Chapter III

FOUNDATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF SUFI ORDERS: SILSILAS

1. Formation of Early Schools of Sufism

Spencer Trimingham states: "Early Sufism was a natural expression of personal religion in relation to the expression of religion as a communal matter. It was an assertion of a person's right to pursue a life of contemplation, seeking contact with the source of being and reality, over against institutionalized religion based on authority, a one-way Master-slave relationship, with the emphasis upon ritual observance and a legalistic morality. The spirit of Quranic piety had flowed into the lives and modes of expression, as in the form of "recolletion" (dhikr), of the early devotees (zuhhad) and ascetics (nussak)."¹

The early masters were more concerned with experiencing than with theosophical theorizing. They sought to guide rather than teach, directing the aspirant in ways of meditation whereby he himself acquired insight into spiritual truth and was shielded against the dangers of illusions. Sufism in practice consists of feeling and unveiling, since ma'rifah (gnosis) is reached by passage through ecstatic states. Consequently teaching succeeds rather than precedes experience."²

The origin of Sufi religious orders is believed to have taken place in twelfth century A.D., but Sufi fraternities established their links with eminent Sufis of much earlier period. These
eminent Sufis, Hasan Basri, Junayd, Zayd, Adham, Habib Ajami, formed their fraternities of mystics and met in their houses and shops. They were strongly opposed and suspected by Ulamas theologians and legalists. So they met secretly and discussed their experiences secretly. Even such eminent Sufi saints of early period as Junayd did not have more than twenty-thirty disciples.

These groups which met in the shops or houses of the Masters suffered great persecution. His friend Nuri once told him: "Oh, Abu'l Qasim, thou hast concealed the truth from them and they have put you in the place of honour. I have told them the truth and they have pelted me with stones." All the major Sufi orders draw their spiritual lineage from these early mystical fraternities and groups, which grew around eminent Sufi saints, whose work and teachings still live.

2. Organization of Sufi Orders: Silsilās

For another century the life and spiritual wisdom of the Sufi scholars and saints attracted a great number of followers. This religion of the few enlightened mystics became a mass movement. Each eminent teacher developed his own path (tariqa) though the principles and practices were fundamentally the same. They laid stress on interior life rather than on external show of piety. However, they stuck to the orthodox principles of Shariat. "At the time that the fraternities came into existence, the centre of mystical activity was no longer the private house or shop of the master. A more institutional structure proved to be necessary to cope with the growing number of disciples and adepts. These new
centres were usually called Khanqah in the eastern Islamic world, the same term was used in medieval Egypt, where the Sufi Khanqahs formed cultural and theological centres and were subsidized by the government or endowed by influential benefactors. The word Zāwiya, literally "corner", was used for smaller units, like the solitary dwelling place of a Sheikh. The Turks would call the Sufi convent tekke. The term ribāt, essentially connected with the frontier castles of the soldiers who defended Islam and expanded it, could also be used to refer to the centre of fraternity. Often the expression dargāh "door, court", is used. The eminent Sufi scholar Sanai wrote:

"The Khanqah is the nest for the bird "purity", It is the rose garden of pleasure and the garden of of faithfulness."¹

"The establishment of Khānqahs was based on the conviction that a life of solitary, self-sufficient contemplation was incompatible with the highest mystic ideals because it made man ego-centric, limited his sympathies and cut him off completely from the energizing currents of social life. "In constructing Khānqahs", writes Shaikh 'Izzu'd-din Mahmud, the Persian translator of the famous 'Awarif ul-Ma'arif' of Shaikh Shihab u'd-din Suhrawardi, which was accepted by medieval Indian mystics as the best guide book for the organizers of Khānqahs, "There are several advantages .......... First it provides shelter for mystics who do not possess any house of their own...... Secondly, by gathering at a place and mixing with each other, the mystics get an opportunity of regulating their life and developing uniform inward and outward days....... Thirdly, in this way they get an opportunity of criti-
Shaikh Shihabud-din laid down the following fundamental principles:

2:1:i The people of Khanqahs should establish cordial relations with all men (khalig).

2:1:ii They should concern themselves with God, through prayers, meditation, etc.

2:1:iii They should abandon all efforts at earning a livelihood and should resign themselves to the will of God.

2:1:iv They should strive for the purification of their inner life.

2:1:v They should abstain from things that produce evil effects.

2:1:vi They should learn the value of time.

2:1:vii They should completely shake off indolence and Pethargy.

Suhrawardi in his 'Awarif-ul-Ma'arif' further says: "The dwellers of the khanqah form three parties:

2:1:(a) ahl-i-khidamat (men of service).

2:1:(b) ahl-i-Suhbat (men of society).

2:1:(c) ahl-i-khilvat (men of khilvat).

The ahl-i-khidmat are "the beginners", who, out of love, come to the khanqah. They do them service, so that thereby they may become acceptable to the hearts of men of deeds and of stages, and may be regarded with the glance of mercy; may acquire fitness for kinship, and become a slipper out of the garment of alienation and of farness." "The men of khanqah should, outwardly and inwardly, observe concord to each other, and should, at the time of eating, assemble at one tablecloth; so that outwardly they may not be separated; that the blessing of outward association may..."
penetrate into the heart; that they may with each other pass life in love and purity, and may, in their heart, give no power to alloy and counterfeit (evil thoughts).”

"The organization of khanqāh was not everywhere alike. Some khanqāhs lived on futūh, unsolicited gifts or donations, whereas others enjoyed regular stipends. Orders like the Chishtis in India were extremely hospitable, and foreign visitors were always admitted, in others; strict rules were enforced about visiting times and the types of visitors who were allowed to see the master. Arrangements for occasional and for long-term visitors were found in almost every khanqāh. The Sheikh himself would live, with his family, in one quarter of the compound and see his disciples at fixed hours to supervise their spiritual progress, he would generally lead the five prayers in the congregation."" 

When a novice was initiated into the order, a special ceremony of initiation was held. All friends of the order were invited. Recitations from the Koran and mystical songs were sung. After the candidate kissed the Sheikh's hand, the Master introduced him into the mysteries of his tariqā.

Sheikh Suhrawardi wrote the first authentic work on Sufi Rules for Novices, known as Kitāb Adāb al-Murīdān in which he presents an outline of Sufism. As this is a work written by the greatest Sufis of the times, all its statements about the relation of a Pir (Sheikh) to 'murīd' disciple is authentic. Sheikh Suhrawardi says:

2:2:1 "When the murīd properly achieves the stations of repentance and scrupulosity and begins the station of renunciation (zuhd), then comes the time for him to wear the patched frock
(murāqqa'ā) if he aspires to it. He should observe all necessary observances attached to the wearing of murāqqa'ā. Wearing the murāqqa'ā should not be taken lightly. The wearer of murāqqa'ā should have disciplined his soul by the rules and have tamed it, and he should have passed the stations. Whoever is not thus qualified should not aspire to the rank of Shaykh or murid (66).

2:2:2 The novice should be heedful of each moment. He should be constantly occupied outwardly with supererogatory devotions and inwardly by aspiration, until inspiration descends upon him (69).

2:2:3 To render service to his brethren is more valuable for the novice than to be engaged in supererogatory prayers. 'A'isha said that the Prophet had always been busy with some charitable work'. Abu 'Amr al-Zujaji said 'that he had not merited the blessing of Junayd by his constant worship but rather by an act of service, when he cleaned his place.' (70)

2:2:4 The murid should not leave his Shaykh before the eye of his heart opens. The distinctive mark of the murid is "to listen and obey." Distinctive symptoms are suggested so as to recognize falseness on the part of murid, mutawassit, and 'arif. Junayd said: "But for the distinctive marks, everyone would have claimed to be purusing the Sufi way." (71)

Even while the orders (Silsilās) and khanqās were coming into early existence one of the greatest saints and Sheikh of the period Abu Said Al-Khayr wrote down the following rules in order that they might be observed punctiliously by the inmates of his convent. In the original, after every rule there follow some words of the Koran on which it is based.

2:3:1 Let them keep their garments clean and themselves always
2:3:2 Let them not sit in the mosque or in any holy place for the sake of gossiping.

2:3:3 In the first instance let them perform their prayers in common.

2:3:4 Let them pray much at night.

2:3:5 At dawn let them ask forgiveness of God and call unto Him.

2:3:6 In the morning let them read as much of the Koran as they can, and let them not talk until the sun has risen.

2:3:7 Between evening prayers and bedtime prayer let them occupy themselves with repeating some litany (wird, or zikr).

2:3:8 Let them welcome the poor and needy and all who join their company, and let them bear patiently the trouble of (waiting upon) them.

2:3:9 Let them not eat anything save in participation with one another.

2:3:10 Let them not absent themselves without receiving permission from one another.

Furthermore, let them spend their hours of leisure in one of three things; either in the study of theology or in some devotional exercise (wird) or in bringing comfort to some one. Whosoever loves this community and helps them as much as he can is a sharer in their merit and future recompense.”

Commenting on these rules, Spencer Trimingham says:

"Respect for the spiritual freedom of each member necessitated their having regulations for their common life, but it will be seen that the Shaikh is not mentioned; he remained essentially a guide in spiritual matters; he is no autocrat of a convent, and
they did not even have to seek his permission if they wished to be absent but sought it from their companions. The idea of a spiritual futuwwa was formed in such groups as a basis for their common life as well as relationships in their wandering life."

3. Advent of Sufi Scholars and Mystics in India

Although Muslim conquerors started invading India from 9th century onwards and Muslims of various countries and sects settled in India, in small colonies; Sufi scholars and Saints entered India in two waves at two different periods.

In the first wave a number of Muslim saints and scholars came to India from the Middle East. "Abu Hifs Rabi bin Sahib al-Asadi al-Basari, a traditionist and an ascetic came to Sindh where he died in 776-77 A.D. Mansur al Hallaj made a voyage to India by sea in the tenth century. Baba Rihan with a company of dervishes came to Broach from Baghdad in the eleventh century. About the same time (1067 A.D.) the religious head of the Shiah trading community of Bohras settled in Gujrat from Yemen and Nur-al-din (1094-1143 A.D.) converted the Kumbis, Kharwas and Koris of Gujarat. Numerous eminent Muslim scholars and saints came to India after the invasion of Mahmud. Among them 'Ali bin Uthman al Hujwiri and Shaikh Ismail Bukhari, early in the eleventh century, and Farid-u'd-din Attar, the celebrated author of Mantiq ut-tayr and Tazkirat al-auliya, in the twelfth century, are worthy to be mentioned."12

The second wave of Sufi saints entered India between 1200-1400 A.D. when the main Sufi orders founded in the middle east were established. The Chistis, the Suhrawardi, Qadiri, Naqashbandhi,
Malamati and Madari were established in Punjab, Delhi and Uttar Pradesh in due course.

"From the 13th century," remarks Professor Gibb, "Sufism increasingly attracted the creative social and intellectual energies within the community, to become the bearer or instrument of a social and cultural revolution". Perhaps in no other country were the effects of their social and cultural revolution so marked and so far-reaching as in India."\(^{13}\)

We shall discuss briefly in our thesis, the origin, early history and establishment of the following Sufi orders (Silsilas) in Punjab and Delhi:

1. Chisti order
2. Suhrawardi order
3. Qadiri order
4. Naqshbandi order
5. Malamati order
6. Qalandari order
7. Madari order

4. Major Sufi Orders in Punjab

4:1 Chisti Sufi Order (Silsila)

4:1:i Khwaja Muin-ud-din Chisti

Chist was a village on the river Hari, some hundred kilometres east of Herat in Afghanistan. "Previously, the Buddhists had been displaced by Jews, the Jews by Manichaians, and they in turn by Muslims. After the gradual Islamization of the area, its principal towns, such as Herat, Chist and Jam, became great centres for Sufis from other parts of Islamic world."\(^{14}\)
Khwaja Abu Ishaq Shami Chishti, ninth in spiritual succession from Ali, is regarded as the founder of this order. He migrated from Asia Minor and settled at Chist in Khurasan, and in consequence was called Chisti. This order was introduced into this country by Khwaja Muin-ud-din Chisti Sanjari Ajmeri, who was eighth in line of succession from the founder of the Order. He was born in the town of Sanjar in Sistan 1142-43 A.D. or according to other authorities in 1136 A.D. He traced his descent on his mother's side from Hasan, and on his father's side from Husayn, the grandsons of Muhammad. His ancestors for several generations were reputed to be mystics; for this reason his own inclination to mysticism, signs of which appeared in his early youth, might be said to be hereditary. At the death of his father, whom he lost when he was only fourteen years old, he received as his portion of the inheritance a garden and a millstone, and these were his only means of subsistence.  

"When he was still young, his native place Sanjar was sacked by Tartars, and the sight of massacre and awful atrocities committed by the invaders probably intensified his feeling that the world was a place of vanity. This impression was the more deeply engraved upon his mind by his contract with a certain Shaykh Ibrahim Qandozi, who was held in high esteem for the sanctity of his life and because he was subject to state of ecstasy. It was to him that Muin-ud-din owed his violent experience of 'conversion', whereby he finally broke away from the world and adopted the life of a recluse. It is stated that once when Muin-ud-din was watering the plants of his garden, Shaykh Ibrahim Qandozi happened to pass by. On seeing him, Muin-ud-din ran out and with great respect
conducted him into his garden and presented to him some of its choicest fruits. Shaykh Ibrahim, pleased at his warm hospitality, is said to have transmitted to him his own deep spiritual vitality."  

Describing the incident, Md Noor Nabi writes, "On seeing him, Shaikh Muin-ud-din ran to him, kissed his hands, requested him to sit under a tree and offered him a bunch of grapes. Thereupon Abraham Qundozi took out a grape-seed from his side, cut it with his teeth, took some of it himself and put the rest into the mouth of Shaikh Muin-ud-din with his own hands. This, it is said, brought about a great spiritual change in Shaikh Muin-ud-din. He disposed of his entire property and took himself to itineracy."  

"However, that may be, Khwaja Muin-ud-din, after his complete renunciation of the world, entered upon the life of a wandering hermit in search of a spiritual guide. First he spent a couple of years in Samarqand to complete his religious education, and then he went to Bukhara for further study of the Quran under the guidance of Maulana Hisamud-din Bukhari, a mystic and renowned exponent of the Muslim scriptures. Eventually he came to Harun, a town in the province of Nishapur, where he was formally initiated as a disciple of Khwaja Uthman Haruni, a famous saint of the Chisti order."  

"Under the spiritual guidance of his mentor and a hard life of penitence and mortification spread over twenty years, he traversed the mystical path. Khwaja Uthman granted him his Khilafat-Namah. Shaikh Muin-ud-din with the permission of his director, came to Sanjar in Baghdad. Sanjar at that time was the abode of Shaikh Najm-ud-din Kubra. Shaikh Muin-ud-din passed about a month in the
company of Najm-ud-din and from there he came to Jal where he met Shaikh Mohi-ud-din Abdul-Qadir Jillani. For fifty seven days Shaikh Muin-ud-din enjoyed the company of Shaikh Abdul Qadar Jillani and then reached Baghdad where he enjoyed the benefit of the company of Shaikh Ziya-ud-din."

It was here he met the eminent mystics: Shaikh Shihabud-din Suhrawardi, Shaikh Auhad-ud-Kirmani and benefited from their company. From Baghdad he came to Hamdan where he met Shaikh Yusuf Hamadani and from there he went to Tabrez where he met Shaikh Abu Sayeed Tabrezi. From there he went to Ghazani.

Muin-ud-din entered India and crossing the frontier came to Lahore, where he spent some months in meditation at the tomb of Data Ganj Bakhsh and some eminent saints. From Lahore he went to Delhi where many low caste Hindus followed him and became converts. From Delhi he proceeded to Ajmer. "Ajmer was not merely the seat of Chauhan power, it was a religious centre also where thousands of pilgrims assembled from far and near. Shaikh Muin-ud-din's determination to work out the principles of Islamic mysticism at a place of such political and religious significance shows great self-confidence. Unfortunately, no details are available about the way he worked in the midst of a population which looked askance at every foreigner. It cannot, however, be denied that his stay in Ajmer must have been a serious trial for the principles of the Chishti Silsilāh. On his success or failure in Ajmer depended the future of the Muslim mystic movement in Hindustan."  

The Chisti Tariqā prescribed nine principles which were to be followed by all his followers. Those were recorded by his disciple Hamid-ud-Din Nagauri as follows."
1. One should not earn money.
2. One should not borrow money from anyone.
3. One should not reveal to anyone nor seek help from anyone if one has eaten nothing, even for seven days.
4. If one gains plenty of food, money, grain or clothing, one should not keep anything until the following day.
5. One should not curse anyone, if anyone is very hurt, one should pray to God, to guide one's enemy towards the right path.
6. If one performs a virtuous deed, one should consider that the source of the virtue is due either to one's Pir's kindness, to the intercession of the Prophet Muhammad on one's behalf, or to divine mercy.
7. If one performs an evil deed one should consider one's evil self-responsible for the action, and try to protect oneself from such deeds. Fearing God, one should be careful to avoid actions which may involve him again in evil.
8. Having fulfilled all the above conditions, one should regularly fast during the day and spend the night in prayer.
9. One should remain quiet, and speak only when it is imperative to do so. The Shari'a makes it unlawful both to talk incessantly and keep totally silent. One should utter only such words as those which please God.\textsuperscript{21}

Late in his life he took two wives. The first was daughter of Saiyad, and the second the daughter of a Hindu Chieftain. He is said to have gone only once to Delhi. He died in Ajmer in the ripe old age of ninety-seven on 16 March, 1236.

Muin-ud-din Chisti says, 'a mystic is like the sun, who shines on the whole world equally'. He gave the following three charac-
teristics of a mystic.

1. A mystic is one who keeps his heart free from both the worlds, throws out all the things which are other than God from his heart, and becomes one as his friend (God) is one.

2. The mystic is quiet and melancholy. He obeys and fears God, is in love with death, renounces the comforts and absorbs himself in the remembrance of God.

3. The man who possesses the qualities of charity like the charity of the river, kindness like the kindness of the sun and humility like the humility of the earth is the true friend of God. Thus, the question of charity, kindness and humility are necessary for a mystic. 22

4:1:ii Shaikh Hamid-ud-din (d. 1273 A.D.)

Shaikh Hamid-ud-din was an outstanding Khalifa of Muin-ud-din Chisti who settled at Sawali, a village in Nagari. Muin-ud-din blessed him as Sultan-ut-Tariqin (King of Hermits). He placed the Chisti movement on firm-footing. He corresponded with Shaikh Farid-ud-din wrote outstanding books on mystics and mystical life and was the first to collect anecdotes about his Master which were compiled by his grandon "Siyar-us-Sudur". "He lived on one biga of land which he himself cultivated and dressed in two sheets of cloth. He kept a cow in his house and himself milched it. His wife - a lady of fervent piety and strong mystic temperament - spent her time in cooking and spinning like a peasant woman. Like most of the villagers amongst whom he lived, Shaikh Hamid-ud-din was a strict vegetarian. His dislike for meat-eating was so great that he warned his disciples against distributing and preparations
for blessing his soul after his death."23

"Believers in God, according to the Shaikh may be divided into two categories: (1) the followers of Shari'at and (2) the followers of Tariqat. Shari'at is the code of Islam which prescribes various modes of action and practices while Tariqat is the way towards God through purification of soul, for which some ascetic means are adopted by the mystic. Shaikh Hamid-ud-din did not differentiate between Shari'at and Tariqat. Shari'at and Tariqat according to him are one. Just as there is a unity between body and soul, in the like manner Tariqat is the spirit of Shari'at."24

4:1:iii Shaikh Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki (1186–1236 A.D.)

Shaikh Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki was born in Aush (ush) in Farganah. It was at that time the centre of the followers of the great mystic Mansur Al-Hallaj.

John A. Subhan rightly says, "The chief successor and heir to all the spiritual gifts of Muin-ud-din was Qutb-ud-din Kaki. Qutb-ud-din is described as one of the favourite saints of God. He was born in 1186 A.D. at Farghana in Isfahan. Many miraculous events are said to have occurred at his birth. We are told that he came of noble lineage though his home was not a wealthy one. He himself claimed to be a descendant of the Prophet, and his genealogical tree shows him to be sixteenth in line from Hussyn, the grandson of Muhammad, and ninth from the eighth Imam directly descended from Ali. It further appears that almost all his ancestors were mystics, so that the very blood of Sufis ran in his veins. Indeed, if we are to believe our sources, he began, in early life, to show signs of the mystic's temperament. His father died when
he was a little child and he was brought up solely by his mother, a pious and God-fearing woman. There can be little doubt that he owed much of his religious discipline to the early training of his devoted mother." Bakhtiyar Kaki 'learnt the Quran and early Islamic studies under Abu Hafs. He finally committed it to memory after he had settled in Delhi.

"In his time Baghdad was not only a centre of secular and religious learning but also of mysticism, and it was there that he studied it under its most renowned teachers, chief of whom was Shihabud-din-Suhrawardi, the founder of the order of that name. The fame of Baghdad as the scene of the activities of such noted saints as Shihabud-din-Suhrawardi and Abdul Qadir Jilani, had drawn Muin-ud-din there. While on his way to India and it was while young Qutb-ud-din was there studying that he met Muin-ud-din in the mosque of Abul-Layth and accepted his discipleship."

He then followed his Master to Delhi. On the way he stopped at Multan. Here in a mosque Baba Farid met him and placed his head at the feet of the Khwaja and sought his blessings. Khwaja Bakhtiyar Kaki advised him to remain in Multan and complete his education. "When Khwaja Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki reached Delhi from Multan, Iltumish heartily welcomed him and requested him to stay near his palace. The Khwaja having refused, Iltumish made it a point to visit his Khanqah outside the city twice a week."

"Iltutmish offered to him the post of Shaikh-ul-Islam, but the saint declined to accept it. On his refusal Shaikh Najm-ud-din Sughra was appointed to this post. A vain and conceited man, Sughra could not tolerate the presence of anybody more influential than himself at the court and so he maliciously and unscrupulously tried
to run people down. He brought the charge of adultery against Shaikh Jalal-ud-din Tabrizi. He was equally jealous of Shaikh Qutb-ud-din who was revered by the Sultan and the people alike."

"During a brief visit of Muin-ud-din to Delhi he found an opportunity to complain to him against Qutb-ud-din in words that clearly revealed his hatred. The master becoming thus apprehensive for the safety of his beloved disciple, spoke to him before leaving for Ajmer, in the following affectionate manner. "My son Qutb-ud-din! I desire that you should come along with me to Ajmer and that there, as my successor, you should exercise authority as spiritual Guide," Thus Qutb-ud-din, always obedient to his master's instructions, left Delhi in the company of his master after bidding farewell, to his friends and disciples. It is said, however, that when they reached the gate of the city, the king and almost the whole population, stricken with grief followed them with loud lamentation, and urged Qutb-ud-din to return to the city. Muin-ud-din was deeply moved by the touching scene, and commending Qutb-ud-din to the protection of God, allowed him to return."  

Though Shaikh Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar did not associate himself with the ruler or the bureaucracy in building political institutions of Delhi Sultanate, he extended his moral support to the Sultans constructive public and cultural activities. 

The following story told by Jami reveals why Qutb-ud-din came to be known as "Kaki". "According to him (Jamali) the Khwaja's family totalled nine. His wife occasionally borrowed some money from a neighbour, a Muslim grocer, in order to feed his starving family. On one occasion the grocer's wife taunted the Khwaja's wife that without their loan the family would have starved to
death. The latter related the conversation to her husband who, after meditation, asked his wife to refrain from borrowing. He pointed to a niche in his cell and told his wife to go there and recite Bismillah and she would get as much bread as she needed. So the Khwaja became known as 'Kaki' as he lived on miraculously received breads alone.  

Shaikh Farid stayed with Qutb-ud-din for some years undergoing severe discipline. When he sought his Master's permission to leave for Hansi, Qutb-ud-din said, "Go, it has been preordained that you will not be present at the time of my death. The saint then asked those who were assembled there to recite the fatihah for the spiritual elevation of Baba Farid and bestowed upon him his special prayer carpet and staff. While bidding him farewell Shaikh Qutb-ud-din said that he would leave his khirqâh, dastâr and wooden sandals, with Qazi Hamid-ud-din Nagauri and that he would receive them from him on the fifth day of his death. Then, with these words on his lips! My place is yours", the great Chisti saint of Delhi parted for ever with his eminent disciple from the Punjab.

Khwaja Qutb-ud-din was an intoxicated saint who always loved to live in meditation and ecstasy. "Shaikh Qutb-ud-din was very fond of mystic music (Sam'a). One day, he was invited to an audition party held in the Khangah of Shaikh Ali Sijzi, when the singers recited the verses :

To the victim of the dagger of submission
There comes a new life at every
moment from the unseen world."
He was suddenly overtaken by a state of ecstasy and for four days he could not get out of this emotional storm. On the fifth night November 15, 1235, he breathed his last.\textsuperscript{32} He was buried in Mahrauli about eleven miles from Delhi, at a place he himself had chosen. As he was always concerned with the problems of the poor and down-trodden, he is still known as "Garib-niwaz" protector of the poor.

4:1:iv Baba Sheikh Farid (1175–1265 A.D.)

Baba Sheikh Farid was the first eminent Sufi who was born in Punjab (India), and was in thought speech and action the true son of the soil. His grandfather Qazi Shuaib occupied a high position in Kabul. He had to leave it because of political upheavals. "He left Kabul and reached Lahore with his "three sons, followers, army and family"; probably owing to the Ghuzz invasion (1157 A.D.)\textsuperscript{33}

Qazi Shuaib was offered high service by the Ruler of Lahore, but he replied, "We do not want to run after a thing which has been lost." He was, however, given the Qaziship of Kothewal in Multan between Maharani and Ajodhan. There Qazi Shuaib settled with his three sons, Izz-ud-din Mahmud, Jamal-ud-din Sulaiman and Najib-ud-din Muhammad Mutawakkal. Baba Farid was son of Jamal-ud-din. His mother's name was Qarsum Bibi and she was daughter of Shaikh Wajih-ud-din Khojendi. Baba Farid was born in the year 1174-75 A.D.

Baba Farid's father was a pious man, and a scholar, but his mother was a deeply religious lady who prayed nightly at lengthy vigils. "His mother's influence helped to promote an extreme asceticism in Shaikh Farid. Unconcerned with food or clothing he
was constantly occupied with meditation in a place behind the mosque at Kothewal (misspelt Kohtwal)."  

At the age of eighteen Baba Farid went to Multan where he joined the madrassah in the mosque of Maulana Minhaj-ud-din Tirmidhi. Here he committed the entire text of Koran to memory and began to recite it once in twenty-four hours. It is in Multan he met Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki and accepted him as his Pir (Spiritual Guide) who asked his new disciple to continue studies. Jamali says he went to Kandhar and other places to acquire knowledge of higher studies.

Baba Farid continued to live with Khwaja Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki and underwent strict spiritual education under the guidance of his master for many years. It was at Delhi, after he had performed prayers and penances for some years that he was initiated into the inner mysteries and teachings of the Tariqa. Many prominent Sheikhs were present. When Khwaja Muin-ud-din Chisti visited Delhi he remarked: "Baba Bakhtiyar: you have caught a noble falcon which will not build his nest except on the holy tree of Heaven. Farid is a lamp that will illuminate the Silsilah of the dervishes. Khwaja Muin-ud-din then asked his disciple to bestow spiritual gifts and blessings on Baba Farid, but Shaikh Qutb-ud-din apologized that in the presence of his master he could not have the courage to bestow anything on him. Thereupon both the saints blessed Baba Farid. It was a unique honour in the history of Chisti Silsilah. No saint before him, or even after, was thus blessed by the master and the master of his master."  

"All the Shaikhs of India", remarks Muhammad Gausi, "are unanimous in declaring that no saint has excelled Ganj-i-Shakar in his
devotions and penitences. In fact his life is one long story of prayers, vigils and fasts. These penitences not only purified his inner life but opened his soul to the indwelling power of God. Baba Farid as we have seen, was drawn to a life of prayers and fasts by his mother. He was very fond of sugar and every time that he offered his obligatory prayers, his mother gave him some sugar. Later, when Baba Farid's interest in prayers developed and he subjected himself to severe spiritual exercises, his mother proved to be a very hard task-master."

Shaikh Farid was one of the very few Sufi Saints who performed the difficult act of penance called "Chillah". Chillah means loving and performing penance far away from society for forty days in order to purify one's inner self and brighten the spiritual will in order to carry on devotion continuously.

After spending some years at the feet of the Master in severe self-discipline, Baba Farid went to Hansi in Hissar district. There he tried to live like an unknown dervish in tattered clothes, living in seclusion and meditation. Then Maulana Nur Turk a great mystic on seeing him in the mosque in Hansi declared that Baba Farid was a great and enlightened saint. Since then everyone respected him as a holy youngman. It is quite possible that Baba Farid went to Delhi to meet his master now and then, but he was not there when Khwaja Qutb-ud-din passed away. But Baba Farid dreamt that his Master has passed away. "Baba Farid dreamt that his master was calling him to his presence. At dawn he left for Delhi. The messenger who was sent from Delhi to convey the sad news to Baba Farid met him in the way. Baba Farid hastened to the capital, and reached there on the fourth day. Qazi Hamid-ud-din
Nagauri handed over the mystic regalia to him. Baba Farid offered two rakas of prayer, put the Khirqäh on his head and then proceeded to the house of his deceased master and sat in his place. Shaikh Qutb-ud-din had also wished him to marry his widow, but Baba Farid expressed his inability to do that.

Sheikh Farid did not find Delhi atmosphere suitable to his temperament. He first moved to his home village Kothewal, where he stayed for some years with his aged mother. Then finding his popularity increasing, he moved to a quiet place, Ajodhan, now known as Pakpettan, on the banks of Satluj. This place was also on the main routes from Multan to Lahore and Delhi.

In spite of the hostility of the local Qazi, he lived in an undisturbed peace near the Jama mosque, in a small house of mud walls covered with a thatched roof. "He had strictly forbidden the use of burnt bricks for the building which, according to Chisti tradition, were not simple enough for an ascetic's dwelling. The door remained open until midnight as a welcome to visitors. Among his few possessions, the Baba had a small rug which he used by night as a blanket, but which hardly covered him. During the day it was used as a sitting rug. Khwaja Qutb-ud-din's stick rested behind his head as a pillow. His food consisted of wild fruit and millet bread. Abstaining from nourishment during the day, in the evening he broke his fast by taking Sherbet. A bowl of it would be brought to the Baba and often mixed with dried grapes. Of this he drank never more than half, dividing the rest among his visitors. After prayers, two pieces of bread smeared with ghee were taken to Baba Farid. One was given away, the other he himself ate, sharing it with his favourite disciples."
Baba Farid had two or three wives. He loved his sons and grandsons who all had to suffer from the severe strains of poverty. He received visitors in the Jamat-Khana which was a large room where his disciples slept, prayed and studied on the ground. Many eminent scholars came and stayed with him and became his devoted disciples, notable among them were Jamal-ud-din Hanswi, who visited Ajodhan seven times, his son-in-law Shaikh Badr-ud-din Ishaq, and the greatest of them and his spiritual successor Nizam-ud-din Auliya. Shaikh Farid had five sons:

1. **Khwaja Nasir-ud-din**, a pious and devoted saint who lived by cultivating land.

2. **Khwaja Shibab-ud-din** named after Shaikh Shihab-ud-din Suhrawardi author of Awārif-ul-Maaruf. He was a great scholar and even Baba Farid admired him for his talent and gifts.

3. **Shaikh Badr-ud-din Sulaiman**, the third son was placed as the Sajjadanashin of Baba Farid. He was succeeded by his sixteen year old son Ala-ud-din.

4. **Shaikh Nizam-ud-din** was a favourite son of Baba Farid who desired him to be the sole inheritor of his spiritual greatness. The Shaikh never resented his bold and frank talk before him. He was a man of great worldly wisdom.

5. **Shaikh Yakub**. He was the youngest son of Baba Farid. He was intelligent, cultured and self-sacrificing. He adopted the manner of malāmati mystic and lived in obscurity.

Baba Farid had three devoted daughters:

1. **Bibi Masturah**. She was devoted to prayer and penitence. She had two sons both of whom were greatly loved and admired by Nizam-
2. Bibi Sharifah: She became a widow in her early youth and did not marry again. She was intensely religious minded and Baba Farid used to say, "Had it been permitted to give the Khilafat Namah of the Shaikh and his Sajjadah to a woman, I would have given them to Bibi Sharifah.

3. Bibi Fatimah was married to Shaikh Badrud-din Ishaq, a great scholar and devoted disciple of Baba Farid. After Badrud-din's death Nizam-ud-din Auliya looked after her and her sons.

The following are the reasons listed by scholars for which Baba Farid was known as "Shakar-Ganj".

1. Once during his extreme hunger while on a long fast he put some pebbles into his mouth which turned to Shakar: sugar. This is the story given by his biographer Amir-Khurd.

2. According to Jamali, while Baba Farid was going to see his master, he was wearing wooden sandals. Having fasted he was too weak. The road was muddy due to rain. He slipped and some mud that touched his mouth became sugar. On hearing this story his master called him "treasure of sugar, Ganj-I Shakar".

3. A merchant came to him carrying bags of sugar. When he asked for some sugar he said these were bags of salt. Later he found that the sugar had become salt. He came back to Baba Farid and begged forgiveness. The Sheikh's prayers turned them into sugar. Bairam Khan refers to him as "Mine of Salt, World of sugar". A similar story is told about Banjaras who were carrying sugar.

4. During childhood Baba Farid was very fond of sugar. Once his mother Bibi Qursum told him, "God sends sugar to that boy who
offers prayers punctually and she began to keep cake of country sugar under his prayer carpet. When Baba Farid reached the twelfth year she stopped putting the sugar cake. But every day when he prayed the sugar was always there. His mother was surprised and realized that it came from divine source." This story is given in Tarīkh-i-Farishtah Vol. II P. 338 (Eng. Tr.). For these reasons he was known as Shakar-Ganj. His authentic biographers address him either as Sheikh Farid or as Baba Farid. In the Guru Granth he is mentioned only as Sheikh Farid.

Sheikh Farid's teachings were strictly according to Chisti Sufi doctrines. God, for him, was a living Person, having effective existence. He believed in personal bond between man and his God. He always acted with the conviction that God is before him. The verse, "I die for Thee and I live for Thee," which he often used to recite, when all alone, clearly reflects his attitude."40

"For the attainment of this ultimate end, he prescribes the path of 'Love'. He attached so much value to love of God that he used to greet his visitors with these words, "May God give you pain (dard) of love." He held great admiration for the individual who was intoxicated with the love of God. He called such a person 'Faqir (mystic-dervish)'.

The learned men, according to him, are nobler than the common people, but the faqirs are the noblest of all. The faqir occupies the same position in relation to learned men, which the full moon occupies in the constellation of stars. He laid down the following characteristics of a faqir:-

1. A faqir purifies everything, but nothing can make him dirty.
2. When he puts on any new clothes he takes them as his shroud.
3. He does not covet wealth. If anyone lives in the hope of riches, he is an avaricious man.41

About five hundred sayings of Sheikh Farid have been collected by his biographers. We give few of them below recorded by Amir Khurd.

1. Do not regard the ignorant as alive.
2. Do not hanker after worldly pelf and glory.
3. Do not forget death at any place.
4. Do not borrow anything from either the weak or the upstarts.
5. While doing good to others think that you are doing good to yourself.
6. Do not consider yourself safe from an enemy howsoever conciliatory he might be towards you.
7. Whoever fears you fear him.
8. Do not forget religion when in company of the rich.
9. There can be no substitute for religion.
10. Show generosity to the righteous man.
11. Consider haughtiness necessary in dealing with the proud ones.
12. Consider a dervish who lives in the hope of riches as avaricious.
13. Be critical of your own shortcomings.
15. Do not lose your temper at the bitter words of the enemy and do not lose your shield by being overpowered with anger.
16. If you want greatness associate with the downtrodden.
17. Accept affliction as a present.
18. Work in a way that you may get life after death.42
The following are a few more significant sayings of Sheikh Farid:

1. Mutual discussions are better than repetitions in loneliness.
2. There is calamity in deliberation and safety in resignation to the will of God.
3. The faqirs occupy the same place in the midst of 'ulama' which the full moon occupies in the midst of the constellation of stars.
4. The meanest of all people is one who busies himself exclusively in feeding and clothing himself.
5. Mystic music (Sam'a) moves the hearts of the listeners and breathes the fire of love in their hearts.\(^{43}\)

Baba Farid became extremely popular among the masses. Crowds of people came to kiss his sleeves. He kept aloof from political intrigues of the time. Sher Khan the governor of Multan had little respect for Baba Farid. His hostile attitude prevented people from coming to Baba Farid. The offerings became so few that the inmates lived on starvation level. The hostile Sultan was assassinated by Balkan. His health had completely broken down. On October 15, 1265, he died in prayer and peace. He left the articles of spiritual regalia for his successor Nizam-ud-din Auliya who was then at Delhi. We will discuss Shaikh Farid's contribution to Punjabi Sufism in the next chapter in considerable detail.

4:1:v Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya

Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya, the greatest saint of the fourteenth century was born in Badaun on 9th October, 1238 A.D. His ancestral home was Bukhara. Driven by the invasion of Changez Khan his
grandfather had come to Lahore which happened to be the birthplace of his father and mother. After some time the family shifted to Badaun where they settled permanently.

Nizam-ud-din was only five when his father died. He drew his first religious inspiration and guidance from his mother Bibi Zulaikhan. He continued to revere his mother even after her death. He received his early education at Badaun. Soon he was well versed in Tradition and Koranic studies. He left for Delhi at the age of sixteen for higher studies. There he studied under many eminent scholars.

He developed an attachment for Baba Farid at quite an early age, although he had only heard his name. At Delhi he met Sheikh Najib-ud-din, brother of Sheikh Farid and a great Sufi. He then went to Ajodhan (Pakpattan) to meet Baba Farid, Baba Farid welcomed him and said:

"O you, the Fire whose separation
has burnt hearts unto Kabab
O mighty Torrent whose love has ruined many souls"

"Shaikh Nizam-ud-din was initiated by Shaikh Farid-ud-din in 1257 A.D. After his initiation he inquired from his master whether he should give up his studies and devote himself exclusively to supererogatory prayers. Shaikh Farid-ud-din replied that he did not wish any one to discontinue his studies. So, he should carry on both of them and finally devote himself to that whichever would get the upper hand. Shaikh Nizam-ud-din was overwhelmed by the life of devotion to God. He submitted himself to the care of Baba Farid and under his inspired guidance traversed the difficult stages and states of mystic path. He visited Ajodhan only thrice
during the life time of his spiritual guide. He paid his last visit to his master in 1265 A.D. The Shaikh showered many blessings on him and said, "I have given you both the worlds. Go and take the kingdom of Hindustan." Shaikh Farid-ud-din granted his Khilafat Namah to Shaikh Nizam-ud-din, and a few days before his death, sent to him the mystic mantle, prayer carpet and staff through Sayyid Mohammad. Baba Farid gave the following blessing to Nizam-ud-din: "You will be a tree under whose shadow the people will find rest........ You should strengthen your spirits by devotion. I have handed over all these things to you for at the time of my death you will not be present" (Siriyul-Auliya P. 116-17).

"Nizam-ud-din", says Annemarie Schimmel, "was one of the well-known theologians of Delhi; then, with his Master, he studied Suhrawardi's "Awarif al-ma'arif", the guidebook of almost all the Indo-Muslim mystics in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. After his third visit to Patpattan, he was appointed Khalifa in Delhi. The name of Nizam-ud-din Auliyā, "saints", as he came to be known out of respect, marks the high tide of mystical life in Delhi. The saint was a strict follower of the Prophet Sunna, a student of and commentator on the Prophet traditions, and, at the same time, a friend of poets and musicians, Barani. The Indo-Muslim historiographer of the early fourteenth century claims that it was Nizam-du-din's influence that inclined most of the Muslims in Delhi toward mysticism and prayers, toward remaining aloof from the world. Books on devotion were frequently sold. No wine, gambling, or usury was to be found in Delhi, and people even refrained from telling lies."
Shaikh Farid in Punjab and Nizam-ud-din in Delhi made Sufism a mass movement. He led a life of fasts, vigils and poverty. For days he could not at times get two square meals. When there was no food in the house, his mother would say, "We are today the guests of God: aj ham Khuda Ke mehmān haiū". Nizam-ud-din felt deeply inspired by these words to spend the day in meditation. He avoided the company of the rich and the ruling class and allowed the poor to be near him. The great poet Amir Khusro was his devotee and friend.

"In 1325 A.D. when the Sultan was returning from a successful expedition in Bengal, he sent word to Nizam-ud-din to quit Delhi. The saint on receiving the royal command gave expression to the words: "Hanoz Delhi dur ast." Delhi is still far off" - a Persian saying which has become popular. The king, however, was not destined to enter Delhi, and so could not summon the saint to his court."}

Before he passed away Nizam-ud-din ordered that everything in his Khanqah should be distributed. He died early in the year 1325 A.D. His funeral prayer was led by Shaikh Rukn-ud-din of Multan. His grave is still revered by millions of his devotees.

4:1:vi Ala-ud-din Sabri

Ala-ud-din Sabri is another devotee of Shaikh Farid remembered in Punjab. His father died at Herat when he was only seven years old and his mother brought him to her brother Shaikh Farid, who put him in charge of langer khana. When once the mother came to see his son, she was shocked to find him in a semi-starved condition. When Baba Farid made inquiry as to the cause of his
starved appearance, Ali-ud-din replied "I was asked to supervise the kitchen but I was not told if I myself might eat from it." On receiving the explanation the saint was overjoyed at the scrupulousness of his nephew and forthwith bestowed on him the title of Sabir or the Patient one, the recognition of his power of endurance.

Shaikh Farid appointed him his Khalifa and sent him to Kaliar. The Sikh Gurus were very close to the successors of Shaikh Farid and they greatly appreciated some of the institutions of the Chistis, which we will discuss in subsequent chapters.

All the Chisti saints ordered their disciples to abstain from service of the kings. When Muhammad Tughluq desired to bind the saints to the state Chariot eminent Chisti saints like Shaikh Nasir-ud-din Chiragh and his fellow Khalifas of Chisti order strongly opposed it and stood against the threats. They were greatly admired for this courage.

4:2 Suhrawardi Order (Silsila)

There are three great Suhrawardi saints associated with the Suhrawardi Silsilah who are sometimes confused by common readers and writers. All three were great source of inspiration to the Suhrawardi order. These three saints are:

(i) Abu Najib Suhrawardi 1097-1168 A.D.
(ii) Shihabuddin Suhrawardi (1145-1234 A.D.) nephew of Najib as Suhrawardi:
(iii) Suhrawardi Maqtul (The martyr) 1155-1191 A.D.

4:2:i Abu Najib as Suhrawardi 1097-1168 A.D.

We have prepared this brief biological note on his life on the
Abu Najib as Suhrawardi was born in about 1097 A.D. in Suhraward, a town in the Jibal province in north-western part of Persia. He is said to have been descendant of the Caliph Abu Bakr. He is said to have arrived in Baghdad at the age of seventeen. Here he completed his studies in Hadis, Jurisprudence, and learnt Arabic grammar.

When he was about twenty-five, he left his academic pursuits to lead a life of solitude and wandering. He subsequently returned to Isfahan and became a disciple of Ahmad Ghazzali, younger brother of Imam Ghazali. He taught at the Nizamiyya for a short period and then left Baghdad for Damascus. After a short period he returned to Baghdad where he died on 29 March 1168 A.D. at the age of 71. He wrote his well known work Adab al-muridin "The Manners of the Disciples", a classic that has been translated into many languages and is taught as text in many Sufi centres. Annemarie Schimmel calls him the founder of Suhrawardi order while other authoritative scholars on Sufism call his nephew Shihabuddin the founder of the order. He remained a trustworthy disciple of Ahmed Ghazali and for a number of years lived a solitary life of asceticism and self-mortification, earning his living as a water carrier preaching Sufism and holding Zikr. He founded a convent (ribat) on the western bank of Tigris and also built a madrasa near it. His nephew was his student.

4:2:ii Shihabuddin Abu Hafs Uman as Suhrawardi (1145-1234 A.D.)

Shihabuddin Abu Hafs Uman as-Suhrawardi studied theology and
Sufi practices under his uncle Najib-as-Suhrawardi. It is his enlightened uncle who initiated him into Sufi-mysticism. He was a vigorous preacher with a missionary zeal. "He was a model of orthodox moderation and he enjoyed the confidence and patronage of Calipha and princes, while his lectures and sermons were attended by admiring multitudes, many coming from far to hear him preach. Pilgrims to Mecca in 1231, he there met the great Egyptian mystic poet Umar bin al-Farid; he numbered among his students the even more celebrated Persian poet Sa'di." Muin-ud-din Chisti, Qutb-ud-din Chisti also went to Baghdad to meet him and benefited from him. Shaikh Farid was so enamoured of his work that he named one of his sons "Shihabuddin".

During his life time the Sheikh wrote several books. The most popular was the Awarif-ul-Ma'arif (The Gifts of Divine Knowledge). The Suhrawardi and Chisti saints used it as an essential spiritual guide for the knowledge and practice of Sufism. He made several pilgrimages to Mecca and died in 1234/4. There is a condensed English translation of this work by Wilber force Clarke, which has been used in this work.

"In the 'Awarif-ul-Ma'arif', however, Shaikh Shihabuddin reminded Sufis that the mystic Tariqa was not identical to either faqr (poverty) or Zuhd (asceticism), although there could lead to fana'. To him an obsessive opposition to wealth was a sign of weakness, amounting to a dependence on causation and an attachment to the anticipation of reward. A true Sufi did not differentiate between poverty and wealth and was concerned with neither fear nor the need for recompense."

"Like other orthodox Sufis, the Shaikh considered people mis-
guided who believed that gnosis absolved them from a need to obey Shari'a. The law and Haqîqa (Reality) were interdependent. Similarly, Shaikh Shihab-ud-din Suhrawardî condemned Sufis who, following the analogy of the divine and human aspects of Christ's personality, believed in the doctrine of incarnation.49

"The heart (qalb), Suhrawardî believed was different from the rest of the human body although it was a part of it. The heart of a true believer was like a pure soul and was illuminated by a shining light, but the heart of the unbeliever", said the Shaikh, "was dark and made of a lowly substance. The heart of the hypocrite was shrouded in a veil, and a many-faceted heart was one which was inclined towards both good and evil."50 The ideas of Suhrawardî were taken up and adopted by Sufis of various orders. Like the works of Al-Ghazali this work acquired great prominence as an indispensable Sufi classic.

4:2:iii Shihab-ud-din Yahya Suhrawardî Maqtul (1153-1191 A.D.)

He was the third great Suhrawardî mystic, who acquired great prominence through his life and works. He was greatly influenced by Al-Ghazali's works like Mistak-al-anwar "The Niche for Lights."

Suhrawardî Maqtul was born in 1153 in the same place in north-western Iran from which the founder of the Suhrawardî order came. After initial studies he wandered through the central Islamic countries, until he was drawn to Aleppo by Ayyubid ruler al-Malik az-Zahir, who was fond of Sufis and scholars. But the lawyer divines afraid of the brilliant young philosopher-mystic, eventually persuaded the king, (with the help of his father Saladin - the hero of the Crusaders) - to imprison Suhrawardî; he died in prison
at the age of thirty-eight in 1191. That is why he is often called al-Maqtul - "he who was killed" to avoid confusion with the two other Suhrawardis who played decisive roles in the formation of Sufi orders and the systematization of mystical thought. Suhrawardi is known as the exponent of the philosophy of illumination. He has written about fifty books on the Philosophy of Light (Nūr) in Persian and Arabic. "Suhrawardi took his inspiration from different Islamic sources, among which the theology of Hallaj (Mansur) must certainly be mentioned. In fact, one may detect similarities between the two mystics not only in their violent deaths but also in the "divine fire that devoured Suhrawardi's soul."

"Sheikh Shihab-ud-din Abu Hafs as Suhrawardi is reported to have said, "I have many disciples in India", Shaikh Jalal-ud-din Tabrizi Qazi Hamid-ud-din Nagauri, Sayyid Nur-ud-din, Mubarak Ghaznavi, Shaikh Baha-ud-din Zakariya, Maulana Mujd-ud-din Haji, Shaikh Zia-ud-din Rumi, were among his celebrated Khalifahs in India. Each one of them had a distinguished career in his own sphere, but the credit for organizing the Suhrawardi Silsilah in India belongs exclusively to Shaikh Baha-ud-din Zakariyya. Shaikh Jalal-ud-din Tabrizi shot like a meteor over the Indian horizon and after short stays in Hansi, Badaun and Delhi disappeared in Bengal."

"Shaikh Baha-ud-din was born at Kot Karor, near Multan about 1182-83 A.D. His father died when he was twelve years old. He memorized the Quran and then went to Khurasan for further studies."
He remained there for seven years and left for Bukhara, where his piety earned him the title 'Angel'. After performing a hajj to Mecca, he went to Medina where for five years he studied Hadis under Maulana Kamal-ud-din Muhammad, the greatest scholar of that discipline in his days. From there he went to Jerusalem and later to Baghdad, where Shaikh Shihab-ud-din Suhrawardi initiated him into his order and made him his Khalifa.

Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya remarks about Shaikh Baha-ud-din, "Within seventeen days, Baha-ud-din secured so much spiritual bounties in the company of his director, that it is difficult for others to attain even within the duration of a year. The director said about his disciple that Shaikh Baha-ud-din was a dry wood which caught fire at the first striking." He appointed him successor and ordered him to set up a Suhrawardi Khanqah in Multan. He lived and worked in Multan for more than half a century and his khanqah developed into a great centre of mystic discipline in medieval India.

"Shaikh Baha-ud-din Zakariyya held independent views on many problems of religion and politics. His mystical ideology was radically different from that of his Chisti contemporaries. He believed in living a normal, balanced life - a life in which both the body and the spirit receive equal care. Neither he himself fasted perpetually nor did he recommend a life of starvation and self-mortification to those associated with him. According to Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya he acted on the Kuranic injunction : "Eat of what is pure and act righteously." Baha-ud-din Zakariya was a contemporary of Farid-ud-din Shakar-Ganj. "It is revealing to compare the style of life of these two
mystics", says Annemerie Schimmel, "who were separated by only a few hundred miles - the stern ascetic Farid, who gave no thought to any worldly needs and returned all governmental grants for his family and his disciples, and the well-to-do landlord Baha-ud-din, who looked after the needs of his family and never failed to keep a supply of grain in his house. The accumulation of wealth was sufficient to make him the target of accusation by other Sufis, but his sons, unlike the sons of most of the early Chisti saints, followed in his path; the succession in the Suhrawardiyya became, generally, hereditary. As opposed to the open table in the poor Chisti khāngāhs, Baha-ud-din was more formal and had fixed hours for visitors who were invited to partake in meals. And he was willing to mix freely with members of the ruling classes. Just as Abu Hafs Umar Suhrawardi himself had served the caliph an-Nasir... This contrasting attitude toward the world, and toward its most dangerous representative, the government, has survived through the centuries."

Shaikh Baha-ud-din did not approve of the Chisti practice of prostrating before a Shaikh. His followers greeted him with the words, "As-salam-alekam" for other form of showing respect was not permitted in his Khanqah. "Unlike the Chishtis, Shaikh Baha-ud-din believed in accumulating wealth. Besides, he did not abstain from taking part in political matters, or associating with the political powers. This departure from the established tradition of medieval mysticism apart, Shaikh Baha-ud-din possessed not only great organizing capacity but also a very remarkable understanding of human nature. He organized the Suhrawardi Silsilah on firm foundations and attracted to his fold a very large number of talented disciples."
The well-known poet Fakhruddin Iraqi came to Multan and sought spiritual enlightenment. The saint set him in cell where he was supposed to recite Koran for eleven days. But the poet started singing romantic love poems. "The inmates of the hospice ran and told the saint what was passing. Now this order followed the rule of Shihabuddin Suhrawardi whose favoured pupil Baha-ud-din was, and Suhrawardi's rule was that the devotee should occupy himself only with the recitation of the Koran and the expounding of tradition. The other brothers, therefore, viewed Iraqis behaviour with disapproval, and complained to the saint. He, however, replied that this was prohibited to them, but not to him."\(^59\) Baha-ud-din took him out of the cell and gave him the Sufi robe. With great insight of a true saint, Baha-ud-din acknowledged Iraqi's greatness and true love. Baha-ud-din is still remembered through many poems of Iraqi.

"Shaikh Baha-ud-din discharged his duties so efficiently that not only the people of Multan embraced Islam in overwhelming numbers, but people thronged to him from Sindh and Baluchistan. It is for this reason that Baba Farid named the regions of Multan, Sindh and Balochistan as the territory of Baha-ud-din Zakariyya."\(^60\)

Shaikh Farid and other Chistis kept their doors open to all types of hermits and visitors, like Qalandaris and malamatis. "Jawalqis and qalandars from Khurasan and Central Asia would first visit Shaikh Baha-ud-din's Khanqah at Multan en route to Delhi. In keeping with the Shaikh's custom, they were not welcomed."\(^61\) They went to Shaikh Farid's Khanqah where they were received with respect as equals.

"Shaikh Baha-ud-din's relation with the Chistis, Khwaja Qutb-ud-
Babri Kaki and Baba Farid, were most amicable. Amongst themselves they had divided areas of respective spiritual influence and this helped to counter any misunderstandings. Once a musician called 'Abdullah' was intending to go to Multan from Ajodhan. He asked Baba Farid to pray for his safe journey. The Baba, however, replied that the limit of his spiritual influence was at a certain water tank and that beyond it began the area of Shaikh Baha-ud-din whose prayers he should attain. The musician acted on the Baba's advice and safely completed his journey. After over half a century of intense missionary work he died on 21 December, 1262, three years before Baba Farid died.

4:2:v Successors of Shaikh Baha-ud-din Zakariyya

Spencer Trimingham gives the following table of Suhrawardi Silsila in Punjab:

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"Shaikh Baha-ud-din Zakariyya had seven sons and a very large number of disciples scattered all over Multan and Sind. His son, Shaikh Sadr-ud-din Arif, succeeded him as his chief Khalifah and
Sajjadahnashin in Multan; while his disciple, Sayyid Jalal-ud-din Surkh Bukhari established a strong Suhrawardi centre at Uchch. The history of Suhrawardi Silsilah in India mainly revolves round these two branches - the Multan branch and the Uchch branch. Unlike the Chishtis, succession in the Suhrawardi order was determined on a hereditary basis. For two generations these two branches produced distinguished saints with great talent for organization but, later on, the Silsilah disintegrated because those who had to look after its affairs were men of smaller stature and inferior mettle."

"Shaikh Sadr-ud-din Arif worked for nearly 23 years after the death of his father from whom he differed basically in his attitude towards some of the fundamental problems of religion and politics. He hated wealth and considered it to be the source of all spiritual distractions and worldly troubles. His share in the patrimony amounted to 7 lac tankahs, but he distributed the entire amount in charity. Unable to appreciate the reasons for this departure from the practice of his father, some people could not help interrogating him on this point. He replied that since his father had complete control over worldly desires and temptations, he could, with confidence and with justification, hoard wealth and spend it but, as he himself did not possess that strength of character, he was afraid of indulging in money matters 'lest it might lead him astray.'"

Sayyid Jalal-ud-din, Shah Mir Surkhpash of Bukhara (1192-1291 A.D.) was a vice-gerent of Baha-ud-din Zakariyya of Multan. This saint was born in Bukhara, but when he grew to manhood he came to India and settled down in Uchch. His descendants are still known as Sayyid Bukhari. Jalal-ud-din is said to have possessed miraculous power even from his childhood."

The followers of the Jalali
order, known as Jalili faqirs, wear black threads round their heads, and also wear an amulet tied round their arms which is said to be made in the form of the seal of Prophet Muhammad. They also carry a horn which they blow when they are in a state of ecstasy.

The Makhdumi section of this order was founded by Sayyid Jalal-ud-din Surkhposh's grandson. In Lahore, the bunch of this order was founded by Miran Muhammed Shah, Mawj-i-Darya who lived during the time of Emperor Akbar. Suhagiyya order whose members call themselves Sada Suhagin are also a branch of this Uchch section. Some of the orders were called Bi-Shar'a (illegitimate orders).

Writing about the head of this branch Jalal-ud-din Surkhposh Spencer Trimingham writes, "Jalal-ud-din Surkhposh al-Bukhari (1192-1291) at Uchch, became an important diffusion centre. Contrary to the Chishti Shaikhs of the only other order active in India, Baha-ud-din pursued a worldly policy, associating freely with princes, accepting honours and wealth, and building up a large fortune. He and his associates also followed a rigid orthodox line, pandering to the Ulama' and rejecting Sama in the form which prevailed among Chishtis."

4:3 Qadiriyya (Silsila) - Sufi Order

4:3:(i) Abdul-Qadir Jilani (1088-1166 A.D.) was the founder of this most important and oldest of the Sufi orders, but it took roots in India only in late 13th and 14th century. "Abdul-Qadir was born in Jilan, where Hanbalism was strong in 1077. He came to Baghdad in A.D. 488 (at the age of seventeen) and pursued a legalistic course of Hanbali training, refusing to study at the Nizamiyya where the Sufi, Ahmad al-Ghazali, had succeeded his brother
Abu-Hamid. He received the khirqa of first investiture at the hands of the Hanbali faqir, Abu Said Ali al-Mukharrimi. His interest in Sufi mysticism was assured by his association with Hammed al-Dabbes who died in 1129 A.D. Experiencing conversion, he began in 1127 to preach regularly on the holy life; many flocked to hear his sermons, attracted by the reports of the miracles he was said to perform.

During his early life of orthodox Muslim he is said to have recited the complete Koran every night, standing on one leg. He is the Gaus-i-azm (the Greatest Help) and the pir-i-dast-gir "the Pir who keeps ones hand", for support. His influence spread from Turkey to Punjab and Sindh. He had a number of his wives and hadforty-nine children. At some stage of his life Abdul Qadir, the sober Hanbalite preacher became an intoxicated Sufi mystic. His fame reached incredible height and came to be known as "the river of religion."

"As a direct descendant of the Prophet Muhammad (through his daughter, Fatima), Shaikh Abdul-Qadir was believed to have inherited everyone of his ancestor's spiritual achievements. Due to such a pure Saiyids' origin, mystics of Shaikh Abdul-Qadir's order developed a tradition of obsessive respect for all those claiming to be immaculate beings who, with their children deserved the most servile deference. The initiation of Ibn Arabi into the Qadiriyya order had made all Qadiriyyas staunch supporters of his controversial Wahdat al-Wujud philosophy. It had also produced in them a great source of pride that such a famous Sufi could be numbered among them. We will presently discuss the contribution of Ibn Araki to the mystical doctrines of Qadiriyya Sufi movement in India.
Abdul Qadir's tomb in Baghdad is still a place of pilgrimage for pious Muslims, mainly from the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent, where the order was introduced in the late fourteenth century. These pilgrims who often stay for weeks silently walk around with little brooms, cleaning the sanctury; to sweep the threshold of a saint is considered rewarding work. Bhai Gurdas mentions that Guru Nanak met one of his successors who was also a great mystic and was known as "Dastgir-pir". We will now discuss Ibn Arabi's Sufi philosophical thoughts which strongly influenced all the great Qadriyyia Sufi mystics of Punjab like Shah Hussain, Miyan Mir, Sultan Bahu and Bulleh Shah, which we will discuss in greater detail in the next Chapter.

4:3(ii) Ibn Arabi was born in 1165 in Murcia, Spain, and was educated by two women saints one of whom was Fatima of Cordeva. He met the Sufi philosopher Averroes here and he studied other books on mysticism also. In 1201 Ibn Arabi went to Mecca where a beautiful and highly accomplished talented lady was great source of mystical and poetical inspiration to him. Inspired by her beauty and personal charms he wrote poems in Arabic, "Tarjuman al-ashwaq" (The Interpreter of Longing). He visited Cairo, Kenya, Baghdad and he finally settled in Damascus, where he died in 1240 A.D. His popular books are: Al-futuhet al-makkiyya, "Mecean Revelations", and "Fusus al-hikam, "Bezels of Divine Wisdom".

Ibn Arabi sees the revelation of God out of the pure being, 'ama', the absolute inwardness in the world of created beings. "We ourselves are the attributes by which we describe God; our existence is more objectification of His existence. God is necessary to us in order that we may exist, while we are necessary to Him in
order that He may be manifested to Himself."71

Ibn Arabi's whole system of Sufi mysticism rests on his doctrine of Wahdat al-wajūd, "Unity of Being", scholarly and clear interpretation of which is given by Annemarie Schimmel. She says, "The term wajūd, which is usually translated as "being", "existence", means, basically "finding", "to be found", as is, thus, more dynamic than mere "existence". At the end of the Path only God is present, is 'found'. Thus wahadat al-wajūd is not simply 'unity of being', but also the unity of existentialization and the perception of this act; it sometimes becomes quasi-synonymous with "shuhūd", "contemplation", "witnessing", so that the term wah'dat al wajūd and wahadat ash shabūd, which were so intensely discussed by later mystics, especially in India, are sometimes even interchangeable". Everything gains its wajūd, its existence, by "being found", i.e. perceived by God, and "only their face that is turned to God is real, the rest is pure not-Being."72

She further explains, "God is above all qualities - they are neither He nor other than He - and He manifests Himself only by means of the names, not by His essence. On the plane of essence, He is inconceivable and non-experiential. That means that in their actual existence the creatures are not identical with God, but only reflections of His attributes."73 Ibn Arabi said, "He who knows himself knows God. He identified the Absolute with Essence and interpreted it as Absolute Being. Although many different interpretations have been given to this theory, it is important to know that the Qaidriya saints accepted it as the basic philosophy of their school of mysticism.
The Qadriyyas enter Punjab and Sind: During the second half of the fifteenth century, the Suhrawardi Order which commanded high respect and spiritual jurisdiction over Multan and Uchch was also almost completely overpowered by the Qadiriyya saints. Shaikh Muhammed Ghaus was a direct descendant of the Founder, Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani, established a Khanqah at Uch. As the spiritual influence of Suhrawardi Order had declined, he and his followers were warmly welcomed in Multan and Uch. '74

After the death of Shaikh Muhammed, the new leader of Uch was his eldest son Shaikh Abdul Qadir Sani (the Second). In his early life, he was very fond of music, dancing, and travelling. Then there was a sudden conversion. He resigned his government job and returned the grants and stipends and led an ascetic life. He was admired for his saintliness and miracles. When the ruler of Multan invited him, he replied through this poem.

"I have no door to which to go,
From this one door of Allah,
While seated here, come weal or woe,
I am content with either.
Who so, in this world, wears the cloak,
Provided by the King of Love,
Feels a delight he could not have
Though robed in light in heaven above." '75

Qadriyya Sufi movement then spread in Punjab and other provinces of India. Two great Sufi Saints of Lahore played a great role in the development of Punjabi literature, culture, and mysticism, in the sixteenth century and later also eminent Sufi mystics played a great role in the development of Punjabi Sufi literature in
seventeenth and eighteenth century. The first two luminaries of the Qadiri Order were (1) Shah Hussain, and (2) Miyan Mir. The second group of the Qadiri mystic poets were (1) Sultan Bahu, and (2) Bulleh Shah. We will discuss them briefly here in this chapter and then we will discuss their contribution to Punjabi literature in more detail in the next chapter.

4:3:(iv) Hazrat Shah Lal Husain of Lahore (1536-1599)

Shah Husain's great grand father Kelas Rai had been converted to Islam during the reign of Sultan Feroz Shah Tughlak. His father was Shaikh Usman. The family as Shah Husain himself tells us was a weaver (Julaha) "nau Husain te jat Julâhâ". From the mother's side he belonged to Rajput Dhadha tribes. Thus his original name was Dhadha Husain Kalasrai. Lal Husain showed, even as a child, a marked preference for clothes of saffron and red clothes, hence the epithet "Lal" added to his name.

At the age of seven he started studying the Koran in the madrasa of Sheikh Abu Bakr which was situated near the Ravi river. When he was ten years old an eminent Qaidiri Sufi saint Shaikh Bahlul Daryai came to Lahore and stayed in a mosque near the madrasa. Bahlul Shah initiated him into the ascetic disciple of early Qadiri saints and prayed that he may become an enlightened Sufi saint. Shah Husain first memorized the whole of Koran. After initiating him and drilling him in Sufi religious and mystical practices for some years his master Shah Bahlul went back to his own home town Chiniot.

Shah Husain spent a number of years in the jungles around Lahore and meditating at night near the tomb of Shaikh Hujwiri Data Ganj Bakhsh. He passed through severe ascetic discipline practising
the Zikr according to Qadiri Order.

"For twenty-six years he strictly followed the rites and practices of Islam, and led a life of real austerity. But on reaching the age of thirty-six, it is said that while studying a commentary on the Quran under a certain Shaykh Sadullah in Lahore, he came one day to the verse; "The life of this world is nothing but a game and sport." (VI.32). He asked his master to explain this to him, but when the usual meaning was given he refused to accept it, saying that the words must be taken literally, and that henceforth he himself would pass his life in sport and dancing. This incident proved to be a turning point in his career and from that day he sought to express in life the extraordinary views he held. In consequence he abruptly left the madrasah and went about shouting and dancing in public. He never returned to his student life and religious practices. We are told that one of his first acts on leaving his studies was to throw away his book."78

Lal Husayn's name is popularly associated with that of another person called Madho, and in fact, the two are so constantly thought of together that the saint commonly goes by the name of Madho Lal Husayn as though the master and this disciple of his were one person. Madho was a young Hindu boy, a Brahmin by caste, to whom Lal Husayn was, one day, irresistibly attracted as he saw him pass by. So strong indeed was the fascination he felt for the boy, that he would rise in the middle of the night and, going to his house, would walk round it. In time Madhu himself felt the attraction of Lal Husayn and, coming under the spell of his fervent love, began to frequent his house, and even joined him in drinking wine. Such intimate connection between a Hindu boy and a Muslim faqir of
questionable character very soon became the talk of the place. Madho's parents feeling it to be a disgrace to their family, tried their utmost to dissuade the boy from going to Lal Husayn, but in vain."79

"So far Madho, though the bosom friend of Lal Husayn, had not yet renounced Hinduism. It was, we are told, a miracle wrought by Lal Husayn that finally led him and his parents to the conviction of the truth of Islam."80 This miracle impressed Madho so that he accepted Islam and was initiated into mystical practices of Qadiri order.

Towards the last few years of his life, Shah Husain became an intoxicated faqir and in order to conceal his inner spiritual enlightenment he became sometimes a malamati Sufi and at other time a qalandari Sufi in his outward habits by shaving his head and beard and by pretending to be libertine.

"Shah Husayn had sixteen Khalifas, four of them were called Khāķī, four Gharīb, four Diwanīand four Bilawalī."81 Rizvi says, "During his lifetime Shaikh Husain Lahori enrolled a legion of disciples who became Qadiri ambassadors in all parts of the Punjab as well as elsewhere in India. He died in 1599 in Lahore. After Shaikh Husain's death his favourite disciple, known as Shaikh Madho succeeded him as head of his khangah."82 All his followers and successors taught the mystical teachings of Qadiri Order.

4:3:(v) Miyan Mir and His disciples: The Qadiri Sufi orders spread all over the world. Spencer Trimingham gives a list of outstanding Sufi orders in Turkey, Syria, Algeria, Egypt, Morocco and India. He calls the Miyan Mir (Miyan Khel) order the most outstanding Qadiri order in India."83
Miyan Mir was born in 938 A.H./1531 A.D. at Swistan a place between Thatha and Bhakar. His father's name was Qazi Sain Ditta bin. Qazi Qalander Faragi. He was a very devout man with mystical trend of mind. His mother Bibi Fatima was daughter of Qazi Quzi who was a great scholar and Sufi mystic who instructed and disciplined. Bibi Fatima in mystical life and practices. Miyan Mir had four brothers (1) Bolan (older than him), (2) Usman, (3) Tahir, and (4) Mohammed. He had two sisters: (1) Bibi Jamal Khatun, and (2) Bibi Bawi.

His mother was so well known for her saintly and mystical life that she was called Rabia of Swistan. When her eldest son was born she knew from her own divine perceptions that he would not be a saint nor would he achieve mystical heights. So she prayed for a son who would become a great saint and mystic. A voice answering her prayers said, "You will be blessed not only with a son but also with a daughter who would be great saint. Thus Miyan Mir was born and after his Bibi Jamal, both of whom became well known saints and mystics.

Upto the age of twelve his mother was his teacher and spiritual guide. His father had died when he was seven. At the age of twelve he sought his mother's permission to seek some saint, who could give him mystical guidance and help him in his spiritual practices and progress.

In the hills of Sawistan there lived a Sufi hermit of Qadiri order who spent his life in caves and mountain retreats. In winter, he would spend his night in a heated oven (tanūr). He came to the city only once or twice a year. He was true Sufi recluse and had no worldly interest. Miyan Mir had seen him in the town and now he
went in search of him in the mountain caves.

"The story is told how one day in summer, when he was sitting in the blazing sun, the ruler of Siwastan visited him, and standing close by cast his shadow upon his body so as to protect from the sun. The saint raising his head asked him what he wanted. The ruler said, "I desire to be permitted to do you some service." The saint replied, "The one service that I would have you perform is that you get away from here and do not cast your shadow upon me." The ruler, retreated a short distance, and then requested the saint to pray for him during the hour of his worship. But the saint rebuked him, saying, "God forbid, that in the hour of worship I should think of any one else beside Him."

For nearly twelve years Miyan Mir had mystical training under this great saint. At the age of twenty-four he came to Lahore. While he spent some time studying theological works under eminent scholars, he spent most of the time in meditation and prayers. Except for a period of one year which he spent in Sirhind, he lived for the rest of his life in Lahore where he died on 21 August, 1635. The last rites were performed by his disciples and devotees, Governor Wazir Khan (a great devotee of Guru Arjan and Hargobind) joined the cortege.

"Throughout his life Miyan-Mir strictly adhered to the shari'at urging his disciples to do likewise. Insisting that the first stage in the Sufic journey was obedience to the Sheikh, the perfect form of the tariqā was reflected in the heart. This, in turn, prompted God to withdraw the veil from human nature, thus revealing Himself through an understanding of the significance of the Haqiqā. Therefore, the Shari'ā helped to regulate worldly affairs
and led to the Tariqa stage of mysticism."

"Miyan Mir endorsed the view of Shaikh Najmud-din Razi, that the purification of the heart and concentration in prayer were possible only through lawfully acquired food and righteous deeds."

"The traditional Sufi custom of wearing patched cloak was severely criticized by Miyan-Mir as a trademark which attracted attention to Sufis who were then offered gifts and given a great deal of publicity. In place of the patched cloak he himself wore a turban of coarse cloth and a cotton coat. He washed his own clothes in the river, urging his disciples to be clean and tidy. He and his disciples wore garments that did not distinguish them from other Muslim."86

"An ardent follower of the Wahdat al-Wujūd, Miyan Mir considered it so profoundly esoteric that he refused to divulge any of its secrets to ordinary Muslims. He linked conversations about the Wahdat al-Wujūd to an Oasis mirage, meaning that it would not quench anyone's thirst."87

Sikh historical records: Gurubilās Patshahi Chhevin, Suraj Prakāsh and Mehma Prakāsh give a detailed accounts of the associations of Miyan Mir and Guru Arjan and Guru Hargobind and how the great Sufi saint who was about 27 years older than Guru Arjan was invited to lay the foundation of the Harimandir, the Golden Temple.

All the brothers of Miyan Mir died during his life time. His saintly sister Bibi Jamal Khatun lived for about twelve years after his death. Like her mother she was revered as a great saint. She was married, but even during married life she gave herself to intense meditations and spiritual life. After a few years of married life she renounced her family life and started leading the life of a
mystical recluse. Two maid servants looked after the household. She used to get food prepared for many people and after taking a little out of it she distributed this _langar_ to the people. Many miracles were attributed to her. Miyan Mir had many disciples, but the most prominent were Miyan Natha, Mullah Shah and Dara Shikoh.

4:3:(vi) _Miyan Natha_ : Before initiating a few chosen disciples Miyan Mir kept them under his tutelage near him and then when they were disciplined and ready to become his _Khalifa_, they were asked to go away. But Miyan Natha who originally belonged to Sirhind stayed close to him and with him till his death. Miyan Mir considered him his most enlightened disciple. He would sit in the forests, or in lively places for a long time. He was earlier an oil presser (telī) by profession. He died in the presence of Miyan Mir in a state of illumination and ecstasy. Miyan Mir loved him so much that his eyes were filled with tears. He expressed his desire that he should also be buried near Miyan Natha's tomb.

"Miyan Natha was very much subject to states of ecstasy and would often pass whole day in some deserted place, lost in profound meditation. Dara Shikoh speaks of him as one who could understand the language of birds, trees, plants, etc. and tells the story of how Miyan Mir once asked him where he resorted to for meditation. The disciple replied, "At first I used to meditate in Ichra, but there the noise of the trees and plants praising God disturbed me, and so now I retire to the corner of a shrine in Mohalla Junayd Khalifa." Miyan Mir jokingly retorted: "Ah! listen to all the talks of this oilman (Telī)."."88

4:3:(vii) _Mullah Shah_ : He was a native of Badakhshah, Aurangzeb's sister Jahan Ara writes about him, "He came to India at the age of
twenty-five and went direct to Kashmir, where he spent three years as a student. Thereafter, he came to Lahore and remained in the service of Miyan Mir for approximately nineteen years, and during all these years he went back to Kashmir only in summer."

As Miyan Mir did not initiate princes and rich people as his disciples, it was Mullah Shah who initiated Dara Shikoh and his sister Jahan Ara Begam. She has written Mullah Shah's life in a small work "sahibiya". Earlier she was a devotee of the Chisti order and had written a biography of Muin-ud-din Chisti.

Mullah Shah prayed and meditated night and day. Miyan Mir had a very high opinion about him. "No servants were kept, no meals were cooked and no lamps were lighted in his house and he used to sit in darkness." One night as I attended upon him", says Dara Shikoh, "he asked some one to bring a light and then turning towards me remarked that he had ordered the Light for me as he always meditated in the dark cell and recited the verse:

"The fire of your love illuminates our abode
In this darkened cell of ours a light we burn not."

Mullah Shah was summoned to Delhi by Aurangzeb in 1661 because he was a friend and patron of Dara Shikoh. On the way to Delhi he stopped at Lahore and died when he prayed at the tomb of Miyan-Mir.

Dara Shikoh is worth mentioning because to him and to his sister Jahan Ara goes the credit of preserving the lives and biographies of Miyan Mir and other Qadiri saints and mystics. Writing about her brother Jahan Ara says, "I love my brother Dara Shikoh extremely both in form and spirit. We are in fact, like one soul in two bodies and one spirit in two physical forms. Of all the descendents of Timur, only we two brother and
sister were fortunate to obtain this felicity. None of our forefathers ever tread this path in quest of God and in search of the Truth. My happiness knows no bounds."90

Dara Shikoh in his Biography of Miyan Mir gives two incidents to show how greatly was Miyan Mir respected by his father and grandfather Jahangir. Shah Jahan was of the opinion that Miyan Mir surpassed all saints in detachment and renunciation. Dara Shikoh was suffering from a chronic stomach disease. Shah Jahan took him to Miyan Mir going all the way on foot and begged the saint to cure him. Miyan Mir gave him a cup of water and held his hand in his own. The malady was cured within a week. Shah Jahan presented him a turban and rosary and received the saint's blessings."91

Dara Shikoh says his grandfather Jahangir did not respect saints. He used to torture them. But he was greatly impressed by Miyan Mir. When Jahangir met Miyan Mir he was so overwhelmed that he was prepared to give up his throne. Then Miyan Mir said, "I will ask for one thing, which you should promise to give. Jahangir assured that he will fulfil the saint's wish. Miyan Mir said, "My only wish is that your majesty would not give me the trouble of coming to you again." The Emperor gave the assurance. That shows how greatly was Miyan Mir and the Qadiri order respected by the common man and the princes. The Qadiri saints always kept away from the court.92

4:3:(ix) Sultan Bahu: Sultan Bahu, whose real name was Sultan Muhammed received his name from the words "Hu" (he) with which he terminated all his verses. His father Sultan Bayazid was a Saiyid and a dignitary in Shah Jahan's court. He had settled in Sherkot, a village in the Jhang district of the Punjab given to him by the
emperor, Shah Jahan in recognition of his services to the govern-
ment. Sultan Muhamed was born in 1629-30 and received his early
education in his own village of Sherkot. He later went to Delhi
and became a disciple of Pir Abdur-Rahman Qadiri who was also in
the service of Shah Jahan. The person who had the greatest influ-
ence upon him was his mother, Rasti, about whom Sultan Bahu himself
wrote:

Bliss of God for Rasti be
For, with Truth is gifted she.

Commenting on the Qadiri doctrine of Wahdat al-Wujūd he wrote:
Vanished are the forests, rivers,
Oneness is in flood and spate,
Lovers fight not shy of drinking
Brimful cups of Death and Hate
Rubbing ash on bodies graceful
Hundreds walk the lovers gait,
I am all for persons, Bahoo!
Valiant, brave and regenerate.

He has written verses in praise of his Pir and the Qadiri saints.
He died on 2 March 1691 and was buried in the village of Kaharjanan
on the banks of the Chenab near Sherkot.

4:3:(x) Bulleh Shah (1680-1752): Bulleh Shah was the second
great Qadiri saint and poet, mystic of this period. Annemarie
Schimmel says, "Bullhe Shah is considered the greatest of the
Punjabi mystical poets. He lived near Lahore. Like his contempora-
ries Shah Abdul-Latif in Sind and Shah Waliullah, Mir Dard and
Mazhar Jan Janan in Delhi, he was a witness of the epoch of great
political disasters that occurred, with only brief interruptions,
in the north-western part of the subcontinent after Aurangzeb's death in 1707. Like these mystics, he found peace in the inner world of love and surrender, singing his mystical songs in order to console himself and his friends in the times of external sufferings and afflictions. His poetry was so highly esteemed that he was surnamed "the Rumi of Punjab." Bulleh Shah was disciple of Shah Inayat (d 1632), a prominent qadiri saint of Kasur. We are studying Bulleh Shah's mysticism and poetry in considerable detail in the next chapter.

4:4 Naqashbandi Order

"The Naqashbandiyya are strange caravan leaders who bring the caravan through hidden paths into the sanctuary." So said Jami, one of the outstanding members of this order in its second period. The Naqshbandiyya differed in many respects from most of the medieval mystical fraternities in the central Islamic countries." 

4:4:(i) Baha-ud-din Naqashbandi

The founder of Naqshbandi order was Baha-ud-din Naqashbandi, who belonged to Central Asian tradition, which traced its lineage back to Yusus Hamdani (d 1140). He was a great mystic and the Imam of the time.

Hamadhani's spiritual affiliation went back to Kharaqani and Bayezid Bistami, these two saints remained highly venerated in the order. According to the tradition, it was Hama-dhani who encouraged Abdul-Qadir Gilani to preach in public. Two major traditions stem from him, one is the Yasawiyiya in central Asia, which, in turn, influenced the Bektashiyye in Anatolia. Hamadhani's most successful
Khalifa, besides Ahmad Yasowi, was Abdul-Khaliq Ghij-duwani (d. 1220), who propagated the teachings of his master primarily in Transoxania. The way he taught became known as the tariqā-ya Khwajagān, "the way of the Khojās, or teachers." It is said that he set up the eight principles upon which the later Naqshbandiyya was built:

1. hūsh dar dam, "awareness in breathing"
2. nazar bar qadam, "watching over one's steps"
3. safar dar watan, "internal mystical journey"
4. khilwat dar anjuman, "solitude in the crowd"
5. yād kard, "recollection"
6. bāz gard, "restraining one's thoughts"
7. nigāh dasht, "to watch one's thought", and
8. yād dāsht, "Concentration upon God." 97

Naqshbandi order flourished successfully in central Asian society and politics during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In India it gained importance towards the end of fifteenth century. "The first saint of this order to enter India was Khwaja Baqi Billah Barang, seventh in the line of succession from Khwaja Baha-ud-din Naqshband, the founder. Baqi Billa acting on the instructions of his Pir, came to India and settled in Delhi, where he died after three years." 98

"It was his disciple Ahmed Farūqi who established the Naqshbandi order on firm footing in India. Rose writes, "The history of the Naqshbandi order would be of some interest if it could be recovered, not merely because it has played an important part in Muslim thought, but also because it has had no little influence on the political vicissitudes of India, Mesopotamia and to a less extent Turkey." 99
Ahmed Faruqi was born in 1563-64 in Sirhind. "Ahmed's father Shaikh Abdul Ahmad, was a very distinguished Sufi who held authority to make disciples in fifteen different religious orders and when Ahmad reached the age of discretion his father initiated him into all of them." He was a strong believer and exponent of Wahdat-al-Wujūd doctrine in the beginning.

When his father died in 1598, Ahmed went to Delhi where he was introduced to Baqi Billah with whom he stayed for two months. He was initiated into Naqshbandi order and appointed him as his chief Khalifa. When he came back a Khirqa of Qadri Order belonging to the founder was offered to him which he wore with great respect. Thus he initiated people both into Naqshbandi and Qadiri order. After the death of his Pir, he was acknowledged head of Naqshbandi order. He became an outstanding reformer (Mujjaddid). In Akbar's court he opposed the Shias and Akbar's Din-Ilahi cult.

Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi was also a great mystic. About his earlier stages of mystical experiences he writes: "I believed in the tawhid-i-wajūd (i.e. Wahdat-al-wujūd) from the time I was a boy. My father apparently believed in the doctrine and used to carry on spiritual exercises on wujūd lines." But after more contemplation he felt that it was an earlier stage. He considered the stage of Ziliyat (i.e. the vision that all things are the shadows of God and different from Him) the highest stage.

After the death of his Master he hardly left Sirhind except a few times for Delhi and Agra. He posted his trained followers in Lahore, Agra, Burhanpur and other major cities of the country. Jahangir noted that the disciples of the Shaikh have spread all over
the cities and the towns of India. He guided his disciples through letters and tried to extend his influence in political circles.

The Naqshbandī silsilah avoided musical sessions (sam'ā, dervish dances, and zikr with loud voice. He preached moderation in food, drink, sleep and dress. He preached that the goal of tasawwuf is neither union with God, nor participation in His Attributes, but simply to obey the Shari'ah and to be faithful servant of God. There is no stage higher than the stage of servanthood.  

He considered himself to be more a Wali and Reformer of the highest order than a teacher of mysticism. He urged his followers to give up false beliefs and oppose those who were against the Shari'at and orthodox Islam. He felt Islam was drifting towards pantheism and Muslims made great mistake by joining the Hindus in their festivals like Diwali, Rakhi etc. He denounces not only bad innovations but even good innovations. He even condemned the Ulāmas as the robbers of religion.

"Towards the end of Akbar's reign a struggle for succession between his sons ensured. Salim secured the support of some influential officials of the Court who resented Akbar's religious policies. He promised to defend the Shari'ah, and ascended the throne under the name of Jahangir."  

Jahangir used the influence of Shaikh Ahmed Sirhindi to please anti-Akbar fanatics, and under these influences he signed execution order of Guru Arjan and even tortured his own son Khusro who had rebelled against him.

Six years after he became Emperor, Jahangir married Nurjahan under whose influence Jahangir pursued a liberal policy. The Sufis whose ideas Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi had condemned influenced the
court officials. His letters to court officials failed to influence the emperor.

In 1619, Jahangir summoned Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi and asked him to explain the charges levelled against him. As he was not satisfied with his answers, Sheikh Ahmed also did not prostrate before the Emperor, so the Emperor imprisoned him. Even in the prison, he kept on influencing prisoners. A year later, Jahangir set him free, honoured him with a robe and returned his property. The emperor allowed him to stay in his camp for three years. He died on 10th December, 1624 A.D. at Sirhind.¹⁰⁵

He continued to preach strongly against the Qadiri doctrine of Wahdat-al-Wujūd and he was a staunch exponent of Islamic Shariah. Thus he spent his whole life in revivalism of orthodox Islam. "Ahmad is credited with as many as 644 treatises on different religious subjects. His teachings are mainly embodied in a series of letters which were collected in his lifetime and are now published in three large volumes."¹⁰⁶

4:4:(iii) The Four Qayyums in Naqshbandi Order

Ahmad Sirhindi was the first of the saints of Islam who claimed for himself and for his three immediate successors the title of Qayyum. It would seem that the Qayyum is to be considered higher in rank and dignity than the Perfect Man. He is described as follows: The Qayyum is the dignitary on whom the whole order of existence depends, and under whose control are all Names, Attributes, and things actual and potential. All things, whether they belong to the past, the present or the future - men, animals, birds and plants - in fact every animate and inanimate object, the throne of
God, the Preserved Tablet, the Pen, the Plants, the fixed stars, the sun, the moon, and the heavens with all their signs of the Zodiacs, are "under his Shadows", i.e. (government)." Three of his sons and a daughter died of plague. He explained that he had offered them to death to save the people.

His third son Muhammad Masum became the second Qayyum. Prince Aurangzeb became a disciple of Masum. The third Qayyum was Khwaja Naqshband Hajjatullah. He was second son of Qayyum II. He also influenced Emporor Aurangzeb. The fourth Qayyum Zubayr was grandson of Qayyum III. In the war between Prince Azam and Muazzam (Bahadur Shah) he openly sided with Bahadur Shah.

His disciple Shaikh Hamid, who was sent to Bengal continued to believe in Wahdat al-Wujūd. In Punjab, the teachings of Naqshbandi order did not influence Punjabi society, literature and culture at all though his tomb is still revered by Muslims in Sirhind.

5. Malāmatī Order

The word Malāmatī means blame. Sufis of Malāmati order are known as blames worthy ones. "Contrary to the Sufi, the true Malāmati conceals his progress in the spiritual life. He aspires to free himself from the world and its passions whilst living in the world. Shihab-ud-din as - Suhrāwārdi writes : 'It has been said that he Malamati is one who neither makes a show of doing good or harbours thoughts of evil'. He explained this as follows : 'The Malamati is one whose veins are saturated with the nourishment of pure virtue, who is really sincere, who does not want anyone to be acquainted with his ecstatic states and experiences.' The Malamati is ready to be despised by men that he may lose himself in God.
Whereas the Sufi lives in tawakkul, relying upon God to provide for him, the Malamati works for his living ('lawful' food for him is earned food), absorbed in God whilst engaged in the affairs of the world. He does not parade his inward way, nor indulge in public dhikr gatherings."  

Annemarie Schimmel writes, "The ideal of the Malamatiya developed out of a stress on ikhlas, "perfect sincerity". Ansari sometimes praises a person for his "perfect malama and sincerity". Muhasibi had taught that even the slightest tendency to show one's piety or one's religious behaviour was ostentation. Thus, the Malamatis deliberately tried to draw the contempt of the world upon themselves by committing unseemly, even unlawful, actions, but they preserved perfect purity of heart and loved God without second thought."  

Al-malama tark as-salama, "blame is to give up well-being", says Hamdul al-Qassar, one of the first among the Khuraasanian Sufis to adopt this way of life. Sulami sees them as veiled from the vulgar by God's jealousy: He has granted them all kinds of spiritual graces, but does not expose them to the view of the common people, their outward behaviour is that of people who live in Separation from God, but inwardly they dwell in the sweetness of divine union. They thus prefigure the lover in Persian poetry, who was to describe himself in terms of a detestable creature, calling the hatred of the "others" upon himself, but never revealing the secret of his intense love."  

Hujwiri says, "Blame has a great effect in making love sincere. The followers of the Truth are distinguished by their being the objects of vulgar blame, especially the eminent ones of this community."
Hujwiri further says: "Now blame (malâmat) is of three kinds: it may result (i) from following the right way, or (ii) from an intentional act, or (iii) from abandonment of the law. (i) In the first case, a man is blamed who minds his own business and performs his religious duties and does not omit any practice of devotion: he is entirely indifferent to the behaviour of the people towards him. (ii) In the second case a man is greatly honoured by the people and pointed out among them: his heart inclines to the honour in which he is held, and becomes attached to those by whom it is bestowed: he wishes to make himself independent of them and devote himself wholly to God, therefore, he purposely incurs their blame by committing some act which is offensive to them but which is no violation of the law; in consequence of his behaviour they wash their hands of him. (iii) In the third case, a man is driven by his natural infidelity and erroneous beliefs to abandon the sacred law and abjure its observances, and say to himself, "I am treading the path of blame": in this case his behaviour depends on himself alone."\textsuperscript{113}

Hujwiri praises the Malâmatís of first two categories, but conde­mens the Malâmatís of third category as hypocrites saying, "He who abandons the law and commits an irreligious act, and says that he is following the rule of "blame", is guilty of manifest wrong and wickedness and self-indulgence."\textsuperscript{114} In Panjabi literature Shah Husain was first a Qadiri and then he became a Malamati and at times even put on the appearance of Qalandari's.

6. Qalandaris

Khwaja Abdullah Ansari wrote a treatise entitled the Qalandar Nama which contains his conversations with a qalandar. Baba Tahir
another Sufi of this order wrote:

"I am the mystic gypsy called Qalandar,
I have neither fire, home nor monastery,
By day I wander about the world, and at night
I sleep with a brick under my head."

The Qalandar reduced themselves to the miserable state of a beggar. According to the 'Qalandar Nama' qalandars should possess these qualities: 'humility, lowliness, selflessness, asceticism and renunciation.' According to al-Maqrizi the Qalandariyyas first appeared in Damascus. One of the early founders was a Spanish Arab from Egypt called Yusuf. They made it a rule to lay nothing aside and never to amass this world's goods, but in his (Yusuf's) time they did not wear coarse garments nor subject themselves to any mortification or any devotional exercises.

Another founder of the Qalandariyyas, who was well known in Damascus, was Shaikh Jamal-ud-din of Sawa. It is he who introduced the practice and rule according to which Qalandaris shave their heads, beards and even eyebrows. The reason given for this by Ibn Battuta is as follows: "A very handsome man, Jamal-ud-din became the love object of a woman in Sawa. Failing to attract the Shaikh, she lured him to her house on the pretext of reading a letter. Then, locking the house, she trapped the innocent Shaikh inside. Shaikh Jamal-ud-din hid in the lavatory where he shaved off his beard and eyebrows. So disgusted was the woman that her passion instantly abated and she ordered him to be thrown out of her house. In gratitude for his unscathed virtue the Shaikh retained his shaved appearance. To his disciples the custom became a revered tradition, as did their habit of never being without a razor."
Driven by the Mongol invasion the Qalandaris came to India but Shaikh Baha-ud-din Zakariyya of Multan who was an aristocratic in his habits did not allow them to stay in his spiritual jurisdiction in Punjab. But Shaikh Farid was generous and kind to them. So they moved to Delhi. Some of the Sufis of Chisti and Qadiri order became qalandaris.

"The Qalandari Order was introduced into India by Sayyid Najm-ud-din Ghaus Qalandar. The saint was at first disciple of Nizam-ud-din Auliya Delhi and at the suggestion of his Pir he went to Rum and became a disciple of Khizr Rumi, who appointed him his vicegerent and sent him back to India. He died in 1518 A.D. at the age of 145."

Another saint of this Order whose name is still venerated all over North India, was Sharfud-din Qalandar of Panipat. He at first held the office of a Mufti in Delhi. Once he was delivering a lecture and parading his learning, a faqir stood at the door and said, "Oh Sharf-ud-din, it is not for this that you were born - how long will you continue in such disputations." This gentle rebuke sank deep into his heart, and forsaking his office and the pulpit he began to seek peace in solitude. He performed penance and was introduced into the Qalandar order by Najmud-din Ghaus Qalandar. He died in 1324 A.D. and was buried in Panipat. Later in fifteenth and seventeenth centuries Qalandari order became quite popular in Punjab but apart from the contributions of Shah Hussain it did not make any mark on Punjab society and culture.

7. Madari Order

The founder of Madari Order was Shah Madar whose real name was Shaikh Badi-ud-din: His biography, the Mirat-i-Madari was written.
by Shaikh Abdur-Rehman Chisti. Madari's shrine is at Makanpur in Kanpur.

Shah Madar was a Jew, and his father, Abu Ishaq Shami was a direct descendant of Aaron, the brother of Moses. The birth of Shah Madar is said to have been announced to his father in a dream by Moses himself, who named the child Badi-ud-din (the maker of religion) and said that he would be like unto him in the dignity of sainthood.\textsuperscript{118}

When Shah Madar was still young his parents died. Broken heart, he went to Mecca and Medina where he accepted Islam. He then came to India. He made Makanpur the principal centre of his activities. "He is said to have remarked that he spent thirty-five years of his life in Syria, forty in Mecca, Medina and Najaf, and fifty in India."\textsuperscript{119}

The Madarīs wore no garments, smeared their bodies with ashes. The most perfect among them even went naked in such cold countries as Kashmir and Kabul. However, like Yogis they sat before fires. Often they wore black turbans and carried black flags. They did not observe ritual prayers and fasting. \textit{Dam Madar} (Mader is life) is the religious call of the Madaris.

"A branch of the Madarīs were known as \textit{Be Qaid} and \textit{Be Nawa} (Without Ties and Material Concern). They accepted nothing beyond a tiny quantity of food and drink and made their \textit{Khirqās} from shreds which they collected from the streets. Whenever they wanted a gift they reviled the reluctant donor until their demands were fulfilled. According to them God was Spirit, Muhammad His body, the Four Caliphs His two arms and feet; To them \textit{Dam Madar} meant that everything depended on \textit{dam} and \textit{nafs} and both words can be translated
as 'breath'. Even Aurangzeb the puritan visited the grave of Madar. On the day of urs the Madaris walk on burning coals and do not get burnt. Shah Madar is the patron of Jugglers, acrobots (bazigars).

8. Distinctive Features of Chisti, Suhrawardi, Qadiri and Naqshbandi Orders

8:1 Distinctive Features of Chisti Sufi Order

8:1:i The Chisti saints without any exception took a vow to live a life of complete renunciation, abstinence, poverty, penance and prayer.

8:1:ii They never took secular job to earn money, nor did they borrow or beg. Most of them starved for days waiting for God to send them sustenance.

8:1:iii They looked down upon possession of private property as serious impediment to the growth of one's spiritual life. They lived in Kucha houses or thatched huts when living in rural areas.

8:1:iv They depended entirely on futuh (unasked for charity). Shaikh Farid said: "The dervishes prefer dying of starvation to incurring any debt for the satisfaction of their desires. Debt and Resignation are poles apart and cannot subsist together."\textsuperscript{121}

8:1:v The Chistis took up frequent fast and their diet was simple. Their personal belongings none. Even their cots and beds were very simple which did not give them any comfort. They did not even possess sufficient clothes.

8:1:vi The Chisti Khanqah was a place for prayers, serious study and meditations. An open kitchen (langar) was a regular feature of the Chisti, Khanqahs. This Chistis quote the following hadis
in favour of this practice: "If someone visits a living man and gets nothing from him to eat, it is as if he visited a dead man. A Chisti mystic would sell his wife's Chaddar or his own prayer carpet, but would entertain a visitor to his Khanqah. If nothing at all was available, he would respectfully offer a bowl of water. The visitors would understand that their host was under extremely straitened circumstances, they would drink water and take leave."

8:1:vii The Chistis avoided rich people, kings and countries. They kept away from the court. They considered it a curse for a dervish to go to the rich or kinds for wealth and homes. Their success and popularity lay in the fact that they identified themselves with the problems of the people and adopted themselves to the language and culture of the region. The Chisti did not interfere in the faith of their non-Muslim devotees.

8:1:viii Whatever fatūh was received by the Chisti saints was immediately distributed among the inmates. Nothing was kept for the next day. They felt God would send them their sustenance or they will fast.

8:1:ix Chisti Khanqah remained open till midnight. All types of people - scholars, politicians, soldiers, even Hindu Yogis, qalandars were welcome. They shared the sorrows and sympathies of all. Their spiritual instructions gave mental and spiritual healing to all.

8:1:x Living in extreme poverty the Chisti saints were so absorbed in prayers that they neglected the welfare of their children. Most of these children suffered such a reaction that they became worldly people. "The only son of Shaikh Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar was "unworthy of his father, a grandson of Shaikh Farid was a drunkard and a
grandson of Shaikh Najib-ud-din was a vagabond. They possessed worldly wisdom, but were devoid of all spiritual integrity. 122

8:2 Distinctive Features of Suhrawardi Order

8:2:i Shaikh Baha-ud-din Zakariyya held independent views on religion and politics, quite different even from the founder of Suhrawardi order, who was a liberal saint. He emphasized quite a lot on external forms of Islam. He and his trained Khalifas were intolerant and at times bigoted. 123

8:2:ii Suhrawardi's leader did not approve of the Chisti practice of bowing before a Shaikh. His followers simply said "Salam alakeem."

8:2:iii Entry into Suhrawardi Khanqah was restricted. It was not open to all. Rich people, government officials were more welcome to the Khanqah. Gifts of money and land were welcome and encouraged to such an extent, the Baha-ud-din Zakariyya became the richest saint in medieval India. Contrary to the practice of Chisti saints, faituh (unasked charity) was not distributed among people. This abundance of wealth attracted the attention of robbers and blackmailers who attacked his sons.

8:2:iv The Suhrawardis did not maintain open kitchen, but only those who were invited were generously entertained. Baha-ud-din used to say, "People are of two kinds: the general public and the select. I have nothing to do with the general public and no reliance can be placed in them.

8:2:v The Suhrawardis not only establish personal contacts with the rulers and even got involved in the political conflicts. They even gave support to the extension of political power.
accepted court honours and titles. Suhrawardis who extended full support and co-operation to the rulers accepted the posts of Shaikh-ul-Islam and Sadr-i-Wilayat.

8:2:vi In order to be popular among the rich and the courtiers Suhrawardi turned away from this common man and this order soon became very unpopular among the masses.

8.3 Distinctive Features of Qadiriya Order

8:3:i Qadiri order is the oldest in history but it came to India in fourteenth-fifteenth century and dominated Punjab religious field with its outstanding qualities.

8:3:ii Its main distinguishing feature was its devotion to the doctrine of Wahdat-al-Wujūd and Wahdat-al-Shahūd. One of its early founders in Punjab was Shaikh Aman Ḍanipati (d. 1550). He wrote many books on Tassawwuf and the Wahdat-al-Wujūd. Miyan Mir, Shah Hussain, Bulleh Shah and Sultan Bahu, all devoted their energies to this mystical experience.

8:3:iii Although early Qadiri Sufis had their distinct robes which continued to be used by some Qadiris, but Miyan Mir, Shah Hussain disregarded the importance of wearing holy robes.

8:3:iv The Qadiris considered it important to study theology and other scholarly branches of Islam, but once they turned to practical mystical life they concentrated all their energies on meditations and spiritual exercises.

8:3:v The Qadiris and their own distinct methods of Zikr and in practice of Zikr the Pir guided the disciples.

8:3:vi The Qadiris considered all their disciples as friends and equals. Most of them avoided courts. Miyan Mir met kings and
princes but did not accept any charity from them.

8:3:vii Qadiris of Miyan Mir School said their daily obligatory prayers in congregation but they conducted their Zikr in isolation.

8:3:viii Miyan Mir and others adhered strictly to the Shari'a, but they said that it was the first and essential stage of Sufism. But all mystical experiences and higher stages of spiritual life were realized through the Tariqā. It is the Tariqā which reveals the truth. The influence of Qadiri was so great that many Hindus accepted Islam from them and many orthodox Muslims became liberal mystics.

8:3:ix The Qadiri Saints like the Chistis respected the language and culture of their region and helped in the growth of its literature and social ideals. They based their faith on love (Ishq) and Trust in God (Tawakkul). They for the first time accepted the love stories of Punjab and Sindh to express their intense devotion to God - here the story of Hir Ranja, Sassi Punnu and Sohani Mahiwai.

8:3:x The Qadiris took part in Sam'a and Sufis like Shah Hussain and Bulleh Shah danced in the open in mystical ecstasy. It was spiritual part of their Qadiri faith. The Sufis of Punjab always sang Punjabi and Sindhi songs to convey their message. Thus, they have enriched Punjabi literature and culture.

8:4 Distinctive Characteristics of Naqshbandi Order

Khwaja Baqi Biullah, one of the leading founders of Naqshbandi order laid down the following ten duties of those who take up the journey on Naqshbandi Tariqa, based on the experience of his elders.

(i) Tauba - repentence over ones sins through fasts and prayers
(ii) Zuhd - renunciation
(iii) Tawakkul - Trust in God
(iv) Gana'at - (Resignation)
(v) Uzlat - Self-seclusion
(vi) Sabr - (Patience)

These were essential for the perfect realization of Tawhid, which for him was spiritual perception Wahdat-al-Wujud, which he insisted was to be within the framework of Sharia.

Khawaja Baqi Biullah disciple, Shaikh Sirhindi first followed these rules. But upset by the innovations introduced in Akbar's court, he changed the basic trends, and mystical trends of Naqshbandi order by his followers acts:

(i) He claimed that his own mystical experiences show that Wahdat-al-Wujud was a mystical experience of lower stage. He had experiences of higher stage.

(ii) In order to uphold Orthodox Sunni doctrines and fanatic Shariat path he turned away from mystical teachings and practices and carried a political campaign against Shias. Sufis who believed in Wahdat-al-Wujud and more so against the Qadiri Sufis and Guru Arjan by influencing court officials in Punjab, Delhi and other states. For this he succeeded at first because he had the backing of Jahangir. Later on, the tide turned against him.

(iii) Shaikh Ahmed Sirhindi ceased to be Sufi Naqshbandi because he rarely taught mystical practices, but he became the most uncompromising campaigner for Shariat and Sunni orthodoxy. He was haughty and vain enough to claim to be special messenger of God and he tried to give the same position to his sons. He condemned Sam'a and many other Sufi practices.
(iv) Khwaja Khurd, son of Baqi Billa founded his own Naqshbandi centre in Delhi and opposed Shaikh Ahmed Sirhindi. He strongly supported the principles of Wahdat-al-Wujūd as Sufism was rooted in it. This campaign of Shaikh Ahmed Sirhindi's Pir's sons along with the opposition of other liberal Sufis destroyed the influence of the fanatic reformer Shaikh Ahmed.

(v) Shaikh Wali-Ullah, the nephew of Khwaja Khurd's disciple Abu-is-Riza, gave a new orientation to Naqshbandi order and restored it to original ideals. Contradicting Shaikh Sirhindi, Walli-ullah declared that Wahadat-al-Wujūd was the final stage and not the primary stage as preached by Shaikh Ahmed Sirhindi. He, however, supported Sunni ascendency of political power.

8.5 Characteristics of Malāmati

Out of these minor orders Madaris were distinctly different and this sect was confined to gypies, jugglers. But people generally confuse Malamati and Qalandaris, because some Malamatis even become Qalandaris. But these orders were distinctly different. The following are the main characteristics of Malamati Sufi order:

(i) Malamatis were true sober Sufis who tried to conceal their inner spiritual life. They never made a show of being pious and religious people. So their outward acts were misleading.

(ii) They were sincere and secretly performed obligatory prayers and gave themselves to intense contemplation and mystical practices.

(iii) Most of the Malamatis worked and ate only lawfully acquired food and in order that people may not think them to be holy men, they were engaged in the affairs of the world.

(iv) They believed in private Zikr and not in public Zikr.
(v) In order to be disliked by people to conceal their inner life, they at times indulged in anti-social actions.

8:6 Characteristics of Qalandaris

(i) The Qalandaris as people saw them even in thirteenth century were rude unlettered fakirs who were haughty and anti-social.

(ii) While the founders of Qalandari order were always intoxicated with mystical experience those that came to India started taking hemp and drugs to get intoxicated and wherever they went making unruly scenes.

(iii) Annemarie Schimmel writes, "Jami accepted Ansari's assessment and went on to contrast the malāmati, who adheres to the duties and performs many supererogatory acts of piety in secret, and the Qalandar, the wandering dervish who performs only the absolute minimum in religious duties." 126

(iv) "Literally the word Qalandar means a person who is free of all this and the next world. Their most distinguishing feature was that they shaved off their heads, eye-brows, beards and moustaches. They did not wear the traditional mystic Khirqah, but wrapped their body with a blanket, often a coloured one, and fastened either a piece of blanket or a small sheet of cotton round the loins. Those who wrapped the blanket round their body were called Jawaliq. The qalandars believed in a care-free life "with an utter neglect of the laws of religion or the forms of society." 127

(v) An incident clearly shows how insolent, rude and haughty were their habits. A group of Qalandars went to Baha-ud-din Zakariyya Khanqah. He could not tolerate their presence in his aristocratic surroundings.
Once some Qalandars visited Shaikh Farid who was always ready to receive them. As Shaikh Farid was busy in his prayers Badr-ud-din Ishaq entertained them. He brought some food for the Qalandar. The Qalandar sat on Shaikh Farid's prayer carpet. "Having enjoyed the food, the Qalandar took out some hemp-leaves from his leathern bag and began to prepare a mixture. Some drops fell on the Shaikh's prayer carpet. Maulana Badr-ud-din's patience was now exhausted. He stepped forward and tried to stop the Qalandar from polluting the Shaikh's prayer-carpet. The Qalandar got enraged and was about to hit his bowl on Maulana Ishaq that Shaikh Farid came out from his room and caught the Qalandar's hand. "Forgive him for my sake", said Shaikh Farid, "The dervishes do not raise their hands", replied the Qalandar, "but when they do so they do not take them down." "Throw it on that wall", said Shaikh Farid. The Qalandar threw the pot on a wall and left the Jama'at Khanah."

This shows not only the humility of Shaikh Farid, but the rude, irresponsible and haughty manners of Qalandars. The Malamātīs never behaved like this.

8:7 Characteristics of Madārīs

(i) Madārīs are never confused with Malamatis or Qalandars. They wore no garments but smeared their bodies with ashes. Their hair were tangled and they wore black turbans. They went naked even in winter.

(ii) They generally begged for their food, wherever they go they cry Dam Madār.

(iii) Jugglers and acrobats became Madaris and they carried a monkey or two and a hand drum to show magical tricks. They sometimes
had bears which were made to dance. Thus Madaris have now become a sect of Jugglers and acrobats.

References and Notes

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82. S.A.A. Rizvi: *A History of Sufism in India*. P. 65.
83. Miyan Khel; Mir Muhammad, commonly called Miyan Mir, born in Siwastan (Sind) in 1550, trained under a solitary called Khidr and died at Lahore in 1625. Dara Shikoh wrote a biography of him called 'Sakinat al-Auliya', Famous Urs on 7 Rabi II. Line descended through his cousin M. Sharif as - Siwastani. His most famous Khalifa was Mulla Shah Badakshi, d. 1661 A.D. : Spencer Trimingham: *The Sufi Orders in Islam*. P. 272-73.
86. Ibid. P. 107, Vol. II.
87. Ibid. P. 108, Vol. II.
89. Bikramjit Hasrat: *Dara Shikoh*. P. 82.
90. Ibid. P. 84.
91. Ibid. P. 77.
92. ibid. P. 79.
96. Ibid. P. 364.
97. Ibid. P. 364.
101. Islamic Culture : The Life and Mission of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhandi by Abdul Haq Ansari, P. 97.
102. ibid. P. 98.
103. Ibid. P. 100.
104. Ibid. P. 107.
108. Ibid. P. 296.
111. Ibid. P. 87.
113. Ibid. P. 63.
114. Ibid. P. 65.
117. Ibid. P. 302.
120. Ibid. P. 318.
121. K.A. Nizami ; Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India
122. Ibid. P. 204.

123. These distinctive features are based on the scholarly studies by :
   (i) K.A. Nizami in his 'Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India'

124. These distinctive features are based on study of Qadiri order by the following scholars :
   (i) Trimingham : "Sufi Orders"
   (ii) Annemarie Schimmel : "Mystical Dimensions of Islam"
   (iii) S.A.A. Rizvi : "A History of Sufism in India", Vol. II.

125. These distinctive features are based on :
   (i) John A. Subhan : "Sufism - Its Saints and Shrines"
   (ii) S.A.A. Rizvi : "A History of Sufism in India", Vol. II.
   (iii) Essay in Islamic Culture.

128. Ibid. P. 296.