CONCLUSION
The presence of a number of highly pious and well entrenched Sufis of this order in different parts of the Deccan long before Burhanuddin Gharib's arrival. Unlike their North Indian counterparts, they produced a large number of full fledged mystical treatises dealing with a number of important mystical and philosophical issues. Besides these, they wrote commentaries on leading tracts of early Sufis, and their own Khulfa also compiled the *Malfuzat* of their Pir's. These led to the development of a vast body of literature in the Deccan. The reasons for their academic profusion were varied: they may have been moved by a desire to balance the orthodox literature left over from the era of Muhammad bin Tughlaq; they were trying to sell their ideas to a new set of people on whom they were doing missionary work; and they were inspired by the mystic literature of Muin-u'd-Din Ibn 'Arabi', Jalal-ud-Din Rumi, Abu Hamid -ul-Ghazzali and others. The development of the Chishti Malfuzat literature may be sketched in two stages.

First it is necessary to describe the discourses of Nizam-ud-Din Auliya and compare them with those of his two disciples Nasiruddin Mahmud (d.1356 A.D) and Burhan-ud-Din Gharib (d.1337 A.D). These texts may be called, for convenience the "original" Malfuzat. The prominence of the first two of these texts among the many Malfuzat is evident in the fact that they are the only once have been published in modern critical editions, and only Nizamuddin has been translated into English. The discourses of Burhanuddin and his successor's Ziyauddin are preserved in several unedited texts, which up to now have recited hardly an attention from scholars. An analysis of these texts, which from the basis for the study of the Sufis of Khuldabad considerably adds to our understanding of the development of the Malfuzat literature. The "original" texts all written by literate and courtly disciples may be
juxtaposed with another series of Malfuzat purposing to be dictated by
the principal Chishti Shaikh to their successor, illustrating the main line
of initiative authority in the order. These “retrospective” texts, the
authenticity of which has been challenged stressed the hagiographic
mode of personal charisma an authority, while the “original” once
focused on the practice and speculation but all the Malfuzat texts made
the person of the Sufi master and essential part of the teaching.

The Malfuz literature of medieval India is of great value from the
historical point of view. Our medieval histories are mostly chronicles of
the lives and achievements of the rulers and the nobility. Through these
collections of mystic utterances, we get a glimpse of the medieval society
in all its fullness, if not in all its perfection - the moods and tensions of
the common man, the inner yearnings of his soul, the religious thought
at its higher and lower levels, the popular customs and manners, and
above all the problems of the people. The method and technique of
compilation followed in these Malfuz collections varies from compiler to
compiler. Before one attempts to draw material of historical significance
from these collections, he should first study carefully the life of the
Shaikh and predilections of the complier. Once the background in which
the discussions took place becomes clear, the historical value of the data
supplied can be easily evaluated; if our history is to be something more
than a mere record of political events and governmental changes, the
Malfuz literature of medieval India will have to be utilized both as
corrective of the impressions created by the court chronicles and as a
source of information for the religious, cultural and literary movements
of the period. No other types of literature give us such intimate view of
the life and problems of the common man. “I have several daughters (to
marry) but no means of livelihood.” The governor is very harsh on me.”
Such problems one comes across only in the *Malfuz* literature of medieval India. One meets in the *Khanqahs* poor people bent down by hunger and starvation, rich people tormented by flames of mundane ambition, men in search of God and in search of Mammon. How they behaved in the Indian milieu and helped in constructing linguistic and social bridges between the Indian people and the Muslims can be seen in this literature. In fact the mystics had thrown open their *Khanqahs* to all sorts of people—rich and poor, nobles and plebeians, citizens and villagers, free born and slaves, young and old, men and woman. The *Khanqah* and the bazaar were the only two places where people of all strata and all walks of life could be found. The collections chosen for this purpose represent different areas, different Silsilah and different traditions. Thus the working of mystic ideas and institutions at Delhi, Daulatabad, Nagaur and Uchch may be read in these collections.

The extent to which *Malfuz* literature was considered sacrosanct may be gauged from the fact that people transcribed these works for their spiritual bliss and benedictions. The practice did not remain confined to the Chishti Silsilah, saints of other orders-Suhrawardis, Firdausis, Naqshbandis, Qadiris and Shattaris—followed the tradition. The literature produced under this category during the last six centuries or so constitutes a veritable source of information for the life and thought of medieval mystics.

As mentioned above, the Ahsan-ul-Aqwal and the Khair-ul-Majalis both contain discourses of Chishti saints. Moreover, the two saints, viz Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib and Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh-i-Delhi were *Khalifas* (disciples) of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya. Chronologically the Ahsan-ul-Aqwal comes before the Khaur-ul-Majalis and it as earliest available *Malfuz* after Fawaid-ul-Fuad. Therefore these two *Malfuz* under
study are contemporaneous and from a very valuable link in the chain of Malfuzat of Chishti saints of India, which begins with the Fawaid-ul-Fuad of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya and comes to an end with the Nafa-us-Salin of Shah Muhammad Sulaiman of Taunsa of mid 19th century A.D.

The Khair-ul-Majalis is a record of one hundred mystic gatherings of Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh-i-Delhi compiled by Maulana Hamid Qalandar. Maulana Hamid attended the assemblies of Shaikh Nasiruddin frequently and decided to record his conversations. He met the Shaikh in 1353 A.D, three years before he breathed his last. So the conversations relate to the last three years of Shaikh Nasiruddin's life. The Shaikh supervised his work and warned against straying into the realm of miracles. Maulana Hamid writes,: Shaikh Nasiruddin has so broken his Nafs (ego) that if I call him a Shaikh he resents it, if I attribute a miracle to him, he gets angry," the Khair-ul-Majalis is an important source of information for the lives and activities of many Indo-Muslim saints, e.g., Shaikh Qutubuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki, Shaikh Fariduddin Masud, Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, Shaikh Jalaluddin Tabrizi, Qazi Hamiduddin Nagauri and others. But for that work many important details about the life and activities of elder Chishti saints would have remained unknown to us.

Besides, the Khair-ul-Majalis has a significance of its own in the broader context of mystic developments in the Islamic world in the fourteenth century A.D; the movement initiated by Ibn Taimiyya against the Khanqah life had found a supporter in Muhammad bin Tughlaq. The reaction of Indo-Muslim mysticism to this intellectual ferment created by the movement of Ibn Taimiyya may be read in the pages of Khair-ul-
Majalis. He stopped the objectionable practices but firmly protected the basis ideals of mysticism.

Apart from this, the information supplied by Khair-ul-Majalis about the political and economic conditions of the time is invaluable. It is very often said that market control policy of Alauddin Khalji was motivated by the militaristic needs of the state. The Khair-ul-Majalis shows that this is not wholly correct and the Sultan was inspired by altruistic and philanthropic considerations in enforcing his economic regulations leaves a different impression upon the mind of the reader. It appears that economic distress was very acute during the early years of Firoz Shah's reign.

Finally, the Shaikh had a word of advice for all sorts of people, teachers, cultivators, qazi, revenue officers etc. The essence of his advice was to remember God under all conditions of life and to lead a life of rectitude and virtue. A reader of Khair-ul-Majalis meets Shaikh Nasiruddin at different times and in different moods and thus gets an opportunity to see the Shaikh himself and study his reactions to different situations. Other Malfuzat collections of the period do not provide this varied, intimate and comprehensive study of the saints.

Besides, what has enhanced the position of Khair-ul-Majalis among the Malfuz literature of the fourteenth century is its clarity of thought and expression. The primary importance of Khair-ul-Majalis lies in its clear and lucid exposition of the ideals, aims and activities of the Chishti Sufi order. What was their ideal? What did they aim at and strive for? What were their metaphysical concepts? How did they react or adjust themselves to the existence of a political order, which did not represent the true political spirit of Islam? Answers to these and similar other
question may be read in the pages of Khair-ul-Majalis which mirrors the social and ideological condition of the Indo-Muslim society in the fourteenth century.

Finally, the views of Shaikh Nasiruddin as propounded in Khair-ul-Majalis, particularly those relating to strict adherence to Shariat, rejection of government service, repudiation of hereditary succession to the Sajjadah of saints, condemnation of the fabricated Malfuz literature and other similar things, were not acceptable to the later day mystics who discouraged, on that account, its wide circulation. the Khair-ul-Majalis, could not be a happy reading for mystics who consorted with kings and nobles, dabbled in politics, perpetuated succession to the saint in their own families, paid scant respect to the injunctions of Shariat and placed the Pir on a pedestal as high as that of the prophet.

The Ahsan-ul-Aqwal, which has conversations of Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib, was compiled by his disciples, Maulana Hammad bin Kashani in the 1337 A.D, some twenty years before the death of Shaikh Nasiruddin. Shaikh Burhanuddin was a close friend and companion of Shaikh Nasir, Amir Khusrau and Amir Hasan Sijzi. He was especially fond of Sama (audition parties) and his disciples danced in a peculiar manner and so they came to be known as burhanis. Long before Muhammad bin Tughlaq's so called transfer of the capital, he went to the Deccan and settled at Deogir—a fact which shows that Deogir had come within the orbit of Chishti mystic activity before the Tughlaq Sultan taunted his attention towards it. He planted the Chishti Silsilah in the Deccan and popularized it there. The Ahsan-ul-Aqwal helps us in understanding the principles and practices propagated by him in the distant south. In Delhi the towering personality of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya was himself a
beacon's light and an example; in the Deccan his precepts had to be made known in simple and popular idiom to disseminate the teaching of the Silsilah.

The Ahsan-ul-Aqwal is divided into twenty-nine chapters which deal with some specific themes, such as 'the practice and etiquette of the assemblies of saint,' 'relationship between disciple and his spiritual teacher,' 'dealing with people,' 'spiritual morality,' and 'consequence of greed sex' and 'prayers and pertinences.' There is hardly any aspect of Muslim mystic life during the Sultanate period, which has not been referred here. Therefore, it is a very valuable source of information for the early history of the Chisti Silsilah and the precepts and practices of the Sufis as well as their principles of organization.

Conversations in this book have been arranged thematically under various heads. While discussing some of the important themes, the Shaikh starts with a principle, then quotes a practice of the saint of his Silsilah and then gives an argument in support of the practice. His method is clear and affective. The principle of Awarif-ul-Maarif, which as a matter of fact formed the basis of the Chishti mystic thought in the early middle Ages, have been briefly indicated but very carefully illustrated in this work. Some of anecdotes relating to Shaikh Farid Ganj-I-Shakar and Shaikh Abu Bakr Tusi are interesting and informative. For instance, it is from this book alone that we know that the 'Karfistan-I-Siyah' Posh visited the Khanqah of Baba Farid. It appears from this Malfuz that the Chishtis and the Suhrawardis used to tie their dastars(headdress) differently and that one could know about the Silsilah one belonged to by merely looking at the headdress.
Unlike Fawaid-ul-Fuad, arrangement of both the books, Ashan-ul-Aqwal and Khair-ul-Majalis are not arranged in chronological order. Apart from these both the two contemporaneous texts have many similarities pertaining to the basic Sufi ideology and the subject's addre'ed by them during their discourses. It is evident from the two texts that the Sufis, Shaikh Nasir and Shaikh Burhan made a distinction between government's services of different services of different types.

Government's servants who worked on clerical jobs and had nothing to do with policy of the administration were entitled to be enrolled as mere disciples.

From linguistic point of view one fact deserves to be noted. There are a number of Hindi words in both the texts, which reflects the emergence of a lingua-franca comprising Persian and Hindi terminology. The Fawaid-ul-Fuad demands its reader, not only unflagging attention but also penetrating intelligence to unravel the atmosphere in which the Shaikh spoke. But the Ahsan-ul-Aqwal and the Khair-ul-Majalis are so clear and lucid that even amateur mystics can understand it.

Despite the congruence of ideas of the two Shaikh on the tenets of Sufi ideology and methodology of discourse, the books differ with each other on some important topics. Unlike the Khair-ul-Majalis, the Ahsan-ul-Aqwal contains absolutely no reference to the political authorities of the day. However, the Khair-ul-Majalis has a place of its own in the Malfuz literatures of the fourteenth century A.D. It does not, of course, come up to the standard of the Fawaid-ul-Fuad, which combines, in a very rare degree, conciseness of expression with fullness of thought; but it is certainly superior to all other Malfuz collections of the period, both in form and in its thought content. A Malfuz, to be really so, should give a
living account of the assemblies of a mystic teacher. If, on the contrary, it creates the dull and placid atmosphere of a scholarly dissertation, wanting in the warmth of human society, it ceases to be Malfuz. The Khair-ul-Majalis is a living record of the assemblies of Shaikh Nasir. The Ahsan-ul-Aqwal, no doubt, contains very useful information about the teachings of Maulana Burhan but it does not make us move in the company of the great saint. The Shaikh's personality remains hidden in abstract discussion.

Henceforth, the two contemporaneous Malfuz literatures are very important Sufi texts that need comparative study encompassing all subjects and dealt with in these two books including the style of narration and methodology of compilation and recording of the discourses.