SUFIS AND THE SULTANATE: RELATIONSHIP OF COMPATIBILITY AND COOPERATION

The Sufis, specially the Chistis, in order to maintain their visible independence, tried to alienate themselves from the state system. But while, doing so, they still provided tacit support to the activities of the state in a covert manner. The Sufis’ support was also manifested at times of crises, military campaigns and welfare measures undertaken by the Sultanate. The Sultans on the other hand, made conscious attempts to aline themselves with the Sufis. Towards this endeavour, they bent backwards to show reverence to the Sufis and ensured such reverence to adequately publicised. They also made recurring attempts at endowing gifts including land grants to the Sufis as a token of respect towards them, which the Sufis might or might not accept. They also made persistent attempts to enter into matrimony with the Sufis to elevate their position in popular perceptions.

The location of the khanqahs of the sufis in the central and strategic places also had its bearing on the relationship of the Sufis with the state. The khanqah of Muin al-Din Chishti was located in Ajmer, which was the capital of Prithviraj Chauhan, probably the most powerful ruler of the northern India of the time. His Khalifa Qutub al-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki settled in Delhi, where the founders of the Sultanate had their capital. Delhi then became the hub of
political activities. His successor Baba Farid al-Din Ganj-i Shakr had his khanqah at Ajodhan, which was of great strategic importance, politically and economically, though it was away from the political capital. Mir Khwurd reports that the jama’khana of Baba Farid was situated on a main route and attracted numerous visitors from all spheres of life — the scholars, the merchants, the government servants, the artisans, the Sufis and the Qalandars.  

Similarly, the khanqah of Shaikh Nizam al-Din Auliya was located at Delhi. During the lifetime of Shaikh Nizam al-Din, thirteen rulers ruled over Delhi. Most of them revered him, while a few had hostile attitude towards him. His khalifa Shaikh Nasir al-Din Mahmud had also settled in Delhi and faced the wrath of the Sultanate. Another Khalifa, Shaikh Burhan al-Din Gharib went to the South and settled at Khuldabad, which was close to political centre in the South. He shrine was attached so much importance that even the last powerful Mughal King, Aurangzeb was deliberately buried near its vicinity. Thus, the geo-political compulsions did not allow the Shaikhs to completely be away from the Sultanate. Instead, from time to time, they extended their tacit and indirect support to it.

The first of the instances in regard to the tacit support of the Sufis for Muslim rule was evident during the Ghori advent. Shaikh Nizam al-Din Auliya believed that “Shaikh Muin al-Din Chishti reached India before the Turkish conquest and settled at Ajmer which was the seat of Chauhan power
(Hindustan was ruled by Pithaura Raj or Prithviraj, at that time). Due to adverse comments from Pithaura, the Shaikh had prophesised his defeat by the army of Islam, which materialized on the victory of Muhammad Ghori over him. The Shaikh’s preference for the Ghaurid conquest is clear, for possibly, he viewed that, as the victory of the army of Islam². Also implicit in it is the assumption that victory was the outcome of the Shaikh’s benediction.

The support towards their favorite Sultanate continued by his successors as well. For instance, Mir Khwurd quotes Shaikh Nizam al-Din-Auliya and states that when Shaikh Qutub al-Din Bakhtiyar, Shaikh Baha al-Din Zakaria and Shaikh Jalal al-Din Tabrezi were at Multan during the reign of Nasir al-Din Qubacha, the army of nonbelievers had gheraoed the Qila of Multan. Qubacha went to the Shaikhs to seek their blessings for the removal of the trouble, upon which Shaikh Qutb al-Din Bakhtiyar gave an arrow to Qubacha and said: "aim at the enemy at night". Qubacha did as instructed and when morning dawned, none from the enemy camp was available, as all of them had dispersed.³ This reiterates that the Sufis had often supported the Sultanate as they regarded it as Islamic. It also indicates that the Sultans regarded the Sufis as the saviors of the Sultanate, at the time of distress. In an identical incident, Bahlul Lodi received a spiritually treated stick at the Saikh’s shrine, which helped disperse the enemy.⁴ This indicates the folkloric belief that the Sufis, even after death possessed spiritual and
miraculous power, from which the Sultan or for that matter the people could benefit.

Yet another identical incident occurred much later, when Kachlu Khan rebelled against Sultan Mohammad Shah and marched with his army towards Delhi. The Sultan asked Dabir, a devotee of Shaikh Nizam al-Din, on the night before the attack, if he had brought anything from the Shaikh at that trying time. Dabir told the Sultan that the Shaikh had advised: 

"For such difficult occasion, a person needs to pray the whole night and at dawn, recite certain specific verses as specified by the Shaikh and the one, who did this, would be victorious."

The Sultan accordingly, prayed the whole right, while instructing his army to be ready all the while for the fight. But when the battle began, the Sultan faced initial reverses. He asked Dabir the reasons for such reverses, on which Dabir counselled the Sultan asking him not to worry. At that time, when Kachlu Khan in a relaxed mood was watching his success, an arrow hit him on the neck and he fell on the ground losing his life which caused chaos in his army. The Sultan then led the onslaught and defeated the rebellious army. Thus, his faith in the Shaikh and obedience towards him was perceived to have led to his victory.
Though, Shaikh Farid al-Din Ganj-i Shahr attempted to keep away from the Sultanate and advised his *Khalifas* to do so, he could not cut himself off completely from the Sultanate. Successive Sultans sought his blessings, time and again, in their military campaigns. Mir Khwurd, while quoting Shaikh Nizam al-Din mentions that Sultan Nasir al-Din, while in a military campaign proceeding towards Multan and Uchch, sought the blessings of Baba Farid. The whole of his army also went to see Baba Farid. He narrates the incident as under:

"...A piece of Baba's cloth was hanging in a stick which was being kissed by people to the extent that it was formed into pieces. At that time Baba Farid came to the mosque and asked his *murids* to form a human chain around him, so that he could greet and wish them from a distance. An old carpenter, in the meanwhile, managed to sneak into and kissed the feet of the Shaikh asking him as to why was he afraid of people of God. Baba Farid asked for his forgiveness."

Further he narrates about the Sultan's seeking blessings as under:
“Once Sultan Nasir al-Din while passing through Naharwala wanted to go to Ajodhan to pay regards to the Shaikh. Ulugh Khan, later Sultan Giyas al-Din and then governor of the area, said that as the army was too large, there could be scarcity of water on the way of Ajodhan. So, instead of Sultan, he would go to the Shaikh for obtaining blessing for victory in the expedition and would express regrets for Sultan having not come due to above stated difficulty. Ulugh Khan, being an aspirant of the throne, was keen to obtain the blessing of the Shaikh. He, in his heart, wanted to know the Shaikh’s thought on his aspirations. With the permission of Sultan Nasir al-Din, he took silver coins and the farman of four villages and offered the same to the Shaikh. The Shaikh ordered the distribution of the coins among the durvesh, but returned the ownership rights of the villages, saying that there were many desirous of the rights of the villages.

The Shaikh also recited a poem on the occasion:

فریدون فرخ فرشيته نبود
زعود و زعمر سرشيته نبود
تو داد و هم شن فریدون توئی
زا داد ودهم شن یافته آن خسروی

‘Faridun (an ancient Iranian king) was not an angel;
He was not a product of wood and ambar (source of fragrance);
He was famous because of justice and generosity;
If you show justice and generosity;
You will rise as a Faridun’.

Ulugh Khan was apparently very delighted to hear this. He tied a knot symbolising that he would preserve and obey these words.”

After sometimes, Ulugh Khan became the king as prophesised by the Shaikh. The incident indicates not only the prophecy of kingship of Ulugh Khan, but also an apparent advice to the future Sultans for ‘drawing a course of action’ to rise as a noble Sultan in future.

Thus, Chishtis were supporting the State in several ways and were far from being antagonistic to it. This is further substantiated by the Shaikhs prediction on Ala al-Din’s southern campaign. Between 1309 and 1310, Ala al-Din Khalji’s general Malik Naib marched on the Kakatia Kingdom of Telingana and invaded the Warangal fort. The usual method of communication between the army and the capital collapsed giving rise to considerable anxiety in the city. Turning to Shaikh al-Mashaikh, the Sultan sent his messengers requesting his assistance.

This incident is described by the famous historian Zian al-Din Barani in Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi in the following words:12

“Once, the Sultan sent Malik Karabaik and Qazi Moghis al-Din Biyanah to Shaikh Nizam al-Din and asked them to convey to the Shaikh that the Sultan was worried because there was no message from the army of Islam and as the Shaikh had greater concern for Islam than the Sultan had, he
SUFISM: PHILOSOPHY AND PRACTICES

Sufism signifies Islamic mysticism. It is an Islamic way of reaching God, which involves rigorous meditation and prayer, emphasis on inner self rather than external rituals, continuous service towards humanity and renunciation of the worldly pleasures. In Islamic world, it is popularly known as ‘Tasawwuf’, while Western writers have termed it as ‘Islamic mysticism’.

The genesis of Sufism lies in the Quran itself which reveals, “God is the First and the Last, the Outward and the Inward.” It also reveals, “Wherever you turn, there is the Face of Allah.” (This is not to be confused with shape or figure). Here the emphasis is God alone and everything else is perishable and of no worth. Therefore, Shibli states that Sufis are those who do not see anything other than Allah in both the worlds.

The Sufis imitate and derive inspiration from Prophet Mohammad in terms of morality, piety and religiosity. The Sufis, because of their mystical knowledge and experience, could understand the sayings of the Prophet correctly. Therefore, Sarraj writes that ‘God reveals the truth behind the language of Quran to those whom He loves and who are true Sufis’.

There exist conflicting theories regarding the origin of the term ‘Sufi’ and that of Sufism as a socio-religious and philosophical movement. Al-Hujwiri while dealing with its origin states:
through his spiritual power could throw some light on the welfare of the army. The Sultan had directed them to convey the exact details of the conversation with the Shaikh. They conveyed the message to the Shaikh and the Shaikh narrated about the victories of some Sultans. When the messengers asked about the victory of the present expedition, the Shaikh said:

اين فتحچه باشد که مافتح های دیگر را امیدواریم.

'This victory is nothing, as I am interested in much greater victories.'

Thus, the messengers happily returned and gave the exact details of conversation to the Sultan. Sultan Ala al-Din was delighted, as he knew that his army had conquered 'Arankal' and achieved the goal. He took out his turban and said that these words of the Shaikh were auspicious. He also said that when the Shaikh uttered those words, Arankal would have been conquered and that he could foresee many more victories.

The same day Malik Naib sent the good news of victory over Arankal through a fatah-nama, which was read out at the time of Friday prayer. The people in the city, thereafter, celebrated the victory. The Sultan thereafter became a strong believer of the Shaikh.

There are evidences to show that the Sufis participated and prayed during the warfare. They also advised the Sultans on the methodology of expedition on warfare. For instance when Sultan Hussain of Jaunpur came
to invade Delhi and laid siege to it, Bahlul Lodi stood bare headed and prayed at the tomb of Bakhtiyar Kaki throughout the night. It is said that he received a staff from a heavenly person in the morning and then attacked the enemy successfully, as a result of which Sultan Hussain’s army was defeated and forced to retreat to Jaunpur.

Not only the Chishtis, but the Sufis of Qadiriyya silsilah, also helped in military campaign. For instance, Shah Nur al-Din, who founded the Ni’Malullahi order of Shi’i Sufis had sent a crown to the Bahmanid Sultan, Shihab al-Din Ahmed I (1422 A.D.- 1436 A.D.). His blessing to the Sultan is believed to have enabled him to defeat his brother Taj al-Din Firuz. Further, on the Sultans request for sending his son, the Sufi sent his grandson, Nuru’llah who later settled in Bidar. He was given the title of Malik al-Mashaikh.

In the northwest frontier, Naqshabandi order had supported their favorite Sultans and Princes. Khwaja Nasir al-Din, to whom the Indian Naqshbandiyas trace their origin, had blessed Timurid Prince, Sultan Abu Sa’id in his invasion against Samarqand in 1451 AD. However, he had attached the condition that the Prince would promote welfare activities in the region. The son of the Shaikh also, similarly, protected the grandson of Abu Sa’id, when Sultan Mahmud attacked Samarqand.

Further, when Ibrahim Lodi fought Babur, he took Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi and Shaikh Abu’l Fatah in the campaign. The latter deserted him
and came back to Agra. The Sultan had taken them by force, as it was involuntary. The desertion of the Sufi probably meant the withdrawal of their support and blessing, as a result of which the Sultanate collapsed, paving the way for the Mughal rule.

The support, blessings and prayer of the Sufis for the Sultans’ victory in campaigns and otherwise were considered extremely important for the Sultans, who also reciprocated by their respect towards the Sufis by offering their daughters in marriage and by ‘futuh’ i.e. unasked for gifts.

Once, Shaikh Qutub al-Din is said to have told the then Sultan of Delhi that if a saint gives dua (blessing) to a person, the person is blessed with unbounded happiness in life; if however, the person displeases a saint and evokes his wrath, then he is doomed, meaning thereby that it was the duty of the Sultan to nurture an amicable relationship between the Sufis and the State. Thus, the Sultans tried to obtain moral support from the Sufis by above measures.

The Sultanate’s reverence for the Sufis in response to reverence of the masses towards the Sufis is depicted in the incident when Shaikh Qutub al-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki decided to leave Delhi and accompany Shaikh Muin al-Din to Ajmer. The people of Delhi received this news with a heavy heart and when the two saints set out for Ajmer, they followed them for miles. Sultan Iltutmish also followed them. The people cried ‘Zar-o-qatar ’ and the Sultan
requested Shaikh Qutub al-Din to stay back in Delhi, which the Shaikh obliged.

Mir Khwurd explains the incident in the following words: 13

"Once, *Shaikh al-Mashaikh* (Shaikh Nizam al-Din) mentioned that when Shaikh Muin al-Din came from Ajmer to Delhi. Shaikh-Nizam al-Din Soghra was the *Shaikh al-Islam* of Delhi. Both were friends and when the former went to meet the latter, Shaikh Nizam al-Din Soghra was getting something constructed in his lawn. He lacked in his usual warmth. Shaikh Muin al-Din asked him, if he had some worries. The Shaikh replied that he was the same warm hearted, but he had left a *murid* in the city because of which *Shaikh al-Islam* had no importance greater than that of a grain of barley. Shaikh Muin al-Din smiled and promised that he would take Qutub al-Din back to Ajmer and he need not worry any more. At that time, Shaikh Qutub al-Din had become immensely popular and people of all walks of life came to him."

Mir Khwurd further reports: 14

"Shaikh Muin al-Din told Shaikh Qutub al-Din:

'You have become so popular that people have started complaining about you and hence you should come with me to Ajmer and sit there, before me.'

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Shaikh Qutub al-Din said that he could not sit before him. Then, they both left for Ajmer. However, when the people of the city knew about this, they were sad and baffled. They started following the Shaikhs along with Sultan Shams al-Din (Iltutmish). They took the sand on which Shaikh Qutub al-Din placed his foot as tabarruk and wept madly. Shaikh Muin al-Din, on seeing the situation, asked Shaikh Qutub al-Din to stay back as the people were sad on his leaving Delhi. He further said that it could not be proper for him to make the people sad and then gave away the city of Delhi to his custody. The Shaikh accompanied by the Sultan came back to his place in Delhi."

Thus, the Chishti Shaikhs were not totally unmindful of the wishes and expectations of the State as well as of the people. Though Shaikh Qutub al-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki did not accept the post of ‘Shaikh al-Islam’ offered to him by Iltutmish, he or his mentor Shaikh Muin al-Din acceded to the request of the Sultan and the people to stay back in Delhi. In fact, he extended his support to the Sultan in the construction of the Hauz-i Shamsi (a tank built to overcome the water shortage in Delhi).

During the rule of Jalal al-Din Khaliji, Shaikh Nizam al-Din had attained fame. The Sultan offered him some villages and orchards, which he politely refused. The Sultan then thought of visiting the Shaikh un-informed. On learning this, the Shaikh left for Ajodhan immediately.15 This shows that the
Sultan revered the Shaikh and looked for his support, blessings and guidance. While the Shaikh had closed his doors for the Sultan, he could not restrain the nobles, amirs, maliks, government officers and military men from visiting him to seek his blessings.

During the period of Ala al-Din Khalji the Shaikh’s popularity was at its zenith. Barani reports that many amirs, warriors, writers, government servants and inhabitants mahal of the Sultan had become his murids. They engaged themselves in deep prayers, mysticism, fast and generous acts. The Princes, the courtiers and the nobles visited him. Some government officers left their jobs to become his disciples, though the Shaikh discouraged such acts. His popularity and certain courtiers’ mischievous suggestions made Ala al-Din jealous and concerned. He sent some spies to see the functioning of the khanqah. However, despite his strong measures on market reform, control on assembly of people and regulation of rationing, he did not interfere in the functioning of langar in the khanqah.

Barani draws the picture as under:

سلطان علاء الدين فرمان داد تاملوک و امراءو بزرگان و معتبران در خانهای یکدیگر نرونده و ضیافت ها و جمعیت ها نکنند.

"Ala al-Din had used decree to the amirs, the nobles and the high officials to not to visit each other; not to gather for functions and festivities without his permission.”
He further explains about the effect as under:\textsuperscript{18}

They were prohibited to develop intimate relations with each other and allow the public to visit their house. The effect of this was so much that there were no visitors to the nobles.”

Describing the response of the nobles he says:\textsuperscript{19}

“All the times the nobles were scared; they stopped gathering and intermingling with each other (out of fear).”

Zia al-Din Barani informs us that he however never said anything, which would annoy the Shaikh despite gatherings and community eating in the Shaikh’s \textit{khanqah}, despite strong warning and instructions for others. Some persons who were inimical to the Shaikh put forth exaggerated version to the jealous King about the number of people visiting and fed at the \textit{khanqah}. But, Ala al-Din merely made enquiries and did precious little to curb this. In the last phase of his reign he became a sincere believer of the Shaikh, though they never met.\textsuperscript{20}

The Sultan also wanted to visit the Shaikh and had also sought guidance from the Shaikh in governance of the state. He sent a letter through Khizr
Khan who was the Sultan’s dearest son and the Shaikh’s murid, seeking his guidance in the governance. He also mentioned that ‘whatever was considered correct by the Shaikh for the purpose would be put into action forthwith’. However, the Shaikh conveyed that he had nothing to do with the governance. On hearing this, the Sultan was relieved and became happy and a believer of the Shaikh. Then he sent a request to the Shaikh to permit him to visit him.

The Shaikh conveyed:

آمدن حاجت نیست من به دعای غیب مشغولم و دعای غیب را اثرها است.

“There was no need for the Sultan to come to him, as he was busy in prayer in absentia, which is more effective.”

The Sultan’s seeking guidance and blessings and desire to meet the Shaikh puts the Shaikh in a superior position. On the other hand, the Shaikh’s mention that he was praying for Sultan indicates that he had tacit support for the Sultanate.

Ala al-Din’s respect for the Shaikh is also revealed from the fact that he had sent for Khwaja Muin al-Din Kara, who was in his service when he was a prince and later became a disciple of the Shaikh. The Shaikh was requested to send the Khwaja, but he declined to pressurise. The Sultan did not insist on that out of reverence towards the Shaikh.21

In an anecdote, it is reported that Maulana Ala al-Din, a Qazi of the Sultan who belonged to Suharawardi order, punished a noble with execution
and was summoned by the Sultan for this action. The Qazi went to Shaikh Nizam al-Din Auliya, who prayed for his exoneration as he had acted according to Shari'at law. The next day when he was produced before the Sultan, he set him free and conferred a robe of honour on him. It might be possible that the Sultan, on knowing that the Shaikh had prayed for his exoneration, could not have acted incompatibly with the wishes of the Shaikh. As a probable reciprocity, the Shaikh remained in Delhi, when Qutlugh Khwaja invaded the city with a huge army, indicating his moral support for the Sultante.

The Sultanate’s respect and importance attached to the Sufis were further enhanced during the Lodi period. There are anecdotes to suggest that Saiyid Abban, who was a Sufi, gave Bahlul Lodi the throne in exchange for some money. It is also possible that due to this bestowal of kingship, Bahlul Lodi would have got inspired to become a king by usurping power. This further could be the reason for his faith in the Sufis due to which he often visited Sama al-Din Suhrwardi to seek his blessings, guidance and support. Many Sufis in Delhi including the latter treated Bahlul with affection. Therefore, when Sultan Hussain wanted to invade Delhi another time, he sought that Sama al-Din, who was then at Bayana, prayed for his success. Sama al-Din however declined to do so and stated that he could not pray for a tyrant’s victory over a religious and righteous ruler. This was the turning point for initiation of another treaty after the expiry of the first one, as failure
to get the blessings from the Shaikh could have been construed by Sultan Hasan that victory was far-fetched.

Shaikh Sama al-Din was a leading Sufi, settled in Delhi during the time of Lodhi. His son, Nasir al-Din Dehlvi was Shaikh-ul-Islam of Delhi during the time of Sikandar Lodi and Ibrahim Lodi. Jamali in Shams ul-Arifin gives vivid picture of the same. Bahlul Lodi was a great devotee of Sama al-Din. In one of the lectures of Sama al-Din on different types of people who will be deprived of God’s blessings, Bahlul Lodi started weeping on hearing about the fate of the rulers. He had also stated that irrespective of his feelings and sins, he was increasingly becoming a devotee towards the Sufis. Sama al-Din then gave him a ja-namaz i.e. prayer carpet, which the Sultan carried on his head with respect and left for his palace happily.

It is also believed that the Shaikh prayed for the success of Sikandar Lodi and on his success held that the new Sultan be known as Sikandar i.e. Alexander of his time. Thus, probably after this, he was known as Sikandar Lodi. It is also presumed by some that the Prince at that juncture had visited the Shaikh, as there was claim to the throne other brothers as well, and he wanted to ensure the support of the Shaikh. This was important as Isa Khan, Bahlul Lodi’s cousin had also objected to his enthronement, saying that the son of a gold worker’s daughter was not fit to be the king’ (as quoted by Firishta). Barbak Shah also opposed this brother’s ascendance to the throne.
and went to Shaikh Hasan Tahir (d.909A.H./1503A.D.) to express his anguish and to request for praying for his ascendancy. The Shaikh counseled him to obey his brother and forget about overthrowing him. On learning this, Sikandar Lodi was highly impressed by the Saint’s integrity and spiritual attainment and it further induced him to visit the Sufi Shaikh. In an anecdote, it has been held that a *durvesh* predicted Prince Nizam’s (Sikandar Lodi) victory over his own brother Barbak Shah during their youth in a battle.

Bahlul Lodi and Sikandar Lodi took care to look after the Sufi tombs. Zian al-Din had been appointed to look after the shrines and tombs during Sikandar Lodi. Due to respect shown by the two Lodis, many Sufis visited and settled in Delhi.

The Sufis also lamented the death of a just ruler, particularly if they were devoted to the Shaikhs. In a new disposition, their prestige, position and power might get threatened. Thus, in tune with this, on Sikandar Lodi’s death, Jamali wrote the following:

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ای سليمان زمان آه كجابي آخر
تا كنم ييش تواز فتنه ديوان فيكاد
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"O Soloman of the times, alas! Where are you now? (Tell me) so that I may place before you an appeal against the misdeeds of the Diwan.”

This couplet became very popular. This was brought to the knowledge
of Sultan Ibrahim. However, he did not react against him. In fact, he slowly but steadily developed regard for Jamali.28

Thus, this reciprocal cordiality and support for each other was evident in their interface and direct or indirect interaction through words or actions. However, there were incidences that reflected aspects of distance, incompatibility and cooperation at the same time. Such, for instance, was the incident of interface between Muhammad Tughlaq and Shaikh Qutub al-Din Munawwar. The incidence also is a glaring example of some Sultans' initial apathy towards the Sufis, which after interaction turned in to respect and appreciation for them.

Once, jealous people (hasidan) told Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq certain things about Shaikh Qutub al-Din Munawwar of Hansi, which the Sultan did not accept on its face value. The Sultan sent his Qazi, Shaikh Sadi-i Jahan Kamal al-Din to Shaikh Qutub al-Din Munawwar with a farman on the grant of a village, with the hope of making the Shaikh concede by luring him with worldly things (duniyavi lalach). The Shaikh did not accept the farman and asked the Qazi to give the grant of the village to others, who had desire for those things. The Qazi profusely apologised and went back. On reaching Delhi, the Qazi narrated this incident in such a way to the Sultan that the Sultan's heart melted.29
However, Mir Khwurd while reporting the incident gives slightly a different version. He reports:

"Once, Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq, while proceeding towards Hansi halted near the house of Shaikh Munawwar and asked as to whose house was that. People, who were gathered there, informed that the house was that of the Shaikh Munawwar, a Khalifa of Shaikh Nizam al-Din Auliya. The Sultan expressed his surprise that despite the fact that Shaikh Qutub al-Din Munawwar was staying there, he had not come to meet him. On returning, the Sultan sent Shaikh Hasan to summon Shaikh Qutub al-Din Munawwar. Shaikh Hasan went to Shaikh Munawar and waited outside for the Shaikh, as he was praying. The Shaikh after his prayer, due to his spiritual power sensed that someone was waiting for him outside and sent his son to get the visitor. Shaikh Hasan greeted Shaikh Munawwar and said that he was there in the service of the revered Shaikh. He also conveyed to him the purpose of his visit. Shaikh Munawwar asked him: ‘Do I have the right to say something in the matter.’ Shaikh Hasan replied: ‘No, I have been ordered to take you.’ The Shaikh said: ‘Good, then I am going against my own will (Ikhtiy-ar).’

Then the Shaikh accompanied Shaikh Hasan, to meet the Sultan; however he walked on foot and did not ride on the horse that had been
sent for him. Shaikh Hasan asked him, ‘Why are you troubling yourself by walking.’ Shaikh Munawwar refused to ride and said:

من قوت آن دارم که پیاده توانام رفتم.
‘I have enough strength for walking’. ”

He further reports:

“The Shaikh then was taken to Delhi. There he was asked to meet the Sultan. On the way to Sultan, he met Firuz Shah, the Prince and the governor of Barbak and told him:

ما دروششانیم آداب در آمد مجلس بادشاوهان و سخته گفتتن ایشان نمی دانیم
چنانکه اشارته همچنان کرده آید.
‘I am not aware how I am supposed to behave in the company of the Sultan.’ He asked his advice on this. The Prince advised him suitably. Noor al-Din, the son of the Shaikh was accompanying him and was nervous. The Shaikh sensing it, told him: ‘Greatness and all positions lie with God only.’

On meeting the Sultan, Shaikh Munawwar greeted warmly by ‘mushafa’ i.e. holding both hands and shaking. The Sultan was quite impressed and asked him, ‘Why did you not meet me at Hansi?’ Shaikh Qutub al-Din Munawwar humbly replied:
Look at Hansi and Hansi’s child (this *durvesh*). This *durvesh* does not consider himself worthy of meeting a Sultan. I was engrossed in my prayer for the Sultan and followers of Islam and hence could not meet you.’”

After this incident, Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq, who was obviously pleased with Shaikh Qutub al-Din Munawwar’s behavior, sent Zia al-Din and Firoz Shah to give a gift of one lakh *tankas* to the Shaikh. The Shaikh declined to accept the gift and sent them back. They insisted that the Shaikh should accept at least half the amount, but the Shaikh refused again. At this, they said that if the Shaikh did not accept that much as a gift, then what would *Khalq-i Khuda* say. But the Shaikh neither budged, nor accepted even one thousand *tankas*. It is further reported: 32

“The Shaikh said:

‘Two seers of *khichri* and a pao of *rogan* (butter) are enough for the *durvesh* (me).’

However, when the people pressurised him, and Firoz Shah and Zia al-Din said that they had no courage to go back to the Sultan and convey his refusal, he accepted two thousand *tankas*. However, he sent most of the money to the tombs of Shaikh Nizam al-Din Auliya and Shaikh Bakhtiyar Kaki, presented some money to Shaikh Nasir al-Din and got
the rest distributed among the people.”

This incident is a perfect example of the curious balance of relationship, which the Chishti Sufis tried to maintain with the Sultanate. On one hand, the Shaikh made it clear that he was unwilling to visit the Sultan and refused to ride the horse sent for him by the Sultan, as a gesture of his independence from the Sultan. However, on the other hand, when he met the Sultan, he radiated warmth and conversed in a humble manner. In this way, the Shaikh maintained a cordial and amicable relationship with the Sultan, while the fact remained that he wanted to remain at a distance from and independent of the Sultan.

The Sultans also engaged the Sufis in matrimonial alliance, possibly to obtain their moral and spiritual support and to elevate themselves. Baba Farid, it is said, married Sultan Balban’s daughter. Mohammad bin Tughlaq had married his daughter, Bibi Rasti to Shaikh Fathullah and the latter stayed with the Sultan for some times, but quite hesitantly. However, when the Sultan knew about his discomfort, he allowed him to go back home. Similarly, Shaikh Sadr al-Din, the son of Shaikh Baha al-Din had married the grand daughter of Iltutmish. In the down south, Shaikh Nuru’Ilah, (d.1430-31A.D.) a Qadiriya Shi’i Sufi had married the daughter of Bahmani Sultan, Shihab al-Din Ahmed I (1422-36A.D.). Bahlul Lodi had also married his daughter to Shah Abdullah Qureshi, who was a majzub and descendant of Shaikh Baha al-Din Zakaria.
and was a saintly person. He became Shaikh-ul-Islam of Delhi during Sikandar Lodi. The young son of Abdullah, Shaikh Hasan, had become an important disciple of Shaikh Burhar Chishti of Kalpi. He gained fame as a scholar and poet also.

Matrimonial alliance not only consolidated the position of the Sultanate, but also provided it much needed social sanction and recognition. Further, the Sultans had reasons to consider themselves higher than the amirs and nobles and possibly matrimonial alliance with their families would not be on the basis of equality. On the other hand, the Sufis were considered higher in status, most of them being Sayyids and were believed to be the descendants of the Prophet, his companions or great mystics. Moreover, the alliance suited the Sultans, since the Sufis had no political aspirations.

The Sufis believed in 'futuh' and had little interest in property. Baba Farid and Qutub al-Din Munnawwar had rejected land grants offered to them by the Sultans; though, 'futuh' was acceptable. Landgrants, probably, amounted to continuous source of income and a string attached to the Sultanate. Shaikh Nizam al-Din was also offered villages and orchards by Sultan Jalal al-Din and Ala al-Din, which he rejected. However, when it came to protect their children's property, they contacted the Sultanate.

Mir Khwurd brings out another incident whereby Shaikh Muin al-Din took a favour from the Sultanate. The anecdote is as under:

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"The children of Shaikh Muin al-Din used to live in a village near Ajmer. Once the officials of the Sultanate asked for the ownership papers of their land, which they could not produce. They went to the Shaikh and requested him to go to Delhi and get the same from the Sultan. The Shaikh went to Delhi and stayed with his murid, Shaikh Qutub al-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki and explained to him the purpose of his visit. The latter asked Shaikh Muin al-Din to stay back and himself visited the court of the Sultan, who was pleasantly surprised, as never before Shaikh Qutub al-Din had visited the Sultan. On the other hand, the Sultan himself wanted to visit him, but was not allowed. The ownership of land was given in the court along with a pot full of gold coins."

When Shaikh Qutub al-Din came back to the khanqah, Shaikh Muin al-Din said: اين چھ کردة پنھان بعزلت بودن بهتر

"What have you done? Keep away and do not reveal yourself".

Shaikh Qutub al-Din in reply said: از طرف بندھ چھیزی نیست. "I am a small man." He also said that the resultant effect was not because of him.

Chishti teachings strictly militated against accepting those gifts that could compromise their independence. There were conditions under which such gifts could be accepted. Acceptance of gifts was possible or even necessary, provided that they were unsolicited and not saved up. It was a
generally accepted principle that if any gifts were saved, that would prevent new donations from coming in. Saving also showed lack of ‘faith in God’ (*tawakkul*), the universal Provider. Greed and covetousness would act as obstacles to the Divine bounty. Borrowing was also frowned upon, since that too would interfere with unsolicited donations.

There were several occasions when they even accepted unasked for gifts (*futuh*) from the State. Earlier we have seen that Shaikh Qutub-al Din accepted a pot full of gold, when he visited the court of Sultan Iltutmish. Baba Farid also accepted gold and silver coins from prince Ulugh Khan. Shaikh Nizam al Din had allowed receipt of gold and silver coins by *durveshes* from Princes when they organized a lunch on their initiation. Moreover, he had accepted ‘*futuh*’ from Khusrau Khan who had killed Sultan Mubarak Khalji and this ‘*futuh*’ had led to a bickering. Mohammad Tughlaq who had incompatible relation with the *Khalifas* of Shaikh Moin al-Din had cordial relation with the descendants of Baba Farid and Shaikh Hamid al-Din Nagouri. In 724 AH/1324 AD, he had given grants of villages in Nagour to the descendants of the latter. In 732 AH/1331-32 AD, he gave another grant for construction of a gate in the *khanqah* of the saint. However, acceptance of *futuh* from the Sultanate was occasional.

Thus, even if they tried to stay away from the Sultans and the State, the Chishtis were often polite, maintained a somewhat amicable relationship
with the Sultans and sometimes accepted 'futuh'. While supporting the Sultanate or taking support from the Sultanate, they still attempted to maintain some distance form it. For instance, though Nizam al-Din was all-willing to give blessings to Sultan Ala al-Din, he avoided contact with him. Interestingly, though Shaikh Nizam al-Din never met Sultan Ala al-Din, he took his two sons Shadi Khan and Khizr Khan (heir apparent) as his disciples. So, the Chishtis upto Shaikh Nizam al- Din Auliya, simultaneously, maintained a relationship of distance and support with the Sultanate.

There were also certain categories of people who provided a linkage between the Sultanate and the Sufis. Those were Princes, *amirs*, relatives of the Sultans and visitors to the court and the *khanqahs*. The most important of the intermediaries were the Princes.

Ala al-Din Khalji was so impressed by the Shaikh that he had sent Khizr Khan and Shadi Khan to the Shaikh to become his disciples, which with much reluctance, the Shaikh accepted. The Shaikh had told: 36

"You are Princes, who have royal umbrella (claim over throne) and are to lead the army, conquer territory and rule over the Sultanate and hence it would be difficult to lead with me a life of poverty, hardship, piety and self-control. How can you bear (the strain)."
Repeated requests and promise to become *faqirs* by the Princes, moved the Shaikh and he told them:37

“Talk to your father for permission and see what his views are.”

On consultations, the Sultan told:

من اول روز گفت ام که خدمت شیخ از راه کرم ایشان را به خدمتگاری قبول کنند.

“From the beginning I was in favour of placing them in the service of the Shaikh.”

He sent an *amir* who conveyed the Sultan’s consent and then they were taken as *murids* of the Shaikh.38 With the Shaikh’s permission they had arranged a feast at the *khanqah* to commemorate their discipleship.

*Qiwam al-Aqaid* refers to the lunch party as under:39

“When the Princes became his disciples they took his permission for offering a lunch party at Ghiyaspur. They made provisions of infrastructure and food items by working out for seven days. Both the brothers informed the Shaikh that provisions had been made and sought his permission for the lunch party for *durveshes* and visitors. With his permission, they went to the Sultan and informed him. The Sultan instructed the famous head cook to take care and also instructed the *amirs* to go to Ghiyaspur and help serving the *durveshes* and *faqirs*. He asked his sons to personally take the bowls and have the *durveshes* wash their hands. He also asked them to personally serve *sherbet* (cold drink), *mewa* (fruits) and *pan*
(betels), as far as possible and distribute gold and silver coins to each of them. He, then, told the amirs that he himself would have liked to do that, but he would not be permitted.

In the morning, the Princes organised the serving of the food at three different sheds. Then, they came to the Shaikh and informed him that arrangements had been made. The Shaikh then proceeded to the place. All four-five Princes, amirs, khans and maliks helped in the process of serving. They took the water bowl and came to the Shaikh, who instructed to them to wash the hands of durveshes and murids. Amirs and khans had gathered in groups and ensured washing of hands and served betels, sherbet and fruits personally. There, special dastarkhwans had been spread out.

After the lunch was over, the Princes asked for permission for organising sama. As the people sat on the ground to listen to the qawwals, the sama began. People who had gathered were amazed to see the Princes, amirs and maliks at the service of the faqirs. At the time of salat (namaz), the Shaikh got up and left for home.”

The role of the Prince in rapprochement between the Sultan and the Sufis could not be ruled out, as Khizr Khan was the heir apparent and the dearest son of the Sultan.

Another Prince, Ulugh Khan, future Muhammad bin Tughlaq had great
faith in the Shaikh and often visited him. Once, when Ulugh Khan visited, Iqbal reported that Ulugh Khan had come. The Shaikh corrected him to say that the Sultan had come. When, Iqbal repeated his words again and again, the Shaikh corrected him, ‘Lalla didn’t I tell you to say Sultan’.

Ulugh Khan heard this and construed it as a blessing and prophecy for him to become a Sultan.\(^{40}\)

Again, when Sultan Ghiyas al-Din Tughlaq was away to Lakhnauti, Prince Ulugh had come to enquire about the Shaikh’s health, as the latter was very unwell. The Shaikh asked him to sit on the cot, saying:

\[\text{هم بالالی این کهت بنشین} \]

“You sit down on the cot.” Ulugh Khan said:

“How can I sit in your revered presence.” The Shaikh said:

\[\text{مئورا کهت می نشانیم بنشین} \]

“I am asking you, so you sit down”. The Prince out of much reverence sat, resting only a part of his body on the cot. Later, the Shaikh asked Iqbal to bring a chair and asked Khwaja Jahan to sit. Ulugh Khan told Khwaja Jahan:\(^{41}\)

“The Shaikh has given me the throne and you, the chair of wizarat.”

The same became true later on.

Similarly, Nizam Khan used to visit his father’s Pir. Even on his father’s death, Prince Nizam Khan (Sikandar Lodi) went to Shaikh Sama al-Din with a work on prosody with him. The Shaikh then read out a chapter and explained the meaning of it. Before leaving, Nizam Khan told the Shaikh that he was
going to be enthroned, as nobles had invited him for the purpose. For this he sought his blessings. Then he kissed the ground and left.

At this stage, he had also asked the Shaikh to explain the meaning of the chapter, as he had uttered, 'May God render you fortunate in both the worlds'. This anecdote shows that the Sultan considered the blessings of the Shaikh as extremely important, which was high on his agenda, despite the nobles' full support towards him.

The visit of Khizr Khan, Ulugh Khan and Nizam Khan to the Shaikhs is an important aspect of Sufi-Sultanate relations, during the period. For, all three of them were heirs apparent i.e. Wali Ahad. The Shaikhs' support and blessings were vital to their enthronement. The latter two visited the Shaikhs' primarily for this purpose and the respective Shaikhs had prophesized their enthronement. Khizr Khan, on the other hand, had the desire to become a 'murid' and even a 'faqir'. The Shaikh never prophesised kingship in his favour, as probably he knew his ultimate fate. The heirs apparent during these days had important position in the Sultanate, as they were given the tasks of Governorship of Provinces and to lead important military campaigns. The Sufis' influence on them helped building up their character to some extent and draw 'appropriate future course of action'. In the same vein, Firoz Shah Tughlaq had promised the Sufis that he would behave justly, if became a king and thus, he abided by his commitment.
The amount of respect the relatives of Sultans and amirs also showed to the Sufis is reflected in various accounts. Once, Malik Husan al-Din Qalagh, a nephew of the Sultan invited Shaikh Nizam al-Din to his house. To commemorate the Shaikh’s visit, he gave away half of his property and belonging in charity. Precious carpets laid to receive the Shaikh were given away to the bearer of the palanquin on which the Shaikh came.42

Maulana Sharaf al-Din Jamakal was the Imam of a nephew of Ala al-Din Khalji, who became a staunch disciple of the Shaikh.

Further, when a visitor wanted help from the Shaikh in regard to marriage of his two daughters, the Shaikh gave him a chit for Malik Qirbak, a noble of the Sultan. Qirbak, who had made arrangements for the marriage of his own daughter, gave away the material and money to the visitor.43 On knowing this, the Sultan appreciated the gesture and gave him ten times the wealth he had given to the visitor.44

Another trusted noble of Sultan Ala al-Din was Malik Qiran, the amir-i-shikar, who had joined his discipleship. He paid back debts of some disciples of the Shaikh in dire situation. Once, Khwaja Taj al-Din had to pay 500 tankas to a creditor. On hearing this, Qiran sent the amount to Taj al-Din to pay back. All through his life he spent his money in charity.45

A total and unquestionable devotion of the Princes and nobles who were murids or followers of the Shaikh could be seen from numerous
anecdotes. Khizr Khan and Shadi Khan were executed in 1318 by the order of Mubarak Shah. Before execution, the executor asked them as what was use of their faith in the Shaikh. The Princes replied as under:46

"...due to the blessings emanating from the discipleship of the Shaikh, we have been saved from the evil effect of involvement in this sordid world and from shedding innocent blood and illegally occupying the property of others. (The Shaikh) thus relieved us from the Quranic admonition". (The details are available in the next chapter)

This was a glaring example of the exercise of the spiritual power of the Sufi over others, in not only getting them to not to do what they want to do and getting them to do what they do not want to do, but also to influence, shape and determine the very wants of others. So, powerful was the faith of the Princes in the Shaikh and in his teachings that the Princes believed that the blinding or execution was in their own interests, as it saved them from sin.

In addition, there were many visitors to Delhi who desired to meet the Sultan as well as the Sufis and thus, became a factor for their linkage. For instance, Once, Nasiri, a poet came to Delhi from Transoxiana to the khangah
of Qutub al-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki. "I have written a *qasidah* in the praise of Sultan Shams al-Din Iltutmish", he told the Shaikh, "Please, pray for generous reward for me from the Sultan". "*Insha Allah* (God willing)" replied the Shaikh, "You will be rewarded bountifully." Nasiri obtained an audience at the court and the Sultan gave him one thousand *tankas* for each of the couplet of his *qasidah*, which comprised thirty-five couplets. Nasiri brought that amount to the Shaikh and offered half of that for distribution among the poor. The Shaikh did not accept the amount. It is also said that when Shaikh Bakhtiyar Kaki died, Sultan Iltutmish led his funeral prayer. The Sultan also died the same year.

The Chishti principles prevented the Shaikhs from interactions with the Sultans. Yet, since the saints occupied a privileged position, it drew the nobility and government functionaries to their *khanqahs*. Thus, Amir Khusrau, the panegyrist to seven Sultans of Delhi, was a favorite disciple of Shaikh Nizam al-Din and enjoyed an intimate relationship with the Shaikh. Similarly, there were many ‘*murids*’ of the Shaikh who were in government service.

The Sufis, from their side did not encourage the government servants to leave government service and join him as senior disciples. They followed a pragmatic policy of allowing the ‘*murids*’ and disciples to continue their services and kept the rigid qualification of non-involvement in ‘*kasb*’ and ‘*sughal*’ for the ‘*Khalifas*’ only, who were entitled to enroll ‘*murids*’ and
considered their ‘successors’. Not only they did not encourage defection from the government service, but also took measures to dissuade them from leaving government service, which could indicate their support for the Sultanate.

Malik Mubarak Shams al-Mulk, a senior disciple, was destined to become one of the master’s successors. But, he continued in secular office at the express command of the master. Rukn al-Din Kashani, on at least two occasions, expressed the desire to give up his position for the durvesh life, but Shaikh Burhan al-Din Gharib consistently advised him to stick to his duty. The same thing occurred in the case of Qutlugh Khan and several others. Shaikh Zayn al-Din reflected on this paradox in an extended series of remarks: 49

“If someone enters the path of poverty, he should not give up his work and acquisition. Service, work and the like, do not prevent obedience and trust in God. Whatever they do, they pursue their work. The revered Shaikh al-Islam, Burhan al-Din had some income (nan-i amanat) before his initiation and after initiation; however much he beseeched with Shaikh Nizam al-Din that he would give it up, permission was not granted, until God, most high, showed his grace and brought him out (of worldly society).”

Amir Khusrau was a courtier, and was distinguished among the poets.
Time and again, he said to the master (Nizam al-Din), “No one has peace or satisfaction, who even for a day has spoken eulogies of any one.” He came to the Shaikh, and cast his turban on the ground, crying out, “How long will I praise these tyrants?” The Shaikh said, “Be patient, until God does something”. Similarly, Maulana Alim Dabir Qutlugh Khan, time and again, cried out to the Shaikh, “I will give up the service of the people”. The Shaikh said:

“No, my friend; go to the court and perform your duty; also pursue your obedience and worship, until God brings something before you.”

In another case, there was a soldier who became attached to the Shaikh. After some time, he said:

“The decorations of my horse are my impediments. I will give up the service and get rid of my horse.”

The Shaikh said: 50

“My friend, God, most high, gave Salih, the Prophet a camel, and to the Prophet Jesus, He gave a donkey; He has given you a horse. Do not get rid of it. Endure your sadness and pursue your work until God does something. A time will come when the Divine nature will release you from all impediments. Alone you cannot extricate yourself from attachments and impediments, unless God gives release. Until that time, you should be involved with what you have and obey, worship, give thanks and be patient.”
Though, in most cases the tendency was to back away from the engagement with the Sultans, in some individual instances, Shaikh Nizam al-Din Auliya permitted disciples to join military expeditions as spiritual advisors or to remain in government service (as we have seen above). He sent some disciples to the south, from Delhi to Malwa and to the Deccan before the migration to Daulatabad, not as part of a missionary scheme but to meet the needs of particular people. One such disciple was Shaikh Musa Deogiri, who came to visit and ask for his advice. Another was Burhan al-Din Garib’s brother, Muntajib al-Din. Mir Khwurd speaks respectfully of two brothers - Aziz al-Din and Kamal al-Din. They expressed the wish to travel somewhere. When they were leaving, he gave each of them a jalali coins and told Kamal al-Din, “You be in Malwa,” Aziz al-Din, “You be in the wilayat (domain) of Deogir”. Though Aziz al-Din was dissatisfied with receiving a single coin, Kamal al-Din interpreted it as a sign of their future greatness (jalal, “majesty”). Mir Khwurd remarks that in the “lands of Deogir and Telang were, all the followers and servants” of Aziz al-Din. Although, these two brothers might have successfully extended the influence of the Chishti order by their activities, their migration occurred partly due to their own initiative and could not be considered as evidence of a Chishti missionary movement.

Shaikh Nizam al-Din also sent one eminent disciple out of Delhi at the request of an army general, who was leaving on a mission of conquest. Mir
Khwurd relates that Sultan Ala al-Din Khalji ordered one of his generals to take a large army, to conquer the city of Chanderi in Malwa (Chanderi, a trading centre, south of Gwalior was on the main route from Delhi to Deogir). The general (probably Ayn al-Mulk Mahru), who led the successful expedition against Chanderi, Dhar, Ujjain, and Mandu in 1305, was an adherent of Nizam al-Din Auliya. He approached the Shaikh and asked him to send one of his disciples along, so that they could go with the Shaikh's protection. Shaikh Nizam al-Din agreed and appointed Wajih al-Din Yusuf of Kilokhari, sending him along with the army. In the event, the general's attack was successful and the Shaikh took up his abode there and came to be known as Yusuf Chanderi. In this instance, it was again at the request of a State functionary that Nizam al-Din Auliya sent this disciple on his mission.52

A similar case was that of Shams al-Din Dhari who worked in the imperial treasury (divan) before becoming a disciple of Nizam al-Din. Though, he expressed the desire to retire as hermit, Shaikh Nizam al-Din pointed out that it was no less important to come out of seclusion to benefit others and gave him an inkpot to signify that he should return to the worldly duties. Shams al-Din received a land assignment (iqta) in the Deccan from the government and was buried there. Here too, Shaikh Nizam al-Din allowed a disciple to go to the Deccan in connection with the Khalji's imperial expansion.

The situation after Shaikh Nizam al-Din Auliya had changed. The Sufis
could not maintain similar distance from the Sultanate any more. After Shaikh Nizam al-Din, his successor Shaikh Nasir al-Din Chiragh Delhi had accompanied Sultan Mohammad Tughlaq on his expedition, though reluctantly. He also administered the oath of office to the next Sultan, Firoz Shah Tughlaq. Similarly, Shaikh Khalilullah, the son of Shah Nur al-Din, the founder of Ni’Malullahi Shi’i order, attended the coronation of Ala al-Din Abdul Muzaffar Ahmed Shah II in 1436 AD, in Bidar.

The Sufis in the Deccan need special mention, as there was still closer cooperation between the Sufis and the Sultans there. Persian writings of 19th century provide us a glimpse of the advent of Sufism in the Decan. These are generally linked with Khaljis’ invasion of the Decan and shifting of the capital to Daulatabad by Mohammad bin Tughlaq. Some biographical works in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are available in this regard. Later in 19th Century, some Urdu hagiographers and British gazetteers made collection of oral anecdotes, as well.

Initially, the Delhi Sultanate invaded the Deccan to loot and plunder, so that they could meet the economic requirement of sustaining a strong army on the North West for possible invasion of Mongols. The first successful invasion of the Deccan was that of Ala al-Din Khalji. Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq wanted his second capital at Deogir or Daulatabad. He had a mission of world conquest. He probably perceived that the Sufis could be instrumental
in conversion of large number of Hindus as Musalmans in the South. Therefore, he directed some important Sufis to Shift to Daulatabad. Increase of Muslim population would strengthen his authority to a great extent. However, the most popular silsilah of Sufi order of that time was Chishti silsilah, which prophesised distance from the Sultanate. It was against the acceptance of employment in government service, as it involved receiving of salary from such taxes which had no prevision in shari‘at as well. Moreover, acceptance of the Sultan’s travel directive was incompatible with the territorial organization of wilayat-dominions, the areas over which the Sufi masters exercised their authority.

Thus, adherence to the command of the Sultan would mean giving precedence to the order of the Sultan over the order of respective Pir and the norms of the silsilah. Notwithstanding this dichotomy, many Sufi saints had to migrate from Delhi to Daulatabad, as the Sultan in their eyes was a tyrant and disobedience would cause grave consequences for them. This, on one hand, indicates attempt of distancing and on the other, cooperation with the directive of the Sultanate.

Khandesh falls between Gujarat and the Deccan. The Faruqi Kings in Khandesh received continuous support from the Sufis of Khuldabad. Firishta has enumerated the long association of the Sufis of Khuldabad and the Faruqi Kings. The latter named their capital as Burhanpur, after the name of the
famous Shaikh, Burhan al-Din Gharib and a town on Tapti river as Zayanabad after the name of Shaikh Zain al-Din Shirazi.\textsuperscript{56} Malik Raja, the first ruler of Faruqi dynasty, was believed to be a disciple of Shaikh Zain al-Din. Shaikh Nizam al-Din Auliya is said to have prophesised kingship for the founder of Bahmani dynasty.\textsuperscript{57} Similarly, Siraj al-Din Junaydi prophesised kingship of Ala al-Din Ahmed Bahman Shah. Gisu Daraz, similarly, had predicted the coronation of Ahmad Bahman Shah. It is also said that the Sultans sometimes received guidance from the Sufi Saints, in their dreams.

The advent of Sufism could be viewed from the angle of disciples of Shaikh Nizam al-Din also. Prior to the migration to Daulatabad he had sent some disciples to the south for meeting the requirement of the people there. The important ones among them were Shaikh Musa Deogiri and Aziz al-Din who settled at Deogir and Kamal al-Din at Dhar in Malwa respectively. He also sent Wajih al-Din Yusuf of Kilokhari to Chanderi. Shams al-Din Dhari, was a disciple of Shaikh Nizam al-Din Auliya, who was sent to the Deccan by the Sultan with the Shaikh’s permission.\textsuperscript{58} Mir Khwurd’s youngest uncle Shams al-Din Sayyid Khamush and a friend of Burahan al-Din Gharib also migrated, settled and died at Deogir.\textsuperscript{59} Qazi Sharaf al-Din Firuzkuhi, who was a companion of Mir Khwurd also migrated and died in Deogir. Shaikh Fakhr al-Din Firuzkuhi, another Saint under compulsion migrated to Deogir. Shihab al-Din haq-gu “truth teller”, who migrated to Daulatabad, under
compulsion returned to Delhi, where he was executed for criticizing the Sultan in his presence. Others, who also went to Daulatabad were Khwaja Taj al-Din Dawar and Maulana Shihab al-Din Imam, but the latter returned from there.

The most important Chishti Shaikh who settled in the Deccan was Burhan al-Din Gharib, a disciple of Shaikh Nizam al-Din Auliya, who settled and died at Daulatabad. Shaikh Nizam al-Din compared him with Bayazid, a great saint. He had four important disciples. Farid al-Din Adib was a strong devout and when he was told that he would become a Khalifa, he wept bitterly and prayed Allah to take him away before his master. Thus, he died thirteen days before the death of his Pir, on 29 Muharram, 738/17 Aug 1337. Nasir al-Din, Malik Mubarak and Zain al-Din Shirazi were his important disciples. However, it was Zain al-Din Shirazi who was considered his successor.

Initially, they maintained the Chisthi tradition of keeping away from the Sultanate and avoiding receiving grants and futuh from them. However, the Deccan Socio-political condition was such that this distance between the Sufi and the Sultanate could not last long. Bahmani Sultans and Faruqi Sultans of Khandeh were devoted to these Sufi Saints and sought their support and blessings, more often. The Sufis got assured because of these Muslim kingdoms’ presence in the South. Thus, this brought them closer.
Shaikh Nizam al-Din had ordered Burhan al-Din "la radd wa kadd wa la madd" i.e. 'no refusing, no asking, no saving', which the disciples of Burhan al-Din appeared to have conveniently forgotten. Firishta reports that Sultan Mujahid Shah visited the shrine of Burhan al-Din and became a disciple of Zain al-Din Shirazi. However, this information is subject to verification, as the Shaikh had in fact died five years before Mujahid Shah’s coronation. However, it is possible that when he was a Prince he might have visited him. However, the shrine’s embassy to Sultan took on the appearance on a ritual occasion and presented ‘tabarrukat’ as well as the pagdri (turban) from the shrine to the Sultan.

Saiyyid Gisu Daraz, who was the successor of Nasir al-Din Chiragh Dehli, left Delhi during Timur’s invasion and went to the Deccan. Sultan Firoz Shah Bahmani received him with great honour and brought him to Gulbarga. Saiyyid Gisu Daraz settled there, which again reiterates the theory that Sufi saints during the period preferred settling at places of political nerve centers. There was indeed a considerable amount of support of the Sufis and the Sultans towards each other during the period of their expansion and consolidation. When the Sultanate was in a formative stage, the Sufis provided them with much needed moral and spiritual support. Similarly, wherever the Sultanate expanded, it provided the fertile ground for settlement of the Sufis and their services.
Firishta has also noted that it was customary for both religious scholars and the Sufis to be present to assist the coronation of Bahmani Kings. The Bahmani Kings visited the shrines. They also conferred pension on Latif al-Din, a nephew of Shaikh Burhan al-Din Gharib, in addition to the daily stipend given to Khuldabad Shrines.

Notwithstanding that the Sufis, specially the Chishtis were keen to maintain distance and independence from the Sultans, they could not completely cut themselves off from the Sultanate, partly due to it being a 'Muslim Sultanate' or atleast appeared to be so, partly due to the strategic importance of the location of their khanqahs and partly due to their interaction with intermediaries like Princes, courtiers etc. Their interest in the administration is also reflected by the Sufi saying ‘Entrust the country to a God fearing wazir’. 61

Their suggestion to the Sultanate and concern for the welfare of the people is also reflected by Shaikh Nizam al-Din’s suggestion on booty from Ala al-Din’s southern campaign, when he said: “The booty should be used for the welfare of general public”62

It is noted that earlier the Sufis kept themselves away from the Sultanate as far as possible, but as the days passed by, they inched towards the Sultanate closer and closer, which is clearly reflected in case of the Sufis, specially the Chishti Sufis in the Deccan. As the Sultanate period started coming to an
end, the Sufis had come much closer to the Sultanate. During Mughal period, the Sufis enjoyed special privileges and greater interaction with the emperors.

The space of distance from the Sultanate and cooperation or support existed simultaneously as well as inter-changeably. Thus, the notion that the Sufis, especially the Chishtis maintained a distance or the notion that they were merely ‘collaborators’ or ‘agents’ of the state system would be a one sided approach to the problem. The analysis of the space of incompatibility between the Sufis and the Sultan in the next chapter will further clarify that relationship of the Sufis and the Sultans had the space for distance, cooperation and incompatibility, each aspect existing independently as well as, as a part of the whole gambit of this ‘triangular model’ of relationship.
NOTES


3. Ibid, p.60.

4. Shaikh Nizam al-Din (Attributed to), *Rahat ul-Qutub*, p. 34.


6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.


10. Ibid, pp. 89-90.


14. Ibid.


18. Ibid


22. Qiwam ul-Aqaid, MS pp.60-61.


27. Akhbar al-Akhyar, pp.43-44.

28. Rizquallah Mushtaqi, Waqa'at-i Mushtaqi, SA


30. Siyar al-Auliya, 253-255.


32. Shams Siraj Afif, Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi, ed. Vilayat Husain, Calcutta 1889-91 A.D., p. 87.

33. Siyar al-Auliya, p.60.

34. Ibid, p.60.

35. For details see K.A. Nizami, The Life and Times of Shaikh Nizam u'd-din Auliya, Delhi, 1991, p.119.

36. Qiwam al-Aqaid, as reproduced in Qande Farsi, No.7, May 1994 Culture House of Iran, p.73.

37. Ibid, p.73.
38. Ibid, p.73-75.


42. Ibid, pp.234-235.


44. Ibid, p.232.

45. Ibid, pp.60-61.

46. *Fuwa'id al-Fu'ad*, p.68.


60. *Fuwa'íd al-Fu'ad*, p.221 and *Siyar al-Auliya*, p.77.

61. *Fuwa'íd al-Fu'ad*, p.49.