CHAPTER-V

SOCIETY AND CULTURE
Society reflects the complex phenomena of multifarious human activity and the various aspects of growth in the economic, cultural, political and administrative fields which combine to influence the pattern of society.

Social condition is reflected by economic growth. The strata of society and their inter-relation is determined by economic factor which overrides all other considerations. Various aspects of social development like the womenfolk, the under privileged classes, the sports and pastimes, labour and leisure, working condition, health and sanitation, all these and sundry aspects are subject of study under the overall social phenomenon.

Social Condition- The Common Man -

The general condition of the people of Malwa may relatively be described as one of prosperity. The fertility of soil and growing abundance is clearly indicative of a good living standard of the common people. Besides this the cloth karkhanas at Dhar, Sironj, Sarangpur and Chanderi and the opportunity of work at royal mints at Sironj, Sarangpur, Mandu and Ujjain provided ample employment to the people of Malwa.

Referring to Chanderi Babar writes, "All houses in Chanderi, whether of high or low, are built of stone, those of chiefs being labouriously carved; those of the lower classes are also of stone but are not carved. They are covered in
with stone slabs instead of with earthen tiles." This shows that the living standard of the people of Chanderi in Malwa was good as they occupied well-built stone houses.

Similarly referring to Sironj. Monserrate, a traveller contemporary with Akbar mentions that the poor classes in this town lived in round huts. He says that in Malwa this is the only region where such miserable hovels are visible. Monserrate had visited other towns of Malwa like Mandu, Sarangpur and Ujjain. His reference of Sironj can be implied to suggest that the general condition of the common people in other parts was better than that of a particular locality of the town of Sironj. The large part of the town of Sironj was however inhabited by the traders and artisans and it had fine houses of stone and bricks.

Indeed a larger part of the population was engaged in agriculture and as the land was fertile enough and production was in abundance, the living standard of the common man was of a high order.

Life of Peasantry - On account of the great fertility of land a large number of the population took to cultivation. It is recorded as a peculiarity of Malwa that both the peasants and artisans of the province used to carry arms. Peasants engaged

2. Ibid.
5. Ain-i-Akbari, I, p. 455; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p. 172. The Ain has 'grain-merchant' instead of 'artisan'.
in the cultivation of vegetables belonged to a particular caste of 'malis'.

After Pir Muhammad's death, Akbar had appointed Abdullah Khan Uzbek as governor of Malwa and with him Khwaja Muinuddin Farkhundi was sent as Diwan of Malwa. Akbar had realised that in keeping firm control on a province it was necessary to deal with the peasantry gently and honestly. Therefore Khwaja Farkhundi was directed to encourage the peasantry, the farmers and other inhabitants, both high and low. From the provincial Diwan down to lowest officer on the revenue side had the responsibility of welfare of the peasants and fair and free dealing with them. Nurjahan, in her hukum directs one Jagjivan Das, the Qanungo of sarkar Chanderi that it would be the duty of the aforesaid official to promote the welfare of the peasants besides other duties.

Regarding the condition of the peasantry, Terry, whose experience mainly related to Malwa, says that "the ordinary sort of people did not eat wheat which was abundantly produced and even exported, but used to take the flour of "a coarser grain" (probably juwar).

The peasants in Malwa were a cheerful folk. They were fond of singing. At the rural marriage ceremonies women joined in singing.

1. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, p.47.
4. Both(Sic)toothsome, wholesome and hearty and "made up in round broad and thick cakes" (chapatis). (Terry, Voyage to East India, reprint, London, 1777, pp.87, 199. This statement does not occur in the first version of Terry's journal, reprinted in the Early Travels).
Caste System -

Hindu society was divided into four divisions with countless subdivisions and sub-castes which not only made it more complex, but rigid too. The Brahmans occupied a position of great importance. They carried the name of their gotras in their names such as Gopali, Kausika, Bhargava, Chapaliya etc. The Brahmans, sometimes took titles of distinction showing their rank and the bulk of their education, such as Sukla, Triveda, Pandita, Srotriya, Yajnika, etc.

The Brahmans in Malwa tried to keep themselves aloof from the company of the Muslims as it was considered degrading to have relations with the Muslims.

The Kshatriya caste includes clans like Chauhans, Parmaras, Pratiharas, Chandelas, Guhilas, Kalchuris etc. The Rajputs had long been the rulers of Malwa before the establishment of the independent kingdom of Muslims in Malwa. During the reign of Mahmud Khalji II, Purbiya Rajputs played more vital role during the days of adverse vicissitudes of Malwa.

The Kshatriya society, during the period of Rajput rule in Malwa and independent Muslim kingdom, was cut into two distinct

2. Ibid., p.481.
3. Ibid., p.482.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p.484
divisions. First, those Rajputs who had established themselves in Malwa during Rajput domination and second, who had retired to Malwa during first rush of Muslims in India. These Rajputs had lost their touch with those of Rajputana and made Malwa their permanent home. Many of these races intermixed with the local fighting elements. They were the landholders when Mughals occupied Malwa. There, however, grew up many intermixed races, such as the Bhilalas and the Sondhias, who were settled throughout Malwa but specially in the central and southern Malwa. Many of these early Rajput races maintained their purity of blood. However in 1698, there arose another class of Rajputs who claimed themselves true Rajputs. This section of the Rajputs was composed of those who belonged to the royal families of Rajputana, who had served the Mughals very faithfully, had proved their mettle and were assigned grants of land in Malwa. These Rajputs brought their relatives and friends to Malwa to be settled in this province.

The Vaisyas were rich and keenly interested in literary and charitable activities. The occupations of agriculture, cattle-rearing and handicrafts were carried on by the Sudras. Their economic improvement had altered the quality of social set-up. The Sudras did not eat or intermarry with others.

2. Ibid, p.487.
Besides the Hindus there was a large number of Muslims in Malwa. The Muslims who lived in rural areas were cultivators, artisans and labourers and this class of population was mainly constituted of those who were converted to Islam from Hinduism\(^1\). These converts retained the old Hindu practices\(^2\). There are references that zamindars during the reign of Babur, Humayun and Akbar had become Muslims on condition of their left undisturbed in the enjoyment of time-honoured rights\(^3\).

In addition to this, the Afghans were scattered throughout Malwa, but they had mainly settled in different centres, while the Mughal element of Muslim population was concentrated in big towns only, or at places where there were outposts of the government\(^4\).

The Jains were also a segment of the population of Malwa. Akbar had showered large favours to the Jains and had honoured the Acharya of the Jain community Hirvijaya Suri by giving him the title of 'Jagat Guru'\(^5\). Akbar had issued a farman in 1584 addressing the governors, jagirdars and officials of Malwa, Multan, Lahore, Ahmadabad, Akbarabad, etc. and bestowed special favours on the Jains\(^6\).

\(^1\) Ibid., p.108.
\(^2\) Ibid., p.109
\(^3\) Ibid.
\(^4\) Mughal Administration, pp.55-56.
\(^5\) S.A.I. Tirmizi, Mughal Documents, p.62.
\(^6\) Ibid.
Jahangir had met one Jadrup Gosain, a Jain saint in Ujjain. He had retired in the suburb of the town and lived on alms receiving from the Brahmans of the town. Jahangir had a conversation with Jadrup and was impressed by him. Jahangir writes that Akbar also had seen him while passing through the place.

Robber Tribes -

Besides the individual thieves and organised bands of robbers, there were certain tribes notorious for their nefarious activities during the period under review. The Grasias, Baugris, Moghis, Minas, Gujars, Gonds and Gwariahas were those tribes who have the profession of thieves and robbers.

The Grasias, who lived in the hills of Malwa were 'theevish' and often looted caravans. Some hundred of them could have looted a caravan had William Finch (1608-1611) not reached there along with their caravan. The Grasias were notorious thieves during the reign of Aurangzeb also.

The men of the tribes of Baugri and Moghi were accomplished robbers and thieves. The Baugris were brave and courageous and also engaged themselves in the occupation of tilling the land but their chief profession was plunder and robbery and

2. Ibid., p. 357.
in this business they were more expert. Their main activities were stealing the property of the rich inhabitants in the night or attacking and plundering the caravans and sometimes they even looted the village. The Baugris were also mercenary soldiers and could be employed by anyone on payment.

The greater part of the population of the tribes of Minas and Gujars took to the profession of cultivation. But the men of these tribes also distinguished themselves in the sphere of plundering and thieving. Minas and Gujars were also expert robbers and thieves and the Gonds also possessed the same reputation in the profession of plundering.

Another tribe that was engaged in the crimes of stealing was Gwarihas. Their chief profession was to steal women and children and thus obtained money by selling them. They were notorious as kidnappers.

**Slavery**

In Malwa slavery was mainly limited to the females only. Both female children and young women were purchased by all sections of the society. The dancing-girls were also sold. A large number of female slaves were in the Rajput households. The number of male slaves can be said as rare and they were

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2. Ibid., p.185.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid, pp.185-186.
attached to rich men and acted as their secret agents\(^1\). Male servants were treated more like adopted children rather than as menials\(^2\).

**Position of Women**

In Malwa women generally attained to high status. The girls of the higher classes were given proper facilities to acquire education. Besides the study of religious books they learned the art of dancing, painting and music\(^3\). In the family woman's position was inferior to that of the male.

Purdah was a maintained generally by the Muslim women and also by some sections of the Hindu women, particularly belonging to the upper and well-to-do classes. Poor women specially in the rural areas, who had to work out-doors for their maintenance, could not have afforded to observe the system of Purdah. The Muslim women observed Purdah with greater rigidity than the Hindu females. A milder and less elaborate form of Purdah commonly known as "Ghoonghat"\(^4\) seems to have been observed by the Hindu woman of the well-to-do classes.

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., p.202
3. *Malwa Through the Ages*, p.488
4. References to "Ghoonghat" are to be found scattered in the contemporary vernacular literatures. Keshavdas, a poet in Orchcha(Malwa)flourished during the reign of Jahangir, informs about "Ghoonghat". Keshavdas's, *Rasikpriya*, Savaiya 31, p.100.
Keshavdas refers to a class of courtesans or the dancing and public women whose number seems to have been considerable. Bernier refers it to a special class of dancing and singing girls called the 'Kenchens' (the gilded, the blooming). According to Keshavdas, the chief of Orchha (in Malwa) Raja Indrajit Singh had six very beautiful and talented prostitutes in his court. One of them, Pravin Rai or Raipravin, was particularly famous, at that time for her proficiency in music, poetry and dancing. Another famous courtesan Rupmati was in the court of Baz Bahadur. The class of the courtesans was supposed to be superior to that of the common women.

Sati -

With the Rajputs, Sati or even the slaughter of the women and children was point of honour. It was common in Malwa and this usage prevailed most commonly when the Rajputs were the rulers in Malwa. Sati was generally praised by the women of Malwa as its conception also refers to a good wife. The relationship with a sati woman was considered as badge of honour to womenfolk.

2. Tabaqat-i-Akbari, p. 596.
4. Life And Conditions of The People of Hindustan, p. 190.
7. Ibid., p. 106.
Jauhar -

The custom of Jauhar was mainly limited to the Rajputs, though other cases are not wanting. When a Rajput chief sustained defeat, he and his warriors usually killed their women and children or locked them inside an underground enclosure and buried them alive.

The rite of Jauhar sometimes took more tragic and helpless form. Babar gives a vivid account of the defeat and the observance of Jauhar by Medini Rai of Chanderi in Malwa. After sustaining defeat at the hands of Babar the warriors of Medini Rai killed all their women and children following the custom came forth to fight once again with their naked swords. But no sooner than they realised that it was not possible to fight and they became fearful of being captured alive, they in order to avoid such a humiliating lot, took the decision of committing suicide. It was arranged to put one of their men on an elevated spot with a sharp-drawn sword. All others then came forward below him one by one, their heads falling at regular intervals until all of them died.

Dress And Costumes - The usual dress of the people of Malwa consisted of garments to cover the lower and upper parts of the body. Women's dresses were less varied than those of men. Hindu women ordinarily wore a 'Sari' (i.e. a long piece of cloth,

1. Life And Condition of The People of Hindustan, p.192,
2. Babarnama, II, pp.595-596.
wrapped round the middle part of the body and thrown over the head), and a small brassiere without a skirt round the chest, popularly called 'Angiya'. Men used to wear Pugrees (turbans) on their heads specially among the Hindu upper classes. However, a considerable degree of respectability and honour came to be associated with the wearing of the head dresses, like a turban or a cap, by the well-to-do classes, both among the Hindus and the Muslims.

Besides Sari, Ghaghra, Choli etc. were also used by the women. A choli called 'Kamyyucholi', which only partly covered the breasts, was the fashion of the time. Women also used to wear woolen petticoats in the season of the winter.

Men used to wear Pugrees (turbans) on their heads but specially among the Hindu upper classes. Turbans had also became popular among the Muslim noblemen and they were usually white and round-shaped. In Malwa, Sarangpur was the centre of manufacturing fine turban cloth.

2. Keshavdas, Kavi-Priya, p. 141; also his Ramchandrika, p. 110; Malwa Through The Ages, p. 488.
4. Ibid.
5. Keshavdas, Kavi-Priya, p. 141, also his Ramchandrika, p. 110; Malwa Through The Ages, p. 488.
6. Thevenot, p. 52
7. Finch, Early Travels, p. 143; Jourdain, p. 150.
The dress of the common man differed basically from that of the rich people. During the summer months they contended themselves with the minimum clothings, i.e. a 'dhoti', tied round the waist. Keshavdas a poet from Malwa refers to fire (aag), heat of the sun(gham) and cotton(rui)\(^1\) as the three important weapons in the hands of the commoners to combat against the tyranny of winter.

Malwa had a well-developed textile industry and the cloth like Muslin and Chintz of the fine quality was manufactured there. It also formed part of the dresses of the people of Malwa.

**Pastimes And Recreation**

In the towns the prevalent vice was gambling with dice. But it was not common in the villages. The population with martial characteristics enjoyed themselves with the training and exercising of their horses and learning the use of weapons\(^2\).

The dancing girls were source of entertainment in the towns and cities and the villagers entertained themselves by women tumblers and rope-dancers\(^3\). They had with them lower class of musicians and minstrels which had become the common entertainments of the rural folk\(^4\).

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3. Ibid., pp.195-196.
4. Ibid., p.196.
Drug Addiction -

Opium was largely grown and manufactured in Malwa and its addiction was common in the province. While Humayun was staying in Malwa it seems that he became too engrossed with the scenic beauty of Malwa and could not keep himself aloof from the contagion of opium so common with the people of Malwa. Abul Fazl says that the people of Malwa used to give opium to their children up to the age of three years.

Another intoxicant used in Malwa was the palm-juice or toddy. It was gathered from palm-tree and drank as intoxicant. Shaikh Bakhshu, a saint settled at Mandsor in Malwa in the early sixteenth century, made an attempt to stop the addiction of this intoxicant. In his efforts he was supported by the local jagirholder in Mandsor.

Festivals -

The festivals of the Hindus were, indeed numerous occurring in almost all important periods of the year. They fell normally in those seasons in which the peasants had been enjoying comparative spare time, and thus, they could get much leisure to take part in the festivals. In fact the important festivals of the Hindu like Dusserah, Dipavali (popularly called

1. Humayun Nama, p.131. To the complaints of Bega Begum about his neglect of the Begums, Humayun asked for their indulgence for his being an opium-eater.
'Diwali) and Holi were celebrated with the same ceremonies in Malwa as in other parts of Hindustan.

The festival of Dusherah was particularly observed by the Rajputs while the Diwali was celebrated by the merchant class\(^1\). On this occasion people did illuminations at their houses. The Holi festival was commonly celebrated by the Muslims also\(^2\). While Monserrate was on a visit of Malwa and reached Narwar, he saw the festivity of Holi. He says that people plastered their body with mud and also of those they met. They squirted red-dye out of hollow reeds\(^3\).

The festival of 'Shivaratri' fell on the night of the fourteenth day of Phalguna. It was celebrated by the commoners with fire-works and various kinds of amusements, whereas the more religious-minded people observed it with night vigil and constant prayers. While Jahangir was in Malwa, he saw the observance of this festival. He says that a large number of Jogis were collected and the ceremonies of this night were duly observed\(^4\).

Similarly it seems that the Muslims observed their festivals in Malwa as in other parts of the country. Monserrate, a traveller contemporary with Akbar, refers to the mourning of Moharram\(^5\). Orthodox and religious minded Muslims, particularly

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2. Ibid.
3. Monserrate, p.22
5. Monserrate, p.22.
the Shias, spent the first ten days\textsuperscript{1} of the month of Muharram in reciting the deeds and circumstances leading to the tragedy of Karbala and in offering special prayers to their souls.

In India important Muslim pilgrimages were mostly confined to the graves (dargahs) of eminent saints. As Malwa was a great centre of Sufi saints and therefore, the 'Urs or anniversaries of the saints who had died were celebrated with befitting zeal and joy and the followers of the saints both Muslims and Hindus participated on such occasions.

**Education**

During the independent kingdom of Malwa there was a network of madarsahs in the kingdom. At Mandu there were madarsahs founded by Hoshang Shah\textsuperscript{2} and Ghiyasuddin Khalji\textsuperscript{3}.

Besides, there were madarsahs at Ujjain, Sarangpur and Raisen. The madarsahs at Raisen were provided with residential accommodation for its students and teachers\textsuperscript{4}.

Malwa was gifted by a large number of Sufi saints who were either born there or migrated to be settled there. They taught the students at their residences or mosques where they lived. Indeed the contribution of the Sufis to the development of education in the province was stupendous.

\textsuperscript{1} Monserrate, p. 22 has given the time of this mourning for 9 days.
\textsuperscript{2} Firishta, I, p. 241.
\textsuperscript{3} Zafar-ul-Walih, I, pp. 208-209; S. Abdul Hai, *India During Muslim Rule*, p. 178.
\textsuperscript{4} S. Abdul Hai, *India During Muslim Rule*, pp. 178-179.
Shaikh Chandan (d. 1546) who settled at Mandsor took much interest in teaching and provided books on different subjects to ulama and students\(^1\).

Mandu was also a great centre of education in Malwa. Shaikh Danishmand (d. 1555) was engaged in the work of teaching at the place of his residence in Mandu. He was a learned man and taught different subjects of knowledge to the students who attended his madarsah\(^2\).

Shaikh Kamal Muhammad Abbasi, an eminent Sufi of his time came to be settled in Ujjain in 1574. For about thirty years he taught the ulama and students there and particularly lectured on theology.

People used to come to his place for seeking information on a particular point of dispute. Shaikh Kamal used to give fatwas on matters of dispute put up before him. Till 1604, he was engaged in the work of teaching as he died the same year\(^3\).

Shaikh Kamaluddin Qureshi ran his maktab in Mandu. Shaikh Muhammad Ghausi Shattari received his initial education with Shaikh Kamaluddin Qureshi in his maktab in Mandu. Ghausi was also taught Persian language in the same maktab\(^4\).

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2. Ibid., p. 271
4. Ibid., pp. 307-308, 611.
A great alim and Sufi of Malwa was Shah Manjhan whose teachings elevated the standard of education in Malwa. When Sher Shah had conquered Raisen, he appointed Shah Manjhan, the Shaikh-ul-Islam of Raisen. Shah Manjhan built his Khanqah there but when Raisen was reoccupied by the Rajputs in 1553, he migrated to Sarangpur.

The laudable scholarship of Shah Manjhan can be judged from the fact that unfortunately during the political upheaval in Raisen his library was destroyed while migrating to Sarangpur, but Manjhan had a very good memory who compiled abstracts of all the important books he had lost. A large number of scholars began to attend his seminary and Khanqah and the town of Sarangpur began to vie with Shiraz as a prominent centre of learning.

Besides the madarsahs run by the government, there was a large network of madarsahs run by the Sufis throughout Malwa. They were learned scholars who honestly did the work of imparting education. Their teachings also contained the lessons of brotherhood and amity.

Official Translation of A Work From Malwa -

In 1575 Akbar directed Abdul Qadir Badauni to translate into Persian a book called 'Singhasan Battisi', which is a series of thirty-two tales about Raja Bikarmajit, the king of Malwa.

1. Ibid., pp. 371-373.
Akbar also gave instructions to Badauni to make a translation of the work in prose and verse. Akbar appointed a learned Brahman to assist and interpret the book to Badauni. The translation was made ready within a few weeks and Badauni named it Namah-i-khirad-afza.

Faizi wrote a masnavi entitled Nala-Daman. This work describes the romance of Nala, the king of Nishada or Malwa, and Damyanti, the daughter of the king of Vidarbha, in touching poetry. Faizi completed Nala-Daman in four months and presented it to Akbar on Dec. 11, 1594.

When Prince Murad was appointed governor of Malwa in 1591, a copy of the Persian translation of the Mahabharata was sent to him with instructions that he should regulate his character according to the teachings given in that work.

**Literary Activity** — In the field of literary activities, Malwa continued to prosper unhampered under the Muslim rulers. Though Persian was an official language and naturally received greater attention, the bulk of literature was also produced by the local Hindu and Sanskrit scholars.

**Persian** — As Persian was an official language it was

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2. Ibid.
given more royal attention. The Sultans and later on the provincial governors and officers of Malwa gave patronage to the Ulama and Mashaikh who were repositories of Persian learning and which attracted them to come in large numbers and settle in Malwa¹.

During Ghiyas Shah's reign a number of Persian books were written in Malwa. Shah Abdullah Shattari, who had migrated to India during his reign and settled at Mandu, wrote *Lataif-i-Ghaibiah* dealing with abstract philosophy and dedicated it to Sultan Ghiyas Shah². Maulana Ilmuddin Sharif wrote notes on *Fusus-ul-Hikam*³.

Shaikh Muhammad Ghausi Shattari of Mandu wrote *Gulzar-i-Abrar* during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir and completed his work in between 1611 and 1613. The work narrates the lives and activities of the Sufis of his time and past⁴. *Gulzar-i-Abrar* is written in a good narrative style and is very valuable.

1. Shaikh Ghausi Shattari gives a detailed account of the Ulama and Mashaikh who had come to settle in Malwa, Vide *Gulzar-i-Abrar*.


3. *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, p. 130; *Shahan-i-Malwa*, p. 94.

4. It begins with an account of Shah Yusuf Multani who settled in Multan in 1155 and goes on to give biographical details of prominent Indian Sufis.
source for the knowledge of Sufi-saints who made Malwa their centre of activities. Persian literature received much impetus through the learning and literature, instruction and dissemination of knowledge pursued by them.

**Hindi And Sanskrit** - Hindi and Sanskrit also received patronage from the Muslim Sultans. Sultan Mahmud Khalji sent a poem composed in Hindi besides other presents to Abu Saeed Mirza, the ruler of Khurasan. During the reign of Nasir Shah a large number of Hindi and Sanskrit works were produced. Hindi also became popular during the reign of the cultured monarch, Baz Bahadur, when Rupmati and Baz Bahadur both composed poetry in Hindi. When Baz Bahadur wrote poems he 'used to pour out his heart in Hindi poems descriptive of his love and in his composed poems he often inserted the name of his beloved Rupmati.

During the period of Akbar and subsequently too there developed in Hindi poetry a tendency to emphasize the technique of poetry and to describe in vivid details the figure and beauty of women and the followers of this school were known as

3. For an idea of the compositions of Rupmati, See Luard, Dhar And Mandu, pp. 22-23.
5. Tabaqat-i-Akbari, p. 596.
Reeti poets. Keshavdas, a Reeti poet flourished during the reign of Akbar and Jahangir in Orchha\(^1\) and had received favours from the chief of Orchha, Indrajit Singh, son of Raja Madhukar. Indrajit Singh respected him as his guru. The books *Rasik Priya*, *Nakh Shikh*, *Kavi Priya*, *Chandmala*, *Ramchandrika*, *Vir Singh Dev Charit*, *Ratnavali*, *Vigyangita* and *Jahangirjashandrika* were written by Keshavdas\(^2\).

Women also flourished in the field of poetry in Malwa. In the sphere of Reeti poetry the names of Praveen Rai Patur, Rupmati and Teen Tarang are worth mentioning. Praveen Rai Patur was a dancer and singer by profession. She developed her art in the court of Raja Indrajit of Orchha who was her patron and was himself an expert in music\(^3\). It is said that Praveen used to sing her own compositions. All of her compositions are not available but whatever scattered verses are available, they are sufficient to prove her genius to adore Muses and her orginality of expression\(^4\). Rupmati, the beloved of Baz Bahadur also belonged to this school of poetry. Teen Tarang carried on her absorption in the art of poetry under the patronage of Madhukar, the chief of Orchha\(^5\).

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2. Ibid.
5. *Kok Shastra Granth* is said to have been written by Teen Tarang. See Sinha, p. 252.
In the Ramait school of poetry a poetess named Madhur Ali, wrote in the latter half of the sixteenth century. She lived in Orchha at a time when it was ruled by Madhukar. Amongst her works are 'Ram Charit' and 'Ganesh Dev-Leela' but none of them are extant.

While Shah Manjhan, a great scholar and a Sufi saint was Shaikh-ul-Islam of Raisen and settled there, he wrote 'Madhumalti' a love poem in Hindi. According to Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, "Madhumalti is one of the best works of imagination written in North India".

The story of the Madhumalti itself is a traditional Indian fairytale built around the romance of Prince Manohar, of an imaginary town, Kannaigiri-garh, and the princess of Maharasnagar, Madhu-malti. The story is full of romance, pathos and union of the lovers in wedlock.

Shah Manjhan concluded the love story with the remark that ceaseless efforts in love did not render anyone immortal. Only he who managed to perish in the path of love was immortal. He further says the fire of love was the sole remedy for protecting an individual from the ups and downs of fate. Speaking to his soul, Manjhan suggested it to seek the protection of love for the sake of overcoming the dominance of Fate in both

2. The work was edited and published by Dr.M.P.Gupta(Allahabad, 1961).
the worlds. To him, the love-affair of Madhu-malti symbolised Divine love¹. Moreover, he emphasised that eternal lovers could sleep with each other without getting involved in sexual pleasure and that true love was invariably serene and pure². And this was equally true of love with the Divine wherein no worldly benefit was involved. Marriage symbolised the final union with the Divine.

In Malwa Sanskrit literature was also developed. During the reign of Ghiyas Shah, Punjaraja wrote a commentary on Sarasvata, a Sanskrit grammar written in Mandu. During the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir, Sanskrit authors of works were patronised in Chanderi in the court of Orchha chief³.

Music - Music attained to a high watermark in Malwa and was greatly patronised by the Muslim rulers. Shahab Hakim, the historian of Mahmud Khalji I refers to the marriage ceremony and says that musicians came with their sweet and melodious voice. He mentions the instruments of the musicians like Bajar, Daf, Chang, Barbat, Rubab, Nai, Ud, Fani and Arghanum⁴.

Ghiyas Shah took much interest in the promotion of music⁵. He collected musicians from all quarters. He considered that the women of his harem should be taught the art of Muses according to their fitness. The art of dancing and singing, or

². Ibid., pp. 113-20, 318-334, 341.
⁴. Maasir-i-Mahmud Shahi, p. 56.
playing on the flute and the like made great strides in Malwa.

There was a large number of musicians in the harem of Mahmud Khalji II and by that time keeping of dancing-girls and musicians had become the fashion of the life of the courtier. The harems of Medini Rai, Salivahan, Silahdi and Puran Mal maintained trained musicians and dancing girls.

During the time of Baz Bahadur music had reached its perfection. It was Baz Bahadur's inordinate devotion to music and addiction to wine and women which created slackness in the administration and invited the attention of Akbar to capture Malwa.

Abul Fazl has praised Baz Bahadur as "a singer without rival". According to Ahmad-al-Umri, "He (Baz Bahadur) passed his days in the company of singers and musicians, and from the north and the south and the east and the west collected them, both men and women, singers and chanters and players upon all \textit{nai} instruments, on the bin and the rabab on the and the sarnai on the sarangi and the tambura".

4. Crump, \textit{Lady Of The Lotus}, p. 7. Crump, fn. 17, p. 86 "Bin an instrument sometimes with five sometimes with six, main wires stretched over two guards which give a peculiar resonant note; Rubab, a stringed instrument played with a plectrum; Nai is the flute; Sarnai is Pathan stringed instrument; Tambura also a stringed instrument".
Rupmati, according to Ahmad-al-Umri, was expert in the art of poetry and music. Crump says, "Rupmati is still remembered as poetess and musician and is credited with the creation of Bhup Kalyan Ragini, a subordinate mode of Hindu music." On the conquest of Mandu in 1535, when Humayun ordered a general massacre of the prisoners, he came to know that there was a musician among the captives. Humayun granted him an audience and was so pleased by his performance that he ordered him to be enrolled among the musicians of the court.

Thus art and literature, music and poetry embellished the cultural life of the court and the urban and rural folk and enriched cultural saga of Malwa. Society, though, it was diversified by its pursuits, avocations and pastimes, its food and raiment, ornamentation, its stratification and ethnic content, yet it retained its regional identity and distinctive character.

2. Ibid., fn.61, p.90.
CHAPTER-VI

SUFI ORDERS AND THEIR SOCIAL IMPACT
Malwa had become a focal point of the dissemination of religious and mystic teachings of Islam. The social life of the people was immensely influenced by the religious and spiritual traditions of Islam and Sufism. In the vast province of Malwa Sufis had taken up their abode at several urban and rural centres which became the rallying point of seekers after spiritual solace and Divine felicity, proximity to God and mystic knowledge and insight into the intricacies of Sufi theosophy and discipline.

**Chishti Silsilah**

The first Sufi order to reach Malwa was that of the Chistis. It was due to the efforts of the mystic and spiritual activities of three disciples of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya during the fourteenth century viz., (1) Shaikh Wajihuddin Yusuf, (2) Shaikh Kamaluddin (3) Shaikh Mughisuddin.  

Shaikh Wajihuddin was one of the chief khalifas of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya who deputed him to establish a khanqah of the order at Chanderi. He had obtained khirqa of khilafat from the shaikh. It is said that when he used to undertake journey to visit his Pir he travelled long distances in one course of his total journey. People asked him one day about his extraordinary stride to meet his mentor to which he remarked that

2. Ibid.
he did not walk on foot but fly like a bird while going to meet his Pir. Shaikh Wajihuddin replied that it was due to his reverence and affection for his Pir. Shaikh Wajihuddin lies buried at Chanderi.

The other great saint, Shaikh Kamaluddin, was a grandson of Baba Farid. He too, was very dear to Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya and was deputed by him to go to Malwa. He was held in great veneration by the sultans of Malwa. Sultan Mahmud Khalji (d. 1530) had constructed a dome over his grave and a khangah stands nearby for the votaries of the silsilah.

Maulana Mughisuddin was the third great khalifa of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya to grace Malwa in the year 1320. He settled at Ujjain near the riverside and his shrine stands there. On every Friday night people came to his shrine and distributed nazaro nizay (sweetmeats and Fatiha) to Derveshes and the sama gathering was held there.

The aforementioned three sufis of eminence introduced the doctrines of mystic discipline and spiritual sublimation the principles and organisation of Sufi theosophy and the abiding law to God and man to the region of Malwa which had not yet been familiar with the peculiar trends and tracts of the Sufi

concepts, practices and organisation. The distinctive role of the Chishti saints to propagate the spiritual elevation of mankind and the principles of human love and amity was made aglow by these saints. Later on a number of Chishti saints made Malwa their centre of activities and propagated and popularised the silsilah.

During the reign of Sultan Ghiasuddin Khalji and Nasir-uddin Khalji, Mandu, the capital of Malwa was the centre of activities of Chishti saint Shah Miyanji Chishti. He was the son of Shaikh Najmuddin ibn Shaikh Bahauddin Siddiqui. He was born at Mandu. He got married at an advanced age by the efforts of his mother. Ghausi Shattari says that whatever he uttered or thought to himself, was always according to the will of God. People came to him to receive his blessings. Shaikh Miyanji Chishti died about 1513 and lies buried in Mandu.

Another Sufi of the Chishti order affiliation was Shaikh Husain. He came from Multan to visit the sacred shrine of Shaikh Muinuddin Chishti at Ajmer. Sultan Mahmud Khalji I came to know about his presence in Ajmer. He sent Chisht Khan to Shaikh Husain with the request that he should visit Mandu. When Shaikh Husain arrived in Mandu, Sultan Mahmud could meet him only once as after one year the Sultan died. After Mahmud's death his son Ghiasuddin took care of the Shaikh. When Humayun

conquered the fort of Mandu, he went to see the Shaikh. Humayun gave presents to the Shaikh but he distributed them among the needy.¹

Syed Nizam Mandvi was the son of Syed Sharf and disciple of Shaikh Burhan Chishti. He adopted the profession of a digger to earn his livelihood. But one day while doing the work of digging in a house, a pot full of coins was found at the bottom of the wall. The Shaikh called the owner of the house to take the money. But the owner asserted that it should go to the digger as with his fortune and labour this is found. Shaikh Nizam refused to take the pot and money and finally gave up his profession as it might cause greed next time.

When Mandu was conquered by Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat in 1531, he went to pay a visit to the Shaikh and presented a huge offering of money. The saint accepted it and spent it entirely on the construction of the building of the khanqah and built a large dome on the tomb of his father. After the capture of Mandu, Humayun also went to see Shaikh Nizam and attended the sam'a (audition assembly) and held a cordial conversation with him. Shaikh Nizam died in 1543 and was buried in Mandu near the tomb of his father.²

¹ Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp. 245-247.
² Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp. 251-252.
Another Chishti saint of eminence was Shaikh Chandan of Mandsor. He was the son of Shaikh Budha who was the son of Shaikh Chajju. A disciple of Shaikh Sadruddin Khamosh Chishti, Shaikh Chandan always helped the people in times of need by giving them money or articles. He provided books on different subjects to the Ulama and students. Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat held him in great veneration. Shaikh Dan and Shaikh Sultan were the senior Khalifas of Shaikh Chandan. He died in 1546 and was buried in Mandsor.

The inhabitants of Malwa were also benefitted by Chishti saint Shaikh Danishmand whose real name was Bayarah. He was the disciple of Shah Fakhruddin ibn Hamid Chishti. Born at Lucknow he had migrated to Mandu and settled there. However he had obtained permission to settle at Naharwala from his Pir but the pleasant atmosphere and the love and veneration of the people of Malwa for him persuaded him to stay in Mandu. People kept good touch with the Shaikh. Since the reign of Nasiruddin Khalji to the period of the governorship of Shujaat Khan in Malwa he lived in Mandu and taught the students different subjects of knowledge and many people were benefitted with his teachings. He lived for 120 years and died in 1555 in the month of Ramzan. He was succeeded by his son Shaikh Usman who had gained the art of miracles from the teachings of his father.

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1. Ibid, pp.260-261.
He was the friend of Shaikh Muhammad Ghausi Shattari, the author of *Gulzar-i-Abrar*. Ghausi has praised his good behaviour and hospitality¹.

Mandu was also graced by Shaikh Mahmud Chishti of Ranthambhor who was the khalifa of his father Shaikh-ul-Hidad Chishti. During the reign of Qadir Shah he left his native place and came to settle in the parganah Kujhawan on the bank of river Narbada. Kujhawan is three kos away from Mandu and lived for a long time there in his hujrah which he had chosen for his hard Sufi practices. To the extent possible he did not accept any assistance for his livelihood from any one.

The circle of his disciples became larger and the expenses of the khanqah increased the officers of the time granted him madad-i-maash for his livelihood and expenses of the Khanqah increased he needed money for its upkeep and fulfilling the needs of the people. Shaikh Mahmud always felt gratitude for this help and service. Later on he built a house for him in Kujhawan and also built a mosque and a tomb there. He used to sit in the lawn of his house and had a talk with the dervishes and visitors who would come to see him. He entertained them with food and took his meals together with the guests. He died in 1550's and was buried in Kujhawan. He was succeeded by his son Shaikh Miyan who was also his khalifah. The latter lived on the pattern of

his father and died in 1576-77. He was buried by the side of his father's grave.

Shaikh Fazlullah was the son of Shaikh Husain Chishti Multani. He had extended good relations with the people of Malwa. He did not keep things for his use in time of necessity but always offered them to the people who were in need of those. In 1539 he went on Haj pilgrimage and returned to Nalcha in Mandu in 1543 and for nearly twenty years he continued to live in the way of life of his father and died in 1564. He is resting at Nalcha in Mandu.

Ujjain was endowed with the presence of Chishti saint Shaikh Musa. Shaikh Musa was a disciple and senior khalifah of Shaikh Chandan of Mandsor. He remained busy in the intricate Sufi practices and took very little food. That is why he became nearly a skeleton. When Akbar had visited Malwa and went up to Dipalpur in the company of Shaikh Ziaullah Chausi, Qazi Sadruddin Lahori, Qazi Jalaluddin and Sadr-us-Sudur Shaikh Abdun Nabi, Shaikh Musa came to meet them. Sadr-us-Sudur Shaikh Abdun Nabi fixed a befitting stipend for Shaikh Musa but the Shaikh refused to accept it and passed his life on his meagre resources from the cultivation and trade in radish. He died in 1578.

2. Ibid, p. 308.
Another Chishti saint of eminence in Malwa was Shaikh Chadan ibn Umar Chishti. He was born at Ajmer. He came to visit Malwa in 1540's and stayed at Nalcha in Mandu. Afterwards he retired to the Jami mosque of Mandu. He scattered some sand on the floor of the mosque on which he used to sit and sleep. Neither he would visit some one nor he would ask anything from anyone. When Baz Bahadur, the king of Malwa was defeated by the forces of Akbar under Adham Khan and Pir Muhammad was entrusted with the charge of Mandu and Ujjain, Shaikh Chadan was living in Mandu. Pir Muhammad paid a visit to him and told him about his plan of invading Khandesh. The saint advised him to abandon his plan. But Pir Muhammad did not heed the Shaikh's advice and was ultimately defeated by Baz Bahadur and lost his life in the Naroda while returning from Burhanpur. Later on the Mughal officers in Malwa held Shaikh Chadan in great respect. He died in 1581 and was buried in an open space of the mausoleum of Sultan Hoshang Shah.

There was another Chishti saint Shaikh Abdul Wahab Afghan. He was the disciple of Shaikh Fazlullah ibn Shaikh Husain Multani Chishti. Shaikh Abdul Wahab was born in Mandu. He was a young soldier but suddenly he was influenced with Divine passions. He started covering his half body with male dress and half body with female dress and ornaments. For a long time he lived in this way. He never accepted anything from the people.

He used to bring bundle of wood from the forest and sold it in the market. He made three parts of the money thus gained and one part he spent on his family and friends, the other on his livelihood and the third one on the poor and orphans. He died in 1582 and was buried in Mandu.

Shaikh Nizamuddin of Narnaul, a khalifa of Khwaja Khanu, was a saint and a teacher of Chishti ideals and lived for at least forty years at Narnaul. His khalifa Shaikh Maruf ibn Qazi Sadullah was born at Dhar, an important town of Malwa. His grandfather Shaikh Mahmud was the Qazi of the parganah Amjhera in Mandu during the period of Khalji kings of Malwa. When Shaikh Sadullah died, his son Shaikh Maruf was a child. When Shaikh Maruf grew in age he went in the service of Shaikh Nizamuddin of Narnaul and lived for years with him and then returned to Dhar. Here he engaged himself in austere Sufi practices and reduced his diet.

In 1588 when Khan-i-Azam Mirza Aziz koka was the Subahdar of Malwa, Shaikh Maruf wore Ahram to go on pilgrimage to Mecca and Madina. But he decided to go on the pilgrimage with his head bent. He had friendly relations with Mirza Aziz Koka. Mirza and other people who held him in great veneration asked

2. Betels of this place were famous for their taste and smell and were sent in other provinces. See Gulzar-i-Abrar, p. 358.
him to postpone his journey. He accepted the request. When
the desire to see the Kaba became strong he went for Umrah
and Haj in the following year. Mirza Aziz Koka arranged money
for his journey. Shaikh Maruf after completing the Haj lived
five months more and died there in 1590.1

Mandsor was graced by Shaikh Ziauddin Chishti who was the
khalifa of Shaikh Syed Razi ibn Safi Husaini and Syed Razi who in
turn was the Khalifa of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus of Gwalior. Beside
his house there was a mosque in which he retired after obtaining
khilafat from his Pir and remained engaged in Sufi practices
for about 90 years. He died at the age of 120 years in the
year 1600 and was buried in an open space of the mosque where
he passed his life.2

During the reign of Akbar and Jahangir Shaikh Ali Afghan,
a saint of Chishti silsilah was having his seat in the tomb of
Maulana Mughisuddin in Ujjain. The name of his Pir is not
known. He never demanded anything from the people. For about
fifty years he was the Mujawir of the tomb of Maulana Mughis-
uddin. In 1603, Shaikh Muhammad Ghausi Shattari went to Ujjain.
Shaikh Ali Afghan sent him message to meet him. Shaikh Ghausi
went to meet him and was received with great respect and cordiality.
Shaikh Ali Afghan lived for about 100 years and was buried near
the tomb of Maulana Mughisuddin.3

2. Ibid., p. 450-451.
Another notable saint of Chishti order in 'Alla was Shaikh Khudabakhsh Mandwi. He got settled in Mandu and was the disciple of Shaikh Fazlullah ibn Shaikh Husain Chishti. He was engaged in the business of woollen and silk cloth since he was 15 years of age and up to the age of forty. Out of his income he made three parts and the first of it he spent on the deserving poor people, the second on his family and the third on his own person and the guests. At the age of forty he became an ascetic and whatever money he had at this time, all of it distributed among the poor and engaged himself in the devotion of God. In the year 1573 he retired himself in an old mosque near the Sagar Talab and got it repaired. Since 1573 to 1613-14 he remained in the mosque keeping strict solitude in the Sufi practices and devotion and attained to an exalted position in Sufism. He disallowed men of high status like Emperors, governors, nobles to meet him. However he met the general public and whatever eatables he was keeping with him entertained them with. But he liked solitude and this caused him fame. Neither he enrolled disciples, nor made khanqah and also remained away with the sama meetings.\(^1\)

Shaikh Syed Hasan Husaini of Mandu was deeply pious and devoted to the Chishti order. He was the son of Allah Bakrsh and disciple of Shaikh Syed Ali Chishti who had a direct lineage from Shaikh Syed Muhammad Gesudaraz. When Mughal forces were

\(^1\) *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, pp. 545-546.
sent against Malwa for its conquest and Pir Muhammad had occupied Mandu, the inhabitants of the place dispersed from there due to the terror of the Mughals. In this condition of terror and disturbance Shaikh Syed Hasan Husaini's father separated from his sons and could not meet again. At this time Shaikh Hasan Husaini was of the age of ten years and was brought up by his brother-in-law, Shaikh Firoz. When he attained to maturity the fervour of seeking communion with God went deep in his mind. Consequently he became disciple of Shaikh Syed Ali Chishti, but his Pir died soon. His quest for seeking God became strong and he went into the service of eminent saint Shaikh Muhammad Jalal Shattari and learned from him the knowledge of Tariqat. At the age of twenty-five he took to solitude from the people and retired to a closet on the outskirts of Mandu. For twenty-eight years he lived there on tawakkul (trust in God). Whoever, either rich or poor went to meet him, he would offer a cup of buttermilk (chhach). During his whole life he never went to the door of the rich people to demand anything. He brought wood and grass from the forest and sold them to earn his livelihood. Throughout the whole year he resorted to continuous fasting and broke his fast with a little of bread. He had good relations with Shaikh Muhammad Ghausi Shattari ¹.

¹ Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp. 564-565
Thus Chishti saints were spread all over Malwa and they propagated the philosophy of the order. People came to seek redress and solace and realisation of their desires to these Sufis and they solved their problems. Without making any discrimination between the Muslims and the Hindus they disseminated the teachings of amity, human love and brotherhood among the people at large. They made their abodes as centres of education where they imparted Islamic instruction besides other subjects. In fact education was greatly promoted in the Subah with the efforts of these Sufis and they commanded much veneration due to their role in the sphere of education. The saints of this order had a large network of their followers throughout Malwa.

The Shattari Silsilah - The Shattari Silsilah found a sound base in Malwa and the Sufis of Shattari order gained a large number of followers in Malwa. Among the prominent Shattari saints of Malwa was Shah Abdullah.

The information about his early career is little known. He was born somewhere around Bukhara. He was taught by a Suhrawardi Sufi Syed Ali Muwahhid at Azerbayjan. He was an adept in the Sharia as well as in the Tariqa and Haqiqa. He migrated from Azerbayjan and reached India early in the fifteenth century\(^1\). From there we notice him in Manikpur and Jaumpur. At Jaumpur he initiated Shaikh Hafiz Jaumpuri. He also met Syed

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Muhammad Ashraf Jahangir Samnani. Shah Abdullah offered challenge to the local saints either to teach him or to be taught by him. Shaikh Muhammad Ala, a great Bengali Sufi did not pay heed to his challenge and replied that the saints from Fars and Khurasan had often arrived with outlandish claims. Being disappointed he arrived in Malwa. Later on Shaikh Ala realised his mistake and importance of Shah Abdullah Shattari and came in the service of the Shah who was settled in Mandu and obtained the khilafat from Shah Abdullah Shattari.

In Malwa Shah Abdullah was received with warm welcome by the Sultan and remained in Mandu until his death under royal favour and patronage which provided him opportunity to enhance his prestige and fame. He wrote in Malwa a treatise entitled the Lataif-i-Ghaibiyah dealing with abstract philosophy and dedicated it to Sultan Ghiyasuddin (1469-1501).

Shah Abdullah died in 1485 and was buried in Mandu, south of the tombs of the Khalji Sultans of Malwa. Jahangir erected a mausoleum over his tomb in Mandu. Shaikh Hafiz Jaumpuri was his khalifa at Jaumpur and had made a large number of disciples. One of his eminent khalifas of Shaikh Hafiz Jaumpuri was Shaikh Buddhan Shattari, a descendant of Shah Abdullah.

2. Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp.163, 204.
There was another Shattari Sufi Shaikh Bahauddin (d. 1515-1516). He arrived in Mandu to settle there in his old age and was originally a Qadriyya. But when he finally entered the Shattari silsilah he was initiated by Shaikh Buddhhan Shattari. His prestige was enhanced by his composition of a short treatise entitled *Risala-i-Shattaria*. He believed like Najmuddin Kubra\(^1\) that the ways of God were as numerous as the breaths of his creatures\(^2\), but that three ways (those of akhyar, abrar, shattar) were pre-eminently superior.

Shaikh Sadruddin Zakir whose real name was Muhammad was born in Champaner. His father Shaikh Shams was a merchant but at the age of twenty-five Shaikh Sadruddin Zakir renounced the world. In 1545-46 he became a disciple of great Shattari Sufi Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus and accompanied his Pir when he left Gujarat to live in Gwalior. In Gwalior he practised the zikr and dawat-i-asma formulae given in the *Jawahir-i-khamsa*. When Shaikh Ghaus realised him perfect in all this, he allowed Shaikh Sadruddin to leave his khanqah and settle in Gujarat. Shaikh Sadruddin also visited Mandu where he enrolled a large number of people into his discipleship. Among those who met the Shaikh was Shaikh Muhammad Ghausi Shattari, then only eleven years old. From Mandu, Shaikh Sadruddin returned to Champaner, but finally he settled in Baroda.\(^3\)

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2. Ibid., p. 95
A famous disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus was Shaikh Shamsuddin whose title was Zindadil. After the completion of his training under his Pir he was directed to disseminate Shattari teachings in the Deccan. He would frequently travel to Gwalior from the Deccan and en route was at many times the guest of Shaikh Muhammad Ghausi Shattari. Some ascetic knowledge Ghausi Shattari has gained from Shaikh Shamsuddin Zindadil¹. Similarly when Raji Syed Mustufa visited Mandu with Mughal Emperor Akbar in 1575-76, Ghausi Shattari had met him and was benefitted from Raji Syed Mustufa², who was a great Shattari saint.

Another saint of Shattari silsilah was Shaikh Muhabbat. He was excellent in writing Persian in nastaliq style. He was settled in Ujjain. He had a good companionship for a long time with Ghausi Shattari of Mandu. During the span of friendship there was an arrangement of Qawwali in the house of one acquaintance of Shaikh Muhabbat. Shaikh Muhabbat was attending the Qawwali programme when the two Qawwals began to quarrel with each other. Shaikh tried to reconcile them. But his words of reconciliation were felt ill by one of them and he injured the Shaikh with the dagger. People attending the Qawwali became irate and tried to kill the wicked man. But the Shaikh saved him and uttered that it was written in my lot. When his wounds were cured he migrated from Ujjain to Sarangpur. He died in

¹. Ibid., pp.354-355.
².
Sarangpur in the year 1578.

Another prominent Sufi of the Shattari order was Shaikh Lad, also known as Shaikh Wududullah Shattari, son of Shaikh Maruf Siddiqui. Shaikh had possessed a deep ascetic temperament and had served about twelve years in obtaining knowledge of the secrets of zikr and the technique of the dawat-i-asma, under the guidance of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus of Gwalior. When his Pir migrated from Gwalior to Gujarat, he came to be settled in Ashta, a village in Malwa. When Akbar conquered Malwa in 1561 his Afghan disciples dispersed and therefore he left Ashta for khandesh. Shaikh Lad died at the age of more than hundred years in 1585.

Shaikh Ahmad Mutawakkil graced Malwa when he arrived to live in Ujjain during the reign of Afghan ruler Sher Shah. He had obtained Khiroqa-i-Khilafat from Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. He died in 1590 and was buried beside the tank which was attached to the fort of Ujjain from outside.

Shaikh Amanullah, son of Shaikh Kamaluddin Sulaiman Qureshi, was the disciple of Shaikh Sadruddin Zakir Shattari. Since he attained maturity till his death he lived according to the Shattari teachings and never deviated from following

2. Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp. 385-386.
3. Ibid., p. 387.
the sharia. For about forty years he was the neighbour of Ghausi Shattari of Mandu and had fraternal relations with him. He attained the age of 63 when he died in 1596.

Another eminent Sufi of the Shattari silsila was Shaikh Kamal Muhammad Abbasi who was the Khalifa of Shaikh Wajihuddin Ahmad Alvi of Ahmadabad. Shaikh Muhammad Abbasi had obtained the sanad of Hadis from Shaikh Abdul Malik Banbani. In 1574 he migrated from Ahmadabad to be settled at Ujjain in Malwa. There he was married with a girl from an eminent Sufi family of Kalpi. For about thirty years he lectured on theology and wrote fatwas based on the rulings of the Ulama. He engaged his much time out of twenty-four hours in offering namaz and in the morning after ishraq prayer (offered at about eight O'clock in the morning) and upto noon delivered lectures on theology. After offering zuhr prayer till namaz asr he would meet the people and solve their problems by giving fatwas (juridical pronouncements) on problems put up before him. In 1604 he wrote a letter to Shaikh Muhammad Ghausi Shattari calling him from Mandu to Ujjain. Ghausi Shattari went to meet Shaikh Kamal Muhammad Abbasi in Ujjain and joined him for some days in happiness. The same year Shaikh Abbasi died and was buried at the same place where he used to deliver lectures.

Shaikh Abdul Latif, son of Malik Shah Kori, was a disciple of Shattari saint Shaikh Sadruddin Zakir. He was settled in Baroda. While he was going to Gwalior via Malwa in 1575-76 he was the guest of Ghausi Shattari in Mandu.

Shaikh Kamaluddin, son of Salman Gureshi was an outstanding khalifa of Shaikh Ruknuddin Shattari. During the reign of Baz Bahadur, Shaikh Kamaluddin arrived in Mandu. He became the friend of Ghausi Shattari's father and began to live in his neighbourhood. Ghausi Shattari had received his initial education in the maktab of Shaikh Kamaluddin and he could finish the holy Quran in two years under the able guidance of Shaikh Kamaluddin. He passed his long life of about one hundred years in tawakkul and died in 1565 and was buried in Mandu near the tomb of Shaikh Ghausi's father.

Miyan Miyanji bin Dawood, a famous saint of the Shattari order was born in Mandu. His father had taken up his abode in Mandu during the reign of Nasiruddin Khalji. In his early age Miyanji, maternal uncle of Ghaushi Shattari, was taught by Shaikh Syed Jalal ibn Syed Ahmad Jafar. He was a khalifa of Shaikh Sadruddin Zakir. He always earned his livelihood through business and whatever he earned he would share with his fellow derveshes. He attained the age of eighty years leading austre life and died in 1576-77.

1. Ibid., pp. 468-469.
One of the most remarkable Sufis of Shattari order in Malwa was Shah Manjhan Shattari. He was the son of Abdullah Qazi Khairuddin and a grandson of Qazi Tajuddin Nahwai. Shah Manjhan was born in 1515–16 and was educated in his grandfather's seminary at Lakhnauti in Bengal, but it was the training of Tajul Urfa Syed Tajuddin of Bukhara that made Shah Manjhan an alim and a Sufi. Syed Tajuddin had travelled through many countries when he left his native place Bukhara. He had obtained khilafat from different Shaikhs of other countries but when he arrived in India, he became the disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus and also introduced his disciple Shah Manjhan to Shaikh Ghaus and left Manjhan in his service. Shah Manjhan studied Jawahar-i-khamsa under the direction of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus and so deeply impressed Shaikh Ghaus with his clear perception of it that the Shaikh gave the same khirqa to Manjhan which he himself used to wear during his long Sufi exercises in the Chunar hills and forests.

When Afghan ruler Sher Shah had conquered Raisen and renamed it Islamabad in 1543, he induced Shah Manjhan to migrate to Raisen and to assume the post of Shaikh-ul-Islam (officer in charge of the religious activities of the Muslims). Manjhan came to Raisen accepting Sher Shah's offer and built his own khanqah there, but in 1553 the Rajputs reoccupied Raisen and Shah Manjhan migrated to Sarangpur. Unfortunately during the political upheaval in Raisen his library was
destroyed while migrating to Sarangpur but Manjhan had a very good memory and he prepared abstracts of all the books he had lost. There in Sarangpur a large number of scholars began to attend his seminary and khanqah and thus he made Sarangpur as a prominent centre of learning like Shiraz.

When Akbar visited Malwa in 1578, Shah Manjhan along with other ulims, also met the Emperor. It was on this occasion that Chausi Shattari was benefitted from meeting with Shah Manjhan and he became his life-long admirer. Shah Manjhan in his old age retired to a lonely place Ashta which was about fifteen miles from Sarangpur and left his family. A few years later he again shifted to Sarangpur and led a secluded life and engaged himself in meditation and ascetic exercises. Shah Manjhan died in 1593.

Shaikh Mubarak Siddiqui Shattari was the disciple of Shaikh Jalal Lohanki but he was awarded Khirqa of khilafat from Shaikh Abdul Malik Shattari of Sarangpur. He had profound knowledge of tasawwuf. In 1573 he had come to Mandu. There he sought the training in dawat-i-asma from Shaikh Mahmud Jalal Shattari, and also practised ascetic exercises of chilla. He never accepted any support for his livelihood from the government. For about thirty years he lived on tawakkul (Trust in God) in Mandu. He died in 1601 and was buried in Mandu.

Shaikh Amin ibn Ahmad Nahrwala was the senior disciple of Maulana Muhammad Tahir Muhaddis of Naharwala, an eminent Shattari saint of his time. In 1575 he had migrated from Gujarat to Malwa and settled in Mandu. He lived for more than a year in Manu and then migrated to Ujjain. Here he made friendly relations with Shaikh Raji Muhammad Qadri, Shaikh Abdul Ghafur, Shaikh-ul-Islam, Shaikh Jamal ibn Ahmad, Qazi Baba Khwaja Miyan, Kale Miyan Amin Malvi and other Sufis of Ujjain. This friendship became so profound that he finally settled in Ujjain. Till the year 1605 he lived an ascetic life and delivered lectures on Hadis. In 1608 he went to Burhanpur to see Shaikh Abdul Aziz and in the same year he died there.

Shaikh Abdul Wahid (d. 1608), son of Shaikh Muhammad, was a disciple of Shaikh Abdullah Sufi Shattari of Akbarabad. He was a Sufi and a scholar. As a youth he had been initiated into the Chishtiya silsila, and had also received instruction from Mir Abdul-Awwal Shirazi. Later on he went in the service of Shaikh Abdullah Sufi Shattari and received training of Shattari order. Fortunately he had obtained khilafat from both the orders.

Shaikh Abdul Wahid was settled in Mandsor. At the age of thirty he fell into a mystic cestasy and did not regain consciousness for about three years. It is believed that for about twenty-seven years he took no water, although he ate food. Shaikh Ghausi Shattari went to meet Shaikh Abdul Wahid at Mandsor in the last quarter of 1605 and had the useful discussion

S. Abdul Wahid engaged himself studying fiqah and taksrir besides other subjects. Shaikh Saleh Hafiz, an eminent Sufi of his time was the disciple and khalifa of Shaikh Nuruddin Ziaullah. He was born at Champaner in Gujarat. He was a great alim and had learned by heart several books of ascetic importance and throughout his life followed the sharia. At the age of forty he came in the service of Shaikh Mahmud Jalal Shattari in Mandu and settled there.

Besides his Pir he had obtained khirqa of khilafat from three sons of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. These were Shaikh Kamaluddin Burhan, Shaikh Uwais and Shaikh Mahmud Jalal and this caused him much popularity and fame. The author of Gulzar-i-Abrar, Ghausi Shattari had friendly relations with Shaikh Saleh Hafiz.

Shaikh Dawud Shattari, son of Shaikh Khan Muhammad was wandering in search of a Pir. He travelled towns and forests for the sake of his mission. In this attempt he reached Mandu and went to meet Shaikh Jalal Mahmud Shattari. He received ascetic training under Shaikh Jalal Mahmud and very soon was successful in attaining knowledge of Shattari method of Sufi practices. After sometime of his Pir's death, he went to Gwalior to visit the tomb of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus and from there he went

2. Ibid., 563-564.
on a tour of different places and met many scholars. After about twenty years in 1610 he returned to Mandu to visit his Pir's tomb. He stayed in Mandu for more than a year and again went to visit Gwalior. This time he returned back to Mandu in 1611-12.

Shaikh Dawud met the people in a courteous manner and never extended his hand before anyone. To him making demands to the people is a sin.

Shaikh Hasan ibn Musa of Ahmadabad was the father of Ghausi Shattari, the author of Gulzar-i-Abrar. He became hafiz (memoriser) of the holy Quran at the age of eight years. He was a scholar of fiqah and hadis. When Gujarat was attacked by Humayun in 1535 while pursuing Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, there was chaos and disorder in Gujarat. In this situation Shaikh Hasan ibn Musa of Ahmadabad migrated to Malwa with Humayun's party. He settled at Lonhera, three kos away from Mandu. He started practising ascetic exercises in the night but in the morning began the day with the people. He earned his livelihood from the business in paper. After his marriage at Lonhera he shifted himself to Mandu. There in 1554 Muhammad Ghausi Shattari was born. Shaikh Hasan ibn Musa died in 1565.

Shaikh Hasan ibn Musa's son was Shaikh Muhammad Ghausi Shattari of Mandu. It is his book Gulzar-i-Abrar that supplies

2. Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp. 608-611.
a lot of information about Sufi's of different order in Malwa. This book is a basic source of our knowledge about the cultural and educational elevation of the people of Malwa with particular reference to the activities of the Sufis in this regard.

Shaikh Muhammad Ghausi Shattari a prominent Sufi of this silsilah was born in 1554. At the age of five years, his maternal uncle Shaikh Miyan Jiv sent him for his initial education in the maktab of Shaikh Kamaluddin Qureshi. Shaikh Ghausi was the disciple of Shaikh Sadruddin Muhammad Shams Zakir of Baroda (Gujarat). He obtained training of the Shattari ascetic exercises from Shaikh Jalal Mahmud Shattari of Mandu. Ghausi had friendly relations with all the sections of the society and had also good relations with the government officers\(^1\). Many Sufis while passing through Mandu were the guest of Shaikh Ghausi.

Shaikh Ghausi Shattari had studied books on philosophy and astronomy from Hakim Usman, a great scholar of his time\(^2\). In 1594-95 when Ghausi Shattari met Shaikh Uwais, son of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, he was encouraged by him to complete his Gulzar-i-Abrar\(^3\). Ghausi completed his Gulzar-i-Abrar between 1611 and 1613. It begins with an account of Shah Yusuf Multani who settled in Multan in 1115 and goes on to give biographical details of prominent Indian Sufis. As a Shattariya himself, Shaikh Ghausi enthru-

3. Ibid., p.606.
siastically describes Shattariya Sufis and gives valuable
details about the lives of seventeenth century Sufis in general,
most of whom were his contemporaries. The Shaikh's relations
with his contemporaries were fraternal, enabling him to obtain
important details about them. In fact his book *Gulzar-i-Abrar*
is as important for the knowledge of Sufism in Malwa as *Ain-i-
Akbari* for the information of Mughal history.

The Qadriyya Silsilah - There also developed Qadriyya order in
Malwa but it could not gain strength as the Shattari silsilah.
One of the earliest Qadri saint to settle in Malwa at Mandu was
Shaikh Bahauddin. He was originally a Shattari and wrote a
treatise on the discipline of Shattari order as mentioned earlier
in the discussion of the Shattari saints. He was initiated into
the Qadri order by a saint in Mecca. He died in 1515-16.

Qazi Abdul Qadir, a Qadri saint was a disciple and Khalifa
of Shaikh Abdur Razzaq Jhanjhora and a nephew of Shaikh Amanullah.
Shaikh Abdul Qadir had also obtained ascetic training from
Shaikh Amanullah. After making three times journey to Mecca,
Medina and Jerusalem he returned to India and settled at Ujjain
in Malwa. He lived a solitary life for years in Ujjain and on
the request and desire of his relatives he migrated to Sarangpur.
His uncle was the Qazi of Sarangpur and after his death he was
made Qazi of Sarangpur. From time to time he would accept the

invitation of local officers to become a Qazi but then invariably he would resign. He died in 1602-03\(^1\).

Another Qadri saint who graced Malwa was Shaikh Zakaria. He was also the disciple of Shaikh Abdur Razzaq Jhanjhana. In 1575-76 he started from Delhi for Malwa with the intention to be settled there. He was warmly welcomed by the people at Dhar and therefore he took his abode there. Here he also became close to Shaikh Maruf Sadullah. In 1580, he died and was buried at Dhar beside the tomb of Maulana Ghiyas\(^2\).

A famous Qadri saint Shaikh Abdul Haq was initiated into the Qadri silsilah by Shaikh Musa. After leaving Delhi, Shaikh Abdul Haq travelled through Malwa and Gujarat in the year 1586-87. He stayed in Ujjain with Mirza Aziz Koka, the governor of Malwa and at Mandu was the guest of Shaikh Muhammad Ghausi Shattari\(^3\).

Thus the arrival and settling of Sufi saints in Malwa promoted the spiritual life of the people and they came to them for receiving education and for the solution of their problems. Even the Sultans and later on governors and officers became the followers of the Sufis and made proper arrangements for their livelihood and patronised them fully. This respect and patronisation attracted a large number of Sufis to settle in Malwa.

\(^{1}\) Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp. 461-462.
\(^{2}\) Ibid., p. 349.
\(^{3}\) Ibid., pp. 598-599.
The saints of these principal orders who flourished in Malwa enriched the life and cultural heritage of the people and ushered in an atmosphere of common brotherhood among the people of all communities. The sufis believed in the gospel of universal human brotherhood, amity and understanding and the doctrine of love and pacifism. Their presence was mainly instrumental in generating a feeling of kinship and elevation of man to a higher spiritual plane.

The Sufis of Malwa of all the three affiliations of Chishti, Shattari and the Qadiri offshoots of the mystic discipline who dominated the moral and spiritual life of the people of Malwa, inspired the common folk with new zeal and fervour of leading a life of elevation of the human soul from the abject dependence on material things and upholding the ideals of human dignity, Divine felicity and dependence and total abnegation of all profanities of life. Thus the land of Malwa was studded with Khanqahs which enkindled spiritual resplendence and ushered in an era of deep moral consciousness and instructions in ethical and dialectic knowledge and dissemination of spiritual culture throughout this extensive region.