The Siyar-ul-'Arifin is the work of Maulana Hamid bin Faḍl-ullah, popularly known as Durwīsh Jamālī (ob. 942 AH/1536 AD) completed in Humāyūn's reign (i.e. not earlier than 937/1530, nor later than 942/1536, the year of the author's death). He was a mystic of the Suhrāwardī order and a disciple of Shaikh Sama-ud-dīn (ob. 901 AH/1496 AD). He flourished in Delhi from the time of Sultan Bahlul Lodi to the reign of Humāyūn. He accompanied Humāyūn on his expedition to Gujarat where he died in 942/1536 AD. He was buried in Delhi, at a short distance south-east of the Quṭb Minār.


1. Siyar-ul-'Arifin, MS p. 2F.
2. In biographical notices see Akhbār-ul-Akhyār, pp. 221-222; Muntakhab-ul-Tawārikh, Vol. III, p. 76; Oriental College Magazine, X/1 H, pp. 147-159 and XI/1, p. 76.
Shaikh Jamal's travel and its salient features

Travelling was an essential part of mystic discipline in the middle age. It had a number of advantages. Firstly, it brought the mystics in touch with men of different temperaments living under different climes and under different conditions. The mystic gained intimate knowledge of human nature, a knowledge which helped him a lot, in dealing with men when he settled down at one place with the determination to guide the faltering steps of his fellow human beings. Secondly, when a mystic abandoned his home and started on his travels, all these ties that bind man to a particular region and

8. Born at Uchh in 707/1308 and died in 785/1384 and is buried at Uchh.
thereby narrow down his sympathies and his vision were automatically broken. Maulānā Izz-ud-dīn Māhūd bin 'Alī Kashānī has discussed in detail the benefits occurring out of mystic travels. Shaikh Jamālī also travelled in the Muslim lands.

The prime object of Shaikh Jamālī in composing this work was, as hinted by himself, that when he returned from the journey of Kābūl and other Muslim countries, his friends asked him to write the experiences of journey and the biographies of Saints who met him during his travel. However, the Shaikh found it difficult to cope with this demand. But he did write about the saints of India. The author's journey has gathered historical significance, it is even a reflection upon the life of the author and his spiritual master, Shaikh Sāmā-ud-dīn.

The description in Siyar-ul-Ārifīn suggest that Shaikh Jamālī have started his journey in 894 AH. It is probable that the Shaikh must have begun his journey with the sole intention of performing Hajj and first of all reached at Multan where he must have met Shaikh Burhān-ud-dīn Zakariya Multānī and stayed there for about three months and then he also spent sometime at Tath, 11


10. Siyar-ul-Ārifīn, photostat copy of Patna, MS p. 25.

11. Ibid, MS p. 26F.
and then, proceeded to Mecca. It is quite likely that the Shaikh must have gone to Madīnā and performed the duty of Muḥājīrūn, the very same place where Shaikh Bahā'ī-ud-dīn Zakariya, the saint of his order, did the same.¹²

The Shaikh has mentioned the names of all the places he had visited while going on journey.¹³

The travel is marked by the Shaikh's meeting with the mystics and Ulūmā and favoured their blessings. It was only after a period of 40 years that the Shaikh could achieve the outcomes of his journey in the form of this book, Siyar-ul-Arīfīn, the Shaikh wrote the book probably during the period 937 AH/1530 AD. It was in this very year that Humayūn was coronated and was the proud recipient of this book that was dedicated to him by Shaikh Jamālī.

The high-lights of the journey

(i) Shaikh Jamālī went from Hirat to Sabzawar and met

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¹² Siyar-ul-Arīfīn, MS p. 12F.
¹³ Ibid, MS p. 2
¹³A Ibid, MS p. 124.
Maulana Muhammad Najiff particularly who was one of the learned personalities of Sabzawar.\(^{14}\)

(ii) Sheikh Jamal stayed at Shiraz with Shaikh-ul-Islam Shah Taj-ud-din Husain, who was affectionate to him.

The Shaikh also met Maulana Jalal-ud-din Dawani (d. 908 AH) who was a great theologian of his time.

(iii) The most important aspect of the Shaikh's journey is his stay at Khurasan and Hirat. The Shaikh has narrated the interesting aspects of his experiences as under:

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15. Ibid, MS p. 12F.
16. Ibid, MS p. 67-67F.
When this contemptible soul reached Hirat, he was warmly greeted by the mystics like Hadrat Shaikh Sufi, who was one of the Khalifas of Hadrat Shaikh Zain-ud-din Khane and Hadrat Maulana Muhammad Ruhî....and Hadrat Shaikh Abd- ul-Aziz Jâmi....and Hadrat Maulana Nur-ud-din Abd-ul-Rahman Jâmi who was the well-known mystic of his times, both empirical and transcendental, and king amongst the poets....and Shaikh Shaar-ul-Islam who by the hand of Shah Ismail had gulped down the cup of martyrdom, unalteringly placed on his faith; and Hadrat Maulana Masud Shirwâni....and Hadrat Maulana Hussain Waiz (Kashef).....and Hadrat Qâdî Muin Waiz....and Hadrat Maulana Abd-ul-Ghafur Lârî.....These greatmen had deep affection and friendship for this contemptible soul!

The Shaikh further writes:

The resting place was in the monastery of Hadrat Maulana Nur-ud-din Abd-ul-Rahman Jâmi. I sat once with him in his service. Maulana Jâmi had in a view Lamât of Hadrat Shaikh Fakhr-ud-din Iraqî. Suddently Hadrat Maulana Abd-ul-Rahman Jâmi had a word of exaggeration for Shaikh
Sadr-ud-din Qūnūvi and further said that this 'Lamat' is the outcome of the blessings and favourers of the sublime dignity of Shaikh Qūnūvi.

The Shaikh further writes:

'I did not approve of his comments. I said, no earthly rank is ever concealed from God. It is only an expression.' The Shaikh again writes:

‘On the same night Hazrat Maulānā Jāmī..... saw a lighted spot in a dream where Hazrat Sadr-ud-din Ārif was sitting with some saints and Maulānā ʿIrāqī is standing with respect by his side, with their (Hazrat Sadr-ud-din) shoes in his hands. Even I was ordered to enter the meeting, I was fortunate enough to be able to pay my respects to them. I was affected by their awe. You (Jāmī) tell me that Hazrat’s (ʿIrāqī) rank has been revealed. I (Jāmī) replied that you were right.’

‘When Maulānā Jāmī related his dream to me next morning, we offered our prayers for that chaste soul.’
The dream incident points out the verdical nature of Shaikh Jamali. According to him, Hadrat Fakhr-ud-din Iraqî was more indebted to Baha-ud-din Zakariya rather than Shaikh Sadr-ud-din Qunuvi. Then Shaikh Jamali writes, 

(iv) As a memory of his journey to Tabrez, Shaikh Jamali wrote a mathnavi poem 'Maher-u-Mah, a love story of princess Maher and prince Mih, upon the constant insistence of the people of Tabrez.

(v) Shaikh Jamali visited the tomb of Hadrat Jalâl-ud-din Tabrizi with the company of Maulana Hûr-ud-dîn Abd-ul-Rahmân Jâmi and Maulana Abdul Ghafur Lârî and offered the namaz of Zuhar and 'Asar.

(vi) Shaikh Jamali went to Baghdad where he visited the tomb of Shaikh Abd-ul-Qâdir Jîlanî and Shaikh Shahab-ud-dîn Suhrâwardî and received spiritual bounties. One day he ever went to the grave of Imam Abû Hanîfa and met Shaikh Shahab-ud-dîn Ahmed, the successor of Shaikh Shahab-ud-dîn

17. Siyar-ul-'Arifîn, MS p. 16.
18. For details see, Chashm-e-Kothar, p. 394.
Suhrawardi. Shaikh Ahmed was much impressed and pleased with Jamālī, especially when he knew that genealogical tree of Shaikh Jamālī has the root in Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariya and has the spiritual relation with Suhrawardi order. As a gesture of appreciation, Shaikh Ahmed allotted Shaikh Jamālī, the same place where Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariya resided. Shaikh Jamālī stayed there for two months and benefited spiritually. On departure, he was presented with a copy of 'Awārif-ul-Maārif' which was even read by Shaikh Shahāb-ud-dīn Suhrawardi and Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariya and which had a definite place in the library of the author while he wrote Siyar-ul-Ārifīn. 20

(vii) In sector Nain, lies between Yazd and Avdistan, Shaikh Jamālī visited the tomb of Maulānā Abdul Quddūs who was the disciple of Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariya. 20A

(viii) Before going to Hajj pilgrimage and other muslim countries, first Shaikh Jamālī came in the service of Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariya at Multan, on leaving his native place. He intended to go for Hajj from there.

21. Ibid, MS p. 25.
In Multan, Shaikh Jamāli stayed with Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariya for forty days. Once, Shaikh Jamāli saw Shaikh Zakariya in his dream. He requested for the blessings of the Shaikh for his Hajj pilgrimage. Then Shaikh Jamāli narrated this dream to Shaikh Sadr-ud-dīn and requested him too, to leave him. But Shaikh Sadr-ud-dīn asked him to live one month more which Shaikh Jamāli mentioned that it was futile to stay on, after having had the permission of Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariya, upon the insistence of Shaikh Sadr-ud-dīn, the Shaikh stayed at the shrine of Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn Abdul Fateh, which lies at a short distance to Multan. Thus, Shaikh Sadr-ud-dīn met Shaikh Jamāli daily there. Here Shaikh Jamāli became very intimate with Maulāna Kamāl-ud-dīn Husaini, a perfect man of Saintly bearings. Shaikh Jamāli also was informed by Maulāna Husaini that the grave of Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariya's grand-father lays in Tatavi.

There stands an old tree whereupon each branch bears the name of Allah so run the information that he heard from his spiritual guide Shaikh Samā-ud-dīn, Jamāli perceived this tree when he went there.

(ix) A sect called stayed at Thath, therein a Sūfī lived, who was the disciple of Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariya,

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22. Siyar-ul-Arifīn, MS p. 25F.
whom Jamal called upon. In a hamlet called Majri in district Sivhan, stayed Maulānā Bilāl, to whom Shaikh Jamāl taught some lessons of Āwārif. The latter received the Shaikh very warmly.  

(x) Shaikh Jamāl went to Egypt for seven months. Then he went to Damascus and called upon the grave of Shaikh Jalāl-ud-dīn Sāvaj. He stayed there for fifteen days.  

**Literary Value**  
Siyar-ul-Ārifīn is written in an excellent style which is at once strong conscious and full of meaning. The following example would suffice to acquaint with the Siyar-ul-Ārifīn's style.

It is clear from the above passage that the style became easy and simple and forceful and there seems to be not much of differences between the style of Siyar-ul-Ārifīn with style of modern writers except some obsolete words are used here and there and the few lines which

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24. Siyar-ul-Ārifīn, MS p. 27.
25. Ibid, p. 27F.
26. Ibid, MS p. 67F.
he has written in praise of every Sufis. But it was just in order to pay homage and faith towards Sufis. The most important characteristic of the author is that he has abstained from the style of artificially and decorations.

The following lines which he wrote in praise of Shaikh Farīd-ud-dīn Gunj-i-Shakar are a typical example of his laboured style.

The above stated lines show that the style is entirely difficult-laboured, involved and full of puns and alliterations. While this type of few words were written in the praise of Sufis, the rest of the book remains a plain exposition of middle age Saints in style which is simple and straightforward.

**Historical Value**

Siyar-ul-Ārifīn supplies useful historical information, but not quite completely and satisfactorily. The details of the life of Shaikh Samā-ud-dīn of Suhrāwardī order has a special importance, because it supplies novel information

28. XXXXX XXX XXX XXX
for history. The Shaikh has had a prime role to play in forming the policies in the political history of Sultan Bahlol Lodi. At the time when Bahlol Lodi and Husain Sharki were at war, Shaikh Samā-ud-dīn was at Bayana. Sultan Ahmed Jalwa requested the Shaikh to pray for the victory of Shaikh Sultan Husain Sharki.

But the Shaikh rebuked the Sultan saying:

"O Ahmed! your ancestors had been cherished and benefited by Sultan Bahlol Lodi and you too nourished by him. At once all these obligations and reward casted in baseless dust. Why should I pray for that tyrant who strengthened the hands of tyranny from the boundry of justice, and took a step to violence.

But Sultan Ahmed did not utter anything. According to Siyar-ul-Arifīn:

This is a sufficient ground to believe that Shaikh Samā-ud-dīn was out-spoken and not afraid of criticising the Sultan and that the Sufis partake in the political

28. Siyar-ul-Arifīn, MS p. 121.
Shaikh Samā'ud-dīn kept away from the company of Sultāns, but was quite under the obligation of Lodi Sultāns. And hence, he would not avoid them. Once Sultān Bahlol Lodi met the Shaikh with grand respect, affection and devotion and said that I beg your kind attention. The Shaikh replied that three types of people shall be barred from the bounties of God. One, the old person who images his heart with numerous mis-deeds. Second, the youth, who aspiring to rectify his life at an old age, continuous to live lookly. Third, the king who puts off the light of truth by the constant blow of falsehood, in order to nourish the cheap worldly pleasures.

The Shaikh advised the Sultan on many aspects. The Sultan was moved to tears and said:

( O great master, in spite of so many shortcomings, I aspire to seek the affections of Saints every moment. I am hopeful that the Almighty will confirm salvation me with this affection, due to this love which I cherish for the Saints.)

29. Siyar-ul-Arifīn, MS p. 120.
30. Ibid, MS p. 121F.
31. For detail, see Siyar-ul-Arifīn, MS pp. 121-121F.
When Sultan Bahlol died, the Shaikh visited his grave and said,

God be praised! This man who dedicated his life to administrate and conquering, yet love, affection and faith which he had for the friends of God (Saints) has found a place of glory even in the other world.

Shaikh Jamali and Lodi Sultan

Shaikh Jamali did not like to stay in the company of the kings. Upon his return from the Hajj pilgrimage and other Muslim countries, Sultan Sikandar Lodhi, an admirer of Shaikh, wished to visit the Shaikh, but the latter refused to see him. Hence, the Sultan referred the incident in writing to the spiritual guide of Shaikh Jamali and requested a visit of Shaikh. Thus, it was only due to the request of the spiritual master that the Shaikh unwillingly granted the Sultan, a visit. The Sultan greeted the Shaikh very exuberantly, at a distance of two miles from his place near Sambal. After this visit, their meeting lasted to live in affection. Afsana-e-Shahah describes the friendship and love between

32. Siyar-ul-Arifin, MS p. 122.
33. For detail, see Sulat Afghan, p. 135, Makhzan-i-Afghan, p. 182.
the two as an unparallelled example.

Shaikh Jamālī had accepted the friendly relations of the Sultan in view of the general welfare of the people, and that for, when the Shaikh received an order from his spiritual guide. The Shaikh writes:

\[ \text{(For the sake of God is the friendship between you and me, not for the wealth and the wretched world)} \]

The relation of the Shaikh with the Lodī dynasty started declining after the death of Sikandar Lodī. It began with Ibrāhīm Lodī, the son of Sikandar Lodī. The reason believed it was the uneducated and dubious character of the courtiers of the king. They were joined by the Afghan rebellions. Again, Farīd, the teacher of Sultan, had no parallel in wretchedness. He flourished to reach the favour of Sultan. It was due to Farīd's wish that Miyan Bhūdā, a learned theologian, was imprisoned and assassinated afterwards. In this trying days, Shaikh Jamālī wrote a dirge for Sikandar Lodī wherein he writes:

\[ \text{\ldots} \]

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36. \( \text{siyāsāt} \cdot \text{ul} \cdot \text{ārāfāt} \) MS p. 446.
Shrikh Farīd and other courtiers poisoned the Sultan's ears and told him that Shaikh Jamālī has called you 'DEV'. This embittered the relation between the Sultan and the Shaikh. But the dignified and composed character of Shaikh Jamālī made placed him above all harms from such delegations. Yet, Jamālī was quite disturbed and was unease of his status, after this incident. However, a dream incident was sufficient to pacify the Shaikh and improve his relation with the Sultan; though, of course, they were never the same as with Sultan Sikandar Lodī, and the Shaikh never again liked in the same dignity and power.

In the dream the Shaikh saw a divine man offering him a green garment and saying that Hadrat Sultan-ul-Masha-i-kh Sadr-ud-din has sent this from Multan. Shaikh Jamālī wore it, and thanked God. He woke up from his dream, very peacefully and happily.37

Shaikh Jamālī continued his good relationship with Babur. There is, however, a paradoxical aspect of the Shaikh's character. There was a time when the Shaikh kept away and rejected the invitation of the kings and there was a time when he not only cultivated

a friendly relation, but even praised the glorious of Bābur in his poetry. He held a position of esteem in the court of Bābur\textsuperscript{38} and even Humāyūn\textsuperscript{39} to whom he has dedicated Siyar-ul-ʿArifīn. In 942 AH the Shaikh died in expedition to Gujarat with Humāyūn. He was buried in Delhi.


It is a matter of great pity that we are in possession of very scanty material regarding such an eminent and illustrious personality Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariya of Suhrawardī order. We find some references about the Shaikh in Fawāid-ul-Ḥuwād and Akhbār-ul-Akhyār, but these are not sufficient to enable us to draw any philosophical sketch of the Shaikh's idea. Siyar-ul-ʿArifīn sheds some light on the thoughts of the Shaikh's in general. It will not be out of the place here to mention some facts about the attitude of Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariya which have been mentioned by the author of Siyar-ul-ʿArifīn, with regard to these matters as it would be enable us to differentiate the Suhrawardī order

\textsuperscript{38} Akhbār-ul-Akhyār, MS p. 197.
\textsuperscript{39} Elliot, Vol.VI, p. 488.
from the Chishti order. The attitude of Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariya towards —

(i) people,

(ii) Wandering Durvīshes,

(iii) King and

(iv) Wealth.

(i) Attitude towards people

Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariya was rather hostile to people in general. For him, they were definitely divided into a special class of the selected few, and the general masses. The Shaikh's interest concentrated in the former alone who followed a spiritual path. Such a disproportionate attention, however, was alien to Chishti trend in general. It was on the contrary marked for its impartiality of affection to all alike. Everyone was received by them with an affectionate heart with the warmth of love.\(^{40}\)

(ii) Attitude towards wandering Durvīshes

They did not have a free access to Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariya.\(^{41}\) But that was not the case with the Chishti Saints. Everyone whether he was a wandering Durvīsh, a monk had an intimate approach to Baba Farid\(^{42}\)

\(^{40}\) Siyar-ul-Ārīfīn, MS p. 24.
\(^{41}\) Ibid, MS p. 24F.
\(^{42}\) Fawāid-ul-Fuwad, p. 5.
and other Chistī Saints.

(iii) Attitude towards the Kings

Suhrāwardī Saints formed a close association with Kings. They believed that one could attend to temporal affairs without any harm to spiritual development, Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariya had ever accepted a responsible position of Shaikh-ul-Islām under Iltutmish. When Qabāchā, the governor of Multan hatched a conspiracy against Sulṭān Iltutmish, Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn wrote a letter to the Sulṭān and informed about it. His grandson, Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn also held the post of Shaikh-ul-Islām under Sulṭān Allā-ud-dīn Khilji. Nevertheless, the Chistī Saints were quite inadvertent about the entire affair.

(iv) Attitude towards Wealth

Though of a wealthy birth, Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariya was a man of belief in purity of everything. He had a richly life and did not observe unobligatory fasts generally. Shaikh Niẓām-ud-dīn Auliya commenting on Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariya's way of life quotes this verse, 'Eat from the pure and good things and performed good actions.'

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43. Siyar-ul-Ārifīn, MS p. 107.
44. Ibid, MS pp. 18F-19.
46. Siyar-ul-Ārifīn, MS p. 24F.
There is an enlightening dialogue between Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariya and Shaikh Ḥamīd-ud-dīn Ṣūfī which throws light on their respective views regarding their attitude to wealth. The discussion is as follows:

Shaikh Ḥamīd-ud-dīn Ṣūfī:

What is the reason of wealth being associated with serpent, when there is neither any external or any internal relation between them?

Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariya:

Though there is no external relation between them, yet they were internally related to one another. As the serpent possesses the deadly poison, so wealth reduces many people to dust.

Shaikh Ḥamīd-ud-dīn Ṣūfī:

If wealth possesses the characteristics of a serpent, the person who cares for wealth, in reality, cares for the serpent. 46A

Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariya:

Though wealth has been characterised as serpent, yet the poison of serpent has no effect on the man who knows the charm.

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46A. This was a direct attack on Shaikh Baha-ud-din Zakariya as he was himself in possession of wealth.
Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariya acknowledges it as a mild defect but justifies it as a protection against the evil eye of the malicious and retorts with the following counter attack against the Saints of the Chisṭī order.

Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn:

Durveshes of your order are not so beautiful as to be affected with the evil eye. But the Durveshes in our order possess such perfection and beauty that if they do not apply to black spot on their face, there remains the danger of their being affected with the evil eye.  

Shaikh Hamīd-ud-dīn Sūfī:

Beauty is only the attribute of your durveshes. It is not their essence, because the beauty which is the essence can not be affected with the evil eye.

It is evident that Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariya, though never against the accumulation of wealth certainly advocated its propriety of use. Contrary to this, it is difficult to find a single instance right from Khwaja Muīn-ud-dīn Chisṭī down to Shaikh Naṣīr-ud-dīn Chirāgh of Delhi despised wealth. They strongly dejected it as a positive handicap to spiritual progress. However, it was the firm belief of Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariya that spiritual power could never bow down to any authority.

47. Siyar-ul-Āriffīn, MS p. 15.
of secularism of wealth. It stood independent of there, and had a definite following apart and inspite of secular authority and possessors of wealth.

Some factual deficiencies of Siyar-ul-Ariffin

The author has made many curious statements. Barani thinks that this work is not free from the contradictions and disproportionate.

(i) Shaikh Jamali writes that Khwaja Moin-ud-din Chisti during his travel, met Hazrat Abu Yusuf Hamdani (d. 535 AH).

But Khwaja Moin-ud-din's birth date is about 530 AH or 535 AH. This proves that he could just have visited the grave of Hazrat Hamdani.

(ii) According to Shaikh Jamali, Khwaja Moin-ud-din Chisti came to Ajmer during the time of Sultan Qutb-ud-din (602-607 AH). This is wrong. It is rather possible to believe Siyar-ul-Auliya's statement that the Khwaja must have settled in Ajmer during the time of Rai Pathura, the king.

(iii) Shaikh Jamali writes that Khwaja Moin-ud-din Chisti

48. Siyar-ul-Ariffin, MS p. 5.
49. Saiyed Sabir-ud-din A. Rahmam has discussed about the birth date of Khwaja elaborately, see Bazmi-i-Sufia, pp. 41-81.
50. Siyar-ul-Ariffin, MS p. 9.
51. Siyar-ul-Auliya, MS p. 24F.
became very friendly and intimate with Shaikh Husain Zanjani.\footnote{Siyar-ul-Arifin, MS p. 9.} But this also is not true for Shaikh Hassan Sijzi writes in his Malfuzat that Shaikh Husain Zanjani belonged to the peer group of Shaikh Ali Hujwiri,\footnote{Fawaid-ul-Fuwad, p. 35.} and prior to coming to Lahore, Shaikh Husain Zanjani had expired at night.

Shaikh Jamali further writes that Shaikh Ali Hujwiri died in the same year when Khwaja Moin-ud-din Chisti reached Lahore.\footnote{Siyar-ul-Arifin, MS p. 9.} This also is not true. The date of Shaikh Ali Hujwiri's death believed to be round about 465 AH to 500 AH. As stated further, Khwaja Moin-ud-din Chisti was born during 535-540 AH. It is evident that prior to the birth of Khwaja, Shaikh Ali Hujwiri had expired.

\footnote{Siyar-ul-Arifin, MS p. 9.}
(iv) When Iltutmish offered Khwaja Qutb-ud-din Bakhtyâr Kâkî, the post of Shaikh-ul-Islâm the Saint declined to accept it. Shaikh Jamâlî writes that this offer was made after the death of Maulâna Jamal-ud-dîn Muhammad Bustânî. But this does not seem to be correct. It appears from a perusal of Tabaqât-i-Nâsîrî that Maulâna Bustânî survived Iltutmish and was appointed Shaikh-ul-Islâm by Sultân Naṣîr-ud-dîn Mâhâmîd in 653 AH.  

(v) Shaikh Jamâlî makes the strange assertion about the father of Bâbâ Farîd-ud-dîn Gunj-i-Shakar and their arrival to India.

His revered father Jamal-ud-dîn Sulamân had come from Kabul to the side of Multan during the reign of Sultan Shihâb-ud-dîn Ghurî, who was the son of Sultan Mahmûd Ghaznawi's sister.

According to Siyar-ul-Âqtâb,

The revered father of the Saint was Sultân Mâhâmîd Ghaznawi's sister.

Fîrîshtâ, with a better historical insight simplified it.

55. Siyar-ul-Ârîfîn, MS p. 31-32.  
56. Raverty, p. 702.  
57. Siyar-ul-Ârîfîn, MS p. 41.  
58. Siyar-ul-Âqtâb, p. 163.
His father came to Multan from Kabul during the reign of Sultan Shihāb-ud-dīn Ghūrī."

(vi) It was a matter of policy for Sultan A'llā-ud-dīn Khilji, not to inculcate the rise of one particular group politically. Hence, he put restications on the give and take of large gifts. It seems that it is incorrect to write, as has been done by Shaikh Jamāl, e.g. that Sultan A’llā-ud-dīn asked one of his servants.

"O Qarābaig...... but take away my two sons Khizar Khan and Shādi Khan and offer them at feet of the Shaikh, and arrange to send two lacs Tinkas to the Sufis shrine as a mark of gratitude."

At another place Shaikh Jamāl writes:

"At the time of his (Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn Multani) arrival two lacs Tinkas were sent. The Shaikh used to donate this offering on the very same day and even those..."
five lacs Tinkas that were sent for his departing trip.

Thus, as per the policy of ʿAllā-ud-dīn Khiljī, which prohibited such gifts, it is contrary to believe the statement of Shaikh Jamālī.

(vii) Shaikh Nizām-ud-dīn Auliya and Sulṭān Muḥārak Khiljī had strained relations. According to Barānī, they both met on the Sevām day of Shaikh Zia-ud-dīn Rūmī. The Shaikh saluted the Sulṭān, but the latter did not reciprocate, nor pay any respect.\(^{62}\) But Shaikh Jamālī writes that Nizām-ud-dīn Auliya did not salute the Sulṭān and rationalized that it is improper to disturb anyone while reading Qurān, as was the case with Sulṭān then.\(^{63}\) But the Shaikh's statement need not as reliable as that of the Barānī, who was the contemporary of the Shaikh and the Sulṭān.

(viii) Shaikh Jamālī has mentioned Shaikh Fakhr-ud-dīn Zarādī and Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq's conflict with respect to Shaikh Naṣīr-ud-dīn Chiṅghā of Delhi instead of Shaikh Fakhr-ud-dīn Zarādī.\(^{64}\)

(ix) About the buildings of Jamātkhanā: near the grave of Shaikh Nizām-ud-dīn Auliya, Shaikh Jamālī writes that

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\(^{61}\) The third day after death on which oblations are offered.

\(^{62}\) Barānī, Tarikh-i-Firūz Shāhī, p. 396.

\(^{63}\) Siyar-ul-Ārifīn, MS p. 79.

\(^{64}\) Ibid, MS pp. 95-96.
Even this statement is incorrect. The author of Siyar-ul-Auliya, Mir Khurd, however, has correct information when he writes that the spot where the Shaikh's grave lies, there was a desert. It was only after the death of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Aulia*, Sultan Muhammad Tughluq constructed a tomb on the grave.

After that a new Jamātkhāna (جامعہ تحریک) was made by Sultan Firuz Shah.66

(x) Shaikh Dīa-ud-dīn Rūmī was the spiritual guide of Sultan Qutb-ud-dīn,67 according to Shaikh Jamālī. However, it is confirmed neither by any contemporary nor latter historians or Tazkirah writers.

(xi) Shaikh Amīr Husainī, who was the disciple of Shaikh Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariya has been addressed differently by Shaikh Jamālī e.g. Shaikh Jamāl, Shaikh Sadr-ud-dīn Ahmed bin Najm-ud-dīn etc. These names are found in no historical books or memoirs of Sufis. His real name was Husain bin Alam b. Al-Hasan Al-Husainī.68
About the conflict between Sultan Muhammad Tughluq and Shaikh Nasir-ud-din Chiragh of Delhi, Jamali writes:

'Once, during the initial days of his career as a king, he invited Shaikh Nasir-ud-din and made him sit to his right side. He requested him to join to Khurasan where the Sultan too was to go. Upon hearing this, the Shaikh remarked, 'God willing, that shall be done.'

The Sultan retorted that the very word, 'God willing', suggest lethargy. The Shaikh refused, saying that nothing can ever be left undone upon using them. On the contrary, the expiative the very happening of any event. During this time, the Sultan ordered a dinner and thought that in case the Shaikh refused, he would harm the Shaikh. When the tablecloth spread, the Shaikh dined against his will. The Sultan then requested the Shaikh 'Do counsel me, so that I may act accordingly.' The Shaikh said 'Leave the anger and indiscipline of the wilds, which you nurture in your nature'. The Sultan then offered the robe and a bag full of silver coins. He intended the Shaikh to carry them, but the latter was totally inadvertent. Meanwhile, Khwaja Nizam-Dabir, the courtier of the Sultan and disciple of Nizam-ud-din Auliya carried the robe and bag of silver coins. He lead out the footwear of the Shaikh correctly. Then the Shaikh stepped out of the mosque. The courtier of Sultan handed over the robe and the bag of silver coins to a servant.
and bade farewell to the Shaikh bowing his forehead on the feet of the Shaikh. The Sultan was very wild with rage, he put his hand to the sword and exclaimed, 'O insect! how dare you lift the bag and robe of the Shaikh and place his footwear before me?' The said Khwaja Nizam Dabir was of medium built and a disciple of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya, and was the pupil of Amir Khusrau in poetry. The courtier at once replied that had I not lifted them, they would have been lying in waste, and the Shaikh would never have looked at them. And it is a matter of pride for me to correct the footwear of the Shaikh', further said, 'By God, I shall be pleased, if you assassinated me right now, so that I am spared your tense society, up to Qayamat.' He said all these but was left untouched by the Sultan due to the power of Shaikh's blessings.

Now, it is difficult to digest some of the points in the above discussion, viz:

(a) A sweet-natured and soft spoken Shaikh could hardly rebuke the Sultan the way he did. 'Leave the anger and indiscipline of the wilds, which nurture in your nature'.

(b) Actually, the discussion mentioned above was between

Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq and Maulana Fakhr-ud-din Zarard. We don't know why Shaikh Jamali first cites Mir Khurd as his authority for this incident, but then by a curious error of omission or commission quotes him wrongly.

Prof. Muhammad Habib has accepted Jamali's version but Prof. Khalilq Ahmed Nizami is not inclined to prefer Jamali's account to that of Mir Khurd. Jamali has substituted the name of Nizam Dabir for Qutb-ud-din.

I am agree with Prof. Nizami's account, for the reasons I have given at various points. Jamali has confused some points which would otherwise shed light on Siyar-ul-Arifin for further clarification.

The main sources of Siyar-ul-Arifin

The information contained in Siyar-ul-Arifin is drawn from different sources. Biographical information and concerning anecdotes about the early Indo-Muslim mystics are based mostly on Khair-ul-Majalis of Hamid Qalander and Fawaid-ul-Fuwad of Amir Hasan Siyri. But Shaikh Jamali has quoted references with some changes and alteration and in some cases the quotations are not found in the above said books. As there are more than

70. Islamic Culture, XX/2, April 1916, pp. 140-141.
two dozen references from Khair-ul-Majalis have been quoted by Shaikh Jamali in his Siyar-ul-Arifin with some changes and alterations:

(i) On page 22F of Siyar-ul-Arifin an account of Sayyid Jamāl-ud-dīn Savjī is given on the authority of Khair-ul-Majalis but Shaikh Naṣīr did not say that Jamāl-ud-dīn Savjī was so overpowered by ecstasy that he gave up his obligatory prayers.

(ii) The Siyar-ul-Arifin gives a detailed account of the audition parties of Shaikh Nizām-ud-dīn Auliya on the authority of Shaikh Naṣīr-ud-dīn Mahmūd, but Khair-ul-Majalis does not contain this account.

(iii) There is a very brief reference in Khair-ul-Majalis to Sultan Qutb-ud-dīn Mubārak Khiljī's attitude towards Shaikh Nizām-ud-dīn Auliya. The Siyar-ul-Arifin gives a detailed account which is not found in the Khair-ul-Majalis.

(iv) The story of Ghaggu as given in Siyar-ul-Arifin on the authority of Shaikh Naṣīr-ud-dīn does not

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72. Siyar-ul-Arifin, MS p. 22F.
73. Ibid, MS p. 77F-78.
74. Khair-ul-Majalis, pp. 74-75.
75. Siyar-ul-Arifin, MS p. 78F.
76. Ibid, MS pp. 81F-82.
occur in the *Khair-ul-Majāls*.

(v) A detailed account of Shaikh Usman is given in *Siyar-ul-ʿArifīn* which is not found in *Khair-ul-Majāls*.

(vi) The story of the mutasarrif of Ajodhan who annoyed the family of Shaikh Farīd has been quoted by Jamālī on the authority of Shaikh Nasīr-ud-dīn Mahmud, but it differs from the *Khair-ul-Majāls* in the following details:

(a) Jamālī says that the mutasarrif was in league with the Qādī of Ajodhan in annoying the Saint (*Siyar-ul-ʿArifīn, MS* p. 43f). There is no mention of it in the *Khair-ul-Majāls* (*p. 182*).

(b) Jamālī says that it was Maulānā Shihāb-ud-dīn, son of the saint who complained of the attitude of the mutasarrif to his father. The *Khair-ul-Majāls* does not name any son. It only says: 

(c) It is written in *Khair-ul-Majāls* that the mutasarrif was brought to the Shaikh who refused to see him. In *Siyar-ul-ʿArifīn,*

77. *Siyar-ul-ʿArifīn, MS* pp. 91-91f.
he dies before he is brought to the Shaikh.

(vii) Jamālī has quoted the story of a Qalander, who visited the Jamaātkhanah of Shaikh Fārīd and began to prepare a mixture of hemp-leaves on the prayer-carpet of the Shaikh, on the authority of Khair-ul-Majālis. But Khair-ul-Majālis does not contain the following:

(viii) The Siyar-ul-Arifīn quotes the story of a man who had lost his master's eagle from Khair-ul-Majālis but with the following additions and alterations:

(a) According to Siyar-ul-Arifīn, the Qasbah was at a distance of four Farsangs, according to Khair-ul-Majālis, its distance was thirty four karohs.

(b) On Khair-ul-Majālis (p.148) the Turk gives only this warning to his Amir-i-Shikar:

78. Siyar-ul-Arifīn, MS p. 47F.
79. Ibid, MS p. 47F.
80. Khair-ul-Majālis, p. 147.
The Siyar-ul-^rifIn (MS p. 47F) adds:

(c) The Khair-ul-Majālis has

The Siyar-ul-^rifIn, on the contrary says:

(d) The Khair-ul-Majālis says about the Turk's attitude towards Shaikh Farid:

Siyar-ul-^rifIn says:

It makes a lot of difference. The first means simply 'absence of faith', the latter means, 'having no good opinion'.

(e) The Khair-ul-Majālis says about the Malik:

Siyar-ul-^rifIn adds:

(ix) On page 49-49F, Jamālī quotes an anecdote of an oil-dealer who had lost his wife but recovered her through the spiritual help of Shaikh Farid.

It differs with the Khair-ul-Majālis in the

81 & 82. Siyar-ul-^rifIn, MS p. 48F.
83. Ibid. MS pp. 49-49F.
following details:

(i) The *Khair-ul-Majalis* does not mention the religion of the oil-dealer. The *Siyar-ul-Arifin* says that he was a Musalman.

(ii) The *Khair-ul-Majalis* does not mention the name of the place. The *Siyar-ul-Arifin* has:

(iii) The *Khair-ul-Majalis* has:

(x) On pp. 77-77F, the *Siyar-ul-Arifin* contains an account of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya's advise to some of his disciples, based on the authority of Shaikh Nasir-ud-din but with the following additions and alterations:

(a) The name of occurs as 

(b) The *Khair-ul-Majalis* has: The *Siyar-ul-Arifin* says: 

(c) The *Khair-ul-Majalis* has: the *Siyar-ul-Arifin* has

85. Ibid, p. 68.
(d) The *Khair-ul-Majalis* has 'tanka'.
    The *Siyar-ul-Arifin* has 'dinar'.

(e) The *Khair-ul-Majalis* has:
    دنیا کے سوالوں دے جوابز اُتے
    The *Siyar-ul-Arifin* adds:

(f) The following lines quoted by Jamalī do not occur in the *Khair-ul-Majalis*:
    سلطان اعتماد این مورس را بیان کریں واقعہ دوبارہ اور امر اور گرئی میں

(g) The *Khair-ul-Majalis* has:
    باپ کی دور بھر باپ ہمارے کر جوہر غلام خور
    The *Siyar-ul-Arifin* has:

(h) The *Khair-ul-Majalis* has:
    کسی (دو) نہیں
    The *Siyar-ul-Arifin* adds an exception:

(i) The *Khair-ul-Majalis* has:
    بچائے دم) سو پر از دو گر Miss
    The *Siyar-ul-Arifin* again adds an exception:

(j) The *Siyar-ul-Arifin* completely omits the sixth instruction.
(xi) In *Khair-ul-Majālis*, there is an account of Khwāja Aziz-ud-dīn's visit to a feast and discussion there about the life of Shaikh Niẓām-ud-dīn Auliya. The *Siyar-ul-Ārifīn* also refers to this but with the following additions and alterations.

(i) The name of Shāfit Farīd's grand-son is given as Sharf-ud-dīn.

(ii) The feast was in connection with the 'Urs of Shaikh Badr-ud-dīn Samarkandi.

(iii) In *Khair-ul-Majālis*, Khwāja Aziz-ud-dīn tells Shaikh Niẓām-ud-dīn Auliya about the discussion, but it is said in *Siyar-ul-Ārifīn* that:

(iv) The *Siyar-ul-Ārifīn* makes Niẓām-ud-dīn Auliya utter this sentence which does not occur in the *Khair-ul-Majālis*.

(xii) On MS p. 81F of *Siyar-ul-Ārifīn* there is an account of Khwaja Ata's visit to Shaikh Niẓām-ud-dīn Auliya on the authority of Shaikh Naṣīr-ud-dīn. It differs from the *Khair-ul-Majālis* in the following details:

(a) The *Khair-ul-Majālis* gives his name as Khwāja

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87. *Siyar-ul-Ārifīn*, MS pp. 81-81F.
Siyar-ul-Arifin calls him Khwaja Ata-ullah.

(b) The Khair-ul-Majalis has:

The Siyar-ul-Arifin has:

(c) The Khair-ul-Majalis does not contain the following sentence:

(xiii) On page 75 of Khair-ul-Majalis, there is an account of Shaikh Najib-ud-din Mutawakkil and his poverty on an 'Eid' day. The Siyar-ul-Arifin quotes it with some embellishment.

(i) JamalI says that the Qalander who had come to see Shaikh Najib belonged to Khurasan. The Khair-ul-Majalis says nothing about their motherland. 89

(ii) JamalI says that Shaikh Najib asked the guests to sit in his Jamaatkhanah. This is wrong. The Shaikh had no Jamaatkhanah. 90

89 & 90.Ibid, MS pp.98-98P.
(xiv) The Khair-ul-Majālis (p. 138) contains an account of Bībī Fātimah. Jamāli quotes it but with some additions here and there. 91

(xv) The Khair-ul-Majālis gives a brief account of scarcity during the reign of Iltutmish (his name is not mentioned), but Jamāli 92 gives a detail description on the authority of Shaikh Nasīr-ud-dīn.

So it is clear from the above references that the Shaikh could not go into details owing to the plan of his work, yet the book does not reflect a fine critical sense and capacity for examining evidence.

91. Siyar-ul-Ārifīn, MS p. 102.
92. Ibid, MS p. 98.