Chapter V

Political Life

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There has been difference of opinion among the Sufis of different Silsilahs as regard to join government services, have contact with the rulers and ruling class, and participate in the political affairs of their areas. The early great saints of the Chishtiyah order during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries strictly avoided the company of the rulers and nobles. They were of the view that the association with kings and rich people was harmful to their spiritual upliftment. They used to say that they have to live for God and die for Him. They were also of the opinion that the company of ruler and nobles is an obstacle in the way of their prayers and spiritual practices. When Sultan Alauddin Khalji invited Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya to his court, the latter refused to go to the royal palace. Similarly, when the Sultan himself desired to visit the saint’s Khanqah, Shaikh Nizamuddin sent him the reply: “There are two doors (entrances) of my house. If the Sultan enters through one gate, I shall go out from the other door”.

It was in the thirteenth century that there was another sufi order, the Suhrawardi Silsilah. Contrary to the Chishti saints, the Sufis of the Suhrawardi order had no objection in joining government services, making relation with rulers and officials and participating in the contemporary politics. The founder of the Suhrawardi Silsilah in India Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya of Multan and his spiritual descendants frequently visited rulers courts, accepted jagirs etc. and joined government jobs.
The saint who held highest position amongst the Sufis in the beginning of the sixteenth century, was Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi who belonged to the Sabiriyah branch of the Chishti Silsilah. He was the first prominent saint of the Chishtiyah Silsilah who, contrary to the traditions of his spiritual ancestors, not only maintained cordial relations with the contemporary rulers but also actively participation in the politics of his time. In fact he flourished in an age when the political fabric of India was riven asunder into a number of kingdoms and petty principalities which were drawn into the vortex of power struggle to sustain their entity. The Rajputs were growing in strength and an Afghan-Rajput conflict for supremacy in the north seemed imminent.

The spectre of anarchy, misrule, social unrest and degeneration and the deepening economic crisis loomed large. The laxity of administration and weakening of the central authority led to the migration of Muslims from Chanderi, Nagaur, Ajmer, Raudauli and other places. Shaikh Ruknuddin remarked, "shortly afterwards the Kafirs established themselves in Hindustan and their rule was established over Rudauli. The laws of Islam were disregarded and pork began to be sold in Bazars. Abdul Quddus being concerned at the state of affairs left the place and went to Nakhna where Sultan Sikandar was camping." Shaikh Abdul Quddus was gravely obsessed by the prevailing unrest and instability and cast off the inhibitions and time worn apathy towards the kings and nobles. He reversed his earlier stand of contemptuous disregard towards the persons in authority. He now conceived the idea of exerting influence over the kings and nobles to arouse them to the grim realities of the situation and to establish tranquility, peace and order. For that purpose he opened correspondence with the dignitaries of the period. His
correspondence included Sultan Sikandar Lodi and a number of Afghan nobles, Babur and Humayun.

His relations with Sikandar Lodi seem to be cordial. In his letter to the Sultan, Shaikh Abdul Quddus exhorted him to strive for the welfare of and provide relief to the people at large and attend to the needs of the theologians and mystics. He called the Sultan as Imam-i Adil and extolled him with such terms of encomium as Roshan Zamir, Muniri Haq Pazir, Hazrat Zillullah fil Arz on whom depends the sustance of the World as the body depends for life on soul. Further he called him the embodiment of the sublime virtues and spiritual attainments of the mystic saints, the pious devotees and the fighters in the path of the faith. Then he emphasised the imperative need on the part of the Sultan to do justice to all his subjects since all pervading justice is of essence to the Kingship and one hour of justice of a King is preferable to sixth years of worship of others.

In his letter to Sikandar Lodi the anguish of an afflicted heart over the distressing state of affairs in the country is clearly discernible. It seems probable that Sikandar Lodi who was a disciple and a devotee of Shaikh Abdul Quddus, might have attached some measure of importance to the advice of the Shaikh.

Ibrahim Lodi was also devoted to the Shaikh as he made an effort to persuade him to accompany his army at the battle of Panipat. Many adherents and disciples from the Afghan army crossed the river and came to seek his blessings. It was probably due to his efforts that certain nobles like Mir Tardi were imbued with religious spirit. Khawas Khan was praised for his services to the mystics.
Shaikh Abdul Quddus wrote a number of letters to the nobles like Mir Mohammad, Mir Tardi, Ibrahim Khan Sherwani, Malik Shadi Thanesari, Haibt Khan Sherwani, Khawas Khan, Said Khan Sherwani and Dilawar Khan, making frantic appeals to them to live up to the ideals of Islam, to zealously uphold and strictly enforce the religious law and extend their patronage to the Ulama, render services to the mystics, spend lavishly for charitable purposes and dedicate themselves to the services of the people. Some of them like Umar Khan, Khawas Khan, Dilawar Khan and Mian Bahwah were immensely attached to him.

The invasions of Babur caused great havoc in the Punjab. The spoliation and pillage perpetrated by the Mughals on towns like Shahabad and Dipalpur moved Shah Abdul Quddus to his being. When Babur gained a decisive victory at the battle of Panipat, Shah Abdul Quddus, despite his pro-Afghan leaning, wrote a letter to Babur who was a new comer to India, to impress upon his mind the obligations of a Muslim King as idealized by him.

His letter to Babur sets forth his views in regard to the functions and duties of a Muslim king. While acknowledging Babur’s firm conviction in Islam and the Hanafi law and his devotion to the Ulama and the Mashaikh, Shaikh Abdul Quddus entreated him forcefully to extend utmost patronage and protection to the theologians, mystics, weak and the depressed to an extent that would surpass their glorification in all claimes and at all times. They should be maintained and subsidized by the State. It was specially stressed that the obligations of deep gratitude to God demanded that all pervading justice of the king should cast its shadow on the people and that no one should subject another to torture and tyranny and that all the people and soldiers hold fast to
all that has been ordained by Shara and abstain from all that has been forbidden. 27

Further Shah Abdul Quddus emphasised the urgency for the king to create conditions in which all the Muslims could live in peace and prosperity and since the Sultan was God's shadow on earth and commanded respect and obedience from the Muslims in terms of the Quranic maxim, “Obey God and obey the Prophet and those who are in authority among you”, so it is incumbent upon him to look to the welfare of the Fogirs, the Alims, the pious, the weak and the poor. 28 Then he observed, “It should be seen that the people have a love for the Ulama and their teachings. Muktasibs should be appointed to the Bazars of each city for supervision and enforcement of the principles of Shariat. 29 The King should look to it that the congregational prayer of Friday is performed with all the requisite conditions. Islamic laws should be judiciously observed so that this reign attains to the apogee of perfection and glory. Pious Muslims should be posted to the provinces so that they may collect taxes in accordance with the principles of Shara. 30

No non-Muslim should be given any office or employment in the Diwan of Islam as well as in the Capital of Islam. Posts of Amirs and Amils should be barred to them. Furthermore, in conformity with the principles of Shara they should be subjected to all types of indignities and humiliations. They (the non-Muslims) should be made to pay revenues of Jaziya, and Zakat on their goods should be levied as prescribed by law. They should be disallowed from donning the dress of the Muslims and should be forced to keep their Kufr concealed and not to perform ceremonies of Kufr openly and freely. 31 Stipends should not be paid to them from the Bait-ul Maal of Islam but they should
Shaikh Abdul Quddus addressed two letters to Humayun, one while he was a prince and the other after his accession. In the first letter while admiring Humayun’s piety and religious inclinations with a sense of satisfaction he wrote that the prince “turned to the Ulama and the pious to solicit advice in all the affairs and associated with the mystic saints to traverse the path of (Divine) love and fully realised the worth of the votaries of exoteric and esoteric knowledge.”

In the second letter addressed to Humayun after his accession, he called the Emperor by the epithets Imam-i Zaman, Aman-i-haban, Nafiz-i Bilad Allah, Nasir-i Ibad Allah, Hazrat Zillullah, then he felicitated Humayun on his return after gaining a victory and thereafter repeated his quoted advice to patronize the Ulama and the pious and treat the mystics with love and respect which constitutes the ‘strong rope of God's favours’. “In this connection the disparaging objections of the incompetent persons must be ignored.”

Shaikh Abdul Quddus’s letter to Babur need be examined in the light of the existing circumstances of the time. His advice to Babur to protect and patronize the Ulama, the Mashaikh, the weak and the poor and establish peace and justice was in consonance with his constant yearning. The sack of some towns of note with sizeable groups of Muslim the logians and divines consequent upon Babur’s invasions distressed his heart.

The views expressed about the treatment to the Hindus do not accord well with this earlier expositions and attitude. He was an ardent exponent of the
theory of the *Wahdat-ul Wujud* and felt no reluctance in learning the esoteric knowledge of *Tauhid* from a yogi, Bal Nath.\(^{36}\) He had implicit faith in the unity and indivisibility of mankind and had dwelt on the futility of the invidious distinctions between a believer and an unbeliever.\(^{37}\) His proposals to Babur to exclude the Hindus from employment under the state and keep them in subjection constitute a drift which is in strange contrast to the dominant traits of harmony and eclecticism in his writings. This shift in his erstwhile stand might have been occasioned partly by the increasing number of Hindu officials in the revenue department\(^{38}\), and partly by the Hindu rebellions and loss of certain regions like Rudauli to the Muslims\(^{39}\), with attending repression and persecution and assassination of some Muslim families at the hands of some Hindu chieftains in Bihar\(^{40}\), as well as the expression of blasphemous and heterodox belief and adoption of unislamic rites by some Muslims in consequence of the social impact of the Hindus.\(^{41}\) Abdul Quddus of Gangoh intended to impart a religious spirit and enthusiasms to the political leaders of the time and sought to circumvent the unbridled despotism of the rulers.

It is difficult to appraise the effectiveness of the attempts on the part of Shaikh Abdul Quddus to lend a religious colour to the administrative set up of Sikandar Lodi, Babur and Humayun. But the instructions dispensed to Sikandar Lodi might probably have supplied the impetus in the evolution of the religious proclivities of the Sultan and his extensive patronage to the *Ulama* and the *Mashaikh* and his manifold acts of charity. But the Mughals seem to have remained impervious to the validity of his proposals as the ramified system of administration necessitated a catholic and literal outlook.
Perhaps his example inspired the Chishti mystics of the eighteenth century like Shah Kalimullah Jahanabadi, Shaikh Nizamuddin Aurangabadi and Shah Fakhr-uddin Dehlawi who emphasised the necessity of stimulating moral consciousness of the political personages of the time.

Qadiri saint and Contemporary Politics

The Qadiri Sufis did not develop a uniform attitude towards the government and the rulers of the day. Sometimes the outlook and ideology of the members of the same family towards the state differed. Some Qadiris, following the traditions of the founder of the order, kept aloof from the rulers and the court politics and did not accept any financial help, and depended solely for their livelihood on *Futuh* (unasked for charity).

The Sufis of Qadiri Silsilah may be divided into two broad categories: (1) Those who remained aloof from din and noise of materialistic world and spent their time in devotion and prayers. (2) Those who received favours from the kings and officers and maintained cordial relations with them. They enjoyed the trust and confidence of the reigning monarchs and made recommendations for the needy persons. The rulers in appreciation of their merit appointed them to the posts of *Qazis*, and offered them gifts, *inam* lands and *Madad-i Maash* grants.

Makhdum Abdul Qadir's relations with the contemporary rulers were far from being cordial. He adopted the policy of dignified aloofness and disliked to associate with them. His father Makhdum Muhammad Ghaus received many grants. After his father's death he was legally entitled to become the *SaJJadah nashin*, but all his brothers, holding high offices in the court did their utmost to deprive him of his right. In fact each of his brothers staked his claim for this
position, and to achieve the objectives, they collectively tried to create misunderstanding between Abdul Qadir and the king.\(^{42}\) Having learnt of the intrigues of an organized group in the court and the changed attitude of the king towards him, Makhdum Abdul Qadir II, sent back all the royal *farmans*, through which *inam, imlak* and *madad-i ma′ash* grants had been conferred on his father. He wrote to the king, “I do not need all this, give them to those who deserve them”.\(^{43}\) Thus he freed himself from all obligations to the state and severed all links with the court. He became a recluse, and began to live in solitude, submitting himself to the Divine Will.\(^{44}\) The king was impressed by his piety and austerity and requested him to come to the court.\(^{45}\)

Makhdum Hamid the grandson of Makhdum Abdul Qadir was not favourably disposed towards court officials. At that time Bairam Khan, the *Vakil-ul Sultanate*, wielded great power and exercised the authority of a sovereign.\(^{46}\) Badauni, discussing Makhdum Hamid’s relations with the great minister says, “Bairam Khan, due to the sedition of some mischief mongers, chief among them was Shaikh Gada’i puffed up with pride and vanity (on account of his position and power at the court) summoned the Makhdum from Uch.\(^{47}\) When the Shaikh came he was not welcomed by Bairam Khan and the disrespect shown to him and the insults heaped on him by the *vakil* became the cause of his ultimate ruin and downfall”.\(^{48}\) Shaikh Hamid returned to Multan, adopted a life of isolation and contentment.

Shaikh Abdul Qadir III did not care for government service but he accepted *Madad-i Ma′ash* grant. However, the relations between the Emperor and the Shaikh soon got strained. According to Badauni, the causes for the estrangement between the two were as follows:
(1) One night, when in Emperor's presence poppy seeds (koknar) were offered to him, he refrained from it, and boldly declared that its use was unlawful. It displeased Akbar.49

(2) One day in the Diwan Khana of Fatehpur Sikri, after saying his congregational prayers, Shaikh Abdul Qadir was offering his nafl (voluntary) prayers. Akbar asked him to say them at home, he replied, "My king, this is not your kingdom that you should pass orders". The Emperor was displeased, called the Shaikh ill mannered and ordered his banishment, saying, "You do not desire what my wealth can give you, remain no longer in my kingdom." Thereupon Shaikh, who was a man of independent disposition immediately left the court, gave up his madad-i ma'ash grant and retired to Uch, the home of his ancestors.51

A descendant of Makhdum Abdul Qadir III named Shaikh Abdul Qadir Lahori was banished to Makkah by Akbar for unknown reasons.52 Saiyid Niamatullah Shah Qadiri of Kashmir also avoided company of the ruling class.53

Shaikh Daud Jahniwal maintained an attitude of aloofness and indifference towards the State. The reasons were legal, political and religious. He avoided the company of the persons of high position. But on one occasion during the reign of Islam Shah (1545-52) in obedience to a royal summon sent through Makhdum-ul Mulk Abdullah Sultanpuri, he came from Shergarh to Gwalior.54 Once Akbar on his way to Pattan sent Shahbaz Khan and invited the sufi. He excused himself saying, "My prayers are sufficient for the king".55

Shaikh Abdul Haqq Dehlawi, witnessed the reigns of Islam Shah Sur, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan.56 During Akbar's reign he never
visited the nobles and government officials. The reasons for this aloofness from the royal society were: (1) The way adopted by Ulama-i Su to dishonour the Islamic faith in Akbar's court, shocked Ulama-i Haq. (2) The relations with court interrupted the intellectual pursuits; academic and scholarly engagements were disrupted. (3) Being a man of independent disposition, Shaikh Abdul Haqq did not like flattery, as it is quite evident from his letter to Shaikh Farid. Such a man could never recite eulogy (Qasida) in court. He was friendly with only those nobles who never expected any special marks of courtesy from him. After Akbar's death, Shaikh Abdul Haqq, developed cordial relations with the court officials and imparted to them religious instructions. The sudden change in his attitude seems to be the result of the influence of Khwaja Baqi Billah, who believed in preaching to the inmates of huts and men of castle, both. His motto was, “it is better to influence rulers than to keep distance from them”.

In the fourteenth year of Jahangir's reign Shaikh Abdul Haqq visited the court. Jahangir has given a very vivid account of this meeting and praises the scholarly merits of the sufi. About Akhbar-ul Akhyar and its compiler, Jahangir writes, “I have seen his book, it contains the biographical sketches of mashaikh. It is the result of his hard labour and painstaking research. He is living a life of isolation, piety, resignation and reliance on God at Delhi for a long time. I sent him away with many favours”.

Jahangir was so impressed with the Sufi, that he presented him a village Bokr Wala at first the Shaikh refused, but at the insistence of the Emperor, he accepted it. At the end of Jahangir's reign, their relations were embittered. The causes are not known. It is mentioned in Sakinat-ul Aualiya, “At the time when Emperor Jahangir was in Kashmir, some people poisoned his ears against
Shaikh Abdul Haq and Mirza Husammuddin" (a disciple of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi).^60

Jahangir, summoned Shaikh Abdul Haqq and his family to Kashmir. His son Shaikh Nur-ul Haq was exiled to Kabul. Shaikh Abdul Haqq suffered a lot of trouble during his journey. In his way to Kashmir he stayed at Lahore, meet Mian Mir, and told him that in his old age, it was very difficult to leave he country and the children. Mian Mir tried to console him. He resumed his journey, but before Shaikh's arrival at Kashmir, Jahangir died and Shaikh Abdul Haqq with his son came back to Delhi. It is mentioned in Mirat-ul Haqa'iq^62 that relations between Nurjahan and Shaikh Muhaddid's Dehlawi were far from being cordial. Probably she was responsible for all the afflictions of the Shaikh. It is said that once Nur Jahan summoned, him to court, Shaikh replied, "Faqirs have nothing to do with the kings and queens, but he himself, is prepared to perform any task, entrusted to him and ready to serve her".63

Sultan Bahu was held in high esteem by Aurangzeb, who paid him all possible attention, but for some unknown reason, the sufi never seems to have cared for the Emperor. Unfortunately no contemporary authority provides any detail information regarding the relationship between the state and the sufi. Saiyid Taha Qutbuddin Qadiri also disdained to associate with the court. But Aurangzeb's Wazir, Jafar Khan was very devoted to the sufi and used to come to Kattana to see him. Aurangzeb was also desirous to meet him, but the sufi arrogantly remarked, "It is better for you not to come here". But he allowed the common people to spend few hours with him.

Among the Qadiris there were many sufi who maintained friendly relations with the ruling authorities, but some times the same sufi had to adopt
different attitude towards different kings. Makhdum Muhammad Ghaus maintained cordial relations with the contemporary sultans. Babur’s cousin Sultan Husain Mirza became his disciple.66

Shaikh Musa joined the imperial service and a new phase of his life began. He gave up the life of isolation and devotion to become a follower of the Emperor. He adopted the profession of arms, and became a commander of 500.67 It is strange that Shaikh Abdul Haqq, who has extolled the Shaikh for his virtues, mentions nothing about this sudden change in his behaviour. Badauni is sarcastic about his worldliness and change of state, “as long as Shaikh Musa was in Emperor’s service he would offer his obligatory prayers, whether in public or private (Diwan-i Khas-O Am), he would himself utter the call to prayer (Azan), and would then lead the congregational prayer in presence of the Khalifa of the age and none could open mouth against him.68

When Shaikh Abdul Qadir was informed about his brother’s mansab at the court, he remarked, “He deserved the mansab of one thousand, why he did not enter the Imperial service earlier and received a jagir at Multan, instead of ceaselessly quarrelling with me”.69

Akbar bestowed great favours upon Shaikh Ilah Bakhsh, brother of Abdul Qadir Lahori; appointed him the sadr of Gujarat70 and sent him to Shahbaz Khan Kambu.71 The Shaikh worked efficiently. He constantly sent reports of the activities of the rebels and information about administrative matters. He rendered remarkable services to the state. He was granted a mansab of 300 as a reward for his good services.72

Saiyid Ahmad Qadiri and his son Hidayatullah were men of liberal outlook. They were in good accord with the state. Akbar, in appreciation of his
moral virtues summoned Saiyid Ahmad and offered government service to him, the Saiyid gladly accepted the job. He was enrolled in the army and became chief adviser to the Emperor. Muhammad Sadiq mentions that he rose to the post of sadr, under Akbar and retained the same post under Jahangir. In fact he was sadr-us sudur under Jahangir; in his Tuzuk he refers to Shaikh Ahmad as sadr. During his sadarat, land grants were freely distributed among the deserving persons, which improved their financial conditions, Saiyid Ahmad's son Saiyid Hidayatullah Qadiri also acted as sadr-us sudur under Shahjahan and Aurangzeb.

Mian Mir's relations with Mughal rulers and princes were cordial and intimate. Contemporary writers give some anecdotes about Mian Mir and details of the relations. Mian Mir advised the rulers to take keen interest in the welfare of the people and the administration of the kingdom. He considered kingship to be a sacred trust of God. He believed that bad habits of the king were bound to have an adverse effect on the tenor of administration and by establishing amicable relations with the rulers he could influence them not only to improve their morals but also the lot of people who were a trust of the creator. He believed that the reform of a ruler is the reform of the whole society. But he did not involve himself in the political activities of the kings. He remained merely a spiritual guide. Mian Mir personally did not visit the court officials and the men of materialistic outlook and rarely accepted any gifts and offerings presented by them. Despite this attitude of indifference and independence of mind the rulers, princes and nobles had special regard for him and flocked to his khanqah to seek his guidance and aid in their difficulties.
Jahangir who liked the company of the men of retired disposition greatly benefited by his close contact with Mian Mir. He has acknowledged this fact in his memoirs. When Jahangir left Kashmir in 1620, he heard about the learning and piety of Mian Mir and felt a great desire to see him. Since he was outside the city and it was not possible for him to enter Lahore, he invited Mian Mir at his residence.

Jahangir writes in his *Tuzuk* "As it was reported to me that in Lahore, one Shaikh Muhammad Mir, a Sindhi by origin, a very eloquent, virtuous, austere man, a lord of ecstasy had seated himself in the corner of reliance upon God and retirement, and was rich in his poverty and indifference of the world, my truth seeking mind was not at rest without meeting him and my desire to see him increased. As it was impossible to go to Lahore, I wrote a note to him and explained to him the desire of my heart and that *sufi* not withstanding his great age and weakness took the trouble to come, I sat with him for a long time alone and enjoyed a through interview with him". The main points of the conversation that took place between the Emperor and the *sufi* are recorded by Dara Shukoh.  

The Emperor said: “Whatever of the kingdom, glory, magnificence, wealth and jewels he possesses appears to him like stones and straw, if the *sufi* could turn his attention towards him, he would be free from all the worldly bondages”. Mian Mir remarked: “The perfect *sufi* is that in whose eyes there is no difference between jewels and stones and as Jahangir also considers jewels and stones of the same value and worth so he is (by this principle) also a *sufi*”. Jahangir was pleased by these remarks of the *sufi*. Mian Mir then said: “The need of king is for the preservation and protection of his subjects.”
because of the security and peace which a ruler provides, the faqirs are occupied in their devotion, with contentment and satisfaction". 83

The Emperor earnestly requested Mian Mir to pray for him and accept him as his disciple. Mian Mir said, “that he could make him his disciple only if he was in a position to nominate a true substitute for the throne, who would be able to protect the people and take care of the well being of the creatures of God”. The Emperor was greatly pleased to hear this speech of Mian Mir and requested him to accept some gift from him. Mian Mir said, “Would you be prepared to give me whatever I ask of you, “Yes it would be granted”, rejoined the Emperor. The Mian Mir said, “My only desire is that your Majesty would give me the permission to depart.”84 Thus after taking permission, the sufì returned to his home town. The impression left by this interview on the mind of Jahangir was very deep and the spiritual sanctity of the sufì influenced him so much that the Emperor extolled the virtues of Mian Mir in his memoirs:

“Truly he is the beloved of God, in sanctity and purity of soul he has no equal in this age. Although I desired to make him some gift, but as his spirit was too high for this, I did not express my wish. I contented myself with the presentation of the skin of a white antelope to pray upon, then he immediately bade me farewell and went back to Lahore”.85 Jahangir corresponded with Mian Mir and sometimes sought spiritual guidance from him. Two of his letters are referred to in Sakinat-ul Auliya.86 The letters show deep regard and esteem in which the Emperor held him. In one letter Jahangir expressed his desire to see the sufì, in another letter he requested the sufì to help him in spiritual matters and pray for the success of his arms in Qandahar campaign.87
Mian Mir who was well known for his knowledge and piety attracted the attention of Shahjahan, an intensely religious minded person and fond of the company of holy men. He twice visited Mian Mir seeking guidance and blessings. The vivid account of these visits is contained in contemporary sources. According to Khafi Khan, "unlike other faqirs and mashaikh who would treat the Emperors and wealthy persons with great consideration and respect, the sufi paid no serious attention towards the Emperor and remained indifferent to him. This increased Emperor's regard for the sufi and he became very devoted to him." The interview was short. Lahori did not give whole account of this conversation. He only said, that, "he (Mian Mir) brought several points worth hearing on his eloquent tongue". Dara Shukoh has recorded the details of the first visit that took place in 1633. Mian Mir is said to have remarked: "A just king must take serious interest in the welfare of his subjects and the security of his kingdom, he must concentrate his energies on populating the new areas and increasing the prosperity of lands. If the subjects are prosperous and the country populous, the soldiers would become satisfied and the treasury will be full." The Emperor is reported to have said, he had not seen any dervish like Mian Mir in the qualities of spiritualism and learning. "Judged by all standards, writes Qazwini, "Mian Mir is a perfect sufi and famous not among the Shaikh of Punjab but throughout the Muslim world".

The next visit took place in 1634, when Shahjahan while returning from Kashmir to Delhi stopped at Lahore, and during his stay there, he visited several sufi including Mian Mir. Though the sufi generally did not like the company of such persons of high stature, he treated the Emperor, well and expressed his pleasure at having him in his khanqah, and asked him to remain
Shahjahan was very much influenced by the personality and spiritual attainments of Mian Mir, he often praised elegant manners of the \textit{sufi}, a perfect \textit{dervish} found in those days.\textsuperscript{99} According to the Emperor, there were two eminent \textit{sufis}; one Mian Mir and another Shaikh Muhammad Fazlullah of Burhanpur\textsuperscript{100}, but he had a deep veneration and regard for the former, and used to say that in his whole life, he had never seen a person like Mian Mir who is surpassed others in renunciation, indifference and quietness of the world.\textsuperscript{101}
Mian Mir's contemporary, Shah Balawal Qadiri, slightly differed in his attitude towards the state. Shahjahan visited him twice, once in 1633, again in the following year. On both the occasions he gave to the *sufi* an amount of Rs. 2,000 as *nazr*, which the latter accepted but distributed among the *faqirs* of his *khanqah*.\(^{102}\) Mulla Khwaja, Behari, a disciple of Mian Mir was on friendly with Shahjahan and held discussions with him on mystic philosophy. The Emperor always admired the refined manners, intellectual attainment of Mulla Khwaja.\(^{103}\) His Wazir Maulana Sa’adullah was also one among the devotees of the *sufi*.\(^{104}\)

Mulla Shah, a disciple of Mian Mir was not involved in the political matters of the state, but kept close contact with Shahjahan, who held him in high esteem, and always admired spiritual gifts and scholarly attainments of the *sufi*. As he (the Emperor) once remarked, "In India there were two Shah's. Shahjahan the esoteric (suri) and Mulla Shah the real *(manawi)* king."\(^{105}\) The latter also entertained the feelings of affection and regard for Shahjahan and paid several visits to the royal court. Shahjahan's correspondence with Mulla Shah was quite frequent. It is interesting to note that the accession of Shahjahan to the imperial throne and attainment of spiritual perfection by Mulla Shah synchronized in the same year (1628). Mulla Shah composed the following couplet on the occasion and sent it to the Emperor:

> We two, Shahjahan and myself king and the Dervish,  
> Occupied two thrones of Guidance on the same day.  
> He sat on the throne of world kingship:  
> I on the throne of spiritual kingship.\(^{106}\)

Shahjahan reciprocated this friendly gesture by paying visits to the *sufi* in Kashmir and later in Lahore also. These visits and meetings between the *sufi* and the Emperor are reported by contemporary historians including Mulla
Shah's biographer Tawakkul Beg. Shahjahan first visited Mulla Shah's residence in 1634 when he was in Kashmir.

It was on the occasion when owing to growing popularity of Mulla Shah, a section of orthodox ulama had turned hostile to him. They suspected him of heresy and deviation from religion on account of some of his poetical compositions on the theme, *Tauhid*. What provoked them to indignation and fury was the following verse of Mulla Shah, which they produced as an evidence of his apostasy:

tr. I am hand in hand with God,
    Why should I care for Mustafa.

The *ulama* went so far as to denounce him as an apostate and planned to expose his alleged heresy by engaging him in a public controversy. A *mahzar* was signed by the leading *ulama*: Mulla Fazil Mir-i Adl, Qazi Aslam and Mirak Shaikh pronouncing death sentence on Mulla Shah. Other *muftis* and *mullas* also confirmed this judgement by putting their seals on the decree which was sent to the Emperor, who accepted it reluctantly, but these moves were frustrated by Dara Shukoh's intervention who suggested to Shahjahan to consult Mian Mir in the matter. The Emperor conceded Dara Shukoh's request and the judgement passed by the *ulama* against Mulla Shah was deferred. The tension of a civil discord thus caused by the protest of orthodox *ulama* eventually subsided and normalcy returned to society.

Accompanied by Dara Shukoh, Shahjahan met Mian Mir at Lahore in 1634 to make enquiries about the personal beliefs of Mulla Shah. Mian Mir expressed his great admiration for the spiritual gifts of Mulla Shah and said that Mulla Shah was a *majzub* whose utterances made in a state of ecstasy (*wajd*)
had no real meaning and should not be interpreted literally. Mian Mir also asked Shahjahan to punish those conservative theologians (ahl-i zahir) who had made false accusation against such an innocent dervish.\textsuperscript{112} Later on in a letter to Shahjahan, Mian Mir declared that the mahzar, issued by a section of the ulama was illegal.\textsuperscript{113}

In the same year Shahjahan went to Kashmir where he made it a point to visit Mulla Shah. At their meeting the Emperor enquired of him about the verse, which had provoked the orthodox theologians. In reply Mulla Shah did not deny that he had composed the verse to which certain ulama had taken exception. He was, however, able to give a satisfactory explanation which entirely pacified the Emperor\textsuperscript{114}, and the dust of doubt was removed from his heart and his devotion to the sufi increased. As a consequences of this meeting, the Emperor came to have a very high opinion about the piety of the sufi and whenever he went to Kashmir he visited Mulla Shah. A later authority informs us that it was the practice of Mulla Shah that whenever he heard of the arrival of the Emperor, he would take his walking stick and start walking and at the time of Emperor’s departure he would again stand with the Emperor and start walking.\textsuperscript{115} Thus he was saved from standing especially for the Emperor and tried in this way to avoid court formalities and its etiquette.

In his next visit to Kashmir in 1639 AD, Shahjahan invited Mulla Shah to his camp at Zafar Bagh, where the following interesting conversation took place which is recorded by Tawakkul Beg,\textsuperscript{116} Shahjahan, “I want to hear from you about Haqiqat (truth or Reality) and Marifat (knowledge of Divine matters or gnosticism). Mulla Shah, “Day and night you have your business with the worldly minded, you are far away from spiritual matters there is no use for you
of this knowledge. Shahjahan: “Though I always devoted myself to esoteric and ritual sciences, still, I have an intense desire to acquire speculative knowledge so I have came to you”. Mulla Shah, “I shall reply to what you enquire from me. Shahjahan, asked him the meanings of the terms Ilm-ul yaqin, Ain-ul yaqin, and Haqq-ul yaqin.

Mulla Shah: “Suppose, I came to know that in India there is a king named Shahjahan, whose orders are followed in Punjab, Bengal and the Deccan, though I have not seen him yet I know this, this is Ilm-ul Yaqin (certainty of mind). Then my eyes fell upon you, I believed that I have recognized you that you are the same person about whom I heard. This is Ain-ul yaqin (certainty of sight). Haqq-ul Yaqin (a conviction of truth) is the fact that I am in your presence. After this conversation Mulla Shah departed. Lahori also mentions one such visit in which according to him many subtle subjects were discussed. All these meetings were held during the course of one year (1639) when Shahjahan had come to Kashmir accompanied by Dara Shukoh and Jahan Ara. At this time both Dara Shukoh and Jahan Ara joined the circle of the disciples of Mulla Shah.

Shahjahan went to Kashmir again in 1644, on this occasion as well he sought an interview with Mulla Shah. A graphic description of this meeting and of the discussion that took place between the two is recorded in Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi: Both of us, Shahjahan told Mulla Shah, are the slaves of God and we desire none except God. Mulla Shah replied: “It is true but there is a difference between slave and slave though God is oblivious to the need of our services, but you have appointed deputies (khalifas) for your outward services (to administer your kingdom) and you spend only a few minutes in His zikr,
while I show the people the way to Lord, and guide them up to the highest stage of Divinity where they reach by renouncing all worldly and material bonds". In this meeting Mulla Shah explained many aspects of mystic experience in a way that highly appealed to Shahjahan’s heart who presented the sufi a simple but well executed cushion (muttaka) and said that his revered grandfather Humayun used to sit upon it. The Emperor remarked further, “I know you do not need any worldly gifts either in cash or kind, hence I dared not offer you anything, I consider this cushion to be a suitable gift for you”. Mulla Shah accepted it and bade the Emperor fare-well.123

In the same year, on the occasion of the weighing ceremony of Shahjahan at Srinagar, a grand procession was organized. Mulla Shah composed a rubai for the occasion and sent it with his congratulations to the Emperor.124 Tawakkul Beg has given the description of the visit of Mulla Shah to the imperial residence at Lahore in 1647. According to him on that occasion, the sufi talked to the Emperor about half an hour. The main theme of their conversation was again religious.125 Another meeting between Mulla Shah and Shahjahan took place in Kashmir during the year 1651, when the latter came to Kashmir to see the mosque and the khanqah, built there by his daughter Jahan Ara for Mulla Shah. The Emperor was delighted to see the mosque126, and from there went to Mulla Shah’s house and sat there like a common man on a borya. No one except Sa’adullah Khan accompanied Shahjahan at this occasion. The Emperor spent yak-pas (half an hour) in the philosophical discussions with Mulla Shah.127 At his request, Mulla Shah recited some of his rubais (quatrain). At the time of sunset the emperor departed. This was Shahjahan’s last journey to Kashmir and also his last meeting with Mulla Shah.
Besides these visits, Shahjahan and Mulla Shah remained in touch with each other through frequent exchange of letters. The text of these letters are reproduced by Tawakkul Beg. One such letter of Shahjahan written in 1643 refers to Jahan Ara having been badly burnt (while trying to save the life of one of her maid servants), Shahjahan at this time was greatly concerned on account of injuries Jahan Ara had received. He wrote to Mulla Shah, “The superficial physicians have failed in their efforts to cure her. Now I appeal to the real physician to pray for her recovery and hope that through your grace she will soon be well”. Mulla Shah wrote in reply, “God is known for His two attributes *jamal* (beauty) and *jalal* (majesty), these are the days of *jalal*. Very shortly they will turn into days of *Jamal* because on every side there are prayers for her health. According to Tawakkul Beg this letter of Shahjahan was dispatched from Agra.

Another letter of Shahjahan to Mulla Shah dates back to 1645 when Shahjahan was at Kabul from where he was then monitoring the progress of the expedition to Balkh and Badakhshan. This is brought out from the contents of the letter where he says, “Through God’s favour, we have turned our attention towards Transoxus and request Mulla Shah to pray for the success of the imperial armies”. Mulla Shah replied, “all comes from the unseen world from that world illuminating sun”. Reciting a Qur’anic Verse, the *sufi* prophesied victory of the royal forces and conveyed his congratulation to Shahjahan over his expected success. Mulla Shah received another letter from Shahjahan, which was sent from Kabul in 1646. Its text runs as follows: “Mulla Shah should know that prayers offered by the pious are approved by God. Abdul Aziz, the son of Nazar Muhammad with a fifty thousand strong force has made
an advance, prince Aurangzeb commands the royal forces. First we shall take Balkh and Badakhshan then (will conquer) our ancestral lands, Samarqand and Bukhara and from there the victorious armies, will return to Balkh and Nazar Muhammad will be imprisoned inside one of these forts. Thus within a week the enemy will be defeated and repulsed with a thousand of insults”. Mulla Shah wrote in reply, “The heart of a man is an emblem of God, He is within every human soul and nearer to man than his jugular vein. But the people are ignorant, they spend their days and nights in the pleasures of this transitory and material world whosoever prays to God with concentration of mind and presence of heart his prayers would be granted”. Shahjahan was victorious and returned to Delhi.

Another letter of Shahjahan, written from Sirhind (dated A.D. 1646) was conveyed through Mahabat Khan, who also brought a fur garment (Postin-i Samur) as a present for Mulla Shah. The extracts of this letter are quoted in Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi Shahjahan writes: “The news of your arrival at Lahore (from Kashmir) made me glad. Bagh-i Faiz Bakhsh and Farah Bakhsh of Lahore are superior to all the gardens of Kashmir. I request you to spend the summer in the pleasant climate of these gardens”. Mulla Shah immediately wrote back, “It is your kindness that in spite of your official preoccupations you always remember this faqir. As you consider those gardens better for summer and invite me to meditate there, verily, I accept your invitation.” In a letter written in the same year from Kabul, Shahjahan informs Mulla Shah that he has appointed his two disciples, Muhammad Salim and Husain Beg Khan as the Bakhshi and Governor of Kashmir respectively at the request of Dara Shukoh and they have been ordered to treat him with great respect.
There is further evidence indicating that Shahjahan showed respect and favoured not only to Mulla Shah and his disciples but his brothers and other relatives were also treated generously by him. This is suggested by his letter to Mulla Shah sent from Kabul in 1649. At that time the two brothers of Mulla Shah, Mulla Muhammad Beg and Mulla Sultan along with their families, escaping from the Uzbek oppression in central Asia, took shelter in Kabul. Shahjahan not only welcomed them warmly but also provided them all the facilities and material help, so as to enable them to live at Kabul in comfort. When they expressed a wish to go to Kashmir and stay there with Mulla Shah, the Emperor allowed them to proceed thither. He gave them a letter addressed to Mulla Shah. The contents of that letter are as follows: “Mulla Shah should know that his brothers and relatives have arrived in this country (Kabul). If they want to stay here they are allowed to do so. If Kashmir suites them they are permitted to stay there also. Two months have elapsed, since our armies besieged Qandhar, I hope we shall be victorious.”

We have the evidence of one more letter of Shahjahan, written in 1656, inviting Mulla Shah to Shahjahanabad. In reply to this proposal Mulla Shah politely expressed his disinclination to come to Shahjahanabad on account of his poor health, which did not permit the long journey from Lahore to Delhi. As far as I know this was the last letter of Shahjahan that he addressed to Mulla Shah. Subsequent correspondence was interrupted due to circumstances that are well known. Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi, our main source for this correspondence, avoids mentioning the political events of the year 1657-58, which included the imprisonment of Shahjahan and other unhappy events that followed the Battle of Samugarh.
It emerges from the above discussion that throughout Shahjahan’s reign Mulla Shah's relations with the Mughal court were cordial but after Aurangzeb's accession to the throne, these friendly relations became sour. Perhaps Mulla Shah's past association with Dara Shukoh was the main reason for Aurangzeb's hostility towards him, on the other hand it would appear, that Mulla Shah's alienations from Aurangzeb had an ideological dimension as well. He apparently disapproved Aurangzeb's fanatical zeal in religious matters, and particularly took exception to his presuming to sit in judgement on the beliefs and practices of men of mystic inclinations. In this connection it is also worth noting that despite Aurangzeb's religious outlook, many senior nobles, like Tarbiyat Khan, Ali Mardan Khan, Zafar Khan, Muqarrab Khan, Husain Beg Khan, Khalilullah Khan, Jaffar Khan, Sa'adullah Khan and Abul Fath Qabil Khan continued to have close contacts with him and paid him frequent visits. Some of them counted themselves among Mulla Shah's disciples.

Shattaris

Shaikh Phul, the elder brother of Sayyid Muhammad Ghaus, was the khalifa of Shah Zahur Haji. He was a rich saint and passed his days in affluent circumstances. He possessed, says Ghausi, both spiritual and material wealth. He had very close contact with Humayun. Jahangir writes: “Humayun had great affection for him, and the most perfect reliance on him.”

The author of Iqbalnama says that he was one of the closest associates of Humayun. Humayun showered ‘royal favours’ on him. The Emperor’s respect for him enhanced immensely his prestige among the people. Many scholars of the court, like Maulana Jamaluddin and Maulana Muhammad
joined his order, probably more out of expediency than out of conviction.

Humayun was a keen student of astronomy. Shaikh Phul was an expert in the science. Common interests and hobbies brought them together. Badauni says that Humayun learnt the science of exorcism from shaikh Phul and shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. The same historian further remarks that the emperor’s attachment to them was without examples.

Shaikh Phul lived with the Emperor, joined him in his expeditions and was ready to exercise his influence in favour of the ruler whenever he stood in need of it. In 1538 AD, when Humayun was in Bengal, Mirza Hindal thought of a coup d'état to usurp the throne of Agra. Humayun sent Shaikh Phul to dissuade the prince from this. Shaikh Phul left Bengal and reached Agra where he was warmly received by the Mirza. The Shaikh’s advice was at first accepted by him and he promised to act with one accord in extirpating the Afghans; but soon afterwards the nobles prevailed upon him to make a bid for the throne of Agra. Nuruddin Muhammad seized the shaikh and by Hindal’s orders the Shaikh was beheaded in a sandy spot near the royal garden. The Shaikh was held in high esteem by the ladies of the harem. When Hindal’s mother heard about the heinous murder, she wore blue cloth over her breast and when Hindal came to her, she said: ‘You have killed the Shaikh’ why do you delay about me!”

Muhammad Bakhshi got hold of the Shaikh’s corpse, carried it to Bayana and buried it there. Jahangir speaks about these two brothers with
sincere respect and regard.\textsuperscript{148} It is indeed surprising that Abul Fazl speaks about them in most disparaging terms. He writes:

“Though these two brothers were void of excellencies or learning, they at various times lived in mountain hermitages and practised incantation with the Divine Names. They made these the proofs of their renown and credibility, and obtaining, by help of simpletons, the society of princes and amirs, they put sainthood to sale and acquired lands and villages by fraud. His elder brother (Shaikh Phul) was in the service of Jannat Ashiani, and as the latter was inclind towards magic he held the shaikh in reverence. The Shaikh (Phul) also privately and when in the company of simple ones used to boast of his having relations with H.M. Jahanbani of devotion and teachership”\textsuperscript{149}

Humayun also had deep respect and profound regard for Shaikh Phul and Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. Shaikh Phul had died performing the dangerous duties of a plenipotentiary. Humayun’s attachment to Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus naturally increased after the cold-blooded murder of his brother.

When Sher Shah ousted Humayun and political power passed from the Mughals to the Afghans, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus acted with great political farsightedness and went away to Gujrat\textsuperscript{150}. Abul Fazl suggests that it was simply fear that drove the Shaikh to Gujrat\textsuperscript{151}. On the contrary Badauni definitely says: “As Sher Shah began to give Shaikh Muhammad trouble, he left for Gujrat”\textsuperscript{152}. Whatever be the reasons, the Shaikh was well known for his pro-Mughal leanings and in quitting Delhi for Gujrat after Humayun’s debacle, he displayed great political adroitness and wisdom.

The Shaikh’s attachment to Humayun was too deep to be broken by his forced separation from the unfortunate ruler. Humayun too did not forget the shaikh. He wrote the following letter to him:
"After due respects I submit, thanks to the kindness of God and the efficacy of your prayers and those of other saints, I easily came out of unfortunate difficulties. Nothing that happened in these unfortunate circumstances brought depression upon my heart except the fact that I was deprived of your society and on every step and at every moment I had a fear as to how demon-like people will behave with you, an angle-like personality. When I heard that you too have left for Gujrat, my heart was relieved to some extent of that fear. I sincerely and earnestly hope that God will relieve me of the present miseries also and we shall meet again”.

"I cannot adequately thank God, the real Guide. Inspite of the fact that calamities have tied down my physical body on all sides, my heart is, nevertheless, cool and collected and undisturbed as before. Messages of welfare should be regularly exchanged”.

The Shaikh replied:

"Thanks for your royal letter. I conveyed to your well wishers here the happy news of your life and safety. I came to know also about the welfare of your servants and attendants. Whatever you have jotted down, it is exactly like this. There is no formality about it”.

Words that come out from heart, go direct to heart.

I pray to God that unfortunate circumstances may not trouble your heart!

"Whenever God wishes to make perfect any of his dutiful creatures. He makes him pass alternately through periods of happiness and trouble. Now-a-days there is the period of hardship. Shortly afterwards there will be happiness”. God says:

‘Verily there is ease with hardship’.

According to the Arabic grammar ‘Hardship’ is between two periods of happiness.

On the restoration of Mughal power, the Shaikh came to Agra with his family and disciples and presented himself at the court, where he was received
with honour. Badauni saw him in 966 AH/1558 AD in the capital. The Shaikh had arrived that every year from Gujrat.

“I saw him”, says Badauni, “from far off, riding along in the market place at Agra, a throng of the common people surrounding and preceding him, so that none could pass through the crowd. In his courteous humility his head was never for one moment still, as he returned the salutations of the people on either side of him, bowing continually down to his saddle-bow”. But the Shaikh could not live in peace at Agra. New parties and groups had come to the forefront and no adjustment with them was possible. Akbar had received Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus with honour. Shaikh Gadai became jealous of the honourable guest whose record of services to the Mughal state went back to the days of Babar and Humayun.

Sometime afterwards, Akbar happened to go to Gwalior for hunting. Some deer keepers told the Emperor that Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus had brought excellent bullocks from Gujrat. The Emperor was further informed that if he would pass by that locality the Shaikh would certainly present them to him. “So”, says Abul Fazl, “with the ostensible object of procuring the animals, but in reality to test the Shaikh’s urbanity, he went to his Khanqah”. The Shaikh warmly received the royal guest and presented the cattle with other gifts. At the end of the interview, the shaikh asked Akbar if he had become the disciple of anyone. On Akbar’s denial, the Shaikh put out his arm and holding the hand of Akbar said: ‘We have taken your hand’. Both Abú’l Fazl and Badauni are unanimous in observing that Akbar did not take all this seriously.
Abu'l Fazl says that Akbar often used to relate in his high assemblages:

"On the same night we returned to our tents and had a wine party and enjoyed ourselves; and laughed over the trick of getting the bullocks and the Shaikh's dodge of stretching out his arm".

(Under their variegated robes they have nooses, See the long arms of these short-sleeved ones).¹⁶¹

Abu'l Fazl speaks about Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus in most derogatory terms.¹⁶² He calls him "boastful simpleton"¹⁶³ and makes every possible effort to convince the reader that the Emperor had no genuine or sincere attachment to the Shaikh. We are not due to the silence of the Shattari writers and the brief accounts of the court chroniclers, in a position to analyse the reasons for Akbar's indifference and Abul Fazl's bitterness towards the Shaikh. The Shaikh had supported the Mughal rulers from the earliest times. He had so completely identified himself with the Mughals that he had to suffer great hardships during the Sur interregnum. Besides, the Shaikh was a man who could be of great help to Akbar in implementing his policy of sulh-i kul (peace with all). The Shaikh was respected by the Hindus and the Musalmans alike. He was a keen student of Hindu religious thought and was of superbly tolerant and catholic views.

The Shaikh's influence over the nobles, jagirdars and officials, was doubtless immense. Fattu¹⁶⁴ (Fateh Khan Masnad-i Ali) who was in possession of the fort of Chunar sent word to the Emperor that if Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus were to take him by the hand and bring to the Emperor's presence, he would deliver the fort. Akbar sent the Shaikh, who was at that time an old man of eighty, to bring Fattu Khan to the court.¹⁶⁵ This was the last act of the Shaikh's service to the State. He died soon afterwards in 1563 A.D.
After the Afghan Sher Shah acceded to the throne in Agra in May 1540, he could not ignore the arch supporter of the Mughals. Ghaus therefore fled to Gujarat, where Humayun remained in touch with him, a letter written by the Emperor to Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. After Akbar's accession to the throne Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus left Gujarat and returned to Gwalior and then visited the Emperor's court at Delhi. In 1558-59 Badauni saw the Shaikh riding through the market place in Agra.

**Naqshbandis**

As mentioned earlier, the dawn of the seventeenth century witnessed the advent of the Naqshbandi Silsilah as well. Its saints exerted so great an influence upon the socio-political life of the period that it seemed as if the Naqshbandi order would supersede the rest of the sufi orders in India. The founder of the Silsilah in India Khwaja Baqi Billah settled down in Delhi, at a time when the policies of Emperor Akbar had created an environment of distress and sorrow among the Muslims of India. The laws of Islam had been suppressed and Muslims could not openly fulfil their religious conventions. Hence, the Khwaja preached the importance of spiritual values in man's life and revived people's interest in *Shariat*. Like his spiritual predecessors, especially Khwaja Obaidullah Ahrar, Baqi Billah believed in maintaining cordial relations with the ruling class in order to religiously and morally reform the Muslim society and to remove the people's difficulties. His piety and spirituality drew towards him many important personalities of Akbar's court. As all contemporary sources are silent and give no information, it is difficult to say whether Khwaja Baqi Billah ever came into contact with Emperor Akbar. But according to *Zubdat al-Maqamat* he had friendly relations and did correspond with some of the Mughal nobles.
Nawab Saiyid Murtuza Khan, also known as Shaikh Farid Bukhari (ob. 1616), an eminent Mughal noble, was highly impressed by Khwaja Baqi Billah. He held the saint in high esteem and provided him with all sorts of help. Shaikh Muhammad Ikram is of the opinion that the Khwaja's mission would not have secured great success in India within a short period of four or five years if Shaikh Farid had not cooperated with him. He seems to have frequently visited Baqi Billah at Delhi and obtained his spiritual blessings. It is reported that he had fixed daily allowances for the followers of the saint and bore all the expenses of his Khanqah.

The Khwaja too paid respect to Shaikh Farid Bukhari and considered him his fast friend. He would say to his followers that Shaikh Farid had many rights on them and due to his grace and existence, they had enjoyed great spiritual benefits and pleasures. The collection of his letters contains several letters addressed to Shaikh Farid. It appears that he always addressed Shaikh Farid in his letters as Qiblagahi Salamat Bashand means 'his majesty be prosper'.

The Khwaja never liked Shaikh Farid to be criticised by anyone. If anybody made objection on their friendship, he would reply that he did not find any injunction of Shariate to disconnect his relations with Shaikh Farid. The latter continued his favours and kindness even after the death of the saint and did not break his relations with the Khwaja's sons and followers. He took care of and often visited them to know and solve their problems. He had cordial relations with Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddith Dehlawi and Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. The latter in many of his Maktubat has acknowledged Shaikh Farid Bukhari's help and cooperation for his spiritual mentor. In all his letters to
Shaikh Farid, Sirhindi seems to be highly thankful to him for his sympathetic behaviour towards Khwaja Baqi Billah.\(^{179}\)

Abdur Rahim Khan-i Khanan, another eminent noble of Emperor Akbar, was also influenced by Khwaja Baqi Billah. According to Zubdat al-Maqamat, once he was informed that the khwaja was intending to go for Hajj, he accordingly sent rupees one lakh for travelling expenses but the saint refused to accept it, saying that he did not like to spend the money collected from the people for his own purpose.\(^{180}\)

Moreover, some other outstanding personalities of the Mughal court are also reported to have become followers of the Khwaja Khan-i-Azam Mirza Aziz Koka and Sadr-us Sudur Miran Sadr-i Jahan had close contacts with him. The latter approached and requested the saint for initiating him into his mystic discipline. It appears that the Khwaja had accepted him as his murid.\(^{181}\) The Zubdat al-Maqamat contains a letter of Khwaja Baqi Billah which reveals that Miran Sadr-i Jahan consulted the saint in the matter of distribution of land grants and charity in cash.\(^{182}\) The Khwaja wrote letters to Mirza Aziz Koka and exhorted him for adherence to Shariat. An epistle of the saint recommends some annual grant to be given to Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi as well.\(^{183}\)

Khwaja Baqi Billah’s chief khalifa Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi also was extremely dissatisfied with the religious policy of Akbar. He could not keep himself aloof from the affairs of the state. He considered politics inseparable from the religion. Like his Central Asian Naqshbandi predecessors, he was of the view that the ruler, in relation to his subjects, is like the heart in relation to the body. If the heart is healthy, the body is healthy, and if the heart is sick, the body too is sick. The rectitude of the people depends upon the rectitude of the
ruler, and his corruption amounts to the corruption of the people. He, therefore, maintained relations with several eminent nobles of Akbar’s court. He was of the view that nobles by exerting their influence could easily persuade the Emperor to follow the laws of Islam, i.e. the *Sharah.* The collection of the letters of the saint, the *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani,* contains many letters addressed to Shaikh Farid Bukhari, Abdur Rahim Khan-i Khanan, Mirza Aziz Koka, Miran Sadr-i Jahan etc. According to the famous scholar Shaikh Muhammad Ikram these letters of the saint played the role of candle in creating soft corner for Islam and Muslims in these nobles heart. He, therefore, started preaching Islam through nobles and grandees of the court as he considered than the bestway for persuading the Emperor to the *Shariah.* He firmly knew if these noble become perfect in beliefs and practices, they could easily advocate the cause of Islam before the Emperor. He recalled than what had been forgotten and brought home the significance of the Islamic regulations. His letters be moan the sad state into which Islam had fallen in India during Akbar’s reign. Infact a deep study of the situation at time, tells us these nobles really succeeded in persuading Akbar to turn to Islam during the last years of his life. According to K.A. Nizami: “No serious student of history can evade the conclusion in the later years of Akbar’s reign, under the influence of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, a definite ideological cleavage had developed between Akbar and his nobles”.

Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi showed much interest in Jahangir’s accession to the throne, but personal contacts started somewhat late. In the beginning the relations between them were not very cordial. Jahangir had been annoyed by the Shaikh’s condemnation of his father’s religious policy.
It was in 1028 AH/1619 AD, when Mujaddid-i Alf-i Thani, in his process of organizing the Naqshbandi order in India and abroad, deputed one of his followers Maulana Badiuddin, as his representative in Agra. Sources say Badiuddin achieved remarkable success in a short span of time. A large number of soldiers and officials are also reported to have joined the circle of the Shaikh through the mediation of Badiuddin. But the opponents of the saint poisoned Jahangir’s ears by saying that the activities of the Shaikh and his Khalifa could lead to political disturbance. These people also brought to Jahangir’s notice a letter written by Mujaddid-i Alf-i Thani, to his spiritual mentor Khwaja Baqi Billah ten years earlier. Shaikh Ahmad had described his spiritual experience in this letter. But his opponents at the Mughal court explained to Jahangir that the Shaikh had claimed to be superior to the first Pious Caliph, Hazrat Abu Bakr Siddique (held by Muslims as Afzal-il Bashar Ba’d Al-Ambiya the most spiritually distinguished and the most excellent of the human beings after the chain of prophets of God). This annoyed the emperor and Sirhindi was summoned to the royal court in Agra to explain.

Shaikh Ahmad defended himself by saying that his status was not above the first Pious Caliph. It is what happened in the course of his spiritual journey for a moment and was actually meant to show him the most elevated spiritual station occupied by Hazrat Abu Bakr Siddique after the Prophet of Islam. Illustrating his point, the Shaikh further explained, addressing Jahangir, ‘If you, in your royal court, summon some inferior servant of yours in the presence of all your courtiers to speak to him, he will have to reach you by passing through all of the high and superior nobles, and momentarily he will be nearer to you than your great nobles. But that does not mean that he (the servant) is greater than them or permanently occupies a place in closer proximity to you’. This was a
fair enough and reasonable argument but since Shaikh Ahmad had not made the customary, obeisance to Jahangir, the latter regarded him as arrogant. When commended to observe the usual court etiquette by performing *sijda-i tazimi* (prostrating in respect), according to *Hazarat-ul Quds*, the Shaikh replied, 'I have never bowed my head to any of God's creatures and I never will'\(^\text{196}\) As was expected, the Shaikh's reply once again incurred the wrath of Jahangir. He ordered to a Rajput official, Ani Rai Singh Dalan, to imprison the Shaikh in Gwalior fort.\(^\text{197}\)

Jahangir's memoirs bear evidence that subsequently the emperor changed his mind about Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindil and ordered his release after a year in 1620 AD. On the latter's arrival at the court in Agra, Jahangir honoured him by giving him a robe and a present of a thousand rupees. Jahangir writes in his *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, 'I summoned Shaikh Ahmad who had been in prison for some time ... I released him, giving him a robe and one thousand rupees. I also authorized him either to go home or to remain with me. And he expressed his desire to remain in my service'.\(^\text{198}\) Contemporary and later sources say that the Shaikh remained in the royal camp for three years. Wherever the royal army and the emperor encamped, Shaikh Ahmad accompanied them. In the course of this time he visited several cities and towns in northern India.\(^\text{199}\)

The great Emperor Abul Muzaffar Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangir, on his departure from Kashmir, fell seriously ill. Physicians treated him but he did not recover. His personal and private servants advised him to turn to pious people. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindil, who was accompanying the royal caravan, was therefore approached for spiritual benedictions. He went to the royal palace and invoked God for the Emperor's recovery and good health. The Shaikh also
exhorted Jahangir to popularize Islamic teachings. The latter said to the Shaikh, 'It is for you to say, and it is for me to do'. The Emperor recovered in the same night. Subsequently the royal army left for Sirhind. While encamped at Sirhind the Emperor desired to have his meal at the Shaikh's residence. The saint next day sent him a variety of dishes prepared in his house. It is said that all the items were so delicious that Jahangir took only half of it and saved the rest for the next day. It was during Jahangir's stay in Sirhind that he asked Asaf Khan to request Shaikh Ahmad to accept an annual or monthly grant, either in cash or in kind, for the expenses of his khanqah. But the Shaikh declined.

It appears that the Shaikh could not stay with his family members, disciples and khalifas in Sirhind for long as the royal caravan left for another destination. Afterwards he seems to have reached Delhi and then Agra. His presence in the royal camp provided him with frequent meetings with the emperor. He never missed an opportunity to persuade Jahangir to follow Islam and the Shariah. Once he wrote to his son Muhammad Masum from the royal camp. "Thanks to God that everything is all right here. I am keeping good company with the Emperor. By Divine Grace, I do not lose a single moment without describing the theological points and the principles of Islam to him (Jahangir). If I start to write only about one meeting, it would require a whole volume, especially the conversation of this night, the 17th of Ramazan. Many points were discussed such as the creation of the prophets, the faith in hereafter, the concept of reward and punishment, the Divine Appearance, the seal of the prophecy of the last of the prophets (the Prophet of Islam), the mujaddid of every century, the following (taqlid) of the Pious Caliphs, the lawfulness of tarawih, the falsehood of the concept of transmigration, jinns and their affairs etc. The Emperor listens to me with full attention. In this
connection the aqtab, the abdal, the autad and their affairs of spirituality were also explained. Thanks to God that the Emperor completely participated in the discussion. I am thankful to God who guided me to do so. Undoubtedly our Holy Prophet came to this world with Truth”.

In 1620 Jahangir sent an expedition to Kangra under the command of Sundar Das alias Raja Bikramajit. The author of Hazrat-ul Quds says that when Bikramajit was ordered to lead the expedition he approached the Shaikh in all humility and requested his blessings: Finding him persistent in his request, the Shaikh meditated for a while and said, ‘Victory is certainly yours, you need not worry, go without any fear’. Bikramajit departed and without much difficulty conquered the fort. When Jahangir visited Kangra, the Shaikh also accompanied him.

The third volume of the letters of the Shaikh, the Maktubat-Imam-i Rabbani, contains an epistle addressed to Jahangir. The concluding remarks of this letter are, 'Though this humble person does not find himself capable to be counted in the lashkar-i dua (the group of saints), he is not at all free from invoking God's blessings for you. He regards himself as one of the well-wishers of your Empire and prays for your prosperity'. Any how, the Shaikh continued his sojourns to different places along with the royal army. Finally, they encamped in Ajmer where he seems to have stayed for several months. It was in 1623, that, on account of his failing health, the Shaikh, along with his sons Khwaja Muhammad Said and Khwaja Muhammad Masum left for Sirhind. He died therein 1034 AH/ 1624 AD.

Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddith Dehlawi was a leading religious scholar during Jahangir's reign. The latter's association with him started when the
Shaikh, on the occasion of Jahangir’s accession to the throne, his requested friend Shaikh Farid Bukhari, to place a letter before Jahangir unprotesting the Emperor to understand the need to implement the Shariah and show respect to the Sunnah. This letter refused Jahangir, the fortunate successor of Akbar and wished that the new emperor maintain peace, ensure justice, and exert himself to create conditions for the welfare and prosperity of his subjects.

As the Shaikh had closely observed religious activities and experiments at Akbar’s court before his journey to Hejaz, he tried through this letter to bring to Jahangir’s notice the importance of the Prophet of Islam and his mission. He also desired to check the tendency initiated in Akbar’s time, of seeking spiritual solace from the teachings of other religions and schools of thought. Though the letter was couched in polite and academic language, it did not leave out any point that the Shaikh wanted Jahangir to bear in mind.

Owing to lack of information in this regard, it is difficult to say anything about the relationship between Jahangir and Shaikh Abdul Haqq during the early years of Jahangir’s reign. It was only in his fourteenth regnal year that Shaikh Abdul Haqq's famous work, Akhbar-ul Akhyar was brought to Jahangir’s notice. The emperor was so impressed by the book that he invited the Shaikh to his court, Jahangir writes in his Tuzuk-i Jahangiri:

Shaikh Abdul Haqq Dehlawi, who belongs to the class of learned and pious people, had the good fortune of paying respects to me. He has compiled an account of the mashaikh of India. He produced the book before me, He had put great labour in its preparation. He has been leading a life of resignation and seclusion in a corner of Delhi for a long time. He is a revered personality and his company is not devoid of mystic delight.
The emperor is also reported to have granted village Bakrwal near Delhi to the Shaikh. At first the Shaikh declined to accept, but on Jahangir’s insistence he reluctantly accepted it. Shaikh Abdul Haqq generally spent his time in prayer, instructing scholars in science, or writing on various aspects of Islamic theology, history, etc. Unfortunately Jahangir’s relations with him could not remain permanently cordial. The reasons for this is not known. Anyhow, Jahangir summoned him to Kashmir in 1627. But, as Prince Dara Shukoh, in his Sakinat-ul Auliya, says:

When Shaikh Abdul Haqq reached Lahore, he visited Miyan Mir to obtain his blessings. The latter assured the Shaikh that he would return to his native place without meeting the Emperor and join his family. It so happened that four days after Shaikh Abdul Haqq’s visit to Miyan Mir news of the death of Jahangir was received.

Miyan Mir of Lahore, a saint of the Qadiri order was another prominent spiritual figure during Jahangir’s period. The latter came to know of him in January 1620, while travelling from Sirhind and Lahore to Kashmir. He says in his Tuzuk-i Jahangiri:

It was reported to me that in Lahore that a saint, Miyan Shaikh Muhammad Mir, a lord of ecstasy, had seated himself in the corner with reliance upon God. He was rich in his poverty and indifferent to the material world. My truth seeking mind was not at rest without meeting him and my desire to see him increased. I wrote to him explaining my desire to meet him. Notwithstanding his old age and weakness he took the trouble to come to me. I sat with him for a long time alone and enjoyed a thorough interview with him. Truly he is a man of noble qualities. The existence of such people is
exceedingly rare. I heard him speak sublime words on truth and gnosis. Although I desired to make him some gift, I found that his spirit was too high for this and I did not press my wish. I left him the skin of a white antelope to pray upon, and he immediately bade me farewell and went back to Lahore.²²⁰

Dara Shukoh writes that when Jahangir requested the saint to ask for something from him, Miyan Mir replied, ‘Would you be prepared to give me whatever I ask for from you?’ The emperor said, ‘Certainly, you may take it for granted’. The Mir, thereupon, said, ‘I then ask you to allow me to depart’.²²¹

According to the Sakinat-ul Auliya, after some time, Jahangir, again wished to meet Miyan Mir and it appears that a second meeting took place. There are two letters in which Jahangir wrote to the saint in his own handwriting. Jahangir addresses Miyan Mir as Hazrat-Pir Dastgir and seeks his blessings and favours so that he and his people may gain success against the ruler of Iran. Emperor Jahangir hoped that with Miyan Mir’s blessings and benedictions the cruel Shah Abbas of Iran (who had besieged Qandahar in those days), would be punished with divine wrath.²²²

The sources also shed light on Jahangir’s relations with Amir Saiyid Abul Ula Akbarabadi.²²³ A descendant of the renowned Naqshbandi of Central Asia, Khwaja Ubaid Ullah Ahrar, he had been in the service of Akbar as a mansabdar to Raja Man Singh. It appears from his biographical accounts that Abul Ula also held the mansab of 3000 zat and sawars, and resided at Burdwan in Bengal. At the time of his accession Jahangir asked the nobles and officials of the empire to be present before him in Agra. Amir Abul Ula, in compliance with the orders, also called on him. The emperor had already come to know of this noble saint’s administrative and personal career, scholarship, and piety.²²⁴
Jahangir is said to have been so deeply impressed by Abul Ula that he allowed him to visit his court, and even his private chambers, at any time without prior permission. It is also said that Jahangir always asked the saint to sit beside him.\textsuperscript{225} Once Abul Ula visited Jahangir on the occasion of a royal festival and found him drinking wine. The emperor offered him a cup with great affection but Abul Ula declined. When Jahangir insisted, Abul Ula took the cup of wine and threw it on the ground before the emperor. Thereupon, Jahangir looking at the saint with fury, asked him, ‘Are you not afraid of the Imperial wrath?’ Amir replied boldly and confidently, ‘I am only afraid of the Divine wrath, the \textit{Qahr-i Ilahi}.\textsuperscript{226} Soon after he renounced the world and after distributing his health and property among the poor and needy, left Agra for Ajmer.

In Ajmer Abul Ula is said to have stayed for a long time in the shrine of Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti so as to benefit from his spiritual blessings. The Amir also received \textit{Uwaisiyat}, to directly benefit from anybody’s spirituality without the mediation of a \textit{pir}, from the spirit of the Khwaja. It was on the Khwaja’s mystical instruction that Abul Ula later joined the Naqshbandi mystic discipline and married the daughter of his uncle, Amir Abdullah.\textsuperscript{227} After a while, he settled down in Agra and seems to have led a retired life.

Jahangir is also reported to have maintained cordial relations with the famous \textit{Alim} of his time, Mulla Abdul Hakim Siyalwoti.\textsuperscript{228} Unique in his age in so far as his knowledge of the rational and traditional sciences of Islam was concerned and as an author of scholarly works, Abdul Hakim occupied a respectable place in Jahangir’s time. It was on the latter’s desire that he started teaching the Quran and Islamic sciences in Lahore.\textsuperscript{229}
References
5. *Siyar-ul Auliya*, p. 120.
6. K.A. Nizami’s above referred article, “Early Indo-Muslim Mystics and their attitude towards the state”.
7. Ibid.
13. Ibid., pp. 18-19.
14. *Maktubat-i Quddusi* (Ms.) Letter 34, pp. 82-86.
15. Ibid. (Ms.) Letter 34, pp. 82-84.
16. Ibid. (Ms.) Letter 34, pp. 83.
17. Ibid. (Ms.) Letter 34, pp. 83-86.
20. Ibid., p. 63.


25. Ultimately Mughal inroads and plunder started. Each time Mohammad Babur Badshah came (the people of) the whole country fled and suffered destruction. We found refuge in this village of Gangoh.... When the pargana of Dipalpur was plundered many religious scholars, and pious men were killed and libraries were destroyed. Shaikh Abdul Shakur, son of Shaikh Muhammad Arif was present and asked Shaikh Abdul Quddus to pray to Almighty as religious scholars and pious men were being killed and the land of Islam was being destroyed. *Lataif-i Quddusi*, p. 63.


27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid

30. Ibid


46. Bairam Khan's services to the ruling family, and newly established Mughal Kingdom were immense. The period of his Regency (1556-1560) is very significant in the history of the Mughal Empire. For details, see, *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, II, pp. 24, 92, 117.


48. Ibid

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid., III, p. 92; See also *Ain-i Akbari* (English tr.), I, p. 614.

51. Ibid., III, p. 92.


54. The incident as narrated by Badauni, is as follows: Shaikh Daud asked the Makhdum-ul Mulk, the purpose of summoning the religious persons.
Makhdum-ul Mulk replied, "It is reported to me that your disciples in performing the litanies of *zikr* (initial formulae) say, "*Ya Daud, Ya Daud". The Shaikh retorted, "Probably there is some misunderstanding in hearing owing to the similarity of sounds, for my followers say, "*Ya Wadud, Ya wadud". Being a man of genius and remarkable talent, the sufi not only repudiated the charge but also convinced Makhdum-ul Mulk, *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, III, pp. 32-49.


57. Ibid., p. 146.


59. According to the author of *Mirat-ul Haqaiq* (p. 89) the village is situated at a distance of 9 *kos*, in the South Westernly direction. *Hayat-i Muhaddis Dehlawi*, p. 149.

60. Dara Shukoh writes that all the charges levelled against him were baseless. The reasons are not given by him. *Sakinat-ul Auliya*, p. 115.


63. *Hayat-i Muhaddis Dehlavi*, p. 149.

64. *Tawarikh-i Sultan Bahu*, pp. 8-9, Dr. Lajwanti finds no other reason for Bahu's indifference towards Aurangzeb, except that he disapproved of his treatment of the *Sufis* and friends of the prince Dara Shukoh, whom the Qadiris, loved and counted as one of themselves, *Punjabi Sufi Poets*, p. 49.

65. *Tarikh-i Qadriyyah*, f. 146b.
66. Sultan Ahmad shah Bahmani not only conferred upon Shah Nurullah bin Khalilullah the title of Malik-ul Mashaikh, but also built a mosque and a city Niamatabad in his honour. Tarikh-i Farishta, I, p. 329.

67. Badauni, writing on Muharram 3, 1004 (1595) says, “This time Shaikh Musa Gilani, son of Shaikh Hamid, and younger brother of Shaikh Abdul Qadir, who was the sajjadah nashin of Uch had joined Imperial service with the rank of 500. Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, II, p. 404, III, p. 92.


69. Ibid., III, p. 92.

70. Muhammad Sadiq writes that Emperor appointed him Sadr of Bengal with the mansab of 300. Tabaqat-i Shahjahani, f. 412b. It is noteworthy that Shaikh Ilah Bakhsh was sent to Gujarat in 1578-79; at that time Shahbaz was in Western Rajputana.

71. Shahbaz Khan's original name was Shah Ruhullah. His ancestors belonged to a respectable family and he himself spent his early life as a dervish. He was a descendant in sixth lines to Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya Multani, a sufi of the Suhrawardi order. He left his theological studies and life of spiritual devotion and entered Akbar's service and was appointed kotwal with a rank of 300. He acted as Mir-i Tuzuk, Bakhshi, and Mir Bakhshi. He accompanied Akbar as Bakhshi Begi in his march to Gujarat in 1572. He died at Ajmer and was buried inside the northern part of the tomb of Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti. For details; Maasir-ul Umara, II, pp. 591,593, 590-973, Tabaqat-i Akbari, II, pp. 333, 363; Ain-i Akbari, I, p. 399; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, II, pp. 171, 190-91, 266-67, 280-81, 283, 285, 287, 289, 290, 296, 388, 402, Akbar Name, II, pp. 370-71, III, pp. 189, 198, 202, 218,246,278,314,323-25,332-33, 395-96,401,402-04, 416-18, 438-537, 547, 565, 573, 584, 647, 699, 700,702.


74. Ibid. f. 610b.

75. The following grant documents bear the seal of Saiyid Ahmad Qadiri. Jahangir's *Farman*, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 12, 17, 19. See Saiyid Abdul Bari Ajmeri, *Asnad-us Sanadid*.


77. In the 20 Regnal year of Shahjahan's reign when *Sadr-us Sudur*, Saiyid Jalal died, the Emperor summoned Saiyid Hidayatullah Qadiri to his presence (at that time he was acting as the *Diwan* of Qandhar) and appointed him *Sadr-us Sudur*, with an increment of 1000 zat and 100 sawar in his rank. *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, II, p. 456. For further details, Rafat F. Bilgrami, *Religious and Quasi Religious Departments of the Mughal Period*, Aligarh, 1984, pp. 44, 47.

78. For details, author's article "*Mian Mir's Relations with the Mughal Rulers*", *Journal of the Punjab University*, vol. XXIII, 1986, Lahore, pp. 7-21.


83. *Sakinat-ul Auliya*, p. 46.
84. Ibid., p. 47.
85. Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, p. 287.
87. It was in 1622 when Shah Abbas the Safavid ruler, besieged Qandhar and Jahangir in deep distress, wrote, "kindly remember this humble servant, please pray for the liberation of the servants of Almighty at the time of your prayers." Sakinat-ul Auliya, p. 48.
90. Badshah Nama, pp. 12, 65.
92. Shahjahan Nama, III, p. 640.
95. Sakinat-ul Auliya, p. 49.
96. Shahjahan spent yak pas (29 minutes) in their presence. Sakinat-ul Auliya, p. 49.
97. Ibid., p. 51.
100. A celebrated Shattari sufi of his time, a very learned man busied himself in teaching jurisprudence, mysticism, commentary and traditions. He
founded a madrasa at Burhanpur. He died in 1596-97 and was buried in the same city. Tazkira-i Ulama-i Hind, p. 379.


102. Ibid., I, pp. 65, 334; Safinat-ul Auliya, f 233a.


104. Farhat-un Nazirin, f 191 b. The same authority mentions that Mulla Khwaja Behari paid several visits to Aurangzeb between 1657-58 and received his favours. One such visit was at Bagh-i Farah Bakhsh, Lahore.

105. Mirat-ul Khayal, f 36b.


107. Tawakkul Beg Kulabi was the son of a Turkish soldier who served in a subordinate position to Aitqad Khan, the governor of Kashmir. He met Mulla Shah in 1631, at the age of sixteen and became his disciple. Their close associations lasted for about forty years. His Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi, compiled in 1667, supplies many details about personal and religious life and scholarly achievement of Mulla Shah. It also provides useful information about the political, social and cultural life of the period. For details, Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi, ff. 12a, 24a, 26b, 27b, 37a, 38a, 50ab, 59b. Author's article on "Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi". In the Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society, University of Punjab, Lahore, Sept. 1984, pp. 15-22.


Tawakkul describes it in his own vivid way: "On the insistence of ulama, the King was forced to take this action. The news reached Kashmir. The people assembled around Mulla Shah. The signs of pleasure were manifested from his appearance, while his companions were grieved. They told him to go to Tibet. But he replied that life and death were equal to him and he wanted eternal death, so he might be counted among the martyrs. Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi, ff 27b, 22ab. For further details, see author's article (A Mahzar in Shahjahan's Court) in *Journal of Pakistan Historical Society*, vol. XXXIV, part-I, pp. 25-32.


113. Ibid., f 28b.


117. *Ilm-ul Yaqin* (certainly of mind); A knowledge by inference.

118. *Ain-ul Yaqin* (certainly of seeing through eyes, i.e. certainty of sight).


124. Ibid., f. 53a.

125. Ibid., ff 57ab.
126. Ibid., ff. 59b, 60ab, 66b.
127. Ibid., f 67a.
128. Ibid., ff. 50b, 51a, 55b.
129. Ibid., f 50b.
132. Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi, f. 55b. In strictly military terms, one might say that Shahjahan was victorious. Tawakkul Beg had described the effects of Shahjahan's Balkh campaign. According to him, the Uzbeks were defeated and scattered like lotus and ants. Balkh was destroyed and desolated. Price of grain increased at Balkh bringing misery to the people. Nazar Muhammad was forced to plead for peace. Subsequently Shahjahan withdrew his forces from Balkh after reinstating Nazar Muhammad in the territories that had been earlier taken from him forcibly by the Mughals and returned to Shahjahanabad.
133. This letter, dated 19 Ziqa'da 1057/1646 was written from Sirhind, Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi, f 57ab.
134. Ibid., f. 62a.
135. Ibid., ff. 67ab.
136. Ibid., f. 62a.
137. Ibid., ff. 71a-73b-166.
138. For further details, Ibid., ff. 45b, 59a, 60ab, 62a, 63a, 66b,67a.
139. Gulzar-i-Abrar (MS).
143. *Gulzar-i-Abrar* (MS.)


153. These letters were given by Shaikh Muhammad Jalal, a disciple of Sayyid Muhammad Ghaus Gwaliari, to Muhammad Ghausi, the author of *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, Ghausi has copied these letters in his *Tazkira*.


155. Badauni, Vol. II, p. 8 (English Translation), In an earlier volume (vol. II, p. 02 Trans.) Badauni says that although he was eighty years of age at that time, yet he had wonderful freshness on his face and his colour was remarkably fine.


159. The treatise was *Iqbal Nama*, vol. II, p. 149 in which describing the circumstances of his own exaltation, he said that in his waking moments he had an interview and conversation with the Lord, who thus gave him superiority over the Prophet, Vol. II, pp. 34-35; see also *Akbar Nama*, vol. II, p. 135.
161. Ibid.
164. Badauni, says that *Fattu* was a devoted disciple of the Shaikh — *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, vol. II, p. 62 (Trans.).
171. Towards the end of 1601 A.D. (1010 A.H.) Shaikh Farid Bukhari was assigned the duty to check the levy of unauthorized dues by some corrupt officials on the routes from Agra to Lahore. (see *Akbarnama*, vol. III, p. 802). It seems that during his visit to Delhi and Lahore he would meet Khwaja Baqi Billah.


178. Ibid., Also see *Rud-i-Kausar*, pp. 186-189.


185. Ibid., Letter No. 65.


187. *State and Culture in Medieval India*, p. 166.


Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi exerted his influence on Shaikh Farid Bukhari. His *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, contains many letters-addressed to the latter. These epistles give a clear impression that the Mujaddid looked upon this great Mughal noble as an ardent supporter of
Islam. These letters also show that there had been previous consultations and that mutual understanding had been reached between Ahmad Sirhindi and Shaikh Farid, and also between Shaikh Farid and Prince Saleem. The saint could not have written to such a high dignity so frankly unless he had found his ideas acceptable. For detailed study, see, K.A. Nizami, 'The Naqshbandi Influence on Mughal Rulers and Politics', *Islamic Culture*, vol. 39, no. 1, January 1965, pp. 41-52; S. Nurul Hasan, 'Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi and Mughal Politics', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Annamalai Session, 1945, pp. 248-57; Muhammad Aslam, 'Jahangir and Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, vol. X, pp. 135-48. For Shaikh Farid Bukhari's relations with Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi: See, Muhammad Umar, 'Shaikh Farid Bukhari's Relations with his Contemporary Ulama and Saints', Cyclostyled IHC volume of 1977, Research Library, Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, AMU, Aligarh.


191. *Ibid*.


193. Born in 1564 in Kabul, Baqi Billah travelled to many cities and towns of northern India, Afghanistan and Central Asia with the intention to meet and benefit from Sufis and mashaikhs, and finally joined the mystic fold of Maulana Khwaji Amkangi at Amkana near Bukhara. The latter authorised Baqi Billah into the Naqshbandi order as his khalifa and then asked him to go to Delhi and spread the Naqshbandi teachings there.
Baqi Billah founded the Naqshbandi order on his arrival in Delhi in 1599, but died a few years later. In this short period he attracted not only a large multitude of common people but also many important nobles of the Mughal empire and eminent Ulamas and Sufis of the time. Khwaja Baqi Billah's greatest achievement was to produce a famous disciple and Khalifa, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. Zubdat-ul Maqamat, pp. 5-61; Hazarat-ul-Quds, pp. 213-60.

194. According to Badruddin Sirhindi, Prince Khurram (Shahjahan) was devoted to the Shaikh. Due to the situation in the court and the emperor's summons, he was anxious and worried, and tried his best to save Ahmad Sirhindi from the wrath of his father, Emperor Jahangir. He sent Maulana Afzal Khan and Mufti Abdur Rahman, eminent Alims, to Sirhind to convince the Shaikh to observe the customary obeisance to Jahangir. These Ulama conveyed Prince Khurram's message to the Shaikh that prostrating in respect (sajda i-tazimi), before the king was lawful in some conditions, and if the (Shaikh Ahmad) did so, he (Prince Khurram) assured and guaranteed him full protection. Though the Shaikh, who had much affection for Prince Khurram (Shahjahan), declined saying that his (Khurram's) proposal was an act of departure from the "Divine Laws" (known in the terminology of Shariah as rukhsat); prostration is only for God. Hazarat-ul Quds, vol. II, p. 116.

195. Ibid., pp. 115-16.

196. Ibid., p. 115.


198. Ibid., p. 308. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi's stay in the royal camp with Jahangir has been a point of controversy among the scholars. Was his presence there really voluntary, as Jahangir has said in his Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, or was he forced to remain with the emperor Muhammad Masud Ahmad, Sirat-Mujaddid-i Alf-i Thani Karachi: Madina Publishing Company, 1976, p. 198; S.M. Ikram, Rud-i-Kausar, p. 273 .
It may also be noted in this connection that the author of the *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, the first biography of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, completed in 1627, writes, 'In his old age for three years on account of the opposition of the Emperor of the time, the Shaikh had to go to several cities along with the royal army'. Similarly Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, in a letter to his Son, Muhammad Masum, also expresses his disappointment and helplessness (*Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*; vol. III, Letter 83). In another letter the Shaikh says, 'I consider it a good fortune to live in the royal camp though with disappointment and helplessness' (ibid., Letter 87).


202. When in March 1615 Jahangir appointed Shaikh Farid Bukhari, then governor of Punjab, to lead an expedition to the Kangra fort, the latter too had approached Shaikh Ahmad for a blessing. In one of his letters to Shaikh Farid, the saint not only prays to God for his success (in the Kangra expedition) but excuses himself from not taking part in the expedition. Sirhindi writes, I am unable to come to you on account of my physical weakness, otherwise I would have come to persuade you personally to do this act; (*Maktubat*, vol. I, Letter 269). The author of the *Hazarat-ul Quds* has also mentioned Shaikh Farid's request to the saint on this occasion (p. 178).


205. Ibid., Letter 72.

206. Ibid., letters 78, 85.

208. Born in 958 AH /1551 AD in Delhi. His father Maulana Saifuddin and grandfather S'ad Ullah were held as great Ulama of their times. The famous historian, Rizq Ullah Mushtaqi was Shaikh Abdul Haqq's uncle. The Shaikh received his education from his father and then proceeded to Hejaz. On his way to Mecca and Madina he stayed for a year at Ahmedabad and benefited from the scholarship and spirituality of the famous saint Shaikh Wajihuddin Alavi. In Mecca, Shaikh Abdul Haqq remained at the feet of the great scholar of sciences and renowned mystic of the Qadiri order, Maulana Abdul Wahab Muttaqi. During his stay at Hejaz he visited the mausoleum of the Prophet of Islam at Madina. His work on the life of the Prophet of Islam, Madarij-un Nabuwwah, in Persian, earned him great fame. He was a disciple of the famous Shaikh Musa Gilani. As a member of the Qadiri order, the Shaikh was keenly devoted to its founder Shaikh Abdul Qadir jilani of Baghdad, and begins his Akhbar-ul Akhyar with a description of Ghauth-ul Azam, the title with which Shaikh Abdul Qadir jilani is addressed. Shaikh Abdul Haqq, during the reign of Akbar, had been in close contact with Abul Faiz Faizi. His various visits to the latter in Agra had provided him with opportunities to observe the religious condition of Akbar's court. He had been closely associated with Khwaja Baqi Billah, the founder of the Naqshbandi order in India. Shaikh Abdul Haqq died in 1642 during the reign of Shahjahan. For a detailed biography of him, See, K.A. Nizami, Hayat-i Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddith Dehlawi, Delhi: Nadwat-ul Musannifin, 1964.


211. As mentioned above, Shaikh Abdul Haqq through his association with Faizi (Shaikh Muhammad Ikram, *Rud-i Kausar*, rpt., Delhi: Taj Company, 1984, pp. 358-61), and Farid Bukhari, had the opportunity to have lived in Fatehpur Sikri for ten or twelve years. He must therefore, have, got to known the religious conditions in Akbar's court. See, Nizami, op. cit., p. 145; Ikram, op. cit., pp. 348-9).


213. As stated earlier, this comprises biographical as well as mystical accounts of the Sufis of different orders that flourished in the close of the sixteenth century. Nizami’s view is that this work was finally completed in 1591-2. It starts with the biographical accounts and teachings of the founder of the Chishti order in India, Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti of Ajmer. In order to express his deep devotion, the author first gives details about the life, teachings and spiritual attainments of the great saint of Islamic world and founder of the Qadiri order, Shaikh Abdul Qadiri Jilani Baghdadi. The *Akhbar-ul Akhyar* was published in 1866-7 by Matba-i Muhammadi. It also published two later editions, one in 1892 and another in 1914. The first Urdu translation of the *Akhbar-ul Akhyar* appeared in 1910. The manuscripts of *Akhbar-ul Akhyar* are found in the Asiatic Society, British Museum, Cambridge University Library and Khuda Bakhsh Library.


216. Dara Shikoh remarked that some people had wrongly attributed things and events that never occurred to Shaikh Abdul Haqq, with the intention of annoying the Emperor. See Sakinat-ul Auliya, Tehran: Matbu'at-i Ilmi, 1965, p. 115. But the author of Mirat-ul Haqaiq says that Nurjahan was not on good terms with Shaikh Abdul Haqq and always wanted to harm him. He suspects that she created misunderstanding in Jahangir's mind. See: Hayat-i Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddith, p. 149.

217. Nizami, op. cit, p. 148; Rizvi, op. cit., p. 161; Rud-i Kausar, p. 382.


219. Born in 1550 in Swistan near Thatta (Sindh), Shaikh Muhammad Mir, popularly known as Miyan Mir or Miyan Jeo, was a descendant of the second caliph, Umar al-Faruq al-Azam. At the age of twenty he shifted to Lahore for higher education and settled there. He spent most of his time in gardens and in the wilderness, engaged in prayer and meditation and hard spiritual exercises, mostly keeping night vigils. On account of his poor health he returned to Lahore after a year and died there in 1635.


221. Sakinat-ul Auliya, p. 47.

222. Ibid., pp. 47-8.

223. Born in 1582, he belonged to an aristocratic scholar family. His grandfather Amir Abdus Salam, who earlier lived in Narela near Delhi, had subsequently shifted to Fatehpur Sikri on the request of Akbar. Abul Ula passed his early boyhood in Fatehpur Sikri where in the meantime his father Amir Abul Wafa passed away. After his grandfather's death in Mecca, Amir Abul Ula came under the care and guidance of his maternal grandfather Khwaja Muhammad Faiz, popularly known as Khwaja Faizi, who used to live in Burdwan in Bengal. There he gained mastery in the art of warfare and other crafts. Meanwhile Khwaja Faizi
died fighting in a battle under the command of Raja Man Singh against the Afghans in 1592. As Man Singh is said to have had a deep affection for Abul Ula, he recruited the latter in his maternal grandfather's place. A murid and Khalifa of his uncle Saiyid Amir Abdullah, Abul Ula was basically a Sufi of the Naqshbandi Silsilah, but adopted various customs and traditions of the Chishti order. His own Silsilah came to be known after him as the Abul Ulaiya Silsilah. Amir Abul Ula was succeeded by his younger son Amir Nurul Ula. His shrine, popularly known as the dargah of Saiyidna, has been an important Sufi centre through the centuries. For a detailed biography, see *Azkar-ul Ahrar, Asrar-i Abul Ula*.

224. *Asrar-i Abul Ula* (MS) f. 11a. But the sources of the political history of the time are totally silent in this regard.


226. Ibid. Also *Asrar-i Abul Ula* (MS), f. 16.


228. He was a renowned scholar of the seventeenth century. A pupil of Maulana Kamaluddin Kashmiri and Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi, Mulla Abdul Hakim had been a classmate of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi during his studies in Siyalkot. It was Abdul Hakim who first addressed the latter as Mujaddid Alf-i Thani. He died in 1068 AH/1658 AD. For details, see, *Khazinat-ul Asfia* (Urdu trans.), pp. 338-9.

229. Ibid., p. 338.