Chapter II

*Sufi Works of the Period*
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SUFI WORKS OF THE PERIOD

Though many mystical works were produced from time to time since the foundation of the Muslim rule in India, yet the History of sufi literature of the country reveals that the books, brochures and treatises written during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries on different aspects of Sufis and Sufism exceed in number. We find many Tazkiras (Biographical dictionaries), Malfuzat (conversations of saints), works on Sufi thought and practices, collection of the letters of different saints and collection of the saints’ poetic verses which were compiled during these two centuries. A deep study of this literature of the period will surely help us to understand the social, cultural and even political environment of the Mughal empire. Some of these works are very valuable source of information for understanding the thought and activities of the Muslim mystics of our period. The impact of the Sufis on Indian society, culture and politics may also be studies in this literature. The influence of their teachings on the common man and the problems of people belonging to different sections of society can be evaluated through these works. There is hardly an aspect of medieval life—social, cultural, religious or even political, on which this literature does not throw light.

(A) TAZKIRAHs

As for the biographical works we find a number of Tazkiras written during the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries.

(1) The Akhbar al-Asfia contains short biographical sketches of two hundred fifty sufis, completed in 1014 AH/1606 A.D. during the reign of Jahangir,
this work was compiled on the pattern of Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddith Dehlawi's Akhbar-al Akhyar. The another of Akhbar-al Asfia Abdus Samad bin Afzal Muhammad bin Yusuf Ansari, a resident of Delhi, is reported as the grandson of Shaikh Mubarak Nagors the son of Faizi's and Abul Fazl's sister. It may be mentioned here that he is the name Abdus Samad who compiled Abul Fazls letters. Maktubat-i Allam.

(2) The Hadiqat-al Auliya, produced in 1016 AH/1608-9 AD, by Abdul Qadir Ibn Hashim Ibn Muhammad al Husain, a resident of Sindh, consists of the biographies of the Sufis of sindh.

(3) The author of Tuhfat-al Suada, Khwaja Kamal, belonged to Lucknow. Written in 1016 AH/1609 A.D. this works sheds light on lives of the Chishti saints of Lucknow and the surrounding areas particularly Shaikh Qiwamuddin Abbasi (ab. 840 AH/1437 AD), Shaikh Muhammad Mina, popularly known as Shah Mina (ob. 870 AH/1466 AD) and Shaikh Saduddin of Khairabad (888AH/1480AD). The author had compiled this work on the request of his son Shah Hamid Abul Faiz.

(4) Gulzar-i Abrar MS no. 185, lindesiana, Rotograph No. 174 in the department of History A.M.U. Aligarh, a biographical dictionary of Indian Sufis compiled in 1613 by Mohammad Ghausi Shattari during early years of Jahangirs reign. Also is an important Sufi Tazkirah of the Seventeenth century. It is voluminous works supplying the biographical details of seven Hundreds Seventy five Saints, most of whom belonged to Gujarat. Its authors Muhammad Ghauth Shattari was very well known for poetry and scholarship during the reign of Akbar and Jahangir. His father Shaikh Hasan bin Musa was an eminent saint of the Shattari silsilah. Ghauthi received his education in Ahmadabad in Gujrat and spent long time of his
life in Mandu, the capital of Malwa. The author compiled the *Gulzar-i Abrar*, as early as 998 AH/1590 AD. but circumstances compelled the postponement of the work until after 1010 AH/1602 AD. In fact the greater part of his book was written between 1020 AH/1611 AD. *Gulzar-i Abrar* bombastic, but valuable notices of 575 Indian Saints many of them Gujaratis, dedicated to Emperor Jahangir and divided into five Chamans. (1)-(3) Seventh, eight, and nine century respectively. (4) Tenth and early eleventh century. (5) shattaris. Accordingly it comprises the details of the Sufis and *Mashaikh* of the seventh to eleventh centuries /13th-17th centuries AD. *Gulzar-i Abrar* is a *Tazkira* of the Sufis of various Silsilah especially Qadiris and shattaries, who flourished in the 16th century at Gujrat, Bidar, Berar, Agra, Malwa, Jaunpur, Ujjain, Ahmadabad, Burhanpur and Pathri. *Gulzar-i Abrar* supplies useful information regarding the Multani branch of Qadiri Silsilah in Deccan. We also find the names of the rulers, nobles, governors and relations of the Sufis with the court.

(5) *Kalimat-al Sadiqin*, compiled in 1023 AH/1614 A.D. the *Kalimat-al sadiqin* is another famous *Tazkira* of the 17th century. It gives the short sketches of one Hundreds fifty Sufi Saints buried in Delhi. It also contains the sayings and *malfuzat* of these saints. Its author Muhammad Sadiq Kashmiri Hamadani earned great fame and respect as a scholar in Shahjahan reign. Hamadani also worked as *Khabar Nawis* in Agra during the latters illness and participated in battle of Samugarh. Sadiq Hamadani’s most famous work is the *Tabaqat-i Shahjahani* which he completed in 1046 AH/1636 AD.
(6) *Rishi Nama*, also is a significant work of our period. It supplies the detailed biographical and other accounts of the Sufis of the Rishi silsilah of Kashmir, with special reference to Baba Nuruddin Wali Rishi, the subject of the first and by far the longest biography, Baba Bam al-Din, Baba Zain al-Din, Baba Latif al-Din, Baba Nasr al-Din, Baba Rajab al-Din, Baba Shukr al-Din, Baba Nauroz Rishi, Mirza Haider\(^2\) Kashmiri, Shaikh Hamzah and several of his disciples, with a long preliminary discourse on the merits of the first four caliphs. In the beginning it discuss the spiritual excellence of the Khulafa-i Rashidin, the first four pious caliphs and proves with evidences their greatness in the Sufi hierarchy. The author of Rishi Nama Nasibuddin popularly known as Nasib Kashmiri who died in 1047 AH/ May 1637 AD.\(^3\) He was the Khalifa of Baba Daud Khaki, a renowned sufi of the Rishi order in Kashmir.

*Rishi namah*, a metrical account of the Saints of Kashmir in three daftars.

(1) Shaikh nur-al Din his followers and contemporaries. (2) Shaikh Hamzah and some other Rishis. (3) Abdul Qadir Gilani and the shaikhs of his silsilah in Kashmir.

(7) *Jawahar-i Faridi*, written in 1033AH/1633 AD by Ali Asghar bin Shaikh Maudud of Fatehpur near Allahabad, is another famous biographical work of the seventeenth century. Contains the accounts of the famous chishtis saints Shaikh Fariduddin *Ganj-i Shakar* and his descendants completed in 1033 AH/1623 AD under Jahangir (but evidently supplemented later). It consists of five chapters. It has been published from in 1301 AH/1884 AD five babs-
(1) The prophet, his wives and children, the early caliphs and some tabiin.

(2) Muinal-Din Chishti, Qutb al-Din Bakhtiyar Ushi, Farid al-Din Ganj-i Shakar, Najib-al-Din Mutawakkil, their wives, children and disciples.

(3) Zain al-Din Chishti Hindalwi, a descendent of Ganj-i Shakar in the fourth generation and a contemporary of Sikandar Lodi (1488-1517), who settled at Hindali, near Fatehpur.

(4) A list of areas, i.e. days of the month on which the anniversaries of the death of different saints are celebrated, together with some information concerning the affiliations of the author’s father.

(5) On the descendents of Shaikh Sad Hajji, or Said Hajji, a relation of Ganj-i Shakar, and those of Shaikh Abd Allah Ghaffari known as Shaikh-al Islam, etc.  

(8) Another important tazkirah of the seventeenth century is the Zubdat-al Maqamat, completed in 1037AH/1627 AD. It occupies very special position and precedence in the Naqshbandi literature of the period. It is the authentic source of the Naqshbandi saints of the Mughal period, Khwaja Baqi Billah and his chief khalifa Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. The book also discuss their mystic ideology and other details. Sirhindi was an outstanding religious figure of the seventeenth century. His life and thought have been discussed in details in the Zubdat-al Maqamat. As its author, Khwaja Muhammad Hashim Kishmi, had personal contact with the saint and spiritually connected with him (as a disciple and Khalifa) the subjective element in his narrative in predominant. The books at his
The main purpose of the book is to bring to light the role of the saint as a spiritual teacher to highlight his impact on social and political trends of the period. The mystical philosophy of the Shaikh, particularly the concept of *Wahdat-us Shuhud* has been explained in some length. Moreover, the account of Khwaja Baqi Billah, the spiritual mentor of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, is fairly detailed and contains valuable information. The khwaja's life in central Asia and Afghanistan has also been discussed. Similarly his life in Delhi has been carefully delineated.

The *Zubdat-al Maqamat* also contains the accounts of eminent saints of the sixteenth century Shaikh Abdul Quddus of Gangoh and Shaikh Kamal of Kaithal. It also gives the details of Shaikh Ahmad's ancestors and father. The biographical details of the sons of Khwaja Baqi Billah and Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi are also available in this book. It is divided into two parts, called each one as *Maqsud*. Where as every maqsud is further divided into different chapters known as fasl totally there are fifteen fasls. Only two manuscripts of the *Zubdat-al Maqamat* are listed the printed catalogues, one which belongs to the Bankipur Library was transcribed in the 10th century, the other which belongs to the India office library was transcribed in 1150 AH/1737-8 AD. Two editions of the book have appeared so far. One from the *Matba-i Mahmood* of Lucknow in 1302AH/1885 A.D. and the other from the Nawal Kishore press of Kanpur in 1307 AH/1890 AD. An Urdu translation was published from Lahore 1909 AD.
The famous Tazkira of the seventeenth century is the *Majma-al Auliya*. Its author Mir Ali Akbar Husaini Ardistani was a renowned scholar of *tasawwuf* and other Islamic sciences. He flourished in the reign of Shahjahan who held him in high esteem, compiled in 1043AH/1633 AD, this work contains the accounts of fourteen or fifteen hundreds saints of India and their Islamic countries. It comprises a muqaddama, twelve chapters and a conclusion. In the Muqaddama different sufi terms have been discussed and defined then the author writes about the prophet of Islam. Members of his family his pious caliphs, his companions and the tabin, the followers of the companions. After words gives the accounts of Hasan Basri, Ibrahim Adham, Maruf Karkhi, Bayazid Bistami, and junaid Baghdadi. Then he gives the details of the saints of different Sufi orders. The conclusion of the book discuss spiritual greatness of the members of the prophets family and his four caliphs. The twelve bobs-

1. The first four caliphs, the twelve Imams, the Sahabah, the tabiin etc. 304 Biographies.
2. Hasan Basri and 142 of his older.
3. Ibrahim bin Adham and 62 of his order.
4. Maruf Karkhi and 73 of his order.
5. Bayazid Bistami and 53 of his order.
6. Junaid Baghdadi and 89 of his order.
7. 162 Naqshbandis and Turkish Shaikhs.
8. 65 Qadiries.
9. 64 Suhrawardis, Kubrawis and Chishtis.
10. 277 Indian Saints of Delhi, Gujrat etc.
11. 36 Saints who were poets.

12. 38 female saints and a *Khatimah* (on the merits of the prophets family and the first four caliphs with same account of Al-Khidr and Ilyas.

(10) Dara Shikoh, the eldest son of Emperor Shahjahan produced many significant works of different aspect Islamic mysticism. His famous Tazkiras *Safinat-al Auliya* and *Sakinat-al Auliya* hold important position in the Muslim mystic literature of the seventeenth century completed in 1049AH/1640 AD. *Safinat-al Auliya* supplies the accounts of the prophet of Islam, the pious caliphs, the companions of the prophet, twelve Imams, tabiin, taba' tabian, founders of the four schools of jurisprudence and the saints of different spiritual orders. It has appeared in 1853, 1872, 1884 and 1900, respectively from Agra, Lucknow and Kanpur. The *Sakinat-al Auliya* is a detailed account of the famous Qadiri saint, Shaikh Miyan Mir of Lahore and Khalifas and disciples. It was compiled in 1052 AH/1643 AD. It too has been frequently published. The *Risalah-i Haqq Numa*, written in 1645, is a small sufi tract. The *Hasanat-al Arifin*, composed in 1652 is an annotated collection of ecstatic or paradoxical utterances, ascribed to various mystics. A work entitled *Rumuz-i tasawwuf*, which is described by Arberry as a catechism of Sufi doctrine, was published with an Urdu translation at Lahore in 1923. Whatever this is a genuine work of Dara Shikohs and whether it contains a date are matters for investigation. The work of Dara Shikoh’s last years are a remarkable series resulting from an interest in Hindu mysticism and a desire to reconcile Hinduism and Islam.
(11) Dara’s sister Jahan Ara Begum some times called simply Begam Sahib or Begum Sahibah also was devoted to sufi and Sufism. She wrote the Munis-al Arwah, which is the Biography of the great Chishti saint Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti of Ajmer. The Khwaja’s account right from his arrival to this country, his stay at Ajmer and all the events till his death have been described in it. This book was written in 1049 AH /1640 AD.

(12) Another Tazkira of the Naqshbandi saints, written during the 17th century is the Hazarat-al Quds of Mulla Badruddin Sirhindi, compiled in 1043 AH/1633 AD, it is in two volumes. In the first volume the details of the prophet of Islam, the first pious caliph Abu Bakr Siddiq, Salman, Qasim bin Muhammad, Imam Jafar Sadiq and all the saints of the Naqshbandi Silsilah have been provided whereas in the Second volume is devoted to Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. His life, Sayings, miracles, children and disciples completed not earlier than 1053 AH /1643 AD, since Adam Banuries death which occurred is mentioned.

(13) Siyar-al Aqtab, is the biographical account of the Chishti Sabri saints of India. It begins with Hazrat Ali and at the end the events of the life of the author have been given. The author Shaikh Ilah Diya Chishti was a descendent of the famous Chishti Sabri Saint Shaikh Jalaluddin Kabir-al Auliya and a disciple of Shaikh Ata of Panipat. The author understood this work in 1627 AD and completed it in 1647 A.D. It has been published from Lucknow in 1877 AD.

(14) Mirat-al Asrar, Among the famous Sufi scholars of the seventeenth century Shaikh Abdur Rahman Chishti holds, very significant position. He was a descendant of Shaikh Ahmad Abdul Haqq of Rudauli and for time
worked as the *Sajjadanashin* of the latter's Dargah. Later he settled down and passed away in Lucknow in 1683 A.D. Shaikh Abdur Rahman wrote a number of works on Sufis and Sufism his famous Tazkiras, *Mirat-al Asrar*, *Mirat-i Maduri* and *Mirat-i Masudi*, supply valuable information of the Sufis of Islam, completed in 1654 AD. The *Mirat-al Asrar* is a biographical dictionary of the Sufis from the beginning of Islam till the time of Shaikh Husamuddin Manakpuri. It comprises a preface (dibache), muqaddama and twelve chapters.

(15) The *Mirat-i Madari*, is the biographical account of the famous fifteenth century saint Shaikh Badiuddin Madar of Makanpur now near Kanpur in U.P. Most of the information in this work has been derived from the *Imam-i Mahmudi* of Qazi Mahmudi Kantori and the *Lataif-i Ashrafi* of Saiyed Ashraf Jahangir Simnani of Kichuanchha.

(16) As for the *Mirat-i Masudi*, it is a famous work supplying the biographical details of Saiyed salar Masud Ghazi of Bahraich. The main source of its information is the contemporary historical account written by Mulla Muhammad Ghaznawi who was a servant of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna. The *Mirat-i Masudi* has been translated into English by B.W. Chapman but it is not yet published, however its Urdu translation by Akbar Ali bin Muhammad Bakhsh has appeared from Lucknow in 1871.

(17) Another famous Tazkira of the Sufis compiled during the reign of Aurangzeb in Seventeenth century is entitled as *Maarij-al wilayat*. Its author Shaikh Ghulam Muinuddin Abdullah Khweshgi Qusuri was spiritually associated with the Chishti silsilah, completed in 1666 A.D, this works gives valuable information about a large number of the sufis of
India and abroad, as the author was a staunch supporter and exponent of the philosophy of *Wahdat-al wujud*, he has adopted critical and somewhere hostile approach and attitude towards the admirers of the concept of *wahdat-ush shuhud* in his writing.

(18) *Khuriqat-i Shah Qumaish Qadiri*, Ms. Punjab University Library, Lahore, Tasawwuf No.19, Azar Collection.

The work deals with the life, pedigree and early education of Shah Qumais Qadiri, his arrival in Bengal from Baghdad and stay till his death at Sadhura in 1616 AD. The work throws light on the friendly relations of Shah Qumais and his father, Abul Hayat with the rulers of Bengal, Shah Hussain and Sultan Nasib Shah, who later on became their father-in-laws. Pir Muhammad Lahori, without citing any evidence, says that he narrated what he heard from eminent persons of his age. Though the language is simple, but there is an irregular arrangement of facts. Even chronology is defective and unnecessary importance is given to Shah Qumais’s miracles.

(19) Another work of Pir Muhammad Lahori, is *Haqiqat-ul Fuqara*, available in Punjab University Library, Lahore, Shirani Collection, Ms. No.248. It is the biography of some Qadiri saints. The work was published by *Majlis-i Shah Hussain*, Lahore, 1966.

(20) *Mayar-i Salikan-i Tariqat*, Ms. British Museum Add. 21589: The author Mir Ali Sher, has devoted one chapter to the companions and friends of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gilani, but its significance lies in the accounts of his descendants who, according to Mir Ali Sher, were in Thatta in 1503-4, engaged in missionary efforts for the propagation of Qadiri silsilah. This
work also contains biographies of the Sufis of other salasil like Chishti, Suhrawardi and Kibravi etc.

(21) *Rawzat-ul Auliya-i Bijapur*: Tazkira No.266, Oriental Manuscript Library, Hyderabad. National Archives, Tarnaka, Hyderabad. This important manuscript contains biographical notices of the well-known Qadiri Sufis who flourished at Bijapur between 16th and 18th centuries. Accounts of the various Sufis of other orders are also included.

(22) *Rawzat-ul Auliya*, throws light on the relations of some Qadiri Sufis with Adil Shahi court especially Ibrahim II (1580-1627) of Bijapur. The author has also composed the death chronograms of some Qadiri Sufis. The work is of utmost value from a chronological point of view. It was compiled in 1825-26 by Muhammad Ibrahim Zubairi and was copied in 1882-83.

(23) *Awrad-i Qadriyyah*, Ms. No.1695, Bankipur Library, Patna. Shaikh Kamal-ud Din Abul Hasan Musa, who wrote this work, lived in the 16th century, and was the spiritual preceptor of Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddis Dehlavi. It deals with the mode of worship, meditations and daily prayers in Qadiri silsilah. It discusses other mystic practices like *Kashf-i Qubur* (revelations in graves), visitation of sacred places, and prayers for various occasions, methods to recite *Qur'an*, and the ethics and precepts of Qadiri silsilah.

(24) *Kalam-i Shah Hussain*, Published Packages Limited, Lahore, 1979, with introduction by Dr. Nazir Ahmad. Shah Hussain (1538-99) is considered first among the Punjabi sufi poets who wrote *kafis*. The chief feature of Hussain’s poetry is that he addresses the people in their local dialects. His
kafian are available in the form of rajas in many Urdu and Gurumukhi manuscripts.

According to Dr. Nazir Ahmed, the poems of Hussain had not been ascribed during his life time but have come down through the qawwals and scribes. Some of the published editions of *Kalam-i Shah Hussain* are as follows:

2. *Shabd Shlok Bhagtan Dae*, Lahore, 1901, Amritsar N.D.


In his famous poem *Ankh Michauni*, Abul Hasan explains in a vivid way the sufistic ideology, the four stages of spiritual journey, mysteries of gnosis and methods of ascent and descent. He cites anecdotes, verses of Sufis, traditions and Qur’anic ayats to illustrate his viewpoint.

Two manuscripts of *Sukh-Anjan* are available in *Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Urdu*, Hyderabad. The first was copied by Mir Muhammad Ali alias Pir Pasha on Ziqad 1191 AH/1771 AD at the suggestion of Asad Muhammad Khan. The second was copied on 6th Zilhijja 1210 AH/1795
AD, the name of scribe is not given. Both the manuscripts consist of 409 verses, even the arrangement is the same.

(26) **Ganj-i Sharif**: The author is Saiyid Haji Muhammad Naushah Ganj Bakhsh Qadiri (1552-1654). *Ganj Sharif* consists of 4600 verses of Punjabi and Urdu. It is a rare collection of Punjabi Rakhan and folk literature. It shows the religious trends prevalent in the Punjab in the 16th and 17th centuries and the local dialects used in Sahanpal Gujarat, *Ganj Sharif* throws light on the language, culture, human feelings, social and moral life of the period. From linguistic point *Ganj Sharif* can be divided into three parts. In the earliest Urdu version, instead of Arabic and Persian influence, Sanskrit and Prakrit idioms are used. Part II contains a large number of Urdu words but Persian is dominant. Part III entirely devoted to Punjabi language and literature. Urdu and Punjabi translations of *Ganj Sharif* were published from Lahore (1975), and Sahanpal (1980), (Gujarat) in Pakistan with Introduction and Notes by Saiyid Sharif Ahmad Sharafat Naushahi.

(27) **Akhbar-ul Akhyar**, published from Delhi in 1283 AH this famous *tazkira* was written in 1590 by Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddis Dehlavi (d.1642). It is the most complete and reliable biography of Indian *Sufis* of the four main orders-Chishtis, Qadiris, Shattaris and Suharwardis which flourished between thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, Prof. K.A. Nizami,\(^{12}\) considers "**Akhbar-ul Akhyar** as the best product of Abdul Haqq’s erudition, scholarship and scientific research". It shows his proficiency and knowledge of the religious literature of the period.
(28) *Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi*, Ms. British museum or 3203, dated 1077AH/1667AD. The author is Tawakkul Beg Kulabi, a disciple of Mulla Shah Badakhshi, the renowned, Qadiri sufi of Kashmir. Here in Tawakkul Beg vividly portrays Mulla Shah’s ancestry, early life, education, arrival in India, his residence at Kashmir, and his *bait* in *silsilah-i Qadriyyah*, by Mian Mir Lahori (d. 1635). The work supplies many details about personal and religious life of Mulla Shah (d.1661), his spiritual experiences, continuous fasting, meditations, visions, constant night vigils, and other mystic practices including *habs-i dam* (control of breath), *Awurad-o burd* (contesting) etc. it throws light on the scholarly attainments of Mulla Shah. The work is valuable as it provides details pertaining not only to the life history of Mulla Shah but also the political affairs of the period.

*Nuskha-i Ahwal-i Shahi* is in the form of a diary, beginning with the first year of Shahjahan’s accession (1627-28). It was compiled during Aurangzeb’s reign in 1667. The manuscript is not divided into chapters but important events of each Regnal year have been put up as headings or subheadings. What increases the historical importance of the work is the sequence of events in chronological order, arrangement of facts accuracy and correctness of dates.

Manuscripts of the work are rare, one copy is available at oriental Manuscript Library, Hyderabad (Tasawwuf No.349), another at British Museum. A Rotograph (No.138) of B.M. manuscript is in the Library of Department of History, A.M.U. Aligarh, it is written in cursive *Nastaliq*
by Bishan Singh dated 27 September. Year of subscription has not been mentioned. It seems that the work was copied in the early 19th century.\(^{13}\)


*Sahifa-i Ahl-i Huda* is a biography of Shah Abul Hasan and other Qadiri Sufis of Bijapur. This valuable historical source provides a good deal of information about Abul Hasan’s relations not only with Ibrahim II but also with the yogis. The work was translated into Urdu and edited by Prof. Akbaruddin Siddiqui, Hyderabad, 1966.

(30) **Mishkat-un Nubuwwat**: Written by Ghulam Ali Musavi in 1804. It is a biography of some of the most prominent saints of the various sufi orders—Qadiri, Chishti, Naqshbandi and Suhrawardi, who lived in Deccan during the 17th and 18th centuries. The work contains occasional references to North Indian Sufis. The biographies are irregular and not arranged in chronological order. Undue importance is given to legends and supernatural gifts of the saints. Two copies of the work are available in Oriental Manuscript Library, Hyderabad. Copy A, Tazkina No.21, copy B, Tazkira No.194, and another at *Rawza-i Shaikh* Collection, Gulbarga.

(31) **Lataif al-Latif**, is another work of Ghulam Ali Musavi, Tasawwuf No.681, Oriental Manuscript Library, Hyderabad. The work deals with some Qadiri Sufis of the 17th century. It shows the exchange of khilafat among the Qadiris and Shattaris.
(32) **Makhzan-ul Asrar fi Zikr-i Salasil-i Kibar**, Ms. No.40, AMU Library, Aligarh. The author is anonymous, but the date of compilation is 1631 AD. The work is useful for its criticism against the Qadiris of sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who introduced many practices and innovations in the *silsilah* contrary to the true spirit of *shariat*.

(33) **Jami-us Salasil**, Ms. AMU, Library, Aligarh. Majduddin Badakhshani composed this work in 1638. A detailed description of the *wazifas* and prayers of Qadiri *silsilah* is given. The work also deals with the mystic practices of other *salasil*.

(34) **Maqasid-i Qadiriyyah, alias Risala-i Qadiriyyah**, Ms. No.739, Oriental Manuscript Library, Hyderabad. This standard work on the Qadiri mystic ideology and practices was written in the 17\(^{th}\) century by Shaikh Ibrahim Makhdumji, son of Shaikh Muhammad Multani. It mainly deals with various kinds of *Azkar* and *Muraqaba* prescribed in the *Silsilah*. The work is rare and valuable. The author has cited quotations from *Bahjat-ul Asrar* and *Awrad-i Qadiriyyah* of Shaikh Abdul Qadir to support his views. In the conclusion we find the praises (*manaqibs*) of the founder of the *Silsilah*.

(35) **Diwan-i Mullah Shah**, Ms. No.API/IV, 159, Punjab University, Lahore, Ms. No.852/89. Abdus Salam Collection, A.M.U. Library, Aligarh. His Diwan contains *Qasidas, Rubais, Masnavis, Manaqibs* and *Ghazals*.\(^{14}\) Dara Shikoh writes. *Diwan of Mullah Shah* is full of mystic allusions, and intricate problems regarding *Tasawwuf-o Suluk*.\(^{15}\) Tawakkul Beg informs that “one copy of his *Diwan* was in the possession of Aurangzeb.”\(^{16}\) He
further says that in 1635, Mulla Shah decided to compile his *Diwan* and in 1636 he composed two *ghazal*. The main theme of all his verses is *Tawhid* (Divine Unity), *Fana* (annihilation), *Iman-o kufr* (faith and infidelity), *Shariat* (law), *Tariqat* (path), *Ma’arifat* (gnosis). Help is taken from anecdotes and traditions in order to illustrate certain points of mysticism. Mulla Shah also wrote *Manaqibs* (praises) of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gilani, Maulana Rum and Mian Mir.

(36) *Abiyat-i Bahu*: It is a collection of about 185 verses of Sultan Bahu (1629-91). The work has been translated into Urdu, by Abdul Majeed Bhatti with the original Punjabi version. Abdul Majeed is a renowned poet of Urdu and Punjabi. His translations of *kafis* of Shah Hussain and Baba Farid won for him wide acclaim.

The main characteristic of *Abiyat-i Bahu* is the simplicity and lucidity of its style. His verses and mystic allusions are appealing to the heart of the reader. Most of his verses are addressed to peasants and illiterate people of Punjab. His songs are sung in Punjabi by musicians on the occasion of *urs*. A characteristic feature of Bahu’s Abiyat is its alphabetical order, the last line ends with *hu*, an innovation in Punjabi poetry.

(37) *Diwan-i Bahu*: Hameed Akhtar Qadiri has translated *Diwan* of Bahu from Persian into Punjab. It is a collection of 49 *ghazals* and deals with such themes as pantheistic doctrine of Divine Unity, self-surrender, resignation to the Divine will, self-realization, renunciation of world, union and separation, etc. Mystical doctrines like *Faqr* (poverty), *Taqwa* (piety), *Ruyat* (Divine vision), *Qurb* (proximity to God) are also explained.
He has quoted Qur'anic verses, while illustrating his viewpoint. Unlike Abiyat, he does not use the term *hu* nor his title Bahu in most of these ghazals.

(38) *Kalam-i Bulhe Shah*, Package Limited, Lahore, 1976, with Introduction and Notes by Dr. Nazir Ahmad. It appears that Bulhe Shah (1680-1756) could not compile his poems but, as they became popular among the common folk, the contemporary singers preserved them and handed down to their disciples and successors.

His *kalam* or poetry includes *kafi, athwarah, barah maha dohra, gandhan* and *siharfi*. The overwhelming theme of his poetry is Divine Love. Like Hussain, he uses the imagery of Hir and Ranjha, and similes of weaving and spinning. A list of his works is given below, most of which were published in the late 19th or early twentieth century.


(2) *Ganjina-i Ma'arifat Gian*, undated, published by Munshi Diwan Chand, Gujranwala.

(3) *Kafian-i Bulhe Shah*, undated, published at the end of 19th century.


(6) *Tazkira-i Hazrat Bulhe Shah*, Urdu tr. of Osborn's English work by Ziauddin Ahmad Barni, Delhi, 1920.

(7) Punjabi Sufi poets, Dr. Lajwanti, New Delhi, 1974.


(39) *Wakiat-i Kashmir*, MS A.M.U. Library No.892/89. Muhammad Azam Kashmiri compiled it in 1735 AD, the date of scription in 1844. It is a biographical account of the Qadiri, Chishti, Suhrawardi and Naqshbandi Sufis, who lived in Kashmir in the 17th and 18th centuries.

(40) *Risalah-i Tahliiya* an Arabic treatise, written in 1010 AH/1601-02 AD, deals with the importance of *Kalima-i Taiyyaba*, Muslim confession of faith, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi is reported to have written this brochure at a time when Akbar and his followers had removed Muhammad is the prophet of God" from the Kalima and introduced new confession ‘there is no God but God and Akbar is God’s representative’, the Risalah Sheds a flood of light on monotheism (*Tauhid*) and prophecy (*Risalat*).

(B) MAKTUB LITERATURE (LETTERS)

Moreover, the seventeenth century also witnessed the rapid development of the sufi epistolary literature. The most important of this type of works is the

(1) *Muktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, the letters of Shaikh Ahmad Faruqi of Sirhind. The letters hold and important position in Muslim mystical literature. The *Maktubat* provide lot of information on religious, mystical and even political themes. According to Prof. Shaikh Abdur Rashid these
letters cover a vast field ranging from the metaphysics to politics and missionary activities, and these are a mirror of the intellectual and spiritual ferment which swept over the spiritually saturated Indian Muslim society. These *Maktubat* from a very important source of Indian History and reflect the socio-political environment of Akbar and Jahangir’s reign. These also shed a flood of light on the revivalist efforts of the Shaikh.

The *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani* run into three volumes. The first volume entitled as *Durr al-Marifat* was compiled by Shaikh yar Muhammad Jadid Badakhshi in 1025 AH/1616 AD. It contains 313 letters. The second volume, *Nur-al Khaliq*, was compiled by Khwaja Abdul Haiy in 1028 AH/1619 AD and comprises 99 letters. The third volume known as *Marifat-al Haqaiq*, consisting of 114 letters, was compiled by Khwaja Hashim Kishmi in 1033 AH /1623 AD. All these three volumes of the *Maktubat-i Imam-i Rabbani*, have frequently been published from Lucknow in 1877, Delhi in 1871, and 1873. Amritsar in 1916 and from Lahore in 1964. A critically edited text has also been published from Istambul in Turkey in 1977 by Isik Kitabwi.

(2) Similarly the *Maktubat* written by Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi’s sons, Khwaja Muhammad said and Khwaja Muhammad Masum, are also of great value, both these brothers were brought up under direct spiritual training of their illustrious father and latter on came to occupy a pre-eminent place in contemporary mystic life. Their contribution to the development of the Naqshbandi silsilah in India is unquestionable. A number of mystical concepts of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi have been either explained on elaborated in these letters. Moreover, the impact of sirhindi’s thought on
and his image in the eyes of posterity may also be studied in these letters of the two brothers. As both these letters maintained cordial relations with Shahjahan and Aurangzeb. We also find information in this regard in their letters. These also refer to the war of succession amongst the son of Shahjahan. The collections of their letters of both these brothers entitled as _Maktubat-i Sadiya_ and _Maktubat-i Masumiya_ have been published several times by different publishers.

(3) Another epistolary (Maktub) work of the seventeenth century is the collection of the letters of Shah Muhibullah Allhabadi. Most of his letters valuable discussion in far over the defence of the concept of _Wahdat-al Wujud_, and its propounder Shaikh Muhiuddin Ibn Arabi. Some of them are addressed to prince Dara Shikoh as well who himself was a staunch supporter of this mystical philosophy.

(4) Likewise, the letters of Shah KalimuUah of Delhi, also are of great significance. Though compiled in the first quarter of the 18th century, most of his letter were during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Apart from a number of mystic subjects these letters also throw light on the religious inclination of the Mughal rulers and nobles.

(C) WORKS ON SUFI THOUGHT AND PRACTICES

As for the works on Sufi thought and practices produced during the seventeenth century, the various brochures of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi are of great value and also occupy precedence in Chronological orders.

1. _Mabda-wa Ma’ad_, written between 1008 AH/1599AD. and 1019 AH / 1610AD, contains fifty four short chapters dealing with averialy of sufi
subjects like Baiat, Qutb-i Irshad, Adab-i Tariqat, Kamalat-i Auliya, Haqqiat-i Kaba and Haqiqat-i Quran.

2. The other work is Maarif-i Laduniya. It is very similar in content to Mabda-wa Maad. Though not dated it seems to have been compiled after the Shaikh joined the Naqshbandi Silsilah. It defines the Secrets of Divine attributes (Sifat-i Ilahi) and sheds interesting light on the Hidden meaning of some Quranic verses.

3. Another work of the Shaikh is the Makashifat-i Ainiya (also known as Makashifat-i Ghabiya) which is the collection of different ijazat names (written permission authorizing the disciple or Khalifa to initiate disciples) given by the saint to his Khalifas from time to time.
References

7. Thirty eight miles from Barabanki in Oudh (Lucknow).
8. A village 8 miles North West of Bilhour and 40 miles from Kanpur.
17. Ibid. f.32b.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid, 7b, 8a, 65b.