Chapter 1

Eminent Sufis of the 16th-17th Centuries
Chapter – I

EMINENT SUFIS OF THE 16TH-17TH CENTURIES

(I) Chishtis

The most distinguished chishti saint at the advent of the sixteenth century was Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi. He belongs to the Sabiriya branch of the chishti silsilah. Shaikh Abdul Quddus received khilafat from the succeed his pir Shaikh Muhammad, the grandson of Shaikh Ahmad Abdul Haqq of Rudauli. He himself resided there but in 1491 he migrated to Shahabad near Ambala in eastern Punjab where he lived for about thirty years. Finally, in 1526, he shifted to Gangoh where he died in a ripe old age in 1537. He was a good terms with Sultan Sikandar Lodi and Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. He also maintained cordial relations with Emperors Babur and Humayun. Among his work Anwar-al uyun, Risalah-i Qudsiya, Rushd Nama, Gharib-al Fawaid and Mazhar al-Ajaib are very famous. He also wrote a commentary on Ibn Arabi’s Fusus-al Hikam. The collection of his letters Maktubat-i Qudusiya also deserves special mentions.

The ancestors of Shaikh Jalal were from Balkh. Geneologically, he was a Faruqi and born about 1469-70. By the age of eight he memorized the Quran and by seventeen his education had been completed. He began his career as a teacher and gradually emerged as Mufti essuing Fatwas based on verses of the Quran. Turning to spirituality, he renounced his profession and joined the discipline of Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi. Shaikh Jalal died on 9 January, 1582. He wrote a treatise on revenue administration to illustrate the rulings on that subject of the Hanafite Law makers. Another of his work Irshad-ut talibin
was a guide to mystics. It advised those entering the mystical life to discover a perfect and conscientious guide with a faultless perception of the Sharia, Tariqa and Haqiqa. He too was an expert of puss-i unfass the breath control.²

Shaikh Jalal was succeeded by his son-in-law and Khalifa Shaikh Nizamuddin bin Shaikh Abdush shakur, who was an accomplished scholar and teacher of the Wahdat-al wujud. He wrote the commentaries on the sawanih of Ahmad al Ghazali, and Lamat of Iraqi, a commentary on the Quran. He also completed the treatises entitled Risala-i Haqiqa and Risala-i Balkhiyya.

According to Abdullah Khweshgi, Shaikh Nizamuddin was an expert on the Sharia, Tariqa, Haqiqa and Maarifa. He was also an authority on the question of conversion of baser metals to Gold (Kimiya), and all the sources of Gold known only to the ‘world of mystery’ (ghayb) had been revealed to him. As his expenditure greatly exceeded his resources he was assumed to be an alchemist and the Emperor Jahangir, jealous of this suspected power, exiled him to Mecca. After yet another pilgrimage he returned to India, going straight to Burhanpur. Although he was warmly welcomed by Shaikh Isa Sindhi and his disciples, Shaikh Nizam decided to move on to Balkh.³

Shaikh Abu Said Chishti Sabiri Gangohi, a grandson of Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi, was also a famous follower of Shaikh Nizam Thaneswari. In his youth Shaikh Abu Said was in the service of Army. But developing interest for mystical life, he soon gave of his job, and joined the discipline of Shaikh Jalal. But the later transferred him, for spiritual training to Shaikh Nizam Thaneswari. when Shaikh Nizam settled in Balkh, Abu Said visited him there. After his returned to Gangoh, he was assigned the duty to Impress Shaikh Abu
Said conferred his khilafat on his several murids, one of his khalifas, Shaikh Ibrahim, remained in Saidpur near Gangoh, another Shaikh Muhammad Ibrahim was in Saharanpur and Shaikh Khwaja was in Panipat. Shaikh Muhibullah Mubariz of Allahabad was born in 1588 at Sadrapur, near Allahabad. He then visited Rudauli where he became a friends of Shaikh Abdur Rahman chishti. According to Abdur Rahman his teachings convinced many learned Ulama who were initially hostile on the doctrine of the *Wahdat-al wujud* of its validity. Although Shaikh Muhibullah could number among his admirers a prince Dara Shukoh, throughout his stay in Allahabad he encountered considerable obstacles through the enmity of the orthodox ulama and the opposition of philosophers (such as Mulla Mahmood Jaunpuri) to the *Wahdat-ul wujud*.

During the reign of Shahjahan opposition on a philosophical basis to the entire sufi movement and to ideas associated with the *Wahdat-al wujud* was centred around Mulla Mahmud Jaunpuri and his disciples philosophic and intellectual arguments were stressed, as opposed to the mystic and ecstatic ideal. Only two Sufis were sigled out by Shaikh Muhibullah as being opposed to the *Wahdat-al wujud*. These were Shaikh Alauddaula Simnani and Mir Saiyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz. Shaikh Muhibullah had produced a book entitled *Manazir-i Akhass-ul Khawass*, which outlined the main teachings of Ibn Arabi. The three pillars for a believer in wahdat were outlined in the ‘Seh-Rukni’. Among other works written by him are *Ghayat-ul ghayat, Maghalit-al amma, Sirr-ul Khawass, Turq-ul khawass, Ibadat-i Akhass-ul Khawass* and *Risala-i wujud-i Mullaq*. His Makatib contains a fine defence of wahdat theories. Although reportedly Aurangzeb took grave exception to the work, this
was probably due to the Shaikh's intimate relations with Dara Shukoh, since Aurangzeb a scholar of some standing, could not possibly have seen the work as anything but a restatement of the *Fusus-al Hikam*.

Shah Abul Maali Chishti Sabiri was one of the outstanding Khalifas of Shaikh Dawud, his education became the responsibility of Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq and his spiritual training was finally completed under Shaikh Dawud. A khalifa of Shaikh Dawud was Shaikh Sundha. Shaikh Abdul Mumin, the father of Shaikh Sundha was a Jagirdar from Saharanpur, Saiyid Muhammad said, also known as Saiyid Miran Bhikh Chishti Sabiri, was the Khalifa of shah Abul Maali and was prominent among eighteenth century Chishtiyas in the Delhi-Saharanpur Region.

One of the Khalifas of Miran Bhikh Shah Bahlul Barki Chishti Sabiri, an Afghan, was a prolific writer. He lived at Jalandhar and also obtained training from Shah Bulaq Qadiri of Lahore. He wrote works on Sufism, his main achievement being commentaries on the *Diwan* of Hafiz. A number of disciple, Sabha Chand, who wrote under the name of Nadir Shah Lutfullah of Ambala disciple of Miran Shaikh, wrote a book called the *Samrat-ul Fuad* on the miracles of Miran Bhikh.4

One of Delhi's most significant chishtis was Shaikh Abdul Aziz bin Hasan Tahir was born at Jaunpur in 1492-93. Trained by Miyan Qazi Khan, he became a very strict adherent to such traditional Chishtiya beliefs as trust in God and practices such as self mortification. Among the Shaikhs disciples was Shaikh Abdul Ghani of Badaun. He migrated to Delhi where he was given a minor position by the Governor, Tatar Khan. In 1595-96 Mirza Abdur Rahim
Khan-i-khanan visited his khanqah and the Shaikh, on the Khan-i-Khana's request for counsel urged him to follow strictly the laws of the Sharia. Shaikh Chain Laddah of Suhna (twenty-five miles from Delhi in Rewari) was another Khalifa of Shaikh Abdul Aziz. Akbar invited him to his court at Fatehpur Sikri and assigned him quarters near the Ibadat khana. Occasionally the emperor would hold private discussion with him in the night and witness his Namaz-i Makus.5

The most prominent Chishtiyya to contribute to the classical musical traditions established by Amir Khusraw of Delhi was Shaikh Bahauddin bin Alauddin from Barnawa in Jhanjhana, near Delhi, one of his ancestors, Shaikh Badruddin bin Sharafuddin Ansari had settled in Delhi and founded a school near the Minara-i-Shamsi (Qutub-Minar). Later he became the disciple of Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmud Chiragh-i-Delhi.

Shaikh Badruddin's successor, Shaikh Nasiruddin, migrated to Shaikhupura Rapri, in the Mainpuri district east of Delhi. His son Shaikh Pir Buddhan, became the pir of Sultan Husain Shah Sharqi of Jaunpur. Shaikh Pir Buddhan was a wrestler, an archer and above all else, a great patron of musician. The Shaikh's fame soon turned Rapri into an important centre for both Persian and Indian music. In Sultan Sikandar Lodis reign the peaceful life of Shaikh pir Buddhan was disturbed by the Afghan invasion of the reign. Although the Shaikh wished to migrate to Herat, and back to Barnawa where they finally settled.6

Shaikh Fariduddin bin Shaikh Bayazid Bin Shaikh pir Buddhan founded a village called Shaikhupura near Barnawa where he built a Jamaat khana, a
*khanqah* and a *Mosque*, artisans and peasants from surrounding villages. Eminent Hindu and Muslim musicians continually called on Shaikh Bahauddin at Shaikhupura, among them Naik Harkaran, Naik Harnath, Naik Chirju, Naik Sahun Ilahdad Rababi (a performer on the rebeck), Sudhar Rababi, Bazu Rababi, Bhagwan Rababi, Parbin Khan Binkar (harpist) and Karbin Khan. The famous singer and musician, Nilkanth, often discussed intricate aspects of music with the Shaikh and was greatly impressed with his talent. Although the Shaikh only heard one musical recital by the celebrated Tansen. He ordered his son to serve the Shaikh as a servant and then proceeded to send him a gift of twenty-five *Ashrafis* (Gold coins) annually. Shaikh Bichchu and his disciples, Makhu and Hamza of Patna, were also among Shaikh Bahauddin’s many admirers.

The Shaikh composed his own *jikris* (zikrs) in praise of the fourth caliph Ali and the spiritual ancestors of Khwaja Muinuddin. Although he was an enthusiastic lecturer on the innovations of Amir Khusraw, the Shaikh considered the dhurpad\(^7\) of Raja Man Singh of Gwalior (1486-1516) to be a retrograde step in the history of Indian music and ultimately harmful to its classical forms. He invented new tunes for the *Bishunpads*\(^8\) in keeping with the verses of Kabir and Surdas, but rejected the more common Bishunpad tunes of Hindu Bairagis and urged his musicians to do likewise. In spite of this local Vaishnavites and Bairagis frequently visited him to recite their verses of Kabir.

The rise of Fatehpur Sikri on the ridge of the sikri hills as a great sufic centre in Northern India and its establishment as the new Mughal capital was a direct result of the spiritual eminence of Shaikh Salim bin Bahauddin Chishti.
Shaikh Salim's ancestors were descendants of Baba Farid, he was born in 1479-80. In the reign of Bahlul Lodi (1451-1489), Shaikh Salim's parents migrated to Sikri. In 1524-25 Shaikh Salim began to pilgrimage to Mecca and visiting Iraq, Syria, Turkey, Iran, returning to Sikri in 1537-38. The Shaikh married a number of times and had a large family. After the birth on 30 August, 1569 of prince Salim Akbar's long awaited son and heir, believed to be the result of Shaikh Salim's prayers. In the exuberance of the moment he ordered a satellite town to connect with Agra to be built on the Hills of Sikri, later called Fatehpur Sikri. Under the Salim personal supervision a splendid Mosque and khanqah were built into a complex. After his death on 14 February 1572, some of the Shaikhs numerous sons and grandson continued in service to Akbar and Jahangir and were rewarded for their loyalty with high Mansabs.

Shaikh Salim's disciples included Shaikh Husain Ahmad Chishti, a former disciple of Shaikh Aman Panipati, who was an excellent Calligrapher. His signed inscriptions on the base of the façade of the Buland Darwaza are superb and merited him a distinguished place in the history of Arabic Calligraphy in India.

Shaikh Hajji Husain Chishti died in 1591-92, and was buried to the south-west of the tomb now known as Islam Khan's tomb. Shaikh Taha Chishti was appointed his Khalifa at Ahmadabad. When Akbar was at Fatehpur Sikri in 1573, the defeated Sultan Mujaffar of Gujarat rebelled against him for the second time. Reportedly the Sultan visited the Shaikh and asked him to dress him in his armour as sign that he blessed him. The Shaikh replied that God had assigned Gujarat to Akbar and therefore he had no power to interfere. The
Sultan threatened to have the mystic killed before Akbar arrived, but finally agreed to wait a week before ordering his execution. Akbar marched from Fatehpur on 23 August 1573, and reached Ahmadabad, some 600 miles away, eleven days later, killing Muzaffar on 2 September 1573. Saiyid Muzammil, the son of Hajji Abdul Wahhab, seems to have entered Shaikh Salims discipleship after his pirs return from his first pilgrimage tour. On his pirs instructions, he served for a short period in the army of Sher Shah Sur during his Gwalior campaign.\textsuperscript{11}

Shaikh Bhikari, at Shah Numan’s suggestion he settled in Burhanpur where he established his own \textit{khanqah}. Sultan Ali Adil Shah I (1538-1580) of Bijapur was an enthusiastic devotee of Shaikh Bhikari one of Shaikh Bhikari’s Khalifas, Shah Mansur, was a \textit{Majzub} (Ecstatic). The son of Malik Jalal, his grandfather was a former Prime Minister of Ali Adil Shah. When in such ecstatic states he would compose verses Burhanpur bazaar naked. Apparently Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat (1526-37) discovered shah Mansur roaming in the Bazaar of burhanpur. The ruler tried to converse with him but the Shah ran towards the tomb of Shaikh Bhikari.

The reputation of the chishtiyya centre in Burhanpur was also enhanced by Shaikh Muhammad bin Fazlullah, whose ancestors came from Jaunpur. He obtained his spiritual education from Shaikh Safi Gujarati training in theology under Shaikh Wajiuddin. In the reign of Miran Muhammd II, son of Mubarak Shah II, the Faruqi Sultan of Khandesh, Shaikh Muhammad moved to Asirgarh before finally settling at Burhanpur, each year he divided his accrued futuh into there, giving one to his family, the other to the dervishes of his \textit{Khanqah} and
Shaikh Isa Sindhi, who uninhibitedly lectured on the *Fusus-al Hikam* the *Futuhat-al Makkiyya* and the *Insan-al Kamil*. In a short work, *Al tuhfa al-mursala ila ruh-al Nabi* written in Arabic, Shaikh Muhammad outlined the main points of the *Wahdat-al Wujud*, which he spiritedly defended.

In the 16th and 17th centuries Jaunpur and the regions between Lucknow and Allahabad continued to enjoy pre-eminence as Chishtiyya centers. Shaikh Maruf Jaunpuri and his pir Maulana Ilahadad (a scholar famous for his commentaries on the work of fiqh), were amongst prominent Chishtiyya Sufis who were members of the Silsilah of Razi Hamid Shah of Manikpur. Shaikh Nizamuddin, a khalifa of Shaikh Maruf. His pir appointed him his Khalifa in Amethi in the Lucknow district. The Shaikh led a retired life in the village of Amethi (now in the Amethi district in U.P.), visiting surrounding towns such as Gopamau, Khairabad and Fatehpur.

The Shaikh disapproved of sufi novices studying the *Fusus-al Hikam*. Such classics on Sufism as the *Ihya al-uhan* of Ghazali, the *Awarif-al Maarif* of Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi, the *Risala al-Makkiyya* of Shaikh Imam Qutbuddin Abdullah and the *Adab al-Muridin* of Shaikh Abun Najib as Suhrawardi.

In 1571-2, Shaikh Nijam died, his successor was his son Miyan Shaikh Muhammad, one of the latters disciples was Shaikh Mustafa Abdul Hamid Usman, who lived in the Barauna in Jaunpur, where he was very well known. In his old age Shaikh Mustafa migrated to Purniya in Bengal where he died.

Shaikh Sufi was also a disciple of Shaikh Nizamuddin of Amethi. After the death of his pir, Shaikh Sufi moved to Gujarat and studying the *Fusus al-
**Hikam** and the *Futuhat-al Makkiyya* under Shaikh Wahihuddin Gujarati, the leading figure among the disciples of Shaikh Sufi was Shaikh Halim Ibrahimabadi, who mastered the *Fusus-al Hikam* under his pir. Shaikh Abdur Rahman Chishti, was taught by Shaikh Halim and also knew Shaikh Sufi. The Emperor Jahangir was highly impressed by the scholarship of Shaikh Sufi, believing him to be an expert in History, biographical literature and Sufic works and appointed the Shaikh prince Khurram’s tutor. In the morning the Shaikh would instruct the prince in history from such works as the *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, and in the evening would tutor him in mysticism and theology.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century the most famous chishtiyya sufi in Lucknow was Shaikh Abdul Jalil claiming that he had no pir and had received training directly from the spirit of Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti, the *Shajra* (family tree of sufi geneology). He advised Sufis who were imbued with their own self importance to commence their Zikr with the divine names of *Jalal* (majesty) such as *Al-qahhar* (the dominant), *Al-jabbar* (the repairer), *Al-matakabbir* (the great), *Al-malik* (the king), *Al-quddus* (the Holy), *Al-alim* (the knower), he died in 1633-34.

In Unnao (U.P.), a prominent Afghan Shaikh Jalaluddin Kasi, a member of the Afghan Kasi tribe. He held a high post in the Afghan government under Sher Shah Sur. After the downfall of the Afghans and the restoration of the Mughals to the throne, Jalaluddin Kasi decided to renounce the world and moved to Bangarmau in Unnao where he joined the *Khanqah* of Shah Muhammad Chishti. These nocturnal habits severely hampered local thieves who operated around this area. Shaikh jalal proved such a threat to their activities that in 1604-05 they murdered him.
Maulana Shaikh Ahmad Shuryani, the grandfather of Shaikh Abdullah Khweshgi Chishti, the author of the *Maarij-ul wilayat* was a leading sufi and *Alim*. He had been educated and subsequently initiated into the Chishtiyya order by Shaikh Ishaq bin Shaikh Kaku Chishti of Lahore, a descendant of Baba Farid. The Ulama of Lahore held Maulana Shaikh Ahmad in some awe and such outstanding Sufis as Shaikh Ahmad Faruqi Sirhindi (the Mujaddid), Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddis Dehlawi, Shaikh Isa Sindhi and Shaikh Abdul Latif Burhanpuri were also deeply impressed by his spiritual eminence.

The greatest Chishtiyya in the early sixteenth century in Gujarat was, however, Shaikh Hasan Muhammad Chishti bin Shaikh Ahmad, popularly known as Shaikh Miyanji born in 1523, he was only five or six when a sufi called Shaikh Jamaluddin Jumman Chishti appointed him his successor. Shaikh Muhammad Ali, the son of Shaikh Nur Bakhsh initiated him into the Qadiriyya, Nur Bakhshiyya, Taifuriyya and other orders, sultan Muhammad III (1543-1554) assigned him several villages, whose income the Shaikh invested in the construction of a Mosque inside Ahmadabad city near Shahpur Gate completed in 1565 at a cost of 100,000 Rs. The author of a commentary on the Quran entitled the *Tafsir-i Muhammadi* died on 1575.

Shaikh Hasan Muhammad’s second son, Shaikh Muhammad Chishti. The occupation of Gujarat by the Mughals in 1573 had diminished the fortunes of the Shaikh’s family but he refused to accept the old grants revived by Akbar and destroyed such farmans from the Sultans of Gujarat as were in his possession. Later he began to live outside the city on the Banks of the river Sabarmati, coming to his *Khanqah* only on Fridays to offer congregational
prayers. At Jahangir’s request he went to see him in Ajmer and reluctantly accepted the grant of a village for his expenses in the name of his sons in 1617-18 he again called on the Emperor during a visit to Gujarat on 5 November 1630, the Shaikh died.\(^{13}\)

Shah Kalimullah Jahanabadi, son of Haji Nurullah, who revived the glory and respect which the Chishtiyyas had enjoyed in Delhi during the days of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya. Born in Shahjahanabad (also known as Jahanabad or Delhi) on 24 June 1650, his ancestors had come from Khujand. His grandfather Shaikh Ahmad Mimar, was a Mathematician and an Engineer. He designed the Taj Mahal at Agra and the Red Fort in Delhi. Ahmad’s third sons, Ataullah, Lutfullah, Hajji Nurullah, were also Mathematicians and Engineers. Nurullah was also a Calligrapher. In his youth shah Kalimullah was believed to have fallen in love with a Khattri boy from Burhanpur who proved indifferent to the smitten Kalimullah. The following day the Khattri boy did indeed fall in love with the Shah, who soon tired of his new lower, however, and developed instead a fascination for the Majzub. Although Shaikh Yahya initiated Shah Kalimullah into three orders (the Chishtiyya, the Suhrawardiyya and the Qadiriyya), honouring the preference of his pir, the Shaikh remained basically a Chishtiyya.\(^{14}\)

According to Shah Kalimullah, breath control was of two types. \(Habs-i Nafs\) (breath suspension) and \(Hasr-i Nafs\) (breathing below the normal rate). Shah Kalimullah acknowledged that Sufis had borrowed \(Habs-i Nafs\) and other similar practices from yogis, who were expert in the art, according to Shah Kalimullah, out of the eighty four yoga postures, Shaikh Bahauddin Qadiri
recommended the following to his disciples. After the death of Shah KalimuUah the direction and care of his Delhi Khanqah fell to his son. The most outstanding of his Khalifas, however, was Shaikh Nizamuddin of Aurangabad, whose ancestors were descended from Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi. Shaikh Nizam was born at Kakori in the Lucknow district in 1650-51. The progress of the Shaikh was rapid and several years before the Emperor Aurangzebs death, Shah KalimuUah appointed Shaikh Nizamuddin his Khalifa for the whole of the Deccan. The Shaikh lived within the imperial camp, finally settling in Aurangabad. Shah KalimuUah admitted that the duties of working in the Mughal camp where the soldiers and royal family were devoted to the Naqshbandiyyas were arduous, requiring fact, equanimity and patience.\textsuperscript{15}

People from all sections of the community became Shaikh Nizamuddin's disciples. The most important of the Shaikh's disciples was one of the Turanis, the member of a powerful pressure group in the Mughal government, that great champion of sunni orthodoxy, Nawab Nizamul Mulk Asaf Jah (the first of the Nizams of Hyderabad, d. 1161/1748).\textsuperscript{16}

Shaikh Nizamuddin was succeeded by his own son, Fakhruddin, who was later known by the title of Maulana (learned), his mother was a descendent of the family of Saiyid Muhammad Bunda Nawaz Gisu Daraz. Fakhruddin was born at Aurangabad in 1714-15, he was joining the military service under Nawab Nizamuddaula Nasir Jang, the son of Nawab Nizamul Mulk Asaf Jah, he was freed of the attentions of devotees. After some years he resigned from the military, returning to life in a Khanqah, finally he was forced to move from Aurangabad to Delhi in 1751-52. He resumed teaching in his seminary at
Katra-phulel and has a Khanqah added, although the whole complex was still known as the Madrasa (seminary) of Maulana Fakhruddin. Even the Emperor, his princes, nobles and the ladies of the Royal family became the Maulana’s devotees. Ghaziuddin Khan firuz Jang III, the son of Ghaziuddin Khan Firuz Jang II, was another prominent close disciple and life long admirer of the Maulanas. He led the funeral prayers for Mirza Jan-i-janan Mazhar, murdered by a shii assassination. The Ruhilla chief, Nawab Zabita Khan, was also sincerely devoted to the Maulana and the Chishti shrines.¹⁷

Sources say of another chishti saint of the 16th century. He Shaikh Abdul Ahad Faruqi Sirhindi, occupies significant place amongst them.¹⁸ Throughout his life, he was held for his deep knowledge in traditional, rational and mystical sciences and learnings. He was the illustrious, father of the great Naqshabandi sufi scholar of the 17th century, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, popularly known as Mujaddid-i Alf-i Thani. Although sources do not supply any information of Shaikh Abdul Ahad's early life, it appears from the works of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi’s that Shaikh Abdul Ahad was born in 927 A.H./1520-21 A.D. at Sirhind in Punjab.¹⁹ He was a descendant of the Second Pious Caliph Umar Al-Khattab.²⁰ His father Shaikh Zain Al-Abidin was a pious and spiritual personality. Shaikh Abdul Ahad spent his boyhood and started education in Sirhind. First he memorized the Holy Quran and then received lessons in Islamic sciences. He had not yet completed his education that he developed interest in mysticism. Accordingly, to fulfill his spiritual desire, he wandered about place to place and ultimately reached in the feet of Shaikh Abdul Quddus of Gangoh to become his murid.²¹ But the latter refusing his request advised him first to complete his education and then to approach him for this purpose.
Shaikh Abdul Quddus, on this occasion, remarked, “illiterate sufi is like the delicious food but without salt”. Shaikh Abdul Ahad, thereupon, submitted that the Shaikh Abdul Quddus was so old aged and weak that he doubted whether he would survive upto the completion his (Abdul Ahad’s) education. Shaikh Abdul Quddus asked Abdul Ahad that in this situation he should join the mystic discipline of his son Shaikh Ruknuddin.22

Abdul Ahad, therefore, returned to Sirhind and after completing his education in due course, started teaching religious science. Afterwards, he again went to Gangoh to be a murid of Shaikh Abdul Quddus. Shaikh Abdul Quddus had really passed away. The former, therefore, joined the fold of the saint’s son Shaikh Ruknuddin23 and received training into the Chishtiya and Qudiriya orders. The latter also bestowed his khilafat on him.24 Subsequently, in 979 A.H./1581 A.D. Abdul Ahad returned to Sirhind where he spent his time in prayer and meditation, and teaching his students.25 Abdul Ahad, since his very youth, was very much fond of making travels to different places to meet and benefit from Ulama and Mashaikh, and preach sufi teachings. He accordingly visited many cities and towns with this purpose in mind. He went to Rohtas in Punjab to obtain blessings of its saints, particularly an old aged Sufi Shaikh Ilahdad. He learnt the secrets of spirituality from him.26 According to the Zubdat-al Maqamat, Shaikh Ilahdad laid great emphasis on zikr-i Ilahi (remembrance of God). During his stay at Rohtas, Abdul Ahad Faruqi, came into contact with another eminent and pious scholar of religious sciences Shaikh Muhammad Ibn Fakhr27, and studied under him.28

Abdul Ahad also went to Bengal to find out Ulama and sufis of the region. There he met a saint Shaikh Burhan who showed deep love and
affection to the former and even requested him to stay with him for some more time but our saint could not make the compliance. It was during his return from Bengal that he made a sojourn at Jaunpur to meet the Sufis and the Ulama of the city. There he visited the shrine of the famous dervish Shaikh Badruddin Jaunpuri. He also called on the latter's Khalifa Syed Ali Qiwam and benefited from his spirituality.

The Zubdat-al Maqamat reveals that in his old age, Shaikh Abdul Ahad, along with his son Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, also visited Lahore where he benefitted from several scholars, Ulama and mashaikh. It is also reported that in 998 A.H./1590 A.D. the saint also visited Agra where his son Ahmad Sirhindi was staying in those days. But soon he returned to Sirhind with his son.

As mentioned earlier, Shaikh Abdul Ahad, taught Islamic sciences, both traditional and rational, in his ancestral seminary in Sirhind. A number of students from different regions and states studied there Islamic learnings under his guidance. The Makhdum had complete mastery over different branches of religious knowledge, Quranic sciences, Hadith and jurisprudence (fiqh). He was called Abu Hanifa of his time. Many of the contemporary ulama accepted him as their teacher. He taught Sufism and mystical sciences to his students very profoundly and sincerely.

Abdul Ahad along with his spiritual pursuits and sufi practices, also produced different works on different aspects of Islam and Sufism. Two of his treatises are found mentioned in the Zubdat-al Maqamat. One of them, the Asrar-al Tashahhud, is of great significance. Dealing with the Nocturnal Journey (the M'eraj) of the Prophet of Islam, this work sheds light on its
religious and spiritual backgrounds. Written in Arabic language, the treatise provides scholarly discussion. Then he discusses the Importance of invoking God's Blessing to the Prophet of Islam and comes to the conclusion that the result of this journey (Me'raj) is namaz, the Islamic way of God's prayer. Therefore, the basis of the spiritual upliftment of a sufi is nothing but namaz and it is undoubtedly the peak of Islamic spirituality.

The saint wrote another work Kunuz-al Haqaiq. Discussing different aspects of Sufism, it throws immense light on various Spiritual points and problems. In short, all his brochures and treatises bear testimony to his deep insight in Islamic learnings and scholarship.

Shaikh Abdul Ahad maintained cordial relations with several contemporary Ulama and Sufis. His terms with Shaikh Jalaluddin Thanesari, a khalifa of Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi, were cordial. He frequently visited the latter at Thanesar and sometime stayed with him for several days to benefit from his spiritual greatness. It was during his stay there that once he came into contact with the eminent saint of the Qadiri Silsilah, Shaikh Kamal Qadiri of Kethal. They became so intimate that they frequently visited and stayed with each other for weeks and months. It is mentioned in the Zubdat al-Maqamat that Shaikh Kamal was staying at Sirhind when Abdul Ahad's son, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, was born in 971 A.H./1563 A.D. The Makhdum had so deep faith in Shaikh Kamal that on this occasion he sought his blessings in favour of the newly born child. Abdul Ahad is also said to have friendly relations with another sufi of his time, Shaikh Abdul Ghani came from Sonipat in Punjab, he was widely known for his Kashf and Karamat the manifestations
and the miracles. The former, since long, was desirous to see him. When on one occasion, he came to Sirhind, Abdul Ahad extended a warm welcome and took him to his residence. Abdul Ahad led a simple but attractive life. He generally lived in Sirhind during the last years of his life by mostly passing his time either in prayer and meditations, or in teaching his students particularly, his son Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. Tasawwuf Sufism, and its minute points and problems were discussed between him and the latter. Shaikh Abdul Ahad died on Wednesday 17th Jamada I, 1007 A.H./6th December, 1598 A.D. at Sirhind at the ripe age of eighty years. The author of the Zubdat al-Maqamat expressing his faith for the saint, says in a couplet: “That Shaikh was scholar of all sciences. His life was the mine of the pearl of secret of the creation of the Universe. As he was the Shaikh of his time in his learnings and activities, the chronogramme of his death must be said as the Shaikh-i Zaman, i.e. the Shaikh of the time”. He was buried in his ancestral cemetery at Sirhind. Presently situated on a half kilometer distance in the north-west of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi’s tomb. It is still visited by a large number of tourists and devotees.

Shaikh Abdul Ahad, as a Sufi, believed in the concept of Wahdat-al Wujud and in this connection, followed the path of Shaikh-i Akbar Muhiyuddin Ibn Arabi. However, he had interpreted it in his own way. He seems to have tried to maintain similarity and coincidence between the Shariah the laws of Islam, and the concept of Wahdat-al Wujud ‘the Unity of Being’. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi too, in one of his letters, writes that his father (Shaikh Abdul Ahad) always followed this path and was fully sunk in this ocean. He is said to have made the remark at the last moment of his life. “In fact, Allah is absolute Entity but He keeps people veiled and away from Him by throwing the dust of the worldly garment in their eyes”. Apart from being authorized into the Qadiriya
and the Sabiriya branch of the Chishti Silsilah by Shaikh Ruknuddin bin Shaikh Abdul Quddus of Gangoh as has been mentioned earlier.\(^{53}\)

(2) The Shattariyya Saints

The Shattariyya silsilah was introduced into India in the fifteenth century, by Shah Abdullah Shattari who lived for some years in Jaunpur and then went to Bengal. He made his traditional challenge to the local Sufis either to teach him or be taught by him. Shaikh Muhammad Ala, an eminent Bengali Sufi, ignored the challenge, surely disappointed the Shah returned to Malwa. In 1485 the Shah died and was buried in Mandu, south of the tombs of the Khalji Sultans of Malwa.\(^{54}\)

His Bengali Khalifa was Shaikh Muhammad Ala who was also well-known by his nickname Qazin. In the first half of the sixteenth century the most influential shattari Sufis in India were Shaikh Phul and his younger brother, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, both Khalifas of Shaikh Zuhur Hajji Hamid. Shaikh Phuls surname was Fariduddin Ahmad and his title was Jahangir (conqueror of the world), his most notable disciple was the Emperor Humayun who sat at his feet to learn the technique for obtaining supernatural power through the Dawat-i-Asma. The emperors devotion to Shaikh Phul prompted Sadr-us sudur Maulana Jalaludin Tattawi, an eminent Alim and a Suhrawardi become Shaikh Phul’s disciple. Reasons of expediency also prompted another eminent Sufi, Maulana Muhammad Farghuli, a Naqshbandiyya, to join the Shattariyya order while large numbers of other muslims became Shattariyya Sufis, possibly to gain the Emperor’s favour.\(^{55}\) In 1538-39 while he was in Bengal, Emperor Humayun sent Shaikh phul to
persuade his rebel brother, Mirza Hindal to join him in a war against their common enemy, the Afghans. However Mirza Hindal and his advisers rejected the proposal and the leaders of the rebel army urged Hindal to kill Shaikh Phul, this he did, afterwards openly declaring himself Emperor.\(^{56}\)

Shaikh Phuls younger brother Shaikh Abul Muyyad Muhammad, who bore the title of Ghaus, and was popularly known as Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, met a number of saints in his quest for a perfect guide. For thirteen years and four months Shaikh Ghaus performed rigorous ascetic exercises in the caves of chunar, near the Ganges in the Modern district of Mirzapur in the U.P. and became known to the Muslim elite for his miraculous powers. He settled in Gwalior where he became very influential. In November 1526, he helped Babur’s army to seize the Gwalior fort, thereby winning the respect and confidence of the Emperor.\(^{57}\) During Humayun’s reign Shaikh Phul had lived with the emperor while Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus had his own \textit{Khanqah} at Gwalior.

He was in close contact with the Mughal emperor was Sayyid Muhammad Ghaus. When Babar’s forces besieged the famous fort of Gwalior, Shaikh-i-Gwaliari sided with the invader and suggested a strategem to the Mughal generals for the capitulation of the fort. Tatar Khan Sarang Khani was obliged to surrender the fort to the besiegers.

In Gwalior Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus owned vast tracts of land which yielded about a karor of dams and livestock. The bullocks he had obtained in Gujarat were the most famous in the region. When on a hunt in 1559, Akbar visited the Shaikh’s \textit{Khanqah} in Gwalior. After presenting the Emperor with a
number of prize bullocks, the Shaikh symbolically initiated him as a shattariyya. Akbar however was more interested in the bullocks he had acquired, and the initiation incident became a huge joke in the Imperial Camp.\textsuperscript{58} 10 May 1563, the Shaikh died and was buried in Gwalior.

Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, successor was his beloved son, Shaikh Budh Abdullah, entered the imperial military service Ghausi Shattari reported that Akbar did not wish Shaikh Budh to lead a secluded life and requested him to become a soldier, for about forty years he worked loyally in the imperial service and at one stage played the role of Ambassador to Mirza Shahrukh of Badakhshan\textsuperscript{59}. The ulama of the town reacted by putting extremely difficult theological questions to the Shaikh at court but, according to Ghausi Shattari, the Shaikh defeated them in the debate. It is also recorded that local scholars received spiritual sustenance from his presence.

After his accession to the throne, Jahangir accepted Shaikh Budh Abdullah’s resignation from active service because of his advanced years. The Shaikh retired to Gwalior where he spent the remainder of his life meditating and praying close to his father’s tomb. It would seem that the income from his Jagir and his Madad-i Maash grant were insufficient to meet his expenditure. Six months before his death he began refusing all food and starved himself, finally dying in 1021 AH/1612-13 AD.\textsuperscript{60}

Shaikh Nur Muhammad of Champanir, a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, was a member of the sunni Bohra community of Gujarat merchant before becoming Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus disciple at an advanced age, Shaikh Nur Muhammad distributed his whole wealth which was considerable
to beggars. So impressed by this action was his pir that, after initiating him into his discipleship. Shaikh Nur Muhammad was also made a khalifa. However Shaikh retired to the corner of a Mosque. He died at Ahmadabad where he was buried.  

Shaikh Abdullah, the son of Shaikh Wajihuddin, was also a scholar and a sufi. After his father’s death he took over his teaching duties. He was ascetic to the degree that he would only eat sugarcandy and a cup of syrup water. To support himself he copied manuscripts. Akbar’s foster brother Mirza Aziz Koka, believed that he had gained his victory over Sorath in 999 AH/1591 AD due to the Shaikh’s spiritual power.

Another noteworthy Khalifa of Shaikh Wajihuddin’s was from Bubakan village in Siwistan (sind). He was Hakim Usman bin Shaikh Ayni. Many important scholar were his disciples. In 1575-76 he migrated from Gujarat to Burhanpur. In 1599-1600 Akbar’s invasion of Burhanpur prompted him to take refuge in a jungle near the village which he held as Madad-i Maash. There he and his dervish followers were murdered by local tribesmen.

Shaikh Muhammad, who was known as Shaikh Taj ul-Ashiqin the son of Abdullah Sindhi, another disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Arif, was born at Burhanpur. After conquering Khandesh in 1600, Akbar imprisoned the Shaikh on the charge of supporting the sultans of Khandesh. The intercession of the Shaikh’s friends, particularly of a leading noble Qulich Khan, prompted Akbar to release him at Agra. Qulich Khan took the Shaikh to Lahore where he was killed by the army of a Rebellious Rajput chief on 25 September, 1604 AD.

Shaikh Burhanuddin refused to allow princes to visit him. Although Aurangzeb, who was fomed for his orthodoxy, was viceroy of the Deccan
between 1636 to 1644 and from 1652 to 1657, the Shaikh refused to make him an exception in this respect, when Aurangzeb was preparing to March against Dara Shukoh he went to the Shaikh is disguise to be blessed by him. Shaikh Burhanuddin asked the visitor’s name, and the prince answered ‘Aurangzeb’ simply. To this the Shaikh neither replied nor by way of blessing offered him a gift when the prince returned the following day the Shaikh angrily said that if he found his house so attractive he would vacate it and find a new abode for his dervishes and himself. Later Shaikh Burhanuddin relented and agreed that the prince could see him outside the doors of his Khanqah when he went for prayers, and he would recite Fatiha (Prayers) in order to bid him farewell.^^

The author of the Khazinat-ul Asfiya included Shaikh Abdul Latif (d. 1066 AH /1655-56 AD) among a list of Shaikh Burhanuddin’s disciples. According to Khafi Khan the Shaikh strictly adhered to the Sharia loathing Sama and Music. No marriage procession was allowed to pass by his Khanqah playing music, Aurangzeb was deeply devoted to him. Lahore was the home of Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf Shattari, a successor of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus disciple, Shaikh Farid of Kahirwal. He excelled other contemporary Sufis in his knowledge of the dawat-i Asma. At Aurangzeb’s invitation he became a frequent visitor to court and his sons were given villages as Madad-i Maash by the Emperor. The Shaikh built an imposing mosque near his house from the proceeds of imperial gifts. His death occurred some time after 1667. Accompanied by his friends, Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, the latter was another frequent visitor to Emperor Aurangzeb.^^
(3) The Qadiriyyas

The Qadiriyya order was introduced into the Indian sub-continent by Mir Nurullah bin Shah Khalilullah, a grandson of Shah Nuruddin Muhammad Nimatullah (wali) bin Abdullah. The latter, well known for his copious sufi writings in both prose and poetry, was born in Aleppo, Syria in 730 AH/1330 AD. After the death of his pir (Abdullah al-Yafii, 697 AH/1298 AD - 768 AH/1367 AD), a member of the Madyaniyya order of Egyptian and African Sufis, Shah Nuruddin traveled through northern Iran, Samarqand, Harat and Yazd, finally settling in Mahan in the Kirman province of Iran. Soon he was to become the town’s great mystic celebrity, founding the Nimatullahi order of the later shia Sufis. His descendants in India could therefore trace their spiritual genealogy directly back to the Qadiriyyas because of the Shah’s intimate relations with the Qadiriyyas of Iran.

The stream of honours for the Shah and his family continued unabated. Sultan Ahmad I, even married his daughter to Mir Nurullah. After Shah Nimatullah’s death at Mahan in 1430-31, Shah Khalilullah joined his son in the Deccan, accompanied by his other sons, Shah Habibullah Ghazi and Shah Muhibullah. Another royal princess was given in marriage to Shah Habibullah, and the sultan’s grand daughter became the wife of Shah Muhibullah. Shah Khalilullah attended the coronation of the Sultan’s successor, Alauddin Abul Muzaffar Ahmad Shah II, in 839 AH/1436 AD. According to Firishta some sources mention that Shah Khalilullah retired to Mahan, while others assert he died in the Deccan. Nevertheless his sons remained in the Deccan where under the Bahmanid sultans they continued to
enjoy considerable power and prestige. However at the end of the reign of Sultan Ala"uddin Humayun (862 AH/1458 AD - 865 AH/1461 AD). Shah Habibullah was executed by the Sultan because of his opposition to the monarchs cruelty and the political support he had extended to prince Hasan Khan Shah Muhibullah died some time after 900 AH/1494-95 AD in the reign of Sultan Shihabuddin Mahmud (887/1482-924/1518).71

In the second half of the fifteenth century a Qadiriyya Khanqah was established at Uch near Multan. Its founder, Shaikh Muhammad al Husaini al-Jilani was also a direct descendant of Shaikh Abdul Qadir. Although Shaikh Abdul Haqq fails to mention the date of the Shaikh's final emigration he does note that his son and successor, Shaikh Abdul Qadir (also known as Shaikh Abdul Qadir Sani, the second) died on October 1533 AD. He also states that his mother was the daughter of Shaikh Abul Fath, a descendant of Saiyid Safiuddin Kaziruni, the founder of the earliest known Sufi Khanqah in Uch. If Shaikh Muhammad had married Abdul Qadirs mother in 1456, he would therefore not have migrated to Uch any earlier.72

The new leader of the Qadiriyyas at Uch was Shaikh Muhammad's eldest son, Shaikh Abdul Qadir Sani while a young man Abdul Qadir was obsessed with music and traveling. On his journeys, much to the disgust of his orthodox father, he would take camels loaded up with musical instruments. Shaikh Abdul Qadir was not unlike a number of other successful Sufis whose early lives had been filled with an appreciation of worldly delights and who had then suddenly undergone a conversion to mysticism. His hagiographer relates the story. While hunting in the forest Abdul Qadir heard strange and
disturbing cries from a partridge. At the same time a wandering dervish came to him telling him that soon he too would cry in anguish at his separation from God. Suddenly Abdul Qadir experienced an aversion to anything connected with the world. Later he renounced his official post as well as his beloved music and replaced them with a new, intensely mystical illumination and love of the Divine.

In 1533, Shaikh Abdul Qadir Sani was succeeded by his eldest son, Shaikh Abdur Razzaq, was however held the post briefly, dying on 1 Dec. 1535. His place was assumed by his son, Shaikh Hamid, who had been truined by his grandfather, Shaikh Abdul Qadir Sani. A great favourite with all the Muslim population in Uch, he was showered with gifts and grants which he apparently enjoyed disposing of early in Akbar's reign, the Sadr-us sudur, Shaikh Gadai Kamboh, succeeded in having the Shaikh. Summoned to Agra from Uch, angered at this, the Shaikh cursed both Shaikh Gadai and his patron, Bairam Khan. At the end of March 1560, Bairam Khan fell from power and Shaikh Gadai was disgraced with him. Many Sufis and Holy men ascribed their sudden fall to bring cursed by Shaikh Hamid. After his return to Multan, Shaikh Hamid died on 14 April 1571. He was buried in Hamidpur, a village of Multan.

The succession controversy continued however in Uch and Multan Shaikh Abdul Qadir was recognized as his father's successor. In Delhi and at Akbar's court scholars and Sufis honoured Shaikh Musa in this role and Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddis Dehlawi, a disciple of Shaikh Musa, also describes his pir as Shaikh Hamids successor. Shaikh Musa's life at court was fruitful as he was a loyal supporter of Akbar and a friend to the two powerful countries, Faizi
and Abul Fazl. Early in February 1602, the Langah rebels, headed by Mahmud Langah and his son Nahar Khan, attacked Shaikh Musa Qadiri at Uch and killed him.

Although the number of Hindus mentioned by Badauni as converted by Shaikh Dawud in popularly exaggerated there seems little doubt that the miracles attributed to him prompted a number of Hindus, as well as some members of tribes close to the newly settled town of Shergarh, to embrace Islam. In 1573-74 Emperor Akbar sent Shahbaz Khan Kamboh, an orthodox sunni, to invite the Shaikh to his court. The Shaikh refused however, arguing that his secret prayers for the Emperor were sufficient for his spiritual welfare. Shaikh Dawud died in 1574-75, and was buried in Shergarh. Although Badauni incorrectly attributed to him the founding of the Qadiriyya order in India, it was the impact of Shaikh Dawud’s personality and his individual spiritual achievements that swept Qadiriyya influence from the Punjab to Delhi and Agra.

Another of the leading disciples of Shaikh Dawud was Shaikh Abu Ishaq Qadiri. He also lived in Lahore and like his pir was a very popular Qadiri sufi. He died on 25 March 1577, and his burial place was the central point around which a cluster of tombs of his descendants was later built of Abu Ishaq Qadiri’s disciples, Shah Shamsuddin Qadiri of Lahore was the most significant and Emperor Jahangir is said to have had great faith in his miraculous powers.

Other early Qadiri Sufis of the Panjab included Saiyid Ismail Gilani, whose father, Saiyid Abdullah Rabbani was also his pir. Akbar is said to have presented him with 1000 Bighas of land in Firuzpur, and the merchants of
Lahore were among his greatest followers. Nevertheless the Saiyid never allowed his devotees to disturb his strict routine of meditation and ascetic practices. Both he and his father died in the same year, 978 AH/1570-71 AD.78

The town of Pail and Kaithal, near Sirhind, became the centre of the Qadiriyya silsilah, mainly through the influence of Shaikh Kamal, a spiritual descendant of Shaikh Fuzail of Baghdad, and ultimately also of the Ghaus al-Azam. Shaikh Kamal does not seem to have been traditionally initiated by a pir and was an Uwaisi passionately fond of travelling, during his peregrinations in Thaneswar he meet Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi's father Shaikh Abdul Ahad. Shaikh Kamal, however, was basically a Malamati and Majzub. Nevertheless he was able to discuss subtle mystical problems in some depth and with authority. He died in October 1573, at Kaithal, near Sirhind. Shaikh Kamal and Shaikh Sikandar strengthened Shaikh Abdul Ahad's interest in the Qadiriyyas although he had already obtained initiation into the Chishtiyya order.79

Shaikh Ahmad's friend, Shaikh Baba Dawud Khaki, was an influenced citizen of Kashmir and also a disciple of Shaikh Hamza, a distinguished Suhrawardiyya leader of Kashmir. A scholar and poet, he wrote biographies of various Kashmiri Sufis. Shaikh Baba Dawud made frequent journeys to Multan to visit the tombs of Suhrawardiyya saints but ultimately, under the influence of Shaikh Ahmad, he became a Qadiriyya. However like his former pir Shaikh Hamza he always remained hostile to the Shias. The untimely execution of a sunni leader, Qazi Musa, by the Shi'a Sultan, Yaqub Shah Chak (1586-88) alienated Baba from the Shia ruler of Kashmir and he deserted to the Mughal Emperor, Akbar who at the time was busily planning to annex Kashmir under his return to Kashmir with the Mughal forces in 1586, Baba died of dysentery.80
Attempts to establish the Qadiriyya order in the Delhi regions had begun in the reign of Sultan Sikander Lodi (894 AH/1489 AD – 923 AH/1517 AD) who invited Shaikh Abul Fath bin Jamaluddin Makki Abbasi Qadiri to settle in Agra. Shaikh Abul Fath led an independent life sheltered from the intrigues surrounding the sultan and his nobles. When sultan Ibrahim Lodi set out from Delhi to repel the invasion of the Emperor Babur he took with him many eminent Sufis and ulims, including Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi and Shaikh Abul Fath. However, Shaikh Abul Fath deserted and fled back to Agra, where he lived until his death in September, October 1546 AD.81

In the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, Saiyid Shah Muhammad Firuzabadi who claimed direct descent from Ghausul Azam, migrated from the Deccan to Agra. He became a leader of a group of Delhi Muslims. At the request of the Sultan in his war with the Emperor Babur but was unsuccessful. After Babur had mounted the throne of Delhi he allowed the Saiyid to continue living in the palaces of Firuzabad fort, near Delhi and he was even honoured by Baburs successor, Humayun. During the reign of Islam Shah Sur, the Saiyid reached the height of his fame and was treated with exaggerated deference, even the Sultan and his nobility waiting on him slavishly. One of the most truthful exponents of the Wahdat-al Wujud among Qadiriyyas was Shaikh Amanul’lah Panipati to whom we have already made reference. Although his name was actually Abdul Malik, he achieved fame under his title, Amanu'llah. Associated with several orders, Shaikh Amanu’llah was foremost a Qadiriyya and a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Mawdud Lari, who introduced him to the Fusus-al Hikam and other famous works on the Wahdat-al Wujud. Amanu'llah must have often been present during the evenings when Shaikh Muhammad
Mawdud became filled with ecstasy, ordered all books from the room and then delivered _extempore_ lectures on the Unity of Being.\(^2\)

Totally involved with the *Wahdat-al Wujud*, Shaikh Aman claimed he could deliver public lectures on its principles without veiling them by the use of anecdotes or similes, and even then could fully convince his audience of the truth of his message. He also asserted that, when a sufi novice, he could use two completely acceptable arguments in defence of the *Wahdat-al Wujud* and that later the number increased to sixteen.

The author of a number of treatises on *Tasawwuf* and the *Wahdat-al Wujud*, in the *Asbat-al Ahadiyya* Shaikh Aman meaningfully reinterpreted the universality of reality and its process of encompassing the essence of phenomenal existence and embodying what was beyond existence. Tracing the history of the controversy over the *Wahdat-al Wujud* in the *Asbat-al Ahadiyya*, the Shaikh quoted the Persian sufi and poet, Mawlana Jalalu'd-Din Rumi, who in his *Sharh-i Ruba'iyat* had clarified the most basic attacks on the *Wahdat-al Wujud* by its detractors. Rumi asserted that some unenlightened interpreters of sufi aphorism believed that Divine reality was infused into all existences. Such a fallacy, said the Shaikh, had arisen from a rationalization that the whole exists only in sections, which meant it was believed that God existed through His creations, depending Himself on their existence and that His attributes also depended on the attributes of created beings. To sufis like Shaikh Aman or Rumi such a view was founded on a total ignorance of the truth, and was also sheer heresy. Adherents to another wrong ideal believed that in His primordial absoluteness God was free of attributes, but the stage of his self-revelation deprived him of his former state and he infused himself into phenomenal
objects. Therefore, according to this line of thinking, the separate and transcendental existence of God remained unproven and he was known only through his emanations. Shaikh Aman fiercely believed this view also contradicted the notion of the self-revelation of the Absolute and was not essentially different from the position of the first group.

According to Shaikh Aman the hierarchical order of *Wujud* as defined by the followers of the *Wahdat-al Wujud* merely included varying degrees of self manifestations of the Absolute. Being represented in his transcendent absoluteness, continued the Shaikh, was beyond the dichotomy of 'existence' and 'non-existence', quiddity (*mahiyya*) was not to be understood in its general sense but in the following special sense of Essence. The recurrence (*tajdid*) of creation was the revelation of the Essence, first to himself, then in a perpetual cycle of the passing away of forms. In conclusion the unknowable Essence (or God existing in Himself) was so Absolute that it was even free from the attribute of absoluteness.

Amanu'llah also wrote a detailed commentary on the *Lawa'ih* of Maulana Abdur Rahman Jami. In it he stressed that the perfection of a dervish depended on a refinement of morals, coupled with an intense devotion to Muhammad's family and their descendants. So profound was the Shaikh's own respect for Saiyids that as a lecturer he would remain standing while the children of Saiyids played in the streets outside.

Shaikh Aman, however, never founded his own *khanqah* and lived in a very humble dwelling. So scrupulous was he to avoid any form of ownership that he was constantly distributing gifts in charity. He fasted incessantly and during the night took little sleep. His excessive *zikr* and meditation often made
him neglect his obligatory prayers. When praying, he periodically found himself unable to recite beyond the fourth verse of the opening chapter of the Qur'an where the line, 'Thee do we serve and Thee do we beseech for help' would produce in him an ecstatic state. Although sick with fever, on 11 Rabi' II 957 AH/29 April 1550 AD Shaikh Amanu'llah Panipati conducted the Urs of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani (the Ghausul Azam) and then dispensed food to the people of Delhi before collapsing and dying the following day. He was buried near the grave of his pir, Shaikh Muhammad Mawdud.83

Despite Shaikh Aman's general unwillingness to enrol disciples, by the time of his death these were quite numerous. Of them Shaikh Taju'd-Din Zakariyya Ajodhani was the most outstanding. Shaikh Abdul Haqq highly praises Shaikh Taju'd Din for his excellent personal qualities, as well as for his extensive knowledge of sufism and the Wahdat-ul Wujud.84 Although he subscribed to the view held by a considerable number of Akbar's courtiers that the Emperor was the Perfect Man (as devised by Ibn 'Arabi and his followers), thereby becoming a target for the merciless ridicule of Mulla Abdul Qadir Bada'uni85, Shaikh Abdul Haqq's profound respect for Shaikh Taju'd-Din never altered.

Among other disciples of Shaikh Aman Panipati was Shaikh Saifu'd-Din. Shaikh Abdul Haqq's father. In the early days of his career as a mystic Shaikh Saifu'd-Din, had been a Suhrawardiyya. On hearing of the famous Shaikh Aman he decided to join the Qadiriyya order. Traditionally, Shaikh Aman would test the attitudes of his new disciples and Shaikh Saifu'd-Din was no exception. When asked to express his own feelings towards mysticism Shaikh Saifu'd-Din replied that he often felt the whole universe encircling him
and that he in turn encircled it. Shaikh Aman decided that an understanding of
the Unity of Being was already germinating in his new disciple. 86

Shaikh Saifu'd-Din's father, Shaikh Sa'du'llah, died in 928 AH/1522
AD when he was only eight years old and it would therefore seem that the
former was born in 920 AH/1514 AD. His ancestors had excelled both in
military and literary skills 87, but Shaikh Sa'du'llah himself was basically a
mystic. From his early childhood the serene and pious environment of Shaikh
Saifu'd-Din's home made him introspective and meditative, his ears echoed
with the mystical verses of Amir Khusrau 88 and he witnessed the hard ascetic
exercises performed by his aged father.

After his father's death despite his youth Shaikh Saifu'd-Din cared for
his mother, at the same time acquiring higher literary and religious education.
Although poor and sometimes starving, he continued in his dedication to
learning, prayers and meditation. As a child an overpowering love of beauty
was a basic inclination, although naturally he did not understand its
significance. When he was about five or six he had fallen in love with a boy of
the same age; when he grew older he believed the feeling of an appreciation of
beauty associated with love to be natural and pure. Even in old age he had
forcibly to overcome his passion for love and beauty lest they should
undermine his sufi routine. As a mystic melancholy and despair periodically
prompted Shaikh Saifu'd-Din to contemplate suicide. He found it difficult to
accept that a large number of sufis, saints and holy men who had a strong faith
in the Unity of Being were so widely considered by theologians to be
misguided. Gradually his obsession with this concept filled his every moment.
He saw even in the smallest particle of matter the theophany of an infinite light
and continually felt trapped by the intensity of his own mystical insight and by his earthly fetters.

Like his elder brother, Mushtaqi, Shaikh Saifu’ddin also served in the retinue of various nobles only to support himself, never for personal gain. He believed that worldly pleasure was comparable to the ephemeral enjoyment connected with nocturnal emissions which were followed by remorse. To him, opposing sides in debates each supported some part of the truth. He believed religious discussion should be free of belligerent words which merely satisfied human passions. The egocentric brawling and intriguing of the ulama at Akbar's court weighed heavily on the Shaikh's mind, and he was grateful to God that he was neither a scholar nor a theologian. 89

When lecturing, Shaikh Saifu’d-Din used a number of analogies to persuade other mystics to see One in the many and many in the One. The Essence was infinite and the manifestation of the thousands of various aspects of His forms was subject to his will. The Light was indivisible and inseparable and even if a multitude of lamps were it from one single lamp its own light was not divided. Likewise the Divine Being was the source of the existence of all objects. In His own right He was Absolute. Self-determination (ta’ayyunat) of the Absolute which was divided into mahiyya (quiddities) was not a process which reason could comprehend using the analogy of the division of physical objects. He illustrated this by an earthen vase in which children made holes and then put in a lamp. Only the light was seen from outside; although the lamp remained unaffected. Similarly the Absolute, despite His “self-determination”, retained his primordial Oneness. As regards the question whether the universe was 'from Him' (Azu-ast) or 'by Him' (Badu-ast), according to Shaikh Saifu’d-
Din the best form of expression was the former. In fact the real meaning of 'all is from Him' (Hama-az ust) was identical with the sense of 'all is He' (Hama ust). True comprehension of this subtle idea related to the heart rather than speech. With regard to expressing one's feelings about the Unity of Being, all forms of expression were of equal merit. The essential meaning behind the two expressions, 'the universe is his manifestation' and 'the universe is his creation', were identical. However, the Shaikh did admit that with maturity he preferred to refrain in public from ecstatic expressions of his youth, thus avoiding conflict with the Shari'a. Among fellow travellers, however, and in a hidden retreat, mystical expressions could be used.

Allegations by jurists that sama bred hypocrisy the Shaikh believed to be unfounded, arguing that the listener who had lost consciousness of his own individual existence could not be guilty of hypocrisy. He himself was an ardent listener to Persian verses and Hindi dohas and this ruba'i by Umar Khayyam (c. 412 AH/1021 AD -22-515 AH or 516/1122 AD) would invariably reduce him to tears:

In its early life this jug was madly in love,
Crazed by the curling locks of its sweetheart.
The handle you see at its neck,
Had been the hand around the neck of its beloved.

Shaikh Saifu'd-Din's lectures were so emotional and expressive that often his listeners would beg him to talk on subjects which really moved them such as Divine love, the longing for God and the pangs of separation. Passages referring to threats from God in the Qur'an so grieved and agitated the Shaikh that in his household they were only read in hushed tones. Those filled with hope and promises were chanted out loudly. Eagerly awaiting death, during his last illness the Shaikh prayed for release for, he said, as one was already weary
after a few days spent in an inn so after seventy years of life one was naturally
desperate for death. Before he achieved his life's ambition (on 27 Sha'ban 990
AH/16 Sept. 1582 AD), Shaikh Saifu'd-Din performed the pas-i anfas for he
believed this was possible for sufis even after the limbs had ceased to
function.

Although Shaikh Saifu'd-Din was a poet who had taken Saifi as a pen-
name, his verses no longer survive. However his son, Abdul Haqq, reproduced
a qasida in praise of Shaikh Aman Panipati and another two ghazals by him
which are in the traditional mystical style of poetry eulogizing Divine love and
ascetic poverty. The Wahdat al-Wujud theme is also always present in what has
survived. He writes,

'To the scholarly gnostics it is authoritatively known,
That He is the Ayn (Essence) of the universe but is distant
from it. Sometimes He, like a newly wedded bride hides
His face behind a veil, Sometimes He is seen producing
confusion, rioting and the tearing of clothes'.

In a fit of ecstasy Shaikh Saifu'd-Din also wrote a masnawi Silsilat-al wisal,
(Chain of Unity), in one day. Neither the masnawi nor a couple of other
treatises, also on the Wahdat-al Wujud, survive; only a short extract from a
treatise entitled the Kashifat has been preserved in the Akhbar-ul akhyar. This
extract, pointing out the different forms of perception of the manifestations of
the Absolute, re-emphasizes the reality of man as seen by the scholars of the
Wahdat-al Wujud.

In Sept. 1578, Akbar returned to Fatehpur Sikri after an expedition
against the Rajputs and the second round of religious debates in the Ibadat
khana and Anup Talao (tank) was resumed. In these discussions Shaikh
Abdul Nabi and Makhdomul Mulk emerged as leading rivals to each other.
During this period also the *ulama* signed the *Mahzar*. Naturally Shaikh Abdul Haqq came in touch with his pirs friends, Shaikh Abul Fazl and Faizi. He also became friendly with other dignitaries of the court. Although his pir Shaikh Musa remained a close associate of Abul Fazl and Faizi, Shaikh Abdul Haqq's enthusiastic devotion to his pir never waned. In both prose and poetry he eulogized Shaikh Musa. Shaikh Abdul haqq refused to take part in the war which was waged by *ulama* leaders, however, and was therefore regarded as being neutral to the new imperial policies.

After leaving Delhi early in 1586-87, Shaikh Abdul Haqq traveled through Malwa and Gujarat. In Ujjain he stayed with Mirza Aziz Koka, the Governor of Malwa and at Mandu was the guest of Shaikh Ghausi Shattari, the author of the *Gulzar-i Abrar*. When he reached Ahmadabad it was the wrong season for sea travel so he spent some months with Shaikh Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakhshi. There Shaikh Abdul Haqq also called on the celebrated shattari, Shaikh Wajihuddin, Shaikh Abdul Haqq showed no interest in the shattari teachings but sat instead at the feet of Shaikh Wajihuddin to learn the Qadiriyya Zikrs. Shaikh Abdul Haqq finally reached Mecca sometime before Ramazan, July-August 1588 AD.

Soon after Khwaja Baqi Billah’s establishment of the Naqshbandiyya Khanqah at Delhi in 1599 AD, he and Shaikh Abdul Haqq became firm friends. An authority suggests that Shaikh Abdul Haqq became the Khwajas disciple. After Akbars sudden death on 16 Oct. 1605 AD, Shaikh Abdul Haqq hoped that the powerful dignitaries friendly to him might succeed in replacing Akbar’s policy of ‘peace with all’ by strict sunni rule as envisaged by Ghazali.
He wrote a letter to Murtaza Khan suggesting that in the discharge of his worldly duties he should never neglect the path of the sharia.

As soon as a courtier informed Shaikh Abdul Haqq of Jahangir’s interest in the Hadish, he wrote a short political treatise, the Nuriyya-i Sultaniyya. However, the Shaikh’s main concern remained teaching, writing and Sufism, his Khanqah in Delhi which he built some time before 1611 and where most of his time was spent, was known as the Khanqah-i Qadiriyya.

In the 14th year of Jahangir’s reign (1619-20) the Emperor Jahangir invited Shaikh Abdul-Haqq to pay him his respect and to present him with the Akhbar-ul Akhyar, apart from this, Jahangir took no interest whatsoever in the Shaikh’s monumental contributions to the study of Hadish which by this time had made him a prominent figure, but he rewarded Shaikh Abdul Haqq with lavish honours and gifts.100

Just prior to his death, however, Jahangir became alienated from Shaikh Abdul Haqq and his son Shaikh Nurul Haqq. He exiled Nurul Haqq to Kabul and ordered Shaikh Abdul Haqq and Shaikh Husamuddin to where he was comped in Kashmir Shaikh Abdul Haqq travelled to Lahore where he visited Miyan Mir. The Miyan predicted that before he saw the Emperor he would return safely to Delhi, four days later Jahangir died. It would seem that Shaikh Nurul Haqq who was Qazi of Agra, was accused of friendship with prince Khurram who later ascended the throne as Shahjahan. The prince had rebelled against his father in 1622 waging war against him until his surrender in March 1626 AD. His young sons (Dara, then aged ten and Aurangzeb aged eight) were sent as hostages to the Emperors court. Jahangir’s rapidly declining health
precipitated the traditional Mughal war of succession. Shaikh Nurul Haqq’s interest in prince Khurram prompted the retribution meted out to those whom Jahangir considered a threat to his throne, and caused Shaikh Nurul Haqq’s exile to Kabul. After the accession to Shahjahan to the throne not only were Shaikh Abdul Haqq and Shaikh Nurul Haqq allowed to return to Delhi but the latter was reappointed Qazi in Agra.¹⁰¹

19 June 1642, Shaikh Abdul Haqq died at the age of ninety four, he was buried at the Hauzi-i Shamsi. Shaikh Abdul Haqq’s most important was the Persian commentary on the Mishkat-al Masabih entitled the Ashiat-al lamaat. The Arabic commentary, the Lamaat-al Tanqih, then there was a summary of his own Persian commentary entitled Jama-al Barakat, and he compiled a book on Asma-al Rijal as well.¹⁰² He also wrote a Persian commentary on the sufar-al Saada or Al sirat-al Mustaqim by Majduddin Muhammad bin Yaqub al-Firuzabadi also the author of Arabic dictionary, Al Qamus, Madarijun-Nubuwwa, Ma Sabata Bis Sunna. The most important contribution of Shaikh Abdul Haqq was to popularize the teachings of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani in his Persian translation of a collection of 78 of Ghausul-i Azam’s sermons called the Futuh al-Ghayb. Miftah-i Futuh (key to the Futuh). Mazul-al bahrain fil jama bain al-Tariqain.

The sons and disciples of Shaikh Abdul Haqq were strict adherents to the traditions of his Qadiriyya Khanqah and were mystics as well as scholars of Shaikh Abdul Haqq’s three sons, Shaikh Ali Muhammad wrote treatises on the teachings and the biographies of Chishtiyya Sufis, a biography of Shaikh Abdul Qadir and a dictionary of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. The most outstanding
of the three was the eldest, Shaikh Nurul Haqq. He wrote a history of ‘India from the time of Muizzuddin Muhammad bin Sam to the accession of Jahangir’ (1014 AH/1605 AD). He also wrote a Persian commentary on the Qiran us-sadain, Taisir-al qari fi Sharh Sahih al Bukhari and dedicated it to Aurangzeb.

After the death of Shaikh Nurul Haqq on 17 May 1663, his only son, Shaikh Nurullah had little impact in Delhi as an Alim. Two of the latter’s four sons, however, Shaikh Saifullah and Shaikh Muibullah were well known scholar. Saifullah also translated the Shamail-al Nabi of Tirmizi into Persian and dedicated it to the Emperor Aurangzeb.

The most famous of the Qadiri saint of the 17th century was Miyan Mir. Dara Shukoh records that the Miyan never slept at night and for several years used only one breath lasting for an entire night till sunrise. His life’s philosophy was based on Tawakkul (trust in God) which was characterized by his throwing out water on a hot Lahore evening to ensure that none remained for the next day. The Miyan believed that Khatra (Anxiety, disturbing thoughts) depended on imagination and that a loss of purpose resulted in a lack of anxiety. According to Miyan Mir namaz-i-bi-khatra (prayer without anxiety) involved an unequivocal commitment to God.

In 1620 the Emperor Jahangir, en route to Kashmir from Sirhind, was informed that Miyan Mir was an outstanding ascetic. He had already left Lahore and was unable to return to see the great Shaikh. At the Emperor’s invitation Miyan Mir visited his camp and overwhelmed Jahangir by his mystical discourse. So impressed was the emperor with the Miyan’s asceticism that he dared not present him with any gift except for the skin of a white
antelope to pray on. Two years later when Shah Abbas Safawi of Iran, besieged Qandahar to Emperor humbly requested Miyan Mir to pray for him. Twice the emperor Shahjahan called at Miyan Mir’s house in Lahore. Despite such attentions from the powerful Miyan Mir managed generally to remain aloof from worldly authorities.

Miyan Hajji Muhammad Banyani, another of Miyan Mir’s disciples, had been a soldier as well as a petty Mansabdar. Although he habitually followed chishtiyya practices he steadily became more unsatisfied with his spiritual progress. After approaching Miyan Mir for guidance he began accompanying his new pir and his disciples into the surrounding groves. In a relatively short time he had achieved his goal. A mystical poet, he expressed his ideas with great sensitivity and emotion. His death occurred on 7 November, 1644 AD.

Mulla Shahs associations with Dara Shukoh had served to exacerbate orthodox hostility towards Sufism, but this development failed to undermine Mulla Shahs importance, both as a sufi and a poet. Aurangzeb spent two and a half months in Srinagar between May and August, 1663, and is said to have visited the Be-Ham gardens and offered supererogatory prayers in the Mulla’s former cell. After shahjahan’s death early in 1666, Aurangzeb became reconciled to Jahan Ara, Dara Shukoh’s favourite sister and staunch supporter. Whatever bitterness the new Emperor had originally felt about Mulla Shah’s former connection with Dara Shukoh must by this time have abated.

After returning from Kashmir at the end of December 1634, the Emperor and the prince revisited Miyan Mir at Lahore, Shahjahan offered gifts of a turban and a rosary, the Miyan accepted the rosary but returned the turban
considering the Miyan’s house to be a holy precinct Dara shukoh entered it barefooted while Shahjahan and Miyan Mir talked the sufi chewed cloves, the remains of which he spat on the floor. To the disgust of some of those present Dara Shukoh respectfully picked up the scraps and ate them. When the emperor left he lingered on, placing his head at the feet of Miyan Mir. Raising him up the Miyan hugged the young prince and showered him with blessing.

21 January 1640 Dara Shukoh completed his first text on Sufism, the safinat-ul Auliya. It is a biographical dictionary which lists all the significant Sufis (both dead and living) and is divided into the following eight sections.

1. Muhammad, the first four caliphs, the twelve Imams.
2. The Qadiriyya order: starting from Shaikh Maruf Karkhi to Miyan Mir.
3. The Naqshbandiyya order: to Khawaja Abdush Shahid to Khwaja Baqi.
4. The chishtiyya order: Khwaja Muinuddin Sijzi to Shaikh Jalal Thaneswari.
5. The Kubrawiyya order.
6. The suhravardiyya order: Shaikh Hamiduddin Nagauri to Shaikh Sirajuddin Muhammad shah Alam (Qutb i-Alam).
7. Miscellaneous saints of 217 saints.
8. Female saints and prominent women.

Dara Shukohs second work was the Sakinat-ul Auliya. It included an account of Miyan Mir, the latters sister, Bibi Jamal Khatun and the Miyan’s disciples. These last were covered under two headings, the first being of those who were deceased, and the second of those who were alive at the completion of the work in 1642-43. The Sakinat ul-auliya was also based on Dara
Shukoh’s personal knowledge of contemporary Sufis. In it we are told the author had already written a treatise giving an account of Miyan Mir’s life.

When Dara Shukoh completed the *Risala-i Haqqnuma* he was still ignorant of the Hindu mystical system although it is possible he may have already met some Hindus mystics and ascetics. His *wahdat al-wujud* was strictly based on the ideas expressed by Ibn Arabi and he considered *Allah* to be the *Ism-i Azam* (the great name), ignoring the significance of *om*, the sacred word of the Hindu divines. His later contact with yogis and sanyasis refined his understanding of the *Wahdat-ul wujud* and, although the basic concepts remained essentially unaltered, he began interpreting them in a terminology understood by Hindus and Muslims alike concentrating mainly on the Qadiriyya practices, he had little opportunity to pay attention to the chishtiyya interpretations of sufi ideologies as contained in the *Rushd-nama* of Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi.

Dara Shukoh also wrote mystical poetry, and quoted his own verses in the *Sakinat-ul Auliya*, the *Risala-i Haqq Numa* and the *Hasanat-ul Arifin* and *Rubais* using Qadiri as his ‘nom de plume’, Dara Shukoh’s poems are fashioned after those of Jami and Shabistari. His association with Sarmad had further encouraged him to express his mystical feelings through the exuberance and frankness of poetry. Besides his favourite theme of the *wahdat-al wujud*, Dara’s poems glorify the Qadiriyyas and constantly challenge the Ulama.

During the sixteenth century a Qadiriyya centre in Bengal was established by Shah Qumaish, the son of Saiyid Abul Hayat. The shah was able to trace his spiritual descent from Saiyid Abdur Razzaq Jilani, a son of Shaikh Abdul Qadir
Jilani, from Bengal he migrated to Sabura Khizrabad in Thaneswar where he enrolled many disciples and settled in a Khanqah. It would seem that Akbar persuaded him to return to Bengal where he died on 6 November, 1584 AD.\textsuperscript{107}

The disciple of Diwan Abdur Rashid of Jaunpuri also established Qadiriyya centers in Bengal. During the seventeenth century, the most prominent Qadiriyya in Bengal was Mir Saiyid Muhammad Qadiri of Raj Mahal, who was succeeded by Shah Niamatullah originally from Narnaul, during a visit to Bengal the latter became so enamoured with the province that he decided to settle there. Prince Shah Shuja the viceroy of Bengal his sons and some of the Mughal nobility became Shah Niamatullah’s disciples. The shah founded his Khanqah in the village of Firuzpur, four miles from Raj Mahal.

According to Sher Khan Lodi, huge quantities of food were daily distributed to the poor of the Shah’s Khanqah. Each year, three days were reserved for a general distribution of food and countless Hindu and Muslim beggars assembled to receive it. A large number of Baqqals (grain merchants) would assemble to sell grain to the Khanqah and the occasion became a local fair.

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the Qadiriyya order around Lucknow had many successes, the result of the work of the dynamic Shah Abdur Razzaq of Bansa. His grandfather, Muinuddin had migrated from Badakhshan to the Mughal court at the time of either Akbar or Jahangir. As a descendent of the celebrated Naqshbandiya, Amir Kulal, Muinuddin was given a Mansab, and embarked on an expedition to ensure the submission of the Rajput zamindars of Daryabad and Rudauli, east of
Lucknow. He seems to have succeeded in his wars against the Rajputs and settled in the village of Mahmudabad near Daryabad.

(4) Suhrawardi Sufis of the Period

Makhdum Jahaniyan’s disciples established Suhrawardiyya centre in other provincial kingdoms. Kalpi became such a centre due to the prestige of Shaikh Siraj Sukhta, a favourite Imam of Makhdum Jahaniyan. A more famous Suhrawardiyya sufi in the region was Shaikh Rajgiri, to whom Makhdum Jahaniyan gave the title Akhi. A native of Daryabad in Awadh, Akhi was given Makhdum Jahaniyan’s Khirqa when he first settled at Kanauj, finding his constant stream of visitors irksome, he moved to a lonely village on the Ganges called Rajgir.

During Akhi’s stay in Kanauj, on the day of the Hindu festival of Holi, a group of Hindu boys passed his house singing and dancing their music so moved him that he fell into a trance, and followed the revellers around the streets of Kanauj for three days and nights, so infectious was the group that many of the townsfolk joined them. Naturally the orthodox religious authorities were shocked and persuaded Khwaja-i Jahan Sultanush sharq to discipline Akhi Rajgiri. The Shaikh retaliated with a strongly worded letter to the sultan. He did not mind courting death, he said, for divine love had made death a cherished goal. No further action was taken.108

Leaving Uch and Multan after his initiation, Samauddin visited Nagaur, Gujarat, and Bayana. Apparently he reached Bayana in the reign of Sultan Bahlul Lodi (1451-89) while the latter was vigorously engaged in a war against sultan Husain Shah Sharqi. Bahlul’s Afghan Governor of Bayana, Sultan
Ahmad Jalwani, who secretly supported the Sharqi Sultan’s bid to liquidate Bahlul begged Shaikh Samauddin to pray for Sultan Husain’s success. Reportedly the Shaikh was angered at such a request and his reaction helped to change the mind of Jalwani and he abandoned his plotting.109

Shaikh Samauddin became highly respected by the new Sultan. In keeping with his own influence at court, the Shaikh advised Jamali, one of his disciples, of the wisdom of maintaining a lever through which a sufi could work for the politically mute. At one of his many visits to Shaikh Samauddin, the Sultan was told that there were three types of people who could never hope to receive divine blessings. Old men who sinned, young men who did likewise, but hoped to repent at a later date, and kings who lied.110

At the suggestion of Shaikh Samauddin, Jamali became friendly with Sultan Sikandar. An enthusiastic amateur poet, the Sultan Soon became devoted to Jamali’s company. However, his successor, Sultan Ibrahim Lodi (1517-26), in a bid to establish authority over his father’s favourites, dealt with them severely. Many including Sikandar’s Wazir, Miyan Bhuwa, were executed. Jamali wrote the latter’s elegy. The new court favourites attempted to have Jamali punished, and although naturally alienated from the court, he remained unharmed. India’s conquest by Babur (1526-30) was an occasion which was seized by Jamali to write a joyful panegyric to the new ruler and the crown prince, Humayun. During the latter’s reign between 1530 and 1539, Shaikh Jamali accompanied the Sultan on his Gujarat campaign, and during the expedition he died on 1 May, 1536 AD.111

Jamali had two sons, the younger Shaikh Abdul Hai, was also a poet. He was a member of the court of the Afghan Sher Shah (1539-45) and
accompanied him on his campaigns. Islam Shah (1545-52) also patronized Abdul Hai. Abdul Hai’s elder brother, Shaikh Gadai, remained loyal to the Mughals. After Humayun’s flight from Delhi, the Shaikh migrated to Gujarat. In 1542 he helped Bairam Khan, a great champion of the Mughal cause, who later joined Humayun, his exiled ruler, at Jan, a town in Sind. With his family, Shaikh Gadai left for Mecca prior to Akbar’s historic battle against Himu at Panipat on 5 November, 1556, the Shaikh returned to Delhi and joined the Mughal army. According to Badauni, the Shaikh advised Akbar to kill the imprisoned Himu. At Akbar’s refusal to kill an enemy who was already half dead from injuries, Shaikh Gadai personally assisted Bairam to finally kill Himu. Bairam Khan was appointed Prime Minister by the Emperor Akbar, and the former repaid Shaikh Gadai by elevating him to the post of Sadr-us Sudur, the controller of land and stipends granted for religious purposes, which was accompanied by unprecedented powers. Apparently the Shaikh revoked the grants previously given to a number of the ulama and to Sufis who had supported the Afghans. So great was his prestige in Akbar’s government that his sama assemblies were attended by both the Emperor and the Prime Minister.

Shaikh Gadai’s administration was generally unpopular, with both ulama and Sufis. Mulla Badauni, an uncompromising opponent of Akbar’s radical religious policies, wrote scandalous comment about the Shaikh Gadai’s role in the rebellion of Bairam Khan, from whom the Sultan had become estranged in 1559, discredited Gadai. After Bairam fall from power and his exile to Mecca Shaikh Gadai accompanied Bairam into obscurity. However, he did not leave Bairam at Bikaner as stated by Mulla Badauni. After the
assassination of Bairam Khan near Patan on 31 January, 1561, Shaikh Gadai lived in the mountainous region of Jaisalmer in fear of his life. Then apparently pardoned, he returned to Delhi and was content to be supported by a minor *Madad-i maash*. Shaikh Abdul Haqq reports that despite his great age, the Shaikh loved the company of pretty faced youths, probably boys. Shaikh Gadai died in 1568-69 or a year later. Although he had been entitled to use the venerated name *Hajji*.\(^5\)

(5) The Naqshbandiyya order

Later it was reorganized by Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshband (718 AH/1318-791/1389 AD) after whom the silsilah came to be called the Naqshbandiyya. His tomb, known as the *Qasr-i Arifin*, near Bukhara, grew into a thriving rendezvous for Sufis and other Muslims. Later Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshband’s disciples established a network of Naqshbandiyya centre throughout central Asia and in Herat, Balkh and Badakhshan.

The Indian Naqshbandiyyas traced their spiritual descent from Khwaja Nasiruddin Ubaidullah Ahrar\(^6\), a prominent successor of Khwaja Bahauddin’s disciple, Yaqub Charkhi. His parents came from a devout farming family in Baghistan, a village in a valley near Tashkent, where they lived in the vicinity of the tomb of Imam Abu Bakr Qaffal Shashi.\(^7\) He spent most of his days at the tombs of Imam Abu Bakr Qaffal and of another sufi, Shaikh Khawand Tahir, only a short distance from his home. Turning now to the disciples of the Khwaja, a number shared his love of traveling in order to enrich mystical experiences. One of them was Shaikh Faiyazi Bukhari, who spent some time in Northern China before 1531 he reached Nagaur in Rajasthan (India) and died there.\(^8\)
The conquest of India by Babur in 1526 gave considerable impetus to the development of the Naqshbandiyya order. Some eminent Naqshbandiyya Sufis also migrated from central Asia to India. Among the most prominent were Khwaja Abdush Shahid, Khawaja Kalan, Khwaja Khawand Mahmud, son of Khwaja Kalan and a grandson of Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar, and who was called Makhdumi Nura in the Tarikh-i Rashidi, was also held in great respect by Babur.

In the early years of Akbar’s reign the Naqshbandiyya influence returned to the Mughal court and many Naqshbandiyya Sufis who migrated from their homeland in Transoxiana to Agra obtained high posts in the civil and military administration. Some Naqshbandiyya pirs who had migrated to India after spending a few years with Mirza Hakim (Akbar’s half-brother), or who were originally from Kabul, remained loyal to Mirza Hakim and also opposed Akbar’s religious policies. One of their leaders was Khwaja Ubaid Kabuli, a Khalifa of Maulana Lutfullah Naqshbandi. After some years as a sufi preacher at Kabul under the patronage of Mirza Hakim, he migrated to Akbar’s court. Muhammad Hashim Kishmi says that Akbar banished him to Thatta after he became involved in some religious dispute.

Khwaja Muhammad Amin (a nephew of Khwaja Ishaq Dehbedi) arrived in Srinagar. Some of Jami Beg’s followers who had been devoted to Khwaja Ishaq Dehbedi now became disciples of Khwaja Muhammad Amin. The ever-increasing band of disciples forced Khwaja Muhammad Amin into a state of rivalry with Khwaja Khawand Mahmud. However, it was the latter’s miraculous power, according to his son, Khwaja Muinuddin, which prompted Khwaja Muhammad Amin to become his rivals disciple. The Mughal Government of
Kashmir assigned the house of the Sultan of Kashmir, Husain Shah, to the Shaikh who converted it into a Khanqah, and a small Mosque was built beside it. Before Akbar's death the Khwaja visited Agra where he initiated a number of high ranking Mughal nobles, including Mirza Aziz Koka who became his disciple prominent ladies of the harem such as Sultan Salima Begum and Gulrukh Begum, also took the opportunity of becoming disciples of a direct descendant of their ancestral pirs, Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshband and Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar. Even Akbar, says Khwaja Muinuddin, sought the Khwaja's blessing. After Jahangir's accession he departed for Kashmir, but had only reached Lahore when the rebel prince Khusrau asked him for his blessing for his uprising. Politely the Khwaja refused him saying that he prayed only for him who was fighting for a right cause and pious motives.

In 1606-07, Khwaja Khawand Mahmud reached Srinagar and at the same time sent some of his disciples to Kabul to initiate others. Mulla Abdul Hasan and an illiterate Kashmiri disciple were sent by the Khwaja to propagate Islam in Tibet. In 1608 the Khwaja revisited Agra, but this time he was involved in a conflict with a Mughal officer who was his enemy over the question of discipleship, the Khwaja's clever handling of the situation staved off a crisis. However, such an orthodox Transoxianian noblemen as Khan-i Azam offered no assistance to Khwaja Khawand Mahmud, but the Irani Abul Hasan (later Asaf Khan), the second son of Jahangir's Wakil-i kul (Prime Minister), Itmaduddaula, steadfastly supported him. The Khwaja finally left for Kashmir after distributing about 23000 Rs. of his own funds in Agra to the deserving. In 1620 Emperor Jahangir, during his visit to Kashmir, evinced considerable interest in the Khwaja's mission as the Naqshbandiyya leader.
The Naqshbandiyya sufi who gained the most remarkable popularity in India in a very short period was Khwaja Muhammad Baqi Billah, whose real name was Saiyid Raziuddin, was born on 5th Zilhijja 971 A.H./16th December, 1563 A.D. in Kabul. His father Qazi Abdus Salam, genealogically a Quraishi Saiyid, was known for his piety and scholarship, and originally belonged to Samarqand. From his mother's side Khwaja Baqi Billah was a descendant of Shaikh Umar Yaghistani (ob.698 AH/1298 AD) who was the maternal grand father of Khwaja Obaidullah Ahrar, a well-known Naqshbandi saint of Central Asia.

Since his very boyhood Baqi Billah was devoted to seclusion and meditation. He started his formal and traditional education under Maulana Sadiq Halwai, a renowned scholar of central Asia, and within a very short span of time, distinguished himself amongst the students. Even before he completed his education, he was so well versed in different sciences that he could easily explain controversial points of Islamic theology. He also accompanied his teacher to Transoxiana where he meet and benefited from a number of sufis and ulama.

The contemporary sources reveal that Khwaja Baqi Billah spent a long time in his mystic travels. He visited some places in India and met his relatives who held high positions in the army. They even persuaded him to join the army but he declined. He went to Lahore and kept the company of eminent saints. There he also studied mystic literature which created in him a spirit of love for *tasawwuf*, i.e. Islamic mysticism. He therefore, carried on vigorously his search for truth despite heavy odds and did not relinquish his desire to find out *Mashaikh* i.e. Muslim saints. Incidentally, he came into contact with a *majzub*
who influenced him very deeply. It is reported that in India Khwaja Baqi Billah also journeyed through the region of Sambhal, presently a Tehsil in the modern Muradabad district, and called on Shaikh Allah Bakhsh, who was a khalifa of Syed Ali Qawam of Jaunpur.

Later he returned to Central Asia and travelled through many cities and towns there. Ultimately he came back to Kabul and joined his mother who was worried and distressed at his long absence and poor health. After sometime, having obtained her permission, he again left for Samarqand where he met Shaikh Iftikhar and Khwaja Obaid. He also called on Amir Abdullah Balkhi and benefited from his spiritual discourses. He is also reported to have been inspired during these days by the spirit of Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshband. Throughout his stay at Samarqand Baqi Billah wholeheartedly devoted himself to meditation and spiritual exercises. Then he proceeded to Kashmir and remained there for about two years in the company of Shaikh Baba wali. When the latter died in 1001 AH/1592 AD, Khwaja Baqi Billah returned to central Asia via Lahore and came into contact with Maulana Khwajgi Amkangi, who lived in Amkana, a town in the vicinity of Samarqand. He was so highly impressed by the spiritual attainments of Mulana Amkangi that he joined his mystic discipline. Though he undertook another journey to Transoxiana and called on some sufi saints of the region but soon he returned to Samarqand to keep the company of his spiritual mentor. He later on, received Khilafat from Maulana Amkangi. The Maulana directed him to proceed towards India and patronize the Naqshbandi silsilah there. In compliance with his Pir's orders, Khwaja Baqi Billah left for India and stayed at Lahore for fourteen months.
Finally he reached and settled down in Delhi in 1008 AH/1599 AD. He established a *khanqah* near the Firuzi Fort and devoted himself to the propagation of the Naqshbandi silsilah. His influence soon spread and a large number of people flocked to him. Most of his time was spent either in prayer and meditation or in teaching and reforming his visitors and followers. Both *Zubdat-al Maqamat* and *Hazarat-al Quds* state that Khwaja Baqi Billah led a simple and secluded life, and did not like publicity of his spiritual attainments. However, he explained any mystic problem exhaustively and convincingly. His replies gave evidence of his deep knowledge and cogent reasoning. Whoseover approached him, was highly impressed by his qualities of head and heart and above all his humility had a tremendous impact upon his visitors. He generally avoided enlisting seekers to his own mystic discipline and advised them to find out some other suitable guide. He went to the extent of saying that they should inform him if they found any suitable guide so that he himself could benefit from him.

Continuous penitences and vigils had so impaired his health that at the age of forty he looked as a man of eighty years. He died on Saturday 25th Jamadiul Akhir (Jamadu II) 1012 A.H./30th November, 1603 AD, and was buried near *Qadamgah-i Rasul*, the north side of the Firuzi Fort in Delhi.

Khwaja Baqi Billah was survived by two sons, Khwaja Obaidullah, popularly called Khwaja Kalan, and Khwaja Abdullah, known as Khwaja Khurd. Both these sons were great scholars and renowned sufis. They worked for the development of Islamic mysticism and showed great enthusiasm in popularizing the Naqshbandi silsilah. Baqi Billah's chief Khalifa and spiritual successor Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, also known as *Mujaddid-i Alf-i*
Thani, whom Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal characterizes as, Great religious genius ..... whose fearless analytical criticism of contemporary sufism resulted in the development of a new Technique \(^{153}\) holds a very special position in the history of Islam in India. He accelerated his master's mission by reversing the heretical trends of his time and restoring the pristine purity of Islam. \(^{154}\) In the words of Schimmel, 'He tried much more energetically to follow the Naqshbandi practices for ameliorating the Muslim society'. \(^{155}\) Moreover, Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddids Dehlawi, another famous divine of the age, also joined Khwaja Baqi Billah's mystic fold and sought his spiritual guidance. \(^{156}\) Shaikh Husamuddin \(^{157}\), Shaikh Ilahadad \(^{158}\), and Shaikh Tajuddin \(^{159}\) were other famous Khalifas of the Khwaja who devoted themselves to their spiritual master and played important part in disseminating the Naqshbandi order in India and abroad.

Almost all the teachings and mystic thought of Khwaja Baqi Billah revolve around the Kitab-wa Sunnah, i.e. the Quran and the Hadith. He laid great stress on Shariat, i.e. the laws of Islam, and considered Tasawwuf a complete devotion and surrender to it. \(^{160}\) He used to say that a mystic should follow the Shariat first and then turn to the mystic path and principles. \(^{161}\) To him it is the duty of a sufi to inspire and persuade the people and other sufis for the propagation, protection and furtherence of the Shariat. He stressed the purification of the Soul by strictly adhering to the practices approved by the Holy Prophet. He would say that nobody could become a perfect saint without following the Holy prophet and his companions, i.e. the path of Ahl-i Sunnat wa Al-Jamat. \(^{162}\) He attached great importance to the study of the Quran, Hadith and Fiqh, the Islamic jurisprudence, and exhorted his followers to translate them into actions. He always emphasized the importance of
obligatory prayers as means for attaining Gnosis (Marifat).\textsuperscript{163} He himself was careful in performing his religious duties and five time namaz (prayer). The author of \textit{Kalimat-al Sadiqin} says. "None of his actions was contrary to the teachings of the Shariat".\textsuperscript{164} He paid great respect to the followers of Shariat\textsuperscript{165} and supported the actions, ideas as well as sayings of the preceding saints as they were true followers of the Holy Prophet and acted upon the principles of Islam. According to him these followers of Islam deserved to be meticulously followed.\textsuperscript{166}

The other important advice of Khwaja Baqi Billah to his disciples was to earn their livelihood through legal means and personal efforts. He always exhorted for the lawful morsel.\textsuperscript{167} He would say that a mystic should care not only for the legality of food but for other things also. He should check whether the fuel, water and utensils are obtained lawfully.\textsuperscript{168} The Khwaja himself did not take any particle of food obtained from doubtful means.\textsuperscript{169}

Baqi Billah strongly favoured \textit{tawakkul}, (trust in God), and considered it one of the significant features of Islamic mysticism. According to him it causes too much 'confidence in God' and involves the absorption of individuality in the Essence. To him \textit{tawakkul} does not mean sitting idle and doing no work. But every one should keep himself busy in some job.\textsuperscript{170} He would say that means were like doors and every one should make use of them. Whosoever shuts the doors, commits mistake. Life of lethargy and parasitism is definitely condemned.\textsuperscript{171} The Khwaja laid great emphasis on \textit{Rabita} or \textit{tasawwur-i Shaikh}\textsuperscript{172} and enjoined his disciples to practice it regularly.\textsuperscript{173} \textit{Tauba}, the penetrance, was also an important exhortation of the Khwaja. According to him, it is the initial stage of mystic path. It dissociates form sins
and develops a 'love for God'. Whenever he initiated a disciple, he exhorted him to repent from the sins committed in the past and to make a resolve to follow Shariat in future. To him the perfect tauba is to cut off oneself from the worldly affairs.

The teachings of Khwaja Baqi Billah also highlight Zuhd, Qana'at, Uzlat and Sabr. Defining Zuhd he writes in a letter, “A mystic should abandon all desires whether of this world or of the world hereafter. No sufi can achieve his goal unless he renounces this world and devotes himself to Almighty Allah”. He would say that qanaat was the abandonment of superfluous things, satisfaction only with undispensable commodities (most essential for life), and to abstain from the wastage of money and provisions. To him, the perfect qana'at is the 'satisfaction with God' and 'His love'. Discussing uzlat, the 'self-seculusion', he says that a mystic should keep himself aloof from the society and constantly re-examine his spiritual conditions. He should join his disciples and family with the intention of human welfare, only when it is indispensable. A mystic should banish all thoughts except those of God and his religion, he should purify his heart also. As for Sabr, (patience), he means it to give up all pleasures of soul (ruh) and to abstain from coveted things. Emphasis on Zikr and Tawajjuh is also laid in the Khwaja's thought. He defines Zikr as to forget everything, even himself, except God whereas the process of abstaining from all desires and devoting himself to God is Tawajjuh. Moreover, Maraqaba (Meditation), is also an essential feature of Baqi Billah’s spiritual exhortations. Through the process of Maraqaba a mystic’s concentration on the infinite and the eternal is developed. The mystic itinerant passes from one station (Magam) to another. It also creates in mystic a love for God. According to him Maraqaba with love (Muhabbat), becomes
an effective process of inner development. He used to say that one could become a perfect saint only by cultivating these qualities. If one does not follow the rules he can not be a perfect Sufi.

It appears, Khwaja Baqi Billah believed in *Wahdat-ul Wujud* (unity of Being) and supported the views of Shaikh Muhiyyuddin Ibn al-Arabi. The concept of *wahbat-ul Wujud* within the framework of *Shariat* was his favourite doctrine. But during the last days of his life he had changed his views. He is said to have uttered on one occasion that *Tauhid-i Wujudi* was a narrow lane whereas the broad way was another. It is reported that he had indicated the danger related to this concept. He would say that the faith in *Tauhid* (Monotheism), is the most important pillar of Islam and it did not mean merely the affirmation of one God, but rejection of all other and false Gods. He is omnipresent. None can claim to share authority with Him.

Thus we see that Khwaja Baqi Billah's place in the Islamic history of India is very important. Though he remained in Delhi for four years, yet in this short span of time he did so much that several generations benefitted from his spiritual excellence. His main contribution lies in bringing together many eminent personalities of the time under his own mystic discipline by attracting them to the basic sources of Islamic thought.

The most prominent successors was Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. However the disciple who looked after his family, including his infact children, and built him a mausoleum, was Khwaja Husamuddin Ahmad. He was born in 1569-70 at Qunduz, his father, Qazi Nizam of Badakhshan, migrated to Agra. Later he married a sister of Shaikh Abul Fazl, an Indian Shaikhzada and well-known historian and admirer of Akbar, Mughal campaigns in the Deccan under Mirza
Abdur Rahim Khan-i khanan (1556-1627) and held a Mansab of 1000. However the Khwaja also pursued his interest in the mystical traditions of his ancestors, he disliked the protracted guerilla type warfare of the Deccan. The Khan-i-khanan attempted to pressurize the Khwaja not to resign. As did Abul Fazl who was appointed a commander of the Deccan wars in January 1599 AD. The Khwaja soon had to be relieved of his duties, however, as he began constantly to lapse into ecstatic states and would be found wandering around the streets and Bazaars in a crazy fashion.

Khwaja Husamuddin believed in the *Wahdat-al wujud* philosophy of Khwaja Baqi Billah and his other Ahrari pirs, showing little interest in the *Wahdat-al wujud* concepts expounding by Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. Khwaja Husamuddin probably did not participate in *Sama* but the sons of Khwaja Baqi Billah and other Sufis in his Khanqah did, ignoring Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi’s disapproval of what he believed to be a sinful innovation in the sufi *Tariqa*. The Firuzabadi or the Delhi branch of the Naqshbandiya Silsilah, which featured both the *Wahdat-al wujud* of Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar and the Chishtiyya practice of *sama*, remained distinct and independent from the Sirhindi branch directed by Shaikh Ahmad. Among followers of the Firuzabadi branch, as we shall see, were the famous Shah Waliullah and his father. Both thereupon returned to Delhi, on August 1633, Khwaja Husamuddin died at Agra and was buried there. Later his earthly remains were transferred to Delhi and buried in a grave close by his pirs.

Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi

Among Khwaja Baqi Billah’s khalifas Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi occupies extraordinary position not only in the medieval regional annals but also in the
whole history of Medieval India. He was the first Muslim scholar and sufi in the history of Indian subcontinent whose thought and movement (i.e. the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi Silsilah), reached for beyond the frontiers of our land and attracted people, including Sufis and ulama, in different parts of the world like Arabian countries, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Central asia, China, Indonesia etc. The collection of his letters, *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, have been warmly held and form significant part of Islamic literature throughout the world. His conception of Tawhid known as the *Wahdat-ush Shuhud* (the Unity of Appearance) and endless efforts to revive the *Shariah*, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi among the great religious personalities in the Islamic history of world. For countries he has been considered one of the most outstanding sufi teachers and thinkers. His influence on Muslim social traditions, mystical trends, political developments and intellectual environment during the medieval period was so deep that his followers and descendants dominated the whole spiritual scenario in the country. It seems that the Naqshbandi Mujaddidi silsilah would supersede other sufi orders. According to (Late) Professor K.A. Nizami, for nearly two centuries it was the Principal spiritual order in India and its influence permeated far and deep into Indo-Muslim life.

Born in 971 A.H./1563 A.D. in a scholarly sufi family in Sirhind, a town in the present Fatehgarh Sahab district in modern Panjab in India, Shaikh Ahmad inherited many intellectual and spiritual qualities and traditions of his great ancestors. A descendent of the second Pious Caliph Umar Al-Faruq Al Azam, Sirhindi's father Shaikh Abdul Ahad Faruqi was held very esteemly among the sufis and scholars of the sixteenth century. Being an interpreter of the sufi-philosophy of *Wahdat-ul Wujud*, he had earned
countrywide fame and deep respect. One of his ancestors was Imam Rafiuddin who was a disciple and Khalifa of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan Saiyid Jalaluddin Bukhari Suhrawardi of Uch. As the latter had deep impact upon Firuz Shah Tughlaq and often visited him in Delhi, Imam Rafiuddin on one occasion accompanied his mentor and meet the Sultan. It is said that Sultan Firuz Shah, being impressed by his piety and scholarship, sent the Imam to the village known as Sirhind to lay the foundation of a fortress and establish there a town. Since then the family of Imam Rafiuddin settled in Sirhind.

Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi’s another renowned ancestor was Shaikh Shihabuddin Ali, commonly called Farrukh Shah Kabuli, who had been among the great nobles and ministers of Sultans of Kabul. Though the later Naqshbandi tazkirah Rauzat-ul Qiyyumiyyah mentions Farrukh Shah as a ruler of Kabul but the author of the Zubdat-ul Magamat seems correct as no ruler of this name is mentioned in history of Kabul. However, according to Mir Khurd, the author of the famous work Siyar-ul Auliya, Farrukh Shah belonged to the family of the rulers of Kabul. In India, beside Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, the famous Chishti saint Shaikh Fariduddin Ganj-i Shakar, popularly known as Baba Farid, of Ajodhan, (later called Pakpatan, now in Pakistan), also was a renowned descendent of Farrukh Shah Kabuli.

Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi received his early formal education under his illustrious father and other ulama of Sirhindi. It is said, in a short span of time, committing the Quran to his memory and acquiring knowledge of Islamic sciences, he gained proficiency in different subjects. Afterwards, he proceeded to Siyalkot, which was an important seat of Islamic learnings in those days. There he studied under special guidance of Maulana Kamal
Kashmiri. Some advanced works of *Tafsir* and *Hadith*, (Quranic exegesis and traditions of the Prophet of Islam).

The famous Muslim divine of the seventeenth century Mulla Abdul Hakim Siyalkoti had been the classmate of Shaikh Ahmad in the *Madrasa* of Maulana Kamal Kashmiri. Later on, Ahmad Sirhindi, still in Siyalkot, joined the seminary of another renowned scholar Shaikh Ya’qub Sarafi Kashmiri and acquired still more advanced knowledge of *Hadith* from him. Yaqub Sarafi left deep impressions upon the heart and mind of Ahmad Sirhindi. It was undoubtedly on account of his association with Shaikh Ya’qub that Shaikh Ahmad, throughout his life, insisted on following the path of the Prophet’s *sunnah* and developed anti-shiite feeling. Most probably he might have written his famous treatise *Risalah-i Radd-i Rawfiz* under Shaikh Yaqub’s deep influence. Sirhindi also went to Qazi Bahlul Badakhshani under whose supervision he studied the *Tafsir-i Wahidi*, *Tafsir-i Baizawi*, *Sahih Al-Bukhari*, *Mishkat-i Tabrizi*, *Shamail-i Tirmizi*, *Jami’ Saghir-i Sityuti*, *Qasidah-i Burdah* and *Mishkat-ul Masabih*.

Sirhindi is also reported to have made contact and benefited from another eminent scholar of *Hadith* Shaikh Abdur Rahman. Thus he acquired command of all religious sciences and was, at the young age of seventeen, an erudites scholar and divine. Fully equipped with Islamic learnings, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi now himself started imparting instructions in his ancestral seminary at Sirhind, and overnight his name and fame spread through the length and breath of the Mughal Empire. Students poured in joining his institution and benefiting from his scholarly and divine guidance. It is reported he imparted with great zeal and devotion by explaining the subtle intricacies of Islamic theology.
At this point it seems necessary to make it known that Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, as has been already mentioned, belonged to a family specially known for its piety, scholarship and spirituality. His ancestors and father had been among the popular *Mashaikh* (saints), of their times. Shaikh Abdul Ahad Faruqi, Sirhindi's father, had earned high reputation and popularity as a sufi in northern India. He had authority to initiate disciples in different mystical orders. His interest in and interpretations of the philosophy of *Wahdat-ul Wujud*, (Unity of Being) or the ‘Unity of Existence’, had also ranked him among the widely known sufi scholars in the country.\(^{220}\)

Naturally, therefore, Shaikh Ahmad, keeping in view the spiritual background of his father and fore-fathers, also developed interest, in his early youth, into the spiritual aspect of Islam. His father's guidance prompted him to speedily run into this field as well. Accordingly, it is reported in sources that on the completion of his formal religious education in ancestral seminary at Sirhind, Shaikh Ahmad’s father, Shaikh Abdul Ahad, initiated him into his own mystic discipline by authorizing him as his Khalifa in different Sufi Silsilahs like the Chishtiyah, Suhrawardiyah, Qadiriyyah, Faruqiah, Kubrawiyah, Qalandariyah, Madariya etc. Shaikh Abdul Ahad also created in his son a deep sense of interest and understanding of the concept of Tawhid-i Wujudi (*Wahdat-ul Wujud*), by teaching him Shaikh-i Akbar Muhiyuddin Ibn ‘Arabi’s monumental works, the *Fusus-ul Hikam* and the *Futuhat-i Makkiya*. Sirhindi also studied under his father the *Awarif-ul Ma’arif* of Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi. Inculcating great love for Islamic spirituality the Tasawwaf, in his learned son, Shaikh Abdul Ahad also declared Ahmad Sirhindi as his spiritual successor.\(^{221}\)
Moreover, after completing his advanced studies under the guidance of Shaikh Yaqub Sarafi Kashmiri in Siyalkot, Shaikh Ahmad was initiated by the latter into his mystic discipline (Halqah-i iradat). Shaikh Yaqub conferred his Khilafat on Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi in the Suhrawardiyah and the Kubrawiyah orders. Thus we see that at the age of seventeen-eighteen Shaikh Ahmad had acquired the complete status of an alim and a sufi. The students in his seminary also sought his guidance in spiritual matter and discussed minute points of Islamic mysticism with him.

Sources say Ahmad Sirhindi was fully aware of the situation at the royal court since his very boyhood and would seriously try to be completely informed of all the latest steps of the Mughal Emperors in regard to his religious experiments and activities contrary to Islamic laws and teachings. The location of his home town (Sirhind) was significant in those days from religious, political, commercial, educational, administrative and strategic points of view. All the travellers and caravans whether commercial or consisting of political, spiritual, literary as well as learned personalities, groups of pilgrims and military troops enroute to Lahore, Peshawar, Kashmir, Afghanistan and Central Asia from Delhi and Agra passed through Sirhind.

These travellers must have told the people of Sirhind about the situation, whether socio-religious or political, to have taken place, especially among the royal circles, in the Mughal capital. It is not, therefore, beyond presumption that Shaikh Ahmad, on his own part also would get information from members of these caravans about the situation at Mughal Court. The contemporary records inform that he used to be deeply perturbed at the religious experiments of Akbar. He decided to accept the challenge and left no stone unturned in this
regard. He took the task of preaching the importance of spiritual values in man's life by reviving people's interest in Shariah. But for this purpose he considered it necessary to personally witness the situation at and around the Mughal Court. Consequently he left for Agra in 998 A.H./1583 A.D. and stayed there for about nine years. During this long span of time he seriously observed the unhappy and deteriorating religious environment at Akbar's court and endeavoured to sincerely diagnose this social illness and provide its best cure.

At Agra Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi first of all made contact with eminent nobles (umara), of the empire and the ulema and Mashaikh of the capital. According to the Zubdat-ul Maqamat, Shaikh Ahmad, during his stay at Agra was in close contant with Faizi and Abul Fazl. Both these renowned Mughal nobles scholars are reported to have shown deep regards to the saint. They always held him in high esteem. Sirhindi frequently visited these brothers and discussed various subjects with them. Hashim Kashmi has recorded an interesting event of a discussion between him and Abul Fazl on Greek philosophers, and their metaphysical thought and rational approach. When during the discussion, Abul Fazl preferred their views and ideas to Islamic thought and teachings and called Imam Ghazali stupid, Sirhindi very boldly expressed his angry remarks and, annoyed by his (Abul Fazl's) comment against Imam Ghazali, left the place saying if he (Abul Fazl) didn't know how to behave he should not sit in scholarly gatherings. He then avoided Abul Fazl for next few days. Finally, the great Mughal noble apologized and invited Sirhindi to his residence.
Shaikh Ahmad also maintained friendly terms with Faizi who too was highly impressed by the Shaikh's erudite personality and sincerely regarded his scholarship. On one occasion Sirhindi went to Faizi's house and found him writing his famous dotless (bi nuqt) exegesis (*tafsir*) of the Quran entitled as the *Sawati-ul Ilham*. Faizi at that time was involved in certain intricacies he could not unravel. So he sought the Shaikh's help. Though Sirhindi was not in the habit of writing in undotted words, he solved Faizi's problem and wrote a few pages. This greatly surprised Faizi. Similarly, it appears that Sirhindi also made contact with several other nobles during his stay at Agra. Though there is no clear evidence of Ahmad Sirhindi's any meeting with Akbar but it appears from one of his treatises, as has been quoted by Hashim Kishmi as well, in the *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, that on some occasions he attended the royal gatherings at the court in presence of the Emperor. In short his long stay at the Mughal Capital provided him with an opportunity to deeply understand the religious condition of the time.

Accordingly, having observed the entire situation he felt great anxiety and distress. Therefore his reaction to Akbar's thought and activities was very powerful, and he openly criticized his attitude towards Islam and Muslims. His works *rasail* (brochures and treatises), and *Maktubat* (epistles), reveal clearly that he was fully aware of the personal religious outlook of the Emperor. The most serious thing he observed and witnessed that Akbar and his followers were denying the prophecy of Prophet Muhammad and trying to invest it (prophecy) to Akbar by calling him God's prophet. He also witnessed that these people were renouncing *Wahi* (Divine Revelation to Prophets), and discarding *mojizat* (prophetic miracles). Sirhindi also found a section of *ulama* responsible for bringing Islam to this deteriorating situation. Similarly he thought that
Akbar's religious experiments were also fed by the mystic ideology of *Wahdat-ul Wujud* the 'Unity of Being' which, when indiscriminately applied to situation, weakened the distinctive features of faith and created an atmosphere of moral holiday. Therefore, as we will notice hereafter, he enunciated a counter theory known as *Wahdut-ush Shuhud* and defined the mystic concept pertaining to *hal* (State), and *maqamat* (stations), in the light of the *Quran* and the *Sunnah* (the Prophet's traditions).

Since the most damaging act of Akbar and his followers, including Abul Fazl, in the eyes of Ahmad Sirhindi, as pointed out above, was the denial of the Prophecy of prophets, in general and the Prophecy of Prophet Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam, in particular, he therefore, still at Agra, wrote a treatise signifying the necessity of prophecy in general and the Prophecy of Prophet Muhammad in particular under the title *Ithbat-un Nabuwah*. In 999 AH /1592 AD. Shaikh Ahmad returned to Sirhind and lived there till his father's death in 1007 AH /1598 AD. During this period, perhaps around 1000-1 AH/1593-94 AD, he produced his another famous work, the *Risalah Radd-i Rawafiz* in condemnation of Shias and their religion and religious ideology which may be called as outcome of what he observed and witnessed in Agra.

It was in 1008 A.H./1599 A.D. that a great historic event took place in the life of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. A year after the demise of his father he decided to fulfill his years old desire of performing Hajj at Mecca and visiting the holy mausoleum of the Prophet of Islam in Madina. He, therefore, left Sirhind for this purpose and enroute to Hejaz, reached Delhi were he stayed with a friend of his college days in Siyalkot, Maulana Hasan Kashmiri. Maulana Kashmiri informed him of a Naqshbandi saint Khwaja Baqi Billah.
who had recently come from Central Asia, settled in Delhi and become very popular among the people. On Kashmiri's much insistence, Sirhindi, in his company went to see the Khwaja who, immediately coming into View, so deeply inspired him that he joined his mystic discipline. He considered this meeting with the Khwaja a great event in his spiritual career. Giving up the idea of going to Hajj Sirhindi now undertook mystical practices and meditation under Baqi Billah's guidance. Sources say within no time Shaikh Ahmad was enlightened by the saint. The Khwaja then conferred his Khilafat upon Sirhindi in the month of Rajab 1008 AH, January 1600 AD. Subsequently Shaikh Ahmad returned to Sirhind to preach the teachings of the Naqshbandi silsilah. He started correspondence with his new pir to be aware of his spiritual instructions and also to get him informed of his own mystical progress. He paid two more visits in 1601 and 1603 to the Khwaja in Delhi. It was during the second visit that Khwaja Baqi Billah declared him his Chief Khalifa and spiritual successor. Sirhindi went for few days to Lahore where a large number of common people, including ulama, sufis, scholars etc. benefited from and were enlisted by him into the Naqshbandiya discipline. In the mean time Baqi Billah passed away in Delhi at the age of forty on 25\textsuperscript{th} Jamada II, 1012 AH/20\textsuperscript{th} November 1603 AD. Being greatly shocked he rushed to Delhi and, visiting the Khwaja's grave, called on his family members and other followers. It was his usual practice to annually visit Delhi to participate in his mentor's urs. Sometimes he went to Agra and on one occasion he visited Allahabad. During this span of time Sirhindi came into close contact with some more eminent Mughal nobles like Shaikh Farid Bukhari, Abdur Rahim Khan-i Khanan, Khwaja Jahan, Mirza Aziz Koka etc.
In course of his organization of the Naqshbandi Order Sirhindī in 1619 sent Shaikh Badiuddin, one of his Khalifas, to Agra as his deputy. The latter was assigned the responsibility of preaching the Silsilash in the royal army. Badiuddin’s increasing popularity among the soldiers and other inhabitants of Agra was seriously noticed by the opponents of the Shaikh at the Mughal court. According to Hashim Kishmi some of the mischievous people made publicity that he (Badiuddin) was spreading hatred among and provoking soldiers against Jahangir. Kishmi says these enemies made a strong conspiracy against Ahmad Sirhindī. They adopted and showed an open hostility to Shaikh Ahmad. They poisoned Emperor’s ears that the rising popularity of the saint could lead to political disturbances as his followers are found all over the empire. When they found themselves unsuccessful, they brought a letter of the Shaikh to the notice of Jahangir. The letter written to Khwaja Baqi Billah around 1601-2, contains the detail of the saint’s spiritual journey. They told the Emperor that Shaikh Ahmad claimed to have transcended the spiritual stage of the first Pious Caliph, Abu Bakr, Siddiq-i Akbar. Accordingly, Jahangir called Ahmad Sirhindī to his court at Agra to explain accusations levelled against him. On reaching the court, sirhindī denied the charges against him and got the Emperor convinced by his arguments. On his appearance before the king, first of all he refused to perform customary obeisance the Sijda-i ta’zimi to him, and when urged to observe the usual court etiquette, he replied, “I have never bowed my head to any of God’s creatures and I never will”. Therefore Jahangir ordered for his imprisonment in the Gwalior fort.

Ultimately, after a year in 1029 AH/1620 AD, Shaikh Ahmad was released from the imprisonment in Gwalior fort. Jahangir gave him a robe of honour and a present of one thousand rupees. He was given the choice of either
leaving for home or staying with the royal army. The Shaikh preferred to live in the royal camp rather than to return to Sirhind.\textsuperscript{248} Accordingly wherever the royal Lashkar went Sirhindi accompanied it and this continued for more than two years.\textsuperscript{249} It was in 1622 that the royal army encamped at Ajmer. Taking the advantage of his stay there, Sirhindi deeply benefited from the spiritual greatness of Shaikh Muinuddin Chishti at his tomb. The servants of the shrine gave him the \textit{chadar} of the Khwaja's grave.\textsuperscript{250} Subsequently, on health ground, he left for Sirhind where he lived till his death in 1034 A.H. /1624 A.D.

**Khalifas of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi**

The most senior of the Mujaddids Khalifas was Mir Muhammad Numan. The Mir's grandfather, Mir Jalaluddin, and great-grandfather, Saiyid Hamiduddin, had been Alims in Transoxiana. Mir's father Mir Shamsuddin Yahya Badakhshani, was born in kishm a district of Badakhshan. Numan was born in 1569-70. At the invitation of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Akbars faster brother and viceroy in Kabul. After the death of Mirza Hakim in 1585, Akbar appointed Raja Man Singh as his new governor in Kabul.

In 1609-10, the Mujaddid appointed Mir Muhammad Numan as his deputy at Burhanpur. However he failed to make any impact on the local people because of the great popularity of Shaikh Muhammad bin Fazlullah Burhanpuri. The letters written by the Mujaddid about the popularity of Mir Muhammad Numan indicate which group of Muslims Mir, attracted as disciples. The \textit{Hazarat-ul quds} ignores the first failure of the Mir in Burhanpur but includes an outlandish account of the popularity of the Mir, even asserting that 100,000 uzbek horsemen became the Mirs disciples in Burhanpur. Although Akbar and Jahangir would never have been so rash as to dispatch
such a large military force composed of a single racial group to one outpost, it is probable that some newly arrived uzbek soldiers did become disciples of Mir Muhammad Numan. Sometime before his death the Mujaddid sent another Khalifa, Muhammad Hashim Kishmi, to Burhanpur. It is not known whether the Mir and the Khwaja collaborated as missionaries or whether the Mir left for Sirhind or elsewhere Mir Muhammad Numan died after 1642-43.251

Another senior disciple of the Mujaddid was Lahore’s Shaikh Muhammad Tahir. He obtained a highly competent education as a theologian and was initiated into the Qadiriyya order by Shaikh Kamal of Kaithal. He fell in love with a Hindu girl. He adopted the life style of the Hindus. Shaikh Tahir then totally renounced his love, once more becoming a disciple of the Mujaddid.252 In Lahore, Shaikh Tahir leading a totally retired life, he refused to associate with the non-spiritual and rejected any futuh (gift) or land grant. His daily bread was paid for out of a small income from copies of religious manuscripts which he transcribe and also from paltry gifts from the pious. He wrote to him that the Malamati way of life was incompatible with the duties of a sufi leader and a missionary, he died in Sirhind in August 1630.253

Shaikh Badruddin, another talented disciple of the Mujaddid, came from his pirs hometown of Sirhind. He began to literary career, starting with a book entitled the Siyar-i Ahmadi, in which he discussed the mystical achievement of the Mujaddid. Karamat ul-Auliya, he then translated the Futuh-al Ghayb into Persian and compiled a dictionary of the technical terms used in the Naqshbandiyya and Qadiriyya teachings entitled the Rawaih. He also wrote a book called the sanwat-i Atqiya. Later he entered the service of Dara Shukoh and was commissioned to translate into Persian the Bahjat-al Asrar, an Arabic
biography of Shaikh Abdul Qadir. He then translated another biographical account of Shaikh Abdul Qadir entitled the *Rauzat-al Nawazir* from Arabic into Persian. Finally he turned to the task of completing the *Hazrat ul Quds*.\(^{254}\)

Of these of the Mujaddids Khalifa for whom biographical details have been given above, fourteen were from Samarqand, Bukhara and Kabul Regions. Six from Panjab region, two were from Saharanpur, one from Kara Manikpur, one from Bihar, and one from Bengal. Both the *Zabdat al-Maqamat* and the *Hazrat-ul quds* suggest that the khalifas of the Mujaddid considered miracles the most important factor in the sufic discipline. Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddids Dehlawi considered the disciples of the Mujaddid to be indiscreet in recounting the Mujaddids claims to mystical achievements. He divided them into three categories:

(i) Those who had a blind faith in the Mujaddids teachings and were unwilling to exercise their own judgement.

(ii) Those who considered the Mujaddids teachings to be based on sukr.

(iii) Those who believed the Mujaddids teaching to have been divinely inspired.

It might also be added in defence of the khalifas of the Mujaddid that, as mentioned before, their pir himself claimed that God had made him the Mujaddid of the second millennium and had conferred upon his successor the title of *Qaiyum*. To many of his disciples he gave the title of *Qutb* (pole) of their respective regions, a very high rank in the sufi hierarchy.\(^{255}\)

In 1657 Shaikh Muhammad Masum, his elder brother Muhammad said, his younger brother, Shaikh Muhammad Yahya about one hundreds dervishes,
left for Mecca. In February 1659, when Aurangzeb was en route to Agra after his victory over Shah Shuja at Khajwa (near Allahabad), he was met by Shaikh Muhammad said and Shaikh Muhammad Masum to whom he offered a gift of 300 *Ashrafis*. After the weighting ceremony of the Emperor’s 43rd solar birthday (1660), Shaikh Muhammad said received a *Khilat* (Robe) and two thousand rupees.²⁵⁶
References


5. *A History of Sufism in India*, pp. 70-71, 141, 343.

6. Ibid., pp. 275-76.

7. Form of vocal music performed in slow or medium tempo.

8. A special tune for singing Vaishnavite songs.


17. Ibid., p. 306.


19. In fact the date and year of his birth is not mentioned in any contemporary or later work. The year 927 A.H. (1520 A.D.) seems correct as his year of birth because at the time of his death in 1007 A.H./1598 A.D. he was eighty years old.

20. The details of his ancestors is as follows:


22. Ibid., p. 92. It may be mentioned here that almost all the sufi teachers always emphasized that the seekers of spiritual knowledge should first complete their formal religious education and then join mystic fold.


29. Ibid.

30. A famous Chishti saint of Jaunpur. He was spiritually related to Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh of Delhi through two means, his pir and grand pir. See, *Rauzat-al Qaiyyumiya*, p. 31.


34. It was the time when Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi was staying at Agra for several years. In fact, Shaikh Abdul Ahad went to Agra just to take back his son, Shaikh Ahmad, to Sirhind. It appears he visited Agra in 998-99 A.H./1589-90 as on his way back to Sirhind, the marriage of Shaikh Ahmad with the daughter of Shaikh Sultan was held at Thanesar. The marriage took place only a year before the birth of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhind’s eldest son Khwaja Mohammad Sadiq in 1000 A.H. (1591 A.D.). Accordingly, it may be assumed that Shaikh Abdul Ahad went to Agra in 999 A.H./1590 A.D.


38. Ibid., p. 117.

39. Ibid., p. 118.

40. Ibid., p. 120.

41. Ibid., p. 103.

42. Ibid., p. 104.


44. Detailed information is not available in any contemporary or letter source. The *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, only says that he was an aged sufi and mostly remained absorbed with spirituality. He generally passed his time in forests. When Shaikh Abdul Ahad heared about his miraculous power, he developed interest to meet and benefit from Shaikh Abdul Ghani.


48. There is no tomb or building. The Makhdum’s grave is under open sky. The whole scene is very attractive and peaceful. For the peace and the beauty of this place, See, Sabir Qaderi Sandilvi, *Daman-i Mahboob*, (the Collection of Hamd Na’t and Manaqib – the poems in praise of God, the Prophet of Islam, his Companions, Family Members and eminent Sufis), Lucknow, 1986, p. 186.


It may be noted here that Shaikh Abdul Ahad Faruqi laid great emphasis on the love for the Prophet of Islam, *Ishq-i Rasool*. He himself had developed highest degree of love for the prophet. He also deeply loved the members of the Prophet’s family – *Ahl-i Bait*. According to Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, he used to say that *muhabbat-i ahl-i bait* plays important role in protecting the faith, i.e. *Iman*, and happy end of life. The Makhdum is mentioned to have said at the time of his death that he was completely sunk in the river of the Prophet’s love. See, *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, p. 123; Also see, Nadvi, Syed Abdul Hasan Ali, *Tarikh-i d’awat wa Azimat*, Vol. IV, Delhi, 1980, p. 136.


55. Ibid., f. 135b.


60. *Gulzar-I Abrar*, ff. 275a-b.

61. Ibid., f. 278b.

62. Ibid., ff. 266a-b.

63. Ibid., f. 252b.

64. Ibid., f. 263a.


68. *A History of Sufism in India*, pp. 404-5.

69. *Burhan-i-Maasir*, p. 74.


71. Ibid., pp. 153-55.


75. S.A.A. Rizvi, op.cit., pp. 183, 185, 291, 331.


77. A Mughal Bigha was approximately five eights of an acre.


81. *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, Tashkent Ms. f. 254 b, Manchester, MS f. 287a.

82. Shaikh Muhammad Mawdud belonged to Agra but in his old age migrated to Panipat where he died (*Akhbar-ul Akhyar* p. 234).


84. Ibid., p. 242.


90. Ibid., p. 304.


94. Ibid., p. 310.


96. Ibid., pp. 306-7.


101. Muhammad Sadiq, who knew both Shaikh Nurul Haqq and Khwaja Husamuddin intimately, says that Shahjahan impressed with the abilities of the Shaikh from the time he was a prince, had appointed him the Qazi of Akbarabad. This post he held until 1048/1638-39.

102. The work contains the list of the narrators of Ahadis in the Mishkat.


114. Ibid., III, pp. 76-7.


116. Khwaja Ubaidullah’s father, Khwaja Mahmud Shashi, and grandfather, were also Sufis and were closely associated with the Naqshbandiyya disciples of Shaikh Umar, Husain Al-Waiz Kashifi, *Rashahat Ain-ul Hayat*, Lucknow, 1912, pp. 208-20.

117. Imam Abu Bakr Abdullah b. Ahmad b. Abdullah al-Qaffal al Marwazi was a native of Marv and later settled in Shash (Tashkent), he worked as a locksmith.


121. *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, p. 5.

123. Shaikh Umar Yaghistani, belonged to Baghistan, a town situated near Tashqand, and geneologically he was the seventh descendant of Umar al-Faruq, the second pious Caliph of Islam. Shaikh Umar's tomb is still in Tabrez in Central Asia. For details see, Ali bin Husain al-Waiz al-Kashifi, Rashahat-i Ain-al Hayat, Kanpur 1911, pp. 208-09.

124. Also an important saint of Central Asia. He left a deep impact on his contemporaries specially the rulers and occupies a significant place in the history of Islam in that region. For his biographical and other details see Kashifi, op.cit., pp.220-30.


126. Maulana Sadiq Halwai was among the leading divines of Transoxiana. On his return from Mecca, after Hajj, he made a sojourn at Kabul on the request of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, the ruler of Afghanistan. Baqi Billah came into contact with him during this period. He is also reported to have visited India during the reign of Emperor Akbar and returned home in 972/1564-5. See, Muhammad Baqa, Mirat-i Jahan Numa, (MS), (British Museum/ Rotograph in the Research Library, Department of History, A.M.U., Aligarh), f273 a.


128. Loc.cit.

129. Ibid, pp.6-7.

130. Ibid., p.8. It may be mentioned that traditional accounts of eminent founders of different silsilahs almost invariably contain story of contact with mystic ecstacies. Shaikh Muinuddin Chishti also is reported to have been influenced by a Majzub. see, Siyar-al Arifin (Rotograph in History Research Library, A.M.U.).

131. He resided at 'Garh Mukteshwar', a town in the present Meerut district of U.P., and expired there in 1002/1593. For his biographical details see Badauni, op.cit. vol III, p.58.
132. Syed Ali qawam, a famous Chishti saint, was a Khalifa of Shaikh Badruddin of Jaunpur, a spiritual descendant of Shaikh Nasiruddin Charagh of Delhi. For his details see Safinat-al Auliya, p.190.

133. All Naqshabandi Mujaddidi sources refer to her as a pious lady who was keenly devoted to the religion and the service of the saints. She is also reported to have accompanied Baqi Billah to Delhi where he settled down permanently. See Zubdat-al Maqamat, pp.8-9.

134. He was the descendant of Khwaja Ahmad Yaswi, the founder of the Silsilah-i Khwajgan. Zubdat-al Maqamat, pp.8-9.

135. Khwaja Obaid (Not Obaidullah Ahrar), was a Khalifa of Maulana Lutfullah, a follower of Khwajgi Dahbidi who resided near Samarqand. Zubdat-al Maqamat, p.9.

136. Also a famous saint of Central Asia. No detail is available in historical records.

137. Born in 718 AH/1318 AD at Qasr-i Arifin near Bukhara, Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshband was the founder of the Naqshbandi silsilah. Since his early boyhood he was keenly devoted to spiritual practices and meditation. Later he became a disciple of Saiyid Amir Kulal (ob. 772/1564). He also benefited from the spirit of Khwaja Abdul Khaliq Ghajdawani. Khwaja Bahauddin strictly followed the shariat and practices according to Hanafite school. For the biographical details, see, Maulana Abdur Rahman Jami, Nafahat-al Uns, Calcutta, 1968, pp.439-53.

Also, Rashahat-i Ain-al Hayat, pp.53-55, Safinat-al Auliya, p.78.


139. A Naqshbandi saint and Khalifa of Shaikh Husain Khwarizmi, Baba Wali belonged to Khwarizm. He also, joined the mystic disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Kubrawi. He came to Kashmir in 999/1590-1 and stayed at the Khanqah of Syed Ali Hamadani. In Kashmir he attracted a
large number of people and became *asylum* for all of them. When Mirza Yadgar rebelled against Emperor Akbar, Baba Wali vehemently criticised him and predicted a great success of Akbar. It is said that Mirza Yadgar had given poison to him. He expired in 1001/1593. For details see, Ghulam Sarwar Lahori, *Khazinat-al Asfiya*, vol.II, Kanpur, 1914, p.337. Also Muhammad Azam Shah, *Waqiat-i Kashmir*, Lahore, 1303 AH, p.110.

140. But according to Shah Waliullah, Khwaja Baqi Billah, after the death of Shaikh Baba Wali, came to Delhi and made a sojourn at the shrine of Shaikh Abdul Aziz whose son and successor Shaikh Qutb ul-Alam warmly received and gave him spiritual training. The latter also conferred his Khilafat in the Chishti discipline upon Baqi Billah and exhorted him to go to Central Asia and meet eminent saints there. See *Anfas-al Arifin* (Urdu Translation), Deoband n.d., p.353. The contemporary records especially *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, and *Hazarat-al Quds* provide no such information and only say that from Kashmir Khwaja Baqi Billah returned to Central Asia.


142. *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, p. 11.

143. It is reported that once Khwaja Baqi Billah saw a dream that a beautiful bird was sitting on his hand and he was pouring the saliva of his mouth into her beak. In return, the bird gave him the particles of sugar. When next morning the Khwaja related the dream to his spiritual mentor, he told him that such type of bird was found in India. He said to Baqi Billah that he should go to Hindustan and propagate the Naqshbandi silsilah there. Maulana Amkangi also foretold that in India a great
spiritual personality of the time would come into contact with and join the mystic discipline of khwaja Baqi Billah. *Zubdat-al Maqamat*, p.140.

144. Ibid.


147. Ibid.


150. Ibid., pp.61-66. *Hazrat-al Quds* (Urdu), Vol. I, pp.26-65., Maulana Nasim Ahmad Faridi is of the opinion that Khwaja Obaidullah was the younger son of Khwaja Baqi Billah and he was known as "Khwaja Khurd" whereas the elder son was Khwaja Abdullah who was commonly called "Khwaja Kalan". The Maulana's statement is based on the treatise *Asrariya*, produced by Syed Muhammad Kamal Sambhali in 1069 A.H. See, *Tuzkira-i khwaja Baqi Billah*, Lucknow, 1978, pp. 39-66. But the information supplied by the *Zubdat-al Maqamat* and the *Hazarat-al Quds* seems more accurate and authentic. Moreover, the famous work of Khwaja Kalan *Mubligi-al Rijal* also refers to its author as Obaidullah. The manuscript of this work is possessed by Maulana Azad Library of A.M.U., Aligarh. In the beginning of the book, the author (Khwaja Kalan) gives his name as Obaidullah. It appears that the manuscript was both written and transcribed in 1066 A.H. If there had been any controversy between his real name and alias, he would not have approved it.

151. The contemporary and later sources present them as eminent scholars and authors of various books. The elder son Khwaja Obaidullah, as mentioned above, produced a Persian treatise *Mubligh-al Rijal* which
throws valuable light on the religious condition of Akbar’s and Jahangir’s reigns. Besides Maulana Azad Library, A.M.U., Aligarh, the India Office Library also owns a manuscript of this work. For a detailed introduction, see, Muhammad Aslam, *Tarikh-i Maqalat*, New Delhi, 1970,p.61-82. Obaidullah, Khwaja Kalan, compiled another work *Tazkira-i Mashaikh*, which consists of one lakh poetic verses in praise of different Muslim saints. *Hazarat-al Quds*, vol. I, (Urdu), p.261. The younger son of Khwaja Baqi Billah, Abdullah, generally known as 'Khwaja Khurd' was also a renowned scholar. He had been a teacher of Shah Abdur Rahim, a famous Muslim Scholar as well as the sufi saint of the eighteenth century and the illustrious father of Shah Waliullah of Delhi. For details see, *Anfas-al Arifin* (Urdu), p.58.


154. Although he composed quite a few books and treatises, his main fame rests upon his 534 Persian letters, known as *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, run into three volumes. These letters presents an accurate picture of his mystical, as well as religious accomplishments, and reveal his scholarly approach. For his biography and other details, see, *Zubdat al-Maqamat*, *Hazarat al Quds*, Vol.II, *Rauzat-al Qaiyyumiya*, by Khwaja Kamaluddin Muhammad Ehsan. Moreover, a number of modern works both in Urdu and in English are also available.


156. It is said that Shaikh Abdul Haqq had spiritually been directed by Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani, to join the Naqshbadi discipline of Khwaja
Baqi Billah and become his disciple. See, Sadiq Hamadani, *Kalimat-al Sadiqin* compiled in 1614 AD (MS). F.96a. The Shaikh himself writes in his treatise *Risala-i Wasiyat Nama.* "When I returned to India, I got an opportunity to meet Khwaja Mahammad Baqi Naqshbandi, for a long time, I performed Naqshbandi practices and spiritual exercises and received the training of *zikr, maraqaba, rabta,* and *Yad Dasht* under him. See, K.A. Nizami, *Hayat-i Shaikh Abdul Haqq of Muhaddis Dehlawi,* New Delhi, 1953, pp. 136-37.

157. A brother-in-law of Faizi and Abul Fazl, Khwaja Husamuddin had been in the royal service of Emperor Akbar. But due to their hostility towards Islam, he openly criticised them and their policies as, since his very boyhood, he was attracted towards Islamic religion and its saints. This fondness of Muslim mystics ultimately made him relinquitsh his job. Later, he reached Delhi and met Khwaja Baqi Billah and after some time became his disciple. Husamuddin lived rest of his life at the Khanqah of the Khwaja and when the latter died, the whole responsibility of the Khanqah went to Shaikh Husamuddin. He looked after his master's children and took care of the visitors of the shrine. He died on 29th Ramazan 1040/ 22nd March 1631. *Zubdat-al Maqamat,* pp. 70-77; *Hazarat-al Quds* (Urdu), Vol. I, pp.270-275.

158. He too was a devout Khalifa and an old companion of Khwaja Baqi Billah. He had joined the saint at Lahore during his first visit. The Khwaja, at his departure for Central Asia, had left him at Lahore as his deputy. He accompanied Baqi Billah to Delhi and remained there throughout his life. All the responsibilities of the *langer khana* (free kitchen) of the Khanqah of Khwaja Baqi Billah were assigned to him. He died in Ramazan 1049-1639 and was buried near the grave of his spiritual mentor. See, *Zubdat-al Maqamat,* pp.78-85, *Hazarat-al Quds,* pp. 275-276.
Another Khalifa of Khwaja Baqi Billah. Previously he had affiliation in Chishtiya order with Shaikh Allah Bakhshi of Garh Mukteshwar in Meerut district. The Khwaja had deputed him to his native town, Sambhal, and asked to popularize Naqshbandi teachings there. After the Khwaja's death, Tajuddin first visited Kashmir and then went to Mecca for Hajj pilgrimage. There he came into contact with an erudite scholar and mystic Shaikh Muhammad Ilan who after some time joined his mystic fold. During his stay at Mecca Shaikh Tajuddin translated some renowned Persian works into Arabic, such as Rashahat-i Ain-al Hayat of Kashifi. When his favourite disciple Shaikh Ilan passed away, Tajuddin left for India but after a brief stay there he again migrated to Mecca via Lahore and Basrah. There he settled near the kaba where he breathed his last on 22nd Rabiulawwal 1052 AH/1642 AD. For details see, Zubdat-al Maqamat, pp. 86-87, Hazarat-al Quds, pp. 265-270.

160. Ibid.
161. Ibid.
162. Zubdat al-Maqamat, p. 56.
164. Zubdat-al Maqamat, p. 49.
165. Sadiq Hamadani, op.cit., f. 104.
166. Kulliyat, p. 133.
167. Zubdat-al Maqamat, p. 36.
168. Kulliyat, p. 22.
169. Ibid., p. 34.
171. Kulliyat, p. 22.
172. Ibid., Zubdat-al Maqamat, p. 54.
173. An important sufi practice which is enjoyed by visualising the spiritual mentor as a source of spiritual inspiration. Almost all the sufi-saints rely upon it for their inner development.


183. *Muktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, vol. I, Letter No. 43; Also *Mubligh-al Rijal* (MS 0. f34b).


193. For the details of Shaikh Abdul Ahad (Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi’s father), see; the present author's article', “*Shaikh Abdul Ahad Faruqi Sirhindi: A Renowned Sixteenth Century Sufi of South Asia*” ed. D.S.Gaikward, Dr. K.N Chitnis Felicitation Volume: Some Aspects of Medieval India, Mumbai, (Samant Publications), 2006, pp. 47-60.


199. *Siyar-ul Auliya*, p. 58; Also: *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, p. 89.


201. Though all the contemporary and later Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi sources, and most of the modern works, give the same information but one of the letters of Ahmad Sirhindi reveals that he memorized the Holy *Quran*, at the age of fifty seven, during his imprisonment in the Gwalior Fort between 1028/1619 and 1029/1619. See : *Maktubat i-Imam-i Rabbani*, Vol. III (Turkish Edition), ed. Ghulam Mustafa Khan, Istambul (Isik Kitabvi), 1977, Letter No. 43; Also Masud Ahmad Muhammad, *Sirat-i


204. For his details, See: Muhammaduddin Fauq, Malik-ul Ulama Allama Abdul Hakim Siyalkoti, Lahore, 1342 AH/(1924 AD.).

205. Born in 908 AH./1501-02 AD, in Kashmir, he was one of most famous ulama and scholars of the sixteenth century. Shaikh Ya’qub was a spiritual successor of the great kubrawi saint Shaikh Husain Khwarizmi. He acquired honour from different ulama of Hajaz during his pilgrimage to Mecca and Madina. There he also received from Allama Ibn Hajar Asqalani the authority to give instructions in Hadith. He travelled much and, visited and profited from most of the Shaikhs (scholarly and spiritual figures), of Arab and Persia. He also received authority to assume the prerogatives of a religious teacher and spiritual guide and as such he had many disciples in different parts of India particularly in Kashmir. He died on 18th Zilqa'dah, 1003 A.H./25th July, 1595. Shaikh Ya'qub Sarafi was the author of some sublime and beautiful works, and wrote many treatises. He was illustrious and much relied upon as an authority in all branches of Islamic learnings, and is said to have written a voluminous commentary on the holy Quran, which was one of the most wonderful production of his perfect genius. For details, see: Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, Vol. III, pp.142-49; Also: Abdul Qaiyyum Rafiqi, Sufism in Kashmir, Delhi, 1976, pp.116-24.

207. For Shaikh Yaqoob Sarafi's views about Shias and Shi'ism, see: Abdul Qaiyyum Rafiqi, op.cit., pp. 221-2.

208. No contemporary or later work gives any information of Qazi Bahlul Badakhshani. Hashim Kishmi only says that he studied under Shaikh Abdur Rahman bin Fahd who was a renowned scholar of Hadith in Hajaz, and himself was esteemly held for his scholarship in Hadith. See: Zubdat-ul Maqamat, p.128.

209. A famous exegesis of the holy Quran by Wahidi. It is still taught in Muslim theological institutions.

210. It too is famous commentary on the Holy Quran by Baizawi and is taught in all religious educational centres.

211. The most significant collection of the Prophet's traditions. Compiled by Imam Abu Abdullah Muhammad bin Ismail Al-Bukhari (ob., 256 A.H./870 A.D.), it has been held as the most authentic source of the science of Hadith among the ulama of Islam throughout the centuries. The author has selected seven thousand traditions (ahadith), after working very hard for more than sixteen years.

212. Also a famous collection of the Prophet's tradition.

213. Also one of the most authentic collections of Hadith compiled by Imam Tirmizi.

214. It is one of the most important text included in the syllabus of Islamic theology.

215. A celebrated poem composed by Shaikh Bu Said Busiri. Its verses are supposed to have some type of supernatural power. It is said no other Arabic poem has attained such renown. Near about ninety commentaries on this poem have been written so far in Arabic, Persian, Turkish and other languages including Urdu.

216. Compiled by renowned shafite scholar, Abu Muhammad Al-Husain bin Masud bin Muhammad Al-Baghawi (ob. 510 AH./1116 AD.), it is also a
famous collection of Hadith and contains four thousand four hundred thirty six ahadith (traditions). It was first published by Waliuddin bin Abdullah Al-Khatib Al Tabrizi in 773 AH /1336 AD. Its first English translation by A.N. Mathews appeared in 1810 from Calcutta. Another English translation by James Robson of Arabic Department of the Manchester University was simultaneously published from London and Pakistan in 1960. The Urdu translation of the Mishkat-ul Masabih has also appeared from Delhi in recent decades.


220. Felicitation volume: Some Aspects of Medieval India, pp. 47-60.

221. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, Mada wa Ma’ad, Karachi, 1984, pp. 9-10.


223. For details, see: Sirhind Theory the Ages.

224. The eminent modern scholar of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi Yohanann Friedman is of the view that the saint had been invited to Akbar's Court, (see: his famous work, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi: An Outline Of His Thought And A History Of His Image In Eyes Of Posterity, MC Gill, Canada, (McGill University), 1971, p. XIII. But it is not correct. He went to Agra in 1583 on his own part. There is no evidence of any sort of invitation either from the side of Akbar or from any other dignitary or noble of his court. According to the Rauzat-ul Qaiyyumiyah the intention of Ahmad Sirhindi to go to Agra was to meet eminent ulama and scholars who had taken abode in the Mughal Capital, (see: Rauzat-ul Qaiyyumiyah, Part I, Urdu translation, op.cit., p. 62).


228. Also known as the *Tafsir-i Be Nuqt*, it is an exegesis of the Holy Quran in Arabic language written in the words of undotted letters, it has been characterized by critics to be almost an unique piece of Arabic writing. The work was completed after several year’s labour in 1002 A.H./1593 A.D. It is reported that on its appearance many contemporary ulama raised their voice and submitted petition against its author. But on Faizi’s satisfactory remarks they withdraw themselves (see *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 300; Also: *Zakhirat-ul Khawanin*, Vol. I, pp. 64-55; Also: *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. II, Leiden, 1961, vol. 871.

229. *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, p. 132; It is to be noted here that there has been a controversy among scholars as to whether Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi wrote a considerable part of the *Sawati-ul Ilham*. In this connection the statement of the author of *Zubdat-ul Maqamat* that ‘the Shaikh wrote only few pages’, is correct.

230. *Risalah Radd-i Rawafiz* (Critically edited and translated in urdu by Ghulam Mustafa Khan), Iskambul (Isik Kitabevi), 1977, p. 4; Also *Zubdat-ul Maqamat*, p. 133.


235. For biographical, mystical and other details of Khwaja Baqi Billah, see Dr. Iqbal Sabir’s article entitled “Khwaja Baqi Billah: The founder of the Naqshbandi silsilah in India”, I.H. Siddiqui and Nazir Ahmad, ed.


239. Ibid., p. 155.

240. Ibid.

241. Ibid., p. 157; Also: *Rauzat-ul Qa'iyumiyah*, part I, urdu trns. P. 118.


243. Ibid. pp. 159-60.

244. Ibid. p. 348.


255. Ibid., p. 240.

256. Ibid., p. 243.