Chapter-1

“Life Sketch and Contribution of Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib and Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh-i-Delhi to the growth of Sufism in India” and “Life and Works of Maulana Hammad bin Ammad Kashani and Maulana Hamid Qalandar.”
The word 'Mystic', which has passed from Greek religion into European literature, is represented in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, the three chief languages of Islam, by 'Sufi. The terms however, are not precisely synonymous, for 'Sufi' has a specific religious connotation, and is restricted by usage to those mystics who profess the Islam faith. And the Arabic word, although in course of time it appropriated the high significance of the Greek—lips sealed by holy mysteries, eyes closed in visionary rapture—bore a humbler meaning when it first gained currency (about 800A.D.). Until recently its derivation was in dispute. Most Sufis, flying in the face of etymology, have derived it from an Arabic root which conveys the notion of 'Purity'; this would make 'Sufi' means 'one who is pure in heart' or 'one of the elect. Mysticism has been called "the great spiritual current which goes through all religions." In its widest sense it may be defined as the consciousness of the One Reality—be it called Wisdom, Light, Love, or Nothing. Mysticism can be defined as love of the Absolute—for the power that separates true mysticism from mere asceticism is love. The mystics of all religions have tried to symbolize their experiences in three different groups of images: The never-ending quest for god is symbolized in the "Path" on which the "way-farer" has to proceed, as in the numerous allegories dealing with pilgrim's Progress or the Heavenly Journey. Mysticism have been classified as two main types, one is mysticism of Infinity and another mysticism of Personality. The former type has found its highest and purest expression in the system of Plotinus and in the Upanishads, particularly as elaborated in Shankara's advaita philosophy. Sufism comes close to it in some of the forms developed by Ibn 'Arabi School. In the so-called Mysticism of Personality, the relation between man and god is perceived as that of creature and Creator, of a slave in the presence of
his Lord, or of a lover yearning for his beloved. This type is more
commonly found in early Sufism.

The earliest Sufis were, in fact ascetics and quietists rather than
mystics. An overwhelming consciousness of sin, combined with a
dread—which is hard for us to realize—of judgment day and the torments
of hell-fire, so vividly painted in the Koran, drove them to seek salvation
in flight from the world. On the other hand, the Koran warned them that
salvation depended entirely on the inscrutable will of Allah, who guides
aright the good and leads astray the wicked. Their fate was inscribed on
the eternal tables of his providence, nothing could alter it. Only this was
sure, that if they were destined to be saved by fasting and praying and
pious works—then they would be saved. Such a belief ends naturally in
quietism, complete and unquestioning submission to the divine will, an
attitude characteristic of Sufism in its oldest form. The mainspring of
Moslem religious life during the eighth century was fear—fear of God,
fear of death, fear of sin—but the opposite motive had already begun to
make its influence felt, and produced in the saintly woman Rabbia to
show one conspicuous example of truly mystical self-abandonment.¹

So far, there was no great difference between the Sufi and the orthodox
Mohammedan zealot, except that the Sufis attached extraordinary
importance to certain Quranic doctrines, and developed them at the
expense of others which many Moslems might consider equally essential.
It must also be allowed that the ascetic movement was inspired by
Christian ideals, and contrasted sharply with the active and pleasure­
loving spirit of Islam. In a famous sentence the Prophet denounced

¹ Mysticism: A study in the Nature and Development of Man’s Spiritual Consciousness (1911; paperback ed, 1956)
monkish austerities and made his people devote themselves to the holy war against unbelievers, and he gave, as is well known, the most convincing testimony in favour of marriage. Although his condemnation of celibacy did not remain without effect, the conquest of Persia, Syria, and Egypt by his successors brought the Moslems into contact with ideas which profoundly modified their outlook on life and religion.

Some non-Islamic influences which influenced in the development of Sufism are:

**Christianity:** It is obvious that the ascetic and quietist tendencies are in harmony with Christian theory and drew nourishment there from. Many gospel texts and apocryphal sayings of Jesus are cited in the oldest Sufi biographies, and the Christian anchorite (Rahib) often appears in the discourse of a teacher giving instruction and advice to wandering ascetics. We have seen that the woolen dress, from which the name 'Sufi' is derived, is of Christian origin: vows of silence, litanies (Dhikr) and other ascetic practices may be traced to the same source. As regards the doctrine of divine love, the following extracts speak for themselves:

“Jesus passed by three men. Their bodies were lean and their faces pale. He asked them, saying, 'What hath brought you to this plight?' they answered, 'Fear of the Fire'. Jesus said, 'ye fear a thing created, and it behooves God that he should save those who fear.' Then he left them and passed by three others, whose faces were paler and their bodies leaner, and asked them, saying, 'What hath brought you to this plight?' they answered, 'Longing for paradise'. He said, 'Ye desire a thing created, and it behoves God that he should give you that which ye hope for'. Then he went on and passed by three others of exceeding paleness and
paleness, so that their faces were as mirrors of light, and he said, 'What hath brought you to this?' they answered, 'Our love of God'. Jesus said, 'Ye are the nearest to him, ye are the nearest to him.'

The Syrian mystic, Ahmad Ibn al-Hujwiri, once asked a Christian hermit:

"what is the strongest command that ye find in your scriptures?' the hermit replied: "We find none stronger than this: "Love thy creator with all thy power and might." 2

Another hermit was asked by some Moslem ascetics:

"When is a man most preserving in devotion?" 'When love takes possession of his heart', was the reply; 'for then he hath no joy or pleasure but in continual devotion.'

The influence of Christianity through its hermits, monks and heretical sects was twofold: ascetic and mystical. Oriental Christian mysticism however contained a pagan element: it had long ago absorbed the ideas and adopted the language of Plotinus and the neo-platonic school.

Neo-Platonism: Aristotle, not Plato is the dominant figure in Moslem philosophy, and few Mohammedans are familiar with the name of Platinus, who was moiré commonly called "the Greek master" (al-Shaikh al-Yaunani). But since the Arabs gained their first knowledge of Aristotle from his Neo-Platonist commentators, the system with which they became imbued was that of Porphyry and

Proclus. Thus, the so-called Theology of Aristotle of which an Arabic version appeared in the ninth century a manual of Neo-Platonism.

Besides literary tradition there were other channels by which the doctrines of emanation, illumination, gnosis and ecstasy accessible to the Moslem inhabitants of western Asia and Egypt, where the Sufi theosophy took shape. One of those who bore the chief part in its development, Dhu-i-Nun the Egyptian, is described as a philosopher and alchemist- in other words, a student of Hellenistic science. When it is added that much of his speculation agrees with what we find, for example in the writings of Dionysis, we are drawn irresistibly to the conclusion that Neo-Platonism poured into Islam a large tincture of the same mystical element in which Christianity was already steeped.

Gnosticism: Though little evidence is available, the conspicuous place occupied by the theory of Gnosis in early Sufi speculation suggests contact with Christian Gnosticism and it is worth noting that the parents of Mairuf-al-Karkhi, whose definition of Sufism as 'the apprehension of divine realities' are said to have been Sabians, i.e. Mandians, dwelling in the Babylonian fenland between Basra and Wasit. Other Moslem saints had learned 'the mystery of the Great name'. It was communicated to Ibrahim ibn Adam by a man whom he met while traveling in the desert, and as soon as he pronounced it he saw the Prophet Khadir (Elias). The ancient Sufis borrowed from the Manichans the term Siddiq, which they apply to their own spiritual adepts and a later school, returning to dualism of Mani, held the view that the diversity of phenomena arises from the admixture of light and darkness.
"The ideal of human action is freedom from the taint of darkness; and the freedom of light from darkness means the self-consciousness of light as light"3

The following version of the doctrine of the seventy thousand veils as explained by a modern Rifai dervish shows clearly the traces of Gnosticism «seventy thousand veils separate Allah, the one reality of matter and of sense. And every soul passes before his birth through these seventy thousand. The inner half of these is veils of light: the outer half, veils of darkness. For every one of the veils of light passed through, in this journey towards birth, the soul put off a divine quality: and for every one of the dark veils, it puts on an earthly quality. Thus the child is born weeping, for the soul remembers something of what it has lost. Otherwise, the passage through the veils has brought with it forgetfulness (nisyan) and for this reason man is called as Insan. He is now, as it were, in prison in his body, separated by these thick curtains of Allah. But the whole purpose of Sufism, the way of the dervish is to give him an escape from this prison, an apocalypse of the seventy thousand veils, a recovery of the original unity with the one, while still in this body. The body is not to be put off: it is to be refined and made spiritual- a help and not a hindrance to the spirit. It is like a metal that has to be refined by fire and transmuted. And the Sheikh tells the aspirant that he has the secret of this transmutation. ‘we shall throw you into the fire of spiritual passion’, he says,’ and you will emerge refined."4

---

3 Quoted in Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal, 1908 The Development of Metaphysics in Persia, Pg.150
4 “The Way” of a Mohammedan Mystic, by W.H.T.Gairdner (Leipzig, 1912), Pg.9
Buddhism: Before the Mohammedan conquest of India in the eleventh century A.D, the teaching of Buddha exerted considerable influence in Eastern Persia and Transoxania. There were flourishing Buddhist monasteries in Balkh, the metropolis of ancient Bactria, a city famous for the number of Sufis who resided in it. Goldziher has called attention to the significant circumstance that the Sufi ascetic, Ibrahim Ibn Adam, appears in Moslem legend as a prince of Balkh who abandoned his throne and became a wandering dervish— the story of Buddha over again. The Sufis learned the use of rosaries from Buddhist monks, and the method of Sufism is one of ethical self-culture, ascetic meditation and intellectual abstraction, owes a good deal to Buddhism. But the features which the two systems have in common only accentuate the fundamental difference between them. In spirit they are poles apart. The Buddhist moralizes himself, the Sufi becomes moral only through knowing and loving God.

Even if Islam had been miraculously shut off from contact with foreign religion and philosophies, some form of mysticism would have arisen within it, for the seeds were already there. Of course, we cannot isolate the internal forces working in this direction, since they were subject to the law of spiritual gravitation. The powerful currents of thought discharged through the Mohammedan world by the great non-Islamic systems above mentioned gave a stimulus to various tendencies within Islam which affected Sufism either positively or negatively. The oldest type is an ascetic revolt against luxury and worldliness, later on, the prevailing rationalism and skepticism provoked counter-movements towards intuitive knowledge and emotional faith, and also an orthodox
reaction which in its turn drove many earnest Moslems into the rank of Mystics.

Although the numerous definitions of Sufism which occur in Arabic and Persian books on the subject are historically interesting, their chief importance lies in showing that Sufism is indefinable. Jalaluddin Rumi in his Masnavi tells a story about an elephant which some Hindus were exhibiting in a dark room. Many people gathered to see it, but as the place was too dark to permit them to see elephant, they all felt it with their hands, to gain an idea of what it was like. One felt its trunk, and said that the animal resembled a water-pipe, another felt its ear, and said it must be a large fan, another its leg, and thought it must be a pillar, another felt its back and declared that the beast must be like an immense throne. So it is with those who define Sufism; they can only attempt to express what they themselves have felt and there is no conceivable formula that will comprise every shade of personal and intimate religious feeling. Since, however these definitions illustrate with convenient brevity certain aspects and characteristics of Sufism, a few specimens may be given as.

- Sufism is this: that actions should be passing over the Sufi (i.e. being one upon him) which is known to God only and that he should always be with God in a way that is known to God only.
- Sufism is wholly self-discipline.
- Sufism is, to possess nothing and to be possessed by nothing.
- Sufism is not a system composed of rules or sciences but a moral disposition, i.e. if it were a rule, it could be made one's own by strenuous exertion, and if it were a science, it could
be acquired by instruction, but on the contrary it is a disposition according to the saying, 'Form yourselves on the moral nature of God', and

- "A moral nature of God cannot be attained either by means of rules or by means of sciences".
- "Sufism is freedom and generosity and absence of self-constraint".
- "It is this: that God should make thee die to thyself and should make thee live in him".
- "To behold the imperfection of the phenomenal world, nay to close the eye to everything imperfect in contemplation of him who is remote from all imperfection - that is Sufism".
- "Sufism is control of the faculties and observance of the breadths"

Thus Sufism is a word uniting many divergent meanings, and that in sketching its main features one is obliged to make a sort of composite portrait, which does not represent any particular type exclusively. The Sufis are not a sect, they have a dogmatic system, the Tariqas or paths by which they seek God "are in number as the souls of men" and vary infinitely, though a family likeness may be traced in them all. Descriptions of such a protean phenomenon must differ widely from one another, and the impression produced in each case will depend on the choice of materials and the prominence given to this or that aspect of the many-sided whole. Now, the essence of Sufism is best displayed in its extreme type, which is pantheistic and speculative rather than ascetic or devotional.
The SILSILAS:

By the 12th century A.D Sufism had become a universal aspect of Islamic social life whose influence had spread to all Muslims, Non-Muslims, because of their hearty and non-discriminatory reception at the Khanqahs of Pir and Dervish, visited Sufi as zealously as the Muslims. It was perhaps possible because of the institutionalization of Sufis into Silsilahs. These Silsilahs that were crystallized in the 12th century A.D were orders, or chains of lineages through which different Sufis with a spiritual hierarchy, thus giving Sufis respectability and a stronger base of defense against the onslaught of the orthodox. The Silsilahs linked themselves with Mohammad through either Ali or Abu- Bakr, but generally through the former. In spite of some serious differences over the question of orthodoxy, the main emphasis of the Silsilahs was on continual meditation of the verses of the Quran and on different names of Allah. Influences, such as Neo-Platonism, the monastic tradition of Buddhism and Christianity and a Vedantist and Yogic philosophy were all Islamized by members of Silsilahs in such a way as to make them virtually unidentifiable. The most popular Silsilahs in the east were based in Baghdad, Iran, Khurasan and Transoxiana. Many important founders of orders in Baghdad were Iranis who had been greatly influenced by the Baghdadi system of mystic legalism. These men absorbed the main featured of the early Sufi schools of Sufism, at the same time relegating them into the background through the development of new frame works of their own. Sheikh Abdul- Qadir Jilani founded the Qadiriya Silsilah at Baghdad in around 1127 A.D. He become highly popular as a theologian rather than as a Sufi. But the experiences that he earned during the 25 years of this wondering as Darveshi made him
the Sufi of an equal repute. His writing present Shaikh Abdul-Qadir as a sober preacher who avoided Sufi terminology and moralized in simple, concrete language. He strongly condemned the materialistic life of his contemporaries. A Jihad fought against self will was, to Shaikh Abdul-Qadir for superior to the waged with the sword. One should cultivate pleasure only in the thought of annihilation and abiding poverty in his life. The expansion of the Qadiriya order was very slow. In some parts it was well received owing to the legends associates with Shaikh Abdul Qadir which were repute with miracles and supernatural facts.

The founder of Suhrawardiya orders was Shaikh Shihabuddin Abu Hafs al- Suhrawardi. This order spread through many parts of the Islamic world and became one of the two most significant orders of early Sufism in India. The other being Chishtiya. During his life time the Shaikh wrote several books. The most popular was the Awarif-ul- Maarif. This work marks a watershed in the reconciliation of Sufism with orthodoxy. The greatest Hanabali theologian of the times in Baghdad, Abdur-Rahman ibn al Jawzi accused Sufis of furthering the case of philosophy and heresy. Responding to it, Suhrawardi, using the Quranic verses, showed that knowledge, not in legalistic esoteric sense, but in the spiritual esoteric sense, is the basis of Sufism. Suhrawardis were to find themselves challenged by Chishtis later on the issue of wealth. In the Awarif-ul-Maarif, Shaikh Shihabud-Din reminded Sufis that the mystic Tariqa was not identical to either faqr (puberty) or Zuhd (asceticism), although could lead to Fana. To Suhrawardi an obsessive opposition to wealth was a sign of weakness, among to a dependence on

---

5 The collection of the Shaikh sermon’s, al Fatn-al-Rabbani, comprising sixty two of them and Futuh-al-Ghaib, containing seventy eight sermons.

6 He applied the Quaranic, term of al-Rasikhun-fial-ilm (those firmly rooted in Knowledge) to those hearts have a total perception of the truth. Shihabud-din Suhrawardi Awarif-ul-Maarif, on the margin of Ihya al-ulum, Iv, Cairo, 1957, pp. 262-268.
causation of an attachment to the anticipation of reward. A true Sufi did not differentiate between poverty and wealth and was concerned with neither fear nor the need for recompense. 7

The fame of Shaikh Shihbud-Din was matched only by that of Abdul Jannab Ahmed bin Umar al-Khiwaqi, better known as Najmud-Din Kurba. Kurba after wandering finally settled in Khwarizm (1145-1221 A.D), where he built his Khanqah. A galaxy of Sufis surrounded him as disciple and a member of branches of his order. The Kubrawiya, spread to Baghdad, Khurasan and India. The two Indian branches were the Firdusiya and the Hamdaniya. Kubra become a martyr in a Mongol raid on Khwarizm in 1221 A.D. Najmud-Din Kubra would often repeat such saying of famous Sufis as: ‘The ways of God are numerous as the number of births of his creatures’. He wrote several works in Arabic and Persian. Al-Usul Al-Ashra, in Arabic, outlines ten guiding rules on Sufism: repentance, renunciation, trust in God, patience and contemplation: the final stage, (rizâ), implies the abandonment of self and the seeking of all happiness in anything emanating from the beloved.

A significant Sufi order named the Silsilah-i-Khwajgan, which thrived mainly in Transoxiana and latter in India in its re-organized form, was known as the Naqshbandiya. It traced its origin from Khwaaja Abu Ya’qub Yusuf al- Hamdani (d.1140 A.D). Of his four disciples, Khwaaja Abdul-Khalid bin Abdul- Jamil, who came from Ghajduwan, in Bukhara, was the true originators of the unique features of the Silsilah- i-Khwajgan. Shaikh Ghajduwani wrote both in Persian prose and poetry and compiles several treatises. The writing of Shaikh Ghajduwani was

7 Ibid,11, pp.356-59
founded on the *Shari'a* but his eight principles of Sufi life and the rituals he advocated were largely based on yogic practices, current in the Bukhara region. They are elaborately contained in *Rashnut Ainu-l-Hayat;*\(^8\) and were eight in numbers. *Hosh Hardam* (awareness while breathing) – Sufis should not inhale or exhale absent-mindedly; every breath should be associated with an awareness of the divine presence. *Nazar bar Qadam* (watching the steps) – whenever a Sufis walks should be watchful of his steps, while not permitting his sight to distract him from his goal awareness of the divine presence. *Safar dar Watan* (Journey to one's homeland) - This involves journey human to angelic attributes. Thus the abandonment of human vices leads to the virtues of angels. The essence of this demand is the purification and polishing of the heart, achieved through unceasing efforts during the early stages of mystical training. *Khalwat dar Anjuman* (solitude in an assembly) implies that the onward activities of God. A Sufi may wander into a bazaar. But so engrossed in *Zikr* should be that no single voice is heard by him. Each voice and conversation should be like *Zikr,* and his own speech should also echo in his ears in the same way as a recitation of the name of God. *Yad-Kard* (remembrance) is related to both oral and mental *Zikr.* Physical performance of *Zikr* is very much of the same technique of breath control and mediation, that Jogis (or yogis), would practice *Baaz gasht* (restraint). Each time one who performs utters 'al kalimat al-tayyiba' he should add: "oh God thou art my goal and I seek thy satisfaction." It will expel all thoughts- both good and evil. *Nigah Dasht* (watchfulness), this helps to present the intrusion of evil thoughts during contemplation. *Yad Dasht* (recollection) is a state of intuitive perception involving a permanent awareness of the divine presence. Khwaja Baha-u'd-Din, a later exponent of Silsilahs-i- Khwajgan or the

\(^8\) Rashn at' Ainu'l-Hayat, Kanpur, 1911. Pp.20-25
Naqshbandis, emphasized that spoken Zikr should not be practiced, nor Seclusion and the Sam’a. A Sufi should concentrate mainly on Khalwat dar Anjuman, which is being outwardly busy inwardly, acts, but inwardly meditation on God.9

The ontological foundation to the 12th century A.D. Sufi resurgence was provided by the theory of wahdat- ul-wajud. The concept of wahdat-ul-wajud (unity of being) expounded by Ibn –al-Arabi was founded on a primordial belief in the ultimate nature of the unity which reduced to nothing, ideas of the existence of entities, other than God.10 Ibn-al-Arabi described reason and balanced it for covering man with an opaque veil of ‘ego’. It was by dispensing reason that man ascended from his lowly position and the light of the absolute illuminated him. Great tolerance, human compassion and fellowship were indispensable features of a spiritual life; these were also the chief means by which mystics could comprehend oneness with the reality, which were the one and all. Although he believed in the supremacy of Islam as a world religion, Ibn-al-Arabi advocated that the divine existed and was worshipped in all religious, and that God was worshipped in lone, this highest manifestation. He declared:

“My heart has become the receptacle of every ‘form’;
It is a pasture for Gazallies (i.e. objects of love) and a convent for Christian marks.
And a temple for idols and the pilgrim’s Kaba,
And the tablets of the Torah (Jewish law)
And the book of Qur’an.

9 Ibid, pp.26-27
I follow the religion of love; whichever way its camels take.
For this is my religion and my faith”

SUFISM IN INDIA:
Though Islam in India was introduced by Arab traders operating between the Malabar Coast and Ceylon, the Sufism proliferated from North-West of the sub continent. The prevalence of Sufism in Transoxiana and Khurasan was being well recorded by the beginning of the 12th century A.D. But same does not hold true for Sind. Perhaps because land communication between Khurasan, Transoxiana and Sind were slow and arduous.

At a political level, the blossoming of Sufism during the tenth century A.D had synchronized with the rise of Isma’ili’ Fatimid caliphate from 909 A.D to 1171 A.D. Between 977 A.D and 985 A.D, Multan had become a dependency of the Fatimid of Egypt. Mansura, the capital of Sind, ruled by the Sumira dynasty, had also accepted the loner – lordship of the Egyptian caliphs. Therefore Sufism which subscribed to Sunni Islam was naturally cut, from close relations with Central Asia, also within the Sunni fold. Between 1004 A.D and 1011 A.D the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazana dealt a strong blow to Isma’ili’ power in Multan, however their impact was transitory. In 1025 A.D, Laden with booty obtained from the plunder of Somnath, Mahmud’s armies passed through Mansura-en route- to Ghazna but, harassed by local Jats had no time to launch a further attack on the Ismaili’s. A hundred and fifty years later in 1175 A.D, Mo’izu’d-Din Muhammad bin Sam seized

11 Tarjuman al-Ashwaq, quoted by Afif, A History of Muslim Philosophy, 1, p.144, c.f Rizvi, Ibid, pp-109
Multan, establishing firm control and Sunni rule over the Southern border of Punjab.

It would seem that by the middle of the eleventh century A.D, Sufism had penetrated into the areas surrounding Multan. Shaikh Saifu’ud-Din Kaziruni being the first Sufi to settle. Though no accounts of Shaikh Saifu’ud-Din activities at Uchch remains, Shaikh Nizamu’d- Din Auliya had recounted some accounts about the Shaikh's encounter with yogis at Sind. The encounter was in the form of miracle duel. The term ‘yogi’ or ‘jogi’ in Sufi literature was never precisely defined, however the yogi’s of the times were Nath Yogis or Siddhas who acquired supernatural powers through Hatha-yoga.

As the Islamic power got entrenched in the Punjab region with Mahmud Ghazana and Muhammad Sam’ many Sufis were prompted to settle in the area. However, Sufi settlers were never the appendages to the invading armies of Islam. They permitted into the region through social channels. After Multan, Lahore was the other important of Sufi activities. Of particular importance at Lahore was the mighty Sufi saint Abu’l – Hasan ‘Ali bin ‘Usman bin ‘Ali al – Ghazanavi al Jullabi al-Hujuiri. Later Muslims posthumously confessed on Shaikh Hujuiri the title, Data Ganj Bakhsh, “Distributors of unlimited Treasure”. His tomb has always been greatly venerated by Sufis and Muslims alike. Among early mystics who under took hard ascetic exercises in Lahore at the Shaikh’s tomb was Khwaja Moi’nu’d-Din Chishti, the founder of the leading Indian order, the Chishtiya order is one of the most popular and influential mystic orders of Islam. It derives its name from Chishtiya village near Heart, where the real founder of the order Khwaja Abu Ishaq of Syria settled at the instance of his spiritual mentor. Hazrat Khwaja
Moin-ud-Din Chishti brought the Silsilah to India at the close of 11th century A.D, and established its center at Ajmer, whence the order spread far and wide in India and became a force in the spiritual life of the Indian people. In India, the saints of the first cycle established their Khanqahs mainly in Rajputana, U.P. and the Punjab, Hamiduddin Nagori, a disciple of Hazrat Khwaja Moin-ud-Din Chishti worked out the Chishti mystic principles in rural areas. Whatever is the base of the activities – rural or urban-Sufis of this order scrupulously avoided identification with center of political power. They refused to accept Jagirs and government services; did not perpetuate spiritual succession in their own families and looked upon 'learning' as an essential qualification for spiritual work. Under Hazrat Nizam-ud-Din Auliya, the influence of the order was extended to the whole of India, and people to their Khanqah's from distant of the country.

The cornerstone of Chishti ideology was the concept of Whadat-ul-Wajood (unity of being). It supplied the motive force to their mission and determined their social outlook. The early Sufi saints of Chishtiya order however did not write anything about the Whadat-ul-Wajood but Masood Baksh's Mira'tul -Arifeen, and his potential diwan, Nur-ul-Ain; gene currency to these ideas and his works became popular study in the Chishti Khanqahas. Hazrat Muhibb Allah of Allahabad was a very powerful exponent of the ideology of Whadat-ul-Wajood. Auranzeb, who was more influenced by the school of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, ordered his book to be burnt. The Chishtis look down upon possessions of property as a negation of faith in God. They rejected all worldly goods and material attraction (tark-e-dunya) and lined on futuh (voluntary

14 Ibid, p-p10
15 Ibid, pp-10
offerings), which were never demanded as charity. They believed in pacifism and considered retaliation and revenge as laws of the animal world. They lived and worked for a healthy social order- free from all dimensions of discriminations. In no form was contact with the states permitted. The Summum bonum of a mystic life, according to Chishti, is to line for lord alone. He should neither hope for Heaven nor for Hell.

The Chishti mystic did not demand formal conversion to Islam as a prerequisite to initiation in mystic discipline. Formal conversion, they said, should not precede but follow a change in emotional life. Therefore, the Chishti attitude contrasted sharply with the “Suhrawardi” principles in this respect.

**CHISHTI LITERATURE:**

The literature of the Chishti Silsilahs may be considered under five heads;

(a) Works on mystic thought, practices and litanies;
(b) *Malfuz*, conversations of saints;
(c) *(Maktubat*, collections of letters;
(d) Biographical accounts of saints;
(e) Poetical works;

Works on mystic thought should be studied with a view to assess and evaluate (a) The nature and extent to which the mystic thought of the earlier generations, particularly outside India, formed the basis of Indian mystic thought, and (b) How far Indian conditions modified or changed the thought of Indo-Muslim mystics, and (c) What original dimensions to mystical thought were given in India and how far it represents the
originate of the Indian mind. Such a study, involving an analysis of the
drift and direction of mystical thought, is of great value in understanding
the main processes of ideological growth and adjustment.

The *Malfuzat* of the medieval saints have a great value in understanding
an important segment of medieval society. The founder of this tradition
in India was Amir Hasan Sijzi who, on Sha'ban 3, 707/ January 1307
A.D, thought of preparing a record of the conversations of his spiritual
mentor, Shaikh Nizam-u'd-Din Auliya, and after years of preparation
produced *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* which according to Barani became a manual
of guidance for the mystics of the *Silsilah* and *Sufis* of other affilia­tions
also followed suit. In no time large number of *Malfuzat* collections
appeared from Delhi to Deogir and from Lakhnauti to Uchch. 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.

It was through correspondence that Sufi teachers trained and guided
their disciples living far away from their mystic headquarters. Hence
these epistolary collections reveal the nature of problems faced by the
mystic workers in different areas and the guidance provided to them by
the mystic master. In this connection, *Maktubat-i-Nur Qutb-i-'Alam,
Maktubat-i-Ashraf Jahangir Samnani, Maktubat-i-Shaikh 'Abdul Quddus
Gangohi, Maktubat-i-Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, Maktubat-i-Shah Waliullah,
Maktubat-i-Shah Kalim-ullah Dihlawi* and *Maktubat-i-Khwaja Ma'sum*
are of great historical significance.

31.
Biographies of mystic teachers of the medieval period demand a very sharp and critical, but sympathetic, approach of the reader. It was most unfortunate that compilers of many of these hagiologies concentrated on supernatural stories and undermined the historical value of their works. The tendency to attribute miracles to their mystic teachers played havoc with these compilations and the historical figures of many medieval Sufis got obscured by meaningless stories. Later generations of writers went on adding one layer after another to these accounts till it became extremely difficult to see the figure of a Sufi saint in his human form. From a sample study one may take up the works produced on Shaikh Farid-u'd-Din Ganj-i Shakar by the later generations. Amir Khurd gives the earliest and by far the most authentic account of the Shaikh. As years roll on, every writer fondly adds something to this, till at last in Jawahir-i-Faridi of 'Ali Asghar Chishti, produced during the reign of Jahangir, the personality of Shaikh Farid gets completely wrapped up in supernatural stories and anecdotes.

The study of mystic literature is no doubt invaluable for a proper understanding of the moral and spiritual urges of the people and to have a glimpse of the life and problems of the common man.

Malfuzat were the conversations or discourses which also contained didactic poetry, anecdotes and apothegms. There were two classic of compilation of authentic discourses. Firstly there were discourses which were collected by a descendent or a disciple of the Sufi long after his death and which were generally divided into such sections as a brief biographical sketch, main teaching, miracles and an account of the type of contemplation and ascetic exercises undertaken by the Shaikh. Such works mere based on the anecdotes which members of the Sufi's family
and his disciples remembered and sometimes letters exchanged with important personalities would also be incorporated. The flavor of this type of literature differs little from that of Christian hagiological works.\\footnote{Rizvi S.A.A., A History of Sufism in India Vol-1, Munshiram Manohar Lal, New Delhi, 1978, pp-3}

The most dependable are the *Malfuzat* of the second category which consisted of discourses recorded soon after they were delivered by a Pir and which were also dated. At times Sufi masters revised the drafts themselves and confirmed the accuracy or, otherwise, of their statements.\\footnote{Ibid, pp.3-4} The art of this writing in India was introduced by Amir Hasan Sijzi, who compiled the conversations of Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya in his *Fuw'aid-ul-Fu’ad*. It included Hazrat's account of life of fifteen years only. Amir Hasan's official duty kept him outside Delhi. But during a stay in the capital he would attend the Shaikh's assembly once a week. Usually the discourses were on ad hoc basis. They resulted from the questions by those gathered around the Shaikh on religious, economic or social issues. The sermons included references to the *Qur'an*, *Hadis*, anecdotes and the sayings of pervious Sufis and were intended to fulfill the religious and ethical needs and emotions of the audience and were not necessarily founded on authentic sources. Never in debate form the discourses failed to include an analysis of opposing views and were believed to bear the stamp of infallibility.

The Khair-ul-Majalis by Hamid Qalandar was a significant work containing discourses by Shaikh nasir-ud-Din. Like the *Fawaid-ul-Fu’ad*. Its accounts are not dated. It is even more voluminous than the latter, consisting of one hundred chapters and an appendix. To Shaikh Nasir-ud-Din the days of Shaikh Nizam-ud-Din Auliya become the golden era.
in the history of the Muslims in India; he believes that both the great saint and Sultan Alaüddin Khalji had achieved the highest possible standards in religion and state-craft respectively. The confusion and consternation produced by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq’s religious policies among a section of Delhi’s religious elite was replaced by the orthodoxy of Sultan Firuz Shah, but neither the reversal of the former policies, nor the new liberal grants to Khanqahs satisfied the aged Nasir-ud-Din Chiragh-i-Delhi. Large grants and gifts from Sultan Firuz Shah to Chishti order restored the glory of many of many Khanqahs. But the vitality of Delhi’s spiritual life, as it had been during the time of Shaikh Nizam-ud-Din was fast vanishing. Shaikh Nasir-ud-Din commented that the art of Sufi teaching had degenerated into child’s play that is something not to be taken seriously.18

Life of Shaikh Nair-u’d-din Chirag-I-Delhi:
Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din Mahmud, popularly known as Chiarag-i—Delhi19 (ob, Ramadan 18, 757A.H./September 14, 1356 A.D), whose conversations are recorded in the present work, Khair-ú’l-Majalis, compiled by Maulana Hamid Qalandar, was the last of the great saints of the first cycle20 of the Indian branch of the Chishti Silsilah. Steeped in the Chishti mystic ideology, he kept alive the noble traditions of his masters under conditions which would have broken the spirit of a man of lesser strength of character and lesser devotion to the cause, of a man of lesser strength of character and lesser devotion to the cause. His elevation to the Sajjadah of Shaikh Nizam-u’d-Din Auliya (ob. 1325 A.D.)

18 Khair-ul-Majalis (K.A Nizami), AMU 1959A.D pp.241-43
19 Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi of Afif,pp-38
20 the following saints belonged to the first cycle of the Chishti Silsilah in India: Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti of Ajmer(ob.633a.h/1236a.d) Khwaja Bakhtiyar Kaki of Delhi(ob.633a.h/1236a.d), Shaikh Fariduddin Ganj-i-Shakar of Pakpattan(ob.644a.h/1265a.d), Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya of Delhi(ob.725a.h/1325a.d) and Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh-i-Delhi.
synchronized with a period of social unrest and spiritual conflict. There was a mushroom growth of horrid cults and degrading beliefs. The Muslim society had drifted away from its pure and simple ways of life and thought, and religion had become a mere formality, cramped by hairsplitting theory and deadened by dogmatic formalism. The pacificism of the early mystic orders degenerated into passivism; self-respecting ideal of aloofness from the state gave place to an undignified scramble for favours of rulers. Mystic customs and practices lost the spiritual significance and became a license for loose behaviour. "On sacred day Large parties of women came out of the city riding in palanquins, chariot and dolahs on horses, and male buffaloes (sutur) and numerous big groups of the came out on foot and visited tombs. Libertines and dissolute persons, who are slaves to the desires of flesh and have no scruples, created mischief and rowdiness which were an obvious result of this practice," Shaikh Nasir-ud-Din strove hard percept and practice to improve its moral tone and save it from disintegration. How deep was his distress and despair may be gauged from this couples which he frequently recited: In the pages of the Khair-u’l-Majalis, recording the conversations of the Shaikh, one can detect this concern for his co-religionists and the fire that was consuming him: "A fever in these pages burns; Beneath the calm they feign."

The age of Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din was an age of bitter doctrinal differences between the mystics and the theologians not only in India but all over the Muslim world. The externalist scholars, under the influence of Imam Ibn-i-Taimiyy (ob. 728 A.H./1328 A.D.), made an all out effort to liquidate many institutions and practices of medieval

---

21 Futuhat-i-Firuz Shahi, pp.7-11.
22 Futuhat-i-Firuz Shahi, pp.10
23 Akhbar-u’l-Akhyar, pp.82
mysticism. The mystics had to defend themselves against this, but the fact that mysticism itself find degenerated into occultism, passivism grave-worship and saint worship weakened its defences and rendered it helpless in the face of an antagonistic movement organized by no less a person that Ibn-I-Taimiyya. Shaikh Nasir-u'd-Din met the challenge of time by first trying the vitalize the mystic circle by purifying it of all those aspects of mystic life which had evoked criticism from the orthodox quarters and then he made a serious efforts to bridge the gulf between the externalist scholars and the mystics-an attempt which gives Shaikh Nasir-u'd-Din a pre-eminent position in the Walhalla of Muslim history. That a mystic of his eminence should be styled Abu Hanifa, the second by his disciplines shows the extent to which in his own person he had succeeded in bringing the gulf.

In the closing years of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-Din Auliya's life the opposition of the externalist scholars to the mystic ideology had assumed threatening proportions and one could not help expecting that the conflict could be much more bitter in the time of Shaikh Nasir-u'd-Din, but we do not come across a single case of conflict between Shaikh Nasir-u'd-Din and the externalist scholars of the day. Fully alive to the necessity of stopping some of the mystic practices which had brought into disrepute the mystics, he strictly forbade-the use musical instruments (mazamir) in audition parties, stopped prostration (sijjdah) before the Shaikh and declared in most unequivocal terms: "The
practice of a Shaikh is no proof of legality unless evidence (in support) is used from the Qur'an and the Sunnat.\textsuperscript{30}

It is to the eternal credit of Shaikh Nasir-u'd Din that he not only licensed the orthodox opposition to mysticism but also attracted some eminent scholar of the period to the mystic fold.

Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din had to struggle against heavy odds during his stay in the capital. Many of his difficulties were due to the policy of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq (1325-1351A.D). The latter, himself a restless reformer and an innovator, extremely ambitious and jealous of his authority, demanded the mystics of his day to take up government services under him. The expansion of the Empire during the earlier years of his reign placed a very heavy burden on its administrative organization. With this geographic expansion came an elaboration of principles and policies and the consequent need for educated, honest and conscientious administrative personnel. The Sultan used all possible means to associate the mystics with his programme. He offered jagirs and high government jobs to them. He persuaded, cajoled, threatened and even punished the recalcitrant's to fall in line with his programme and help him in the implementation of his policy. Under these circumstances – baffling and embarrassing as they were-many mystics gave up their old traditions and yielded to the Sultan. Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din, however, refused to swim with the current and with a courage born of conviction, resisted all attempts to bind him to the state chariot. He was subjected to many indignities and was constantly harassed by the government, but the bore these hardship with

\textsuperscript{30} Akhbar-ul-Akhyar, p.81)
remarkable patience and demonstrated in his life the mystic principle of
*Riza* (Submission to the will of God).

The Sultan’s attempt to compel the people of Delhi to migrate to Daulatabad and settle there, upset the social equilibrium of Delhi and killed those values and traditions which had held together the social fabric and given stability to Muslim thought and social life in the preceding era. That congenial atmosphere in which the Chishti *Silsilah* had grown to its full stature disappeared completely leaving Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din a stranger in his own home. The ‘Alai age with all its blessings-economic prosperity, ideological stability and solidarity in body politics, disappeared leaving behind insecurity and doubt. Under such conditions when the old world was fast disappearing and the new had not yet taken shape Sheikh Nasir-u’d-Din must have felt as if, 

*Wandering between two worlds, one dead; The other powerless to be born*

The introduction of the token currency, the Khurasan and the Qarachil expeditions, enhancement of taxation in the Doab and other similar measure of the Sultan produced grave social and economic consequences. Every section of the Indian people-nobles, Maliks, soldiers, *Sufis*, *‘Ulema*, peasants and workers-felt in one way or the other the impact of his policy. Despair, distrust despondency consequently spread into the upper classes as well as the rank and file. Shaikh Nasir-ud’-Din whose *Khanqah* was open to all sorts of people and who was prepared to welcome and attend to the problems of a government servant, a merchant, a Sufi, a scholar, a peasant and a soldier could not help being touched by the miseries of all these people. The sigh of every distressed heart found an echo in this soul. This account for a deep
sadness that pervades these conversations. He talks to us calmly no doubt but with an unmistakable touch of sadness. This was the result, as much of the general atmosphere of gloom and pessimism that prevailed in the country as, of the personal unhappiness occasioned by the Sultan.

“Bear the blows and buffets of the people” was his master’s advice to him and he sincerely acted upon it. Living in an age of social and spiritual conflicts, he made his mark on the canvas of medieval Indian history by his sincere and strenuous efforts for the moral and spiritual uplift of the people. It may one sentence of his master: “Bring peace to a tortured heart”. Shaikh Nizam-u’d-Din Auliya had taught him to love man as man. This teaching influenced his thought and motivated his actions. His love for humanity was pure deep, and consuming and it not only inspired and sustained him in the midst of persistent opposition and difficulty, but was a power that awakened the ‘divine’ in his soul.

**Birth and ancestry:** Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din was born in Awadh in or about 675 A. H. /1276-77 A.D. His father, Shaikh Yahya, was a well-do-do merchant and carried on trade in wool (Pashminah) He had a large number of slaves and lead a comfortable life according to the best medieval standards. His family originally belonged to Khurasan from where his grandfather, ‘Abd-u’l-Latif Yesdi, migrated to Lahore probably under the pressure of the Mongol invasions. Shaikh Yahya was born in Lahore, but later he moved to Awadh and settled there. Muhammad Dulaq Chisti informs us that he was a Sayyid, being a direct descendant
Shaikh Yahya died when his son, Nasir-u’d-din was only nine years old, Shaikh Nasir-u’d-din’s mother who was a very pious and talented lady, looked after his education, and in fact, whatever academic eminence he attained as due to the supervision of this mother in his early years.

**Early Life:** Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din’s first teacher was Maulana ‘Abd-u’l-Karim Sherwani, a well known scholar of his day. Hamid Qalandar informs us in the *Supplement* that he taught Hidayah and Bazdawi to Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din, but the Shaikh himself told his audience one day that he had studied Bazdawi with Qazi Muhi-u’d-Din Kashwani. On Maulana Sherwani’s death Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din joined the discourse of Maulana Iftikhar-u’d-Din Muhammad Gilanai at whose feet he completed study of external sciences (*ulum-i-Zahir*). Another eminent teacher of the Shaikh was Maulana Sham-u’d-Din Yahya. The Shaikh is reported to have composed the following Arabic couplet in his praise:

I asked ‘Knowledge’: “Who has revived thee”?
Knowledge replied: Shams-u’d-Din Yahya

**Early interest in spiritual discipline:** Having completed his study of eternal sciences, Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din turned to the discipline of his soul. He was borne with a silver spoon in his mouth and had passed his early years in extremely affluent circumstances but there was an unquenchable thirst in his soul for the life of religious devotions and

---

34 Matlub-ul-Talibin, MS.f.117a)
35 siyar-ul-arifin, p-92
36 Probably some part of the book was taught by Maulana Sherwani but was completed by Qazi Muhi-ud-Din.
37 Akhbar-ul-Akhyar, pp.223-235.
38 Akhbar-ul-Akhyar, p-97
penitence's. Neither the plenty of his home nor the gay atmosphere of Awadh could deter him from the path he had chosen for himself. He wandered for years in the jungles of Awadh, praying and fasting. Very often he broke his fast with the leaves of sambhalu.39

One day, in the closing years of his life, he gave the following account of his prayers and penitence's in Awadh: "There were pleasant mausoleums (Haza'ir) and mango groves (in Awadh). Both the mausoleums and the mango-groves have disappeared now. I used to go out every morning after prayers along with Khwaja Mhamud, father of (my) nephews, Mu'in-u'd-Din and Maulana Kamal-u'd-Din reciting my wird (Recitals and incantations which one makes obligatory on himself to recite daily) in the way. On reaching the mausoleums I would apologize and say to him: 'Khwaja! You can go home or (if you like) you can pray in one of the mausoleums like me and busy yourself (in prayers)'. He would do likewise. (We) said our Zuhr (mid-day) prayer there. At 'Asr (afternoon) time I gave the call to prayers; about ten or twelve persons collected together and I led the congregational prayer. Sometimes I would offer Maghrib (evening) and 'Isha (night) prayers there. At night I would come back home, reciting the wird. Sometimes I would get a short after-noon nap (quistulah) under the mango-groves where the weavers had spread their nets between the tree-trunks; there was no fear of a beat or a thief who would steal my water-pot or my shoes. On reaching home at night I would retire to my room on the roof and spend the whole night in religious devotions. Years passed like this."40

39 Supplement,p-282
40 Khair-ul-Majalis,p-170-171
Tears trickled down the Shaikh's sleep laden eyes as he recounted his early spiritual experiences to his audience.

Shaikh Nasir-u'd-Din struggled hard in his early years to control the calls of flesh in him. He reduced his diet to almost starvation point and whenever sex-desire troubled him he said to himself: "Death is preferable to a life of sex-desire" and drank so much lemon-juice that he brought himself to the verge of death.41

Arrival in Delhi: It was at the age of forty three that Shaikh Nasir-u'd-Din felt seriously the need of a spiritual guide under whose supervision the untraversed part of his mystic joumey could be completed. He had done all that was possible through individual effort; now an expert was needed to lead him on. It was probably the fame of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-Din Auliya and his popularity in Awadh which drew him to Delhi.

"I can do no better than reproduce here the graphic account o Shaikh Nasir-ud'-Din's interview with Shaikh Nizam-u'd-Din Auliya as given by Professor Mohammad Habib."42 It was a little before noon on a hot summer day in Delhi in the early years of Sultan 'Ala'ud-din Khalji's reign that Shaikh Nizam-u'd-Din Auliya, the greatest Indo-Muslin saint of all times, left his comfortless room on the upper storey, which was burning like an oven, negotiated the clumsy and dangerous staircase, and was about to proceed to a little room that adjoined his Jama 'at Khanna, a large hall with tall clumsy pillars in which his disciples lived, prayed and slept according to the principles prescribed for the

41 Akhbar-ul-Akhyar,p-81
42 Islamic culture, April 1946,pp-129-131
community life of the mystics. But the great Shaikh, who kept his nights alive with prayers, meditations and recitations of select verses, was not destined to enjoy his much-needed mid-day rest. For, casting his eyes round him, he discerned a man of about forty-five or so standing in the courtyard under the banyan tree, which some years later was to spread its branches over the roof of the Jama'at Khana, so that the Shaikh and his friends might sit comfortably in the shade. Something in the man, one of his newer disciples, attracted the great Shaikh, for he possessed in a remarkable degree the intelligence (Nafs-i-Giora) of the mystics. The new disciple had come to his master, even as Shaikh Baha-u'd-Din Zakariya had gone to Shaikh Shihab'-u'd-Din 'Umar ...... after years of study, preparation and self training. He was, to quote a metaphor of the Great Shaikh himself, like, 'dry wood' which the mystic-master had to breathe on and it would burst into flames.

"The Great Shaikh gave up the idea of his mid-way- rest, turned to the gate-room (Dihliz)\(^\text{43}\) and sent one of the servants of the Khanqah to summon the new disciple.

"Sit down", said the Great Shaikh, surveying the man with those red sleep laden eyes of his, well aware that even his Khanqah was fortunate in the advent of such a mystic. "What is in your heart? What is your aim? What work did your father do?\(^\text{44}\) The new disciple was prepared for all that human mind and frame can beat in the search for Haq or the Absolute. He had already cast aside all earthly ties, though he belonged to a well-to-do family.

\(^{43}\text{siyar-ul-auliya,p-238}\)
\(^{44}\text{ibid}\)
"My father", Shah Nasir-u'd-Din Mahmud replied, "had slaves who traded in woolen cloth. The object of my devotions is to pray for the long life of the Shaikh, to attend to the shoes of the Durveshes, and to serve them with my head and eye-balls." The Great Shaikh's mind inevitably went back to those far-off days when, though the most distinguished of Delhi students and one whom everyone expected to have a fine career, he had almost without an effort, cast all worldly temptations aside and presented himself at the Jama'at Khana of Shaikh Farid-u'd-Din of Ajodhan, determined to tread the mystic path. He possessed something, absolutely nothing, in those days. A kindly lady had lent the Chadar to wind_round his waist while she washed his only pair of garments. He had not even a copper coin to buy a little paper in which to jot down his master' instructions. Here, the Great Shaikh could not fail to see, was a true successor to him, to Shaikh Farid-u'd-Din and to all the great Chishti saints of the past.

"Bravo! Now hear me,"45 the Great Shaikh said, "When after finishing my studies I went to Shaikh Farid at Ajodhan, a friend and class-fellow of mine, with whom I used to have academic discussion (at Delhi), came and put up at an inn. He had a servant to attend to his needs. Seeing me in my grimy and tattered clothes, he exclaimed: "Maulana Nizam-u'd-Din! What misfortune has befallen you? Had you taken to teaching work at Delhi, you would have become the leading scholar (Mujtahid) of the time with prosperity and sufficient livelihood. I said nothing in justification but merely apologized and returned to Shaikh Farid. "What would be your answer to such a question?" Shaikh Farid asked. "As the

---

45 siyar-ul-auliya,p-238]
Shaikh directs,” I replied, “Tell him,” Shaikh Farid replied: “You are not my traveling companion. See your own path. Get along. May prosperity be your portion in life and misfortune mine”

“He then asked me to order a tray of every variety of dishes from his kitchen and take it on my head to my friend who, genuinely surprised, came to see Shaikh Farid-u’d-Din and was so charmed by his conversation that he entered the circle of his disciples.”“Tears flowed down the Shaikh’s cheeks swept room he expounded the principles of mysticism to the new disciple who, on his part, took in everything and understood everything.

“This is how; woven round a simple story and a plain verse, the last of the great Chishti mystics received the spiritual benedictions of his master.”

At the feet of Shaikh Nizam-u’d-din Auliya: “The Sultan-u’l-Mashaikh (i.e. Shaikh Nizam-u’Din Auliya),” write Amir Khurd, “ who possessed perfect wisdom and great intuitive intelligence instructed very disciple to devote himself to the work he was capable to (If) he ordered one to close his lips and his gates, he instructed the other to strive in increasing the (number of) disciples. Toa third one he ordered to live with the people, bear their blows and buffets and deal politely and honestly with them.”

When Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din reached Delhi and joined the discipline of Shaikh Nizam-u’d-Din, the ascetic element was very powerful in his personality, Years of vigils, fasts and penitence’s in the lonely jungles of

---

46 Siyar-ul-Auliya,p-239-240
47 Islamic culture,april1946.p-129-131
Awadh had made him deeply introspective and seclusion-loving. Compelled by the inner urge of his soul he requested Amir Khusrau, who had the courage to broach any subject before the great saint, to intercede on his behalf and secure the Shaikh’s permission for abandoning human society and passing his life in mystic contemplation in some lovely hill-tract or desert. When Amir Khusrau placed his friend’s request before his master, he replied: “Tell him (Nasir-u’d-Din), he should live with the people and bear their blows and buffets (patiently) and return them by generosity and magnanimity.” Thus the great Shaikh gave a new orientation to his thought by emphasizing the value of social service in the spiritual ascension of man. Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din had learnt to be “busy in God”, Shaikh Nizam-u’d-Din Auliya taught him “to show people the way to God.”

One day the Shaikh addressed him thus: “Offering many genuflexions of prayers, reciting many aurad, and keeping many fasts and reciting the Qur’an, are things which even an old lady can do. She can fast (in the day) and pray at night and recite a few parts of the Qur’an. But the mission of the people of God is (entirely) different. It is threefold. First, the idea of eating or clothing should not cross his heart. A durvesh in whose heart the idea of eating or clothing asses, cannot reach his goal. Secondly, be busy with God both in public and in private. This is the secret of all penitence’s and devotions. Thirdly, do not talk to anybody with the intention of captivating his heart. If you advise or sermonize, there should be no purpose behind it and affectation or hypocrisy should not touch it. It should be (actuated) by sincerity, pure and simple.”

---

48 Maktubat-i-Kalimi, p-35
49 Siyar-ul-Auliya, p-450
The Great Shaikh no doubt checked the growth of ascetic tendencies in Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din, but it appears that, though he fully carried out the instructions of his master, his soul always longed for loneliness. In his old age, when he was fast approaching his end, he told Hamid Qalandar with tears flowing from his eyes: “Had it not been the Shaikh’s order that I should stay in the city and bear the blows and buffets of the people, you and I would never have come together. I would have been in wilderness, in mountains and in deserts.” For years it was his cherished desire to put a mizari on his body and a taqia on his head and pass his time in praying in some lonely mosque. The following couplets which he pathetically recited reveal the inner yearning of his soul.\(^5\)

Though retiring and reclusive by nature, Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din soon endeared himself, by his calm, quiet and unobtrusive habits, to the inner circle of Shaikh Nizam-u’d-Din Auliya’s disciples. Whenever he came from Awadh he was cordially received and entertained by Malana Burhan-u’d-Din Gharib, Amir Khusrau and Amir Hasan. Gradually his fame spread to the wider circle of the Shaikh’s disciples and large number of admirers from the city approached the Shaikh for his permission to invite him to feasts. The Great Shaikh always gave his consent to the invitations and conveyed his permission to Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din through Iqbal; his personal attendant. The city being at a distance from the Khanqah of the Shaikh, these feasts meant considerable waste of time for Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din. On one occasion he could not see his Shaikh for nine days due to continuous feasts and entertainments in the city. One day he humbly submitted before his

\(^5\) Text, pp-233, (In fact it was his deep respect for his great master’s wishes which overcame the inner urge of his soul and made him live in human society. Left to himself he would have passed his life unnoticed in some secluded corner of Delhi or Awadh.)
master: “My humble self comes from Awadh with the desire to spend some time at the feet of the Khwaja and see him everyday—not to attend feasts.” The great Shaikh appreciated his view point and after that rejected all invitations from the city.\(^{51}\)

Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din did not sever his relations with Awadh on being admitted into the discipline of Shaikh Nizam-u’d Din Auliya. His intense love for his mother often drew him to his native town. When she died he felt a void in his life and sought to fill it by long stays with his master. He had two sisters—Bibi Bua Abdi and Bibi Lahri. The younger one, Bibi Lahri had died at an early age. Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din’s attachment with Awadh was due to his elder sister, Bibi Bua Abdi, and his nephews. When Bibi Bua Abdi died he brought his two nephews—Zain-u’d-Din ‘Ali, son of Bibi Bua Abdi and Kamal-u’d-Din Hamid, son of Bibi Lahri\(^{52}\) to the Jam’at Kanah of Shaikh Nizam-u’d-Din who remarked: “You have done well in bringing your nephews with you.” Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din then decided to stay in Delhi permanently at the feet of his master. The Great Shaikh assigned him a hurrah in his Jama’at Khanah, where Shakh Nasir-u’d-din devoted himself to prayers and vigils. He impressed the inmates of the Jama’at Khanah so much with his piety and spiritual excellence the they began to call him: “Nasir-u’d-Din Mahmud Ganj”\(^{53}\)

Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din’s devotion to his mater was beyond measure. Once Khwaja Muhammad Gazruni, a disciple of Shaikh Baba-u’d-Din Zkariya stayed in the Jama’at Khanah. He rose up at night to offer his tahajjud (mid-night-prayers and, leaving his garments behind, went to the river

\(^{51}\) Text, pp-186-187

\(^{52}\) Siyar-ul-Auliya, p-93

\(^{53}\) Siyar-ul-Arifin, p-92
Jamna to perform ablutions. When he returned he did not find his quilt there and began to raise a hue and cry in the Jama'at Khanah. Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din was busy offering his prayers in a corner. Fearing lest the noise might disturb the Shaikh in his devotions on the upper storey of the Jama'at Khanha, Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din rushed out and offered his own quilt to Khawajs Gazruni. Early next morning when Shaikh Nizam-u’d-Din Auliya came to know of his incident, he was immensely pleased with Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din and gave his own quilt to him.

Shaikh Nizam-u’d-Din Auliya formed a very high opinion about Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din due to such silent but significant acts of devotion. One day the Great Shaikh referred to him in a conversation with Maulana Burhan-u’d-Din Hansvi as ‘our Ibrahim Adham”.

**Receives Khilafat:** A few months before the death of Shaikh Nizam-u’d-Din Auliya, the question of the appointment of his Khalifah came up for discussion before the inner circle of his disciples, e.g., Saiyyid Husain, Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din Mahmud Amir Khusrau, Maylana Fakhr-u’d-Din Zarradi and the two personal attendants of the Shaikh, Iqbal and Mubashshir. After long consultations, Amir Khusrau drew up a lit in which thirty two disciples of the Shaikh were recommended for the grant of Khilafat Namahs. “Why have you put in so many names?” remarked Shaikh Nizam-u’d-Din Auliya. A second list was the prepared. The Shaikh approved it with some modifications. Maulana Fakhr-u’d-Din Zarradi, an erudite scholar drafted the document in Arabic and Saiyyid Husain made several copies of it. The Shaikh, first of all, called Shaikh Qutb-u’d-Din Munawar and granted him a Khilafat Namath and a

---

54 Jawami-ul-Kilam, p-87
55 Siyar-ul-Auliya, p-220
Khil'at-i-Khilafat (robe of Khilafat). Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din Mahmud was summoned next and was likewise granted the Khil’at and the Khilafat Namah. Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din probably felt the precedence given to Shaikh Qutb-u’d-Din Munawwar, and the Shaikh, realizing the delicacy of the situation, called both of them to his presence, asked them to embrace and congratulate each other and then remarked: “You are brothers. Don’t care for precedence”. True to the advice of their great master both of them remained on the best of terms throughout their lives.56

This Khilafat Namah was given to Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din on Zil’Ijah 20, 724 A. H. /1323 A.D. The Shaikh died on Rabi’-u’l-Akhir 18, 725 A.H. /1324 A.D. In his last moments the Great Shaikh sent for Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din and bestowed upon him all those articles of mystic regalia which had come down to him from the elders of his Silsilah-khirqah (patched frock), ‘asa (rod), Musalla (prayer-carpet), tasbih (rosary), kasa-i—chubin (wooden bowl).(siyar-ul-arifin,p-91) Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din humbly submitted before his drying master: (I cannot remain in Delhi in the absence of (my) Pir. I shall then go for Haj and pass my life in front of the shrine of the Prophet. Shaikh Nizam-u’d-Din recited the verse: And asked him to live in Delhi and bear the oppression and blow of the people with forbearance. This advice of his master sustained him in his long and painful conflict with Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq.

As the head of the Chishti Silsilah: Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din succeeded his master as the head of the Chishti Silsilah and worked in Delhi for more than thirty years with remarkable devotion and singleness of

56 Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Afif,p-84
purpose. The nephews of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-Din Auliya had claimed the 
*Jama'at Khanah* by right of inheritance, and so he took up his residence 
at the place which is known today as *Chiragh-i-Delhi*. He early years as 
the head of the *Chishti Silsilah* in Delhi were spent in appalling poverty. 
There were absolutely no means of livelihood and the door of *futuh* 
(unasked for charity) had not yet been opened on him. These were years 
of exacting hardships and misfortunes. His endurance, patience and 
sprit of *tawakh* (trust in God) were put to severe tests. Days in and days 
out he had to straw. He did not posses even a candle stick and had to 
pass his nights in prayer and meditations in a house without a flicker of 
light. His stove remained without fire for days and days together. He had 
no proper clothes and so, whenever any visitor called on him he hastily 
put on the *Khirqah* of his master over his tattered garments and talked 
to him. Passing his days in such straitened circumstances he kept alive 
the traditions of his great master and people found in his company “the 
fragrance of the majlis of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-Din”.

In his early days Shaikh Nasir-u'd-Din was helped by his friends who 
themselves had very meager means. Once, when the Shaikh had fasted 
for two days without taking anything at the Iftar-time, Nathu Patwa 
came to him and placed two pieces of bread, “God knew whether of *mash* 
or barley”, with some gravy on them before him. The Shaikh relished this 
humble food more than the most sumptuous feasts ever arranged in his 
honour. In the year 1353 A.D when he was at the height of his fame and 
renown and had an open kitchen where hundreds of friends and 
followers had their meals, he had not forgotten the gift of Nathu, the 
*Patwa*.

---

57 *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p-241
58 *Text*, p-213
Last years and death: Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din Mahmud survived the attack of Turab but his heal gradually went down. Continuous fasts, vigils and penitence’s broke his frame. From early morning till late into the night he had to attend to all sorts of visitors who brought their worries to him. He did not get time even for a brief siesta (qailulah). One day he told Hamid Qalandar with tears in his eyes: “Very often I wish to rest at mid-day, but they wake me up and say: “a visitor has come Get up.” Over-work combined with endless fasts and vigils threw his system out of order. Even in the small hours of the morning, when everybody fresh, one found him completely worn out (Shikasta). Piles troubled him very often, while yawning became permanent diseases with him.

In spite of all these troubles and diseases, the Shaikh meticulously followed his daily programme (Zabitah). It was only a week before his deal that weakness and disease so overpowered him that he failed to carry on his set routine. Sayyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz once informed his audience. “Our Khwaja (Shaikh Nasi-u’d-Din retained his Zabitah till his end, but one night while offering atrawaih prayers, which Mayulana Buhan-u’d-Din Bijanauri (? Bijlauri) standing between me and the Shaikh-I saw that in two or three genuflexion he (the Khwaja) bowed only once. I felt very sorry at this (omission) and said (to myself); (The Shaikh’s Zabitah has departed. It happened on a Wednesday night. From Thursday morning his ailment began. The next Thursday night he expired. During this illness there was no Zabitah at all. He simply pointed by movements for ablutions (wazu) and said: “Bring water. I shall perform wazu.” He started his prayers and said (only): “Allah O Akbar”. He remained in this condition throughout the day and throughout the night. On Monday, when he held his last majlis, some
disciples were present and he talked (to them) with such composure and with such alertness that none could even guess of his condition ..... (After that) he did not hold any other majlis. On the fourth day he expired.”

The Shaikh breathed his last on Ramazan 18, 757 A.H./1356 A.D. He was buried in his own houses at a place which he had selected years before his death. He had instructed his disciples to bury with him all the articles of mystic regalia which he had received from his master. Accordingly, the Khirqah (patched frock) was placed on his breast, the staff was laid by side, the rosary was wound round his forefinger, the wooden bowl was placed under his head and the wooden sandals of his master were placed by his side. Sayyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz washed his body.

**Shaikh’s tomb:** The tomb of Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmud became a beacon fro succeeding generations and the area came to be known as the “Chiragh-e Dehli.” The Shaikh’s tomb is in Delhi and is elaborately carved and bears the following inscriptions:

“God is great!
This throne of wood is an offering made by Dakhni,
To the worthy Nasir-u’d-din Mahmud.
May God purify his cherished secrets, 1143 Hijri,
In the 12th year of the reige of Muhammad Sha Ghazi.”

---

59 Siyar-ul-Auliya, pp-242-247
60 Siyar-ul-Arifin, PP-123
Prince Ghulam Haider, son of Akbar Shah II, built a verandah round the tomb of Chiragh-i-Delhi, but it fell in shortly after its completion.\textsuperscript{61}

**Contemporary Estimates and Influence:** Shaikh Nasir-u'd-Din Mahmud’s sincere application to the cause of the Silsilah and his strenuous efforts to improve the moral tone of the Indian society in the 14th century A.D immensely raised his prestige in the eyes of his contemporaries. His fame spread far and wide. Even a scholar and saint of Imam ‘Abdullah Yafai’s\textsuperscript{62} eminence praised his spiritual excellence. Another prominent saint of Mecca, Maulana Abdullah Mutri, told Sayyid Jala-u’d-Din Bukhari when he heard about the demise of Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din. Mird Khurd says that in his last years he had become “pure soul”.

Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din proved himself to be a true successor of his great master, Shaikh Nizam-u’din Auliya. The disciples of the Great Shaikh showed deep respect to him. Maulana Burhan-u’dd-Din Gharib and his disciples used to call him “Khwand Maulana Mahmud”\textsuperscript{63} Many of those families which had been in close touch with Shaikh Nizam-u’d-Din Auliya joined his Jama’at Khanah. At a time when the Deccan policy of Muhammad bin Tughluq had hit at the roots of the organization of the Chishti Silsilah and many Khanqahs of Delhi were turned into ruins, the Jama’at-Khanah of Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din proved to be an oasis in the midst of a desert. Years afterwards when the citizens of Delhi returned from Daulatabad, they found in Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din’s company “the

\textsuperscript{61} The Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi, Carr Stephen,(Ludhiana, 1876,p-145-146
\textsuperscript{62} Ency of Islam, vol. 1v, pp-1144-1145
\textsuperscript{63} jawami-ul-kilam, pp-137
fragrance of the assembles of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-Din Auliya", Hamid Qalandar, Sayyid Muhammad, Mir Khurd and many others associated themselves with the Shaikh. Though the Sultan, Muhammad bin Tughluq, was bitterly hostile towards him, the attraction of his company was so great that even the sons of government officers joined in discipleship. Sayyid Muhammad Ja'far Mecci, son of the Muqta' of Cambay, joined his Jama'at-Khanah and undertook to reform personal services to the Shaikh. Sayyid Jala-u'd-Din Bukhari, who had roamed all over the Muslim world, decided to lay his head at his feet. Among his other disciples, Sayyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz, Qazi 'Abdul Mutad Maulana Ahmad Thanesari, Sadr-u'ddin Hakim, Maulana Khwajgi, Maula Yusuf Gada and Khwaja Ya'qub of Chanderi were men of great eminence.

Shaikh Nasir-u'd-Din continued with great zeal the mission of his master-showing people the way to God and bringing happiness to the hearts of men. All sorts of people-mystics, 'Ulema, poets, administrators, peasants, and traders, - visited him and he inculcated in them, in his own unassuming and quiet way, a respect for moral values and a determination to face the ordeals of life bravely. “A visitor who comes to me,” he told Hamid Qalanadar, “is either a worldly man or a mystic. If he is a worldly man, his heart is attached to earthly things. When he enters (my room) and my eyes fall upon him, I ask him about his affairs. Even if he is silent, everything in his mind is reflected in my heart, and I am over-powered with sadness and gloom.... And others come terror-stricken and demand: “Hurry up and do this.” (If I don’t), they speak evil of me and are insolent. The Durwesh should be patient under all circumstances.” Devoting his time to the problems of the people in this manner, the Shaikh became a tower of strength and a source of
inspiration for all those who thronged his *Jama'at Khanah*. His deep humanism made his heart bleed for the weak, the destitute and the down-trodden. Sayyid Jala-u'd-Din Bukhari informs us that the Shiakh, while on his way to Thatta, met a leper who asked him for water. The Shiakh not only brought water for the leper but also drank it in his bowl. While others looked with contempt at the leper and objected to the Shiakh's action.

The Shiakh never missed an opportunity of advising his visitors. Externalist scholars visited him, he explained to them the significance of mysterious and the value of mystic practices; when mystics visited him, he brought home to them the necessity of following meticulously the laws of Shari. Once a jeweler came to his *Jama'at Khanah*. The Shiakh advised him to honest in his dealings and illustrated his point from a very significant anecdote mentioned by Imam Ghazzali. Once day a peasant came to see him and Shiakh expressed appreciation of his vocation but him to combine a spirit of religious devotion with physical labour. A joined the discipleship of the Shiakh who told her in a message to perform prayers and observe fasts and “no to punish or annoy slaves and slave and to deal with all men gently and politely.” When Khan-i-Jahan because his disciple, the Shiakh advised him: “You are a Wazir. For you the proper thing is to strive hard ceaselessly to (fulfill) the needs of the needy, so “that the water of hope many into the channels of the poor.”

Though Shiakh Nasi-u'd-Din tried as best as he could to live up to traditions of his master, he lacked in one thing. He did not possess the optimism geniality and cheerfulness of his master. There is an undercurrent of pessimism gloom and sadness in his thought and
conversations. In spite of his heavy day programme. Indifferent health and worries which people brought to him, Shaikh Nizam-u'd-Din Auliya woke up in the morning there was always an indescribable happiness on his face. But the case with Shaikh Nasir-u'd-Din we different. He woke up Shikastah (broken in spirit) in the morning. Shaikh Nizam-u'd-Din did not marry. He tutored his appetites in a way that not a trace of conflict of is detected in his life. Shaikh Nasir-ud-Din also passed his life in celibacy but effort to control sex-desire was so great in him that it brought him on the death. In the conversations of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-Din there is remarkable restraint, confidence and genial optimum. A reader of Shaikh Nasir’s conversation cannot fail to find an atmosphere of tears and sadness pervading all through. But we should not forget that the major part of Shaikh Nizam-u'd Din Auliya's life was spent during the reign of 'Ala-u'd-din Khalji, an age of expanding imperialism, hope and buoyancy – and that of Shaikh Nasir-u'd-Din, during the time of Muhammad bin Tughluq, an age of decay, pessimism and gloom. The age of 'Ala-u'd-din had the light of dawn; the age of Muhammad bin Tughluq, the gloom of twilight. The spirits of these saints were coloured by the atmosphere around them and, therefore, what at first sight appears to be a shortcoming in Shaikh Nasir’s character was really a shortcoming of his age.

Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din was, however, the last great saint of the first cycle of the Chishti order in India. After his death the Chishti Silsilah, which had a highly integrated central structure, lost its former position and provincial Khanqahs were set up in provincial towns, independent of all central control. Old ideologies and traditions were thrown overboard. The comfortable theory was expounded that mystics should consort with kings, governors and high officers in order to influence them for good.
State endowments were accepted and, in return, spiritual blessings and moral support was given to the founders of the new provincial dynasties. The principle of hereditary succession was introduced in the mystic sphere and thus the vitality of the mystic organizations was sapped and the virus of hereditary conflicts was introduced in the spiritual life. Shaikh Nasir-u’d-Din was the last bulwark against these forces of disintegration. With him the first phase of the Chishti Silsilah in India came to an end. New problems and new ideologies determined the attitudes and actions of the generations that followed.

**SHAIKH BURHANUDDIN GHARIB:**

Shaikh Muhammad bin Nasir-ul-Din Mahmud, sister’s son of Shaikh Dimal-ul-Din Ahmad Numani Hansawi and one of the earliest and most devoted disciples, and a khalifa of the Shaikh-ul-Islam Nizam-ud-Din Auliya of Delhi. He was born in Hansi (East Punjab) in 1256 A.D and died in Deogir (Dawlatabad) on 11 Safar 738/ 8 Sept 1337 A.D, according to others in 741/1340-41 A.D, and was buried at Rawda (Khuldabad). His original name was Burhan-ud-Din. He is popularly known as Burhan-ud-Din Gharib. His ancestral origin is as follows: Burhan-ud-Din Gharib in Shaikh Muhammad Mahmud Bin Nasir Hanswi Bin Sultan Muzaffar Bin Sultan Ibrahim Bin Shaikh Abu Bakar Bin Shaikh Abdullah Bin Shaikh Abdur Rasheed Bin Shaikh Abdus Samad Bin Shaikh Abdus Salam Bin Imam Azam Hazrat Abu Hanifa Kulfi.

---

64. Akhbar-u’l- Akhyar, pp.67
We also find some other titles being given to sheikh Burhan-ud-Din Gharib in different Tazkiras, such as Asadul Auliya Wal Arfeen Qutub Alam, Mazharul Waheet Tayyerul Makan, Qutubul MadarBayazeed Saani etc. These titles have been used for Burhanuddin Gharib by Khwaja Ruknuddin Hammad Kashani in the preface of Nafais ul Anfas:

His ancestors belonged to the city of Hanswi (East Punjab), and Shaikh Burhan-ud-Din Gharib was born in the same city in the year of 1256 A.D. His ancestors had a religious and spiritual bent of mind. His father was very popular among general masses as well as among the distinguished class of the society. People used to rush to the Majalis addressed by his father and they were eager to listen to him throughout the day. Shaikh Burhan-ud-Din recites that the main reason of his father’s popularity was his close association with general masses. His father used to regularly visit the graves and offer prayers over there.

His own brother Hazrat Shaikh Muntakhabuddin was also among the popular Khalifas of Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya. People of Deccan were obliged by his spiritual teachings and blessings. His ‘mazar’
(mausoleum) is located at Khuldabad. The annual ‘Urs’ is organized every year with all pomp, gratitude and devotion.

Hazrat Khwaja Jamaluddin Hanswi, the founder of Jamalia Silsilah, one of the popular pupils of Khwaja Fareeduddin Ganj-i-Shakar, was his maternal uncle. Maulana Qutubuddin Munawwar was his cousin.

He learnt ‘Quduri’ from his uncle under the caring guidance of his father. It is mentioned in the Rauzatul Auliya written by Maulana Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami that Shaikh had learnt Fiqah Nafe (فقه نافع) by heart. He had also mastered over Fiqah, Tafseer, and Hadith. He holds a very high position as a student among his contemporaries. At a time when the teachings and spiritual endeavors of Hazrat Nizamuddin were spreading all over India, Shaikh Burhanudin was also attracted towards Delhi and he decided to migrate from Hanswi. He came to Delhi and founded a mosque over here. Shaikh gained popularity very fast and there used to be a great rush to listen to the teachings of Shaikh Burhamuddin. The mosque used to get filled with the devotees. Despite so much of popularity and fame, Shaikh used to live like an ordinary man in the same mosque.

We also find an interesting note on how he was given the title of Gharib. It is said that once when he was asleep he saw a dream wherein he had fallen in a ditch. He tried very hard to come out of it but could not succeed in doing so. Suddenly Hazrat Nizamuddin offered his hands and brought him out of the ditch. After this incident he decided to visit the Khanqah of Hazrat Nizamudin Auliya. When he reached there a khadim of Hazrat Niamuddin went to Khwaja and made him aware that Burhanuddin Gharib wants to see him. Hazrat Nizamuddin responded to
him with astonishment saying that he has already become popular among masses now. Is he still Gharib? Burhanuddin became popular with the name of “Gharib” after this incident. He became very close to Hazrat Nizamuddin and was appointed the supervisor of the kitchen.  

Very soon he gained popularity among his contemporaries. Some of the pupils of Hazrat Nizamuddin namely Amir Khusrau, Amir Hasan Sijzi, Maulana Ibrahim Tashldar, Syed Husain, Iqbal Khadim, always used to be in his company, and used to make use of his teachings. According to Lataif-e-Asharfi:

```
"در دلوم علیہ، اپنے سامنے، نظمیں، وظائف تکریم
آپنے تربیت کرنا اور نصیحت بننے، جنہوں نے میرے خرچوں و
ویش میں طبع دانی لے لے سیلہ، نظمیں، طبع اور فولیمی نہریا،
"
```

Whenever Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmud used to visit Delhi from Awadh, he would always stay with Shaikh Burhanuddin and sometimes also used to take lessons.  Shaikh Burhan-ud-Din’s popularity can also be gauged from the fact that Hazrat Nizam-ud-Din Auliya once mentioned him as his obedient son and said that whosoever will be in the company of Shaikh Burhan-ud-Din Gharib will be blessed. The above mentioned instances are the witness to the fact that Shaikh Burhan-ud-Din had gained quite a lot of popularity not only among the contemporaries but also had won the faith and affection of Hazrat Nizam-ud-Din Auliya.

67. Rauzat ul Auliya, Urdu Translation, p-7-10
68. Lataif-ul-Asharfi, p-357.
69. Seeratul Auliya page 270
Keeping in view his generosity and popularity, Hazrat Nizamuddin offered him 'Khilafat'. Hazrat Nizamuddin on several occasions mentions the achievements of Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib after he received Khilafat.

Shaikh Burhanuddin was also very much attached to his spiritual master and used to love and respect him a lot. He never put his back towards Ghayaspur' where he was buried after his death. According to Siyar-ul-Aulia:

"در اعتماد رسول خدا نسبت بی‌پروابه فومنی بزرگ‌زادگان"

Nizamuddin sends him to Deccan: He left Delhi for Deogir in his old age, when Muhammad bin Tughlaq (1325-51 A.D) forced the higher society and Shaikh's etc. of Delhi, about 1327 A.D to more to his new capital Deogir. There he spent the rest of his life (28-29 years) doing almost pioneer work in the dissemination of Islam and the spreading of the culture of Islam in the Deccan and trained a batch of distinguished adepts to follow up his work. Long before Muhammad bin Tughlaq's so-called transfer of the capital, he moved to Khuldabad on the instructions of his Pir after having obtained Khilafah. He came to Khuldabad with seven hundred companions, including men of wealth and high stature - a fact which shows that Khuldabad had come within the orbit of

---

70. Seeratul Auliya page 279
71. Mubarak Shahi, pp.98
72. Adhkar-i-Abrar (tr. of Gulzar-i Abrar), pp.90
73. Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, Rawdat ul Auliya, pp.14
Chishti mystic activity before the Tughlaq Sultan turned his attention towards it. He planned the Chishti Silsilah in the Deccan and popularized it there. Rawnaq 'Ali refers to Futuh-ul-Auliya' and reports an incident which sheds some light on the departure of his brother Shaikh Burhanuddin to Daulatabad. Kamal Khujandi, Jam Shaikh Fakhr-ud-Din and others. He reached Daulatabad with a group of people, prominent among them being Amir Hasan Sijzi an accomplished poet with the exalted title of Sa'di-e-Hind. Because of his sound knowledge and piety, he was held in high esteem by people like Amir Khusrau. Among others were: Pir Mubarak Karwan Khwaja Hasan, Khwaja Umar (d.750/1349 A.D) and Kamal-ud-Din Samana all of whom were the disciples of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya. Also accompanying Burhanuddin Gharib were his own disciples, prominent among them being: Kaka Sa'd Bakhsh, Shaikh Rukn-ud-Din bin Imad-ud Din Dabir Kashani, Imad Kashani, Khwaja Majduddin Kashani, Khwaja Burhanuddin Kashani, Fariduddin Adib (d.738/1337 A.D) and Maulana Ruknuddin. Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib, due to his long association with Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya. Strongly believed in the principle of constant religious activity. While in Khuldabad, he explained

75. For life sketch Aziz Ahmad, An Intellectual History of Islam in India, p.88. For his work, , Appendix(d.736/1335 A.D),
77. Rawnaq Ali, pp.110,111
78. Kaka Sa'd Bakhsh was the personal attendant of Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib. When Muhammad bin Tughlaq permitted those who described to move back to Delhi to do so, the former was so delighted that he immediately packed all the luggage of his master without seeking his permission. When the Shaikh heard of it, he pointed out the place of his burial.
79. For his work, Appendix-A. Shaikh Rukn-ud-Din Kashani had four brothers, namely, Khwaja Imad, Khwaja Majid-ud-Din, Khwaja Burhanuddin and Khwaja Jamaloud-Din. They were all scholars of high merit and authors of some works. All of them were the disciples of Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib, Shaikh Rukn-ud-Din was the student of Shaikh Zain-ud-Din Dawud Shirazi, before the latter became the Murid of Shaikh Burhanuddin.
abstract passages with great ease to those who thronged around him. He had a magnetic personality, and enjoyed great popularity in the circle of his master.

He is described as an embodiment of longing and love, a man of asceticism, piety and ecstasy who charmed people by his heart-alluring discourses, an extremist in the matter of Sama, who had a peculiar style of his own in the ecstatic, Derwish-dance, his fellow dancers being. This came to be known as the “Burhanis” after him He was very fond of music and Sama . He lived a life of celibacy. As for relations with the rulers and high state officials, he strictly followed his predecessors of the north. When aged over ninety, Burhanuddin acquired a habit of sitting on a folded blanket. Ali Zambili and Malik Nusrat, favourites of Sultan Alauddin Khalji and also disciples of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya reported to the Shaikh that Burhanuddin had started sitting on cushion like a great Shaikh. This so incensed Shaikh Nizamuddin that he expelled him from the jama'at khana which meant that none of the Shaikh's disciples were able to offer him lodging. The Maulana's distressed condition aroused the compassion of other disciples and by their interaction he was restored to the Shaikh's favour. Maulana Burhanuddin Gharib was also forced to leave Delhi for Daulatabad. This mass migration which ruined the centralized Chishti organization at Delhi proved fruitful for the Deccan. Chishti activity assumed importance and also took a firm footing at Khuldabad-Daulatabad. They soon began to propagate the Chishti mystic doctrines, concentrating on spiritual and moral upliftment of the people. Shaikh Hammad81 a disciple of Shaikh Burhan, alone admitted one thousand disciples to the Chishti fold in the Deccan.

81 Bilgrami, Futuhu's-Salatin, pp. 457-58
Then Shaikh Burhanuddin himself and others who accompanied him must have done works of similar magnitude. There, according to Isami, he became extremely well known.\textsuperscript{82} Sultan Nasir Khan Faruqi (1399-1437 A.D), the ruler of the Faruqi dynasty of Khandesh (1382-1601 A.D) built a town which he called Burhanpur at the suggestion of Shaikh Zainu’d-Din, a \textit{Khalifa} of Burhan’s. The Sultan made Burhanpur his capital and also built another town, Zainabad, named after Shaikh Zainu-d-Din.\textsuperscript{83} They endowed his Rawda with land grants, still available when Manduwi wrote (1020-1611 A.D). According to the same authors, who visited it in 1001/1592 A.D, a large fair was held at the place, which has graves of several important disciples of the Shaikh-ul-Islam, on the anniversary of Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib’s death. Dara Shikoh also visited it, and Aurangzib and two Nizam-ul-Mulks were buried near it.

A number of non-Muslims converted to Islam with the endeavours of Shaikh Burhanuddin and his colleagues. According to Safinat-ul-Auliya

\textit{"اًنَرْبَرِّاُ سَلَّطَنُ صَلَّيْ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَرَحْمَتُ سَلَّمُ إِبِنَانَا رَأَيْنَٰ بِرَّائَةَ بِرَبَّنَا مَرْجَعَ بِمَعْلُوْمَةٍ}}

\textit{رَبِّي اسْتَخْلَصَ مِنَ الْأَسْلَامِ نِسَأْلُ اللَّهَ أَنْ يُنْهِيَنَّنَا مِنَ الْكَبَّةِ وَالْمَيْدَانِ وَالْبَيْتِ}}

\textit{باَّ ابْنِيَانُ بَيْتَاهُ مَرْجَعَةً وَنَّفَزْنَ غَيْرِ مَأْمُودٍ إِبَنُ آَنتُ حَيَاةً فِي اسْلَامٍ مَّرْجَعَةً}}

\textit{وَمَرْجَعَةً مَا أَنتُ مِنْهَا}}

Shaikh Burhanuddin gained popularity among Muslims as well and a number of Muslims decided to become his disciple. Almost a thousand of Muslims joined him with the efforts of Hazrat Ruknuddin Kashani who was one of his disciples.

\textsuperscript{82}\textit{Futuhu’s-Salatin}, pp.461-62
\textsuperscript{83}HMD, Vol. ii, pp.181.
\textsuperscript{84}Safinat-ul-Auliya p 172.
Shaikh Burhanuddin always used to use very sweet, eloquent, proficient, and effective language while giving lectures and during spiritual discourses. His way of speech always used to leave a never-ending impact on the listeners. According to Sairul Auliya,

"بِرَّكَبِكَ سَاهِتَ يَزِيرَتَ ابْنِ بَرْكَبِ بَرَكَبِ ازِ ذُنُفِ كَلَامٍ
عَشِنَ آبَنَارَ مَنَامِ دَوَارِ وَفَرَّبَ ادِ مَانِخَ جَالَ وَلَا بَيْنَ اَلَّيْنهَا"

85

He was very fond of Sama. Sama (mystic music) is a food for the soul. 86 People will behold God in heaven with physical eyes. 87 The power to work miracles (karamat) is not a permanent faculty. 88 Besides these discussions which have been profusely illustrated by relevant anecdotes; the Shaikh has explained in detail some of the very well known but ambiguous mystic aphorism. 89 All these discussions are characterized by perspicuity born of a thorough knowledge of mystic principles. On the controversial subject of sama, the Shaikh was lengthy. Conflicting views of Sama, (literally audition), from different Sufis were detailed by him in the Awarifu-i-Maarif. Overall, the Shaikh supported the practice, but prescribed its performance under strict rules, to prevent degeneration into the use of music and dancing to promote licentiousness. 90

85 Sairul Auliya p 279
86 Khair-ul-Majalis, pp-43-44.
87 Ibid, p-194
88 Kashf-ul-Mahjub, p-218-219
89 Khair-ul-Majalis, pp-158
However, the Shaikh was unable to excel Hujwiri’s unique means of defending Sama who says:

“In short, all foot play (pay bazi) is bad in law and reason, by whomsoever it is practiced, and the best of mankind cannot possibly practice it; but when the heart throbs with exhilaration and rapture becomes intense and the agitation of ecstasy is manifested and conventional forms are gone, that agitation (iztirab) is neither dancing nor foot play nor bodily indulgence, but a dissolution of the soul. Those who call it “dancing” are utterly wrong. It is a state that cannot be explained in words: “without experience no knowledge.”91

Literary endeavors of Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib: There are three known collections of Malfuzat associated with Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib.


2. Hedayatul Qutub: compiled by Shaikh Hussain.


4. Maulana Hameed Shayar Qalandar too, most probably, compiled a collection of his Malfuzat.

Some other literary pieces which comprise spiritual teachings of Shaikh Burhanuddin are as follows:

91 Ibid, P.416
Shemaelul Attaqiyah: The compiler of Nafaiusul Anfas, Khwaja Ruknuddin bins Emaduddin Dabeer Kashani, wrote Shemael al Atquiya on the request of his mentor Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib. The author has taken help from around two hundred books to compile this text. This reflects his literary command and his vast knowledge. Some other literary contribution of Emmauddin Kashani is: Resala-e-Gharib, Rumuzul Waleheen, Azkarul Mazkur, Tafseer e Rumuz. None of these are available at present but we do find frequent mention of these pieces in Shemael ul Atqia.

Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib whose teachings have been collected in Ahsan-ul-Aqwal was an eminent disciple of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya. Sultan Nasir Khan Faruqi(1399-1437 A.D), the ruler of the Faruqi dynasty of Khandesh(1382-1601 A.D) built a town which he called Burhanpur at the suggestion of Shaikh Zainu'd-Din, a Khalifa of Burhan's. The Sultan made Burhanpur his capital and also built another town, Zainabad, named after Shaikh Zainu-d-Din.92 They endowed his Rawda with land grants, still available when Manduwi wrote (1020-1611 A.D). According to the same authors, who visited it in 1001/1592 A.D, a large fair was held at the place, which has graves of several important disciples of the Shaikh-ul-Islam, on the anniversary of Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib's death. Dara Shikoh also visited it, and Aurangzib and two Nizam-ul-Mulks were buried near it

CULTURAL CONTRIBUTION:
From the time of the Khurasanian, Abu Saeed, Khanqahs were rendezvous for artisans and merchants. All Khanqahs in India followed

92 HMD, vol, ii, pp.181
this Khurasanian tradition for the mutual benefit both Sufis and their
visitors. Merchants at this time were continually undertaking hazardous
journeys, Shaikh Abdul to distant countries, while engaged in risky
commercial ventures. Some Khanqahs operated a type of 'spiritual
insurance' scheme in which financial pledges made by merchants in
return for. Sufi prayers for production during journey, installment being
collected en route. The network of Chishtiya, Suhrawardiya and
Firdawsiya - Quadir Jilania Khanqahs in India and those of the
Kubrawiya and of other orders in Kashmir, offered greatly needed
psychological comfort to merchants and other travelers are Hindu or
Muslims during this period. The 'Urs' ceremonies and other
anniversaries celebrated in Khanqahs developed into significant cultural
institutions and were eagerly awaited by both the poor and affluent
alike. Sufism gave birth to a very wide range of mystic symbolism and
become an indispensable part of Persian poetry. This poetry was not only
an expression of the mystic love of a thirsty soul seeking and intuitive
understanding of God, but an avenue for emotions and feelings which
would otherwise have never been expressed due the fury of the orthodox,
social inhibitions and political repression. And in the build up to such a
process, not only the individual Sufis, rich, poor, Muslims and Hindus-
all took the dip in the effervescent fountain of Spiritualism. This created
a popular brand of culture which worked separately from the political or
high level of cultural exchange between elites of the two religions in
India. These were nothing to take note of as common between a Brahmin
and Ulema. But it was all communality to observe a Yogi and a Sufi.

Sufi poetry written in Hindi added a new dimension to Indian mysticism
and a new lyrical and colorful way by which to achieve and ecstatic

state. The subtle refinement of Hindi music, combined with Persian conventions and artistry gave fresh meaning and depth to Indian Sufi thought. The use of ancient Indian music and language was not chosen with a missionary intent, for the recital of the Chanda'in in a mosque could in no way some Islamic proseltization. Hindi offered to Sufis at that time a spiritual satisfaction they could then share with Hindu Bhaktas, whose spirits equally thirsted for the higher reaches of reality. The Hindu Sufi poets and the Bhaktas rebelled against all forms religious formalism, orthodoxy, falsehood, hypocrisy and stupidity and try to create a new world in which spiritual bliss was all-consuming goal. They were unconcerned with the idea of achieving any form of union between the two religious and instead tended to work within their respective religious communities for an understanding of the spiritual and social values of each other. Sufis in this period also sheltered both the politically and socially persecuted at the risk of their own popularity or reprisals from the government, at the same time helping Muslims to stabilize their emotions.

By the 13th century A.D of the Christian era, the Muslims mystics' theory had reached a stage were under the existence circumstances, no further development was possible. Its basic concepts had been analyzed and the connotation of the terms had been fixed. Nevertheless, there remained much to be done to make the mystic terminology intelligible to ordinary intellects. The abstractness of mystic thought had to be simplified in order to correlate it to actual concrete conditions of life. The Ahsan-ul-Aqwal and Khair-ul-Majalis are valuable in the mystic

---

94 Ma'athir-ul-Umara, ii.
literature of needy ages because the take out mysticism from the masses of the abstruse though and illustrate it as an operative principle in actual life. The khair-ul-Majalis does not spin five mystic ideas; it shows the working of these ideas in actual life and their translation into space time forces\(^95\) mystic works written before or at the time of the compilation of Khair-ul-Majalis do not give us any precise information about the influence of Hindu religious thought on Muslim mystic. The Khair-ul-Majalis too does not touch that sphere but to very significant facts are found in it. Discussing the punishment of sins on the Day of Judgment the Shaikh says: “This is evidently the influence of Hindu doctrine of transmigration of Souls. There is nothing in Quran or the traditions of the prophet to corroborate this view other significant fact is that the Shaikh Nasir found affinity between the Hindu and Muslim saints in one respect. A true Sufi according to him one who regulated his breath: and a class of jogis too, he said believed in regulating the breath.”\(^96\)

The medieval period it can be divided roughly into two periods of five centuries each, the first from the eighth to the thirteenth century A.D, the Sultanate period, and the second from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century, covering the history of provincial Muslim Kingdoms in the country. The political, even the social and cultural aspects of the one thousand years of Muslim dominance of India are well-recorded; it is the potent religious institutions about which relatively little systematic work has been done.

The leading representatives of the religious institutions were the ‘Ulema’ and the Sufis, with the latter playing a key role through their spiritual

\(^96\) Ibid, PP. 59-60
Sufis were, in fact, active along the coastal areas of South India since the early times of Islam which was brought there by Arab traders long before it came to North India through invading conquerors. It was during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that Sufi activity, as their Khanqah institution, was at its peak across North India, with a large number of Sufis of different orders concentrated at Ajmer, Multan, Ajodhan and Delhi. Of the different well-known Sufi orders of the time, the Chishti and the Suhrawardi orders achieved the most fame and influence at official as well as at the mass levels. The shifting of the capital from Delhi to Deogir (1327 A.D) caused a setback to the Sufis who were forced to move south, to the Deccan, where they established themselves by the end of the century, especially at Daulatabad, Gujarat, Malwa and Gulbarga. However, in this new arena of operation- where there were neither well-entrenched states nor well-established Khanqahs- the character of Sufi activity changed slowly, subtly but considerably, at the expense of some long-held Sufi principles, especially the Chishti principle of keeping distance from the rulers to the point of boycotting them.

Despite the abundance of literature, particularly in Persian and Urdu, on the lives and teachings of Indian Sufis little critical work had been done to measure their spiritual, social and political influence and that of their Khanqahs on the period and on the ruling elites. Deccan, which was a fertile ground for Sufis even before the establishment of Muslim rule, became even more so after the decline of the Tughlaq Kingdom and the subsequent emergence of provincial Muslim and non-Muslim regional Kingdoms in the South.
The rise of the Bahmanids to power synchronizes with an era of cultural efflorescence in the South. Brisk mystic activity of different Sufi orders—the Chishtis, the Junaidis, the Qadiris and others—lends a peculiar charm to history of the period. But some apparent gaps in the history of these mystic orders have hampered total assessment of their role. 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. In fact it was through the mystics and the merchants that Islam established its first contact with India. If properly appreciated, this fact would provide a new perspective to the study of Islam in India. Long before Muhammad bin Tughlaq turned his attention to the south, Sheikh Nizam-ud-Din Auliya had sent some of his disciples to the Deccan to set up Chishti mystic centre's there. Amir Khusrau presented a mathnawi, Sahifat-ul-Ausaf, to Prince Juna Khan (Muhammad bin Tughlaq) in which he lauded the climate, geographical situation and the scenic beauty of Deogir. The mystics entered this land with new hopes and new aspirations.

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, administrators, merchants and artisans flocked from all directions and annihilated the distance between Delhi and Deogir.

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. One of the most interesting features of Deccan history during the Bahmanid period was the broad intellectual horizon of its
scholars. They had contacts with the outside world and were conversant with the latest trends of thought. Surprisingly enough some mystic contributions of Central Asia reached the Deccan before scholars in the north came to know about them. Notwithstanding this broad vision and conspectus of the intelligentsia of the region, seeds of mulki and non-mulki tension began to sprout during this time.

The literature produced by the Sufi saints of the Deccan during the Bahmanide period needs a critical analysis in the light of psychohistory. It is prolific and varied but of appalling complexity. Exteriorizing the feelings and motives of other people may be difficult but its value in any historical assessment cannot be gainsaid. Five significant trends - some pulling in opposite directions - combine and coalesce to give this literature its distinctive position in the mystic literature of medieval India. Firstly, nostalgic remembrance of the elder saints of the north and a desire to preserve their teachings and traditions; secondly, an attempt to adjust religious thought to the new surroundings; thirdly a silent urge to broaden the area of mystic literary activity by including in it all branches of religious learning; fourthly, rejection of the Chishti tradition of avoiding compilation of books by elder saints; and fifthly a break from the established ideological position of the Chishti saints of the North with reference to the role of the great mystic thinkers like Ibn Arabi, Shaikh Farid-ud-Din Attar and others, and a change in outlook towards relations with the state.

This now brings us to the start of Muslim influence from the North to the Deccan. There were, no doubt, Muslim attacks on the Deccan from the North prior to 1327 A.D, but they were of a purely temporary nature. The attacks of Alauddin Khilji and Malik Kafur since 1296 A.D were
motivated by a desire to collect the abundance of wealth possessed by
the Yadavas of Deogir, Kakatiyas of Warangal, the Pandayas and
Hosaylas of further south. These attacks left hardly any socio-cultural or
religious impact on the people of the area.

With the beginning of the Tughlaq era and the attacks of the Tughlaq
armies on the Deccan, the Tughlaq Empire stretched right up to South
India and entailed the appointments of his governors in the southern
Kingdoms. But finding it difficult to administer the far-flung empire, he
shifted the capital to Deogir.97 Apart from its political consequences, the
change of capital proved to be the beginning of a new era as far as the
religious, social, academic and the cultural life of the Deccan was
concerned.98 Due to the arrival of a large number of intellectuals, Ulema,
Sufis, administrators, warriors, poets and artisans, the structure of the
Muslim population in the Deccan underwent a significant change, in
terms of racial and ethnic characters and socio-religious concepts.

With the advent of the Tughlaq dynasty, Muslims became very powerful
and Islam started to spread fast throughout the Deccan. The vital
elements were the Islamic missionary zeal, the work of the Sufis, the
presence of the scholars, and the encouragement and patronage given by
the Muslim rulers to men of letters, art and architecture. This gave an
impetus to the Sufi institution and many Sufi orders were established.
From 1300 A.D. the Deccan became a subject of discussion in Sufi
circles of Delhi. The Chishti Shaikhs of Delhi deputed their Khulafa and

97 H.K.Sherwani, Bahmanis of the Deccan, PP.20
disciples to Daulatabad, Malwa and Gujarat. Those who settled at Khuldabad and other parts of the Deccan were actively engaged in spreading the message of Islam through peaceful means and by deputing their Khulafa and disciples in the different towns of the Deccan.\textsuperscript{99} When Muhammad bin Tughlaq permitted his people to go back to Delhi in 1337 A.D, a sizeable population of Turkish, Afghan, Persio-Aryan and Indo-Aryan stock, which had originally moved to Daulatabad, did not move back to North and made Deccan its permanent home. In the beginning, the population was concentrated around Khuldabad, Daulatabad and other parts of Maharashtra but as it multiplied it moved towards Gulbarga, Bider and Bellary of the present Karnataka state and some districts of Tilang-Andhra, as a result of which Sufi activity spread further. The shrines of the saints of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A.D still existing in Khuldabad, Daulatabad, Gulbarga, Bijapur and Bider provide evidence. The socio-cultural influence of the Deccan on the North Indian immigrants was such that even their language, Persian was influenced by the local dialect, and a combination of the two emerged in the Dakani dialect in the subsequent centuries.\textsuperscript{100}

The period of our study thus commences around the time of recurring revolts, by Hindu and Muslims together, in the Deccan against Muhammad bin Tughlaq, especially in Ma’bar, Warangal, Bider, and Bharapur, and rebellions of the Amiran-i-Sadah, Harihur and Buka, led to the establishment of the Bahmani, the Vijayanagar, and other states, between 1337 A.D. and 1348 A.D.\textsuperscript{101} The bulk of the population of the

\textsuperscript{99} Infra., Chapter 11

\textsuperscript{100} HMD, P.175.

Bahmani Deccan was Hindu, with such sects as the Lingayats, Mahabhavanas and the Jains.\textsuperscript{102} The Muslims comprised the northern immigrants plus the mercantile community from the south. A majority of the Muslims seemed to have been the followers of one Sufi or another. A section of the Muslims was with the 'Ulema', yet they did not carry as big an influence among the masses as did the Sufis.

The period of our study thus commences around the time of recurring revolts, by Hindus and Muslims together, in the Deccan against Muhammad bin Tughlaq, especially in Mabar Warangal and rebellions of the Amiran e Sadah, Harihar and Buka, led to the establishment of the Bahmani kingdom and other states, between 737/1337 A.D. The bulk of the population of the Bahmani Deccan was Hindu, with such sects as the Lingayats and the Jains.\textsuperscript{103} The Muslims comprised the northern immigrants plus the mercantile community from the south. A majority of the Muslims seemed to have been the followers of one Sufi or another. A section of the Muslim was with the 'Ulema', yet they did not carry as big an influence among the masses as did the Sufis. A linguist and a scholar laid the foundation of a cultural synthesis, bringing about harmony between the different sections of the Bahmani society, particularly between Muslims and Hindus. The climax of Hindu Muslim unity was his own marriage to the ray of Vijayanagar which was solemnized in the court of Vijayanagar where Firoz Shah stayed for seven days.

\textsuperscript{102} HMD, Vol.1, PP. 210-213

\textsuperscript{103} HMD, vol.1, PP 210-213.
Hammad Kashani: Maulana Hammad's approach as a historian was determined by his family background and the circumstances of his life. Many political, social and religious factors had gone into the making of his personality and had conditioned his attitude towards religious and political problems of the period. His family had a long background of royal relations with the Khalifa at Delhi, his ancestors had matrimonial relations with the ruling houses of that period; the members of his family were known for their diplomatic finesse and were often employed as envoys and last, but not the least, the family enjoyed a reputation for its religious scholarship and piety.

Maulana Hammad bin Ammad Kashani was born in. Some twenty years before the death of Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh-i- Delhi. Since childhood, Hammad Kashani exhibited keen interest in studies and learning. He acquired his primary education at a local Madarsa afterwards his youth; he studied philosophy, literature, religion Ahadis (Prophet Tradition) under his father's guidance who was himself a great scholar. He prepared several collections of the teachings of their Shaikh. Maulana Hammad named his work as Ahsan-ul-Aqwal. 104 Shaikh Hammad, a disciple of Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib.

He, after spending twenty one years in the service of his Pir in Delhi, and after holding the Sajjadgi for forty years, left Delhi for the Deccan in

104 1.MSS, personal collection, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, AMU.
1327 A.D. He was the first among the great of the Chishti order in India who became an erudite scholar and a prolific writer. Hammad was deeply versed in Quranic studies, prophetic traditions, *fiqh*, theology and Sufism. A linguist, with an extensive knowledge of Arabic, Persian and Hindawi languages. The stature of Hammad as an academician, a spiritualist and author was well known; he had already compiled a number of works in Delhi. Most of his time in journey southwards was spent in the compilation of works of high intellectual and mystic standards. After settling down at Khuldabad, Hammad not only established a madrasah of advanced learning but also compiled more books than what he did at Delhi.

The most numerous group of disciples consisted of the ordinary devotees who stayed with Burhanuddin Gharib or visited him regularly. Nobles, administrator, and the ruling Sultan called upon the Shaikh, as did religious scholars, soldiers, and others residents of the Daulatabad.

The Kashani family, including both parents and their four sons, were dedicated followers of Burhanuddin Gharib. The father, Imad Kashani, never actually became initiated, but expressed the intention of doing so before he died. Their mother, who was a daughter or descendant of Fariduddin Ganj-e-Shakr, was herself accepted as a disciple. All four brothers appear to have been officials in the Tughlaq administration in Daulatabad, although we have little information about their secular activities. Of the four brothers, Burhanuddin Kashani was the only one not a write a Malfuat collecting Burhanuddin Gharib's teachings, perhaps because he was less knowledge about Sufi customs. When he

---

105 ibid, PP-56
and his brother Majuddin were first initiated, he tried to give a gold ring to Burhanuddin Gharib by way of thinks, but the Shaikh gave it back, saying, : by the spirit of Shaikh-ul-Islam Nizamuddin Auliya! Sell it and append it. A Dervish ought not to receive things of this kind. His concentration on Burhanuddin Gharib was such that once he received from him in a dream the same chant that his brother Hammad had just been taught in walking life. On his wedding day, he became a disciple of Burhanuddin Gharib, who instructed him to work in the world. He died on the same day as Burhanuddin Gharib.

Hammad was the author of Ahsan-ul-Aqwal, in which he collected Burhanuddin Gharib’s teaching and arranged them by subject. His scholarship was also expressed in a treatise on Islamic law and two works on Sufism. He was personally very close to his teacher. After searching for a Sufi master for some time, he told Burhanuddin Gharib he had no desire to meet any more Dervishes. We see him on several occasions trading Persian verses with Burhanuddin Gharib, the latter even reciting a verse that mirrors one Hammad is thinking of. In an exchange that may be stimulated Hammad to write Ahsan-ul-Aqwal, Burhanuddin Gharib told Hammad to remember all that he says, so that he too will be in the group ( majmu) that will be served. Hammad Kashani followed the Chishti meditative regime intently. When preparing for a journey, he received the following Arabic prayer for Love from Burhanuddin Gharib: “God, give me life as your lover, let me die as your lover, and resurrect me beneath the feet of the dogs of your lovers”. He helped a fellow disciple, Qazi Fariduddin Yusuf, by suggesting a chant to solve his problems. Twice he made pilgrimage to the tombs of Burhanuddin Gharib to receive posthumous instructions, the last time shortly before his death in 761/1360 A.D, in sagar near Gulbarga, where
he is buried in the southwest corner of Sufi Sarmast's tomb. Hammad Kashani reportedly brought over a thousand people to become disciples of Burhanuddin Gharib. The confidence that Burhanuddin Gharib had in Hammad is indicated in a scene that took place three days before his death, when the Shaikh had Hammad renew his institution, and then instructed him to continue in his prayers and study. Hammad informs us that Burhanuddin Gharib predicted that Hammad would become a living saint (Zinda Wali) implying that this did in fact occur.

Majiduddin Kashani was perhaps less of a scholar and more of a devotee than his brother. He was the author of Gharib-ul-Karamat, a narrative work summarizing the miracles and revelations of Burhanuddin Gharib. Ruknuddin Kashani was the most prolific writer of the family, having written not only Nafa-ul-Anfas as a Malfuzat in diary form, but also a Quran commentary entitled Rumuz-ul-Walihin (Cyphers of the mad lovers) and Shamail-ul-Atqiya as an encyclopedia of Sufi teaching. Hammad Kashani also mention that Ruknuddin wrote a book (unspecified) at the request of noble, which he took to Burhanuddin Gharib's tomb for blessing, on his way there a rainstorm began, but the book was miraculously preserved. Hammad Kashani wrote a famous book which name is "Hasool-ul-Wasool".

Hamid Qalandar: The complier of Khair-ul-Majalis, Maulana Hamid Qalandar106 and his other, Maulana Taj-u'd Din of Kilugarhi, were disciples of Shaikh Nizam-ud-Din Auliya. Hamid was a boy of tender age when his father took him to the great Shaikh. At that time the saint was breaking his fast in his small house opposite the Kilugarhi Jama Masjid.

---

106 Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar, PP.109-112
He treated the young visitor with great affection and gave him half a loaf of bread. As Hamid stepped out of the dihliz (gate room) some qalandars surrounded him and induced him to share with them the Shaikh's gift. They tore the loaf into small pieces and distributed it among themselves. When Hamid's father came to know of it, he was deeply pained. In great distress he rushed back to the Shaikh who remarked: «Maulana Taj-u'd-Din! Set your mind at piece. This son of yours will be a qalandar.» The Shaikh's prediction turned out to be true. In spite of the fact that Hamid was given an education which could make him a good scholar (danishmand), he shaved his head and his beard, put on saffron clothes and became a qalandar.

He went to the Deccan with other emigrants during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, and attached himself to Maulana Burhan-ud-Din Gharib. Maulana Hamid Qalandar went to Deccan with other emigrants during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, and attached himself to Maulana Burhanuddin Gharib. He started compiling the saint's conversations but his death cut short his work. Homesickness and a desire to be in the company of the descendants of his master brought him back to Delhi. Here Shaikh Nasiruddin had kept alive the tradition of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya. Shaikh Hamid first came into contact with Shaikh Nasiruddin (d.1356 A.D) in 1353 A.D and was encouraged by him to write an account of the latter's discourses. Earlier, a section of Malfuzat written by Shaikh's nephew had so disappointed the Shaikh that he had rejected the draft. The Shaikh survived for only a few years after the commencement of the book and therefore his many memories of these earlier years evoked in him traditional feelings of nostalgia. He started compiling the saints
conversations but his death cut short his work Homesickness and a desire to be in the company of the descendants of his master brought him back to Delhi. Here Shaikh Nasir-u'd-Din had kept alive the tradition of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-Din Auliya. Hamid visited the khanqah of Shaikh Nasir-u'd-Din in 754 A.H/1353 A.D. When the saint was celebrating the death anniversary of Shaikh Burhan-u'd-Din Gharib. He informed the Shaikh that he was the son of Maulana Taj-u'd-Din and that he and his father both were disciples of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-Din Auliya. Shaikh Nasir was pleased to find in his Khanqah a disciple of his master. He got up and said: "You are disciple of my master! I did not know that, Come, I will embrace you." The Shaikh asked him one day: "Am I to call you a qalandar or a Sufi? But how can I call you a qalandar? You are a scholar." There upon Hamid narrated the story of the qalandars who had deprived him of his master's gift.

Hamid attended the assemblies of Shaikh Nasiruddin frequently and it appears that he saw the Shaikh in different moods and under different emotional conditions. He decided to record his conversations and performed for him the same service which Amir Hasan Sijzi had performed for shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya. Shaikh Nasiruddin supervised qalandar's work regularly. On completing one juz(fasciculus) Hamid showed it to the Shaikh who read it and approved it. Hamid had hardly completed seven juz then the Shaikh again asked him about the

107 This malfuz contained an account of only twenty Majlises (Text, P). Mu'in-u'd-Din Abdullah says that the name of this malfuz was Nafa'is-u'l-Anfas. Ma'arif-u'l-Wilayat, MS, vol. I P.347.
108 It contained a story relating to Shaikh Nasiruddin. When Hamid Qalandar referred to it, the Shaikh asked him to bring it to him. (Text, P.10) The Shaikh appreciated the work (P.11)
109 Ibid, P.11
110 Ibid, P.10
111 Ibid, PP.12,45
112 Ibid, PP.28
progress he had made in compiling the conversations. The Shaikh did not want this work to degenerate into a book of miracles or of adulations.113 "Shaikh Nasituuddin", he writes, "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."114

Maulana Hamid was a scholar of some eminence. The *Khair-ul-Majalis* bears evidence to his knowledge of the religious sciences, particularly the Qur'an and the Hadith. He could write bombastic and high flown language according to the standards of the age. He was also a poet though he did not make a mark in that field.115 He left a *diwan* which has disappeared, probably on account of its poor literary value. Beside two long poems, we find the following couplets in *Khair-ul-Majalis*:

```
لِبِينِ شَرَحُتِ دِلَّمُ رَآ زَنِيْزَا هَذِي ُخَزَّابِنَ سَنَرَمُ دِيْرَاءً فِنْزَرَ
نَزِيرَ سَيِّمْنا وَهَوَ الْنَّظَامُ لَسَلِّعُ الْعَلَمَ وَالْعَنْقُوْنِ النَّظَامُ
أَرْقَى فِهيُ الْعَرَجُيَا وَتَالِ الْقَبْرِهِ الْمَيِّ لَا يَنَامُ
دِفَقَتْ بِمَجَاءٍ فَازَمَرَٰرَأْسَتَ فِنْزَرُ وَدُوْلُهُ َْلَغَرُقُتۡسَ
رَسَمَأَسَتَ لَمَالَگْ فِيْرَ َآزَدَكَنْدَ جَنَّةُ بَيْرَ
إِي بَارَ ذَرَأَي مَالِيَةَ آَرَى بَرْحَةُ بَيْرُحَدُ بَقَنْأَيَر
```

113 Supplement, PP.289
114 Cf. Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq's remarks in Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar, PP.109-110
115 Ibid, PP.7-8; 291.
116 Khair-ul Majalis, p - 197
The compiler of Farhang-i-Jahangiri has quoted the following couplets of Hamid Qalandar:

117

لا چاپ نفت طبیع لوزم نارود
برای تربیب روح لوزم نارود

Hamid does not appear to have had a house of his own town in Delhi and had to stay with his friends.118 This was very inconvenient for him and one day he thought of complaining to Shaikh but, before he could utter a word about it, the saints put him off by the verse:

119

درشت و لعسار عیراپ و عون

Hamid did not possess that spirit of devotion and perseverance which was needed to put up with the rigours of spiritual discipline. He could not fast continuously because the heat of Delhi was intolerable for him; he could not share a house with several people because that curtailed his freedom of movement. He was a qalandar more in name as he was too soft to stand the discipline of a true qalandar. He took life easy, reciting couplets and moving about like qalandars. In spite of his frequent visits to Shaikh Nasiruddin, he did not allow himself to be influenced by the thought or the character of the great saint. There is truth in the remark of Sayyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz that Maulana Hamid and his companions- Maulana Adam, Maulana Ladhu and Maulana Sharaf-u’d-Din- had no real and genuine aptitude for mysticism.120

117 Farhang-i-Jahangiri, vol. 11, pp.245
118 Ibid, p.135
119 Khair-ul Majalis, p. 198
120 Jawami-u’l-Kilam,.pp.135
It appears that Shaikh Nasiruddin was very stiff in this matter. He did not want people to prepare inaccurate records of his conversations. He stopped a disciple from attempting this work\textsuperscript{121}. Sayyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz one day told his audience: "Maulana Kamaluddin, nephew of the Shaikh Nasiruddin once presented before the Shaikh two juz of a Malfuz prepared by Hamid Qalandar. The Shaikh glanced through them and remarked: I have said a different thing and Maulana Hamiduddin has a recorded a different thing. So saying he threw away (the Malfuz)." Maulana Kamaluddin submitted: "A Malfuz has survived as the memory of Shaikh Nizamuddin. There should be one such (Malfuz) of the Khwaja also." "What can I do? I have no time to correct this"\textsuperscript{122}. Some such things could happened in the earlier stages of the compilation but it is certain that the Shaikh ultimately undertook to supervise the work and made it as accurate a record of his conversations as was possible.

\textsuperscript{121} \textit{awami-u'l-Kalim}, p.134
\textsuperscript{122} \textit{Jawami-u'l-Kalim}, p.135