INTRODUCTION

Islam preaches that God is the ultimate Reality. Sufism is an offshoot of Islamic philosophy and advocates that a true Sufi should see God and God alone. Since its inception Sufism underwent various stages of development with its philosophy and practices evolving through the ages. Sufism reached India much before the establishment of the Delhi sultanate, but it became popular with the advent of the Chishti order of Sufism. Khwaja Abu Ishaq Shani Chishti founded the Chishti order of Sufism, while it was Muin al-Din Chishti who introduced the Chishti order in India.

Like all other silsilahs, the Chishti silsilah had also certain distinct ideals. Ideally the Chishtis were supposed to keep away from the Sultanate unlike their Suhrawardi counter parts. They were also to give up worldly pleasures and accept faqr. In practice, however, the Chishtis could not keep completely away from the Sultanate. They had direct or indirect interaction with the Sultanate; they often accepted futuh and grants from the Sultanate. The early Chishtis lived in abject poverty, but later, the Chishti khanqahs provided delicious food to the inmates and guests. Thus the Chishti ideals and practices make an interesting study. They attempted to balance between the ideals and practices, especially in their relationship with the Sultanate.

As regards the Sufi ideals and practices, especially that of the Chishtis,
there are some notable works by eminent scholars. But there have not been much deliberation on the balancing of those ideals and practices to suit the specific requirement of the time, especially in regard to the Sufis' relationship with the state. The present work attempts to look at the relationship of the Sufis with the Sultanate in its entirety, as a complex whole and not as different parts isolated from each other. While, Prof. K.A. Nizami gives the normative mode of the relationship, with Sufis standing at a distance from the state, at the opposite end of the spectrum is the thesis of Prof. Muzaffar Alam, who terms the Sufis as 'agents' or 'collaborators' of the state. In between lies the scholastic work of Simon Digby, who considers the relationship in terms of conflict and cooperation. The relationship was indeed a complex one and mere limiting it as 'conflict' or 'cooperation' or 'keeping away from each other' will be a simplistic approach to the problem. The relationship is to be looked at as a complex whole, wherein there is space for 'cooperation', 'distance' and 'incompatibility' between the Sufis and the state, each aspect existing not in isolation, but as part of a complex relationship, complementing each other.

Indeed, the accounts of the above said scholars have been very useful for giving us a better understanding of Sufi-Sultanate relationship and their propositions apparently look plausible, if perceived in isolation. However, this work has serious problem with the given models as template for describing the Sufi-Sultanate relation, whereby each model appears antithetical to the
other. The opposites often complement each other like man and woman, light and darkness, capitalists and workers and the like. One would be rendered meaningless without the existence of the other. Thus, the cooperation, incompatibility and distance between the Sufis and the Sultanate are parts of a whole complex of relationship, complementing each other. In reality, even when the Sufis seem to be at loggerheads with the state, they were providing implicit support to the state by recognizing the existence of it and working as a ‘safety valve’ in ventilating the grievances of the people, in their own peculiar way. Moreover, as a critical observer, one needs to delve into various shades of grey in between the notions that oppose each other. With this approach, this work attempts to go beyond and give a holistic argument to the issue by treating it as much more than the sum total of the parts – ‘cooperation’, ‘incompatibility’ and ‘distance’ between the Sufis and the Sultanate.

There are scores of writers having dealt with the Sufis. Some of the important works are by A.J. Arberry, R.A. Nicholson, W. Chittick, K.A. Nizami, S.A. Rizvi, Bruce B. Lawerence, Muzaffar Alam, Annemarie Schimmel and Carl Ernst etc. However, their works have been in bits and pieces in regard to Sufi-Sultanate relationship. Though indeed valuable, these are articles or chapters in their scholastic works. Thus, there is no comprehensive work by any writer, especially dedicated to the Sufi-Sultanate relationship. Almost all the important Sufis during the Sultanate period had
dealt with the state system, directly or indirectly. Even when they attempted to keep away from the Sultanate, it earmarked a relationship. Thus, it is imperative to focus on this aspect of study in a comprehensive way.


The *malfuzat* are *Dalil Arafin* of Shaikh Muin al-Din Chisti attributed to have been compiled by Shaikh Qutab al-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki, *Fawa’id al-Salakin* of Shaikh Qutub al-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki said to have been compiled by Shaikh Farid al-Din Ganj-i-Shakar, *Rahat al-Qutub* of Baba Farid, whose compilation is attributed to Shaikh Nizam al-Din Auliya, *Fawa’id al-Fu’ad
of Nizam al-Din Auliya by Nizam al-Din Hasan Sanjani etc. Other malfuzat are Ahsan al-Aqwal of Shaikh Burhan al-Din Gharib by Hammad b. Imad Kashani, Durar-i Nizami of Shaikh Nizam al-Din Auliya by Ali Jandar, Khair al-Majalis of Shaikh Nasir al-Din Chiragh Delhi by Hamid Qalandar, Saroor al-Sudur of Shaikh Hamid al-Din Nagouri by Shaikh Aziz and Jawami al-Kalim of Syed Gisu Daraz by Mohammad Akbar Hussaini. Afzal al-Fuwaid, a malfuz of Shaikh Nizam al-Din Auliya attributed to Amir Khusrau and Asrar al-Auliya of Shaikh Farid al-Din Ganj-i-Shakar attributed to Shaikh Badr al-Din Ishaq, though, are rejected as spurious by Prof. Mohammad Habib5, are important to corroborate anecdotes in other primary sources. In addition, there are number of letters and khilafat namahs (خلافة نامه) that give deep insight on the subject. Al-Quran(القرآن), the holy book of Muslims, from which the Sufis claim to draw their origin and inspiration also has been selectively referred.

These primary sources need to be studied afresh to understand the intricacies of their relationship in correct perspective. These are full of anecdotes on the aspect of the Sufi-Sultanate relationship. A deeper and closer study focusing on this aspect only will give a clear picture showing that the relationship cannot be merely compartmentalized as a relationship of 'conflict' or 'cooperation'. In fact, the term 'conflict' used by Simon Digby appears an unqualified one7, as 'conflict' inherently means 'competitive or opposing
actions’. Therefore, instead, the term ‘incompatibility’ is used in this work, which indicates ‘incapability of association or harmonious coexistence’, which is vividly reflected in the relationship of the Sufis and the Sultanate. On the other hand, the term ‘collaboration’ or ‘agents of the state’ used by some scholars is on the other extreme, incapable of encompassing the subtle nuances in the relationship. The term ‘incompatibility’ and ‘cooperation’ have been considered appropriate in this present work in determining the relationship. The relationship reflects the existence of ‘compatibility and cooperation’, ‘incompatibility’ and ‘distance’ between the Sufis and the state, and is primarily based on issues in question, the attitude and position of the Sultans and the Sufis vis-à-vis each other, the strength and the character of the state system, the Sultan’s rapport with the ‘Ulama’( علماء) and the ‘populace’, which varied from time to time and from Sultan to Sultan. In addition, the location of the khanqahs( خانقاه), the spiritual strength and the popularity of the Sufis, which were also in variation, played important roles in shaping the relationship. These aspects will be closely examined in this work.

The present work offers the promise of a systematic, comprehensive and coherent study of the relationship between the Sufis and the state as a whole, not just instances of it. It is necessary to take a fresh look at the Sufi-state relationship, recognizing the force of the existing views and incorporating their strengths, at the same time going beyond these to uncover traces of
contradiction, ambiguity and polysemy in various proportions in the relationship.

The opening chapter “Sufism: Philosophy and Practices” presents an extended picture of Sufism as a way of Islamic mystical life. The mystical way of life needs to be understood in the light of Quranic injunctions on the aspects and the origin of ‘Sufism’ as a way of life in the history of Islam.

The Sufis were considered holy people with prophetic qualities leading to emergence of the term ‘Wallayah’\(^{10}\). The Sufis were called ‘wali’ and ‘wali-Allah’, who were much above ordinary human beings. A comparison set in between Prophethood i.e. ‘Nabuwwa’\(^{11}\) and Sufihood i.e. ‘Walayah’. Popularly accepted difference was that the holy people who showed spiritual light to the people before Prophet Muhammad were called the Prophets and such people who were born after the Prophet were called ‘Walis’. Then the debate as to who is superior led to a controversy, as larger Islamic world, specially religious scholars would reject such a comparison outright, considering the Prophets far far above the ‘Wallayah’, as the former were God’s chosen persons for prophetic mission. But Sufi scholars like Gisu Daraz created a hornest nest by positioning the ‘Walis’ above the Prophets and basing the notion on logic and arguments. Much though he clarifies it as his ‘wahm’\(^{12}\), his contention was contested by his contemporary Sufi comrades. This will be looked into in
Sufism can be best understood as a philosophy along with the study of practices of Sufism. Sufi practices can be broadly divided into practices as prescribed in the *Shari'a* and practices which are not defined or deliberated in the *Shari'a*. The importance of *salah* or *namaz*, *safa*, *faqr*, *zikr*, renunciation of worldly life etc. are cardinal practices followed by the Sufis and are within the ambit of the *Shari'a*. The concept of the *pir-murid* relationship, *wilayat* i.e. spiritual territory of Sufis, *ziyarat* i.e. visit to the shrines of the Sufi Shaikhs etc. are practices which do not originate in the *Shari'a*. Similarly, the practice of *sama* also does not find sanction in the *Sharia* and became not only a subject of controversy, but also a bone of contention between some Sufis and the Sultanate. The concept of such practices will be dealt with at length.

The chapter will also encompass various stations of spirituality, in the light of *tawba*, *zuhd*, *faqr*, *sabr*, *tawakkul* and *reda*. In the backdrop of these concepts and practices, it will be very important to analyse the stages of the development of Sufism. Broadly, Sufism went through three stages of development – *khanqah* stage, *tariqa* stage and *taifa* stage. With the evolution of Sufism, there were changes in the concepts and practices.
as well. For instance, *ziyarat* (زیارت) and *sama* \(^{29}\) (سماع) became intrinsic parts of later Sufism. The concept of *urs* \(^{30}\) (عرس) is also a later development. These also will be dealt with in this chapter.

The second chapter deals with the emergence and development of Sufism as a philosophy including the early Sufis, development of *silsilahs* \(^{31}\) (سلسله), various writings on Sufism during the early and the pre-medieval periods and advent of Islam and Sufism in India and inroads of various *silsilahs* on Indian soil. As regards the early Sufis, it will begin with Hasan of Basra (d. 718 A.D.), who is considered the earliest Sufi and further deal with Ibrahim Adham (d. 783 A.D.), Fudayl bin. Iyas (d. 801 A.D.), Rabia' a (d.801/802 A.D.), the first known woman Sufi, Ma’ruf al-Karkhi (d. 815 A.D.) etc. Sufism as a philosophy further consolidated with the introduction of the theory of ‘self realisation’ introduced by Abu Abdullah al-Hanif (d. 857 A.D.), ‘theosophical mysticism’ by Ibrahim Dhu’l-Nun of Egypt, ‘doctrinal form of Sufism’ by Abu Bayazid Bistami (d. 874 A.D.) with emphasis on pure love, ‘unification with God’ by Junnayd (d. 910 A.D.). The era of controversy on Sufism arose with Al- Hallaj’s pronouncement of *Ana’al- Haqq* \(^{32}\) (آنالحق) and propounding the theory of *fana* \(^{33}\) (فنا) and oneness with God. By the close of the 10th century A.D., Sufism had further developed with Shibli’s (d. 945 A.D.) description of ‘state of gnosis’, Abu Bakr Kalabadi’s ‘doctrine of tawhid’ \(^{34}\) (توحید) and Abu Talib-al-Makki’s ‘doctrine of sabr’ in his famous book *Qut*
al-Qulub (The Food of Hearts). The beginning of the 11th century witnessed revolution in Sufism with Abu Sa’id giving a different meaning to Sufism in his preaching, when he held that a Sufi should seek God in the hearts and in the midst of human beings. Much later, the concept of wahadat al-wajud\(^\text{35}\) (وحدة الوجود) i.e. unity of being was developed by Ibn al-Arabi which was considered the very opposite of the concept of tawhid (unity of God) and a debate on the issue set in. This chapter will focus briefly on these aspects.

We will further deal with the advent of Islam and Sufism in India, Islam’s landing through Persia, Sindh and Khyber pass, through the sea to the South and the early tombs of Sufis in Madras, Ceylon, Laccadive and Maldives. The entry of the Sufis and their struggle during the pre-Sultanate period, especially the advent of Shaikh Muin al-Din Chishti and scores of others subsequently, are important aspects of early medieval Indian history. Besides this, we will deal with the advent of various Sufi silsilahs and their spread in India. While dealing with the above we shall also focus on important writings of the Sufis and others on the concept and practices of the Sufis during the period.

The next chapter is entitled “Dynamics of Sufi Power”, which deals with the process and factors leading to unbounded spiritual power of the Sufis. Among the factors, renunciation of worldly life endowed the Sufis with supra-normal powers. They used this power to heal the minds and hearts.
of people. It is said that knowledge is power. Shaikhs had extensive knowledge of the Quran, Hadith, fiqh etc. which endowed them with deep religious insight and intuitive intelligence. The people were mesmerised and adored and admired them. Similarly, the Sufis except the jalali ones were magnanimous, forgiving those who harmed them, and even praying for them. They were extremely pious and had great degree of morality. This provided them with moral authority over a wide area. Their unending services towards humanity, their distressed hearts and poverty brought them closer to the populace, who revered them immensely. Some of them showed miracles, bestowed kingship and some kept away from the Sultanate. Their power also stemmed from the institutional inertia of Sufism. All these factors and acts of Sufis endowed them with extraordinary spiritual power which they generally used towards the services of humanity. This chapter will dissect each of the factors responsible for making the Sufis as wielder of this power.

The study of Sufi-Sultanate relationship would be incomplete without reference to the khanqah or jama’at khana of the Sufis during the period, as khanqah played an important role in the discourse of power mechanism during the period. A chapter will be devoted to this, which will encompass the meaning of khanqah, their strategic locations vis-a-vis political nerve centres of the corresponding period, functions and hierarchy of power.
structures within the _khanqahs_, its inmates, resources to maintain the kitchen and hospitality at the _khanqah_. As the _khanqah_ life revolved around the Shaikh, it would be of great importance to study the Shaikh’s position and functioning in the _khanqah_. The _Khanqahs_ had become great learning centres and hence mention of their role as an academy during the period is also important. The _khanqahs_ also helped the process of urbanisation during the period. These aspects will be discussed in the chapter.

The most delicate issue is to study the pattern of ‘cooperation’ and ‘incompatibility’ in the relationship between the Sufis and the Sultans. One chapter is devoted to each of these. The strategic location of the _khanqahs_ made it imperative that a relationship - direct and indirect one existed between the two institutions. The chapter on cooperation reflects through numerous anecdotes from primary sources, especially Barani’s _Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi_, _Akhbar al-Akhyar_ and _Siyar al-Auliya_ etc., the Sufis’ support and blessings for the Sultanate. Beginning with Shaikh Muin al-Din’s prophecy of Pithaura’s defeat at the hands of army of Islam and his taking favour from the Sultanate in protecting the land of his sons, it also narrates Shaikh Qutub al-Din’s appreciation of Sultan Iltutmish’s regime, Baba Farid’s blessings to Sultan Nasir al-Din and Prince Ulugh Khan, Sultan Ala al-Din seeking help from Shaikh Nizam al-Din in his southern campaign, his sons Khizr Khan and Sadi Khan becoming disciples of the Shaikh, the faith of the Sultan’s wife
and nephew in the Shaikh, Amir Khusrau, the courtiers’ discipleship of the Shaikh, Mohammad bin Tughlaq’s reverence for the Shaikh, Sufis taking up government services and accepting futuh from the Sultanate, disciples of the Shaikh in the service of the Sultanate, bestowal of kingship by the Shaikhs, the Shaikh’s counselling to the rebels to obey the Sultan, the Shaikh’s blessing in the military campaigns and sending their disciples to accompany the military campaign etc will be dealt with at length. It will be observed from the study of this chapter that while the Shaikhs, from time to time, commented upon good or bad governance, they generally had implicit support for the Sultanate.

The relationship of incompatibility between the Sufis and the Sultanate is dealt with in a separate chapter. It encompasses an extensive study of serious issues where the Sufis and the Sultans took divergent views. Most of the incompatibilities centered on the Sufi practices which were not spelt out by the Shari’at (شريعة). The concept of ‘wilayat‘ (ولیت) in Sufism, demarcated the spiritual domain of the respective Shaikhs, over which they exercised their moral and spiritual authority. This amounted to infringement or interference in the sovereignty of the Sultanate. Political theorists consider that there are four elements of the State - population, territory, government and sovereignty. The system of ‘wilayat’ in Sufism was antagonistic to the theory of sovereignty of the medieval state system. The spiritual domain of the Sufis rendered the concept of absolute sovereignty of the state
meaningless. Their moral and spiritual bearing made the general public's allegiance divisible. They showed their allegiance to the state due to coercive authority of the state, while their heart lay with the Shaikhs. Thus, incompatibilities were inevitable. However, it fell far short of a 'conflict', as there was no attempt on the part of Sufis to compel or ask the devotees for their allegiance to them. Such allegiances were purely voluntary.

The chapter is full of anecdotes examining the incidences of incompatibilities between the leading Sufis and the Sultans during the period. There are anecdotes revealing that due to their antagonism towards the Sufis, certain Sultans were doomed, not merely to lose their kingdom, but also their life. The details include Shaikh Muin al-Din's incompatibility with Prithviraj, Shaikh Qutub al-Din's rectification of an unjust execution by bringing back the victim to life, Sufis' resistance to obeying the Sultanate's unjust decrees, killing of Saiyidi Maula, a leading Sufi in the presence of a Sultan, prosecuting or threat to the amirs who were disciples of the Shaikh, spying at khanqahs, the Sultan's displeasure on the functioning of the khanqahs and his helplessness, debates on sama (سما), the Shaikh's blunt advices to the Sultans when they were wrong and the Sultan's annoyance with amirs or officials who were devotees of the Shaikhs. Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq's ill treatment towards the Sufis is another important aspect which began with shifting of capital to Daulatabad. Besides all these, unquestionable faith of
Princes and courtiers towards the Shaikhs also will be dealt with at length.

Finally, the Sufi’s role in the recognition of Sultanate in the non-Muslim dominated Indian society, which is a much neglected but an important aspect of the study will be analysed. This is of prime importance, as the Sultanate in its formative stage sought much needed recognition, which could not have been obtained from the Khalifa (خليفة) or Ulama (علماء), as India was a non-Muslim dominated country. It was the Sufis, who brought some dignity and respect for Islam by their piety, morality and selfless services. Thus, Islam found acceptability and with this the Sultanate was also slowly and steadily accepted by the populace. The support of the Sufis towards the Sultanate played a vital role in the recognition of the Sultanate. Even when they were at loggerhead with the Sultanate, indirectly it recognised the existence of the Sultanate as the most powerful political institution in the early medieval period.

While analysing the Sufi-state relationship, it would be prudent to move beyond the confines of verbal communication between the two. For, meaning also resides so strongly and pervasively in a multiplicity of non-verbal and behavioural codes, where often actions and intentions contradict words.

Studies have been made on the subject of the Sufi-Sultanate relationship in bits and pieces. However, there is no comprehensive study on this, even though writers specially of the primary sources while dealing with the leading Sufis of the period have invariably made mention of incidences relating to
their interactions with or utterances on the Sultanate. Writers have written articles or devoted small chapters in their books on this subject and taken one-sided views - some attributing close proximity of the institutions and some projecting them at either loggerheads or at a distance from each other. These views ignore the subtle nuances and grey areas in the relationship. This simplistic approach amounts to straitjacketing the Sufi-state relations into rigid, water tight compartment, with a propensity to be tendentious. In fact, the overall picture will reveal that the relationship was need and issue based, besides being heavily dependent upon the personalities of the respective Sufis and Sultans and their perceptions of each other. Political stability of the Sultanate and its relationship with the Ulama also had an impact on shaping the relationship. It varied from one Sultan to another and from one Sufi to another vis-a-vis each other. This study will make intensive and extensive examination of these aspects, while taking the dimension of 'cooperation', 'incompatibility' and 'distance' between the two institutions as intrinsic, interrelated and complementary parts of the 'complex relationship in its entirety'.
NOTES


8. Plural of ‘Alim’; ‘learned’, ‘savant’; Those, who are recognized as scholars or authorities of religious sciences, namely *Imams* of important mosques, judges, teachers etc. in the Islamic religious faculties, see *The Concise Encyclopedia of Islam*, op.cit., p.407.

9. Persian name for place of dwelling of Sufis or *derweshes*; its origin, meaning and connotations have been given in the Chapter; “Structure and Functions of the Sufi *Khanqah*: A Power Centre with Multi-Dimensional Role”.

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10. Derived from word ‘Wali’ (pl. ‘Auliya’) referring to Islamic saints; also referred as ‘Wali-Allah’ or ‘friend of God’.

11. Prophethood; derived from word ‘Nabi’ which means, a Prophet who prophesises within the existing revelations (It is different from a ‘Rasul’ or a Messenger, who brings a new revelation); see The Concise Encyclopedia of Islam, op.cit., p.95.

12. ‘Imagination’; ‘perception’; aspect or matter seen from one’s own angle.


14. Lit. ‘prayer’, ‘worship’; pl. ‘salawat’; It consists of series of recitation and movements; the performance of the salah five prescribed times is obligatory; the Sufis, in addition to these prayers, perform rigorous optional prayers (nawafil); see The Concise Encyclopedia of Islam, op.cit., p.345.

15. Purity; both physical and spiritual.

16. In the context of mysticism, this is the virtue of spiritual poverty, detachment and an emptiness making way for God’s presence; it was a great spiritual virtue of the Prophet in relation to God; among the mystics faqr is the central virtue, emblematic of all the virtues. Quran states; ‘And surely Remembrance of God (zikr) is the greatest (wa la zikru-lilahi akbar)’ (29:45). However, Sufis say: “There is no zikr without faqr.” Jesus says in Mathew 5:3: “Blessed are the poor in spirit; for there is the Kingdom of Heaven”; also refer to The Concise Encyclopedia of Islam, op.cit., p.121.

17. Remembrance of God; Quran often speaks of zikr as an act of worship; “Remember me; I (God) will remember you (fa’zkuruni azkurkum) (2:152). For the Sufis, zikr is the spiritual method of concentration, the invocation of a divine name or a sacred formula, under the spiritual direction of a spiritual master of particular silsilah; see The Concise Encyclopedia of Islam, op.cit., p.97.

18. Pir means Shaikh and Murid means the disciple; ‘Pir’ or ‘Peer’
refers to a spiritual master, a teacher or *murshid* from Turkey to India, and is used in ‘preference’ to or as a ‘substitute’ to Arabic word *Shaikh* (*Encyclopedia of Islam*, op.cit., p.317); *Murid* lit. means one who is desirous of spiritual realization, generally used in Sufi order for a disciple, (*Encyclopedia of Islam*, op.cit. p.288); *Pir-Murid* relationship indicates the relationship between a Sufi saint and his disciple.

19. Spiritual domain of a ‘Sufi’, corresponding to political domain of a ‘Sultan’ or a ‘King’.

20. A visit to the tomb of the Prophet in Medina; The word is also used for the visit to the tombs of saints as appropriate for meditation and seeking God’s grace (here the word is used in this sense); refer to *The Concise Encyclopedia of Islam*, op.cit., p.484.

21. Lit. “turning”; conversion to the truth, change of heart and also repentances, refer to *The Concise Encyclopedia of Islam*, op.cit., p.400.

22. Lit “asceticism”; renunciations of ease and comfort in the name of religious discipline in order to detach the soul from the world; an ascetic is called ‘zahid’; This is a mystical attitude, sourcing from the Prophet who fasted for long and prayed in the middle of the night, for long hours.

23. Patience; *Quran* reveals that “God is with those who have patience (Innallaha Ma’as Sabirina)”.

24. The virtue of trust, reliance on God, expressed in numerous *Quranic* sayings such as: “Whosoever puts his trust in God, He shall Suffice him”. (*Quran*-65:3); see *The Concise Encyclopedia of Islam*, op.cit., p.399.

25. Satisfaction; containment.

26. A Persian word derived from ‘*khan*’ and ‘*gah*’, meaning place and table respectively, indicates place of dwelling of *derweshes*; *khanqah* stage is the initial stage of Sufism, immediately after the early Sufis and lasted from around 10th century A.D. to 12th century A.D. and marked by absence of rituals, and intermediary role of Shaikhs between God and his pupils; a great deal of original literature on Sufi philosophy was produced during this stage and considered the ‘golden age’ of Sufism.
27. Lit. “path”; a generic term referring to the doctrines and methods of mystic union; *Tariqa* indicates tracing their authority through their *silsilahs* to the Prophet; see *The Concise Encyclopedia of Islam*, op.cit., p.397. *Tariqa* stage is the second stage in the development of Sufism beginning from around 12th century to 14th century A.D., marked by emergence and development of Sufi *silsilahs*, rituals and surrender of ‘*murids*’ before the ‘*Pir*’. 

28. Lit. “cult association”, *Taifa* stage began in 15th century and witnessed veneration of saints, saints being referred to as ‘*walis*’ or ‘friends of God’, spiritual intermediary between the disciples and God and popularity of concept of ‘*baraka*’ or ‘spiritual power’ which could be transmitted etc. 

29. Lit. means ‘hearing’ or ‘listening to’; Sufi way to reach ecstasy by listening to recitation or presentation (in rhythm) of verses or couplets by professionals (e.g. *qawwals*), with or without music; *qawwali* probably has emerged out of this; This was a subject of controversy between the ‘*Ulama*’ and the Sufis during the Sultanate period. 

30. Annual fair celebrated on the date of *wisal* (union with God; death) of a Sufi marked by procession, *qawwali*, offerings of ‘*chadar*’, ‘*langar*’ and prayer. In Sufism the date of death is important and is referred to instead of date of birth with reference to a Sufi. 


32. Blends words ‘*ana*’-and ‘*al-Haqq*’; *ana* (Arabic word) means ‘I’ or ‘me’ and *al-Haqq* means ‘Truth’ or ‘Reality’; The proclaimer of ‘Ana’al Haqq’ holds that he is the ‘Truth’ or ‘Reality’ (Truth or Reality relates to God); thus, the pronouncement *Ana’al-Haqq* had led to a fierce controversy. 

33. Lit. ‘annihilation’; it indicates self annihilation i.e. removing own existence to facilitate oneness with God; The Sufis believe that with the divine grace (obtained by deep prayer and meditation of God), the corruptible elements of one’s soul fades away, and this stage is called *fana*; the remainder which is beyond appearance is called *baqa*. 

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34. ‘Tawhid’ means to make or to declare or to acknowledge oneness; The concept of tawhid in spiritual term means ‘Unity of Godhood’ as against plurality of ‘Godhood’: This origins from Quranic verses: “Qul Huwallaho-ahad, Allahus samad, lam yalid, walam yulad, walam yakul-lahu kufowan-ahad”, which means ‘God is One and Alone and He has neither a father nor any son.’

35. Derived from words wahada (‘Ahad’, ‘Wahid’ etc.) meaning ‘One’ or ‘Alone’ and ‘wajud’ meaning ‘existence’ or ‘being’; ‘Wahadat al-wajud’ means ‘Unity of Being’ i.e. opposed to the concept of Tawhid i.e.‘Unity of God’. For details refer to Ibn-Arabi’s concept of ‘wahada tul wajud’ in Kashf al-Mahjoob and Tazkirat al-Auliya.

36. Lit. ‘speech’; ‘report’ or account; refers specifically to tradition relating to the deeds and adherences of Prophet Mohammad; see The Concise Encyclopedia of Islam, op.cit., p.141.

37. ‘Law’; refers to Islamic laws or jurisprudence based on Quranic injunction, Hadith, sunnah etc.

38. Derived from ‘jalal’ which means majestic or terrible.

39. Place of dwelling for Chishti Shaikhs; the word jama’at means community and ‘khana’ means ‘place of dwelling’; thus, jama’at khana is a dwelling place for Chishtis where they lived, slept, prayed and had their belongings (bed, ‘rosary’, ‘musallah’ or ‘ja’namaz’ or prayer carpet etc.) together, without distinctions.