the information about Shah Noor, the famous Sufi saint of Mughal Aurangabad. The book written in Aurangabad a few decades after the death of Shah Noor in 1104 / 1692, Shah Noor is briefly described by virtue of his relationship with the erstwhile governor (*Diwan*) of the Deccan, Diyanat Khan, who was himself the great uncle of Shah Nawaz Khan. Nur al Anwar, a late recension of the earliest full account of Shah Noor's life by Baha al Din Hasan Uruj (d. 1230 / 1814) records the saint's place of birth as Baghdad, Iraq. But, the Ma'athir al Umara records that Shah Noor's place of birth as Purab, that is the eastern sector of Hindustan. Purab is the eastern sector of Hindustan.

Shah Noor came to Aurangabad in 1070 / 1660 in Mughal reign. 83 Shah Noor settled in Moti Karanja area in Aurangabad. He made there a Hujra or Khanqah. Around 1680, the Mughal Diwan Diyanat Khan built a large Khanqah for Shah Noor, in the imperial suburb of Qutbpura in Aurangabad city. Shah Noor buried there.84 Diyanat Khan was from the Iranian family and a well settled bureaucrat in Mughal court of Aurangabad Subha. 85 Diwan Diyanat Khan was the murid of Shah Noor. His son Diyanat Khan II, was also the devotee of Shah Noor. This second Diyanat Khan was financial administrator (mutasaddi) of the principal Mughal Port of Surat, also later became the companion and patron of Shah Noor's follower, Shah Inayat. 86 Many devotees of Shah Noor come from Mughal Court in Aurangabad. The chief Judge Qazi al Quzat and Market regulator Muhtasib of the Aurangabad city, Muhammad Ikram and Qazi Muhammad Mas'ud were the murid of Shah Noor. One of the wives of Aurangzeb was also have been a disciple. Shah Noor had also the nickname of Hammami (of the bathhouse). Irani Sha'ia families of Aurangabad called to Shah Noor as Husayni Sayyid. This name was ascribed to his practice of giving each of his visitors enough money to visit a bathhouse. However, a few decades later the name was explained by the hagiographer Sabzawari as being due to the saint's ownership of a bathhouse (hammam) in Aurangabad where people went to meet him. Mughals in India developed the Hammad architecture style. Babur, Akbar and Shahjahan built many hammam. Khan-e-Khanan Abd al Rahim built hammam in Burhanpur. He was also visited the shrines at Rawza or Khuldabad.87 Many Hindus also the devotees and murid of Shah Noor in Mughal period. An anthology survives of Manpuri Sachu Parshad Math's devotional poems or Bhajans, blending the vocabulary of Sufi and Sadhu and pointing to the close links forged at this time between Muslim and Hindu mystics in the Deccan.⁸⁸

8.6. Naqshbandi Sufis of Mughal Aurangabad: Shah Palangposh and Shah Musafir Naqshbandi, both shaykhs migrated to the Deccan from the important Naqshbandi Shrine Centre of Ghijdawan in Central Asia. The shrine of Abd al Khaliq (d. 575 / 1179) at Ghijdawan at

times rivaled even that of Bah a Din Naqshband in importance, while the Malfuzat-e-Naqshbandi adds that the Dargah of Baba Qul Farid, the Murshid of Shah Palangposh, was also located in Ghijdawan and resorted to by the city's inhabitants. ⁸⁹ They came by Kabul and Delhi, Agra, Burhanpur trout towards Aurangabad Deccan. The spread of Naqshbandiya Sufism in Aurangabad Deccan closely associated with Mughal rule. Muhammad Kishmi of Badakhshan, the Naqshbandi Sufi settled and developed Naqshbandi centre in Burhanpur already in Shahjahan rule. Another Naqshbandi circle was established some miles away from Burhanpur at Balapur by Shah Inayat Allah (d. 1117 / 1705). ⁹⁰ Many Mughal court members, Diwans and soldiers were the disciples of these saints in Burhanpur, Aurangabad region. Khwaja Barkhwurdar, the commander or Qila'dar of Awasa Fort, was the descendant and murid of Naqshbandi silsila. Palangposh and Musafir, both saints came to India in 1674. ⁹¹

Shah Palangposh was the spiritual guide with his miraculous protection aspects, famous in Mughal army. Soldiers had associated with him from Delhi to Aurangabad. The famous murid of Shah Palangposh in Mughal Court was, Ghazi al Din Khan Firoz Jang, the father of the subsequent founder of Hyderabad State Nizam al Mulk Asaf Jah and commander of the principal arm of the Mughal forces in the Deccan Subha. The painting in the late Mughal capital of Aurangabad, a morchhal 'Pecock wings' was carried behind the Sufi master Shah Sa'id Palangposh (d. 1111/1699) by members of his entourage. 92 Compared to other political history events, such as the famous Sayyid Ali Sultan, was also a feature of the history of Anatolia Turkey. As well as the Sadhu brigades attached to the armies of Hindu kingdoms in Indian subcontinent.⁹³ The meaning of Shah Palangposh's name as 'the wearer of leopard skin' belonged to the traditions of the warrior elites. During this period Aurangzeb Alamgir made several pilgrimages to the Sufi Dargahs of Gesu Daraz (d. 825 / 1422) at Gulbargah and Khuldabad, Daulatabad in Aurangabad Deccan region.94

Shah Musafir Naqshbandi gave special attention to widows and orphans, many of whom lived in his takiya, where children were also given an education. The people of Mughal Aurangabad begged for his help as the reliever of illness and misery, of dispute and crime, Shh Musafir was no means concerned only with matters pertaining to an abstracted spiritual pregress and was called upon to cure a variety of illness, including epilepsy and a variety of mental disorders. 95 Both the saints was associated with Firoz Jang were present at the wedding ceremony of the general's son, Qillich Khan (later known as Nizam al Mulk Asaf Jah). Shah Musafir presented a turban and blessing to Nizam al Mulk, it was the miraculous granting of Nizam al Mulk's future rule over the Deccan. Shah Musafir did give lessing to Mughal soldiers at his takiyya (now in Panchakki, Aurangabad). Some of whom also brought their arrows there to be blessed. The head of Aurangzeb's archers was one of Shah Musafir's disciples. Some arrows preserved at the shrine museum at Panchakki. But Shah Musafir was very simple Sufi person. His own life show the rough and humbling results of the Sufi ideal of personal poverty (fagr) lived out literally and, at times, in extremis.96

8.7. Nizam al Din Awarangabadi Chishti: He born in 1076 / 1665 in Awadh region of North India. He came to Deccan with his Murshid or master Kalim Allah at Burhanpur. Then after his master's death, he migrated to Aurangabad. Many Mughal soldiers made his disciples in this period. Nizam al Din connections with the Mughal elites served his purposes well, for upon his arrival in Aurangabad, a Central Asian notable in Mughal service called Kamgar Khan built the Sufi a khanaqah next to his own haveli in the Shah Ganj quarter. Shaj Ganj was the centre of the city and the site of its famously wealthy royal market, near the great palace founded by Aurangzeb. Nizam al Mulk Asaf Jah also associated with Nizam al Din Awarangabadi. Nizam al Mulk Asaf Jah's grandson Imad al Mulk Ghazi al Din Khan Firoz Jang III (d. 1215 / 1800) composed an important biography of Nizam al Din's son and successor, Fakhr al Din. And in his lengthy devotional mathnawi poem Fakhriyat al Nizam, also writeen in honour of Fakhr al Din, Imad al Mulk claimed that

Nizam al Mulk underwent a formal Sufi initiation (ba'yat) form Nizam al Din, so rendering himself a disciple (Murid) of the Sufi.⁹⁷

9. Asaf Jahin Nizam State of Hyderabad and Sufism in Marathwada:

9.1 Khuldabad Dargahs and Nizam State (1724 - 1948 AD):

The Nizam Sarkar of Hyderabad state also had spiritual relations with Sufi Dargahs of Khuldabad and Daulatabad region. Asaf Jahan buried at opposite side of Burhan al Din Gharib Chishti Dargah in Khuldabad with his wife. Sikandar Jah Nizam also gave the farman of 1823, awarding 3 rupees daily to Shah Raju Qattal's Dargah, amounts to 1, 095 rupees annually. 98 The land endowed farmans of Nizam period about the Sultanpur village to Sayyid Yusuf al Hussaini Raju Qattal Dargah in English language. It made by some nineteenth century British officer in the Nizam's administration. Rawnaq Ali, a member of the Nizam's administration, reported that in 1310 / 1892, the greater Dargah were receiving 'from some old towns' an unspecified endowment income twice the size of that from the towns of Soli Badhan and Nadirabad. The Nizam ceclared these incomes free of all duty in 1333 / 1914-15. By 1931, there were over seven hundred attendants (khuddam) attached to the greater Dargah, over four hundered attached to the lesser Dargah, and on hundred fifty attacherd to the shrine of Ganj-I Ravan; three hundred students were supported by the Nizam's donations, as were charitable kitchens at the tombs of Aurangzeb and the first tow Nizams. All donations of Mughal empire also continued in Nizam State of Hyderabad. 99

After the Police action and collapse of the Hyderabad Nizam State, the income for the Dargahs in now negligible, however, but even in the post Maharashtra State establishment period these religious endowments are still theoretically effective. Thus the shadow of the old political patronage of sacred shrines survives. Government made administrative offices on *Wakf* property today. Though most of these *farmans* or manuscripts record grants of patronage, some of them also mediated disputes over the control of shrine revenues. Disputes between the heirs

of the original clients and the boards of trustees appointed to oversee the operation of the shrines have been endemic to the Islamic charitable trusts system, and still require administrative correction. *Waqf* department of government of India had also many corruption cases for misuse of *in'am* properties of these Dargahs. ¹⁰⁰

The first Nizam, Nizam al Mulk Asaf Jah (d. 1161 / 1748), was closely attached to the Chishtis, and even wrote a biography of a contemporary shaykh, Nizam al Din Awrangabadi (d. 1142 / 1729). 101 Both the first Nizam and his successor, Nizam al Dawla Nasir Jang (d. 1164 / 1750), were buried along with their wives in separate red sandstone enclosures next to the tomb of Burhan al Din Gharib. 102 The third Nizam, Muzaffar Jang (d. 1751), is buried just south of Burhan al Din's Dargah, along with figures such as his uncle Mutawassil Khan, Iwaz Khan (d. 1143 / 1730 - 31), Jamal al Din Khan (d. 1159 / 1746), and others. ¹⁰³ Other notables are buried in the complex of Yusuf al Husayni Raju Qattal: Nawab Marhamat Khan, a governor of Aurangabad; Da'ud Khan (d., 1127 / 1715), a governor of Burhanpur; and Abu al Hasan Tana Shah (d. 1111 / 1699), the last Qutbshahi king of Golconda, who was imprisoned in the Daulatabad until his death. 104 In Nizam's administration, these tombs of kings and nobles repaired by the archaeological department of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions. 105

9.2 Aurangabad Sufis and Sufi Shrines in Asaf Jahin Nizam State:

Nur al Anwar gave the information about the history of Shah Noor Dargah in the eighteenth century Aurangabad. Shihab a Din was the sajjada Nashin of this Dargah in Nizam state. Shihab al Din was the nephew of Shah Noor. He made the big dome on the sepulture of Shah Noor in Nizam's time. That time Dargah of Shah Noor visited by many court members of Nizam State. Muhammad Ikram ever visited to Dargah. He was the Qazi of Aurangabad. He was also the murid of Shah Noor. He is mentioned as Qazi of Aurangabad in the Ma'athir-e-Alamgiri by Saqi Must'ad Khan. He was in service under the Nizam al Mulk since Delhi. 107

Baha al Din Hasan Uruj (d. 1230 / 1814) wrote the biography of Shah Noor, *Khizan u bahaar*, the *tadhkira* book. The tombs of Salar Jang family situated around the Shah Noor Dargah. It was an important Shi'I family partly originating in Aurangabad and with a long established tradition of state service. 109

The saints of Panchakki, the Nagshbandiya silsila had influence in Nizam state of Aurangabad, (after 1748, Capital Hyderabad). Balaji Bajirao Nanasaheb Peshwa was expected to attack on Aurangabad in 1164 / 1751. Seven hundred soldiers were positioned at Panchakkir Dargah Gate at Aurangabad outside wall. Gul a Rana manuscript gave the account of Sajjada Nashin of Dargah Panchakkir Shah Mahmud with detailed events. The writer of Gul a Rana, Shafiq described that Shah Mahmud was the great Sufi person of Deccan, and he serving as Sajada Nashin at the shrine of Shah Musafir for around fifty years. 110 Shah Mahmud died in 1175 / 1762. His poetic chronogram was written by his friend Azad Bilgrami. 111 This line of Sajjada nashins continued through four more successors, all of whom were buried in the forecourt of Shah Musafir's mausoleum. The number of surviving revenue documents from the shrine show that it continued to amass land grants and revenue donations from public and private sources from the time of its construction through to the late nineteenth century. Some grants were made on behalf of the government of Nizam Ali Khan Asaf Jah in 1189 / 1775. The grants also made by the rulers of the neighbouring Maratha kingdoms. In 1161 / 1748, the prime minister (Diwan) of the Maratha Peshwa at Poona granted the shrine the right to collect a tax (chawth) from the village of Mokasa in the Peshwa's dominions, and other grants from Maratha rulers and notables were confirmed in Marathi documents. Aurangabad was closer to the boder between the territories of the Peshwa and the Nizams and was raided and occupied by Maratha forces on several occasions. Patronage of Panchakki seems, then to have been part of a wider competition for control of the region, as seen in earlier centuries in the competing for patronage of the Decan's shrines by the Mughals and the independent sultans of the Deccan. The patronage of the Maratha rulers of poona must

therefore be seen in the same light as the earlier patronage of the Mughals of the Khuldabad shrines in the years before their outright conquest of the region. 113 Manuscript shows the grants of Dargah in collection of Panchakki Library, Panchakki, Aurangabad. The Nizam's government granted the shrine the harvest of fruit from several gardens of the Purajat district of Aurangabad to help cover the expenses of the Faqirs. 114 The rare technology of Panchakki's eponymous watermill also seems to have contributed to its wealth through the milling of large amounts of grain for sale as well as being used at a fee by small scale farmers. Sabzawari recorded proudly that the perpetually turning watermill could grind large amounts of grain every hour, amounts that were clarly in excess of the needs of the shrine's residents and suggestive of a good measure of commercial enterprise. 115 The water mill construction was erected by Turktaz Khan, a noble on the staff of Nizam ul Mulk Asaf Jah in about 1695 A. D. In 17th century, this ingenious water mill was designed to use the energy generated by flowing water from a nearby spring to turn the large grinding stones of the flourmill. This water mill was used to grind grain for the pilgrims and disciples of saints as well as for the troops of the garrison. The water-mill is kept fed with sufficient water by an underground conduit, which commences from a well just above the junction of the Harsul river with a tributary stream eight kilometers away. This water-pipe after crossing the tributary stream near its confluence with Harsul proceeds to the Panchakki reservoir. The arrangement is such that the water is made to fall in the Panchakki cistern from quite a height in order to generate the necessary power to drive the mill. The cool chambers of the hall are used during the summers by pilgrims, and are about 164' X 31' ornamented with fountains. The excess of water is let in the Kham River. Now Panchakki also houses the headquarters of the Wakf board of Maharashtra. 116

Nizam al Din Awarangabadi Dargah was lesser importance by the elites of Deccan during eighteenth century compare to Panchakki Dargah. After the death of Nizam al Din Awarangabadi Chishti, his son Mawlana Fakhr al Din migrated to Delhi. The local deputies worked as

khalifas of Nizam al Din Dargah. Kamgar Khan and Shah Sharif managed the shrine in the middle years of the eighteenth century. Nizam al Mulk, the first Nizam of Asaf Jahi State, visited very time to Dargah, in his life. After the death of First Nizam, the departure of Capital of Asaf Jah court from Aurangabad to Hyderabad, the shrine seems to have been unable to build a popular following in Aurangabad on the scale of that of Shah Noor. Imad al Mulk explained the urs celebration of Nizam al Din Chishti Awarangabadi in Aurangabad. 117 Nizam al Mulk, Imad al Mulk Firoz Jang III (d. 1215 / 1800) wrote the biography of Fakhr al Din. Imad al Mulk's various biographical works on Fakhr al Din include a Malfuzat entitled Fakhr al Talibin, the Manqib-e-Fakhriyya and a long mathnawi poeim intitled Fakhriyyat al Nizam. Another important early work in this tradition was the Shajarat al Anwar of Rahim Bakhsh Fakhri (1194 / 1780). Fakhr al Din died in 1199 / 1785 at the age of 73 in Delhi. He was buried in Delhi at the shrine of the earlier Chishti saint, Qutb al din Bakhtiyar Kaki (d. 633 / 1235), whose feats had so often featured in his father's Malfuzat, the Ahsan al Shama'il. In death as in life, Fakhr al Din was surrounded by the best company in Delhi and the late Mughal emperors Akbar Shah II, recorded the attendance of the emperor's representative at Fakhr al Din's death anniversary in 1268 / 1851. 118

10. Sufism in Aurangabad & British India(Eighteenth century to Twentieth century AD)

10.1. Shah Noor Dargah of Aurangabad:

Without any Sajjada-nishin the Dargah of Shah Noor managed by government representatives in nineteenth and First half of Twentieth century AD. Shams al Din (d. 1347 / 1928,) the resident of Hyderabad, came to Aurangabad. He was the famous Sufi person in Hyderabad, linked with Chishti silsila of Ajmer. He managed the Shah Noor Miyan Dargah in that period, by the permission of Hyderabad Department of Religious Affairs. Kishan Prashad was diwan of Hyderabad State from 1320 / 1902 – 1329 / 1911, and was also sonnected with the patronage of the Dargahs at Khuldabad, about whose saints he wrote a hagiography in Urdu. Umur -e-Madhhabi or Minister for Religious Affairs of Hyderabad, Fazilat Jang,

also become associated with the shrine of Shah Noor. He was the Mutawali (administrator) of the Shah Noor Dargah after Shams al Din's death. ¹²⁰ In first half of Twentieth century, Bany Miyan was the famous Sufi in Aurangabad. According o Ismail Shah Qadiri, Bane Miyan had the Englishmen or *Angrez* followers in that period. Bane Miyan had married an Anglo Indian Christian woman, whose father had worked on the railways like so many other Anglo Indians. Nizam Sarkar started railway within Manmad and Secunderabad with British Company. ¹²¹ There was the relation within Sai Baba of Shirdi and Shams al Din in Aurangabad periphery. Sai Baba (b. 1838, d. 1337 / 1918) visited sometimes Aurangabad to Shams al din's Khanqah. Baba also sends Qasim, the disciple to meet Shams al Din at Aurangabad. Sai Baba also send the food for distribute to the poor at the Shah Noor Shrine. ¹²²

Shams al Din was made the new Chishti tradition at Shah Noor Dargah. He had visited several times to Ajmer in his Hyderabad life time. He established *sama* or *qawwlai* tradition at Dargah and built the *Samakhana*. According to Tara Saheb, the author of *Aftab* –*e-Dakan*, Shams al din had died in 1347 / 1928. He was buried directly beside Shah Noor, with a dome constructed over his tomb some years later. 124

After the death of Shams al-din, his follower Fazilat Jang, the Nizam's Minister for Religious Affairs (*Umur-e-Madhhabi*), became responsible for the administration of Dargah with eight member management committee. The early times of these committees came under the auspices of the Aurangabad Tehsil Office during the reign of the last Nizam, while after 1367 / 1948 its successor was appointed by the Muslim Waqf Board. In 1972-3, one Madrasa and Langarkhana built by local committee members in Shah Noor Miyan Dargah. The religious teachers or Mawlwis at this madrasa drew on the doctrines of the Barewli Movement, which sought to find a place for elements of traditional Sufi devotionalism within a wider movement towards religious reform. Even today all Muslim and Hindu devotees come to Dargahs for spiritual causes. Shams al din's son Bane Miyan become the sajjada nashini of Dargah. He had many British followers in Aurangabad city. 127

10.2 Panchakki Dargah:

Mubarizal din Raf'at gave the information about the Naqshbandi Sufi Dargah of Panchakki at Aurangabad in his Panchakki-ye-Awarangabad Urdu book. He had focused on the beginning from first half of the ninetieth century. Shah Muhammad Sa'id died in the beginning of ninetieth century AD. He succeeded by his son Sa'd Allah. Sa'd Allah had two sons and was succeeded after his death by the elder of the two, Amin Allah. When he died without issue the lineage continued through Sa'd Allah's younger son, Hamid Allah. 128 According to the Manuscript library at Panchakkir Dargah, the Persian and Modi documents from the first half of the nineteenth century testify to Panchakki's continued receipt of lands from representatives of not only the Nizam, but also to the existence of orders from the Maratha Peshwa for his officers to protect lands belonging to Panchakki in their districts. 129 For much of the second half of the nineteenth century, the Panchakki Dargah was controlled by Shah Hamid Allah, the fifth Sajjada Nashin who had inherited his position on the death of his childless elder brother, Amin Allah. 130 Shah Hamid Allah succeeded by his son Ghulam Mahmud (d. 1339 / 1920). 131 The famous scholar and lexicographer of Urdu, Mawlwi Abd al Haqq (d. 1381 / 1961) was regular visits to Panchakki Dargah. 132 Many British officers visited to Aurangabad British cantonment, for official visits. They wondered also around the Ellora, Ajanta and Aurangabad periphery including Fort. In the 1860, one British visitor, Major Robert Gill, wrote of Panchakki that, 'the place is much resorted to by the English for purposes of eating and drinking: by the Moslems, and even Hindoos, in honor of the Peer (Shah Musafir), and for purposes of veneration'. 133 The English novelist E. M. Forster visited to Aurangabad in 1913 AD. He wrote about the Mughal Garden in Aurangabad near the tombs. 134 Major Gill and his companion James Ferguson, the court photographer of the Nizam, also took several pictures of Panchakki and Aurangabad during 1880 AD. 135 The twentieth century saw the tradition of Shah Palangposh and Shah Musafir surviving only as a minor saintly tradition. Ghulam Mahmud died without issue in 1339 / 1920. He did leave two wives, Saliha Begam and Batul Begam, who were determined that control of both the shrine and its landholdings should remain in their hands. Both ladies died early 1930 AD. The property and landholdings of the Dargah finally fell firmly into the hands of Hyderabad Department of Religious Endowments. 136

10.3 Englishman Seely John B. & His 'Wonders':

Asaf Jaha's general Jamil Beg built the great pool and water mill at Dargah. British officer Seely described the Aurangabad Khuldabad Ellora periphery in his, 'The Wonders of Ellora (1824). He wrote about the unique water mill and wheel technology at Panchakki in his book. 137 Seely had also described Panchakki as being host to a throng of well dressed Muslim 'Priests and Doctors', 'to-ing' and 'fro-ing 'about the courtyards of the Dargah. Within the mausoleum itself, deliberately darkened with oil lams 'to "make darkness visible", 's and alwood, camphor and myrrh were burned in honor of the saints. John Seely described Aurangabad as he saw it in 1810. Seely encountered with Shah Hafiz Allah and Shah Sa'd Allah, the two sajjada Nashins of Panchakki Dargahs. 138 In the 1860, one British visitor, Major Robert Gill, wrote about Panchakki in 1864 that, 'the place is much resorted to by the English for purposes of eating and drinking: by the Moslems, and even Hindoos, in honor of the Peer (Shah Musafir), and for purposes of veneration'. 139

10.4 Nizam al Din Dargah:

East India Company ruled Indian sub continent or some parts of India within 1757 o 1858 AD. The interaction had been started with Muslim mystics and institution in that period. After the death of Nizam al Din Awarangabadi Chishti, his son Fakhr al Din and his successors migrated to Delhi in eighteenth century. Fakhr al Din was succeeded in Delhi after his death by his son Ghulam Qutb al Din (d. 1232 / 1817). His Chishti circle was famous in Later Mughal Delhi and north India. The great Muslim modernist Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (d. 1315 / 1898) wrote

the book, Athar al Sandid, which is discussed in lore detail later about the life of Qutb al Din Chishti. 141 That time, the tradition of Nizam al Din Awarangabadi Chishti was famous in North and Deccan region. The name of Nizam al Din came to be celebrated in many of the most important North Indian Sufi and other Muslim commemorative works of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth century British /Company India. These included the Takmila-ye-Siyar al Awliyaa of Gul Muhammad Ahmadpuri (d. 1243 / 1827) and the Athar al Sandid of Sayyid Ahmad Khan (d. 1315 / 1898). Ghulam Qutb al Din died in 1232 / 1817, and his burial at the shrine of Bakhtiyar Kaki on the outskirts of Delhi. He was succeeded by his own son, Ghlam Nasir al Din alias Kale Miyan (the Black Gentleman). Ghulam Nasir al Din Kale Miyan was part of the religious world of Delhi in the years before the Great Revolt of 1273 / 1857 against East India Company rule in Mughal Hindustan. Kale Miyan was the spiritual master (Murshid) of the last of the Mughal emperors, Bahadur Shah (ruled within 1253 / 1837 – 1274 / 1858).

The Court diary of Bahadur Shah Jafar showed, in 1851, he sends two hundred rupees for the Urs celebration of Fakhr al Din. Mughal Badhshah Bahadur Shah Jafar sends his close advisor Mahbub Ali Khan to represent him at the Urs ceremony itself. 142 Thomas Beale was the compiler of the Oriental Biographical Dictionary of British India. He noted that, Ghulam Nasir al Din was the spiritual guide of the emperor, but who in spite of his elevated status 'preferred the habit of a dervish'. Kale Miyan alias Ghulam Nasir al Din was also a close friend of the great Urdu and Persian Poet Mirza Ghalib (d. 1285 / 1869). Altaf Husayn Hali was the student and the biographer of Ghalib. He noted in his book, Yadgar -e- Ghalib about the relations with Kale Miyan and Ghalib. Altaf Husayn died in 1914 AD. Hali wrote that, Ghalib was released from Delhi British Company administered prison after serving a sentence for gambling in 1264 / 1847. He went to stay at the house of Ghulam Nasir al Din, While he was there someone came by to congratulate the poet on his release from jail, to which he replied with a play on his host's nickname of Kale Miyan: "What idiot has come out of prison? First I was the

prisoner of the white man (Gore ki qayd), now I am the prisoner of the black man (Kale ki qayd)." 143

Many Dar al Ulum (House of Learning) and Madrasahs influenced by Nasir al Din in North India. 144 Nasir al Din alias Kale Miyan was killed by British military within 1857 revolt in Delhi. Ghalib written a letter to Ala al Din Ahmad Khan (d. 1302 / 1884), that explained the Kale Miyan killed by British military when Delhi was recaptured. 145 The Indian history knows the notable Muslim families, the family of Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah and other many Muslims killed by British in recaptured Delhi in great revolt of 1857. All parts of Shahjahanabad (now Old Delhi) ruined by British. All khangahs libraries and manuscripts burnt and looted by British. 146 Ghalib after his death was buried near the Dargah of Nizam al Din Awliya in Delhi. Mirza Muhammad Akhtar Dihlawi wrote the book after far the great revolt in Delhi. The book named as Tadhkira-ye-Awliyaye- Hind. He gave the information about Nizam al Din Awarangabadi's family in Delhi and specially Fakhr al Din, Nasir al Din etc. 147 He discussed the relations of Bahadur Shah Jafar and Sufi family of Nizam al Din Awarangabadi in Delhi. Mirza Muhammad also noted that the piety of the last emperor that was also echoed in his Urdu poetry by recollecting how Bahadur Shah had made no requests for cash or goods in Rangoon but only for the privilege of being buried beside the tombs of Qutb al Din and Fakhr al Din. 148 But the British administration was never granted the request positive. Bahadur Shah's tomb is now in Rangoon, Burma. Nasir al Din's son, Nizam al Din II(d. 1292 / 1875), was survived in Delhi. After his death, he buried at beside his father Nasir al din and his ancestor Fakhr al Din at the shrine of Qutb al Din Bakhtiyar Kaki, Mahrauli, near Qutb Minar of Delhi. 149 The grandson of Nasir al Din, Kamal al din migrated to Aurangabad and Hyderabad. Kamal Al Din's son Sayf al Din settled in Aurangabad during Nizam state. Kamal al Din died in Hyderabad in 1327 / 1909, and buried in Aurangabad. 150 Sayf al Din also died and buried in Aurangabad. His son Aslah al Din succeeded him. Aslah al Din died in 1357 / 1938 and buried in Nizam al din Awarangabadi Dargah campus. He was succeeded by his son Qaysar Miyan alias Mu'in al din Awarangabadi Chishti. He was the sajjada nishin of Nizam al din

Dargah in the period of Last Nizam Mir Usman Ali Khan Asaf Jahn. He had the official proclamation about his successorship at shrine by Nizam. 151 Qaysar Miyan died in 1965. Most of the farmans and documents destroyed by fire in riots against Muslims in Operation Polo by Indian military action against Nizam State of Hyderabad, in 1368 / 1948. Nizam state merged in 17 September, 1948 in Indian Union. The remaining memories became the focus of oral and written (Urdu hagiography) narrative traditions glorifying Nizam al Din Dargah and influence over former Hyderabad State. 152

11. Sufi Dargahs in Marathwada and Maratha rules:

The large number of surviving revenue documents, Famans from the Panchakkir shrine show that it continued to amass land grants and revenue donations from public and private sources from the time of its construction through to the late nineteenth century. 153 As Gordon has documented on a number of occasions, the Marathas did not balk at granting or continuing inams (hereditary grants for service) to Muslims. Indeed, the peshwas' Daftar and Diaries contain numerous documents granting inams, revenue rights or allowances to Sufi saints (pirs), Muslim families, mosques, mausoleums and families of Muslim servants of the state killed in battle. Pirs, too, were frequently venerated, sometimes alongside Hindu saints, as, for example, with the gifts (daksina) distributed after the completion of the Shaniwar Wada, the peshwa's palace in Pune, or when, in the hope that Ratangad Fort would surrender, gifts of largesse were promised to the deity in a temple and to a pir. Thomas Broughton, who recorded an account and testified to Maratha general Maratha leader Mahadji Sindhia's mentoring by a Sufi pir. 154

Sajjada nashini of the Panchakki Dargahs received many grants (ma'ash) from the many governments in Deccan region. The grants also made were by the rulers of the neighbouring Maratha kingdoms. In 1161 / 1748, the Prime Minister or Diwan of the Maratha Peshwa at Poona granted the shrine the right to collect a tax (chawth) from the village of Mokasa in the Peshwa's dominions, and other grants from Maratha rulers

and notables were confirmed in Marathi documents at collection. Maratha ruler of Gwalior, Mahadji Shinde (1761–94AD) was defeated and severely injured and was missing in the third war of Paanipat in 1761. His wife, who is said to be from Beed, went to a Muslim Sufi of Beed Sufi Mansur Shah and told him to prey for the return of Mahadji. After return to Gwalior Mahadji called Mansur Shah to Gwalior but he refused and sent his son Habib Shah. Mahadji remained thankful to Mansur Shah for all his life. His tomb is in eastern Beed. 156

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Chapter 5

SUFI LITERATURE, INTERACTION WITH OTHER RELIGIOUS SECTS AND IMPACT

The spiritual literature had been made from Prophet Muhammad's period in Arabia, Turkey, Iran and Central Asia. The spiritual impulse or motivations behind the Sufi literature developed in that period. The thirteenth century was no exception and its first decades were dominated by the famed Sufi metaphysician Ibn 'Arabi (1165 -1240), known as Shaikh al-Akbar, the greatest Shaykh. The beginning of this century also saw the introduction into India of the Chishti Tariqah or Sufi Order by Shaykh Muinuddin Chishti (1142-1236 AD), as well as the foundation of two new turuq; the Shadhili Tariqah in North Africa, founded by Shaykh Abu'l Hasan ash Shadhili (1196-1258 AD), and the Suharawardi Tariqah, founded by Shaykh al Suharawardi (1144 - 1234) of Baghdad. thirteenth century was also the age of the great Persian Sufi poets, Farud ud din Attar (d. 1229), Fakhr ud din Iraqi (1213 - 1289), Sa'di of Shiraz (1215 – 1292), Shabistari (1250-20) and Jalal ud din Rumi. Masanawi, Fihi Mafihi and Divan-I Shams -I Tabrizi, are the famous Sufi masterpiece of early Sufi literature in medieval world history.¹

Shaikh Abu Nasr Siraj (Al Lama'a), Abul Qasim (Risala Qureshia), Hajrat Datar (Kashf al Mahjub), Gausa e Azam Abdul Qadir Jilani (Futuhat Gaub), Shaikh Shahabuddin Suharawardi (Awariful Ma'arifat), Hajrat Nizam al din Awliya (Fawa'id al Fu'ad Malfuz, written by his disciple Amir Hasan) etc. Sufi saint's Sufi philosophy reflected in their own books or Malfuzat literature written by their disciples.²

1. Malfuzat and other Sufi Literature in Persian:

Kashf al Mahjub was the first Persian book in Indian subcontinent which gave the information about the sufis and Sufism in early period. Abul Hassan Ali Ibn Usman al-Jullabi al-Hajvery al-Ghaznawi also known as Daata Ganj Bakhsh, which means the master who bestows treasures

a Persian Sufi and scholar during the 11th century. He significantly contributed to the spreading of Islam in South Asia or Indian sub continent. He was born around 990 AD near Ghazni, Afghanistan and died in Lahore (Punjab, Pakistan) in 1077 AD. His most famous work is Revelation of the Veiled or Kashf Al Mahjub or بشفُ المحجوك, written in the Persian language. The work, which is one of the earliest and most respected treatises of Sufism, debates Sufi doctrines of the past.

Ganj Bakhsh-e faiz-e aalam, mazhar-e nur-i Khuda Naqisaan ra pir-e kaamil, kaamilaan ra rahnuma

(Ganj Bakhsh is a manifestation of the Light of God for all people, a perfect guide unto the imperfect ones and a guide unto the perfect ones)

Kashf ul Mahjub or The Unveiling of the Veiled is the first comprehensive book in the Persian language on Tasawwuf or Sufism. Shahidullah Faridi and Nicholson, R.A. had published the Urdu and English translation of the book. It gives the information about the philosophy of Sufism, Prophet, Iman, Ma'rifat Allah (Concerning the Gnosis of God), Tawhid (Concerning Unification), Al Salat (Prayer), Al Zakat (Alms), Hajj (Pilgrimage), Sama (Audition) and Tariqah etc. He quoted that, Hazrat Junaid told that a Sufi would set an example if he possessed the following eight qualities. A Sufi, as a matter of principle, is expected to hold them:

"The courage and magnanimity of Prophet Ibrahim,

The obedience of Prophet Ismail,

The forebearance and patience of Prophet Ayub,

The signs of Prophet Zakaria,

The poverty of Prophet Yahya,

The travelling nature of Prophet Isa,

The simplicity of dress of Prophet Musa and

The 'Fuqr' (contentment and renunciation) of Prophet Muhammad."

According to Shaikh Ali Hujwiri, there are four outstanding characteristics which mark a Sufi:

"A life that is genuine and straight forward and a life which holds in respect the Divine Laws. Respect for elders and affection towards all alike. Total renunciation of any desire for fame and glory. Face the challenge of 'Nafs'." ³

A number of famous poets produced works of merit under the patronage of Sultan Al ud din. Amir Khusro, Hassan Sijzi, Sadr ud din Aali, Fakhr ud din Qawas, Hameed ud din Raja, Maulana Arif, Ubaid Hakim and Shahab Ansari were the poets of the court.

Barani says: "Every one of them has got a particular style and had got a Diwan of his own. They were well wersed in prose as well as in poetry and their poetry speaks volumes for itself".

Ziya ud din Barani, Amir Hasan Sijzi and Amir Khusro were the best friends and disciples of Shaikh Nizam al Din Awliya of Delhi. Amir Hasan was the founder of Indian Sufi Malfuzat literature tradition. He wrote the famous Malfuzat 'Fawa'id ul-Fu'ad', in Persian at Khuldabad, Deccan. Many stories and legends have accumulated around the development of Sufi Persian literature in Indian subcontinent. Amir Khusrau was the famous personality in Delhi, who contributed the significant role within the development of Persian Sufi literature in India. He was the close murid of Hazrat Nizam al din Awiya of Delhi. So close was this relationship that Amir Khusrau is said to have been totally overwhelmed by grief when he heard the news of his murshid's death. Amir Khusrau: "Gori so'ye sej par much par dare kes,

Chal Khusrau ghar apne, rain bhai chaun des."

(The fair one lies on the couch, with her [back] tresses scattered on her face, O Khusrau, go home now, for night has fallen all over.)

That Amir Khusrau, an accomplished poet of Persian, should have chosen to express his deepest emotions and feelings in an indic vernacular language, a language he called *Hindawi*, was in a certain way unusual.⁵

The late Mughal Persian writer Azad Bilgrami (d. 1201/1786) described peacocks wandering among the gardens and shrines of Khuldabad in the Indian Deccan.⁶

2. Persian Malfuz Literature in Marathwada:

Malfuz literally means 'words spoken', in common parlance the term is used for the conversations or table talks of a mystic teacher or Shaikh. Malfuz writing is one of the most important literary achievements of medieval India. The credit of giving this art a definite shape and thereby popularizing it in the religious circles of the country goes to a disciple of Shaikh Nizam al din Awliya, Amir Hasan Sijzi Dehlawi Khuldabadi. It was on Sha'ban 3, 707 (January 1307) that Amir Hasan Sijzi, a famous poet of the Khalji period and a friend of Amir Khusrau, decided to write a summary of what he heard from his master, Shaikh Nizam ud din Awliya. The dicision was epoch making as it marked the beginning of a new type of mystic literature known as Malfuzat. Amir Hasan's collection of his spiritual mentor's utterances, the Fawa'id u'l Fu'ad, was welcomed in mystic circles and it became a guide book (dastur) for mystics anxious to traverse the mystic journey. Ziya al din Barani said that, it inspired others to render similar services to their masters. This literally tradition established by Hasan Sijzi was followed by saints of all sufi Silsilas in South Asia or in Indian subcontinent and Deccan. The Sufi silsilas like, Chishtis, Suharawardis, Firdausis, Shattaris, Qadiris, Maghribis and Naqshbandis are and enormous Malfuz literature appeared in India from Uchch to Maner and from Delhi to Daulatabad Deccan. In historical study, this Malfuz literature calls for a systematic and careful study with a view to having a glimpse of the life of the common man during the medieval period with Sufism.⁸

2.1 The Fawa'id u'l Fu'ad of Amir Hasan Sijzi Dehlawi Khuldabadi:

In Amir Hasan's Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad every Majlis has a date and the conversations are recorded in a very exact, accurate and succinct manner. Every Majlis has the lively atmosphere of an assembly. Amir Hasan Alai-Sijzi Dehlawi (1253-1336) was the founder in Sufic literature in Deccan

also. Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq, in 1329 AD, shifted his capital from Delhi to Daulatabad in the Deccan. Most of the nobles were required to migrate from Delhi and settle at Daulatabad. He experiment failed and after three years the Sultan ordered a return march to Delhi. The Chishti writings tell of a number of sufis who participated in this migration. Amir Hasan Sijzi had left Delhi to settle Daulatabad - Khuldabad area. First time he compiled Malfuzat in Delhi and Daulatabad (Deccan). He recorded the slayings of his master Shaikh Nizam al-Din Auliya Dehlawi, to preserve his words for future generation. It contained the tells of the feasts, the daily life and the miracles of Sufi saints and which, properly sifted constitutes an important source for Indo-Muslim South Asian history or mystical Islamic Indian Subcontinent history. Burhan al-Din Gharib Chishti, the major disciple of Nizam al-Din Awliya, led the sufis who participated in the migration of the Muslim elite of Delhi to the Deccan capital of Daulatabad in 1329. Also the circle of Burhan al din Gharib followed the Malfuz tradition of writing model of Fawa'id al-Fu'ad. A Persian masnavi ('poem') in honor of Burhan al-Din Gharib Khuldabadi Chishti and his disciples written by Amir Hasan Sijzi, which must have written not long after arriving in Daulatabad. The Fawa'id Al-Fuad (Morals of the Heart) has been planned and prepared in a very systematic manner.

Every meeting ('majlis') has a date and the conversations are recorded in a very exact, accurate and systematic manner. The Fawa'id al-Fu'ad begins with the conversation of Shaikh Nizam al-Din Auliya in his majlis on Sha'ban 3, 707 AH/ January 28,1308 AD; the last assembly proceedings recorded by Amir Hasan in Sha'ban 19, 722/Sep.2,1322. This is a record of 188 gatherings. Also it covered a period of roughly fifteen years with gaps and intervals. Nizam al-Din Awliya lived in Delhi for more than half a century (b.1236-d.1325 CE). Compared to that, the Fawa'id ul-Fu'ad has very limited record in number. But it has very depth and light on the moral and spiritual ideals of the Shaikh Nizam al-Din Awliya and his method of instruction and guidance.

The Fawa'id al-Fu'ad is a mine of information for the religious, cultural and literary history of the periods and supplies interesting details about the earlier generation of Sufi mystics, scholars, poets etc.

List of Names in the Fawa'id al-Fu'ad: 10

Abdul-Haqq Dehlawi	Abdul Qadir Jilan	i	Abdullah	Ansari
• •			Shaikh ul I	slam
Abdullah Rumi	Abu Bakr Siddiq		Imam i	Azam Abu
			Hanifa	
Abu Talib Makki	Sultan Alauddin H	Chalji	Shaikh	Bahauddin
			Zakaria	
Shaikh Brhauddin	Ziya ud-din Barar	ni	Fariuddin A	Attar
Gharib Khuldabad				
Ferishta	Ghiyasuddin Balb	an	Ghiyasudin	Tughalaq
Imam Husain	Sultan Jalaluddin	Khalji	Muhammad	d ibn
		J	Tughalaq	
Muhammad Shah	Prophets of Islam		Khwaja	Muinuddin
Ghori	_		Chishti	
Shaikh Qutbuddin	Sultan Q	utbuddin	Sultan	Shamsuddin
Bakhtivar Kaki	Mubarak		Iltitumish	

List of Places in the Fawa'id al-Fu'ad:

Ajmer	Aurangabad	Awadh
Bukhara	Daulatabad	Dimashq (Damascus)
Delhi	Gujarat	Khuldabad
Lahore	Medina	Mecca
Meerut	Multan	Nishapur (Iran)
Rajputana	Shiraz	Siwistan
Turkistan	Firuzabad	Samarqand

Amir Hasan noted the Chishti popularity at the common folk by many events in the Fawa'id u'f Fu'ad. He explained, when Shaikh Farid visited Delhi after the death of Shaikh Qutb d din Bakhtiyar Kaki, he was deluged by visitors. From Early morning till late into the night he had to attend to his visitors and accept their invitations for feasts On Fridays he had to start for congregational prayer much before the scheduled time because of the lare crowds of admirers who waited for him all along the way. As he stepped out of his house, people eagerly rushed towards him, kissed his hands and encircled him. No sooner ded he manages to come

out of this circle that he found himself surrounded by another group. He got rid of one circle to be enmeshed into another and this process went on until he reached the mosque, tired and wearied. One day he felt annoyed with the people who had thus surrounded him on his way to the mosque. "This is a blessing of Allah", a disciple told him, "Why do you get annoyed?" 11

Amir Hasan recorded the three visits of Nizam al din Awliya of Delhi to Ajodhan for meeting with Shaykh Farid. Shaykh Farid was the Murshid of Nizam al din Awliya. In Jamdi Awal, 664 / 1265, Shaikh Nizam ud din visited his master for the last time. The Shaykh showered many blessings on him and said: "I have given you both the worlds. Go and take the kingdom of Hindustan". It was the *Khilafat* or *vilayatnama* from Farid Shaykh to murid Shaikh Nizam al din Awliya Chishti Dehlawi. 12

Amir Hasan Sijzi also noted the events of Shaykh Nizam al Din Awliya and Ramajan month of Roza (fasts). The Chishti saints considered fasting to be "a remarkable expedient for weakening those desires that lead never to happiness but either to disillusionment or to further desire". They reduced their diet in order to control the calls of the flesh. A glass of sherbet, some dried grapes (munaqqa) and a piece of juwar (millet) bread smeared with ghee was all that Shaikh Farid (Murshid of Nizam al din Awliya Dehlawi) took in twenty four hours. Similarly Shaikh Nizam al din took only a piece of bread or half a bread with little vegetable at the time of iftar (breaking the fast), and very little food at dinner. One day murid Abdur Rahim had prepared sahri for the Shaikh. Sahri means the meal which is taken before the down of day to enable one to fast till sunset. Rahim protested, 'The Shaikh eats very little at sahri also, it will injure his health and make him very weak.' The Shaikh replied with tears in his eyes:

"So many poverty stricken people are sleeping without dinner in the corners of the mosques and before the shops. How can this food go down my throat?" ¹³

Amir Hasan Sijzi gave the information about the Chishti Khanqahs life and daily events in Delhi. Also about the 'life', in this world, the many references found in Fawa'id al Fu'ad. The Chishti saints or mystics were expected to reject the world or *Dunya* (*duniyaa*). *Tark-i-Dunya* has philosophy discussed in Fawa'id u'l Fu'ad by Shaikh Amir Hasan Sijzi with the references of Nizam al din Awliya. The question arises – "What this *dunya* was and how could it be renounced?"

The general impression that *tark-i-dunya* had meant adopting a hermit's attitude towards life and severing all earthly connections is not confirmed by contemporary mystic records. In fact, it was not the world as such which the mystics rejected by the materialistic approach towards life and its problems which they hated and despised. The more a man got involved in materialistic pursuits, farther he drifted from his spiritual objective. It is significant that in medieval mystic anecdotes dunya is made to appear in the form of treasure, woman or government service. A Chishti saint told his disciples that once Christ saw the world in the form of an ugly old woman and asked – "How many husbands hath thee?" "Innumerable", replied the hag. "Hath any of these husbands divorced thee?" Asked Christ (Prophet *Isaa*) "No", replied the old woman, "I have myself finished them". 15

Amir Hasan Sijzi said the philosophy of pacificism and non violence also. The man should strenuously strive to develop the faculties of patience and endurance. There are both good and bad tendencies in every man. In mystic terminology one may say that there is nafs (animal soul) and there is qalb (human soul) in every human being. Nafs is the abode of mischief, strife and animosity; qalb is the centre of peace, goodwill and resignation. If a man opposes you under the influence of his nafs, you should meet him with qalb. The qalb will over power the nafs and the strife would end. "But if a man opposes nafs with nafs, there can be no end to conflicts and strifes". 16

Amir Hasan Sijzi noted the Muslim functions and festivals in sultanate period. The contemporary records refer either to the festivals

celebrated at the courts or to the ceremonies of the *Khanqahs*. Muslims of every social status celebrated Eids. The month of *Ramzaan* was considered to be the most sacred of all months and was, therefore, characterized by brisk religious activities. One was expected to devote his fasting hours to some honest work or religious devotions. Special prayers were offered during the *Shab-i-qadar* in *Ramzaan*. Its precise date is not known. Generally it is believed that it falls on the 27th night of the month of Ramazan. These prayers were, however, confined to religious minded men. Of the Sultans, Balban is reported to have offered this prayers.¹⁷

About the Hindus and Hinduism, Amir Hasan Sijzi noted in Fawa'id u'l fu'ad detailed description. The Sufi attitude towards the Hindus and Hinduism was one of sympathetic understanding and adjustment. They looked upon all religious as different roads leading to the same destination. They did not approve of any discrimination or distinction in human society which was one organism for them. They had free social intercourse with the Hindus and tried to understand their approach towards the basic problems of religion and morality. A event hear about a Hindu being introduced to Shaikh Nizam al din Awliya by a Muslim as "This Hindu is my brother".

2.2. Hazrat Burhan al din Gharib of Khuldabad and Chishti Malfuz Ahsan u'l Aqwal:

Ahsan u'l Aqwal is a collection of the conversations of Shaikh Burhan u'd din Gharib of Khuldabad in Aurangabad region of Marathwada. Shaikh Burhan al din Gharib (654 – 741 / 1256 – 1340) was the famous disciple of Nizam al din Awliya of Delhi and Khalifa in Deccan. The Ahsan al Aqwal or Ahsan-u'l-Aqwal had been written by the disciple of Burhan al din, Maulana Hammad bin Ammad Kashani in 738 / 1337, some twenty years before the death of Shaikh Nasir u'd din Chiragh in Delhi. Chronologically the Malfuz work comes before Khair ul Majalis and is the earliest available Malfuz compiled after Fawa'id u'l Fu'ad.²⁰

Shaikh Burhan al din Gharib whose teachings have been collected in this book was an eminent disciple of Shaikh Nizam al din

Awliya. He was a close friend and companion of Shaikh Nasir al din Chiragh, Amir Khusrau and Amir Hasan Sijzi. He was especially fond of audition parties (Sama') and his disciples danced in a particular manner and so they came to be known as Burhanis. The Ahsan u'l Aqwal helps to understanding the principles and practices of Chishti Sufism in Deccan. The Ahsan u'l Aqwal Malfuz is divided into twenty nine chapters which deal with some specific theme, such as the practices and etiquette of the assemblies of saints, relationship between disciple and his spiritual teacher, customs and ceremonies associated with the process of initiation in the mystic fold, dealings with people, spiritual morality, principles governing the acceptance of Futuh, gifts evil consequences of greed and sex, principles to be followed with reference to audition parties, and prayers and penitence.²¹ According to K. A. Nizami, this Malfuz literature gave the core information about the philosophy of Chishti Sufic ideas.²²

Khwaja Rukn ud din, who was a *dabir*, once expressed his desire to abandon government service but the Shaikh advised him to continue and serve the people. Doing good to people is better than sitting in a lonely corner, he remarked.²³

The Ahsan u'l Aqwal has not the depth of Fawa'id u'l Fu'ad Malfuz but wonderfully clear presentation for common reader. The Ahsan u'l Aqwal is so clear and lucid that it can be understood even by an amateur mystic. The Ahsan u'l Aqwal quotes a letter which the saint wrote to a Wali of Multan. It began: 'Be it known to Sharf u'd Daulah'. The Shaikh did not write: 'Sharf u'd Daulaha – wa'd din', because he did not know if he was really religious.²⁴ Ahsan al Aqwal also gave the information about the journey of Burhan al Din Gharib from Delhi to Daulatabad, Deccan.²⁵ About the discussion of pir muridi tradition, Ahsan al Aqwal gave the events about it in Burhan al din's life. The Chishti disciples or murids were depicted demonstrating their reverence for their masters in remarkable ways. Rukn al din Kashani once was summoned to go to Delhi. Rukn al din rode the whole way with his back to Delhi and his face turned to Burhan al Din Gharib (Khuldabad) in the direction of Daulatabad. On the trip, every morning after prayer he placed his face on

the ground in the direction of his master before proceeding on his way. Rukn al din Kashani was the famous murid of Burhan al din Gharib Khuldabadi Chishti.26 According to the Carl Ernst, Maulana Hammad bin Ammad Kashani was the pious murid of Burhan al din in Khuldabad.²⁷ Maulna Hammad Kashani noted the rituals of Murid oath in Chishti circle of Burhan al din Gharib in Khudabad. The Murid says, "I have sworn an oath to all of this". Then, it comes the shaving. They take some hair from the right side of the head and from the left, and cut it with scissors. A hat is put on his head, and at this time the master involves the name of God, and announces in Arabic that this is the clothing of peity and the clothing of well being. Carl Ernst said that, the disciple expresses his intention to perform two cycles of supererogatory prayer, with these words - "I intend to pray to Allah most high two cycles of superogatory prayer; rejecting all that is other than Allah, I turn my face to the noble Ka'ba. Allah is most grat". After performing the prayer, he puts his head at the master's feet, and then rises and presents some gift to the master. The disciple joins the ranks of the other companions of the assembly, and the master will then determine his capacity and give him instruction.²⁸ Burhan al Din Gharib of Khuldabad explained the levels of interior purification as a transition from practicing Islamic law to undergoing moral transformation, followed by the onset of mystical experience:

"First is external purification (tazkiy), which attaches the soul to the religious law. Then comes internal purification (tasfiya), which empties the interior of obscurities, and then the divine lights manifest within. It is actions, morals, and states. At first men do actions, then they strive beyond that to turn their blameworthy actions to praiseworthy ones – avarice turns to concentration and greed to bravery – and in this way, whatever is blameworthy becomes praiseworthy; this becomes the category of morals. When actions have become morals, then comes emptying (takhliya). When obscurities are emptied out, states appear, and divine visitations enter the interior."²⁹

Ahsan u'l Aqwal, also explained the Fatiha rituals and the Urs festival celebration within the Chishti circle of Burhan al din Gharib. The Chishtis also followed distinctive practices based on the Master Disciple (*Piri-Muridi*) relationship, such as pilgrimage (*Ziyarat*) to Mazaars

(tombs, sepultures) of Sufi saints and the observation of their death anniversaries. Burhan al din Gharib gave explicit directions for the performance of these rituals.

"When dervish wishes to visit the dead, he presents his wish twice to the spirit of the dead, goes out of the house and into the road. He goes reciting what he intended, and when lhe arrives at the head of the tomb he does not stand at the foot. He stands before trhe tomb and recites the Fatiha [Quran 1], once, the Throne Verse [Quran, 2:255] once, *ilahukum al takathur* [Quran 102], three times, *Ikhlas* [Quran 112], ten times, and *durud* [Blessing the Prophet], ten times, and then he returns."

Festivals were held on the death anniversary ('Urs, literally 'wedding') of major saints, and food was blessed and distributed to the faithful. Nizam al din used to preserve food from the 'urs of Farid al din Ganj-I Shakkar and give it to the sick to heal them. Burhan al Din Gharib recalled that his own father was in the habit of visiting the tombs of the saints and praying thus:

"Allah, Allah, by the sanctity of those accepted in your court; make this helpless one accepted in your court".

As this prayer implies, pilgrimage to tombs was not worship of the people buried there, but a worship of Allah that looked to the saint as a kind of intermediary. Disciples often found guidance from deceased saints in dreams after spending time meditating at their tombs. Ahsan al Aqwal explained the Chishti tradition of hair long style on head. The Malfuz is quoted as saying that Sayyids as descendants of the Prophet Muhammad are not shaved at initiation, since they wear their hair long by custom. This was the origin of the nickname Gisu Daraz, meaning 'long hairs'. Zayn al din Shirazi Chishti was the Khalifa of Burhan al din Gharib of Khuldabad. Ahsan al Aqwal said about the process of this tradition. It was only slowly that Zayn al Din became accustomed to the position of being a spiritual director and the demands that people made on his time. In the chapter in Ahsan al Aqwal, on "The condition of the legitimacy of Donations', Hammad al din Kashani enumerated a number of specific situations regarding the acceptance of gifts. Burhan al din said:

"When the Shaykh al Islam Nizam al din gave me authorization (ijazat), he said, 'Take worthy people as disciples, and on the subject of donations, no rejecting, no asking, and no saving (*la radd wa laa kadd wa laa madd*). If anyone brings you something, do not reject it, and do not ask for anything, but if they bring a little of something good, do not reject it to get it increased, and do not accept by specifying everything [one needs]'. Burhan al din Gharib related that once a woman had a son who received a horse and cloak from a prince. People congratulated her, but she asked, "What sort of good news is this, that someone gave him something?" Nearby twenty nine Sufi practices explained in Ahsan al Aqwal. These best of sayings are as follows: 34

- 1. Rawish-ha: The practices of the masters of the path and the customs (sunan) of the lords of reality.
- 2. Adab: The order of the manners of the shaykhs' assemblies.
- 3. On the firm faith of disciples in the matter of the master and other ascetics.
- 4. The manners of the Murid.
- 5. Bay'a: The manners of initiation and the explanation of people's interntions and the conditions of discipleship.
- 6. On the virtue of obeying the master.
- 7. *Khil'at*: The explanation of guarding the cloak and other articles received from the master.
- 8. The disciplining the soul.
- 9. The excellence of good actions.
- 10. The good morals.
- 11. The miracles of the saints.
- 12. The excellence of fasting (Roza).
- 13. On the excellence of truthfulness.
- 14. On the influence of the prayers of the saints.
- 15. On the internal states of love.
- 16. The manners of accepting gifts.
- 17. On avoiding consumption of unlawful things.
- 18. On the manners of trust in Allah, patience, and enduring poverty and hunger.
- 19. On the companions of excellence and contentment.
- 20. The excellence of seclusion.
- 21. The excellence of harmony and beneficence.
- 22. On the poor and the rich. (Amir wa Garib)
- 23. On the condemnation of begging.
- 24. On the excellence of charity.
- 25. On the excellence of prayers (Salat).
- 26. On the manners of the assembly of audition (Sama').
- 27. On the miracles of Burhan al Din Gharib.
- 28. On the explanation of the dreams of the companions of Burhan al Din Gharib.
- 29. On the words of the master regarding his disciples.

2.3. 'Majma'a' of Sayyid Raju Yusuf Husaini of Khuldabad Dehlawi: Majmu'a or Majma'a Persian manuscript is available at Salar Jung Museum Library Hyderabad. Sayyid Raju Yusuf Husaini had migrated from Delhi during Muhammad Tughalq period towards Daulatabad. He was the father of Gesu Daraz Banda Nawaz of Gulbarga. Raju Qattal (d. 730 / 1331) wrote the Majma'a in Persian language on the mystical philosophy of Sufism and Prophet Muhammad's life. This Majma'a copy contains: Lama'at (ff. iv-6), which describes the short notes on the ives of the Holy Prophets and the twelve Shi'it Imams in two Lama's. Akhbarat (ff. 9v – 42), is the collection of several questions put to the Holy Prohet by his companions on different topics and their answers. Each question begins under the heading and is preceded by. This Majma'a copy of Salar Jung Museum contained, the Dakhani masnawi, in ff. 42v - 43v.

2.4. Nafa'is al Anfas wa lata'if al Alfaz of Rukn al Din Kashani Dabir: The first and perhaps most important of the Malfuzat texts emanating from the circle of Burhan al Din Gharib also followed the model of Fawa'id al Fu'ad. This was Nafa'is al Anfas wa Lata'if al Alfaz (Choice sayings and Elegant words), compiled by Rukn al din Dabir Kashani in forty eight sessions between Muharram 732 / October 1331 and 4^{th} Safar 738 / 1 September 1337. This Malfuz written by Rukn al din Kashani Dabir. As his title 'dabir' indicates, he was a secretary in the service of Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughlaq's administration at Daulatabad.³⁷ Dabir noted in his malfuz text that, he wished to wrote the book like Amir Hasan Sijsi, Fawaid al Fuad. Dabir proposed the Malfuz writing plan towards Burhan al Din Gharib. Burhan al din approved this Malfuz project. Burhan al din said, "For a long time, this idea has been established in my mind", and encouraged Rukn al din Dabir Kashani for his work. Rukn al din understood from this that he would have the great fourtune to play the same role for Burhan al Din Gharib as Hasan Amir Sijzi had been performing for Nizam al Din as recently as ten years previously. Hasan Amir Sijzi wrote Fawa'id al Fu'ad Malfuz. Then same Malfuzat writing started by Rukn al din for Burhan al din Gharib, Nafa'is al Anfas wa Lata'id al Alfaz.38

Befora Burhan al din, number of Murid migrated to Deccan and Malwa region in south side of Delhi. Shaykh Musa Deogiri migrated to Malwa. Muntajib al Din (brother of Burhan al din) went for Daulatabad. Aziz al Din and Kamal al Din sent by Nizam al din Awliy from Delhi to Daulatabad. All detailed information recorded in Nafais al Anfas.³⁹ Uncle of Burhan al din already settled in Daulatabad before Burhan al din come to Deccan. Rukna al din Kashani Dabir gave the information about early life of Burhan al din Gharib. It is covered Burhan al Din's life in Nizam al din Awliya Khanqah in Delhi and migration to the Deccan.⁴⁰

Number of stories is frequently met with in Sufi hagiographical literature, as a metaphor for complete devotion to the master. For example, in Nafa'is al Anfas Rukn al din recorded, he was going to perform pilgrimage to Nizam al Din, and as soon as he saw the dome (Qubba) of Nizam al din Dargah tomb, he got off his horse and put his face on the ground, performing the rest of the pilgrimage on foot. Rukn al din Kashani performed all practiced which he had felt with Burhan al din Gharib's reaction about Nizam al din Awliya of Delhi. When Burhan al din Gharib appeared to be on his deathbed in 737 / 1337, he asked Majd al Din and Run al Din Kashani to pray for him with Qur'anic prayers. Majd al din Kashani wrote the Malfuz, Gharaib al Karamat on Burhan al din's miracles. Bothe Kashani brother had very attachments with Burhan al din Gharib.

Rukn al din, like his brother Majd al din Kashani, had a very close relationship with Burhan al din Gharib. Rukn al Din recorded frequent events marking his growing intimacy with Burhan al Din Gharib. Burhan al Din Gharib frequently presented Rukn al Din with the personal effects that formed such an important part of the initiatic process. Rukn al din also quoted the practice of Sama in Burhan al din Circle. Burhani was the type of Raqs and Sama in Khuldabad. Sama is the spiritual practice in Chishti circle. Other effects of Sama include healing and even raising people from the dead. Rukn al din gave the detailed information about it. Many government servants also come to Khanqah of Burhan al Din for advice about religious practices. Rukn al din noted, Malik Husam al Din Pahlavan-I Jahan, a military leader who was present during a discussion

on performing extra prayers.⁴⁵ Another one such was Nizam al Din Firuz Majmu'dar, the auditor, who came with Rukn al din Kashani during a discussion of preaching.⁴⁶

2.5. Shamail al Atqiya wa Dala'il al Anqiya: Shamail al Atqiya, written by Rukna al Din Kashani Khuldabadi.⁴⁷ Rukn al Din Kashani wrote the another Malfuz literature on the sayings of Burhan al Din Gharib of Khuldabad, as Shamail al Atqiya wa Dala'il al Anqiya (Virtues of the devout and proofs of the pure).⁴⁸ Rukn al Din began writing Shama'il al Atqiya during the lifetime of Burhan al Din Gharib. The Shaykh approved the first few sections and bestowed upon Rukn al Din the title "The spiritual secretary", dabir-I Ma'nawi. The book completed after the death of Burhan al Din Gharib.⁴⁹ All moral teachings are noted in the Malfuz of Shamail al Atqiya.⁵⁰ Burhan al Din Gharib quoted in Shamail al Atqiya as Khidamat-I Khwaja or the revered master.⁵¹

Shamail al Atqiya quoted the remarks of Burhan al Din about the ideal Sufi Shaykh (Master / Pir):

"The perfect master and teacher is that one who is both lover and beloved, both the seeker and the sought, both the impassioned and the impassioning, both the perfect and the perfected both the enraptured wayfarer and the wayfaring enraptured one, both the astonished and the absorbed. His way is sometimes intoxicated and sometimes sober, at times absorbed and at times effaced. The master is the guide and exemplar." ⁵²

Shamail al Atqiya, gives the information about the Ba'yat or initiation in Sufi order. Ba'yat is the beginning of the Sufi path. Bay'at means agreement or compact with the Sufi Tariqah of the Sufi Pir or Master or Shaykh. It is regarded as being the formal acknowledgment of religious authority as instituted by the Prophet Muhammad among his followers.

نَ يُبَايِعُونَكَ إِنَّمَا يُبَايِعُونَ اللَّهَ يَدُ اللَّهِ فَوْقَ أَيْدِيهِمْ فَمَن ثَكثَ فَإِنَّمَا يَنكُثُ عَلَى نَفْسِهِ وَمَنْ أُوقَى بِمَا عَاهَدَ عَلَيْهُ اللَّهَ فَمَيُؤْتِيهِ أَجْرًا عَظِيمًا "Verily, those who give Bai'a (pledge) to you (O Muhammad SAW) they are giving Bai'a (pledge) to Allah. The Hand of Allah is over their hands. Then whosoever breaks his pledge breaks only to his own harm, and whosoever fulfils what he has covenanted with Allah, He will bestow on him a great reward."

Qur'an: 48.10 [Surah Al-Fatah]

This Quranic reference quoted in *Shamail al Atqiya*. This passage refers to the agreement as a linkage (*silsila*) between humanity and Allah, with the Prophet as the intermediary. This linkage is considered to be an uninterrupted transmission through the Sufi masters to each generation.⁵³

النَّبِيُّ إِذَا جَاءِكَ الْمُؤْمِنَاتُ يُبَايِعْنَكَ عَلَى أَن لَمَا يُشْرِكْنَ بِاللَّهِ شَيْئًا وَلَا يَسْرِقْنَ وَلَا وَلَا يَعْسِينَكَ وَلَا يَقْتُلْنَ أُولَادَهُنَّ وَلَا يَعْسِينَكَ وَلَا يَعْسِينَكَ وَأَرْجُلِهِنَّ وَلَا يَعْسِينَكَ وَلَا يَعْسِينَكُ وَلَا يَعْسِينَكُ وَلَا يَعْسِينَكُ وَلَا يَعْسَينِكُ وَلَا يَعْسِينَا وَلَا يَعْسِينَكُ وَلَا يَعْلَى وَلَا يَعْلَى وَلَا يَعْلَى وَلَا يَعْسِينَكُ وَلَا يَعْسِينَكُ وَلَا يَعْسِينَكُ وَلَا يَعْسِينَكُ وَلَا يَعْسِينَكُ وَلَا يَعْسِينَاكُ وَلَا يَعْسِينَكُ وَلَا يَعْشِينَ وَلَا يَعْشِينَ وَاللَّهُ وَلَا يَعْشِينَ وَلَا يَعْشِلُونَ وَلَا يَعْشِلُونَ وَلَا يَعْشِينَ وَلَا يَعْشِلُونَ وَلَا يَعْشِلُونَ وَلَا يَعْشِلُونَ وَلَا يَعْشِلُونَ وَلَا يَعْشَلُونَ وَلَا يَعْشِلُونَ وَلَا يَعْلَى وَاللَّهُ وَلِي اللّهُ وَاللّهُونَ وَاللّهُ وَلِي اللّهُ وَلِي اللّهُ وَلِي اللّهُ وَلِي اللّهُونَ وَلِي اللّهُ وَلِي الللّهُ وَلِ

"O Prophet. When believing women come to you to give you the Bai'a (Pledge / Bay'at), that they will not associate anything in worship with Allah, that they will not steal, that they will not commit illegal sexual intercourse, that they will not kill their children, that they will not utter slander, intentionally forging falsehood (i.e. by making illegal children belonging to their husbands), and that they will not disobey you in any Ma'ruf (Islamic Monotheism and al that which Islam ordains) then accept their Bai'a (pledge / Bay'at), and ask Allah to forgive them, Verily, Allah is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful."

- Qur'an 60:12, [Surah Mumtahinah]

Shamail al Atqiya gave the Quranic references on women *Murid* system in Chishti circle of Burhan al Din Gharib. Shamail explained the process of *Bay'at* or initiation of Sufi path. Special procedures based on the usage of the Prophet Muhammad governed the initiation of women disciples. Following the directive of a passage in the Qur'an 60.12, *Surah Mumtahinah* (Test), women could undertake initiation with a Sufi Shaykh just as women had taken the oath of allegiance to Muhammad. The procedure, derived from a Hadith related by 'Umar, was for the woman to place her hand into a cup of water, after which the shaykh (again

following the example of the Prophet) would also put his hand in the water, and then the oath of initiation would be administered.⁵⁴

Rukn al Din Kashani discussed the importance of Salat (Namaz), Roza (Fast) and Alms, in his Shamail al Atqiya. Muridi (discipleship) and iradat (desire), according to Burhan al din Gharib, is an action of the disciple, not the master. It consists of a discipline (tahkim) imposed on oneself such that one attends to everything said by the master. "The disciple Murid must become a lover of the master's sainthood, so that he can depart from the power of his own longing, and the desirer (Murid) can become the desired (Murad) of the master." Rukn al Din gave the names of murid of Burhan al din. Nasir al Din Pa'on Payk was the famous murid of shaykh. Chishti circle of Khuldabad Deccan permitted to Sama' practices. One time Burhan al Din used a framework derived from Islamic law to describe the varying psychological attitudes that lovers of Allah and lovers of the world bring to the experience of listening to music. Rukn al Din quoted:

"Khwaja shaykh ul Islam, Sultan Burhan al Din also said, 'Sama' is four types. One is lawful, in which the listener is totally longing for Allah and not at all longing for the created. The second is permitted, in which the listener is mostly longing for Allah and only a little for the created. The third is disapproved, in which there is much longing for the created and a little for Allah. The fourth is forbidden, in which there is no longing for Allah and all is for the created. But the listener should know the difference between doing the lawful, the forbidden, the permitted, and the disapproved. And this is a secret between Allah and the listener." 58

In general, Burhan al din and his followers approve of empathetic ecstasy, and they prescribe it first of all as a mode of behavior during *sama*. In the ritual, empathetic ecstasy seeks real ecstasy by conforming to the behavior of those who have it. "If someone in *Sama* has neither ecstasy nor rapture, the rules (*adab*) are that he go stand with the people of ecstasy and conform to them." ⁵⁹

Rukn al din Kashani gave the theological ideas in his Shamail al Atqiya. He discussed about *Davat* about Sufi path and practices. It means

the training with spiritual practices in initiation with Sufism. It was the term da'vat occurs in Sufi texts, but with the specific meaning of a master preaching to an elite group of disciples in training. This term follows in Shamail al Atqiya:

'Da'vat means to call someone toward something and towards someone, and it is of several types, by wisdom, by preaching, and by disputation, as Allah Most High said, "Call to the path of your lord with wisdom and fine preaching, and dispute with them by means of that which is best", Quran 16. 125. That is, "O Muhammad, by whatever means his carnal soul dominates his heart, call him with a fine preaching." This is directed toward the pious ones (abrar), by recalling heaven and hell. "And for anyone whose heart dominates his carnal soul, call him with wisdom." This was directed toward the wayfarers and seekers of the Real, who are hopeful of finding internal purity, gnosis, unity, and nearness. This is by hint, and it is a gift. "Say: This is my way; I call toward Allah with insight, I and whoso follows me", Quran 12. 108. It is the secret of this meaning."

2.6. Hidayat al Qulub wa Inayat Ullam al Ghuyub: Hasan Mir of Khuldabad wrote the Persian Malfuz on the sufis of Khuldabad. Hidayat al Qulub wa Inayat Ullam al Ghuyub text written by Hasan Mir in 1344-67 AD. Zayn al din Shirazi (d. 1371 AD) was the principal successor of Burhan al Din Gharib of Khuldabad. Hasan Mir was the Chishti disciple of Khuldabad circle. He compiled the teaching of Zayh al Din Shirazi Chishti. It is known as Hidayat al Qulub wa Inayat Ullam al Ghuyub (Guidance of hearts and aid for knower of the hidden) between 745 / 1344 and 769 / 1367. Hasan Mir started the Malfuz with banda-I Kamina (lowly servant) called himself. 61

He wrote: "Having collected from the pearl bearing and jewel scattering words of the Shaykh of Islam and of the Muslims, the revered king Zayn al Din al Haqq wa al Haqiqa wa al Din Da'ud Husayn Shirazi (may Allah sustain the Muslims by prolonging his existence), according to the measure of my weak intelligence and infirm expression, this Guidance of Hearts and Aid for Knowers of the Hidden (Hidayat al Qulub wa Inayat Ullam al Ghuyub) comes forth so that all the people of the heart may collect their scattered thoughts through this comprehensive collection,

find salvation from external and internal dissipation, and help the author by praying for his good reward."62

Mir Hasan started with his first meeting with the shaykh Zayn al Din Shirazi, and it indirectly reveals his growing closeness to Zayn al Din Shirazi over a period of nearly twenty five years. He collected more information and wrote in his Malfuzat. Zayn al Din Shirazi's scholarly training in the study of the Qur'an and its commentaries is displayed frequently, and he also recites a surprisingly large number of verses in an old dialect of north Indian literature. Mir Hasan gave the information about the Pir Murid relationship with Nizam al din Auliya and Burhan al din Gharib also. He wrote the events about Delhi life of Burhan al Din Gharib of Khuldabad. He

Mir Hasan also gave the events about the pirimuridi relationships of Burhan al Din Gharib and Zayn al Din Shirazi in Khuldabad. He Pir-Murid (Master Disciple) relationship between Zayn al Din Shirazi and Burhan al Din Gharib was very close. Reminiscing some nine years after his master's death, Zayn al Din described him as having succeeded to the position of the representative of the Prophet Muhammad:

"The Prophet Muhammad at this time is in the veil. His representatives (na'iban), such as Imam Ja'far Sadiq, Hasan Basri, Uways Qarani, Bayazid, Junayd, Shibli, Shaykh al Islam Nizam al Din Awliya and Shaykh al Islam Burhan al Din have taken care of his position after him in this world. Each of them was in his time the representative of the Prophet. With their protection they bring people to fulfill their religious and worldly goals, so one should entrust oneself to their protection so that by following them all one's affairs should be in order." 65

One time, Zayn al Din felt that his relationship with his master was of the greatest importance. "Without the protection of Shaykh al Islam Burhan al Din", Zayn al Din Shirazi remarked, "How would spiritual wayfaring (suluk) be possible?" Zayn al Din Shidrazi become Murid of Shaykh Burhan al Din Gharib. He received the spiritual genealogy from his master as a sign of spiritual perfection. Zayn al Din gave the guidance to Mir Hasan about Chishti path. Zayn al Din used classical Sufi

texts and recommended Murids for the sutudy of his own disciples. When he went to Delhi in 747 / 1347, Zayn al Din gave to Mir Hasan a copy of al Ghazali's *Minhaj al Abidin* that he himself had written, with instructions that Hasan Mir should read and correct the manuscript. Zayn al Din referred to other Sufi classics, such as the works of Qushayri and Hujwiri. Hasan Mir said that, the path of their Master was the path of the heart. Mir Hasan gave the daily schedule of Zayn al Din Shirazi and his prayers (Salat). Mir Hasan wrote the military campaign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq at Daulatabad to Gujrat within 1347.

The rare events about non Muslims are mentioned in the Khuldabad Malfuzat texts found in Mir Hasan's *Hidayat al Qulub wa Inayat Ullam al Ghuyub*. The most specific reference to any non-Muslim is the occasional mention of yogis, who are regarded as alchemists with advanced knowledge of medicine and the body.⁷¹ Hasan quoted the events about Yogi cult practicing in Khuldabad forest. He used Hindwi Urdu worlds in his writing in Malfuzat of *Hidayat al Qulub*.⁷² Zayn al Din Shirazi in his discourses quoted seven *Hindawi* poems by Farid al Din Ganj –i- Shakar, one of which is found in the *Granth Saheb*.⁷³

Zayn al Din Shirazi had not accepted any gifts from anyone. He observed that, dervishes do not think of collecting or spending. The dervish sitting next to the treasury of Allah, whenever they spend, another grace arrives. In the same way, a person sitting next to the edge of a stream does not have any inclination to spend the water. Whenever they do spend, another grace arrives. If dervishes keep treasure, no other expense will ever arrive. Also Zayn al Din Shirazi said that, the dervishes have no land assignment on earth. Hidayat al Qulub gave the information about disciples of Burhan al din and Zayn al din Shirazi.

2.7. Gharaib al Karamat wa Aja'ib al-Mukashafat of Kashani Majd al Din: Majd al Din Kashani, was the murid of Burhan al Din Gharib of Khuldabad. He recorded Burhan al Din Gharib's miracles and revelations in a work called Gharaib al Karamat wa Aja'ib al-Mukashafat (The Rare Miracles and wondrous unveilings). Majd al Din reported the first meeting of Burhan al Din Gharib and Chiragh-I Dihli Chishti of Delhi. This malfuz was the narrative hagiography of Burhan al Din.

The preface continues with an extended narration of the severe discipline (Riyazat) that enabled urhan al Din Gharib to attain the powers and knowledge that occupy the bulk of this book. Majd al din recorded the teaching of Sufism with miracles of Burhan al din. Majd al din started the writing with the migration of Burhan al Din from Delhi to Deccan. The seven hundred or fourteen hundred disciples of Nizam al din Awliya of Delhi migrated to Daulatabad Deccan in early phase of thirteenth century. Masjid-I Chahardih Sad Awliya, the mosque of fourteen hundred saints built in between Daulatabad and Khuldabad. These events recorded in this Malfuz literature in Persian language. When Burhan al Din Gharib became seriously ill in 735 / 1334, his disciples began to pack his belongings, intending to take him back to Delhi. He refused to leave, however, and pointed to the spot where he did his devotions, declaring that he would be buried here. Today there is the Dargahs of Burhan al din Gharib in Khuldabad.

Majd al din gave the events about early life of Burhan al din. Burhan al Din was imam for Id Namaz, when he was seven. At theage of seven, he would say the confession of faith and retire into a room to perform zikr. At sixteen he decided to remain celibate against his mother's wishes, and fasted continually until she finally gave up her insistence that he marry. 81 Nizam al Din Auliya gave Burhan al din the authority of Khilafat in Deccan. It was the dominion (vilayat) over the Deccan gave by Nizam al din Awliya Dehlawi to Burhan al Din. 82 Nizam al din Awliya gave the title of 'Bayazid', to Burhan al din Gharib. 83 Later period Burhan al din famous in Chishti circle of Islamic Deccan. Burhan al Din Gharib's followers and murid regarded him as the world axis, in Persian Qutb-I Alam, the supreme figure in the Sufi hierarchy. Majd al din Kashani recorded all lifetime events and miracles of Burhan al din.84 Burhan al din's reputation became widespread in the Deccan during his lifetime. One of his disciples, Mahmud of Lajwara, had been a businessman in Ma'bar, some hundreds of miles to the southeast of Daulatabad, and after becoming a recluse were told by a mysterious saint to seek the perfect master Burhan al Din Gharib. He has recently arrived in Daulatabad, said the man, and compared to others he is like the sun compared to the moon. When Mahmud came to Daulatabad, Burhan al Din Gharib without being told described the personal appearance of the saint of the south. ⁸⁵ Majd al din Kashani also recorded the poetry of Burhan al Din Gharib in his *Ghraib al Karamat*. Burhan al Din also practiced the Sama and Qawwali. ⁸⁶ Malik Mubarak was a noble person in Daulatabad. He was the disciple of Burhan al Din Gharib. Majd al din Kashani also noted the spiritual relations with Malik and Burhan al Din. ⁸⁷

2.8. 'Malfuzat-I Sarwari' or Makkashfatai Sarwari: The Malfuzat of Hazrat Saidoddin Rafai is available in Kandhar Dargah. These were collected by Amir Hamza, Hyderabad in 1899 AD, and together with their Persian Urdu translation published in 1899, from Hyderabad. The Malfuzat have briefly discussed the subjectsw as - Shariat, Hakikat, Baiat, Sama, Prophet Muhammad and his life, Ahan (Ajaan), Aquidah (faith) etc. The Adhan, which is an important custom of Muslims praying to Allah five times a day (from morning to evening). The purpose of the Adhan is to call the Muslims to the Mosque for prayers. The other concept in Malfuzat of Hazrat Sarwar Maqdoom Rafai was about 'Aquidah' or the faith in Islam. Aquidah refers to the Islamic creed, or the six articles of Faith, which consist of the belief in Allah, Angels, Messengers and Prophets, scripture, the Day of Judgment and Destiny. Hazrat Haju Saidoddin Rafai Sarwar Magdum in is Malfuzat, showed the ideas about Baiat and Pir Murid system. The meaning of 'Baiat' that a vow of spiritual allegiance to a pir, usually accompanied by a simple ceremony. By baiat murid entered in silsila chain Dhikr (Zikra - remembrance), Muraquba (meditation), levels of muraquba, silsilas of Sufism life of Shaikh Nizam ud din Awliya has also been discussed by Hazrat Sarwar Maqdoom Rafai in his Malfuzat.⁸⁸ The Malfuzat also translated by Munshi Muhammad Amir Hasan Saheb in 2001, into Urdu. 89

Priliminary chapters in this Malfuz are related to the early life and *Khilafat* of Sarwar Maqdoom Rafa'i of Kandhar. Muraqaba, the meditation kind in Sufism, explained by Sarwar Maqdoom in his Malfuzat. He noted the importance of Heart (dil) and qulub (soul) in Sufi practices and path.

The word *Salat* or prayer (*Namaz*) is used in the Qur'an to denote the following – Allah has used the word Salat to denote various meanings, for instance:

"O Prophet | Encourage thy companions with words of praise. Verily thy praise is a source of pleasure and peace of mind for them." Our an IX. Sura Tuaba 103.

Accourding to Sarwar Maqdoom, Namaz is the release and unlocking of some of the most wonderful elements of our nature. It is the solution of the doubt, the attainment of peace and courage. Prayer is powers which brings about a new orientation of energy and minimizes the process of disease till the man is cured. ⁹³

2.9. Fath al Awliya: It is written by anonymous writer of Khuldabad Chishti circle. 94 This manuscript gave the information about the Political and cultural relations with Khuldabad Sufi circle. It focuses on the Faruqi state relations with Zayn al Din Shirazi Dargah.⁹⁵ Fath al Awliya is the most important source for Sufic history of Khuldabad Deccan periphery. It is an anonymous author's collection of biographies of Deccan Sufis. It was written in Burhanpur in 1030 / 1620. These manuscripts gave the information about Mughal and other political relations with Shrines of Khuldabad Deccan. Mughals patronage the Sufi centers in Khuldabad after conquest of Faruqis of Khandesh. Mughals conquered Khandesh in 1009 / 1601. Fath al Awliya started from Akbar and Jahangir period. It gives the information about Sufis of Burhanpur, Khuldabad and North Maharashtra region. Fath al Awliya discusses the life and thinking of Burhan al Din Gharib of Khuldabad. 96 It gave the historical information about following sufis also:

Zayn al Din Shirazi, 97 Nizam al Din Idris, 99 Baha al Din Shah Bajan, 101 Sharaf al Din Shah, 103 Ahmad Haji, 105 Abd al Hakim Ibn Shah Bajan, 107 Jala Qadiri, Jalal Mattu, 110 Sayyid Muhammad Qadiri, 112 Abu Jivibn Khisr Tamimi, 114 Sayyid Bahlull, 116

Isa Jund Allah, 118

Ala al Din Ziya, 98
Shah Numan Asiri, 100
Nizam al Din Shah Bhakari, 102
Shah Mansur Majzib, 104
Nizam al Din Ibn Shah Numan, 106
Jalauldin Ibn Nizam al Din, 108
Ibrahim Kalhura Sindhi, 109
Muhammad Arif, 111
Sayyid Ibrahim, 113
Abd al Rahim Kabir, 115
Shah Panah, 117
Muhammad Afzal. 119

Fath al Awliya gave the information about five sufis of Khuldabad and twenty five from Burhanpur. Fath al Awliya described Burhan al Din Gharib of Khuldabad as "the master of the entire dominion (Vilayat) of the Decan", according to the Chishti silsila and the authority in Delhi (Nizam al Din Awliya Dehlwi). Burhan al din was the successor in Nizam al Din Awliya in Deccan. Muntajib al Din Zar Zari Zar Baksh was the brother of Burhan al Din Gharib, who settled before the migration of Burhan al Din to Daulatabad. After the death of Muntajib al Din in Rawza (Khuldabad), Nizam al Din Awliya sent to Burhan al Din to Khuldabad. There is one story on migration of Burhan al Din Gharib from Delhi to Daulatabad in Fath al Awliya.

"One day Nizam al Din Awliya asked Burhan al Din Gharib, "Was your brother Muntajib al Din older or Younger?" From this Burhan al Din Gharib guessed that his brother had died."

Fath al Awliya describes how Nizam al Din then conferred the *Vilayat* (successor ship / authority / *khilafat*) of the Deccan upon Burhan al Din Gharib. Nizam al Din presented him with his own sandals as a token of their continuing connection, and also ordered seven hundred (or fourteen hundred) of the assembled disciples to accompany Burhan al Din Gharib in palanquins to the Deccan. Faruqi Sultans had basic relation with shrines of Khuldabad as murid (discipleship). They founded Burhanpur on the Prayer sited of Burhan al din Gharib during migration travel from Delhi to Daulatabad. Faruqis donated Bhadgaon village to Khuldabad shrines. Akbar and Jahangir also gave the donations to Khuldabad shrines after conquered the Faruqi state in Khandesh and North Maharashtra region. 122

Mughal Farmans for Khuldabad Dargahs & Fath al Awliya 123

1. Reign of Emperor Akbar

Date: 2nd *Rabi Awwal* 1041 / 18 July 1605

Endowment: Bhadgaon village in Burhanpur district, and two villages in the districts of Bhusawal and Adilabad. (Bhadgaon is a town on the Girna

River, fifty miles north of Khuldabad. Adilabad on Purna river near Burhanpur.)

Recipient: Shaykh Zayn al Din Muhammad, son of Shaykh Khan Muhamad, heir of Sultan Burhan al Din Gharib of Khuldabad and Shah Muntajib al Din Chishti Khuldabadi.

Stipulations: Half the income is designated for living expenses of the custodians, and half for the annual festival ('urs), the open kitchen, shawls, and lamps. Exception from various taxes is guaranteed. The chief custodian of the shrine (sahib -i- Sajjada) has exclusive control over these revenues from which the trustees (mutawalliyan) are excluded.

Endorsements: Miran Sadr-I Jahan, Sadr; Muhammad Tahir, Reporter (waqi's - niwis); Ram Das.

2. Reign of Jahangir:

Date: 24 Shawwal 1035 / 19 July, 1626.

Endowment: Longaon an Karab villages in Bhadgaon District, with an estimated total revenue (*jam-i-Raqmi*) of 122,400 dams, from the beginning of the autumn (*kharif*) crop.

Recipient: Shrine (Dargah) of Sultan Burhan al Din and Shah Zayn al Din and the attendants thereof.

Stipulations: Revenue to be used for expenses. Recipients are to pray for the welfare of the ruling dynasty.

Bibi Aayasha was the daughter of Farid al Din Ganj-I Shakkar migrated to Daulatabad with Burhan al din Gharib. There was one of the duties that Nizam al Din Awliya had laid upon Burhan al Din Gharib was to look after one of the daughters of the great Shaykh Farid al Din Ganj-I Shakkar. On every weekly Friday, Burhan al Din Gharib visited to Bibi Aayasha at Rawza. 124 Fath al Awliya gave also the information about Burhanpur saints and Madnu saints. Shaikh Rahmat Allah ibn Shaykh Aziz Allah Mutawakkil of Mandu (861 – 909 / 1457 – 1503) was the famous Sufi in Faruqi state. He was lived for many years in Burhanpur. He was extremely popular, and was known for the literary talent in Persian and Gujari poetry displayed in his Sufi treatise Khizanat-I Rahmat Allah. 125

2.10. Rawzat al Awliya al Maruf bi- Nafahat al Asfiya: Rawzat al Awliya al Mauf bi-Nafahat al Asfiya, the Persian book written by Ghulam Ali Azad al-Bilgrami. His original name was Mir Ghulam Ali Husaini Wasiti (1116-1200/1704-1786) however he is best known as Ghulam 'Ali Azad Bilgrami. He was born in Bilgram, a small town of scholars

in Awadh and gained reputation for possessing command over all topics of literature and learning. He traveled to the cities of Mecca and Medina, where he devoted himself to religious studies particularly specializing in Sihah-i-Sittah i.e. six books of traditions of Muhammad Ismail Bukhari, Muslim Nishapuri, Ibn Majah, Abu Daud, Abu Isa Tirmizi and Abu Abdul Rehman Nisai. 126

He returned from Hijaz to India and lived in the city of Aurangabad, Deccan till his death. Nizam Nasir Jang and other nobles of the Nizam's state were his devotees but he avoided worldly favors and preferred life of piety and poverty. *Rawza-I Ba-safa* means the pure Garden. The name of Khuldabad was given to the town after the burial there of the emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir Badshah (d. 1707 AD), from his post mortem epithet *Khuld-makan*, 'stationed in eternity'. Before it, Khuldabad was known as *Rawza*. Azad Bilgrami wrote this book in 1739 AD. He quoted in his preface:

"In a time of travel and journeying, the divine attraction drew me to the kingdom of the Deccan. Traversing certain stations of the journey of life in this kingdom, and obtaining the happiness of visiting the resting saints of sacred awza (rawz-I muqaddasa, the sacred garden), I began to investigate the lives and sayings of thise saints. Since the lives and sayings of those saints can be seen scattered in the books of the ancients, an inspiration appeared in my devoted heart from the hidden world, that I should collect in brief a sample of their sublime states and events and their sacred words and sayings, and that I should assemble a book called Garden of the Saints (Rawzat al-Awliya)." 127

Azad Bilgrami started the description with Burhan al Din Gharib's Sufi circle in Khuldabad. At first meeting of Nizam al Din Awliya of Delhi and Burhan al din Gharib happned in Delhi Khanqah. Nizam al din's attendant announced that Burhan al Din, a poor man (Gharib) had arrived. Then Nizam al din Awliya remarked that he is indeed poor now, but the whole world will come to know him. As Nizam al din said, Burhan al Din Gharib famous in Deccan and had the Khilafat of Nizam al din Chishti Dehlawi in Deccan. These events noted in Rawza al Awliya by Azad Bilgrami. 128

Ali Azad Bilgrami noted the events which he had listen in Khuldabad at eighteenth century AD. 129 Zayn al din Shirazi was also very learned in the religious sciences in Khuldabad. When he had contact with Burhan al Din, he became interested in Sufism. 130 The administration of Khanqah in Khuldabad was the subject of Azad Bilgrami's interest also. He detailed took all information and noted in his text. 131 Azad Bilgrami gave another information about the disciples of Burhan al Din Gharib. Farid al Din Adib, a cultured and pious recluse, was brought by his father to meet Burha al din Gharib at a musical audition (Sama) at the age of fifteen. A precocious aspirant, he at once formed the resolve to become a disciple of Burhan al Din Gharib, and with the internal help of his future master, he began reducing his food intake to prepare for asceticism. He became initiated when he was eighteen, though Burhan al Din Gharib compared him in spiritual maturity to a disciple of thirty years service. 132 Zayn al Din analized all information and he advanced rapidly, and on 17 Rabi' awwal 737 / 24 October 1336, on the 'urs festival of Nizam al Din Awliya, he obtained the cloak of succession (khirga-I Khilafat). 133

Azad Bilgrami mentioned the notations about the female sufis in Khuldabad. Burhan al din Gharib's mother Bibi Hajira, were highly respected. Bibi Hajira's tomb is next to the shrine of her other son, Muntajib al Din Zar Zari Zar Baksh. The five sisters of Burhan al Din Gharib, known locally as "The five Ladies", panch bibiyan, also had a prominent position. The upkeep of their tombs was one of the tasks assumed by the first administrators of the shrine of Burhan al Din Gharib. Azad gave the description about Khwaja Bibi. He quoted in Rawzat al Awliya:

"From childhood she was benevolently nurtured in the shade of Mawlana Zayn al din. The Mawlana too had great affection for her, and for that reason she is known as "the adopted daughter" (Mutabanna Sahib Zadi). She was a great devotee and ascetic. Having mastered the external and internal sciences with the Mawlana, when attained the rank of unveiling mukashafa). The story is well known that once the Bibi was in a state of intoxication when it came time to eat. When the table was laid out, she was summoned. Because of this state, she came but could not begin to eat. The Bibi lifted up some bread from the table and stretched out

her hand, saying, "Take it". The master asked, "To whom are you giving the bread?" She replied, "You cannot see that a (illegible) in blessed Mecca is asking for it; I have given it to him." By the truth of the saying, "The seeker of the Lord is masculine," she is known as Mawlana Bibi Sahiba." 134

These five women as Bibi A'isha, Bibi Amina, Bibi Khatija, Bibi Maryam, and Bibi Sara, and describes them as sister of Zar Zari Zar Baksh. These names found in Shajara of Burhan al Din Gharib at Nuruddin Collection Aurangabad. Azad Bilgrami also gave the information about Sama practices in Khuldabad circle of Burhan al Din Gharib. Muhammad ibn Tughalaq send the gifts to Burhan al Din Gharib from Daulatabad, bur shaykh returned to Sultan. It was the delicate balance that Burhan al Din Gharib tried to keep in his relations with the sultan. Azad Bilgrami stated that, during the journey from Delhi to Deccan, Burhan al din Gharib stopped at the future site of Burhanpur and prophesied its greatness. It is also said that Malik Raja (d. 801 / 1399), first ruler of the Faruqi dynasty, was a disciple of Zayn al Din; he is said to have founded the city Burhanpur in 772 / 1370. Azad Bilgrami stated the spiritual relations of Faruqi Khan sultans with Zayn al Din Shirazi of Khuldabad.

Before the Chishti silsila in Khuldabad, Jalal al din *Ganj al Rawan* came to Khuldabadbefore the Chishtis. He praised the beauty of the Dargah, which overlooks a splendid view of a spring fed pond, known as the *Pariyaonka Talab* (Fairies Tank); the pastoral beauty of this scene is still impressive today. It is the tourism place in winter and summer days of Khuldabad. Azad Bilgrami also gave the information about Mosque of Fourteen hundred Saints, in Khuldabad. Hindu princess Sona Bai was the famous lady in sufi circle of Khuldabad. Azad Bilgrami noted the hagiography of Sona Bai. The meaning of her name is Gold woman in Marathi. She was a disciple of Zar Zari Zar Baksh. She is known especially for having constructed the well named after her, the *Sona Bai'oli*. When Muntajib al Din arrived in Khuldabad and settled on Hoda Hill, he sent a servant out to fetch water for ablutions or *Wudu*. When the servant requested access to the well from an attendant, he was refused, but by good fortune Sona Ba'I happened to be passing by with her

companions. Hearing that the already famous Zar Zari Zar Bakhsh was requesting water, she jestingly replied that he could have water as soon as the well turned to gold. When the servant returned to the saint and relayed the message, he replied, "So be it", and instructed the servant to return, take some water, and then place a handkerchief belonging to Zar Zari Zar Bakhsh in the well. The servant followed these orders, and Sona Ba'I watched in amazement as the water turned to flowing gold. She and her family converted to Islam, and she eventually became an adept mystic. Sona Bai's tomb lies under a jasmine tree between the tombs of Zar Zari Bakhsh and his mother Bibi Hajira. 142

2.11. Manaqib -e- Fakhriyyah: The life of Maulana Fakhr ud din Chishti Nizami bint Nizam al Din Awarangabadi (d. 1199 / 1785), was a celebrated saint and reformer of his time. This biographical book written by Nizam ul Mulk Ghazi ul din Khan bin Amirul Umara Ghazi ud din Khan bin Nizam ul Mulk Asif Jah I, in 1201 / 1787. Maulana Fakhr ud din Chishti was the Murshid of Mughal emperor Akbar II and other dignitaries of the Mughal court. The work is divided into five babs (chapters). Chapter one, discusses the life and works of Maulana Fakhr ud din. Second chapter are on his ideas of Sama and other chapter about the Murid training and Chishti philosophy. Author wrote the description of Nizam al Din Awarangabadi's aamad (coming) in Deccan and it's spiritual beneficence for the 'People of Asaf Jah'.

2.12. Malfuzat -i-Naqshbandi: Shah Mahmud wrote the Malfuzat - i-Naqshbandi in eighteenth century Aurangabad. Mughal soldier Ghazi al din Khan Firoz Jung (father of first Nizam, Nizam al Mulk Asaf Jah I) was migrated from Central Asia. He was the greatedst General in the Deccan for Mughal Empire. Malfuzat -i- Naqshbandiyya gave the all events and the migration of Naqshbandi saints from Cetnral Asia to Deccan. According to Digby Simon, immigration apparently increased during the seventeenth century as the decline of the Uzbek kingdoms was pitched into ever starker contrast with the expanding Mughal imperium to the South. 145

The Malfuzat -e- Nagshbandiyya is a saintly biography of a high order and a record of peity and religious practices. It is also an exemplar of the ar of narrative, with some admirable examples of vigorous and evocative story telling. Malfuz -i- Naqshbandiyya, in genre it is not a Malfuz, recording the conversations of a Sufi shaykh, but a tadhkira or collection of biographical anecdotes. 146 Baba Musafir Naqshbandi died in 1126 / 1714, shortly after this, probably in the following five years, Baba Mahmud encouraged another writer to compile a tachkira regarding Baba Musafir. It was the beginning was made.

Malfuzat -e- Nagshbandiyya divided into nine parts: 147

The life of Baba Sa'id, called Early life, Baba Sa'id serves Shaykh

Plangposh: Darwish Azizan, Baba Palangposh comes to

Tashkent and his Initiated in the

Kubrawiyya Path, Visits Mashhad, Meccan Medina, Deccan; The last days of Baba

Palangposh.

Baba Palanposh and Baba Musafir: Baba Shah Musafir's Early life and his Their Travels and Arrival in the Deccan:

meeting with Baba Palangposh, Visits to

Kabur, Balkh;

Deccan and Vilayat, Travels of the Palangposh and Shah Musair, Kashmir and

Aurangabad visits. Shah Musafir's

pilgrimage to Mecca.

Travel to Aurangabad, Establishement of Baba Musafir Settled in Aurangabad:

> Takya (Khanqah), Masque, Construction of the Step Well, Erection of the Waterwheel, The supply of Water from the Reservoir,

Panchakki.

Nawab Ghazi al din Khan in Deccan and

Takya:

Meer Shihab al din Episode, Baba

Palangposh teels in Deccan, Nawwab Ghazi al din Khan Bahadur, Feroz Khan Jang

The Practice of Baba Palangposh: Aurangabad Bazaar, Cloth traders from

Bengal, The dream, Tasawwuf.

Baba Musafir: In the service of Baba Palangposh, Baba

Musafir on Holy Poverty, Faqir, Religious

Law, Prayers.

Baba Musafir sayings: Power of Discovery, One told in a dream to

become Baba Musafir's Disciple, The Garden by the River, Employment for Men of Wilayat in the Deccan, Holy duomg. Benefits of a Visit by Baba Musafir, Construction of the Great Tank in the

The Khalifas and Friends of Shah

Hazrat Shah Musafir Saying:

Musafir:

Mir Mahmud, Kalifa Abd al Rahim, Abd al Karim, Khalifa Khwaja Muhammad Sa'id, Shah Qalandar, Hajji Ashur, Mawlana Mushfiqi, Sufi Muhammad Wafa, Mir Arab, In sixth part of *Malfuzat -e- Naqshbandiyya* noted the event of tobacco smokers by author. Shah Musafir was against the Tobacco smoking:

"Some of the Faqirs also used to be smokers of tabaco, but they could not seven mention the name of tobacco in his presence; but once they knew that Hazrat was in his chamber or had gone to renew his wazi, they would secretly draw some puffs and immediately hide away in a corner the vessels for smoking tobacco. It these happened to be spotted by him, he would break the chilam [bowl for burning tobacco] and the huqqa [water filled base] upon their heads and after beating they would drive them from the takya. They would bring some of the great men [Akabir, of Aurangabad] to intercede, and would ask pardon for their faults."

- Malfuzat -i- Naqshbandiya (VI.6)¹⁴⁸

Malfuzat gave the detailed information about the saints of Naqshbandiyya in Aurangabad periphery. The lives of the Naqshbandi Sufis Shah Palangposh (d. 1110 / 1699) and his disciple Shah Musafir (d. 1126 / 1715) confirm the importance of acces to supernatural power, revealing a pragmatic and at times bewildering dimension to the practice of Sufism in Mughal Aurangabad.¹⁴⁹

- **2.13.** Kashkul -e- Kalimi: This Persian text written by Shah Kalim Allah in seventeent century (c. 1101 / 1690). This text gave the *dhikr* (Zikr) practice of Sufism. It covered the philosophy of Nizam al din Awrangabad and Zikr. This is the book of Nizam al din's master Kalim Allah Jahanabadi. Major parts of text written in Delhi. The book explained the Chishti practices and Sama, Qawwai etc. The work also discussed the benefits of the postures of Yoga or Baytak -e- Jog. 151
- **2.14.** *Tuhfat al Shu'ara*: This Persian book written by Afzal Beg Qaqshal in mid eighteenth century Deccan. He refers the spiritual circle of Nizam al Din Awarangabad Chishti of Aurangabad. He noted the poems of Mirza Turk Ali Beg, with the pen name Wasil, as one of the disciples of Nizam al Din Awarangabadi of Aurangabad. Afzal Beg noted the clear valued Wasil's poetry highly and preserved a considerable number of lhis couplets. This Persian poems and anthological work gave the literary

information about the Aurangabad Sufi circle in Nizam al din Awrangabadi's period.¹⁵³

2.15. Maktubat -e- Kalimi: Shah Kalim Allah Jahanabadi wrote the Maktubat -e- Kalimi, in near 1884 in Persian. Shah Nizam al din Awarangabadi Chishti was born in the region of Awadh around 1076 / 1665. Nizam al Din was originally a migrant to the Deccan from North India. As a young man Nizam al Din travelled to Delhi, which like Aurangabad a few decades later was enjoying a period of royal and aristocratic patronage under the aegis of Shah Jahan that was as beneficial to its Sufis as to its other inhabitants. There Nizam al Din came into contact with the followers of the influential Chishti Shaykh Kalim Allah Jahanabadi (d. 1142 / 1729). In part through the influence of Kalim Allah's own master Yahya Madani (d. 1101 /1689), Nizam al Din became the initiate and eventually the favorite of Kalim Allah. Nizam al din spend several years at the khanaqah of his master before setting off for the Deccan under the latter's explicit instructions. Nizam al din Awarangabadi preserved the Maktubat of Kalim Allah.

Nizam al din traveled all over Deccan. He visited also Burhanpur, but settled at Aurangabad Deccan. He remained there till his death in 1142 / 1729. Maktubat -e- Kalimi gave the spiritual ideas and stories from mid eighteenth century Deccan. Maktubat noted the Pir Murid relationship and spiritual thinking of Kalim Allah and Nizam al Din Awarangabadi. Kalim Allah, Murshid of Nizam al din gave a letter to Nizam al din about Vilayat (the spiritual Jurisdiction) over the entire Deccan. 159

2.16. Nizam al Qulub (Order of the Hearts): Nizam al din Aurangabadi was the famous Chishti saint of Aurangabad in seventeenth century. The use of Naqshbandi meditational chants or Zikar by the circle of Nizam al din was mentioned in the latter's biography and also described at some length in the manualon dhikr of both Nizam al Din and his master Shah Kalim Allah. Nizam al din Awrangabadi wrote a Persian treatise entitled Nizam al Qulub means Order of the Hearts, on the practice and various techniques of dhikr. The text is notable for its discussion of Yogic

methods of breath control and of meditations borrowed from other Sufi traditions, probably a result of Nizam al din's initiation into several orders beside his primary Chishti affiliation. ¹⁶¹

- 2.17. Ma'athir al Kiram: This Persian book written Ghulama Ali Azad Bilgrami (d. 1200 / 1786) of Aurangabad. His tomb situated at Khuldabad, beside Amir Hasan Sijzi Dargah. He was the famous Arabic and Persian scholar in Nizam state. In Ma'athir al Kiram, he gave the account on the spread of Naqshbandiya Sufism in Auragabad town. Specially, he noted the Naqshbandiyya migration from Central Asia to Deccan. Azad Bilgrami gave the detailed description about the Naqshbandi Sufis of Aurangabad town. He gave the development of Naqshbandi Khanqah at Panchakkir and the tradition of influences in local milieu. 163
- 2.18. Khazana ye Amira: This Persian treaty written by Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami in Aurangabad. He wrote also the famous Persian book on Sufis of Khuldabad, Rawzat al Awliya. Khazana ye Amira described how Sufis continued to arrive in the Deccan during the reign of Nizam al Mulk from Central Asia, Iran and the Arab countries as well as from elsewhere in India. He noted the all grants and the gifts of Dargah in Aurangabad. Azad Bilgrami noted the all events about the Aurangabad Dargahs and Nizam al Mulk. Azad Bilgrami wrote the all significant role of State in the management of shrines in Aurangabad.
- 2.19. Ahsan al Sham'il: Original copy of manuscript is available at Tawnsa Dargah Library, Tawnsa Sharif, Pakistan. It had also published in text with translation in Delhi and Aurangabad. Kamgar Khan gave the Sufic information about the Nizam al din circle in Aurangabad Dargah. He noted the dhikr and other Sufi practices like Sama, Qawwali etc. Kamghar Khan also referred the Hindu devotees of Aurangabad shrines in his book. Shah Noor Hamvi was the deep relations with Hindu ascetics. His cult interacted with the Manapur Parashar Math at Daulatabad. After hah Noor's death, the circle surrounding the Chishti Sufi Nizam al din (d. 1142 / 1729) in Aurangabad also included a number of Hindus. The

malfuz also noted the relations of political personalities with Nizam al din Awrangabadi Dargah. Number of Mughal Nobel and soldiers were devotees of Nizam al din Awrangabadi. 170

Kamghar Khan made the Khanqah for Nizam al din Awrangabadi in central area of Aurangabad. Kamghar Khan was Mughal servant in Aurangabad. This Kamgar Khan later compiled the collection of Nizam al din's recorded conversations or Malfuzat entitled Ahsan al Shama'il. Shah Ganj was the centre of the city and the site of its famously wealthy built up a following in Aurangabad that combined a retinue from among the Mughal elite classes with more humble petitioners from across the city. 171 The Ahsan al Shama'il contained several references to the Yogi followers of Nizam al din, there was no sense that the saint's task was to convert them. In one long narrative in which a Hindu devotee wished to become a Muslim, Nizam al din made it quite clear that he did not see it as his role to convert people. Instead, the Yogi had to resort to the Khatib of the city's Friday masque in order to fulfil what was clearly his own wish of accepting Islam. Malkapuri ansl noted the female Yogi or Jogin, who spent her days at Khanqah of Nizam al din Awrangabad with her 500 followers. 172

3. Dakkhani & Urdu Literature in Marathwada (up to 1950 AD):

3.1. Urdu Language:

Dakhini also spelled Dakkhani and Deccani, arose as a Muslim court language of the Deccan Plateau ca. 1300 AD in ways similar to Urdu. Urdu developed by the origin of Dakkhani. It is similar to Urdu in its mixture of Persian with a Hindi base, but differs in its strong influence from Arabic, Urdu, and its Telugu surroundings in Andhra Pradesh. There is an extensive literature. Dakhini is spoken in the Deccan plateau region of India. When Wali Mohammed Wali Awarangabadi arrived in Delhi, he established Hindustani with a light smattering of Persian words, a register called Rekhta, for poetry; previously the language of poetry had been Persian. When the Delhi Sultanate expanded south to the Deccan Plateau, they carried their literary language with

them, and it was influenced there by more southerly languages, producing the Dakhini dialect of Urdu. The communal nature of the language lasted until it replaced Persian as the official language in 1837 and was made co official along with English in the British Raj. In addition, Rekhta (or *Rekhti*), the language of Urdu poetry, is sometimes counted as a separate dialect, one famously used by several poets of high acclaim in the bulk of their work. These included Mirza Ghalib, Mir Taqi Mir and Muhammad Iqbal.

Urdu holds the largest collection of works on Sufi, Islamic literature and *Sharia*. These include translations and interpretation of the Qur'an as well as commentary on Hadith, *Fiqh*, history, spirituality, and metaphysics. Popular Islamic books are also written in Urdu. ¹⁷⁴

3.2. Khwaja Banda Nawaz Gesu Daraz (1312 – 1421 AD): He born at 31 July 1312 AD in Delhi. His full name was Sayyad Muhammad Hussaini. His father was Raju Qattal Hussaini Chishti, the disciple of Nizam al Din Awliya in Delhi. He migrated to Deccan with Tughalaq's capital Daulatabad. Dargah of Raju Qattal Hussaini situated at Khuldabad in Aurangabad District today. Khwaja Banda Nawaz was the murid of Khwaja Nasir al Din Chiragh –e- Dillhi of Delhi. He came to Gulbarga in his 80th age in 1400 AD. Banda Nawaz died in 1421 (825 AH) at Gulbarga. His literature was written in Persian, Hindi and Dakhani languages. His three book written in Dakhani language; *Meraj ul Ashikin, Hidayatnama, Risale Sah-Bar'ha* etc. Shikar-nama and *Chakki Nama* were the famous Dakhani folk songs of Banda Nawaz.¹⁷⁵

"Paani mai Namak Daal Majaa Dekhtaa Dise Jab Dhul Gayaa Namak tho Namak Bolnaa Kise. Yuh Khoy Khudee Apni Khuda Saat Muhammad Jab Dhul Gaee Khudi toh Khuda Been Koi na Dikhe".

The mystic philosophy of 'fanaa', influence in these words of Banda Nawaz. 176

3.3. Shaikh Muhammad 'Ashraf' Biyabani (d. 1529 AD): Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf Biyabani was the famous sufi saint of Ambad, Dist.

Jalna in Marathwada region today. He wrote 'Nawsar Haar', in Dakhani language. It was the Marsiya or shaokgeet. He was the disciple of Ziya ud Din Biyabani. He worked as in charity at langar of Dargah. In folk proverbs spread in this region about him, that –

"Shah Ashraf Bayaabani, Bhukhe ko bhojan, pyase ko paani".

In Nawsar Haar, he wrote the poems about events in Qu'ran which are related to the Prophets lives. He wrote, - "Allah Wahid Haq Subhan,"

Jeenpar Sarjyaa Bhuin Aasmaan" 177

- 3.4. Saint Eknath (1528 1599 AD): Saint Eknath was the grandson of famous Marathi poet Bhanudas. Eknath was born in Paithan, near Aurangabad town. He accepted the discipleship of Saint Janardan of Daulatabad, when he was 13th. He wrote Bhagwat, Bhawarth Ramayan, Shukashtaka, Aanand Lahiri, Bharud etc. He was influenced by Sufi philosophy. His 'Hindu Turk Samvad', poem (dialogue) famous for it's Marathi Dakhani tone. Bharud is the folk songs tradition in Medieval Maharashtra region. His bharud were Bajegiri, Brahman, Malalang Fakir, Jogi etc. 178
- AD): He ruled over Qutb Shahi of Golconda for fifteen year. Mughal emperor Aurangzeb captured Golconda state and Abdu Hasan Tanashah Qutb Shah had been placed in prison at Daulatabad. Tanashah lived there till death in 1699. He buried at Khuldabad Rawza during Aurangzeb reign. 'Thanashah' this name he gave by Mughals. He was the writer and protector of Dakhani language. Gulam Ali, the famous Dakhani writer and poet was the member of Tanashah's court at Golconda. Gulam Ali had translated the Malik Muhammad Jayasi's Padmavat into Dakhni 'Padamavat' at 1680. Tabai was the second famous poet of Dakhani language at Tanashah Court. According to Rahul Sankrutyayan, Tabai was the last famous author of Dakhani literature. His 'Baharamo-Gul- Andam', was the famous pearl of Dakhani literature. He wrote about Tanashah, -

"Shahnshah tu aaj ran sur hai, Tere birate shaha balaa dur hai, Shahn Shah tu Rajaa hai Cchatrapati, Gagan tere Darbar kaa hai hati."

Personally, Sultan Tana Shah was misinterpreted by Mughal court historians as dictator or Tana Shah in Persian. Sultan Abdul Hasan was secular and art protector sultan. He granted the Farmans and Inams to Hindu temples in Golconda state. Tana Shah's Gazals had famous in the region of Deccan. 179

- 3.6. Wali Dakhani Awarangabadi (1668 1741): Wali ud din Waliallah alias Wali Dakani was from Aurangabad. He went to Delhi and then Ahmadabad. He died in Gujarat. He known as Bab –i- Adab Urdu, means the father of Urdu language. After the Wali Awarangabadi, Dakhani language converted into the full form of Urdu with influence of Persian Language. Wali developed the Rekhta form of preliminary Urdu language. He wrote 450 Ghazals in Urdu and Dakhani. 180
- 3.7. Shah Turab Ali Dakani: He was from Tirnamal, Tamil country. He was the famous scholar of Sufi philosophy and Astrology. He wrote number of books in Dakhani language: Juhure Kulli, Ganjul Asrar, Gulzar –i- Wahdat, Dnyan Swarup, Aain'ye, Masnawi Mahrabin –o-Mullah and Mansamzaawan etc. The five manuscripts of Mansamzaawan secured in Sir Salar Jung Museum Library, Hyderabad. 181

"Are man nako re nako ho diwana,
Are man muzhe bol tera thikana,
Kahan sun Huaa hai yaha tera aanaa.
Na tera yahaoo Khaish naa koi yagaanaa,
Yahoon su kahan fir tera hogaa jaanaa.
Agar tu hai pardesh piche diwanaa,
Are man nako re nako ho diwanaa."

- Mansamzaawan

4. Folk Literature in Deccan: The bulk of the folk poetry written by Sufis was sung by village women while engaged in various household chores. The women in village commonly in present days also sings the

songs or folk lyrics written by Sufis in Gulbarga, Bidar, Bijapur and Khuldabad region. The most common types included the *Chakki Nama*, so called because it was sung while grinding food grains at the grindstone or *Chakki*, and the Charkha Nama, sung while spinning thread at the spinning wheel, or *Charkha*. Other types of such folk poetry included the *Luri Nama* or lullaby, the *Shadi Nama* or wedding song, the *Suhagan Nama* or married woman's song, and the Suhaila or Eulogistic song. These folk songs have the influence of Marathi, Kannad and Telugu language words in the core body of songs. These lyrics may be influences with spirituality and work culture of village life. The manuscripts at Salar Jung Museum Library Hyderabad show the most of the folk poetry discussions originated from Khuldabad, Gulbarga and Bijapur Deccan. The *Chakkinama* manuscript of Sayyad Gesu Daraz Banda Nawaz of Gulbarga placed in *Idara-e- Adbiyat -e-Urdu*, Hyderabad. 183

Dakhani manuscript of Hashim Hadi recorded the Chakkinama of Urdu Dakhani language in medieval Deccan:

"First was Allah's name, And then His qualities. In my mind I keep the name. And with each breath. Say "La-illah" [There is no God]. Dwell in "il-Allah" [But Allah]. God himself from the hidden treasure. Has created the whole world artistically. He has created it with His own power –

Say "La-illah", Dwell in "il-Allah". God Himself came out from the hidden treasure. And showed Himself in the guise of the Prophet. In the presence of God, the Prophet is the chief. Whose teachings have given us support in both worlds. The Prophet's Khalifa is Ali, who is dear to Him. And whose disciples are our pirs. Allah, Muhammad, and Ali. Our Pir has taken our hands in his; He has given us connections whole heartedly. May he keep this connection forever. Say: La – illah, "il-Allah".

The Zikr practice is the spiritual exercises intended to bring a Sufi closer to Allah. For practicing mystics the *zikrs* had a specialized use, certain ones being associated with certain stages on the traveler's path toward Allah. In the folk literature, however, the *zikrs* were largely divested of their mystical content and became more devotional. The practice was quite comparable with the non Muslim Bhakti poetry of the

contemporary Deccan - the Kannada Vachanas of the Lingayats or the Marathi Abhangas of the poet saints of Pandharpur - in its use of a vernacular medium, its special appeal to women, and its devotional character. Sufi Malfuzat literature like Shamail at Atqiya of Rukn al Din Kashani of Khuldabad, noted the permission for women to accept Sufi path. Later, as the Sufis became replaced by their tombs as objects of popular veneration, women came to comprise the great majority of devotees at any given Dargah in the Deccan. They come to Dargahs in Urs festival also. There are number of Dargahs in Marathwada which gives the permission for women to enter inside the shrine. They offered flowers, bangals, coins, cloths or prayers to the spirit of the pir buried at the Dargah. There are special vows or Mannat or Nawas that became associated with individual Dargahs, they were all generally associated with fertility. Indeed, the belief that visits to Dargahs would in some measure enhance a woman's fertility is an obvious reason for their continuing popularity among rural women of the Deccan today. 185 According to Eaton Richard, that the folk literature was originally penned by Sufis of the Deccan and the institution of the Dargah have assimilated into the world of folk Islam various non elite and predominantly female elements of the Deccan rural society. 186

5. Urdu Literature of Sufism in Marathwada:

5.1. Rawzat al Aqtab al Ma'ruf bi-Mazhar-I Asafiyya: This book written by Rawnaq Ali in 1931 at Aurangabad during Nizam state of Asaf Jahin. 187 In the nineteenth and twentieth century, numbers of Urdu hagiographies have emerged in Nizam's Deccan. From the historiographical view, Rawzat al Aqtab (Garden of the World Axes), published in 1931. It had recorded the antiquarian researches of a learned local schoolteacher named Rawnaq Ali. He used the most primary sources and other rare manuscript for write the book. He surveyed thoroughly all Malfuzat in Khuldabad and Aurangabad region and collected the 'Urs information with dates. He requested to Nizam court at Hyderabad for support the renovation and maintenance of saints and kings shrines or Dargahs in this region. ¹⁸⁸ He quoted the Zayn al din ShirazI's travel to North Indian Chishti shrines or Dargahs in 1347 AD. ¹⁸⁹ Rawnaq Ali recorded the Nizams patronization of the Big Dargahs in Khuldabad. Other continuation of Mughal grants in Khuldabad Dargahs. School Teacher Rawnaq Ali, was a member of the Nizam's administration, reported that in 1310 / 1892, the greater Dargah were receiving 'From some old towns', an unspecified endowment income twice the size of that given to the lesser Dargah, while the shrine of Ganj-I Ravan had an income from the towns of *Soli Bazhan* and *Nadirabad*. ¹⁹⁰ The Nizam declared these incomes free of all duty in 1333 / 1914. By 1931, there were over seven hundred attendants (Khuddam) attached to the greater Dargah, over four hundred attached to the lesser Dargah, and on hundred fifty attached to the shrine of Ganj-I Ravan; three hundred students were supported by the Nizam's donations, as were charitable kitchens at the tombs of Aurangzeb and the first two Nizams. ¹⁹¹

First Nizam, Nizam al Mulk died near Burhanpur, and his followers buried him in Khuldabad opposite the Tomb of Burhan al Din Gharib. 192 Also the third Nizam Muzaffar Jang (d. 1751), is buried just south of Burhan al Din's tomb, along with figres such as his uncle Mutawassil Khan, Iwaz Khan (d. 1143 / 1730), Jaml al Din Khan (d. 1159 / 1746), and others. Most of the archaeological maintenance budget expended by the Nizam's government in Khuldabad seems to have been directed at repairing the tombs of just these Kings and Nobles. 193

Rawnaq Ali gave the traditional records about Burhan al Din Gharib and Muntjib al din Chishti from Khuldabad, in his book. Also he noted one of the most prominent Mughal Garden of Khuldabad, the Bani Begam gardern, contains the tomb of the wife of the Mughal prince Bidar Bakht, elder son of Azam Shah. 194 Rawnaq Ali gave the historical information about the sufis of Aurangabad Deccan also. The author was careful to bring a certain academic regour to his presentation of these figures, and his accounts of the saints are notable for their abundant use of the Sufis early collections of 'Rcorded conversations', (Malfuzat). Yet alongside the descriptions of the architecture of the saintly shrines and the rituals

associated with them was a corresponding degree of attention to the burials of such notable figures as Nizam al Mulk and his assassinated son, Nasir Jang, now designated as a 'martyr', shahid.¹⁹⁵

5.2. Mahbub al Watan Tazkira-I Awliya-I Dakan: Mahbub al Watan Tazkira-I Awliya-I Dakan, written by Muhammad Abd al Jabbar Malkapuri in Hyderabad circa 1899 AD. The two volumes published first time in Hyderabad by Matba-I Rahmani Press. He noted and wrote the Sufi migration and spread of Sufism in Bahamani empire. Also Malkapuri wrote the history of Sufis of Bidar, Gulbarga, Kandhar and Hyderabad. 196 He noted the Shah Noor Hamvi tradition in Aurangabad. In Mughal period, several other official figures of the Mughal administration in the city were among Shah Noor's followers, including the chief judge (Qazi al Quzat) and market regulator (Muhtasib) of the city, Muhammad Ikram and Qazi Muhammad Mas'ud. 197 Like Shah Noor and the town's Nagshbandis, Nizam al din was originally a migrant to the Deccan from North India, and was born in the region of Awadh around 1076 / 1665. His precise home was not nemtioned in the earliest wource relating to his life, according to Malkapuri, though the town of Kakori and its nearby village of Nagrawan often feature in later ones. Nizam al din travelled in all Indian subcontinents. There Nizam al din came into contact with the followers of the influential Chishti Shaykh Kalim Allah Jahanabadi (d. 1142 / 1729). 198

Malkapuri wrote the sufis of Aurangabad inearly Asaf Jahin Nizam state. In Nizam state, the Dargah of Naqshbandi at Panchakki was very famous. Numbaer of Sufis migrated to Aurangabad inthis period. They settled here. One such Sufi was Ghulam Ahamad Kambal Posh (d. 1204 / 1789), who first moved to Aurangabad under the jpatronage of Nizam Ali Khan Asaf Jah after the latter was impressed with the Sufi's charismatic blend of learning and audacity. All early events noted in Malkapuri's volumes. Nizam al Din Awrangabadi Dargah was visited by Nizam rulers of Hyderabad. Nizam first Asaf Jah was the murid of Nizam al din Awrangabdi. Malkapuri gave the works of Shams al Din, who was the administrator of Shah Noor Dargah in Nizam state. 201

5.3. Aftab-e-Dakan: Aftab e Dakan Urdu text written by Tara Sahib Qureshi. He gave the information about Shah Noor Hamvi Dargah in Aurangabad during first quarter of Twentieth century. Shams al Din Chishti came from Hyderabad to Aurangabad. He was resident of Hyderabad, who had been living for many years at the shrine of Mu'in al Din Chishti in Ajmer. He managed the Shah Noor Dargah administration in Aurangabad. Tara Sahib Qureshi noted all history of Shams al Din in administration works. Shams al din's appointment at the shrine seems to have been an official one made by Hyderabad's Department of Religious Affairs. He worked as Sajjada Nashin of Shah Noor Dargah. He set about restoring the derelict buildings of the shrine, replacing roofing and floors that had collapsed or disappeared and re-initiating the celebration of Shah Noor's death anniversary. Fazilat Jung became the administration (mutawali) of the shrine after Shams al din's death. He was the minister for religious affairs (Umur -e- Madhahabi) in Nizam state.

Aftab e Dakan also gave the events and practices at Shah Noor Dargah during Shams al din. Shams al din managed the landholding and gifts of Dargah in administrative works. He managed all financial matters and 'urs festival. After his death, Fazilat Jang continued the tradition of Shams al din. But when Shams al din died during one of his regular pilgrimages to the shrine of Mu'in al Din Chishti at Ajmer in 1347 / 1928, a dispute arose over the future management of the shrine that would continue for the remainder of the century. While there were personal dimensions to the dispute, including petty revalries between a new Muslim middle class in Aurangabad and the respectable families of old, the dispute was in essence a structural one. As such, it reflected debates that had existed in the Sufi tradition for centuries about the right to inherit the charisma of a deceased master via ties of either blood or initiation. ²⁰⁵ Tara Qureshi gave the all information about the changes in Shah Noor Hamvi Dargah administration and tradition. After the death of Shams al din, the day to day administration of the shrine remained in the hands of a series of management committees. The first of these committees came under the auspices of the Aurangabad Tehsil Office during the reign of the last

Nizam, while after 1367 / 1948 its successor was appointed by the Muslim Waqf Board , later renamed Marathwada Waqf Board. Despite this, problems continued to arise in the shrine's administration, particularly with regard to the performance of the saint's death anniversary that was the most important but financially demanding event of the year. Now, local community managed the shrine and performed urs festivals annually. Shah Noor Dargah situated in Osmanpura part of Aurangabad city. A library and an elementary school attached with links to this shrine in present days. ²⁰⁶

Aftab e Dakan also gave the political relations and attachments with Shah Noor Dargah. Aftab e Dakan also noted the Barelawi attachment with Madarasa of Shan Noor Dargah in Aurangabad. Aftab e Dakan presented the Aurangabad Sufi shrines and Sufi circle as compare to Ajmer, Gulbarga and Bijapur. 208

5.4. Nur al Anwar: Nur al Anwar is the Urdu translation of Khizan u Bahar of Baha al Din al Hasan Uruj of Aurangabad. This Persian manuscript preserved at Shah Noor Hamvi Dargah of Aurangabad. Nur al Anwar gave the original information about the Shah Noor Hamvi and the all lifetime sketch in Aurangabad periphery. 209 Shah Noor settled in Aurangabad before the arrival of the Chishti Nizam al din or the city's Nagshbandi Shaykhs, Shah Plangposh and Shah Musafir. Shah Noor had the number of disciples in Aurangabad and Deccanperiphery. Diyanat Khan, the Diwan of Aurangabad Subha was also the murid of Shah Noor. He recorded the Pir Muridi relationship of Shah Noor in Aurangabad. 210 From north India, Shah Noor was travlled to Deccan. Nur al Anwar said that Shah Noor travelled gradually across the Muslim world and pilgrimage. Shah Noor had arrived in Aurangabad in 1070 / 1660.211 He settled at Moti Karanja area of Aurangabad town. He established Khanqah. The town Aurangabad originally established in 1610 by Malik Ambar, the vizier of Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar. In that period, Shah Noor had the very spiritual importance in Sufi circle of Aurangabad in 1660 era. As Shah Noor's following grew, these circumstances changed and some years later (around 1091 / 1680) a large khanaqah was built for him by a wealthy

devotee, Diyanat Khan, in the prestigious surroundings of the imperial suburb of Qutbpura. Several other official figures of the Mughal administration in the city were among Shah Noor's followers, including the chief judge (Qazi al Qauzat) and market regulatore (Muhtasib) of the city, Muhammad Ikram and Qazi Muhammad Mas'ud. One of the wives of Aurangzeb Alamgir Badhshaha my also have been a disciple. Like the family of Diyanat Khan, these followers may have been drawn from Aurangabad's Irani community, itself made up partly of recent immigrants to the city in the service of the Mughals and partly of families in residence thesre since the period of Nizam Shah rule.

Nur al Anwar noted the all spiritual tradition after the death of Shah Noor in Aurangabad. The Dargah of Shah Noor flourished throughout the eighteenth century under a line of Sajjada Nashins established by Shah Noor's nephew, Shihab al Din.²¹⁵ He noted the events breathe control practice of Sufi *Habs –e-e Dam* in which guise later oral tradition would also primarily remember Shah Noor. Reflecting a markedly Indian ascetic or Yogi Inheritance, he was described by Uruj as being buried underground for periods of meditational breath control for up to seventy years at a time.²¹⁶

5.5. Khazinat al Asfiya: This Urdu book wrote in Ninteenth century Nizam State. It covered the Sufis of Punjab, North India and Deccan. Short information is available here about the Sufis of Aurangabad. Khazinat al Asfiya gave the basic information about cult of Nizam al din Awarangabadi Dargah in Aurangabad. The author of this book, Ghulam Sarwar Lahawri wrote the information about the Sufi circle of the Marathwada region. 218

5.6. Tadhkira -ye- Riyaz Husayni: Mardan -e- Aftab Alamtab -e-Man: Inayat Khan gave the historical information about the spiritual interaction of Shah Noor with other religious cults in Aurangabad periphery. Shah Noor also seems to have had contact with the Hindu ascetics who, with their long established association with Hindu holy sites in the region of Aurangabad, formed part of the religious life of the city with which Sufis sometimes interacted. Indeed, shortly after Shah Noor's

death, the circle surrounding the Chsihti Sufi Nizam al Din (d. 1142 / 1729) in Aurangabad also included a number of Hindus. Although it is difficult to be sure with how many of these Hindu ascetics Shah Noor was associated, surviving literary and architectural evidence bears witness to his close connections to at least one such figure, the noted Sadhu Manpuri Parshad. According to Nile Green, the british American sufi historian, that Manpuri later became the focus of a posthumous cult in his own rilght that centred on his lodge or Math a few miles outside Aurangabad at Daulatabad. An anthology survives of Manpuri's devotional poems (Bhajans), blending the vocabulary of Sufi and Sadhu and pointing to the close links forged at this time between Muslim and Hindu mystics in the Deccan. One of the poems said to address Shah Noor is preserved in an eighteenth century poetic anthology or tadhkira that was compiled in Aurangabad by Inayat Allah Khan Awrangabadi. 220

5.7. Halat u Zindagi ye Nizam al din Awliya Awrangabadi: Urdu book wrote by Sayyid Hasan of Aurangabad. He was the devotee of Shrine of Nizam al din Awrangabadi in Aurangabad. Sayyid Hasan was the local college teacher and religious scholar. Placing emphasis on not aonly the Chishti tradition of musical performances but also on its tradition of 'peace for all', Suhl -e- Kul, Sayyid Hasan sought ot present a tolerant vision of Sufism as the answer to India's problems of communal violence and Islam's own problimes of violent express. As a religious teacher, Sayyid Hasan had his own clear vision of Sufism's role in the twenty first century and of the timelessness and adaptability of the Sufi message, which he has presented as open to all regardless of religion, race or class. His Urdu hagiography of Nizam al din book gave the all information about Chishti practices and Sama etc.²²¹ He noted the early life of Nizam al din Awrangabadi in Aurangabad. About his marrieage, Hasan noted the detailed information. Nizam al din had first wife coming from the family of the great Deccan Chishti saint Gesu Daraz Banda Nawaz of Gulbarga. Through thesewives, Nizam al din had five sons and seven daughters, the latter marrying into the families of local religious and political elites. 222

- 5.8. Athar al Sanadid: After the death of Nizam al din Awrangabad, his son Fakhr al din Awrangabadi Chishti migrated to Delhi. Fakhr al din was succeeded in Delhi after his death by his son Ghulam Qutb al din (d. 1232 / 1817) rather than by one of his disciples (murid). Qutb al din's career was briefly summarized by the great Muslim Modernist Sayyid Ahmad Khan (d. 1315 / 1898) in his celebration of the peoples and places of Delhi, Athar al Sanadid, which is discussed in more detail aoubt the personalites in Delhi periphery. 223 After the death of Fakr al din's son, Ghulam Qutb al din, in 1232 / 1817 and his burial at the Dargah of Bakhtiya Kaki on the outskirts of Delhi, Mehrouli near Qutb Minar. He was succeeded by his own son, Ghulam Nasir al din. He was better known by the nickname of Kale Miyan (the Black Gentleman) in reference to the darkness of his complexion, Ghulam Nasir al din was part of the religious world of Delhi in the year befor the Great Revolt of 1273 / 1857. Ghulam Nasir al din was the master or Murshid of the last of the Mughal Emperors, Bahadur Shah (r. 1253 / 1837 - 1274 / 1858). British American historian quoted the references about Nasir al din in the daily diaries of Bahadur Shah Jafar of Delhi. 224 Bahadur Shah Jafar send 200 rupees to Ghulam Nasir al din to defray the expenses incurred at the celebration of Fakhr al din's death anniversary (Urs) in 1268 / 1851. Old Delhi ruined by British forces after the revolt and Nasir al din's home also destroyed by British soldiers. 225
- 5.9. Tadhkira -ye- Buzurgan -e- Dakan: Barkat al Awliya: During the first half of the twentieth century, these seismic shifts in languages use, literacy and the technology of the book had a considerable influence on the literature surrounding Auragabad's saints. The use of Urdu increased compare to Persian. Nizam state had also used English and Urdu in administrative works. Urdu becomes the Islaimic Language in this period. Reflecting the declining fortunes of Persian throughout India, the lnineteenth century Tadhkira tradition experienced a certain discontinuity with the rise of Urdu prose. Contemporary with this was the spread of cheap lithographic printing in India, which affected the

Auragabad tradition in different ways. Persian scripts printed in Delhi, Lucknow, Nizam's Hyderabad, Calcutta, Lahor and Kanpur cities.

Naqwi wrote the Urdu Hagiography book on the Sufis from all over the Deccan and Nizam state of Hyderabad. Naqwi's description of Sha Musafir and other Sufis from Mughal period in Deccan, reveals how even the most standardized of literary images of the saints were subject to shifts over time, for in Naqwi's writing, it see a reflection of the changing textual identity of Muslim sainthood during the age of Islamic reform. He wrote the Urdu hagiography of Sufis of Deccan. Malkapur and Naqwi were very influencing personalities in Urdu literature in Deccan with Urdu as an Islamic language. It has the very singificance role in Deccan Sufi history. Naqwi summarized the Deccan history from Mughal era to the Nizam Sarkar of Hyderabad. He added the political, spiritual and religious facets of the history of Deccan. His hagiographical accounts explain the theme and philosophy including silsila of the Sufis of Deccan.

6. Marathi Bhakti Poets and Sufism in Marathwada:

Marathi is spoken by the Marathi people. It is the official language of Maharashtra, Goa and is one of the 23 official languages of India. The *Prakrit* vernacular languages, including *Maharashtri Prakrit*, were originally derived from Sanskrit. Further change led to *apabhransh* languages like Marathi. The more recent influence of Persian, Arabic or Urdu has also made this language seem close to mainstream Hindi. 228

6.1. Bhakti Movment:

The Maratha school of Vaishnavism or the Bhagavata Dharma has a long history. By the close of the 13th century, steady enrichment and vigor was imparted to the Bhakti movement in Maharashtra by a number of poet-saints. The most outstanding of these was Dnyaneshwara a Brahmin who is considered to be the greatest exponent of the Maratha Vaishnavism. He wrote a Marathi commentary on the Bhagavadgita called Bhavartha Dipika or *Jnanesvari*. The main centre of the movement started by him

was and Alandi – Newasa, Pandarpur region. The shrine of Vithoba of Pandarpur later became the mainstay of the Bhakti movement in Maharashtra. The Krishna Bhakti movement of Pandarpur was intimately linked to a temple and a deity, but it was not idolatrous in nature. Vithoba was more than a simple deity; its importance lay in its symbolism. The main features of the Vaishnava religious devotion-anti-ritualism and anti-castes (ism) in Maharashtra-were similar to those of other non-conformist movements in the North India.

The poet-saints tried to bring religion to the lowest strata of the society. By interpreting the Bhagavad-Gita in melodious Marathi tunes, Jnyaneshwar laid the basis of the Bhagavata Dharma in Maharashtra by giving a fillip to the Varkari sect which had initiated and instituted regular popular pilgrimage to the shrine of Vithoba (the form of the great God Vishnu) at Pandarpur. Vithoba was the god of the Varkari sect. Its followers were householders who performed pilgrimage twice a year to the temple. Its membership cut across caste boundaries. The movement in Maharashtra witnessed mass participation by different social groups such as sudras, Atisudras, Kumbhera (potter) Mali, mahar (outcaste) and Alute balutedars. Some of the saints belonging to lower strata of society were Harijan Saint Choka, Gora Kumbhar, Narahari Sonara, Banka Mahara, etc. In the post-Jnyaneshwar period, Namdeva (a tailor by caste), Tukaram, and Ramdas, were important Marathi saints. Eknath (a Brahman) furthered the tradition laid down by Jnyaneshwar. Tukaram and Ramdas also raised anti-caste and anti-ritual slogans. Eknath's teachings were in vernacular Marathi. He shifted the emphasis of Marathi literature from spiritual text to narrative compositions. He wrote the Hindu Turk Samvad in Dakhani. His philosophy influenced by Sufism in Daulatabad and Paithan region. Tukaram's teachings are in the form of Gatha, very influencing in society. It is an important source for the study of the Marathi Vaishnavism. The Varkari Maratha saints developed a new method of religious instruction, i.e. Kirtan and the bhajan. The Maratha movement contributed to the flowering of Marathi literature. These saints used popular dialect which paved the way for transformation of Marathi into a literary language. The literature of the Varkari School gives us some idea about the plebeian

character of the movement. It addressed itself to the problems of the Kunbis (farmers), Vanis (traders) and the artisans, etc. M.G. Ranade points out that this movement led to the development of vernacular literature and up-liftment of lower castes, etc.

6.2. Saints in Marathwada:

According to Tara Chand, the Marathi literature and culture developed in Medieval Maharashtra region with the synthesis of Muslim mystics and ruling elites. From the end of the thirteenth century and the middle of the fourteenth century, Muslim rulers had not only completely conquered the Deccan but the established an independent Muslim kingdom there. The Bahamani rulers of the Deccan like their contemporaries in Bengal, fostered the growth of the literature and art of the people whom they governed. The Marathi language was used in the offices of the Adilshahi and Qutb Shahi kingdoms, and Marathas were employed as revenue officers and even as commandants. Qutb Shah was a patron of culture and himself a poet of considerable power, and wrote extensively in the *Dakhani* language which was a mixture of Hindu and Persian. The Marathi saints and hymn singers affected the same kind of synthesis of the two faiths as was done by Kabir and Nanak in the north India. 229

Mahadev Govind Ranade described the beginning of the movement thus: 'The severity of the monotheistic creed of the Muhammadan was distinctly impressed upon the minds of these personalities (Kabir, Nanak and others). The worshippers of Dattatraya or the incarnation of the Hindu Trinity, was oftern closhed their God in the garb of a Muhammadan Faqir.²³⁰

Kamal, the son of Kabir wrote about Namdev in his poem (Hindi):

"Dakhanmai Nama darzi, Unko Banda Vitthal hai,
Aur seva kuch nahi jaane andar bhitar keshav hai //
Uchar Myaane Bhayo Kabira ramacharankaa bandaa hai
Unko put hai Kamal donoka bolbalaa hai ||"

Kamal, the son of Kabir said that, Saint Namdev was bounded by the Bhakti of Shri Vitthal of Pandharpur. He had the Bhakti of Keshava inside and outside. And Kamal has the very respects about Kabir and Namdev.

This same influence was at work with greater effect on the popular mind in Maharashtra, where preachers, both Brahmans and non-Brahmans, and ensure their freedom from the bonds of formal ritualism, and caste distinctions, and unite in common love of man and faith in God. As early as the twelfth century the Marathi language had pushed Sanskrit out of the administrative and literary spheres. A significant role in the cultural development of the region and in heightening the people's self consciousness was played by Dnyaneshvar (end of the thirteenth century) who wrote a Marathi version of the Bhagvadgita. After him Marathi literature developed rapidly and one of the main themes was praise for the Marathi language and patriotic pride for Maharashtra. Mukteshvar, a seventeenth century poet said: 'Maharashtra is the most important of all lands and even gods fear it and are put to shame by it'. 231

Maharashtra was an important centre of Bhakti. Varkari cultu worshipped the local deity Vithoba who was supposed to be an incarnation of Krishna. The main centre of Varkari tradition was the city of Pandharpur, to which the devotees still make annual pelgrimages. The school of Bhakti gave birth to a galaxy of poets like Namdev, Narhari, Bahinabai, Chokha Mela and of Course, Eknath and Tukaram. They made a rich literature, which exists on the Marathi saints and Bhakti poets. Their life stories, based on the eighteenth century works by Mahipati were translated and published by Justin E. Abbott. 232

These Marathi Bhakti traditions had the biggest support in the villages' area from Maharashtra in historical times. Dnyaneshwar completed his Marathi commentary of the Bhagvad Gita in 1290 AD. Dnyaneshwar had tremendous influence on the language and thought of Maharashtra, but the first of the saintly array of men who changed the faith of the country and turned the minds of men from the priest ridden ceremonial of a narrow creed to freedom and love was Namdev (1270 –

1350 AD). He is remembered by every saint of Maharashtra, North India, Rajputana and the Punjab as the first historical name in the long list of Bhaktas. The Bhaktas or Bhakti in Maharashtra centred round the shrine of Vittoba at Pandharpur on the banks of Bhima (Dist. Solapur).

- 6.3. Mahanubhav Cult: Marathwada was the land of Saints in Medieval times to early modern period. Paithan was the very famous centre of Mahanubhav cult. Shri Chakradhar Swami comes to Paithan at 1268 AD. He was against the blind faith of Idol worship in Hinduism. He was also opposed to the heavy practices and old blind superstitions etc. Shri Chakradhar Swami was the main preacher of Mahanubhav cult in Marathwada. Lilacharitra of Mhahinbhatt explained the life and teachings of Chakrdhar Swami.²³³
- 6.4. Varkari Cult and Marathwada: Bhakti in Maharashtra centred round the shrine of Vithoba at Pandharpur on the banks of the But although thus associated with a particular temple and a particular image, it was really not idolatrous in its character. Vithoba was a symbol and a convention but not an idol. Thus the characteristics of the Krishnaite religion of devotion in Maharashtra were hardly distinguishable from those of the radical reformers of the north India. Its results as summarized by Ranade were the development of the vernacular literature, the modification of caste exclusiveness the Sanctification of family life, the elevation of the status of women, the spread of humaneness and toleration, partial reconciliation with Islam, the subordination of rites and ceremonies, pilgrimages and fasts, learning and contemplation to the worship of love and faith, the limitation of the excesses of polytheism and the uplift of the nation to a higher level of capacity both of thought and action. Namdev was a disciple of Khechar who was definitely hostile to idol worship; he received the following instructions from his Guru, 'A stone god never speaks.'234

Another Hindu Muslim synthesis had been happened in the tradition of Shaikh Muhammad Shrigondekar Maharaj at Shrigonda. The follower of Shaikh Muhammad who became Bhaktas observes both the Ramzan and the Ekadasi fast, and makes pilgrimages both to Mecca and to

Pandharpur.²³⁵ Tukaram who after Namdev was the greatest of Maratha Saints, and who wields the widest influence in Maharashtra, was equally eclectic. He was contemporary of Shivaji. He was born at Dehu, near Poona, about 1608 AD. He comes from the family which had been for several generations devoted to the worship of Vithoba (*Vitthal*). Tukarama's teachings are embodied in his numerous Abhangas which number between five and eight thousand. Tukaram's conception of God was almost identical with that of Kabir. Tukaram's attempt at reconciling Hindu and Muslim faiths is evidenced in the hymns translated below:

"What Allah wishes that is accomplished. O my friend (Baba), the Maker is the sovereign of all. Cattle and friends, gardens and goods all depart. My mind dwells, O Friend, on my Lord (Sahib) who is the Maker. I ride there on the back of the horse and the self becomes the horseman. O friend, meditate (Zikr) on Allah, who is in the guise of all. Says Tuka, the man who understands this becomes a Darwish".

"First among the great names is Allah, never forget to repeat it. Allah is verily one, the prophet (nabi) is verily one. There Thoy art one, there art one, there Thou art one. O friend. There is neither I nor thou". 236

Saint Dnyaneshwar, Saint Namdev and Eknath, the three main patron saits of Varkari saints were from Marathwada region. Some scholars said that the Varkari cult also known as *Bhagavat* or *Vaishnav* cult in medieval times. Shri Vitthal also known as the avatar of Vishnu or Krishna in Northern Karnataka and Maharashtra. Tukaram was also explained the spiritual ideas in his Marathi poems in seventeenth century Maharashtra. He wrote:

"Allah deve, Allah dilaave, Allah deve, Allah khilave, Allah bin nahi koy, Allah kare sohi hoya." "Jikir karo Allah ki, Baba Savalya Andar Bhes.

Tuka jo nar buze sohi darvesh." "Nabi Ek tu. Allah ek tu, Nabi Ek tu."

(Allah, you are only one, and Muhammad (nabi) you are also one). 237

6.5. Saint Dnyaneshwar: Dnyaneshwar or Saint J(D)nyaneshwar was the famous saint that Marathwada produced in the thirteenth century AD. He was a great genius in who had a rare combination of philosophy, poetry and profound religious experience. He was a great devotee or Bhakta, a great Jnani and a great Yogi. He was the source of inspiration to Saint Namadeva, Chokhamela and Ekanath, Tukaram. He laid the philosophical foundation of the Bhakti cult in Maharashtra, upheld the Varkari tradition and the worship of the deity Shri Vitthal of Pandharpur who is the symbol of universal love. He is called Jnanoba Mauli, the mother of devotees.²³⁸

The oldest reliable biography of Dnyaneshwar is written by his contemporary saint Namadeva. According to him Dnyaneshwar's ancestors lived at Apegaon, on the bank of Godavari, 13 km from Paithan, the then famous seat of Sanskrit learning in the Deccan. Dnyaneshwar's grandfather, Govindpant and grandmother, Nirai, were disciples of Gorakhnath. This pious couple got a son and named him *Vitthal* after their dear deity of Pandharpur. Dnyaneshwar born at Alandi near Poona in 1275 AD. His father's name was Vitthalpant and mother's Rukminibai. Dnyaneshwar was barely twenty two when he entered eternal *Samadhi* at 1296. Within a year his brothers and sister followed him. Sopandev entered Samadhi at Saswad in the month of *Margasirsh*, Muktabai at Adilabad in the month of *Vaishakha* and Nivrittinath in the month of *Jyeshtha* at Tryambakeshwar.²³⁹

The authentic wrks of Dnyaneshwar are – Dnyaneshwari or Bhavarth Dipika Amritanubhava, Changdeva Prasashti, Haripath, Naman and miscellanceous Abhangs. Dnyaneshwari is a celebrated Marathi commentary on the Bhagavadgita and is the magnum opus of Dnyaneshwar. Dnyaneshwari is the first greatest work in Marathi language both from the point of view of a high literary excellence and of an elevating philosophy of life. According to Datar V.M., the philosophy of Dnyaneshwari is equal philosophy like Sufi practices in the text.²⁴⁰

Sufi Concept	Dnyaneshwari Sutra	Sutra	number
Hosh Badagm	(Praanayam)		4:146
Naza Bar Kadam	(Charnawalaokan Gurucharani)		15:1
Safar Dar Vatan	(Swadham Prawas)		6:186
Khilwat Dar Anjuman	(Ekant)		18:1361
Yaad Kard	(Smaran)	8:75	
Baaz Gasht	(Niwrutti)		5:48
Nigah Daashat	(Jatan)		9:12
Yaad Dasht	(Anusmruti)		9:215

- **6.6. Saint Namdeva**: Namdev born in 1270 at Narsi, Parbhani region. He was second famous saint from Marathwada after Eknath. He explained his ideas on *Moksha* and *Bhakti* into Hindi Dakhni and Marathi language. His poems had the place in Gurugranth Saheb Granth of Sikhism in northern India. He was famous also for *Kirtan* type of Bhakti rituals songs or lyrics. ²⁴¹ For Namdeva, the invisible and wonderful God who alone is Reality speaks to every heart. ²⁴²
- **6.7.** Saint Janabai (1260 1353AD): She born in Gangakhed, in Parbhani region. She was the house maid at Namdev's home. She was impressed by Bhakti philosophy of Namdev. Her 350 Abhang are famous in Varkari cult today.²⁴³
- **6.8. Visoba Khechar (d. 1309):** He was the disciple of Dnyaneshwar. He had born at Mungi Paithan in Aurangabad region. He was the fan of his Guru Dnyaneshwar. Visaba's Samadhi situated at Aundha Nagnath near Parbhani. 244
- **6.9. Gora Kumbhar:** He was the disciple of Saint Namdev. He had born at Ter Dhoki in Osmanabad region. In Varkari cult, he known as 'Kaka'.²⁴⁵
- **6.10. Bhanudas:** He was the Varkari saint from Paithan, in Marathwada. He was the great grandfather of Saint Eknath. He wrote the Dakhni and Marathi Abhangs. He died at 1435.²⁴⁶

- **6.11. Janardan Swami:** He was the spiritual guide of Saint Eknath. He born at Chalisgaon in 1504. He was the devotee of Shri Datta. He joined job at Daulatabad fort in Nizam Shahi period of Ahmadnagar Shahi. He wrote, Bhakti Bhagya, Adhyatm Viveksar Samadhiprakaran, Shri Dattastuti Updesh etc. His Samadhi situated at Daulatabad Fort, in Aurangabad district.²⁴⁷
- 6.12. Saint Dasopant (1551 1615 AD): He was the famous saint of Datta cult in Marathwada region. He wrote the book named 'Geetarwan', which is very important place in Datta cult. This granth had one lack twenty five thousand Awis (lines). It was the very significance place in Marathi literature history.²⁴⁸
- **6.13. Saint Eknath:** Saint Eknath was the second famous saint in Marathwada after Dnyaneshwar. He born at 1533 in Paithan. He was the disciple of Saint Janardan Swami of Daulatabad fort. His books named 'Eknathi Bhagavat' and 'Bhavarth Ramayan', are famous today. According to Nandapurkar N.G., Eknath was the 'Ek' (the one) 'Nath' (saint god / guide) of the Maharashtra *Varkari* cult devotees. Samadhi of Eknath situated at Paithan near Godavari river bank. ²⁵⁰
- **6.14. Ramdas (1608 1681):** He born in Jamb village of Jalna. His original name was Narayan Thosar. He took snyas from familiar life when he was twelve year old. He established Ramdasi cult at Chaphal. His literature are famous today, like *Dasbodha* and *Manache Shlowk*.²⁵¹

Samartha Ramdas and Mansamzaawan:

"Aiykaa Dnyanache Laxshan, Dynan Mhanje Aatmadnyan Pahave Aapnaasi aapan, Yaa naaw dnyan."

एक ज्ञानाचें लक्षण । ज्ञान म्हणिजे आत्मज्ञान । पाहावें आपणासि आपण । या नाव ज्ञान ॥ १ ॥

(To know yourself. To find out your hidden self is knowledge)

In Maharashtra, the period between 12th and 17th century was the era of the famous saints, like Dnyaneshwar, Tukaram, Eknath, Namdeo,

Samartha Ramdas, and, Meerabi, Kabir etc. in North India. These saints showed common people easy path to reach God, which is called Bhaktiyog. That path was Namasmaran, which ultimately merges into transcendental meditation! The continuous 'Namasmaran' leads you to the state of pure consciousness. The 'Nama' melts into your soul gradually and your mind becomes thoughtless. The regular practice of 'Namasmaran' prepares your mind to overcome the difficult situations, in your life and gives you courage and peace of mind. Actually, peace of mind is the true aim of our life. Isn't it! That is according to Ramdas, 'Moksha' – salvation from worldly pains. This practice has also in practice as Zikr in Sufism.

Manache Shlok

His most popular book 'Manache Shlok or Manobodh' includes 205 schlok with 4 lines each in Marathi language. Since the 17th century, 'Manache Schlok' is being recited by common people in Maharashtra. Many have learnt them by heart, since the style of schlokas is unique, easy, beautiful and simple, though artistic and meaningful. 205 verses of Manache Shlok are translated into several Indian languages, including Urdu. A Muslim Saint Shahsiraj Ali has translated it into Urdu, which is called Manasamazavana. It was the relations within both saints in Maharashtra during medieval period. The handwritten copy of "Manasamazavana "still exists in the Jama Masjid of Delhi. There is another copy of Mansamzaawan in Hyderabad. Shah Turab Ali Dakani was from Tirnamal, Tamil country. He was the famous scholar of Sufi philosophy and Astrology. He wrote number of books in Dakhani language: Juhure Kulli, Ganjul Asrar, Gulzar -i- Wahdat, Dnyan Swarup, Aain'ye, Masnawi Mahrabin -o- Mullah and Mansamzaawan etc. The five manuscripts of Mansamzaawan in Dakhani language secured at Sir Salar Jung Museum Library, Hyderabad.

6.15. Muslim Marathi Poets and Sufism in Marathwada: Sumit Guha suggests that Dakhani may have been the only vernacular that the Sufis knew, and that they saw no need to go beyond the circle of Dakhani-knowing plebeians (which would include the women and retainers of their Persian-knowing patrons). But many Marathi and other regional language

literature with folk touch had been developed between fifteenth to Nineteenth century.²⁵² Number of Muslim poets and author has been contributed Marathi literature in Medieval Maharashtra. These authors were influenced from Jain, Shaiv, Mahanubhav, Nath, Bhagvat Varkari sects. Shaikh Muhammad, Shah Mundi, Husain Ambar Khan, Jamal Shah, Allam Khan, Shaikh Sultan etc. authors had contributed Marathi literature. These curious literature facets had made synthesis culture with harmony in Medieval Maharashtra. Allamkhan was the devotee of Nagesh cult in medieval Marathwada. Bhanji Trimbak Deshpande wrote the book on Nagesh cult, 'Nageshlilamrut', in 1824. In this book, he wrote the 'Alamkhan Aakhyan', in 39th chapter. The Samadhi (tomb) of Alamkhan situated at Karali Karle in Osmanabad District of Marathwada. He wrote the spiritual Abhang on Nagesh Nath. He was very famous today in this region.²⁵³ Ajam was the Muslim Marathi poet in seventeenth century Maharashtra. He was one of the disciples of Shaikh Muhammad Shrigondekar. Ajam's folk Aarti lyrics are famous today to the glory of Shaikh Muhammad Shrigondekar Saheb, in District Ahamadnagar. 254

Hazrat Ladle Mashaykh Raghavchaitanya (c. 1460 – 1560) was the Marathi saint of Datta sect in Marathwada - Karnataka frontier region. Muslim called him as Hazrat Mashaykh Aland Sharif Awliya. Hindu, Jain and Lingayat Veershaiv devotees called him as 'Sadguru', the best teacher / guide. His tomb or Samadhi situated at Aland, District Gulbarga. 255 Shah Muni alias Sahsen (1730 - 1808) was originally from northern India. His parents migrated to Maharashtra and settled at Shrigonda, Ahmadnagar. He had born at Shrigonda. He wrote Sindhant Bodh. He died at Shah Gad, Beed.²⁵⁶ Husain Ambarkhan (1603 – 1653) was famous Marathi poet in seventeenth century Maharashtra. He wrote 'Ambarhusaini', the edited book on Gita, after Dnyaneshwar. His gitatikaa was contained 871 lines in Marathi. In his words, that was the Gita Bhavarth Dipika. His father Yakut Khan, was a servant at Daulatabad fort in Nizamshahi of Ahmadnagar. Vaijyanath of Tanjor (Tamil Nadu) has written in his book 'Chidambarjayanti Strot', about Ambar Khan. He said that Husain Ambar Khan was the 'Dev' of Kali Yug in that period. 257 Chand Bodhale Sayyad Qadiri was the Muslim poet in seventeenth century Marathwada. His guru

was haikh Raje Muhammad Qadiri. His name is quated in 'Shijara-i-Quadiri', by Shaikh Muhammad Shrigondekar Sayyad as Sayyad Chandsaheb Qadiri. Chand Bodhale was the Guru of Shaikh Muhammad Shrigondekar and Swami Janardan of Dualatabad.

Shaikh Raje Muhammad Qadiri

Shaikh Chand Bodhale Qadiri

Shaikh Muhammad Shrigondekar

Swami Janardan Saint Eknath of Paithan

The tomb of Chand Bodhale Qadiri situated at Daulatabad near Fort. This Dargah visited by Hindu and Muslim devotees. Shah Datt Alam Prabu (1478 – 1538) was the native of Daulatabad. In Datta cult, devotees knows him as Shah Datta Allam Prabhu. He was the malang Fakir as Datta avatar. 259

Shaikh Muhammad Shrigondekar was the famous Marathi Muslim Sufi saint in seventeenth century Marathwada. He was from Dharur village. He wrote *Yogsangram*, *Nishkalank Bodh*, *Pawan Vijay* and *Dnyansagar*. His devotees are both Hindu and Muslim come to his Dargah / Samadhi at Shrigonda. Shaikh Muhammad known as 'Kabir' of Maharashtra. His father was Raje Mahammad and mother Phulai. He was belonged to Qadiri Sufi silsila.

Spiritual Genealogy of Shaikh Muhammad Shrigondekar

Abdul Qadir Jilani (Baghdada, Iraq)

Sayyad Abdul Razzak Tajoddin Qaudiri

Sayyad Mahammad Gaus Gwalihery Qadiri (Gwaliar)

Shaikh Raje Muhammad Qadiri

Sayyad Chand Saheb Qadiri (Spiritual guide of Swami Janardan of Daulatabad)

Sayyad Shaikh Muhammad Shrigondekar.

Shaikh Muhammad wrote in 'Yogasangram':

"Namo Shri Chand Bodhale.

Yani Jyanopanta Angikarile.

Jyanobane Ekaa Upideshile. 15:1"

Shaikh Muhammad Shrigondekar said that Chand Bodhale was the follower of Dnyaneshwar also. And both saints (Bodhale and Eknath) were influenced by Dnyaneshwar. Maloji Bhosale was the pupil or *Shishy* of Shaikh Muhammad. Maloji built a 'Math' in 1595 AD at Shrigonda in Ahmadnagar for Shaikh Muhammad. Shaikh Muhammad knew the languages like Marathi, Persian, Urdu and Sanskrit. He wrote in *Yogsangram* that, Kama (Sex), Krodh (anger), and Alas (laziness) are the enemy of human being. In *Nishkalank Bodh*, he did critical analysis on blind faith, rituals and slavery of religious mediators. *Shivswroday*, was the Sanskrit book of Shaikh. Also his *Rupake*, *Bharude* and *Abhang* are famous today in central Deccan Marathi speaking region. ²⁶¹

Sufi Shah Turab was influenced by *Ramdasi* cult in Maharashtra. Shaikh Muhammad Shrigondekar wrote the poems on Shri Vitthal. '*Brahmpuri Turuk | Dwait giloni jhaalo ek ||*', like this lines, Shaikh Muhammad Shrigondekar wrote the very lines in his poems on mystical thinking. It was the synthesis of Muslim and Varkari cult in seventeenth century Maharashtra. ²⁶²

7. Sufi intractions with other sects:

Islam had the interaction with other religions in West Asia already. The mystics of Islam also wondered and travelled in North Africa, Europe and Central Asia after Iran. In south Asia or Indian subcontinent Sufis had very interaction with Bhakti movement in North Hindustan and Deccan region. In west Asia, in beginning, Prophet Muhammad, claimed to be a continuer of the prophetic lineage of Bible and Qur'an. So much so, that Muslims classify themselves together with the Jews and the Christians under the generic name "Ahl el Kitab", the 'Peoples of the Book'. Muhammad claimed that when the Angel Zibrael (Gabriel) dictated the

Qur'an to him, at the behest of God, one of the *Surates* he received read: 263

"Allah has opened to you the way of religion which He commanded to Noah that he might follow in it. It is the same faith which we have revealed to thee, and which we showed to Abraham and to Jesus to the end that true religion might continue in the Earth. Divide not yourselves into sects". - Qur'an XLII.33

7.1. Sufism, Yoga and Nath cult in Indian subcontinent:

"This is the practice of the Yogis; this is not an activity of the community of Muhammad. Nevertheless, it is correct". Muhammad Muhyi al-Din had (c. 1748) done the Sufi Interpretetion of Yogic Practices. The historical data regarding the relationship between Sufism and yoga, found in Indian history. The sufis and the Nath Yogis had interactions in that period. These practices include divination by control of breath through the left and right nostrils, summoning female spirits that can be identified as yoginis, and performing meditations on the chakra centers accompanied by recitation of Sanskrit mantras. All this material was increasingly Islamised over time, in a series of translations into Arabic, Persian, Ottoman Turkish, and Urdu in medieval India. These events were engagement with Sufism and yoga not to be found at the historical beginnings of the Sufi tradition, and it was most highly developed, unsurprisingly, in India only. Moreover, the knowledge of yoga among Indian Sufis gradually became more detailed over time. The most exact accounts of hatha yoga in Sufi texts, using technical terms in Hindi, occur in writings from as late as the nineteenth century, although these texts typically juxtapose yoga materials alongside Sufi practices without any real attempt at integration or synthesis. 'Yoga' is a term that may be even harder to define. Georg Feuerstein maintains that "Yoga is like an ancient river with countless rapids, eddies, loops, tributaries, and backwaters, extending over a vast, colorful terrain of many different habitats". Some regard it mainly as a philosophy linked to important Sanskrit texts, particularly Patanjali's Yoga Sutras. For others, yoga signifies primarily meditative ascetic practices frequently associated with the god Shiva in Hindu teachings, though yoga is also widespread in Buddhist and Jain contexts. The yogic material that the Sufis mostly encountered was a highly specialised tradition called hatha yoga (literally, "the yoga of force"), associated with charismatic figures of the tenth to twelth centuries, especially Matsyendranath and Gorakhnath. The lineage that preserves the hatha yoga teachings is known collectively as the Nath siddhas (adepts) or Kanphata ('split-ear') yogis, due to the distinctive wooden inserts and large rings they put in their ears during initiation in Medieval Maharashtra.

So when we use the term yoga now, it carries multiple burdens - the sublime philosophy of transcendence associated with Patanjali, the intricate and esoteric psycho-physical system of the Nath yogis, and also the mass marketing category of yoga as the generic basis of mysticism in all religions. The Sufis interactions had in India took place not long after the Nath or Kanphata yogis became organized that is by the beginning of the thirteenth century. While ascetic orders certainly had existed in India for many centuries, the Naths appear to have had a remarkable success at this particular time. The Nath yogis did not observe the purity restrictions of Brahminical ritual society, and were free to drop in for meals at Sufi hospices, which in turn were open to any and all visitors. The yogis were perhaps the only Indian religious group with whom Sufis had much in common. This was also an encounter between two movements that shared overlapping interests in psycho-physical techniques of meditation, and which competed to some extent for popular recognition as wonderworkers, healers, and possessors of sanctity. Moreover, in a country where cremation was the preferred funeral method, both groups practiced burial; Sufi tombs, to the untutored eye, must have fit the model of the lingam shrines or samadhis set up over yogis, who were customarily buried in the lotus position. The similarity between yogis and Sufis extended to the point that the heads of Nath yogi establishments became known by the Persian term pir, the common designation for a Sufi master. While it is sometimes suggested that this name was adopted defensively to deter that many Muslim rulers were quite familiar with the characteristic specialities

of yogis, and it is striking that the Mughals in particular became patrons of yogi establishments.²⁶⁴

Acculturation by the yogis to selected Islamicate norms seems a more likely reason than the presumption of religious persecution for the yogis' adoption of such a title. According to Jiirgen Paul that, the deliberate study, consideration, and adoption of religious practices such as vegetarianism, celibacy, and breath control in Nath cult already developed in central Asia. The Naqshbandiya silsila know about it. There seems to have been a clear awareness among these Naqshbandi that breath control, a central technique at least since the time of Baha' al-Din Naqshband (d. 1390), was also common among Indian yogis. Paul therefore concludes that this interaction made in Central Asian Sufis with non-Muslim Indian mystical techniques. ²⁶⁵

Yet the significance of this breath control technique would seem to be affected by the fact that, among these Naqshbandis, breath control invariably was used to accompany dhikr recitation formulas in order to make this meditation continuous, with a focus on such typically Islamic chants such as 'la ilaha ilia allah' (there is no god but Allah). In other words, if breath control was used to enhance the effect of Islamic meditation formulas, in Sufism then it happened already or before developed in central Asia while Nath in India separately. Ala al Dawla Simnani (d. 1336) developed the technic of meditation practices in Kubrawiya order of Central Asia already before the Indian Nath Yogis introduced in North West Indian frontier. According to Carl Ernst, that the sufis and the Yogis had developed these traditions with same era and some time interacted also. 266

In central Asia had an already highly developed system of meditation established by his teacher *Nur al-Din Isfarayini* (d. 1317) and others, *Simnani* incorporated earlier practices and articulated a spiritual method of considerable subtlety, based on interior visualization of seven subtle centres (*latifa*, *pi. lata'if'*) within the body, each associated with a particular prophet and a colour. The system of seven subtle centers developed by Simnani underwent further evolution in India in the

Naqshbandi order, from the fifteenth through to the late nineteenth century, resulting in Naqshbandi subtle centers puts the heart (qalb) two fingers below the left breast, the spirit (ruh / soul) two fingers below the right breast, the soul (nafs) beneath the navel, the conscience (sirr) in the middle of the breast, the mystery (khafii) above the eyebrows, and the Arcanum (akhfa) at the top of the brain. One could argue that the Nagshbandi-Kubrawi system has a certain similarity with the yogic concept of seven chakras or subtle nerve centers located along the region of the spine, although some of the Sufi centers are clearly unconnected with the spinal region. Both systems include visualization of appropriate colors and sometimes images in particular bodily locations, so that one might assume either that the Sufi practices were based on earlier unspecified Indian yoga techniques, or that figures like Simani would have been interested in contemporary yogis. From his biography, however, it appears that Simnani, much against his inclination, was forced to engage in disputations with Buddhist monks at the court of the Mongol ruler Arghun; in these debates, Simnani showed considerable theological hostility to the Buddhists. Although they were probably from Mahayana schools with highly developed yogic techniques of their own, Simnani showed no interest in discussing meditation practices with them. ²⁶⁷

Carl Ernst said that the Sufi techniques do not seem to have any intrinsic relation with the psycho-physiology of yoga, and they rarely make reference to the characteristic yogic descriptions of subtle nerves (nadis), the breaths, the sun and moon symbolism, or the kundalini. In addition, Sufi texts contain a multilevelled prophetology and mystical Qur'anic exegesis tied to each of the seven subtle centers, so that distinctive Islamic symbolisms are embedded in the system. As will be indicated below, some Naqshbandi Sufis like Ahmad Sirhindi showed explicit hostility toward the practices of yogis and Brahmins. Major manuals of Sufi contemplative practice from remote areas, such as Miftah al-falah or The Key to Salvation, by the Egyptian Sufi master Ibn Ata' Allah of Alexandria (d. 1309), make no reference to any identifiable Indian yoga technique. (Ibn Ata' Allah al-Sikandari, Miftah al-falah wa misbah al-arwah²⁶⁸

The Chishti master Nizam al-Din Awliya' (d. 1325) found one yogi's concept of bodily control impressive, and he was also intrigued by yogic accounts of the effect of different days of the month on the conception of children (until his master indicated to him that he would live a celibate life). His disciple Nasir al-Din Chiragh-i Dihli (d. 1356) commented in passing on the yogic practice of breath control in comparison to that practiced by Sufis. The essence of this matter is restraint of breath, that is, the Sufi ought to hold his breath during meditation. As long as he holds his breath, his interior is concentrated, and when he releases his breath, the interior is distracted, and it destroys his momentary state. Therefore the Sufi is he accomplished yogis, who are called siddha in the Urdu language, breathe counted breaths.²⁶⁹ Nasir al-Din s disciple Muhammad al-Husayni Gisu Daraz (d. 1422) felt that breath control was essential for Sufi disciples. In a manual of discipline composed in 1404, he remarked. Following the habit of stopping the breath, as is done among the yogis, is necessary for the disciple, but not everyone can do it to the extent that those people can. Those who follow this habit must completely abstain from association with women. Diminution of intake of food and drink permits the performance of required and supererogatory prayers in the case of one of fixed abode, and the traveler retains mobility. One should avoid idle talk. If control becomes habitual, many thoughts can be banished; thought is natural to the carnal soul. Nonetheless, Gesu Daraz Banda Nawaz of Gulbarga was extremely careful to limit the extent to which yogic practice was acceptable. Except for breath control, which is the specialty and support of the yogis, it is necessary for the disciple to avoid all their other kinds of practices.

Nizam al-Din Awarangabadi (d. 1729) and Hajji Imad Allah were presented the formulas, together with explicit accounts of yogic. In this way Nizam al-Din Awarangabadi gave a brief account of yogic mantras in his lengthy survey of Sufi meditative practices, *Nizam al-quluh* or The Order of Hearts, recollection (dhikr) in the Dakhani language. Although it is said that Nizam al-Din Awrangabadi had contact with living yogis, he

generally prefers to cite yogic practice via Sufi authorities and texts deriving from different Sufi orders. 270

As Digby points out, the numerous hagiographic accounts of encounters between Sufis and yogis almost always depict the yogi acknowledging the superior spiritual power of the Sufi. There is necessarily a theological element of triumph in this kind of narrative. This is evident in a story told by Nizam al-Din Awliya' (d. 1325), describing a yogi who challenged a Sufi to a levitation contest. While the yogi could rise vertically in the air, with God's help the Sufi was able to fly first in the direction of Mecca, then to the north and south, before returning to accept the submission of the yogi; the flight in the direction of Mecca surely indicates the religious character of the victory. While this basic pattern emerged in texts of the fourteenth century, the most grandiose versions derive from the later Mughal period, as in an extravagant hagiography called Siyar al-aqtab or Lives of the World-Axes, completed by Ilah-diya Chishti in 1647. In the biographical account of Muin al-Din Chishti, his arrival in India is described as the result of a divine command issued to him by Muhammad prophet in dream from the Kaba in Mecca. The yogi Ajaypal arrived with 1,500 followers, but his numerous magical assaults on the Sufi were all rendered ineffective by the saint's power. In what becomes a typical episode in this kind of story, the yogi then took to the air and flew away on his deerskin, but the Sufi sent his shoes up in the air to beat the yogi into humble submission, and so the yogi returned and converted to Islam, becoming a disciple of Muin al-Din and at the same time gaining to convert to Islam.²⁷¹

Yogis and other ascetics on the fringes of society appear to have been open to friendly exchanges with Muslims from an early date. The Persian merchant and traveler Buzurg ibn Shahriyar, writing around 953 AD, commented that the Kapalika ascetics of Ceylon "take kindly to Musulmans and show them much sympathy". The Tibetan Buddhist historian Taranath, writing in the thirteenth century, was critical of the Nath yogis for following Shiva rather than the Buddha, and what was more, "They used to say that they were not even opposed to the Turuskas

(Turks)".²⁷² The yogis went on to mythologies their encounter with Sufism and with the Indo-Muslim culture represented by Turkish and Mughal emperors. A mural on a Nath yogi temple in Nepal displays the submissive visit of the Ghurid sultans in the twelfth century. "Yoga" in Sanskrit means "to unite" (Persian payvastan), and these people take themselves to have attained God. They call God alak (Hindi alakh, "pure"), and in their belief the chosen one of God, rather his Essence, is Gorakhnath.²⁷³ Even today, sufi followers follow the method of Yoga practices in their routine life. Maulana Syed Athar Ali, president of All India Ulema Council says, 'Yoga an exercise has always been part of Islam. The aim of Islamic way of life is in to have a clean mind, body and soul. Namaaz is the best exercise that every Muslim does. The various posture of Namaz like al Qiyam, Sujud are designed in a way to benefit the body'.²⁷⁴

7.2. Sufism and Yogi Cult:

The yogis reasoned that these prominent architectural features were responsible for the spread of Islam. The various accounts of yogis and saints who had miraculous experiences at Mecca without becoming Muslims, including the famous story of Guru Nanak, founder of the Sikhs, evidently belong in this category of Indian mythologies, which relativised the sacred sources of Islam and subordinated them to Indian figures and categories. Ratan Nath is in any case a name firmly ensconced in yogic tradition, and in Indian stories unrelated to the long-lived hadith scholar, he figures as a Nath in the third generation after Gorakhnath. The relationship between Islam and yoga is further complicated by the participation of Muslims in the Nath Yogi tradition. Out of the thirteen principal Nath sub-orders described by Briggs, one, the Rawal or Nagnath order, located in the Punjab, consists of Muslims despite being originally derived from Shiva. Two of the six minor sub-orders, the Handi Pharang and the Jafir Pirs, are also Muslim in composition, as their names suggest; although they are Kanphatas and undergo the customary initiations, the Hindu yogis do not eat with them. The 1891 Indian census, which listed all yogis under the category of 'miscellaneous and disreputable vagrants', gave figures indicating that over 17 per cent of yogis were Muslims,

though by 1921 the proportion of Muslims had fallen to less than 5 per cent. It is difficult to interpret these figures without more knowledge of the social context, but they are still an interesting index of continuing existence of of Muslim yogis in recent times; it is impossible to tell whether they were originally yogis who became Islamised, or Muslims who were drawn into the ranks of the yogi orders. Beyond the ranks of the yogis themselves, Muslims also formed relationships with yogi shrines, both as pilgrims and as administrators. Ratan Naths disciple, known as Kaya Nath or Qa'im al-Din, has both Muslim and Hindu followers who have built for him separately a samadhi and a tomb, and one can find numerous examples of this kind of dual religious shrine for yogis in the Punjab and in the Deccan. The important yogi shrines of Hinglaj (now in the province of Baluchistan in Pakistan) and Amarnath (in the Indian Himalayas) have for centuries been in the custody of Muslims, who regulate the pilgrimage rites in those places. In the case of Amarnath, the famous ice lingam in the cave there was apparently discovered several centuries ago by local Muslim shepherds, who announced this prodigy to their Hindu acquaintances. 275

> Akulam kulam adhatte kulam cakulam icchati jala-budbudabat nyayat ekakarah Parah Sivah.

> Akul embraces Kula (the phenomenal self expression of Reality) and Kula yearns for Akula (the noumenal essence of Reality). The relation is analogous to that between water and water bubbles. In reality Para Siva (Supreme Spirit) is absolutely one. 276

7.3. Sufism and Datta Cult in Maharashtra:

The oldest narratives on the god Dattatreya depict the deity, in appearance and practice, as a devotee of the Hindu god Shiva. Datta cult has many stories come from various Hindu sectarian streams. Of all the perceptions of Dattatreya, the predominant one is that of a great guru of yoga and *advaita* teachings, with leanings towards a tantric-based explanation of world order. He is an *unmatta* – a 'mad' sage who cares about his teachings, and not about appearances and the 'Worldly' impression he creates. In Maharashtra today, Dattatreya appeals to the

religious sentiment of each social strata and creates an opportunity for his devotees to cross traditional socio-religious lines. He is the deity of yogis and sannyasis those who are not obliged to follow the rules of Hindu social caste system as well as of middle class Hindus. Despite his Hindu origins, some Hindus also accept Dattatreya dressed as a Muslim fakir, a poor religious mendicant. This understanding of him in Maharashtra is based on traditions preserved in the Marathi language, where he sometimes appears as a Hindu, sometimes as a Muslim. This luminal belief most likely originated in the sixteenth century, and reflects the state of coexistence of India's two main religious communities at the time. Religious and social relations between Muslims and Hindus have been a topic of academic debate for decades, with opinions ranging from hostility, misunderstanding and contempt, to an ideal of socio-religious harmony. The variety of opinions shows the complexity of responses to data reflecting the coexistence of these dominant socio-religious groups in India. In his Muslim form, Dattatreya is known in Marathi texts as the Malanga Fakir, or Shah Datta. That some devotees, including Brahmans, were able to accept a puranic Hindu deity in Muslim garb likely meant that they were able to accept Muslims as an integral part of their world. Indeed, Maharashtra was ruled for some 120 years, from about 1480 to 1600, by Nizam Shahs, sultans of Brahman origin who respected local customs and traditions and never cut themselves off from their land of origin. Other examples of generally good communal relations are not difficult to find. The first interaction between Dattatreya and Muslims appears to date back to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Gurucaritra, the main scripture of the Maharashtrian Dattatreya cult, speaks about two dominant saintly figures, Shripada Shrivallabha (d.1350) and Narsimha Sarasvati (d.1458). Both are worshipped today as incarnations of Dattatreya, and both are also mentioned in connection with Muslims: Shripada Shrivallabha promised a poor washerman he would become a sultan in his next life, and Narsimha Sarasvati helped this sultan to overcome an illness. The story is set in Bidar, the second capital of the Bahmani kingdom and regional sultanate of central India in 1347-1538. There, according to the Hindu author, Dattatreya showed his unprejudiced

attitude towards Muslims for the first time, even towards the sultan himself. However, complaints against Muslim rule do appear in *Gurucaritra* as well. How far the narrator can be believed is also questionable, since accurate historical narration never played an important role in the writings of medieval Hindu authors. Later, Dattatreya stood firmly as a guru to people of both religions, and assumed the form of a *Malanga* fakir. *Malangas* are known to scholars of Indian Islam as belonging to the unorthodox branch of Sufis that do not follow *sharia* law.²⁷⁷

This depiction of Dattatreya acting as a Muslim is shrouded in misapprehensions and misunderstandings, due to problems orthodox devotees had accepting a mysterious Datta-incarnate as a paramguru of the famous Maharashtrian Brahman saint poet Eknath (d.1599). This Dattatreya - Malanga Chand Bodhle - could not receive official recognition and sanctification by Eknath's Brahman devotees precisely because of his Muslim allegiance. Literary sources say he was, in addition to being a Malanga, a digambara Datta (in this context, meaning simply a naked ascetic), an avadhut (an ascetic not bound by social laws, who has discarded all worldly attachments) and a yogiraj (yoga master) who resided in Daulatabad, the cultural center of Muslims in Maharashtra. He influenced local Hindu and Muslim intellectual circles. 'disappeared,' because modern proponents of drawing clear distinctions between Hindus and Muslims could not find a suitable place for him. His tomb, an example of the fusion of Hindu-Muslim architecture, lies neglected. Despite the attitude of the tradition's orthodox keepers, local religious consciousness accepted Datta the fakir. New texts celebrating his deeds in According to Dusan Deak, Daulatabad were created and new fakir incarnations appeared whose lives and teachings were recorded in writing. People may have forgotten the human name of Eknath's paramguru, but they did not forget the fakir. Thus, from the late sixteenth century, some Dattatreya devotees accepted their deity could also appear in Muslim guise. Yogi-saints, who could not be classified as Hindu or Muslim, were probably behind this 'fakirization' of the Hindu god, deliberately confusing their devotees' understanding of religious belonging through their appearance and teachings. Acceptance of a Muslim element in the local imagination must have been gradual, but it clearly reflects the socio of late medieval Maharashtra, religious milieu where communalism did not exist. Dattatreya began to appear as a fakir from then on, according to later tradition. This is not to say that his devotees neglected the traditional trimurti form, but only that in popular perception, differences between Hindu and Muslim ascetics did not enter communal discourse. On a popular level, the fakir's acceptance as a man of spiritual knowledge and power simply reflected social reality. The general Indic belief in powerful sages who save the lives of their devotees may have been behind this gradual process, what mattered was not religious persuasion but the deeds following the teachings. Later, devotees turned the poor religious mendicant into a king of spirituality. Followers of Anandasampradaya, a devotional cult based in Maharashtra and northern Karnataka began speaking about Shah Datta Allama Prabhu, or King Datta, Lord of the World. According to them, he assumed two forms: a fakir and a Hindu Datta. He was said to reside in Daulatabad (called 'Mecca' in the devotional text Shah Datta Kalama) and to revive true knowledge for Muslims as well. He explains the meaning of the Qur'an and is the one who saves his true devotees at doomsday: the immortal Absolute, Allah, Siddha of all siddhas, and the most perfect of the perfect ones. The transformation from puranic deity to medieval fakir was thus accomplished, with territorial and celestial accommodation. That the followers of different Hindu and Muslim devotional groups unite in worshiping a particular deity or saint is not exclusive to Indic religious practice. Today, the best example of Dattatreya in a fakir's garb is the famous Sai Baba from Shirdi, though not all his devotees would agree with this depiction. Other known Muslim saints also recognized as Dattatreya include Noori Maharaj of Thane, Tajuddin Baba of Nagpur, or even a woman, Hazrat Baba Jan of Pune. Datta was worshipped for a long time by Hindus and Baba by Muslims at the shrine of Baba Budhangiri of Karnataka. The sacred area of Haji Malanga of Kalyani near Bombay was also considered to be *Datta's* favorite.²⁷⁸

7.4. Saint Eknath and Sufism: Chand Bodhale's book is the earliest claim that Eknath's paramaguru was a Muslim, well before any of the Marathi scholars drew this connection. Chand apparently does not explicitly call this man a suf, which is interesting because Chand freely says that Ekn th was influenced by Sufism elsewhere. Chand explains that Ekn th was very much influenced by ta awwuf (Sufism). 279 Chand's biography of Eknath most interesting is the fact that Chand is a Muslim. He brings a unique perspective to many stories. When Chand first introduces Eknah's guru Janardana, he notes that Mahipati claimed Janardana would meet Dattatreya, who was dressed like a Muslim. In fact, says Chand, he was dressed like a Muslim because he was a Muslim. Every Friday Janardana would meet his elderly Muslim murshad (spiritual guide or guru) to discuss spiritual matters. After Eknath had demonstrated his faithful service to Janardana for six years, Janardana feels it was time to introduce Eknath to his murshad, so he brings Eknath along to his next Friday meeting. When the elderly Muslim man arrives, he brings with him a cow named Kamadhenu which he requests Janardana to milk. The murshad then crumbles some bread into the milk, eats it with Janardana and asks Eknath to wash the pot. Eknath brings the pot to a nearby stream, puts water in it, and drinks the contents. When Eknathh returns, the murshad touches Eknath's head with his hand, thereby sending Eknath into a "world of self-forgetting." Chand Bodhale explains that Eknath was very much influenced by ta awwuf (Sufism). Chand repeats this theme frequently throughout his writing; Eknath was influenced by Sufism both spiritually and socially, so that he treated all people as equal regardless of caste. 280 If Chand Bodhle was originally a syncretic, idiosyncratic mendicant, he was apparently a very famous and respected one who was quickly and grandly memorialized after his death. His sizable, impressive dargah is still maintained quite close to the Daulatabad fort. It can be reached by walking about 40 meters south of the fort entrance and the following a dirt lane east (off the main road) for about 200 meters, at which point a small stone gateway on the north side of the path will lead to the dargah. The date of his death anniversary is 'urs the 13th of Ramz n. The first scene portrays Eknath's encounter with Datt treya, who

is dressed as a Muslim. It was the synthesis of Sufi and Marathi Bhakti in medieval Maharashtra. ²⁸¹ Janardana's satisfaction with Ekn th's spiritual progress, his esoteric teaching, Eknath's encounter with Datt treya dressed as a Muslim, and Eknath's pilgrimage to northern India. Chand had to draw links between Ekn th and Sufism, and he certainly lives up to this expectation. Chand's book is the earliest claim that Eknath's paramaguru was a Muslim, well before any of the Marathi scholars drew this connection. V.S. Bendre also explained the detailed accounts with edited copy of Yogsangram of Shaikh Muhammad Baba Shrigondekar. ²⁸²

7.5. Gopaldas, Mahanubhav Poet and Sufism in Marathwada:

Gopaldas was the Mahanubhav saint poet in Aurangabad region. The manuscript does not show the clear native place of him. But it can show the ideas of saint about the philosophy of Mahanubhav cult and Islamic ideas into the manuscripts. He wrote the Riddhipur shrine of Mahanubhav cult as 'Unch Dargah', (high Dargah). Also he wrote about the Shahgad. In his poems, the Islamic ideas of mysticism and events found majorly. That is the clear explanation of the influence of Sufic ideas in his Mahanubhav and mystical poems.

Qur'an	Aalam	Bandagi	Qudarat
Wali	Pir	Panch Pir	

These are the words from the poems of Gopaldas. He wrote about the *Panch Pir*, means the Prophet Muhammad, Ali, Hasan, Husain and Fatima. He wrote about the Pir or the spiritual guide in Sufism, and other concepts of *Tasawwuf* like Aalam (world), Bandagi, Qudarat (world), Wali (friend of God), Pir (sufi master).²⁸³

7.6. Sai Baba of Shirdi and Sufism:

Sai Baba appeared in I872 in a town in central Maharashtra known as Shirdi. He was a boy of about sixteen at the time and dressed as a Muslim fakir or mendicant. As we shall see, he was far from being a conventional follower of Islam, however. Very little is known about his family background. Hindus usually assert that he was of Brahmin origin and that, orphaned when very young; he was taken as disciple by a Muslim

ascetic. Sai Baba's religious practices blended Hindu and Muslim elements. There he performed a kind of Hindu ritual with lights and incense. He kept a fire burning perpetually in a *Dhuni* (and his followers keep it burning even today) in the manner of a *Nathpanthi* pir. His ritual practices included both Muslim Namaz (*Salat*) and Hindu prayers and offerings.

Sai Baba established himself as a saint through the performance of miracles; and it is chiefly because of his renowned *Siddhis*, preternatural powers, that his reputation has continued to grow long after his death. One can read volumes of collected experiences of his followers who have believed that it was the direct intervention of Sai Baba that brought them health, wealth, or remedy in some pressing life situation. He used the ash from the *Dhuni* as a sacramental substance for the working of his miracles. This ash can be rubbed into the forehead or throat, swallowed, cast into a wound, or used in various ways to effect changes. ²⁸⁴

Sai Baba of Shirdi (1838 to 1918 AD) is regarded by many as a Sufi saint. In his time many of his devotees were Sufi Muslims. The teaching of Sufism relates it to the teachings of Sai Baba. The common thread in both is that unconditional surrender to a spiritual Guru (Pir Murshid) is a must for embarking on the spiritual path. The Sufi Islamic traditions evolved over history with a degree of interaction with Hinduism. It is a school that includes philosophers and mystics. Sufis believe that Sufi teachings are the essence of every religion, and indeed of the evolution of humanity as a whole. Sufis focus on the internal or more spiritual aspects, such as perfecting one's faith and fighting one's own ego (nafs). Sufism is a very open-minded philosophy. The central concept in Sufism is 'love'. Sufis believe that, love is a projection of the essence of God to the The term *dhikr*-'recollection' - signifies 'mentioning,' universe. 'remembering,' or simply 'thinking of'. The Sufis made a practice of repeating the name of God or some religious formula, e.g. "Glory to Allah" (subhan Allah), accompanying the mechanical intonation with an intense concentration of every faculty upon the single word or phrase; and they attach great value to this irregular litany, which enables them to

enjoy uninterrupted communion with God. Recollection may be either spoken or silent, but it is best, that tongue and mind should co-operate. You yourself must become the very embodiment of that love, that devotion. The philosophy of Sai Baba was influenced by Sufism. There should be no awareness of some being, some person having that quality of devotion. Then it becomes a subtle spiritual ego. The very purpose of the existence of the guru is to remove the separatist consciousness, the consciousness of being a separate being or entity, and if guru-bhakti becomes a means of boosting and sustaining that ego, egoism, then it loses its purpose and becomes self-defeating. The spiritual remedy he prescribes to his devotees in Shri Sai Satcharita (the Holy Book of Sai devotees), be it performing a full weeks recitation of Gods name, or reading of a holy book, or feeding an animal etc. is tailored to the spiritual needs of the individual devotees and is absolutely context-specific. Furthermore, while Baba himself was a nonvegetarian, a Yogi and celibate, yet there is no general rule arising from his own life. For example, for some he recommended celibacy, while for others the life of a householder. Baba's path was a simple one free of any rituals that required love and devotion to him.

Two of Sai Baba's key sayings are:

"Allah Malik Hai" (God is the Master)
"Shradha Saburi" (Have Faith and Patience)

Although the majority of devotees are Hindu, they also have no problem accepting Sai Baba of Shirdi, as Sufi Muslim status. Therefore, in this work Sai Baba will be examined in the light of *Sufism*, to elucidate a clearer understanding of him. The recent discovery and translation of a manuscript of a notebook, written in Urdu by Abdul, Sai Baba's *Sufi* pupil or *murid*, has helped to confirm Sai Baba's Muslim and *Sufi* origins and Predilections An important booklet was published in October 1986, in commemoration of the 68th Anniversary of the physical passing away of Sai Baba. This is entitled *Sai Baba: The Perfect Master*, and is edited by D.N. Irani. It is invaluable because it collects together many of the references made to Sai Baba by Meher Baba, the Parsi God-man who was himself known as Avatar Meher Baba. Scattered among his writings he

often referred to Sai Baba in *Sufi* terms, as a 'Perfect master' or *qutb* which literally means an axis, pole or pillar around which the universe spins, used here in a spiritual context. He places Sai Baba at the head of a spiritual hierarchy of five Perfect Masters. It also contains excerpts from books about Meher Baba, which refer to the Shirdi sage. Meher Baba presented an altogether different view of Sai Baba from that of the Hindu authors, seeing him as a *Sufi* and a member of an elevated Islamic hierarchy of saints who had come with an urgent spiritual mission for this age. This opinion dovetails with material revealed in the *Saibaba MS*, given later in Part Grammatically the Arabic word should be given in the singular *wali*, but in Maharashtra the plural *awliya* is invariably used to describe a *Sufi* saint. It is also spelt *aulia* or *auliya* in Marathi and in Sai literature. ²⁸⁵

8. Impact of Sufism:

Hindu-Muslim syncretism in Deccan has deep cultural roots which has survived political and social upheavals. There are numerous syncretic shrines and Dargahs across the country which even today continues to attract people of both faiths Hindu and Muslims. The proliferation of Sufism in fact became one of the important mechanisms of ensuring communal harmony between the Hindus and the Muslims. As the Muslim Sufi saints had contributed the social and cultural works in medieval times. Lokhandwalla states, The Sufi and bhakti movements blurred the differences between the two religions so much that it was very common till very recently to have a sadguru or a pir (Murshid) having a common following of Hindus and Muslims. And no pir or sadguru ever forced a Hindu or Muslim to give up his religion for any other. The medieval age was the period when Sufi and Bhakti thought and practice blended and coalesced at many points.²⁸⁶ The influence of Sufism in India has been such that a number of Dargahs and mazar of the saints of various orders are venerated by the Hindus and Muslims alike. The Dargahs of Muin-uddin Chisti and Nizam-ud-din Auliya in Ajmer and Delhi respectively, are the foremost of them. In Deccan, Bidar, Khuldabad, Daulatabad, Aurangabad, Gulbarga and Hyderabad town had number of Sufi Dargahs which are very spiritual importance today in both communities.²⁸⁷

8.1. Sufi Popularity in Medieval India:

All the sufi orders of the Sultanate period believed in achieving the basic sufi goal of establishing direct communion with God by traversing the sufi' path under the supervision of a spiritual guide or Pir Murshid. However, different Sufi orders observed distinct rituals and customs of their own and differed in their attitudes to state and society. Of all the orders of this period, the Chishti, emerged as the most popular, and it was also widespread. Chishti rituals, attitudes and practices made it an essentially Indian silsilah. Many practices of early Chishtis bore close resemblance to the attributes of some of the already existing nonconformist religious orders in India such as asceticism, Wowing before the master, shaving the head of a new entrant into the order and organizing spiritual musical recital. The Chishtis opted an attitude of religious tolerance towards the non-Muslim population of India and adjusted themselves to the needs of a predominantly non-Muslim environment. They made use of popular imagery and popular idiom to country their ideas their Indian followers and adopted many of their customs and rituals. Many of the Chishti saints made *Hindawi* the vehicle tor spreading their teachings. The Khanqah tradition of Chishti attitude towards religion was characterized by sympathy towards the deprived sections of the society. No space for castism in the Sufi khanqahs at that time. Merchants, artisans, peasants and even sweepers became the followers of the Sufi orders in Indian subcontinent. Sufis were not to accept state patronage, their rejection of the orthodoxy and externalist attitudes of the Ulema.²⁸⁸

The Chishti practice of *Sama* provided the basis for a syncretic musical tradition such as the repertoire of religious songs called *qawwali* which is said to have begun with Amir Khusrau. Early Sufi saints came to India even before the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate. The basic features of sufis in India continued to be the same as they were in the Islamic world it developed into an organized movement during 10th-12th

centuries. During 12th and 13th centuries there developed a number of Sufi orders or *Silsilahs*. Like in the Islamic orders became popular in India during the Sultanate period. Of the day by day and Chishti orders and other Sufi orders also were more prominent. In India, the Chishti order became most popular among the masses.²⁸⁹

8.2. Dargah Tradition in Present Deccan Society:

Marathwada has the many Dargahs from medieval era to early modern period. In over Deccan Dargah culture had developed from twelfth century AD. It is historically attested that Sufism and Bhakti were two parallel movements which grew and flourished in the sub continent almost simultaneously. They both grew and flourished in the sub continent almost simultaneously. They grew out of the native soil, awoke in the mysticism tinted language of the masses and gave a healing touch to a turbulent and violence riddle society coming to terms with its many political upheavals and social contradictions. Sant Kabir, Dau Dayal, Data Ganj Baksh Hajweri, Mian Miir, Shaikh Nooruddin, Lal Dev, Khwaja Gharib Nawaz, Bulleh Shah, Shaikh Farid, Gaib Nawaz Ajmeri, they had the same vision. They spoke in different modes and different idioms, but the essence of their message remained the same.²⁹⁰

The performance and experience of pilgrimage are influenced both by institutional patterns and individual thought and behavior. Since in Islam there is not a centralized clergy, and since neither in $Qur\ n$, nor in Hadith, detailed ritual prescription about the $ziy\ rat$ can be found, it can be useful to have a look to the writings of outstanding Sufi masters, who embody the highest ideals of the religious tradition, in order to understand the place this practice occupies within the Sufi and Islamic theological-literary universe. 291

Generally people are visiting to dargahs of the Khuldabad, Daulatabad and Aurangabad every year at *Urs* festival including Hindu and Muslims from Deccan. It happens present days on the occasion of their weekly, monthly and annual ceremonies. The great Sufi Ab H mid

al-Ghaz 1 (d. 1111), expressed himself in favour of the legitimacy of the ziyarat and explained its correct meaning. According to him, the practice does not refer only to the visit to saints' graves, but encompasses also pilgrimages to places defined by the presence of holiness. Muslims hold a universal awareness of the holiness of the dead, which manifests itself in the devotee's physical and spiritual contact with the place of burial. Al-Ghaz 1 emphasizes the universality of experience of self-surrender and total connection with the dead, experienced by the devotee during the ziyarat. In his account, the main assumption is that the ziyarat should take place within the limits set by Prophet Muhammad. The aims are contemplation, remembering death and obtaining blessings. However, the devotee can gain blessings only through personal contemplation and supplication, and not through the dead saint.

The celebrated saint Hazrat Nizamuddin Awliya (d. 1325) of Delhi, touchstone not only for Chishti sufis, but also for all Sufis of the Indian Subcontinent, talks about the *ziyarat* in the *Fawadid al-Fuad*. He said, "My mother (God's mercy be upon her) fell ill. She asked me to visit the graves of such and such *wal* or pir. As directed, I visited those graves and told her about the visits on my return. Each time when I did that, I found her illness a bit alleviated, and a marked relief was visible.²⁹²

In another occasion, he relates that his master, Shaikh Farid al-Din Ganj Shakar (d. 1265), when he was ill, sent the disciple various times to visit the graves of some Dargahs around Ajodhan. From these anecdotes it can be gathered that graves are places in which saints' spiritual power and influence keep working even after their physical death. For many Sufis, graves represent a means to gain access to the *barakat* of particular saints, and to go forward in their spiritual path. This type of pilgrimage represents the extension, beyond time limits, of the relationship between a Sufi master and his disciples and devotees. It is the extension of the master-disciple relationship and of the practice of *Piri Muridi*, namely the visit to a master, to pay respect to him, to get his spiritual teachings, to obtain his blessings, to ask for his therapeutic assistance or for help in any matter of daily life.²⁹³ Undoubtedly these words and anecdotes are sketchy, but they can contribute to outline the notion of the *ziyarat* in the

tradition of Indian Sufism. To summarize, the aims of the *ziyarat* are contemplation, recollection of death, quest for blessings, that can lead to spiritual and material benefits (especially cure of illnesses), and supplicate God on behalf of the dead. Ritual behavior is not described in detail, what matters are that it should remain within the limits of *Sunna*. One should remove his or her shoes before approaching the tomb, as a mark of respect, and recite the prayers for the dead, whose merit goes to the dead. As regards pilgrims, the experience of self-surrender and total connection with the dead is mentioned, and it is related that the *ziyarat* promotes feelings of sweetness and tenderness, even in the hardest hearts.

The city of Khuldabad is scattered with dargah and the ziyarat, urs are a common custom, not only among Muslims, but even among Hindus. One of the most visited Dargah is that of Burhan al Din Gharib, Zayn al Din Shirazi, Raju Qattal Husaini, Zar Zari Zar Baksh Chishti Dargah etc. Regarded amongst the most influential and cherished saints of the town, known also as *Mashaikh e Deccan*, Burhan al Din Gharib Chishti. According to hagiography, he lived peacefully among Hindus and had numerous Hindu disciples.²⁹⁴

The ziyarat is principally an individual ritual, which devotees perform alone or together with some relative or friend. Tradition does not prescribe particular days or hours to visit the Dargah. Devotees require ritual purity for visiting the Dargahs. They do the ritual ablutions (wudu) in the Masjid near Dargahs. Another element is the offering to the saint. According to tradition, devotees offer, agreeably to their means, a gift to the saint, as a token of love for him. After having kissed the threshold and greeted the saint with respect, pilgrims place flowers on the grave, flower garlands (haar), or sheets (ilaf) embroidered with kalmia (l a il aha ill l-l h, Muhammad ras l All h 'there's no God but Allah, Muhammad is His Prophet'), the name of the Prophet or of his family members. More rarely do pilgrims light incense sticks (agarbathi) and Chirag (small earthen lamps in which oil or clarified butter is burnt). In addition, perfume (ithr) is sometimes sprinkled over the grave, and rice, sweets and coconuts are offered. Customarily, when food is offered (especially when

the devotees' petitions are fulfilled), the *mutawalli* (the *dargah* administrator), or one of the caretakers, recites the *f tiha* over it; half of the food goes to the author of the offering, who then starts the distribution, and half to the caretakers, who can store it or distribute it among the poor. Occasionally pilgrims offer gifts in the form of tribute (*nazrana*) to the *mutawalli* or to the family of the *huddam* (the caretakers) and the dargsh depends, to a large extent, on these offerings of goods and money, for its preservation. Contact is of pivotal significance. After having placed his offering on the pile of flowers and sheets that covers the grave, the pilgrim touches the grave. This action is performed in other ways too, but its essence remains the same, that is, physical contact. By physically touching the grave that embodies the dargahs spiritual power, devotees perceive to gain access to his power and to have Divine blessing flowing in their body.

Once the offering is completed, the pilgrim goes on to recite the f tiha, the first sura of Qur n, universally recited, in the Muslim world, at the Sufi saints' tombs and at the graves of relatives and friends. It is recited also in each sequence of the canonical prayer (namaz). By Shaikh or Pirand sajj da našin, Sufi masters and living representatives of saints, it is uttered over food in order to bless it, before distributing it freely, as tabarruk (blessing), to the poor and to the devotees of the darg h. Some devotees perform clockwise circumambulation around the grave. This ritual is called taw f, an Arab term which means 'to walk in circles around something' and, in particular, within religious jargon, to run or walk around a sacred object. aw f is a key ritual of the Pilgrimage to the holy city of Mecca, and is performed by making seven rounds around the Kaba, the building that houses the Black Stone. In the dargah of the Subcontinent, taw f came to be a widespread practice among pilgrims, promoting the view according to which the saint identified metaphorically with the Kaba, as symbolic centre of the universe. 296 Pilgrimage places generally claim to possess a privileged relationship with Divinity: on the spot where they stand, Divine power manifested itself and still keeps doing so. In Sufi tradition the Dargah are regarded as sacred places, since

they house the remains of individuals who, because of their holiness, were reputed to be "close" to God. Through a metonymic symbolic process, a simile between the place of burial and the saint is enacted, and graves acquire the saints' spiritual powers and their role as mediators between men and God.

According to Morinis pilgrimage centers develop and project an image that represents a "purer" or "more ideal" version of some accepted cultural ideals. The author defines this type of cultural intensification as "[it is] the central force in the creation, maintenance and success of pilgrimage shrines". This can be held as valid in regard to the Dargah, where cultural ideals such as devotion to Allah, spiritual guidance, tolerance, generosity, spiritual search are intensified. The statement that pilgrimage places imply a social field and an informational field is also acceptable. The Dargah indeed is a place for gathering which draws people with specific social characteristics, and projects an image encoded in stories and legends. The conventional way to refer to pilgrimage places as centers is compelling. However, centrality is only a spatial concept that can be used to locate "... the sacred place in relation to its fields. Geographically, the sacred place is actually seldom central". 297

8.3. Samaa: Music in Islam, these worlds carries different meanings to different people. In medieval period, Chishti Sufi saints of Indian sub continent were lovers of Music or Samaa and Qawwali. That spirit is still alive in Khuldabad, Aurangabad, Kandhar, Gulbarga and North India, Ajmer, Delhi etc. places. Specially, in Deccan in fifteenth century, Sayyad Muhammad al Husaini-i- Gesudiraz (721 / 1321 – 825 / 1422) has his own ideology and thinking about Chishti Samaa and Qawwali. Khwajah Abu Ishaq –i- Shami (d. 329 / 940) was the founder of Chishti silsila in Chisht city in medieval Heart Khurasan area. Shaikh Mu'in ud din Hasan Gharib Nawaz Chishti in the year 1193 AD, arrived at Ajmer and spread Chishti Sufism in north India. Chishti Sufi Khanqah established all Sufi places in India, such as Delhi, Ajmer, Fatehpur, Ahmadabad, Khuldabad, Daulatabad Kandhar, Gulbarga Bidar Bijapur etc. The main purpose of the establishment of monasteries was to include

spiritual teaching and mystical ideas, and to build up the moral and Sufic culture of the people. Besides the Muslims, Hindus were also allowed to enter the Chishti monasteries without any inhibition or fear. The Khanqah were open to all, irrespective of high or low, caste, creed, or religion. Everyone, from a King to Beggar, was welcomed and was treated as an equal.

'Samaa' the word is derived from the Arabic verb 'samia', means a 'hearing', or 'audition'. The word does not occur in the holy Qu'ran, but in classical Arabic it seems to have meant, 'a singing or musical performance'. The lawfulness of music has been the subject of long controversy in Islam. Samaa was adapted in sufi circles in the late second or the early third century Hijrah or 9th century AD, as a spiritual exercise and as a means of revelation/ making known (that) was secret or hidden, attained through ecstasy (happiness). It was in Sufism that samaa acquired its technical meaning of, listening to music (make an effort to hear / attention to a sound / voice / divine music), singing, chanting (repeating rhythmic dhikr) and recitation in order to produce religious emotions and ecstasy (wajd), and also such performance as by voice or instrument. Samaa became very popular (among Hindu & Muslim in Indian subcontinent) among the Sufis as a ritual, with the result that there were diverse opinions as to its lawfulness. Consequently, various topics regarding samaa & qawwali were discussed - rending of garments in ecstasy (wajd), itself, musical instruments, dancing (rags), and the like. An eminent Sufi like Hujwiri (d. 465/1072) who felt that it was samaa which made the religion obligatory, also refers to it as an amusement, which is the root of all immorality.²⁹⁸

In Sufism, samaa is 'permitted', for one who seeks spiritual enlightenment. According to Abu al-Daqqaq (d.406AH/1015AD) samaa is prohibited for the common people (al-awam) because of the existence of their carnal souls (li-baqa nufusihim); allowable to the ascetics on account of the actualization of their spiritual struggle (li-husul mujahadatihim), and lawful for Sufis because of their live hearts (li-hayat qulubihim). The

playing of musical instruments has always been a controversial topic. Tambourine (daff) was widely used in samaa gatherings in Khanqah. Ahmad al-Ghazali allows the Persian flute also to be played. Hujwiri writes that the theologians agree on the permissibility of musical instruments if they are not used for amusement. In India, sheikh Nizam al-Din Awliya did not allow any instrument. He believed that instruments were no means of delight for a man of 'taste', and 'pain', (Sahib-I-dhawa wa dard). Samaa was not an entertainment for Sufis, but it has a serious purpose behind it. It played a great role (ecstasy = happiness), that without experiences no knowledge, Wajd, would be the hearing and sight of the heart. Ecstasy is a flame, which springs up in the heart and appears out of lunging. Although dancing (raqs) was one of the earlier forms of expressing ecstasy (wajd). But it was not always approved of by the Sufis. Hujwiri does not approve of dancing at all. He prefers to be called 'ecstatic movements', rather than 'dancing'. In conclusion, raqs (dancing), is 'allowable', (mubaah) and also under worship (ibadat) if the intentions (niyat) of the performer were good.

Shaikh Muin-al-Din Chishti Garib Nawaz Ajmeri (d.633/1236), who immigrated to India in the year 590/1193 AD, is reported to have organized samaa gatherings. In all over Indian sub-continent in next centuries to come, samaa was popularized through the efforts of sheikh / saints of Chishtiya silsila. According to Sayyad al-Husaini Muhammad Gesudaraz, Samaa was not just an ordinary mode of worship, but was a 'specific path', leading to Allah. Gisudiraz writes, that samaa is one of the ways of approaching the Beloved.

Namaz, Fasting, recitation of *Qu'ran* lead man towards Allah likewise *samaa*, draws one closer to Allah (Him)'. It is quoted that samaa is the closest (*aqrab*) path leading to God (Allah). *Gesudaraz* feels that this is so because 'unity' (*jam*; of thought), and contemplation (*tawajjuh*) which are the best of all the fortunes (*sarmayah*) (*Jami –I-Saa'dathaa*) are possible mainly through samaa.

Though it must be noted though, that Gesudaraz was very particular about Namaz (prayer) and *shariat* in genera', and the man who would take

any criticism against samaa. He writes that samaa should not be considered something trivia', because all that is found through, 'remembrance', (dhikra), 'meditation', (muraqabah) and 'prayers' (salat, namaz), is already the 'cash of the moment', (naqd-I-waqt) in samaa. Gesudaraz prefers night to day, in which case it should be well illuminated (not dark lighted). As for place, Gesudaraz writes that it should be enclosed (mahfuz) with walls and should have a roof. It should not be an open space where the wind blows. This is so because the voice gets carried away by the wind instead of reaching (nuzul) its destination (mahall) which is the heart (dil). He further explains that the place should be perfumed (murawwah) and free (khali) from disturbance.

'Sama' or audition of music was one of the main spiritual disciplines of the Chishti monasteries Gesudaraz Bnda Nawaz Chishti a lot to say about its practice. It was not an ordinary worship for him but it played a signal role in the achievement of his own spiritual status. He thinks that it is the closest preference to it over every other discipline.²⁹⁹

Gesudaraz was very liberal where instruments were concerned, relative to orthodox Islam and the traditional views of the Sufis. He was not absolutely opposed to the playing of musical instruments in samaa, though he himself did not have any instrument, except a tambourine, played during the ritual. Therefore, silence should be preferred regarding the controversy. Especially for a Sufi shaikh, to keep away from those instruments which are forbidden by law (shariat). Gesudartaz concept of raqs (Sufi dancing) is very similar to that of other Chishti Sufis. He interprets various types of ecstatic dancing.

Muin – al – Din Hasan Chishti (d.634AH/1236AD)

Qutb al – Din Bakhtiyar – I – Kaki (d. 634/1236)

Hamid al – Din Sufi – I – Nagauri Chishti (d.641/1244)

Farid al – Din Ganj – I – Shakar Chishti (d.664/1265)

Nizam al – Din Awliya Chishti (d.726/1325)

Nasir al – Din Mahmud Chiragt – I – Dilli (d.757/1356)

Burhan al-Din Gharib Khuldabadi (d.741/1340)

Sayyed Muhammad al-Husayni – Gesudiraz Chishti Gulbarga (d.825/1422) etc. Sufi saints supporter of Samaa and Qawwali in Indian Subcontinent. 300

8.4. Qawwali Tradition:

"Let me sing till I am nothing but a voice." - Rumi

Qawwali means the Sufi "music in context par excellence". Despite the prohibition on music in orthodox Islam, Qawwali, spiritual song which transports the mystic toward union with God, thrives as the central ritual of Sufism. For centuries, the Sufi communities of the Indian Subcontinent have sustained the tradition of singing and music as spiritual nourishment in religious centers throughout Indian subcontinent. As an important ingredient in the spread of Islam, Qawwali is suggestive of the mystical, esoteric side of religion which continues to thrive. The Sufi saints who brought their teaching from the Persian culture area to medieval India found themselves in a cultural milieu based on hereditary social and economic formations such as caste. Sufism played a role in mediating between the orthodoxy tradition and indigenous, local practices.³⁰¹ It has shown how the context in which Qawwali is heard determines its meaning. In Sufi tradition, it is the listener who embodies the spiritual act. The performer, the Qawwal himself, is not considered a religious figure, but a servant under the patronage of the shrine in which he performs. Sufi music has always run counter to hegemonies, yet it has adapted and survived. It is ironic that some "fundamentalist" Islam's oppose the Sufi tradition which is so closely linked to the fundamental sources of Islamic religious life: the Qu'ran and the Prophet. Qawwals in India today support themselves with a combination of Sufi patronage and capital from commercial endeavors such as recording, teaching and private performance. Ajmer today is the site of a unique combination of an older system of patronage in the Dargah with a simultaneous system of modern capitalism based on the sale of locally recorded commercial cassettes and CDs. Qawwali, the Islamic practice transcends local space through aural communication. Recitations of the Qu'ran and Sufi in vocational hymns both affect a transcendence of physical space by invoking the omnipresence of the divine and the universality of the Muslim Umma. Second, her ethno musicological data asserts that Qawwali is "music in context par excellence." 302

The name of the poet Amir Khusrau (1253-1325) is associated with several innovations in Indian classical music dating to the medieval period. Though Khusrau's fame outside India is largely based on his Persian poetry, in India he is also remembered for his many putative contributions to Indian music. The writer of an anthology of Persian poetry describes his musical talent as follows: "A superb musician in his own right and credited with the invention of several musical instruments and with having laid the theoretical basis for much of Indo-Muslim music, Khusraw imparted to his ghazals a lilt and melody that have assured their inclusion in musical programs in India to the present day." Khusrau's fame as a Persian poet is indeed richly deserved. Known throughout the Persian-speaking world as Amir Khusrau-e-Dihlawì (Amir Khusrau of Delhi), Khusrau was court-poet to several kings in Delhi, most notable of whom was Sultan 'Alà-ud-dìn Khiljì. Contemporary (or even some later) historians however do not remember him as a musician, but only as a poet. For instance Firishta, who writes in detail of the court of 'Alà-ud-dìn Khiljì, lists Khusrau's name among the poets, not among the qawwàls or musicians. 303 Khusrau is said to be the inventor of the Sitar and the Tabla. But in addition to these musical instruments, he is said to have been the originator of genres such as the tarànà and the qaul. He is also said to have composed numerous new raagas. Muhammad Wahid Mirza, who is the author of an authoritative biography of Amir Khusrau, sums up Khusrau's musical contributions like, Amir Khusrau invented the following new melodies: mujìr, sàzgàrî, aiman, 'ushshàq, muwàfiq, ghazan, zilaf, farghàna, sarparda, bàkharz, firodast, mun'am, qaul, taràna, khayàl, nigàr, basìâ, shàhàna, and suhila. 304

9. Influence of Sufi ideas on society:

كْرَاهَ فِي الدِّين قد تَبَيَّنَ الرُّشْدُ مِنَ الْغَيِّ فَمَنْ يَكْفُر ْ بِالطَّاغُوتِ وَيُؤْمِن بِاللَّهِ فقدِ اسْتُمْسَكَ بِالْعُرْوَةِ الْوُثْقَى لا انفِصنامَ لها وَاللَّهُ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ

"...There is no compulsion in religion. Verily, the Right Path has become distinct from the wrong path. Whoever disbelieves in Taghut and believes in Allah, then he has grasped the most trustworthy handhold that will never break. An Allah is All Hearer, All Knower."

(Quran 2:256 Al-baqarah)

India has been the meeting place of various races, religion and cultures. Politics have struggled for supremacy and in the end been fused in new syntheses of both cultures that have marked new levels of achievement for the human spirit. They all appeared on the scene as victors, but were soon absorbed in the ranks of the vanquished. Each fresh incursion of race or idea found the Indian temperament more malleable than before, and accelerated the process of assimilation and synthesis. The first and foremost characteristic of Islam is its emphasis on the unity of God. From this follows its universality. All Muslims believe that, as a universal religion valid for all times, it must reveal the eternal nature of truth. According to Muslims, each country and age had its own prophet, and Mohammed was only the last of a long line who had all preached Islam to their own people in their own language. Mohammed claimed no miracle, and his appeal was to the human reason. The equality and brotherhood of all Muslims was equally a consequence of the emphasis on the unity of God. The universality of reason demanded from all rational beings the same behavior in the same circumstances. So far as men are rational, they are equal in the sight of God. The impact of Islam on India was deep and profound. The contact between new and old modes of thought compelled acute and sensitive minds to think afresh about the eternal problems of the universe. Men's minds were freed from the tyranny of old traditional ways. New religions and philosophies appeared to mark the rapprochement between Hindu and Islamic modes of thought. Yet the assimilation and synthesis between the two systems was not complete, for

the facts of physical distance and inaccessibility remained. Interchange of thought and culture between the capital and the country remained imperfect. Rural culture, in spite of large-scale changes in religion, remained dominantly Hindu, for men changed their creed but not their way of life. In the extant textbooks of Indian history the record of difference and conflict is kept alive, but the story of fusion and synthesis is either forgotten or ignored. History books are told the story of the rise and fall of dynasties, of invasions by new hordes from outside and gruesome accounts of oppression, pillage, and rapine. There is hardly any mention of the growth of social or cultural institutions or the emergence of new social forms. The history of India in the middle medieval age is in fact a story of assimilation and synthesis. At first under the Pathans and later on a wider scale under the Mughals, this is unmistakable in the evolution of customs and conduct, fashions and festivals, in the very preparation of food and in social and household affairs. There were main role of Sufis must be observed significance. Sufis also come to help for development of Hindi, Dakhani, Urdu and other regional language folk literature in India. In music and art, in sculpture and architecture, in social habits, life, and manners, the effects of the synthesis are visible to this day. Sufism has its foundation in the Quran, but it is clear that its development was influenced by Christianity and Hinduism. Such intellectual influences are how- ever, always mutual. Long before the conquest of Sind by Muhammad bin Qasim, Arab traders had come into contact with the people of Travancore. This peaceful penetration went so far that the last of the Cheramon Perumal Kings of Malabar was converted to Islam and left his kingdom on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Kaladi, where Sankaracharya was born, belonged to a small principality whose king also accepted Islam. There is no indication that these conversions were the result of military conquest. Nor is there any indication that the change of faith by the king resulted in any large-scale conversions among the people. Social attitudes, religious faith, and even the Hindu philosophy of life were profoundly affected. The new philosophies which were born in that period have left a permanent impression on the Indian mind. The contact of Hindu and Muslim cultures in the south was responsible for the birth of a new

philosophy, Bhakti movement. It is not surprising that the impact should first be felt in the sphere of the intellect. First acquaintance attracts the intellect more than the heart. Some of the aspects of Islamic culture and its influence on Indian life and thought have been indicated above. The account must from the very nature of the case remain incomplete. When two powerful currents meet, there is no question of the absorption of the one in the other. The two streams join to create a new form, and their separate contributions can hardly be distinguished. Old values were transmitted and even ancient themes were informed with a new spirit. We have referred to the changes in intellectual outlook and the achievements in the fields of architecture and poetry. The music of ancient India reminds one at every step of the temples of the south. The same solidity of structure and profusion of details stamp it with an unmistakable identity. The music of the north offers a sharp contrast. The solidity is re-placed by an airy grace. Wealth of de-tails gives place to spacing and harmony. Sufism, developed forms of piety and culture that represented Indian as opposed to Arab versions of Islam (for example, worship at the graves of great Sufi saints).305

According to Asghar Ali Engineer, on the level of the masses, in India, Sufis and folk Islam have become popular and evoked no animosity. It is no wonder that the Sufis adopted an attitude towards the Hindus entirely different; the Sufis were not aspirants to power. On the contrary, they kept away from it and concentrated on spiritual matters. They found many parallels to the spiritual endeavor in Islam in the spiritual practice of Hindu yogis. Once Nizamuddin Awliya (AD 1238-1325) was walking with his disciple Amir Khusraw (AD 1253-1325), along the bank of the Yamuna River; he saw some Hindu women bathing and worshipping the sun. He promptly said, har qewm-ra dini wa qibla-gahi (for every people there is a religion and a way of prayer). The Sufi concept of 'fana fi Ilah' also seems to have been derived from the Buddhist concept of 'nirvana' which predates it. It is also important to note that the Sufis did not hesitate to use the local Hindu idiom in putting across their ideas and teachings. A Sufi saint from Maharashtra, Shaikh Muhammad Shrigondekar, named his book on Sufism Yogasangram He used Marathi and Sanskrit rather than Arabic terms, for he calls 'dil' (heart) 'antahakaran', 'jalaliyant', 'tamogun' and 'themkamaliyat' 'sadgun'. In fact, he uses all those terms which were used by Patanjali, Shankaracharya (c 700 AD) and the commentators on the Vedantas. 306

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Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

As the first chapter is an introduction one, the choice of the topic, significance, its scope and sources are discussed in fuller length. The study focused on the history of Sufism in Marathwada from its beginning from twelfth century to mid-twentieth century AD. It is included the Sultanate, Bahamani, the early Mughal, Mughal and till the end of Asaf Jahin Nizam period. The study had done the historic review of the spread and development of Sufism in the Marathwada region. It is included the study of history of Sufi silsilas in Marathwada, like; Chishtiya, Qadiriyya, Rafaiya, Naqshbandiya, Suharawardiyya etc. The study had done the literary history of Marathwada Sufis including Persian, Urdu, Dakhani and Marathi literature. Also the study took a historic and cultural review of sufis relations and interactions with other religious sects.

In the second chapter, the philosophy of Sufism and it's spread in Indian subcontinent has been covered. Sufis and Sufism came to functioning in Marathwada region in around eleventh-twelfth century AD. Sufis came and settled in Deccan during pre Bahmani period. The Sufis founded their Khanqah and silsilas in a new region of Deccan. The chapter discussed the beginning of Islam in Arabian Desert and it's spread in Green crescent with North African region. Also it observed the condition of society in pre-Islamic Arabia. In 620 AD, was marked by a double personal tragedy for Muhammad, with the death of his wife, Khadijah, and his uncle, Abu Talib. Muhammad found himself increasingly threatened by the powerful Quraysh. Nearly four hundred kilometers to the north of Meccan lay the oasis town of Yathrib (Medina). A number of people from Medina had come into contact with Muhammad and his teachings and during the pilgrimage to the Kaba in 621 AD; they met Muhammad on a mountain pass outside Mecca. Muhammad and his Meccan followers were

invited to migrate to Medina (Hijrah). They migrated to Medina and in the months following Muhammad's arrival, the first Islamic community (umma) was formed. In time the town came to be known by another name, madinat-al-nabi, or Medina, the City of the Prophet. The year 622 AD in which the emigration to Medina took place became the starting point of the Muslim lunar calendar, Anno Hijarae (Al Hijri). It is an appropriate point at which to interrupt the flow of historical events and open the Quran. It was the starting of spread of Islam in Arabian land. Later the Islam spread over the Arabia including Northern Africa and South Europe. The Islamic calendar and other traditions spread over the region. Chapter discussed the beginning of Sufism in Arabia and Iranian (Persianet) world. The tradition of Hadith and Sufism had become popular in Arabia. Then Sufism spread in Middle East and Central Asia and come to Indian subcontinent in Eleventh century. Before Muhammad Gaznavid invasion, Islam had been developed and extended in Indian sub continent. The population of Muslims increased till sultanate period, Sufi and Bhakti movement made the synthesis culture within medieval India. In eleventh century AD, Sufism came into coastal region of Kerala and Malabar.

The Suharawardi and the Chishti silsila flourished and spread in Sind, Punjab, Delhi and Awadh region. Multan, Uchch and Gangetic plains, all were covered by khalifahs of silsila. Especially Chishtis established their khanqahs centers at Ajmer, Narnaul, Suwal, Nagaur, Hansi, Ajodhan (Rajputana & Punjab) and in some part of Uttar Pradesh. Later on the silsilah spread into other parts of the country and Chishti centers sprang up in Indian sub-continent with Deccan. Khwaja Muin al Din Chishti Gharib Nawaz Ajmeri, Shaykh Qutb al Din Bakhtiyar Kaki, Hazrat Farid al Din Mas'ud Ganj –i- Shakr, Hazrat Nizam al Din Dehlawi Chishti and Nasir al din Chirag Dehlawi were the prominent Sufis in Northern India. They developed Khanqah life and the Sufi institutions in South Asia region. They made the Piri Muridi tradition in Sufi network in Indian subcontinent. Their Khalifahs or successors spread over the country and established the tradition of love and Sufi hospice life with social reforms, practices and spirituality. They made interactions with local

language, cults and saints. It was the beginning of number of followers' in common rural folk. They influenced the social and spiritual life of the common man. They spread the love and equality lesson in society. Suharawardiyya, Qadiriyya, Chishtiya, Rafaiya and Naqshbandiyya silsila spread in North and South India till fourteenth century AD. The chapter discussed the spread of Sufism in Deccan from eleventh century AD.

The third chapter contains the spread of Sufism and Sufi silsilas in entire Marathwada periphery. Sufi disciples gathered round their Murshids, Shaikhs or Pirs to learn the rites, rituals and rulers of each order, which were designed to stabilize their emotional and intellectual faculties and to enable them to realize Reality or the direct intuitive recognition of God. Sufi disciples tended to deify their Pirs, even though the latter were totally disinterested in turning themselves into Godheads. The reliance of Sufis on God has particularly in the oppressed elite into orders. Khanqahs gave to most people a felling of hope and a vision of a bright future, both in this world and the one to come. These sufis of Marathwada region made the spiritual environment in central Deccan region. They established their identity and religiosity based on a certain culture, like they made interactions with other spiritual cults. Burhan al Din Gharib Chishti Khuldabadi was the very famous Sufi saint in Khuldabad region of Marathwada. His brother Muntjib al din Zar Zari Zar Baksh also had made the spiritual influence on the Sufi circle of Marathwada in Deccan periphery. Burhan al-Din Gharib's Dargah has situated at South Gate of Khuldabad town. He was studied under Nizam ud Din Auliya (Awliya) of Delhi. He was Khalifah (spiritual successor) of Nizam ad-Din Auliya in Deccan. Contemporary writers states, that the death of Shah Munajabu-udDin at Daulatabad, his brother Burhan al-Din was sent to succeed him, and was sent to succeed him by Nizam al-Din Auliya, and was accompanied by 1400 disciples (Murid). It appears more probable however, that Burhan ud-Din succeeded the Sultan-i-Mashaikh as Khalifah, and that he immigrated to the Deccan (Dakhan) when Sultan Muhammad Tughalaq transferred the capital from Delhi to Daulatabad.

The Murid or disciples of Burhan al Din Gharib Chishti had spread over the Deccan in fourteenth century AD. Farid al Din Adib Chishti of Daulatabad, Sayyid Nasir la Din Paon Payk Khuldabadi, Malik Mubarak Chishti, Zayn al Din Shirazi, Kashani Imad a Din Chishti, Majd al Din Kashani, Hamad al Din Kashani, Rukna al Din Kashani Chishti and Kaka Shad Bakht were the famous murid and successors of Chishti circle of Burhan al din Gharib in Khuldabad Daulatabad region of Marathwada. They made the environment of Marathwada as the sacred place of Sufi geography or spiritual m'ashara. Khuldabad had also the female Sufi saints. In Chishti circle of Khuldabad, Bibi Hajira was the high status in Khuldabad. She was the mother of Burhan al Din Gharib. Bibi Hajira's tomb is next to the shrine of her elder son, Muntajib al Din Zar Zari Zar Baksh. The five sisters of Burhan al din Gharib, known locally as 'The Five Ladies', panch bibiyan, also had a prominent position in Khuldabad Chishti circle. Marathi and Dakhani folk literature was influenced by these Sufi ideas. Muslim Marathi poets also wrote the Marathi folk literature with spiritual influence of Sufism. Sayyad Yusuf bin Ali Bin Muhammad Dehlawi, popularly named as Sayyad Raja or Shah Raju Qattal Husayni, was a resident of Delhi, which he was migrated in AH 725 towards Deccan. He was accompanied by his sons Sayyid Chanda and Sayyad Muhammad Banda Nawaz surnamed "Gaysu Daraz" or " the longringletted". The latter is the patron saint of Gulbarga. Sayyad Yusuf was a Sufi "mashaikh," and wrote a religious, poem called "Tuhfat-en-nasayeh." He died in H. 726 and was buried at Rauza (Khuldabad). He was a disciple of Khwaja Nizam ud Din Awliya and a notable mystic poet.

The Sufis of Marathwada established the Khanqahs for social works and religious practices. Their Khanqah was the religious schools also. The Khanqahs provide the security for travelers and traders in night hospice facilities. They enjoyed the spiritual practices, Samaa, prayers and Zikr etc. Beside the religious and spiritual practices, they provide food, water and medicines for poor and needy people. *Langar* had made the equality kitchen tradition in Marathwada by these sufis. Daulatabad, Khuldabad, Aurangabad, Parbhani, Beed, Kandhar and Udgir Dargahs has

the Sarayas and Musafirkhana till today also. Number of Sufi Dargahs had established by disciples of many Sufi saints after their death in Marathwada. Some Dargahs had grants from the rulers and court officers. Hazrat Momin Arif Billah Suharawardi, Shaykh Bah ud Din Shuttari, Shahb al Din Suharawardi (Daulatabad), Hazrat Sayad Nizamsaheb Chishti, Shah Moiz ud Din Maulana Saheb (Paithan), Khwaja Abul Faiz Kochakshah Shahanshah Wali Chishti (Beed), Qazi Majhar ud Din Chishti, Mohajib al Din Chishti (Kej), Sayyad Shaha Turat Pir Turab ul Shanshaha, Baba Tatposh (Parbhani), Sayyad Nurddin Nurul Haqq Ishaq Qadiri Pirpasha of Nilanga, Sufi Haydar Wali, Suratshaha Wali, Hazrat Sayyad Sadaru Din, Haqqani Baba (Latur), Khwaja Sayyad Shah Ahemad Khwaja Shamsh ud din Gazi of Osmanabad, Rahman Rafo Qadiri, Shah Nasir Qadiri, Nizam ud din Suharawardi (Jalna), Biyabani Sayyad Sir ud Din Jan ul Allah Muhammad Gaus (Ambad) etc. Sufis had made historical influence in the social and cultural life of Marathwada. The Urs festivals have been attending by the common people including Muslim and Hindu masses from the medieval period of Marathwada history. It has the significance personalities in Sufi history of Marathwada.

The Sufi saints of Aurangabad region had also the important role in Sufi history of the region. Sufis from Kannad, Vaijapur, Harsul and Aurangabad are very famous till today. Shah Noor Miyan Hamwi, Naqshbandi Shah Musafir and Palangposh, Nizam al Din Awarangabadi Chishti were the famous Sufi Saints in pre Mughal and Later Mughal period of Marathwada in Aurangabad periphery. Naqshbandi circle of Panchakki Dargah complex had maintained the long historic relations with Central Asian Naqshbandi silsila network in Mughal Deccan. The Malfuz literature of Naqshbandiyya and Chishtiya silsila in Aurangabad had the very significance in Sufi history of Marathwada. *Malfuzat-i-Naqshbandi* had very rich cultural table talk information about the history, culture, practices and philosophy of Naqshbandiyya in Marathwada. It gave the all information about the history and philosophy of Naqshbandi silsila in Deccan. Rafaiya silsila had established the Khanqahs and shrines in Kandhar of Nanded District. It had fifteen shrines from twelfth century.

The Rafaiya Sufi Saints, like Hazrat Sarwar Maqdoom Rafai and Sangade Sultan Ahmad are the famous Sufis in Kandhar. Sarwar Maqdoom's *Malfuzat-I-Sarwari* had very historical importance for Sufism history of Marathwada.

Marathi Bhakti cults Saints and literature had the short and long influence of Sufi ideas. Saint Eknath's "Hindu Turk Samvad", is the very good example. Nizam al Din Awarangabadi, Shah Noor Hamwi and other Naqshbandi Sufis were also interacted and influenced with Yogi Practice. Khuldabad, Ambad, Jalna, Vaijapur, Osmanabad, Parbhani, were the rural background and became the Sufi Shrine centers in historical period of Deccan. Deccan Sufis had adopted themselves to the environment of rural and civil society of Deccan. The Sufi masters of Marathwada had developed the new spiritual practices with Sufi ideas based on the ground of multicultural, multi religious and multi lingual society of Deccan. The disciples of Sufis of Marathwada participated into economic, political and cultural history of Deccan. They came from all parts and edge of society including Hindu and Muslims. The Sufism in Marathwada has the very essential part of History of Deccan. Shaikh Muhammad Shrigondekar wrote the books named as; Yogsangram, Santnamawali Aowiya, Pawanvijay etc., gave the information about contemporary Nath, Nagesh, Warkari, Datta, Veershaiva and Jain tradition of Marathwada with Maharashtra region. Ambar Husain, a Muslim Sufi poet from Daulatabad wrote Samshloki Bhashya on Dnyaneshwari in Marathi. This manuscript available at Marathi Samshodhan Mandal Mumbai, which gave the Muslim poet's ideas on Dnyaneshwara. Mahipati wrote a detailed book on Marathi Saints in Maharashtra, named Bhaktvijaya. This treaty gave the information about the interactions of Shaikh Chandsaheb Qadiri of Daulatabad and his pupil Janardan Swami.

In the fourth chapter related to the history of Sufi saints and shrines in political history of Marathwada. The evidence presented in this chapter, further leads to the conclusion that interpretations of the traditions of the state (from Sultanate to Nizam state) were influenced by the personality of the ruling Shaykhs (Pir/Sufi Khanqah leader) from the spiritual geography

(vilayat) of Deccan region. Majorly, the Sufis of Marathwada territory earnestly desired to maintain their doctrinal freedom or distance as well as live by their convictions in the Sultanate to Nizam Asaf Jahin period. The fundamental motive in the life of the Sufis of Marathwada was a spiritual one. Sufis sought nearness to Allah. As second chapter discussed, they sought nearness to Allah. This could principally be promoted by love for Allah and love for His creatures. Love for Allah involved exertion and disciples in dhikr and Samaa (recollecting God), listening to music and poetry praising Allah). Apart from these issues where the Sufis' stance was relatively categorical and inflexible, their attitude displayed variation in matters where they had used their individual judgments.

The early sufis like Chishtis Shaykhs of Indian subcontinent Khwajah Mu'in al - Din Chishti of Ajmer, Shaykh Qutb al-Din Bakhtiya Kaki and Shaykh Hamid al Din Sufi Suwali accepted neither land grants nor cash grants from the rulers, including the Umra and the high state officials. However, Baba Farid accepted cash grants on some occasions. But the Shaykh did not consume them personally, as it was immediately distributed among the needy and the poor. Shaykh Nizam al Din Awliya and Shaykh Qutb al Din Munawwar of Hansi also used their own judgments in accepting or rejecting the cash grants. Shaykh Nizam al Din accepted cash grants from the rulers in some cases, rejecting them on the other, but there grants were not meant for his personal use. In fact, it is difficult to generalize his attitude regarding the futuh owing to lack of firm historical evidenced the sources being silent on the issue. However, there is evidence, though insubstantial, which suggests that the Chishti Shaykhs accepted cash grants on occasions when the refusal to accept them could cause serious friction between them and the Sultans or high state officials. Contrary to the Chishti tradition of maintaining distance from the Sultan and the court, the Shaykhs of Suharawardi silsilah believed in cordial relations with the Sultans of Delhi in order to instruct the later in the principles of religion and public welfare. They extended help to the Sultans for better conduct of the internal affairs as well as external security against the Mongols. They received official titles with

positions as well as cash and land grants from the state, and utilized them for their Khanqahs and Charitable purposes. Such cooperative relationships sometime led to interference on the part of certain Sultans in the organization and work of the silsilah. Disputes arising out of hereditary succession among the descendants of seminal Suharawardi Shaykhs came to be settled by the Sultans.

The Bahamani kingdom, being a revolutionary state, badly needed the backing of the religious Muslim elite to win public confidence and support. But since the Bahamani state was carried out of the Tughlaq Empire, it was difficult for its political leaders to obtain the ready approval of the 'Ulama', who were obviously pro-Tughlaq. The Sufis, who were larger in number than the 'Ulama', and also had mass followings, were the logical group to be approached by the rulers. But Sufis were not interested in political affairs. As the chapter discussed, the political rulers of Deccan (including Marathwada periphery) had very interest in Sufi shrines and Sufi Saints of Khanqahs in the region. They visited the Dargahs and Khanqahs for their spiritual cause and advice. Sufi Saints were not interested in worldly wealth. But rulers had spiritual faith with their social milieu in Sufi shrines. Bahamani rulers like Muhammad Hasan Ala al Din Bahamanshah sent the daily stipends for Khuldabad Dargahs in 1358 AD. There are number of manuscripts in Greater Dargah Committee archives in Khuldabad, Aurangabad District, which shown the grants and gifts records from historical period. Bahamani rulers like, Mujahid Shah, Ala al Din Bahamani, Humayun Shah Bahmani, Muhammad Shah Bahmani etc. visited to the shrine of Burhan al Din Gharib Chishti at Khuldabad. Ruler of Ahmadnagar Nizam Shahi Burhan Shah Bahri buried in Khuldabad in 1553 AD. Malik Ambar also had the spiritual faith on the shrines of Khuldabad. He was also buried in Khuldabad near Raju Qattal Husaini Dargah. Faruqis of Khandesh also granted the villages and other stipend for the Sufi shrine of Burhan al Din Gharib. They established the town named as 'Burhanpur', where Burhan al din performed Namaz of Juma within the travel from Delhi to Daulatabad. Mughal rulers also granted the Farmans for the Sufi Dargahs of Khuldabad. Akbar, the great granted Bhadgaon village as Inam for Burhan al Din Gharib Dargah and Muntajib al Din Dargah in 1014 AH / 1605 AD. Emperor Jahangir granted the surrounding area with two villages of Bhadgaon pargana in 1626 AD for same shrine. Emperor Shahjahan also granted the Villages surrounding Daulatabad fort town in 1637-39 AD. Aurangzeb also visited number of times for Fatiha to Burhan al Din and Zayn al Din Shirazi Dargah of Khuldabad. Badshah Aurangzeb granted Sultanpur 30 bighas land as Inam for Sayyid Yusuf al Husaini Raju Qattal Dargah in 1683 AD. Later Mughal period of Marathwada, Nizam state of Asaf Jahin Hyderabad also maintained the political patronage for Sufi shrines of Khuldabad and Aurangabad periphery.

After the death of Hazrat imam al Din Awliya Dehlawi, the Sufis of the Deccan could not retain their contact with their central organizations in Delhi which has by then started disintegrating. In 1327 AD, Hazrat Nizam al Din died and Nasir al Din Chishti assumption of Chishti leadership started in Delhi Chishti circle. In Deccan Burhan al Din Gharib was the Khalifa of Nizam al Din Awliya. He preached and organized Chishti circle in Khuldabad - Daulatabad Deccan region. His murid spread over the entire Deccan including Miraj (Sangali District) and Bijapur are of the southern Maharashtra and North Karnataka state. The Sufis of Marathwada were avoiding the cash grants and jagirs. But the rulers like Mughals, Bahamanis, Faruqis and Nizam Asaf Jahin, gave the grants to Sufi shrines. Mainly Sufis of Khuldabad had distance from Daulatabad (capital fort town) busy in spiritual practices. Khuldabad, Aurangabad, Kandhar, Parbhani, Ambad, Jalna and Osmanabad Dargahs had very significance role in spiritual life of Medieval Deccan. These Sufi shrines became the centers of Ta'ifas, Saint Cults and Ziyaratgah. From elite to common people folk came to Dargah for their spiritual causes.

The Sufi circle of Nizam al din Awarangabadi Chishti and Shah Musafir Naqshbandi in Aurangabad had the wider cultural and Pir Murid relations in entire South Asia to Central Asia. Nizam al din Awarangabadi had the spiritual reign on Marathwada region. He was known as 'order of

the faith' (Nizam al din). The first Nizam Asaf Jah was known as Nizam al Mulk (Order of the Kingdom). The Sufi tradition of Marathwada had spiritual influence in Society. The political leaders had also discipleship of these sufis in Marathwada. Khanqah of Nizam al din Awarangabadi and Naqshbandi Panchakki shrine had many followers from royal court in historical times.

The fifth chapter deals with the literature and the interaction of Sufis of Marathwada in the historical period with other sects. Urdu biographies of the Marathwada Sufis were memorized the glory of high minded Sufi teachers, their scriptural knowledge and social welfare. Persian Malfuz literature of Marathwada is the very important in Historical study of Sufism in South Asia. The first famous Malfuzat text, Fawa'id al Fu'ad was written by Amir Hasan Sijzi Dehlawi Khuldabad. He was migrated from Delhi to Daulatabad in reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. He buried in Khuldabad town. He was the famous disciple of Nizam al Din Awliya Dehlawi Chishti of Delhi. He recorded the masterpieces of teaching of his Shaykh Murshid Pir Nizam al Din Awliya Dehlawi Chishti in his Fawa'id al Fu'ad. It is very significance contribution for the Sufi History of South Asia and Marathwada also. The Fawa'id Al-Fuad (Morals of the Heart) has been planned and prepared in a very systematic manner. Every meeting ('majlis') has a date and the conversations are recorded in a very exact, accurate and systematic manner. The Fawa'id al-Fu'ad begins with the conversation of Shaikh Nizam al-Din Auliya in his majlis on Sha'ban 3, 707 AH/ January 28,1308 AD; the last assembly proceedings recorded by Amir Hasan in Sha'ban 19, 722/Sep.2,1322. This is a record of 188 gatherings. Also it covered a period of roughly fifteen years with gaps and intervals. Nizam al-Din Awliya lived in Delhi for more than half a century (b.1236-d.1325 AD). Compared to that, the Fawa'id ul-Fu'ad has very limited record in number. But it has very depth and light on the moral and spiritual ideals of the Shaikh Nizam al-Din Awliya and his method of instruction and guidance.

Other Persian Malfuz literature of Marathwada gave the historical and philosophical information about the Sufis and their life in Marathwada

periphery. The Piri Muridi tradition of Sufism also recorded in this Malfuz literature. The religious and spiritual practices of Sufis also recorded in this text. Ahsan u'l Aqwal (written in c.1337AD), Majmu'a of Sayyid Raju Yusuf Husaini (c.1331 AD), Nafa'is al Anfas wa Lata'if al Alfaz (c.1337), Shamail al Atqiya wa Dal'il Al Anqiya, Hidayat al Qulub wa Inayat Ullam al Ghuyib (c. 1367), Gharaib al Karamat wa Aja'ib al Mukashafat (c. 1334), Malfuzat -I Sarwari, Fath al Awliya (c.1620), Rawzat al Awliya al Maru bi Nafahat al Asfiya (c. 1780), Manaqib -e-Fakhriyyah (c. 1787), Manfuza -i- Naqshbandi (c. 1714), Kashkul -e-Kalimi (c. 1690), Tuhafat al Shu'ara, Maktubat -e- Kalimi, Nizam al Qulub, Ma'athir al Kiram (c. 1786), Ahsan al Sham'il etc. Malfuzat and Tazkirat literature gave the historical information about the history of Sufism in Marathwada. This literature had religious and spiritual approach. But after the objective evaluation of these sources, we can observe the situation of Sufi Khanqahs, Sufi circles, Sufi practices and their history with chronological order. Some hagiographical accounts, like Rawzat al Awliya of Azad Bilgrami gave the detailed history of Sufi Saints and Dargahs of Khuldabad. This work had been done by historiographical method. Azad Bilgrami collected all documents from Dargah collection and Nizam state records and wrote this book in mideighteenth century. Some documents related to the Inams and grants by ruler in Khuldabad Dargahs had been examined and sealed (English & Urdu) by the Nizam Asaf Jahin State of Hyderabad British officers. These government records and manuscript collections at Greater Dargah Association at Khuldabad gave the historical information about the administration system of Khuldabad Dargahs.

Urdu and Dakhni sources of Deccan Sufis have very significance status in the Sufism history Marathwada. Khwaja Bnda Nwaz Gesu Daraz of Gulbarga (d. 1421), Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf Biyabani (d. 1529) of Ambad, Saint Eknath of Paithan (d. 1599), Sultan Abdul Hasan Tana Shah Qutb Shah (d. 1699), Wali Dakhnai Awarangabadi (d. 1741), Shah Turab Ali Dakani etc. poets and Saints wrote in Dakhni Urdu folk literature in Deccan region. These texts written by early Dakhani writers gave the

influencing information of the spiritual life of people. It gave the some features of the interaction within different sects in Marathwada also. Like Hindu Turk Samwad of Saint Eknath, discussed the synthesis of ideology of Marathi Bhakti tradition and Sufic monotheism. *Chakkinama*, *Shadinamma* and *Suhagan Namah* are famous till today in the rural folk culture in Deccan including Marathwada.

Urdu literature has also so very significance in the history of Sufism in Marathwada. Some texts had been written by Sufis and their disciples. And some books, Tazkirats and hagiographical history books gave the information about the history of Sufism in Marathwada periphery. Mahbub al Watan Tazkira-i- Awliya -i- Dakan of Abdul Jabbar Malkapuri (1899), Aftab -e- Dakan of Tara Sahib Qureshi, Nur al Anwar of Baha al Din al Hasan Uruj (1814), Tadhkira -ye- Riyaz Husayni Mardan -e- Aftab Alamtab -e- Man by Inayat Khan, Halat u Zindagi ye Nizam al din Awliya Awangabadi of Sayyid Hasan, Athar al Sanadid, Tadhkira -ye- Buzurga e- Dakan Barkat al Awliya, Rawzat al Aqtab al Ma'ruf bi Mazhar-i-Asafiyya of Rawnaq Ali (1931) etc. sources gave the historical information about the hagiography of Sufis of Later Mughal Marathwada periphery. Especially the Urdu literature about Sufis of Marathwada and Deccan region flourished in Nizam state of Asaf Jahin Hyderabad. Later Mughal society had been used the Urdu language compared to the Persian. Then the Urdu text had been available in more number in Nizam Asaf Jahin State. Traveler's accounts gave the historical information about the Sufis of Marathwada too. Like French traveler Jean de Thevenot visited the Rauza or Khuldabad in 1666 AD during Aurangzeb reign. The British officers of Ajanta and Camp of Aurangabad also gave the travel accounts about the Sufi shrines of Ellora, Daulatabad and Aurangabad.

Muslim Marathi poets had influenced by the Sufi ideas. Shaikh Muhammad Shrigondekar, Shah Muni, Husain Ambar Khan, Jamal Shah, Allam Khan, Shaikh Sultan, Shaikh Chand Bodhale etc. authors had contributed Marathi literature. These curious literature facets had made synthesis culture with harmony in medieval Maharashtra. Shaikh Muhammad is known as 'Kabir' of Maharashtra. His father was Raje

Mahammad and mother Phulai. He was belonged to Qadiri Sufi silsila. Shaikh Muhammad Shrigondekar said that Chand Bodhale was the follower of Dnyaneshwar also. And both saints (Bodhale and Eknath) were influenced by Dnyaneshwar. Maloji Bhosale was the pupil or Shishy of Shaikh Muhammad. Maloji built a 'Math' in 1595 AD at Shrigonda in Ahmadnagar for Shaikh Muhammad. Shaikh Muhammad knew the languages like Marathi, Persian, Urdu and Sanskrit. He wrote in Yogsangram that, Kama (Sex), Krodh (anger), and Alas (laziness) are the enemy of human being. In Nishkalank Bodh, he did critical analysis on blind faith, rituals and slavery of religious mediators. Shivswroday, was the Sanskrit book of Shaikh. Also his Rupake, Bharude and Abhang are famous today in central Deccan Marathi speaking region. Gopaldas was also the Muslim Marathi poet in Marathwada. He was influenced by the Sufi and Mahanubhav ideology.

Sufis of Marathwada had also the relations with other religious sects. Nizam al din Awarangabadi Chishti was the relations with the Yogi Saints of Aurangabad. Manpuri Parshad Math had the spiritual relations with the Shah Noor Hamwi of Aurangabad. In Kandhar, Hazrat Sarwar Maqdoom Rafai had the relations with the Lingayat Shaiv Math. Saint Eknath was very influence of Sufism. His dialogue poem (samvad) is very famous as "Hindu-Turk Samvad", in mystical history of Maharashtra. These references and evidences explained the spiritual historical synthesis of the Marathi Bhakti and the Sufism in Marathwada periphery. Number of ideas and philosophical terms with practices had been interacted by these both sects in Marathwada. These traditions had very impact in the rural and urban culture of Marathwada. Sufi centers like Khuldabad, Aurangabad, Kandhar, Ambad and Parbhani have the pilgrimage significance by these devotees from both Hindus and Muslims. annually celebrated the Urs festivals and Ziyarat at Sufi Dargahs in Marathwada. People come from Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh for these occasions. A very sweet and spicy food serves by the Langarkhanas of Khuldabad and other major Dargahs in Marathwada. District magistrate declared holidays for every year in Districts of

Marathwada for different *Urs* festivals in the region. The impact of Sufi Dargahs has very deep routed in the common social tradition from historical period. From elite to common folk, everyone come to Dargahs for the spiritual guidance and moral support for their security and other good wishes. Women come for fertility wishes and perform prayers for it to Sufi Dargahs. *Samaa* and *Qawwali* ceremonies and program performed every *Urs* festivals in Marathwada.

Also the study had done for the history of Sufism in Marathwada, explained their reformist ideology and significance of the Sufis relationship with life in the world. The Sufis of Aurangabad worked for water supply and curing the sick at *Khanqahs*. They nurtured the values of humanism and universal brotherhood. Sufi Dargahs are still inspiring, guiding and showing the path of harmonious life. The spiritual power of Sufis fulfilled an essential social function in providing the hope and possibility of protection against sickness, drought, violence or any of the other manifold insecurities of life. They had done the works of mystical enlightenment (ma'rifat) and miracles (karamat) equally possible, in literature. The Sufi institutions and Sajjada Nashin mad the tradition of Sufi history in Marathwada. Many Dargahs have the social and cultural significance from historical period. Ritual practices at Sufi shrines have the anthropological, sociological and spiritual importance in history of Deccan.

To conclude in this study of the Sufism in Marathwada, the evidence explained the rise, spread, literature and interactions of Sufis in Marathwada. At last, Sufism is the mystical philosophy of Islam. In Marathwada, it took root in both the rural and urban areas from the twelfth century AD to Mid-twentieth century, historical period. The number of Khanqahs exercised a deep social, political, economic and cultural influence in Marathwada. Sufis had the liberal religious attitude towards others. They have many interactions with different religious sects in Marathwada. The major theme of this study has been an attempt to bring together what has often been seen as a Sufism into an integrated picture of historical Marathwada, despite its historical scenario, was ultimately

shared between different social, ethnic and intellectual groups. Despite their many often differences, writers, poets and rulers, peasants, shared a common dependence with love upon the Sufi saints and their Dargahs. Sufi Dargahs in Marathwada and narrative text in Persian, Marathi, Dakhani Urdu and Sufi silsila, were mutually dependent expressions of a broadly acknowledged Islamic cultural system. The Sufi literature of Marathwada periphery are trying together the memory of the region's Sufi saints, poets and Pir Murid tradition for their mutual preservation. The tradition of Urs and other festivals at Sufi Dargahs in Marathwada remained the most popular in Hindu Muslim society today. The Dargahs of Sufi saints formed a means of bridging the gap between past and present time. Sufi Dargahs architecture has the historical importance in Marathwada region. People come to Dargah for perform the rituals and Fatiha. They come annually for pilgrimage to Dargah to celebrate the Urs festivals. This Sufi tradition created a new sacred geography in the Deccan today.

Future dissemination of research work is the comperative study of spiritual and cultural tradition of Marathwada and other parts of Maharashtra and North Karnataka in Deccan region. The Warkari movement of Pandharpur and it's scope in entire Marathi speaking region of Deccan has also the significance statuse in Deccan history. It can be new facet of history in Deccan to focus on the all points of Pandharpur movement and Sufism in Maharashtra Deccan. It should be study.

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Appendixes

1. Pre Bahmani Sufi Literature In Marathwada:

Sr. No.	Name of the Author Sufi	Name of the Work
1.	Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi (d. 736 / 1335)	Fawa€id aFu€ad
		Mukhkh a l Ma€ani
		Diwan
2.	Khwaja Rukn al Din bin Imad a b in Dabir	Shama€il aAtqiya
	Kashani	Nafa€is al Anfas
		Adhkar al Madhkur
		Tafsir e Rumuz
		Rumuz al Walihin
		Risala e Gharib
		Diwan
3.	Khwaja Imad Kashani Khuldabadi	Husul al Wusul
		Asrar at Tariqat
		Ahsan al Aqwal
4.	Khwaja Majd ad Din Kashani Khuldabadi	Ghara€ib al Kasramat
		Baqiyat alGhara€ib
5.	Syed Yusuf al Husayni alias Syed Raju Qatta	Tuhfat an Nasa€ih
	Husayni	Majmu€a
	(d. 731 / 1331)	

(Note: Sr. No. 44 Sufi literature available at Greater Dargah Association Library, Khuldabad, District Aurangabad. Sufi literature of Syed Yusuf Hallsaini placed in Persian section, Salar Jung Museum Library, Hyderabad.)

(Reference for chapter no. the)e

2. Initiatic spiritual Genealogy of Chishti Sufis (Bawis Khwajah) of Khuldabad, District Aurangabad.

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Prophet Muhammad
            Ali ibn Abu Talib (d. 40 / 661)
             Hasan aBasri (d. 110 / 728)
               Abd al Wahid ibn Zayd
              Fuzayl ibn lyaz (d. 187 / 802)
            Ibrahim ibn Adham (d. 163 / 779)
                 Huzayqa al Mar•ashi
                  Hubayra al Basri
                    Alu Dinawari
                  Abu Ishaq Chisti
           Ab u Ahmad Cishti (d. 355 / 966)
          Muhammad Chishti (d. 411 / 1020)
             Yusuf Chishti (d. 459 / 1067)
           Mawdud Chishti (d. 520 / 1126)
                 Al Sharif al Zandani
            Usman Harwani (d. 607 / 1211)
          Muin al Din Chishti (d. 633 / 1236)
      Qutb al Din Bakhtiyar Kaki (d. 633 / 1235)
      Farid al Din Ganjl Shakkar (d. 664 / 1265)
     Nizam al Din Awiliya Dehlawi (d. 725 / 1325)
Burahan al Din Gharilchishti Khuldabadi (d. 738 / 1337)
          Zayn al Din Shirazi (d. 771 / 1369
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3. Principal Saints Dargahs and Rulers tomb in Map of Khuldabad:

Index:

A. This part of Khuldabad town has the number of Sufi Dargahs and Tombs of Rulers.

Burhan al Din Gharib (d. 1337) Dargah

Rukna al Din and Majd al Din Kashani Chishti Dargah

Tomb of Nizam al Mulk Asaf Jah (d. 1748), the first Nizam and his wife Sayyidat al Nisa Begam

Tomb of Nizam al Dawla Nasir Jang (d. 1750), the second Nizam andfais wi Tomb of Hidayat Muhyi al Din Khan Muzaffar Jang (d. 1751), the third Nizam

B. This part of Khuldabad town has the number of Sufi Dargahs and Tombs of Rulers.

Dargah of Zayn al Din Shirazi (d. 1369)

Dargah of Mawlana Khwan Bibi, adoptive daughter of Zalybia Shirazi

Tomb of Emperor Alamgir Aurangzeb Ghazi (d. 1707)

C. This part of Khuldabad town has following Dargahs and tombs:

Dargahs of Hasan Sijzi Dehlawi (d. 1336)

Dargah of Azad Bilgrami (d. 1786)

Dargah of Bibi Aisha, daughter of Farid al Din Gar§hakkar, south of Hasan Dihlawi•s Dargah

Dargah of Jalal al Din GanijRawan (d. 1247)

D. This part of Khuldabad town has following Dargahs and tombs:

Dargah of Muntajib al Din Zar Zari Zar Bakhsh (d. 1309)

Dargah of Bibi Hajira, mother of Burhan al Din AND Muntajib al Din Tomb of Sona Bai

Tomb of Malik Ambar (d. 1626), Abyssinian Wazir of Ahmednagar Nizamshahi Tomb of Siddi Karima, wife of Malik Anbar

E. Dargah of Sayyid Yusuf al Husayni Raju Qattal (d. 1330)

Tomb of Abu al Hasan Tana Shah (d. 1699), the last Qutb Shahi king of Golconda, who was imprisoned in the Daulatabad fort until his death

Tomb of Nawwab Marhamat Khan, a Mughal Subhedar of Aurangabad

Tomb of Da•ud Khan (d. 1715), a Mughal Subhedar of Brouplur, and his brothers and sisters

Tomb of Burhan Nizam Shah (d. 1553), second King of Ahmednagar Kingdom.

4. Mughal and Deccan Farmans from Khuldabad Deccan

The following Mughal Farmans are collected from the original collection of Persian manuscripts at Greater Dargah Association Library and it Director Fariduddin Saleem of Khuldabad. Rawzat al Awliya, Fath al Awliya and Rawzat al Aqtab adjisoze the information about these grants from rulers at Sufi Dargahs of Khuldabardhe original copies of these Farmanisme also available at the Andhra Pradesh Stte Archives Hyderabad and Salar Jang Museum Library Hyderalia Grence for chapter no. four)

Dargahs of Shaykh Burhan al Din Gharib Khuldabadi, Shaykh
 Muntajib al Din Zar Zari Zar Baksh and Zayn al Din Shirazi Chishti.

(a) Date: 2 Rabiawwal 1014 / 18 July 605.

Reign: Akbar, the Great

Endowment: Badgaon village in Burhanpur district, and two villages in Districts of Bhusawal and Adilabad.

Recipent: SHAYKH Zayn al Din Muhammad, son of Shaykh Khan Muhami heir of Sultan Burhan al Din and Shah Muntajib al Din.

Endorsements: Miran SadrJahan Pihani (d. 1020 / 1611); Muhammad Ta reporterWaqi€aniwis (Court Reporter and record keeper)

(b) Date: 24 Shawwal 1035 / 19 July 1626.

Reign: Jahangir

Endowment: Longaon and Karab villages in Bhadgaon district, with an estir total revenuerom the beginning of the autumn / Kharif crop.

Recipient: Shrine ofSultan Burhan al Din and Shah Zayn al Din and attendants therof.

Endorsements: KhahJahan, Fazil Khan.

(c) Date: 15 Rajab 1046 / 12 December 1636.

Reign: Shahjahan

Endowment: 6, 845 huns from villages in Daulatabad district, plus twenty shawls; also on the recommendation fo Khazaman, 3, 500 huns from the toy

of Rawza (i.e. Khuldabad later name)

Recipient: Sultan Burhan al Din Dargah

(d) Date: 6 Muharram 1047 / 31 May, 1637

Reign: Shahjahan

Endowment: Sara (Sarai) village in Daulatabad district, from beginning

autumn crop of Kharip.

Recipient: Shaykh Burhan al Din, Shaykh MulBaiAL Din, Shaykh Zayn al

Din Dargah and in particular the prior trustees of the Dargahs.

Endorsements: MiMuhammad Hashim, Sadr; Abd al Rahim, repola⁄aqi€a

Nawis)

(e) Date: 9 Ramzaan, 1047 / 25 January 1638.

Reign: Shahjahan.

Endowment: Villages in the Daulatabaistrict, with a yieldof 3500 huns

Recipient: Sultan Burhan al Din Dargah Endorsement: Citesrevious document.

(f) Date: 4 Rajab 1080 / 2/8 ovember 1669

Reign: Aurangzeb Alamgir

Endowment: Sara village in Daulatabad district

Recipient: Shaykh Burhan al Din Dargah, Muntajib al Din, Shaykh al

Dargah.

Endorsement: Cites old memorandulntajji Yasin, Sadr.

(g) 24 Sha•ban 1101 / 2 June 1690

Reign: Alamgir Aurangzeb

Recipient: Shaykh Ni•mat Allah and the attendants of the Dargah of Shah E

al Din and Shah Muntajib al Din

Endorsement: Repeated old docment. Sealed as ,compared and forward, in

English language by British officer of Nizames dominion Hyderabad.

(h) Date; 4 Jumadakher 1121 / 11 August 1709

Reign: Bahadur Shah

Endowment: Sara, in Daulatabad district, witatal revenue of 74, 106 dams, a

an actual revenue of 1,175 rupees.

Recipient: Shaykh Burhan al Din Gharib Dargah, Zayn al Din Shirazi Da

Muntajib al Din Dargah

Endorsement: Amjad Khan, sadr; Ghulam Isa, reporter to content by

Nizam al Mulk Asá al Dawla too.

(i) Date: 7 Rajab, 1122 / 1 September 1710

Reign: Bahadur Shah

Endowment: Bursar Khurd, in Kanhar district, Daulatabad region, with

revenue of 110, 300 dams, and actual revenue of 1,378 rupees.

Recipient: Attendants of the shrines Shaykh Burhan al Din, Muntajib al Di

and Zayn al Din Shirazi Dargah

Stipulations: To be used only for living expenses. Recipients are to pray f

welfare of the ruling dynasty.

Endorsement: Signature of Nizam al Mulk Asaf al Dawla, Mu•azzam létra

II. Dargah of Sayyid Yusuf Raju Qattal Husaini.

(a) Date: 11 Safar 1046 / 15 July 1636

Reign: Shahjahan

Endowment: 3chawarsby Shar€gaz, equivalent to 360 bighas bilahi gaz, from previously held land, to replace 7 Chawars from Sultanpur village. chawaris a land measure, usually the equivalent of 120 solutions: Stipulations: Recipient is to use the products of the land fosultibenance and to pray for the Ware of the ruling dynasty.

Endorsement: Cites memorandum Mawlawi Khan, sadr.

(b) Date: 15 Jumadaawwal 1238 / 28 January 1823

Reign: Sikandar Jah, Nizam Asaf Jahin Hyderabad Deccan

Endowment: Bumiya village in Daulatbad region, with an actual revenue rupees (i.e. per day), half of which is to be paid monthly from the beginni 1237.

Recipient: Hafiz Abd al Shakur, son of Hafiz Muhammad Ali, attendar the Shrine of Sayid Raju Qattal and Sayid Zayn al Haqq.

Endorsement: Seal of Farrukhsiy Marathi language has been used in endorsement.

(c) Date: 5 Zillqada, 1242 / 31 May, 1827

Reign: Sikandar Jah of Hyderabad

Recipient: Muhammad Abd al Shakur, son of Haffizhammad Ali, of the sons of Mulla Wahid al Din Ahamad, attendant of the shrine of Shah Qattal Hussaini.

Stipulations: Recipient is confirmed as sole legitimate attendant of the sl Endorsement: Rather than being a government document, this etrass succurrent the seals of Sayyid Shah Asad Allah Muhammad Akbar al Huschief custodian of the Greater Shrin (wzal Kalan) in Gulbarga, and Sayyid Shah Habib Allah Muhammad Asghar al Husayni, chief custodia the Dargah of Gisu Daraz at Gulba.

 Hazrat Sangade Sultan€s Geneology through Heirs (blood relations) and Successors (Sajadanashins) Translation:

€

Spiritual and Familial Geneology of Hazrat Said ud din Haji Sayyah Sarvar Maqdoom Rafai of Kandhar

Prophet Muhammad (SAS) Hazrat Sayad Ibrahim Al Arab khuddagaru Saiyyada Fatima Hazrat Saiyyad Abdullah Rafai Imam Hussain Hazrat Saiyad Yahya Rafai Hazrat Imam Jainul•abidin Hazrat Saiyd Muhammad Rafai Hazrat Imam Jafar Sa•dik € HazratSaiyyad Ibrahim Nazim ud din Rafai Hazrat Saiyyad Imam Hazrat Haji Sayyah Sarwar Maqdoom Said Hazrat Saiyyad Ibrahim Murtuza ud din Rafai Rahamtullah aliu (fourteenth century AD). Hazrat Saiyyad Moosa Sani Hazrat Saiyad Ahmadul Asad HHazrat Saiyyad Hussaini (Source: Amir Hamza, 1903, p. 193 Hazrat Saiyyad Abdul Qasim Hazrat Saiyyad Hasan Ma•aruf Sultan Maha•madi Hazrat Saiyyad Abi Ali Hazrat Saiyyad Hazim Hazrat Saiyad Sa•dit € Hazrat Saiyyad Shahaya Hazrat Saiyyad Ali Hasan Ali Nuriddin Mecc Hazrat Saiyyad Sadaf Saiyyad Ahmlaabir Mashuk ee Allah Rafai Hazrat Ali SuknarRahamtullah aliu (Allah remember him with good and happines)s

	1.	Map of Bahamani Empire in Deccan
		in
٩D	140	00 (reference fochapter on)e

2. Map of Deccan in AD 1525

Map of Nizam Shahi, Qutb Shahi,
 Adil Shahi in Deccan
 AD 1675

6. Map of Hyderabad Nizam State(reference for chapter fo)ur (Source: Imperial Gazetteer of British India)

7. Turatpir Dargah, Parbhani. (reference fochapter tw)

8. Dargah of Burhan al Din Gharib Chishti of Khuldabad.

9. Map of Mughal Empire in 1719.

10. Bhakti Saint, Sufi and Mughal nobel(Mughal Painting in North India,Wikipedia€

11. Buddhist Yogi and Sufis inCentral Asian Painting. (Source: Wikipedia)

12. Raqs, sufi dancing:

(Shaikh Auhadu € din- Kirmani (d.536AH/1142AD, is shown during i Qawwali surrounded by two musiciar as two companions, from a painting •Majalisul-ush-shaaq,, written by Kamaluddin-Husain Karizgahi (16th Cetury AD), Persian Manuscript Collection, 199, The Salar Jung Museun & Archival Libraryy, 480, B5,22,Biography Cell, Hyderabad (AP

13. Saint Eknath of Paithan. (reference for chapter five)(Framed imaginary photo from Paithanemple)

14. Amir Khusro and Nizam al Din Awliya (Source: Wikipedia website)

15. Sai Baba of Shirdi

16. Quranic Inscription at Burhan al Din Dargah Khuldabad

17. Cover page of €Rawzat al Awliya• Persian Urdu text Publishedbook. (Originally written by Azad Bilgrami in 1786) (reference for chapter five)

18. Cover page ofMajmua (Published in 1355AH, Mumbai)€

- 19. Sepulture of Khwaja Raju Qattal Hussaini of Khuldabad.
- 20. Tomb of Last Qutb Shah Tana Shah at Khuldabad.

- 21. Sepulture of Malik Ambar in Khuldabad.
- 22. Sarwar Maqdoom Rafai Mazaar Kandhar

- 23. Urs festival and Sandal at Sarwar Maqdoom Rafai Kandhar Dargah.
- 24. Zikr practice at Turatpir Dargah at Parbhani. (reference for chapter five)

- 25. Dargah of Nizam alDin Awarangabadi
- 26. Dargah of Shah Noor Hamwi at Aurangabad

27. €Hindu Turk Samwad**b**y Saint Eknath (reference for chapter fiye (Source:Sakhre Mahraj Edi. Volume on Eknath, Pune,1952



29.Bibi ka Maqbaraa of Aurangabad.