The origin of Sufism is traced back to the practice during the time of Prophet Mohammad. However, it took a formal shape much later with the first known Sufi, Hasan of Basra. Thereafter, from time to time, new elements and modification were introduced into the teachings and practices of Sufism. Sufism went through three different stages – Taifa stage, Khanqah stage and Tariqa stage. It also gave birth to fraternities in Sufi orders i.e. silsilahs.

Though, Sufism was introduced in India immediately after its origin, it entered the country with a stronger foothold at the Khanqah stage and after the development of Sufi silsilahs. The arrival of Moin al-Din Chishti just before the Sultanate period marked the beginning of the revolutionary change in the religious ethos of the country. In the next three hundred years, during the Sultanate period, Sufism reached every nook and corner of the country and the Khanqahs spread over nearly all political nerve centres.

The emergence of Sufism could be attributed to the disenchantment among some Muslim scholars and degeneration of the Caliphate after the death of Hazrat Ali, the fourth caliph. The period witnessed intense power struggle, bloodshed and empowerment of the ruling class. Many Ulama or scholars were also killed in the process. Thus, this led to aloofness from the ongoings of the time by some scholars who were inspired by the Prophet and
the early caliph. They embraced poverty and dedicated themselves in meditation to experience God. At this stage, they in their hearts were against the emergence of the Islamic state system, as it corrupted Islam substantially. However, they preferred to keep away and remain aloof.

They were different from theologians in as far as the theologians considered the Shari'at (Islamic laws) and the Haqiqah (Reality) as one and the same, while the Sufis maintained that the two are different from each other. To understand the Shari'at no special mental faculty is needed, but to realise the Haqiqah a different and dedicated procedure is required, for which the Sufis have their own way of doing. Broadly those are –'belief in God be complete, his relations with God be thorough, complete and were intimate without the purpose of any worldly gain, experiencing the company of God and believing that his existence is for Him alone’. This follows renunciation, giving up occupation, accepting faqr and continuous meditation through set procedures.

Hasan of Basara (21A.H./642A.D-110A.H./728A.D.) was the earliest known Sufi, who was gripped with the fear of God and was ever anxious not to commit any sin or mistake in his life. He wrote a letter to the Caliph explaining him that the world is like a snake-smooth to the touch, but its venom is deadly. He also explained that wealth is an evil and poverty is the symbol of righteousness. He represented a tendency towards otherworldliness,
piety and asceticism and considered hunger and poverty as symbols of righteousness. He opined that piety is the cardinal principle of true religion, which finds reflection in truth, self-control and orientation of all action to please God. He expressed that his life in this world was like a person in a capsized boat. The fear of God and Hell made him live a life of austerity and righteousness. He is regarded as the earliest known Sufi, through whom all the Sufi silsilahs relate their origin. He is linked to Hazrat Imam, whom he had sympathized with during the war of succession for Caliphate. Hazrat Imam is further linked to Hazrat Ali from whom all the Sufi silsilahs are claimed to have originated. Hasan of Basra was regarded a Sufi because he practiced faqr, salat, tawakkul, rida etc., which are considered cardinal principles of Sufism. There were others who followed suit and regarded as early Sufis. However, it was Abu Hashim Sufi of Kufah (death. 166 A.D./776 A.D.) who was considered the first one to use the nomenclature ‘Sufi’. He believed that inner transformation of the heart was the essence of Sufism.

Ibrahim Adham (death. 160 A.H./777 A.D. or 783 A.D.) was the king of Balkh, who gave up his throne and all worldly pleasures to become an ascetic. Abdul Wahid b. Zayd was a disciple of Hasan of Basra. Fudayl b. Iyad (death. 801 A.D.) gave up the worldly life and became a disciple of Abdul Wahid b. Zayd and later, his successor. He gave the ‘rules of conduct’ to his disciples. Rabi’ a al-‘Adawiyah of Basra (95 or 99 A.H./713 or 717 A.D.-
(801 or 802 A.D.) is considered the first woman saint and second ‘Mary’, who led a secluded and pious life. She had seen a lamp while praying, which was hanging over her head without being attached to any chain, illuminating the whole house. She was very poor and working with a man, who on seeing her spiritual power set her free. She led a life totally devoted and dependent on God. Her greatest contribution was the concept of prayer as free and intimate relationship with God. Her favourite prayer was:

“Oh my God! If I worship Thee for fear of Hell, burn me in Hell and if I pray for seeking Paradise, exclude me from it; but if I worship Thee for Thine own sake, then withhold not Thine Eternal Beauty”.

Hasan of Basra and his followers became Sufis out of fear of God and Hell, while Rabi’a became a Sufi due to sheer love for God. They represent two different schools of thought in relation to God.

Ibrahim b. Adham, an aristocrat, renounced everything and accepted ‘faqr’. He is recognized for his teaching on austerity (zuhd) and trust in God (tawakkul) and hence Junaid calls him- ‘the key of the (mystical) sciences’.

Popular Sufis during the formative period were Ma’ruf al-Karkhi (death.815/16 A.D.) and Abu Sulayman al-Darani (death. 830 A.D.) who made asceticism a form of doctrinal Sufism and preached ‘self mortification’ and ‘aloofness’ respectively. Abu Abdullah al-Antaki experienced and taught ‘spiritual states in mystical path’. Bishr al Hafi (death.841 A.D.), a bare footed Sufi and
Abu ‘Abdallah al-Harith b. Asad al-Mushasibi (165A.H./781A.D.-243A.H./857A.D.) who analysed nafs to introduce ‘the theory of self realization’ were also popular Sufis. So far mysticism was meant for experiencing, rather than explaining.

Sufi thought and experience of mysticism was expressed publicly for the first time by Abu’l Fayd b. Ibrahim Dhu’l-Nun (180A.H./706A.D.-245A.H./859A.D.) of Egypt, considered the father of the Theosophical Mysticism. He had divided the knowledge of God into-theological, philosophical and mystical. Sari al-Saqati (death.867A.D.) systematized different stages of mystical path. ‘Doctrinal form of Sufism’, found in developed form in the teachings of Abu Yazid Bayazid Bistami (death.260A.H./874A.D.). He practiced and professed ‘pure love by denying one’s own self’. Abu’l Hasan Nuri (death.907 A.D.) was popular for his ‘intuitive knowledge’ and teachings as ‘experience of Truth’ (al-Haqq). Uthman al-Makki (death.909 A.D.) and his teacher Abu’l Qasim b. al-Junayd (death. 298A.H./910 A.D.) were popular for their views on ‘love of God’, ‘gnosis’, ‘self unification’ and ‘soul’s unification with God’. He emerged as a model Sufi whom both Sufis anm Ulama held in high esteem and quoted from him. Al-Hallaj (244A.H./857A.D.-309A.H./922A.D.) was a great Sufi saint, who pronounced ‘Ana’l Hqq (I am the creative Truth ‘God’), which created an unprecedented controversy. Possibly, he uttered such words when
he experienced self-annihilation and oneness with God. Nevertheless, for his revolutionary thought he was executed on 26th March 922 A.D.

Abu Bakr-al Shibli (death. 945 A.D.), a disciple of Junayd said:

“...The state of gnosis is like the mode of spring. Thunder roars and cloud pours rain, lightening flashes and wind blows, bud opens and the bird sings. Similar is the condition of knower of God - he weeps through his eyes, smiles through his lips, burns his heart, gives away his head, recollects the name of the Beloved and moves around his door”.

Shaykh Abu Bakr Kalabadhi (death. 378 A.H./988 or 995 A.D.) became well known for his ‘Kitab al-tarraf li Madhab ahl al-Tasawwuf’ (Book of Inquiry into the Tenets of the Sufis). He says in his doctrine of Tawhid, “God is one, Alone, Single, Eternal, Ever-Lasting, Knowing, Powerful, Living, Seeing, Hearing, Strong, Mighty, Majestic, Great, Generous . . . . He is neither body, nor form, nor person, nor element, nor accident; . . . . He has neither parts nor particles nor members nor limbs nor aspects nor places.”

Similarly Abe Tasib al-Makki (death. 996 A.D.) wrote Qut al-Qutub, (The Food of Hearts) and gave important doctrines of ‘sabr’ (patience), love and ‘Ma’rifat’. Shaikh Abu Sa’id (death. 1048 A.D.) revolutionised Sufi philosophy and gave a different meaning to it by saying that a friend of God should seek Him in the hearts of men and be in the midst of men; eat, sleep, buy, sell, marry, socialise and yet never for a moment forget God.

He said, “In His state of unity, God exists in himself and in his state of multiplicity he exists through Himself”.

In twelveth and thirteenth centuries some Sufi poets and writers were also flourished. Farrid al- Din Attar (1119 A.D.–1929 or 1930 A.D.) who wrote *Tadhkiratul Auliya*, the Memoirs of the Saints and *Pandnama, Mantiqu’l-Tayr* etc. Jalal al- Din Rumi (birth. 1205 A.D.), an eminent Sufi poet wrote ‘*Mathnawi-i Ma’ nawi, Diwan* etc., which became very popular in Asia. Shaikh Sa’di of Shiraz (1184A.D.-1291A.D.) who is supposed to have visited Punjab had written *Gulistan* (Rose Garden) and *Bustan* (Orchard). During this the famous *Awairifu ’l Ma’arif* was written by Shaikh Shihab al - Din Suhrwardi.
As far as the history of Sufism as an organized philosophical and social movement is concerned, it may be roughly divided into three distinct stages. J.S. Trimingham, in his study, ‘The Sufi Orders in Islam’, describes the stages through which Sufism in its organisational aspect has passed. The three stages, Taifa stage, Khanqah stage and Tariqa stage, should not however, be perceived as rigid and exclusive units.

Early Sufism was based on Quranic verses and the practices of the Prophet (sunna). Fear of God was the dominant feature, though elements of love were not totally absent. During the later part of this phase, the emphasis shifted to the love of God rather than fear. At this time, there was an emphasis on experiencing rather than spreading to the masses. In lower Iraq and Khorasan, Sufis like Hasan al-Basria, Ibrahim b. Adham, Shaqiq al-Balhkh and Abd-Allah b. al-Mubarak led quietist and highly ascetic lives of withdrawal from the mundane society of the Abbasid Caliphate. Since the attainment of such affinity involved a discipline or method to be learned and followed, a tradition of the master and his circle of pupils soon characterized this phase. However, the master did not act as an intermediary between the pupils and God. In fact, the early Sufi groups were loose and mobile associations and there was no formal ritualistic bond between the teacher and the pupils.

*Khanqah* stage lasted from around 10th century A.D. till the 12th
century A.D. This stage of Sufism was the true golden age of Islamic mysticism in terms of creativity of thought, the quantity of original literature produced and the simplicity of the Sufis' social organization. During the later part of the khanqah stage, Sufism gradually began to acquire the form of an organized movement, with the establishment of Turkish rule under the Ghaznavis and Seljuqs in various parts of central Asia and Iran.

The next stage in the development of Sufism - the tariqa stage lasted from about 12th century till the 13th century A.D. This phase saw the formation of mystical schools or orders (silsilahs) that had begun to centre around a particular Sufi master. As these Sufi orders began to crystalise, each one of them began to perpetuate the name of one particular Sufi master and his spiritual ancestry. This phase was characterized by the gradual systematization of mystical techniques and exercises – tariqa i.e. spiritual practices and rituals, which were peculiar to a particular silsilah and designed to bring the Sufi into direct communion with God. As such, the Sufis concentrated on the method of learning and mastering a structured set of spiritual exercises. Also, the principle of transmission of the method from one Sufi to another became explicit, resulting in the formation of spiritual lineage of silsilahs. The formation of orders introduced the phenomenon of initiation.

In contrast to the khanqah stage where both the teacher and the pupil
were essentially equal in their capacities to attain their spiritual goal, in this phase of institutional evolution, a distinction became discernible between the pir (murshid) and disciple (murid). Although, a murid might eventually attain the spiritual heights of his pir, he was in the first instance, obliged to surrender himself completely to the pir and to the whole complex of exercises, terminology and disciplines that his pir taught. In this phase, there emerged another category of disciples besides the murid—the Khalifa, literally “successor” who was closer to the pir than other murids and unlike the latter, he was deputised to initiate murids into the order of the pir.

Sufism entered its final stage—taifa (literally “cult association”) around 14th and 15th centuries, the exact timing of the transition varying widely from order to order, and from place to place. The mystical element of Sufism, which was in unrestrained abundance in the khanqah stage and which in tariqa phase, was subjected to a good deal of systematisation, now began to play a minor role in the movement. The Sufis’ direct communion with God was replaced by veneration, and even worship of a pir, who now occupied the position of spiritual intermediary between the disciple and God. Pirs, thus became saints-wali (literally “friend of God”). The emphasis shifted from spiritual discipline and Sufi training to Sufi saint cults centered on their spiritual power or baraka.

In the Indian context, the taifa phase began around the 14th century,
when the *dargah* began to replace the *khanqah* as the physical embodiment of the Sufis. However, there were still *murshids* imparting training to the *murids* and the second phase of the development of Sufism did not come to an abrupt end. Whereas in the earlier two phases, Sufism was confined to a small spiritual elite, aiming to establish communion with god, it now developed into a popular movement in which the masses could freely participate. Veneration of Sufi saints and pilgrimage to their *dargahs* was more popular in India than in Islamic countries, perhaps because of the influence of the typical socio-religious milieu in India, during the period. For, in the belief system of plurality of Godhood, it got a fertile ground to flourish.

The numerous mystic schools, *silsilahs*, which came up around the 10th century, were finally consolidated into two opposed systems during the first quarter of the 13th century and both systems found their expression in assical text books - *Fusus al-Hikam* of Ibn al-Arabi and *Awarif al-Ma’arif* of Shaikh Shihab al-Din Suhrawardi. For the Sultanate period in India, the philosophy of Ibn al-Arabi does not appear so important. India was exclusively in the sphere of the *Awarif*.

It also becomes important to throw light on the emergence of various Sufi orders or Sufi *silsilahs*, to have better comprehension of the history of Sufism. In 12th century, many Sufi *silsilahs* took birth and got organized. All the orders trace their chains of succession back to Prophet Mohammad. Next
to the Prophet, in most cases, was Ali and in a few cases Abu Bakr stood second. Importance of Ali in Sufism is very great, as the Prophet had once said, “I am the house of knowledge and Ali is its gate.”

Hasan of Basra’s name figures next in the chain of succession. Khwaja Abdu’l Wahid b. Zayd and Habibu’l- ‘Ajami – the two disciples of Hasan stood at the two main lines of Sufi orders. From them sprang Chawda Khan-wade or fourteen families or orders of Sufis. Most of the remaining orders are also from these fourteen orders. Incidentally, Abul Fazl in Ain-i Akhbari refers to fourteen orders of Sufis found in India. They are as follows:

2. Taifuria, founded by Shaikh Bayazid Taifur Bistami.

13. *Hubiria*, founded by Khwaja Hubairat al - Basri, and


*Zaidia silsilah*, which is mentioned above, was founded by Abdul Wahid b. Zaid and it had four sub-orders namely *iyadiya, Adhamiya, Hubayriya* and *Chishtiya*. Rest of the orders except *Saqataia* order sprang from *Habibiyya* order founded by Habibul-Ajami, another disciple Hasan of Basra. *Habibiyya* order also has one more sub division, *Tartawiya* order, founded by Abu’l Farah Tartawsi, from which further *Qadiriya* order emerged at the hands of Abdu'l Qadir Jilani, the fourth spiritual successor of Abu’l Farah Tartawsi.

Of all the above orders, only *Chishtiya, Suhrawardia* and *Qadiriya* orders made inroads in India during the Sultanate period (see Plate - II for *shijra* of important orders). *Firdawshia* sect, which is another sub order, also made some impact during the period, especially at Patna in Bihar. The above orders were far from orthodoxy of Islam and adapted to the social milieu of the Indian subcontinent.

Within the context of Islam, however, Sufism constructs a dichotomy - one between the head and the heart, between cold formalism and the warmth of personal experience. It also implicates a hegemonic versus a universalist dichotomy, in which the head stands for conquest and subordination and the heart for universal love and compassion. In that sense, there is an element in
Sufism, which brings it to cross the Islamic boundaries, for its emphasis on universal love has clear popular cultural underpinnings. The Chishti silsilah was the forerunner in this regard and this was perhaps the reason for its immense popularity and success in the Indian milieu. Perhaps, as an attempt to overcome any assumed dichotomy between Sufism and Islam, some of the earliest treatises concerning Sufism were apologetic works, designed to show that Sufism was not in conflict with the Islamic religious sciences, but complemented and perfected them. The genuineness of Islamic mysticism was demonstrated in the wake of the highly politicised persecution of certain Sufis, particularly, Hussain ibn Mansur al-Hallaj (244A.H./857A.D.-309A.H./992 A.D.). The works of Sarraj, Abu Bakr Kalabadhi (death.378A.H./990 AD.) and Abu al-Qasim al- Qushayri (death.1074 AD) belong to this category. These scholars related Sufism to Hanafi jurisprudence and Ashari theology.

Even as Sufis often cross the boundaries set by Islam, their aim is not to conquer realms other than that of Islam and things worldly (Jihad-i Akbar); in fact, they are constantly engaged in Jihad-i Asghar, in an attempt to conquer their own self. Thus, quite early in its history, Sufism acknowledged the existence of space within its own frame, which could be turned to the construction of posser and worldly advantage, though it tried to dismiss this space as a simulated than an authentic Sufi phenomenon. But, surely, if mere simulation of a phenomenon could yield power, the genuine thing had the
capacity for more, even if its wielders in their own consciousness disowned all claims to it.

Ever since the days of Muslim conquest India has been a land of Sufis. Historians tell us that Islam came to India through the sea, through Persia into Sind and through Khyber Pass. Some Sufis might have also come to India following the steps of peaceful Arab traders. Islam first appears to have come to India in the South, as can be learned from the Muslim historians and Arab travellers, possibly through Malabar Coast. Tradition points out that tomb of Tamim Ansari, possibly a companion of the Prophet exists at Mylapur, twelve miles south of Chennai.23

When Islam reached Malabar, it simultaneously reached the coasts of Ceylon, Laccadive and Maldives also. Ibn Batuta reports that during his visit to Ceylon, he found tombs of several saints and preachers such as that of Baba Tahir, Shaikh Abdulllah Hanif and Shaikh ‘Uth man’. Thirty years after the death of the Prophet, Mu’awiya stationed a very large army at the frontier town of Kankan bringing Islam to the gateway of India. However, it is Mohammad bin Qasim who invaded Sindh in 712 A.D. and opened the first important contact through land route. Later, Turk, Mongol and Afghan forces came to India through Khyber Pass, which became the main route for Muslim ascetic and dervishes to India. Thus, before Muslim occupation of any Indian land, Islam and Islamic mystics had already come
to India. Muslim conquests of northern India however helped their consolidation and expansion.

Ibn Khaldun, an Arabic Historian, contends that Sufism emerged in 2nd century Hijra. The first person having used the nomenclature was Abu Hashim Sufi. The first among the Sufis having come to India appears to be Abu Hifs Rabi bin Sahib al-Asadi al-Basari, a traditionalist and ascetic, who came to Sind, where he died in 776-77 A.D. Among the Sufis of the earliest times who visited India, tradition mentions the name of Mansur al-Hallaj, who made a voyage to India by sea in the 10th century. The first Sufi to visit Lahore that history mentions was Ismail Lahori (1005 A.D.-1054 A.D.). Bathad Vali who was born of a princely family in Turkey, but later became a saint and devoted his life towards the spreading of Islam, came to Madurai and Trichinapalli in 1039 A.D. His tomb stands in Trichinapalli. His disciples, Sayyid Ibrahim Shaheed and Baba Fakhr al-Din also preached in India.

Among the earliest Sufis of India, Baba Ratan’s name is prominent who is said to have visited Mecca twice and finds mention is ‘Asaba fi Ma’rifatis-Sahaba’ of Ibn Hajar Asqalani and Tajrid of Ad-Dhahabi. In the former, he is ranked as a companion of the Prophet whom he had met and accepted Islam. He is said to have lived for seven hundred years and is buried in ‘Tabar Hind’, i.e. modern Bhatinda.
The legend of ‘Bibi Pakdaman’ reveals that in the seventh century, seven ladies from Hazrat Ali’s household fled to Lahore due to the defeat of Hussain’s army by Yazid at Karbala. They are said to be Ruqiya, known as Bibi Haj, Bibi Hur, Bibi Nur, Bibi Gawhar, Bibi Taj and Bibi Shahbaz. The first one being daughter of Hazrat Ali, the fourth ‘Khalifa’ and son-in-law of Prophet Mohammad, and others, daughters of Aqil, brother of Hazrat Ali. There was another lady accompanying them, Bibi Tannur (tandur), the lady of furnance, who was their kitchen maid. Their tombs, seven in total, are popularly known as Bibi Pakdaman, highly respected shrines at Lahore. When the nonbelievers harassed them beyond endurance, they prayed that the earth might shield them from their sight; the earth opened it mouth and swallowed them. The Prince of Lahore, witnessing this miraculous deliverance, turned a hermit, built seven tombs over the spot and he became its mujawir (guardian). The Prince was called Baba Kaki, who died in 719-20 A.D. and was buried in the vicinity. Indian bakers in Lahore today also regard the kitchen maid Bibi Tannur, as their patron saint (Nanbai). Mahmud Gaznawi built an enclosure around the tombs and much later Akbar also made some structures.

Sayyid Salar Mas’ud Ghazi Minyan or Bale Mian, reference to whom is found in Mirat-i Mas’udi and Elliot’s ‘History of India’ in his work ‘Historical Romance’ was another martyr Sufi. It is said that his mother Sitr-i-Mu’alla was a sister of Mahmud Ghaznavi. He was a Sufi warrior and
fought many wars and died at Baharaich on 20th June 1033 AD, at the age of nineteen. His tomb is the scene of great annual fair i.e. Urs. The main feature of this Urs is his marriage with Zuhra Bibi, a resident of Barabanki and a blind girl who had her eyesight restored, when she visited the tomb. She had erected a shine on the tomb and was buried there itself, when she died unmarried at the age of 18. A custom developed, as her parents and relatives visited the tombs of both to celebrate their marriage. The celebration is accompanied by a procession, music, dance and the mythical marriage. In other parts of the country also the Urs of Ghazi Mian is celebrated.

About this time arose another great Sufi saint, who left deep inprint on the Sufi history of the subcontinent. He was Ali’u’il-Hujwiri (death 1071 A.D.), popularly known as Data Ganj Baksh, a native of Ghazana in Afghanistan and a disciple of Muhammad b al- Hasan al-Khuttali, spiritually connected to Shaikh Junayd Baghdadi. He was a great advocate of celibacy and a wanderer, who finally settled at Lahore and is buried there. He is believed to be holding the supreme authority over the Sufis of India. Those Sufis who subsequently came to India could not enter the country without first obtaining his permission at his shrine (see Plate - IV). He wrote Kashf al-Mahjoob, which is considered a pioneer work on Sufism.

Muin al-Din Chishti Sanjari, who came to India after obtaining permission from Shaikh al-Hujwiri’s spirit at his shrine at Lahore, settled in...
India. He was the founder of Chishti silsilah in India and eighth in the line of succession from its founder by Khwaja Abu Shani Chishti (see Plate III).

He was the murid of Shaikh Usman Harooni, whom he served for twenty years continuously without a break for an hour. Amir Khwurd writes about him in the following words:30

"The king of spiritual people in Islam (Shaikh Muin al-Din) was the khalifa of Khwaja Usman Harooni".

While taking permission from Ali’u’l-Hujwiri after deep meditation at his shrine, he uttered the following words:

"Thou art the Ganj Baksh (the munificent one) of both the worlds;
Thou art the perfect pir for perfect saints;
And the guide for those yet imperfect."

From this time onwards Ali’u’l-Huwiri is known as Data Ganj Baksh. Shaikh Muin al-Din visited Delhi and then finally settled at Ajmer in 1165-66 A.D. Mir Kwurd has reported that when Muin al-Din came to Ajmer, Pithaura Rai was the King of Hindustan. He died in 1236 A.D. and was buried in Ajmer. His shrine is the most celebrated of shrines in India, visited by devotees from world over (see Plate - V).

There were three important Khalifas of the Shaikh- Shaikh Abdu’llesh Karmani of Bengal, who founded Karmani order, Shaikh Pir Karim of Ceylon,
who founded Karimi order and Shaikh Qutub al-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki, who settled in Delhi and is considered the real spiritual successor of the Shaikh. Shaikh Qutub al-Din showed extraordinary signs of divinity from his childhood. He had the benefit of spiritualism of Shaikh Muin al-Din Chishti and Shaikh Baha al-Din Zakaria – both from Chishti and Suhrawardi orders, respectively. Following the footsteps of Shaikh Muin al-Din, he came to Delhi where he was treated with due respect by Sultan Iltutmish, who considered him his spiritual leader. Thus, with royal patronage, Shaikh Qutub al-Din established himself as the unquestionable spiritual leader. Shaikh Jalal al-Din of Suhrawardi order and a disciple of Shaikh Baha al-Din had come to Delhi on request from the Sultanate, but the people of Delhi and the Sultan himself pledged their allegiance to Shaikh Qutub al-Din, which marked the beginning of establishment of spiritual domination of Chishti silsilah in Delhi. It was through him, 'sama' became popular in Delhi, though it became a subject of fierce controversy as orthodox religious leaders resented it. Mir Khwurd reports about him in following words:\textsuperscript{31}

\begin{quote}
"Shaikh al-Islam Qutub al haq-wa-din, bright star of truth and religion was the disciple of Shaikh Muin al-Din Hasan Sanjari."
\end{quote}

After Shaikh Qutub al-Din, his successor Shaikh Farid al-Din Ganj-i Shakr, popularly known as Baba Farid, became the head of Chishti silsilah.
His father was a Qazi of Kathwal in Multan who had fled from Kabul during the invasion of Chingiz Khan. He was educated in the khanqah of Shaikh Baha al-Din Zakaria, but became the disciple of Shaikh Qutub al-Din during his brief stay in Multan.

Mir Khwurd reports:

"Shaikh Farid al-Din became the disciple of Shaikh Qutub al-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki."

He after his education followed his master and came to Delhi, where he became immensely popular. As he resented popularity, he left Delhi and settled at Ajodhan. He practiced yoga regularly and was known as a wandering dervesh. He lived a life of piety and austerity and made his khanqah an institution of religions teachings. His tittle Shakr Ganj or Ganj-i Shakr is said to have come from his mother’s inducement for prayer, by placing some sweets under his prayer carpet. He died in 1265 A.D. at the age of 93. His shrine (see Plate - VII) is at Ajodhan which contains a door of paradise i.e. Bihishti Darwaza, through which the devotees make a point to pass through.

Another disciple of Shaikh Qutub al-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki was Qazi Hamid al-Din Nagouri, who settled in Rajasthan and propagated Islam there. But he died in Delhi and wished to be buried at the feet of his pir. His sons buried him as per his wish, but only after making a chabutra (platform), projecting
position for him.34

*Faridi* section of Chishti order gave rise to two streams of mystical teachings – one led by Shaikh Nizam al-Din Auliya and the other one by Shaikh Ala al-Din Ali Ahmad Sabir of Piran Kaliar, respectively known as *Nizami* section and *Sabiria* section of Chishti order.

Makhdum Ala al-Din Sabir of Piran Kaliar35 was born in Herat in 1197-8 A.D. and was left with Baba Farid, his uncle, by his mother, as his father had already died. He was appointed to supervise the *langar khana* in the *khanqah* of Baba Farid. He had become weak end when Baba Farid inquired the cause of his weakness, he said that he was there to supervise the kitchen, but had not been asked to eat from it. Baba Farid was over joyed with his patience i.e. *sabr* and titled him as Sabir. Later, he appointed him as his successor and sent him to Piran Kaliar.

At Piran Kaliar, he was ill treated by the people and driven out of the mosque, when he went for Friday prayer. As a consequence of this, the entire mosque suddenly collapsed, crushing hundreds of people praying there. This was followed by plague and the people fled from Kaliar. The place became a forest from a habitated town and in this isolated place he spent his days. He had only one disciple in his company- Shams al-Din Turk. He was fond of *sama*, but the singers sat at a considerable distance, due to *jalal* (terror) of the Shaikh. He died in 1291AD on 13th *Rabi ul Awwal* and on this date his
Urs is celebrated (see Plate - XII).

Shaikh Ala al-Din’s gloomy disposition and irascible temperament was in contrast to Shaikh Nizam al-Din’s amiable nature and wide popularity. While, Shaikh Ala al-Din gave expression to jalali or the terrible attributes, Shaikh Nizam al-Din gave expression to jamali or glorious attribute of the Almighty. They represented Ahl-i khilawat i.e recluses and Ahl-i suhbat i.e. associate characteristics respectively.

Shaikh Nizam al-Din was born in Badayun. His grand parents had come from Bukhara. His father died when he was 5 years old and his mother Zulaikha, much venerated as a saint brought him up. Her shrine is at Udhchini, which is visited by many, especially women devotees. At the age of 20, he became a disciple of Baba Farid and at 23 he was appointed as Khalifa and was asked to settle in Delhi. He expanded the silsilah is an unprecedented way and was considered the spiritual leader of the world of his time. He saw many ups and downs in Delhi, dealing with thirteen Sultans, some of them very hostile towards him, as he neither visited the court, nor allowed the courtiers to visit him. In subsequent chapter we will be discussing about this through anecdotes. He died in 724 A.H./1324 A.D. at the age of 91 and was buried in Ghiyaspur in Delhi, now known by his name - Nizamuddin. His shrine (see Plate - IX, X and XI) is a place of pilgrimage for many devotees. He had seven hundred Khalifas spread over the country and a few other
countries. He was popularly known a *Mahboobh-i Ilahi*.38

His successor was Shaikh Nasir to al-Din Chiragh Delhi 39 (see Plate - XIV ) who carried the traditions, devotions and procedures of Shaikh Nizam al-Din. However, he faced humiliation and torture at the hands of then Sultan, with extreme patience or *sabr*. Manlana Burhan al-Din Gharib40 was another Khalifa who migrated to Diogir and popularized Chishti mystical practices in the Deccan. He lies buried at Daulatabad. Manlana Shams al-Din Yahya41, Shaikh Fakhr al-Din Zarradi42, Maulana Ala al-Din Nili were other Khalifas settled at Delhi. Shaikh Yusuf Chanderi43 another Khalifa settled at Chanderi in Madhya Pradesh, Shaikh Qutub al-Din Munuwar at Hansi45 and Shaikh Akhi Siraj46 in Bengal, lying buried in Pandua, Maulana Shaihab al-Din47 at Daulatabad and Maulana Husan al-Din Multani48 at Pattan in Gujarat.

Sayyid Gesu Daraz succeeded Shaikh Nasir al-Din and was a longhaired saint who settled in Gulbarga, on request from the Sultan there. He died in 1422 AD and was succeeded by his son, Sayyid Akbar Husaini. In Bengal, the pioneer of Chishti order was Siraj al-Din, a Khalifant of Shaikh Nizam al-Din. His successor was Shaikh Ala al-Din who was succeeded by Nur al-Din, known as Qutub-i-Alam of his time.

Suhrawardi order founded by Diya al-Din Najib Suhrawardi (death. 1167 AD), the author of *Abau’l Muridin* and made some inroads in India.
His nephew, Shihab al-Din (639A.H./1144A.D.- 632A.H./1234A.D.) of Baghdad was a great exponent of Suhrawardian mysticism and wrote *Awarifu 'l Ma'arif*. Shaikh Sa’di mentions him in ‘Bustan’. His vice-gerent, Sayyid Nur al-Din Mubarak came to Delhi and was appointed as *Shaikh-ul-Islam* by Sultan Iltutmish. Another disciple, Shaikh Baha al-Din Zakaria (death 1267 AD), settled in Multan and is considered the pioneer saint of the order in India. Qazi Hamid al-Din Nagouri (death 1279 AD.) was considered his *Khalifa* who came to Delhi but became a disciple of Shaikh Qutub al-Din. Shaikh Jalal al-Din Tabrezi (death 1225 AD.), who was also a vice-gerent of the Shaikh, became a disciple of Shaikh Qutub al-Din and was sent to Bengal. Sayyid Nur al-Din and Shah Turkoman, the pioneers of Suhrawardian order in Delhi were friends of Shaikh Qutub al-Din. Shaikh Sadr al-Din (d. 1285 AD), son of Shaikh Baha al-Din was another important saint in Multan, who had given up ancestral wealth and had married the divorced grand daughter of Iltutmish.

The Suhrawardian order was later divided into *be-shara* and *ba shara* sections. *Be-shara* means without the laws, depicting those Sufis who did not adhere to laws of Islam and some of them took to worshiping saints, resorting to hypnosis and using istoxicants. They are also known as *malamatis* i.e. lit. blame worthy. On the other hand, those who observe and confirm to Islamic laws are called *ba shara*. However, it is difficult to make a clean
distinction, as some of the jalali sections of ba shara Sufis had degenerated later and became be shara.

Sayyid Jala al-Din (d.1192 AD), Khalifat of Shaikh Baha al-Din, founded the jalali sub section, which was a part of the ba shara section of the order and settled at Uchh. His followers were known as jalali fakirs, who wore black threads round their head, an amulet (tawiz) round their arm and used to blow a horn in ecstasy. Other sub sections like Miran Shahi, Ismail Shahi etc. of ba shara section came after the Sultante period and are not within the preview of our study.

As regards be-sahra section, Lal Shahbaziyya and Suhagiyya sub sections were prominent. Sayyid Lal Shahbaz, who did not say obligatory prayers, wore red garments, and used wine and other intoxicants, founded the former section. This is attributed as means to conceal his spiritual dignity. It is proclaimed that with his holy touch wine used to become water and hence intoxicant or wine had no effect on him. He lies buried in Sindli. Musa Shahi Suhagan, who used to live with eunuchs to hide his spiritual attainment and to dress up like a suhagan, founded the latter. He neither said his regular prayers, nor fasted. He had caused rainfall instantly during a drought. He lived in Ahmedabad. Rasul Shahi sub-section emerged during the Mughal period.

Qadiri order was established in India by Sayyid Mohammad Ghowth
He had settled in 'Uchh' and was known as Pir-i Piran, the saint of the saints. Sultan Sikandar Lodi was his disciple and had given his daughter to him in marriage. His son, who earlier led a luxurious life, returned all favours of government and led a life of austerity. His brother held a high office in the government. He refused to meet the Princes, on being specifically invited. He died in 1533-34 AD and lies buried in 'Uchh'.

During the Sultanate period, Madari and Shattari orders also came to India. Badi al-Din Madari was the founder of Madari order, who was settled in Makanpur, near Kanpur, where he died in 1485 AD. During his Urs, Madari faqirs walk on fire saying, 'Dam Madari'. His shrine is prohibited for women.

Shaikh Abdullah Shattar, the founder of Shattari (speed) order, which is supposed to be the shortest way of 'fana' and 'baqa', settled at Mandu, the capital of Malwa and died in 1428-29 AD. Shah Muhammad Gawth was a famous saint of this order, who lived through the Sultanate and the Mughal periods and was highly revered by Humayun. His book Miraj (ascension), had later become a subject of controversy. Other works of his were Jawahir-i Khamsa and Awrad-i Gawthiyya. He died in 1562-63 AD and his tomb is at Gwalior.

Qalandari order was introduced in India by Sayyid Nazm al-Din, a disciple of Sayyid Khidr Rumi Qalandar, who lived for two hundred years
and died in 1432 AD, at Mandu, where his shrine is much renerated. He was succeeded by Qalandar Sarandaz-i-Gawthi, who died in 1518 AD, at the age of 145. His title Sarandaz, indicated severance of his head, while performing ‘dhikr’. Sharf al-Din Bin Ali Qalandar of Panipat, initially a mufti in Delhi, was also a famous Qalandar, he is the only saint in Islam, whose shrines exist at two places- Panipat as well as Karnal, who was first buried in Karnal when he died in 1329 AD, but later, people from Panipat, reburied him in Panipat. His Shrines exist at both places and his Urs is celebrated in the holy month of Ramzan. He, once addressed Sultan Ala al-Din as ‘Chief policeman of Delhi, which the Sultan acknowledged happily.

The process of development of Sufism, since its inception, took about three centuries before it became an organized movement. No sooner it became an organized movement, it entered the Indian sub-continent with a strong foothold to take another three centuries to spread over the length and the breadth of the sub-continent. During the Sultanate period, though, various silsilahs came to India, it is only Chishti and Suhrawardi silsilahs, which attained significant positions during the period and left deep imprint in the socio-religious ethos of the land.
NOTES


5. Ibid, p. 64.


18. Ibid, p.103.

19. Ibid, pp.27,72.

20. Ibid, p.103.


27. Ibid, p.46.


33. Ibid, pp.67-68.

34. Ibid, p.166.


40. *Siyar al-Auliya*, pp.93-94; *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, pp.278, 282 etc.


49. *Fuwa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp.5,10 etc.; *Siyar al-Arifin*, pp.102-128.

