

Sufis of Uch: A Historical Study (1200-1600)



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2019

**Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor
of Philosophy in History**

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2019**

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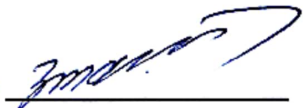
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Zafar Mohyuddin

Abstract

Though the interaction in terms of trade and commerce between Muslim world and South Asia, i.e. the region of heterogeneous societies introducing and evolving various religions and cultures, had been established earlier than 711 AD when the Arabs from Iraq attacked and captured Sindh, the discernible cultural connections, interactions and exchanges took place after that, in the wake of which there emerged a new Indo-Islamic culture, or all pre-existing ones got influenced by Muslims' intellectual and cultural contributions. India had been a land which, before Muslims and even after them, was invaded by the people representing myriad regions, cultures and religious traditions—including Aryans, Greeks, Scythians, Parthians, Huns and British—and they had stronger imprints of their values but among them Muslims were those whose occupation in temporal terms lasted more, over almost a thousand years, than the rest, and they bestowed its society, culture, economics and politics in their own way.

Among the Muslims, the sufis, representing the mystical content and context of Islam endorsed, advocated and preached the message of love, kind-heartedness, humanity, self-purification and man's connection with God Almighty. Their political, social, intellectual, artistic, literary and cultural role and contributions in South Asia is immensely important not only to comprehend the Muslim civilization but also to understand how it influenced other ones. Various undertakings have been done on this very phenomenon, yet the present study provides rather more specific and in-depth examination of it by narrowing its scope to the role and contribution of the sufis of Uch during medieval Indian period, who made this city as one of the leading sufi centres in India.

This study highlights the historical and cultural background and significance of Uch city: the sufis belonging to Suhrawardi and Qadiri *Silsilahs* made it a centre of their mystical,

political, and cultural activities. It goes into introducing early Muslim scholars and sufis who settled at Uch as well as activities of the Ismailis and traces the nature of their connections with the sufis of Suhrawardi *Silsilah*. It discusses and examines the socio-political role and literary, intellectual, artistic and cultural contributions of Suhrawardi and Qadari sufis by unravelling primary sources which include *Malfuzat*, *Maktubat* and *Tadhkirah* literature. It provides an understanding of the role of the sufis of Uch in the medieval Indian society, their relationship with the state, and intellectual and mystical traditions of Suhrawardi and Qadiri sufis of Uch by highlighting their mystical and religious doctrines and practices. Their contributions in the production of sufi literature and role of their *khanqahs*, i.e. the centres where they resided and welcomed the needy ones and trained their disciples, are themes which are the part of this research work as well.

The present study reveals that sufis of Uch have a significance in the history of South Asia for their religio-spiritual activities, socio-political role, and cultural as well as literary contributions. Moreover, sufis of Uch played a vital role in the spread of their respective *silsilahs* to other areas of India. Further, by analysing sufi traditions of Uch holistically and its emergence as a centre of both the Suhrawardi and Qadiri *Silsilahs* in different period of times, the study shows that the sufis of both the *silsilahs* concurred in views and practices on different issues, such as, acceptance of grants from the ruling elite, relationship with rulers, *sama* and principles of hereditary succession. Furthermore, the study challenges the claims of covert relationship among Suhrawardi sufis of Uch, Ismailis and shias: by analysing the contemporary primary sources, it establishes the fact that the sufis of both the *silsilahs* minimized the influence of the Ismailis in the region.

Contents

Acknowledgments	v
Abstract	vii
Contents	ix
Map	xii
Introduction	1
1. Statement of the Problem	
2. Aims and Objectives of the Study	
3. Significance and Scope of the Study	
4. Review of Literature	
5. Methodology	
6. Organization of the Study	

Chapter 1

Uch: A Historical Background	18
---	----

1.1 Uch: Geography and History

- 1.1.1 Etymology and Foundation of the City of Uch
- 1.1.2 The Place of Uch on the Political Map of India

1.2 Mapping the Sacred Geography of Uch and its Emergence as a Centre of Ismaili Activities

- 1.2.1 Pir Sadr al-Din
- 1.2.2 Saiyyid Hasan Kabir al-Din
- 1.2.3 Luminaries of Uch
 - 1.2.3.1 Shaykh Safi al-Din Gazruni
 - 1.2.3.2 Minhaj al-Din Siraj Juzjani
 - 1.2.3.3 Ali ibn Hamid ibn Abu Bakr Kufi
 - 1.2.3.4 Sadid al-Din Muhammad Aufo

1.3 Ismaili *Da'wa*, Sufi Traditions and the Process of Conversion in Medieval India

Chapter 2

Emergence of Uch as a Centre of Suhrawardi Sufi <i>Silsilah</i>	55
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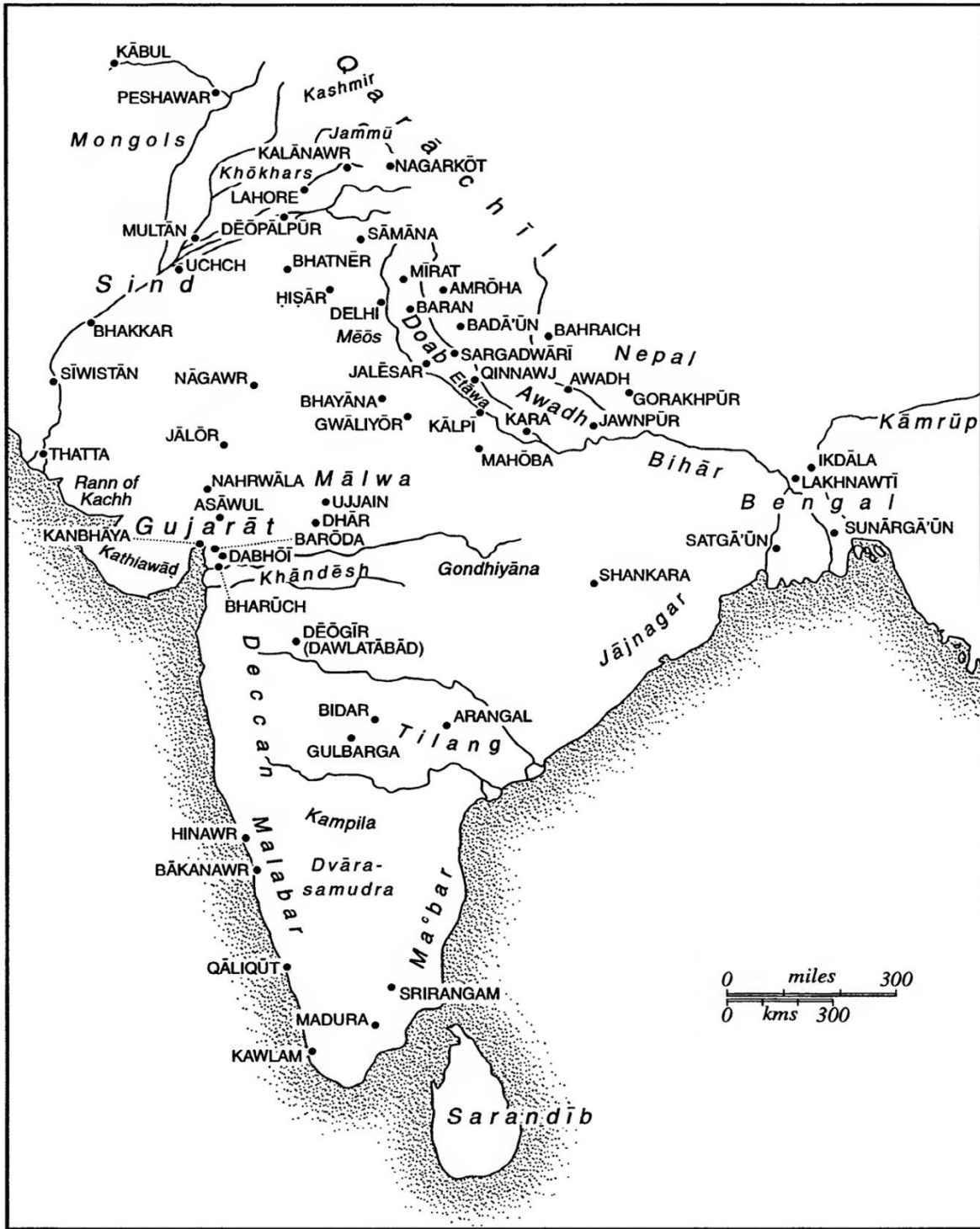
2.1 Defining Sufism and Tracing its Origin

2.2 Introduction of Sufi *Silsilahs* in India

- 2.2.1 Uch as a Centre of Sufism
- 2.2.2 Development of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in India
- 2.2.3 Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Mir Surkh Bukhari: The Founder of Uch Branch of Suhrawardi *Silsilah*
- 2.2.4 Shaykh Jamal al-Din 'Khanda Ru'
- 2.2.5 Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir
- 2.2.6 Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Makhdum-i Jahaniyan Jahangasht: The Most Celebrated Suhrawardi Sufi of Uch
- 2.2.7 Disciples of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan and Makhdum's Relationship with Contemporary Sufis

2.2.8	Descendants of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan at Uch and the Dissemination of <i>Silsilah</i>	
2.3	Suhrawardi Sufis and their Relationship with Ismailis and Twelver Shi'ism	
Chapter 3		
	Uch as a Centre of Qadiri Sufi <i>Silsilah</i>.....	115
3.1	The Foundation of Qadiri <i>Silsilah</i> and its Introduction in South Asia	
3.2	Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi: The Founder of Qadiri <i>Silsilah</i> in Uch	
3.2.1	Saiyyid Mubarak Haqqani and the Naushahiyya branch of <i>Silsilah</i> Qadiriyyah	
3.2.2	Saiyyid Abd al- Qadir Thani and His Descendants	
3.2.3	Saiyyid Abd al-Razzaq Gilani as the Head of Qadiri <i>Khanqah</i> at Uch	
3.2.4	Saiyyid Hamid Jahan Ganj Bakhsh: A New Head of Qadiri <i>Khanqah</i> of Uch	
3.2.5	Shaykh Dawud as the leading Qadiri Sufi of Punjab	
3.2.6	Saiyyid Jamal al-Din Musa Pak and the Gilani Saiyyids of Multan	
3.2.7	Shaykh Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dehlvi and his Efforts for the Revival of <i>Hadith</i> Studies	
3.3	Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bala Pir and the Development of Qadiri <i>Silsilah</i> in Central Punjab	
3.3.1	Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thalith and the Development of Qadiri <i>Silsilah</i> in Lahore	
Chapter 4		
	State, Politics and the Sufis of Uch.....	150
4.1	Relationship of the State and the Sufis: A Historical Background	
4.2	State and the Sufis in the Islamicate South Asia	
4.2.1	Major Sufi <i>Silsilahs</i> and their Diverse Response towards Medieval Indian State	
4.2.2	Approach of Medieval Indian Rulers towards the Sufis	
4.3	Suhrawardi Sufis of Uch and their Relationship with the State	
4.3.1	Suhrawardi <i>Silsilah</i> and the State: A Brief History	
4.3.2	State and the Suhrawardi Sufis of Uch	
4.3.3	Suhrawardi Sufis and the Issue of Accumulation of Wealth (<i>Ghina'</i>)	
4.4.	Qadiri Sufis of Uch and their Relationship with the State	
4.4.1	Qadiri Traditions and Relationship with the State	
4.4.2	Qadiri Sufis of Uch and their Relationship with the Ruling Elite	
Chapter 5		
	<i>Khanqahs</i>, <i>Khanqah</i> Life and Shrines in Uch.....	197
5.1	<i>Khanqah</i> Life in Medieval India and the Major <i>Khanqahs</i> of Uch	
5.1.1	Development of <i>Khanqahs</i> in India	
5.1.2	<i>Khanqahs</i> : Centres of Learning and Spiritual Training in Islamicate South Asia	
5.1.3	The Rules and Regulations in a <i>Khanqah</i>	
5.1.4	Egalitarian Environment of the Sufi <i>Khanqahs</i>	

5.1.5	<i>Khanqahs and Madrassas of Uch</i>	
5.1.5.1	<i>Khanqah Gazruniyyah</i>	
5.1.5.2	<i>Khanqah Jalaliyya</i>	
5.1.5.3	<i>Khanqah Jamaliyya</i>	
5.1.5.4	<i>Qadiri Khanqah of Uch</i>	
5.1.5.5	<i>Madrassas of Uch</i>	
5.1.6	<i>Khanqahs of Uch and their Sources of Income</i>	
5.1.7	<i>Sufi Shrines of Uch</i>	
5.2	Sufi Doctrines and Practices	
5.2.1	Position and Views regarding <i>Sama</i> ⁶	
5.2.2	Succession among the Sufis of Uch and the Development of Institution of <i>Sajjadah-nashin</i>	
5.2.3	Non-conformist Sufism	
5.2.4	Relationship with the Sufis of other <i>Silsilahs</i>	
5.2.5	Sufi Women of Uch	
5.3	Production of Sufi Literature	
5.3.1	Sources on the History of Medieval India	
5.3.2	The Study of Sufi Literature: Significance and Issues	
5.3.3	The Production of <i>Malfuzat</i> Literature and Sufis of Uch	
5.3.4	The <i>Malfuzat</i> of Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Makhdum-i Jahaniyan	
5.3.4.1	<i>Jami al-‘Ulum</i>	
5.3.4.2	<i>Siraj al-Hidaya</i>	
5.3.4.3	<i>Khazana-i‘ Jawahir-i Jalaliyya</i>	
5.3.4.4	<i>Khazana-i‘ Fawa’id al-Jalaliyya</i>	
5.3.4.5	<i>Manaqib-i Makhdum-i Jahaniyan</i>	
5.3.4.6	<i>Tuhfat al-Sara’ir</i>	
5.3.5	<i>Maktubat</i>	
5.3.6	Travelogue attributed to Makhdum-i Jahaniyan	
5.3.7	Other Works Attributed to Makhdum-i Jahaniyan	
5.3.8	<i>Risala Makkiyya Jalaliyya</i>	
5.3.9	<i>Makalimat-i Ghawthiyya</i> .: A Collection of <i>Malfuzat</i> of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi	
5.3.10	<i>Diwan-i Qadiri</i> : A Masterpiece of Persian Poetry	
5.3.11	<i>Miftah al-Khalas</i> of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth	
5.3.12	<i>Tasayyar al-Shaghilin</i> of Saiyyid Jamal al-Din Musa Pak Shahid	
	Conclusion.....	255
	Select Bibliography.....	271
	Glossary.....	307
	Illustrations.....	313



Map of Uch under Delhi Sultanate

Source: Peter Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate: A Political and Military History*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Introduction

1. Statement of the Problem

The sufis are believed to be the representative of esoteric dimension of Islam, which institutionalized in the early centuries of Islam. Tracing its origin from the Quranic injunctions and the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), Sufism developed as a voice against growing materialism and mere emphasise on exoteric dimension of Islam in Muslim societies. From the activities of early individual sufis, more comprehensive and institutionalized structure of Sufism developed with the establishment of sufi *silislahs* (initiatic genealogies), and institutions like *khanqah* (sufi dwellings). The sufis played an important role in the process of acculturation, and making Islam compatible with local norms and traditions of conquered lands by the Muslim armies outside Arabian Peninsula.

In the course of history of South Asia, different cities and regions appear to have demonstrated distinct political, social, cultural and religious significance. The city of Uch near Bahawalpur in Punjab also stands among those cities which once played an important role in the making of political and religious history of India. Although limited to a small town now, it still holds the architectural legacy and material remains of the glories of the past. The texts produced in Uch, either by the sufis, or their disciples or scholars in medieval times also echo the rich spiritual and literary heritage of the city. Both the rich collections of sufi texts and material remains of sufi shrines reflect that Uch had rich history of sufi traditions, and served as an important centre of Sufism in medieval South Asia.

Uch is located near the confluence of the Rivers Chenab-Jhelum and Ravi, 70 km to the west of the city of Bahawalpur in southern Punjab. After its first foundation during the age of Aryans, the city of Uch was destroyed and rebuilt many times. It served as a sacred site for the

devotees of varied religious traditions in different periods of Indian history. It housed the temple of Usha, the goddess of dawn during the Aryan Age, served as a pilgrimage site for the devotees of Vishnu and Surya gods during the Vedic period, and later became a centre of Ismaili missionary activities from tenth century onwards. Despite being located at the periphery of South Asia, the continuity of diverse religious traditions found in the city of Uch makes it distinct in the annals of India.

The real fame of Uch as a spiritual centre was achieved when the sufis made it their abode and inspired the people by disseminating their spiritual knowledge. Shaykh Safi al-Din Gazruni (d. 1007) is considered one of the earliest sufis who settled there and established a *khanqah*. During the thirteenth century, Uch, along with Multan, emerged as the centre of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* under the leadership of Shaykh Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari (d. 1291). He and, later on, his grandson Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Makhdum-i Jahaniyan Jahangasht contributed not only in developing Suhrawardi *Silsilah* but also in making this city popular as a centre of Suhrawardi Sufism in South Asia. Uch again emerged as a centre of Qadiri Sufism in India during the fifteenth century under the leadership of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi (d. 1517), who was a Qadiri sufi and a descendant of Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani. During the latter half of the fifteenth century, he established a Qadiri *Khanqah* at Uch. He and his son, Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani, are considered to be the real founders of Qadiri *Silsilah* in India.

As a centre of both Suhrawardi and Qadiri Sufism, Uch housed many eminent sufis of both the *silsilahs*, who established their *khanqahs* there and popularized the teachings of their respective *silsilahs* in different parts of South Asia. The sufis of Uch also developed distinct approach towards the matters of politics, wealth accumulation and in developing relationship with medieval Indian rulers. They engaged with the rulers belonging to different dynasties such

as the Sultans of Delhi, independent rulers of Sindh and Multan, and the Mughal Emperors during the sixteenth century. The symbiotic relationship among the sufis of Uch and the medieval rulers, which kept taking different turns and twists, becomes an interesting subject matter of historical inquiry. The development of sufi *silsilahs* and the institution of *khanqah* played significant role in building diverse sufi traditions in medieval India. The *khanqahs* of sufis of Uch were centres of spiritual training and guidance along with, educational activities. In fact these places served as the hubs of Islamic learning, spirituality and piety. The sufi shrines of Uch are also representatives of the early period of Indo-Muslim art and architecture in India, and reflect the rich legacy of the city in spiritual and architectural terms. The sufis of Uch also contributed directly and indirectly to the production of sufi literature, which can be considered as a source of social, religious, cultural and literary history of the region, and provides very useful insight into varied strands of history.

2. Aims and Objectives of the Study

Sufism emerged as an essential part of diverse religious traditions of Muslims in South Asia. The early sufis who arrived in India made Uch a centre of their activities. The sufis of Uch, who mostly belonged to the Suhrawardi and Qadiri *Silsilahs*, operated in the region of Sindh and Multan. The primary objective of the study is to explore the religio-spiritual history of the city of Uch, and its emergence as sufi centre through giving an examination to the life and teachings of the sufis of Uch in a historical context. The present study tries to explore the history of Uch and its sacred geography as it served as a centre of varied religious traditions in medieval India. It investigates the emergence of Uch as a centre of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* during the thirteenth century, and later as a Qadiri sufi centre during the fifteenth century. It examines the religio-spiritual history of Uch in a socio-historical context. The study also analyses different patterns of

relationship between the sufis of Uch and the medieval Indian state. The present study also explores the dynamics, structure and organization of the *khanqahs* of Uch belonging to varied *silsilahs* and diverse tradition, and practices linked with these sufi institutions. It examines the literature produced by the sufis of Uch, which offers valuable details on their lives, thoughts, teachings, and relationship with the state and different communities living in the society.

The present study tries to explore the themes ranging from the emergence of Uch as a sufi centre to diverse traditions of these sufis towards the contemporary state and society, and tries to address the following questions: What was the course of history as to the development of Uch as a sufi centre in medieval India and its emergence as a principal seat of Suhrawardi and Qadiri sufi *Silsilahs*? What was the nature of the relationship between the sufis of Uch and the ruling elite, and how the sufis of Uch responded to the demands of the medieval Indian state for collaboration and created space for their respective *silsilahs* to flourish and avoid confrontation? What were the distinct features of the *khanqahs* and *khanqah* life of Uch? What was the role and contribution of the sufis of Uch in the dissemination of the teachings of their respective *silsilahs* through production of sufi literature?

3. Significance and Scope of the Study

The present study highlights and signifies the religio-spiritual history of the city of Uch as a sufi centre. Studying the developments of Sufism in the city of Uch is immensely significant to understand the overall picture of Sufism in South Asia in relation to socio-political circumstances around it. So far it is a neglected area in mainstream scholarship and in sufi studies, and is almost unexplored hitherto in a holistic manner. The present research is expected to be a valuable academic contribution to study the religio-spiritual history of the city and the region in a historical perspective, bring myriad and diverse dynamics closely related to it such as

its emergence as centre of Suhrawardi and Qadiri *Silsilahs*, sufis of Uch and Ismaili *da'wa*, sufi-state relationship, shrine architecture and production of sufi literature. Briefly exploring the sacred geography of Uch in early times, it focuses on its emergence as an early sufi centre in South Asia by studying the role and contribution of the sufis of Uch. There are a number of studies available on individual sufis and various sufi *silsilahs* in India but there is no specific and at length study which explores the role and contribution of sufis of Uch, their distinct practices and contribution in the development of Sufism during medieval times.

The geographical or spatial focus of the present study is the city of Uch, serving as an important centre of political, religious and spiritual activities in India. The region of Uch during the medieval period included the present day Uch and its environs in south-western Punjab in Pakistan. This study covers the period of almost four centuries stretching from 1200 to 1600 AD. The temporal scope of this study is significant in terms of the introduction, development and culmination of the thoughts and teachings offered by the Suhrawardi and Qadiri sufis at Uch. During these four centuries, Uch remained an important centre of sufi traditions, from where the influence and teachings of two principal sufi *silsilahs* of India, the Suhrawardiyyah and Qadiriyyah spread to other parts of India. By studying the vast span, spanning over four centuries pertaining to the religio-spiritual history of Uch, an effort has been made to present a holistic picture of the sufi traditions of Uch. In terms of its thematic focus, the present study tries to explore various themes as to the developments of Sufism in the historic city of Uch, ranging from the relationship of the sufis of Uch with medieval Indian state and society, the controversies over *sama'* (sufi devotional music) and their position on it, their stance on the question of accumulation of wealth, female spirituality, shrine architecture, and their contribution in production of knowledge in different genres of sufi literature.

4. Review of Literature

A good deal of literature is available on the basic themes of Sufism and its development in South Asia. Some very good works produced on it focus on the development of sufi *silsilahs* in South Asia, their distinct traditions, practices and relationship with the medieval Indian state. Some studies focus on the individual sufi shaykhs of South Asia and their life and teachings. The regional approach to the study of Sufism adopted by Richard M. Eaton in his study on sufis of Bijapur has also been followed by scholars on South Asian Sufism. However, the city of Uch, a major sufi centre in medieval South Asia, is missing in these regional studies and in mainstream academic scholarship. From this vast body of knowledge on Sufism in South Asia, the following literature review is divided into four sections: (i) works on Sufism in medieval South Asia, (ii) works on Suhrawardi and Qadiri Sufism, (iii) literature on Uch, and (iv) works on sufis of Uch.

Section I: Works on Sufism in Medieval South Asia

In this section important works on the general history of medieval Indian Sufism are briefly reviewed. KA Nizami's work, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century* (1961) focuses on the interplay of religion and politics during the first century of the Delhi Sultanate. It studies the relationship of early sufis of both Chishti and Suhrawardi *Silsilahs* with political authorities in medieval India. S.M. Ikram's *Aab-i Kauthar* (1964) is a detailed work which explores religious and spiritual history of the Muslims in South Asia from the earliest times till the arrival of the Mughals. It provides very useful understanding of the arrival of Islam and its spread in South Asia as well as the development of sufi traditions in South Asia. *A History of Sufism in India* (1986) by Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi is first comprehensive study of Sufism in India which is divided into two volumes. These volumes outline the history of Sufism before it was firmly established in India, and then go on to discuss

its development, studying its different phases, and different centres of activity in India from the thirteenth century to the twentieth century, providing a general overview for the present study.

Riazul Islam's work *Sufism in South Asia: Impact on Fourteenth Century Muslim Society* (2002) provides a survey of multiple issues and themes pertaining to fourteenth century sufi traditions and studies sufis as active agents in medieval Indian society. Departing from conventional studies on South Asian Sufism, this work focuses on the impact of Sufism on economy, politics, and education of the fourteenth century India while critically and extensively analysing the sufi literature of the period. Richard Maxwell Eaton's, edited work, *India's Islamic Traditions, 711-1750* (2003) is an extensive study which employs larger canvass covering almost a millennium to look into the development of Islamic traditions in India. Presenting a new theory of conversion to Islam and identifying new dimensions of the role of the sufis, it is very crucial work to critically understand the overall religious environment of the period and the place of sufis in it. Surinder Singh and Ishwar Dayal Gaur's edited work, *Sufism in Punjab: Mystics, Literature and Shrines* (2009) explores a wide variety of themes ranging from the advent of Sufism in premodern Punjab, the major sufis, sufi literature, poetry, sufi shrines and institutions. A collection of eighteen well researched articles, this work offers diverse insights into the sufi traditions of Punjab.

Some important studies on the development of sufi *silsilahs* in South Asia have been conducted covering diverse themes. *Tarikh-i Mashaikh-i Chisht* [History of Chishti Sufis] (1980) by Khaliq Ahmad Nizami is a very detailed work on the history and development of Chishti *Silsilah* in India from its beginning to its revival in the eighteenth century. Co-authored by Carl W. Ernst and Bruce B. Lawrence, *Sufi Martyrs of Love: Chishti Sufism in South Asia and Beyond* (2002) is a detailed study of the Chishti *Silsilah* in South Asia. It does not limit its focus to the

major sufis of Chishti *Silsilah* but covers its later developments and spread of the *Silsilah* in different regions by analysing a wide variety of primary sources. *The War that Wasn't: The Sufi and the Sultan* (2009) authored by Fatima Hussain by using the broader canvass, studies the organization and functions of important sufi institutions like *khanqah*, and analyses different patterns of relationship between the sufis of different *silsilahs* and the rulers of various dynasties in medieval Indian history. Tanvir Anjum's work *Chishti Sufis in the Sultanate of Delhi 1190-1400: From Restrained Indifference to Calculated Defiance* (2011) deals with patterns of relationship between the major Chishti sufis and the Delhi Sultans. While studying the efforts of early major Chishti sufis of South Asia to maintain the independence of their *silsilah* from the interference of the state, this work briefly provides a comparative analysis of the relationships of sufis of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* with the state.

Some important works have been produced using the regional approach to study the development of Sufism in South Asia during the past few decades. Richard Maxwell Eaton's *Sufis of Bijapur (1300-1700): Social Roles of Sufis in Medieval India* (1978) is first comprehensive work of this kind which studies the role of sufis of a particular region. This work brought two major shifts in the study of Sufism in South Asia, the adoption of regional approach and shift from north India to south. Almost covering the period of four centuries and utilizing rich collection of primary sources, the study offers a holistic view of the sufi traditions of the region, particularly focusing on the multifaceted social roles of the sufis. Carl W. Ernst's work, *Eternal Garden: Mysticism, History and Politics at a South Asian Sufi Center* (1992) is also a regional study of the Chishti sufis of Khuldabad. Developing very critical insight to the study of sufi literature and by rejecting orientalist approach to study Sufism and Islam, Ernst has tried to reinterpret the character of sufi traditions in South Asia. Nile Green's work *Indian Sufism since*

the Seventeenth Century: Saints, Books and Empires in the Muslim Deccan (2006) is a recent addition to the regional approach, studying the sufis of the city of Awrangabad in Deccan, and their political support and engagement with the state during the seventeenth century onwards. The study also explores various themes ranging from the sufi texts, politics of patronage, and the British Empire and the sufis.

Section II: Works on Suhrawardi and Qadiri Sufism

Some works, which deal with overall history of Suhrawardi and Qadiri Sufism and produced in recent years, are reviewed here. Qamar-ul-Huda's work *Striving for Divine Union: Spiritual Exercises for Suhrawardi Sufis* (2003) studies the early development of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* and the ideology of its founders. Though it covers different themes relating to Suhrawardi *Silsilah*, this work contains certain major factual errors. For instance, the author has declared Shaykh Shahab al-Din Suhrawardi, as a follower of Hanbali school of *fiqh* (p. 154). He has also confused, Shaykh Hamid al-Din Sufi Suwali Nagauri, a Chishti sufi of thirteenth century India, with Qazi Hamid al-Din Nagauri, a Suhrawardi sufi and the contemporary of the former. Fatima Zehra Bilgrami's work *History of the Qadiri Order in India (16th-18th Century)* (2005) tries to explore the development of Qadiri *Silsilah* in India from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth. Although it provides an overall view of the development of Qadiri *Silsilah* in India, it almost neglects the major centres of Qadiri *Silsilah* in Punjab including Uch and discusses it only in few pages. The major focus of the work is Deccan and other parts of India, and although Qadiri *Silsilah* had established on strong footings during sixteenth century in Punjab from its centre Uch, and had produced major figures of the *Silsilah*, received inadequate treatment in the study.

Based on his PhD dissertation, Hasan Ali Khan's work *Constructing Islam on the Indus: The Material History of Suhrawardi Sufi Order, 1200-1500 AD* (2016) traces the history of

Suhrawardi *Silsilah*, while focusing on architectural remains of the middle Indus region. Divided into six chapters, the study primarily deals with the cities of Multan and Uch, and offers a new perspective on the connection among the Suhrawardi sufis, Ismailis and the shias through architectural evidences, which can be contested on certain grounds. The author has not provided factual evidences of his many understandings. For instance, the author has repeatedly argued that Suhrawardi sufis of Multan enjoyed very cordial relations with *qalanadrs* (a libertine mendicant having non-conformist tendencies), the fact which is not supported by any primary source of the period. The fact stated in the work that Shaykh Baha al-Dain Zakariyya and Sultan Nasir al-Din Qabachah had friendly relations is also historically incorrect. (p. 93) Although this work focuses on the Suhrawardi *Silsilah* and provides new insights, certain conclusions drawn have inadequate evidences.

Section III: Works on Uch

From past century some scholars have attempted to document the political, religious and cultural history of the city of Uch. Hafeez ur-Rehman's *Tarikh-i Uch* [The History of Uch] (1931) is one of the earliest studies covering the overall history of Uch. Although a very brief work, it provides an outline to the different periods of history of Uch. This work discusses different theories about the etymology of the word 'Uch' and the foundation of the city and briefly introduces different shrines and the *khanqahs* of Uch. It explores the history of Uch from the earliest times till the start of the twentieth century, highlighting the scholars, sufis and the *sajjada-nashins* (hereditary custodian of a sufi shrine) of various *khanqahs* of Uch.

Khitta-i Pak Uch [The Holy Region of Uch] (1967) by Mas'ud Hassan Shihab is a detailed work on the political and religious history of Uch. This work is divided into six chapters. The work begins with the ancient history of Uch, its various names, and its geographical

location. It highlights the political and religious significance of the region, and gives a brief account of its various spiritual and literary figures. It is the first detailed work in recent times, which highlights the significance of this region. However, aspects like the relationship of the state and the sufis of Uch are missing in it. Moreover, the authenticity of some of the information given in this work is also doubtful.

Uchchh: History and Architecture (1980) by Dr. Ahmed Nabi Khan deals with the politico-religious and architectural history of Uch. It is divided into ten chapters. The work traces the history of Uch from earliest times to the Ismaili rule, and the establishment of Delhi Sultanate. The work also sheds light on the architectural style of different buildings and sufi shrines of Uch, bringing to the fore the architectural legacy of the city. This work also studies the emergence of Uch as one of the centres of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in India, though very briefly. The details about Uch as a centre of Qadiri *Silsilah* are altogether missing.

Uch Sharif: Tarikh, Thaqafat, Asar-i Qadamat wa Azmat [Uch Sharif: History, Culture, and Archaeological Remains] (n.d.) by Zubair Shafi Ghauri is a comprehensive study on this topic. It starts with a discussion on the geographical location and the etymology of Uch. It studies the political and religio-spiritual history of the region, along with various languages spoken and religions practiced in this region. It also provides useful information about the architectural remains of Uch. However, the work does not provide adequate details about the disciples and the successors of the sufis of Uch, who contributed to the development of Sufism in South Asia.

Manan Ahmad Asif's work *A Book of Conquest: The Chachnama and Muslim Origins in South Asia* (2016) revisits the medieval text *Chachnama*, which was translated by Ali Kufi at Uch. This work establishes its claim that *Chachnama* was not a translation but an original work

of Kufi through critical study of the text and exploring the place where it was produced. While analysing the text in context of the spatial and temporal environment of its production, it provides a fresh look into the history of the city of Uch.

Muhammad Siraj Ahmed Saeedi's book *Tarikh-i Uch Mutabarkah* (2017) is the most recent study focused on the history of Uch. Divided into fifteen chapters, it lacks the organization and continuity of its themes and discusses the sufis of Uch, their significance and contribution in sufi traditions in bits and pieces. It appears to be semi-scholarly or a journalistic work by the author. It introduces recent figures of different regions, which repeatedly interrupts the historical flow of the work. It provides a general insight into the history of Uch till recent times, without critically analysing varied issues and themes related to sufi traditions of Uch.

Allama Din Muhammad Abbasi's work *Jadid Tarikh-i Uch Sharif* (n.d.) is comprised of two volumes. This work offers a description of the events, mostly presenting the commonly known facts about the history of Uch in a question answer style. The focus of the work is also on the contemporary descendants of the sufi shaykhs of both Suhrawardi and Qadiri *Silsilahs*. Although an introductory work on the history of Uch, it lacks thematic discussion or analysis of different stages of history and the development of religious institutions in Uch. There are also no references, and no mention of consulted sources, which questions its historiographical value.

Section IV: Works on the Sufis of Uch

Although there are very few scholarly works which provide a holistic picture of the city of Uch and study it as a centre of sufi activities, some very well researched works on the individual sufis of both Suhrawardi and Qadiri *Silsilahs* of Uch can be found.

Sakhawat Mirza's biographical work, *Tadhkirah Hazrat Makhdum-i Jahaniyan Jahangasht* (1961) is the first detailed biography of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, a major Suhrawardi

sufi figure of Uch in Urdu hagiography. This work is divided into two parts. The first part is dedicated to the early life, education, travels and teachings of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan. It also covers his relationship with the medieval Indian rulers. This work is not only limited to the life and teachings of the Makhdum, as the second part of the work studies his lineal descendants. It also highlights the major works attributed to him, though without critical scrutiny. Moreover, some of the information and events narrated are however, uncritically utilized.

Muhammad Ayub Qadiri's work, *Hazrat Makhdum Jahaniyan Jahangasht* (1963) is also among the early works on the life and teachings of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan. While using the primary sources, it takes a critical look at the life and teachings of the Makhdum. Divided into seven chapters, it takes a chronological overview of the arrival of Islam, sufis and the Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in India then shifting its focus to the life and teachings of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan. This work is analytical in its approach while studying the travels, education and literature attributed to him.

Malfuzati Adab ki Tarikhi Ahammiyyat [Historical Importance of *Malfuzat* Literature] (1995) by Muhammad Aslam is a valuable study which critically analyses twenty-nine *malfuzat* of the eminent sufis belonging to different *silsilahs*. Two major *malfuzat*, *Jami al-Ulum* and *Khazana-i' Jawahir-i Jalaliyya* of Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Makhdum-i Jahaniyan are critically analysed. Through a comprehensive analysis of these large collections of *malfuzat*, the study provides insight into important themes which include the teachings and practices of these sufis and their relationship with the rulers.

Amina M. Steinfels's *Knowledge before Action: Islamic Learning and Sufi Practice in the Life of Sayyid Jalal al-din Bukhari Makhdum-i Jahaniyan* (2012) is one of the most well-researched works on the most eminent sufi of Uch, Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Makhdum-i Jahaniyan.

Based on her PhD dissertation, Steinfelds has unearthed and studied the major primary sources available on his life and teachings. The work is divided into seven chapters ranging from the study of the Makhdum's early life, education, emerging as a great sufi shaykh and his legacy. While critically analysing different genres of sufi literature, the author is of the opinion that he belonged to that group of sufis who emphasized the importance of knowledge before walking on the spiritual path. This work also analyses the Makhdum's relationship with the state and the works attributed to him. Although it provides very sound analyses of the personality of the Makhdum, there are a few assessments which can be contested.

Saiyyid Kamran Bukhari's brief study, *Makhdum-i Azam* (2018), is amongst very few works written on the life of Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari, the founder of Uch branch of Suhrawardi *Silsilah*. It gives a comparative analysis of different facts and issues related to the life of Saiyyid Jalal-al Din by analysing the available primary sources, thus making the reader develop his/her own understanding. The last part of the work is, however, dedicated to the settlement of the descendants of the Saiyyid in Peshawar and its environs. This work is a valuable effort to collect the details of his life and teachings.

Qazi Muhammad Barkhurdar Multani's work, *Ghawth-i Azam wa Tadhkirah-i Mashaikh-i Qadriyyah (Sadat) Uch Sharif* (1915) is among the early works on the Qadiri sufis of Uch. Starting from the early history of Islam, the major focus of the work is the life and teachings of Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani, the founder of the Qadiri *Silsilah*. In the last section, the biographies of the Qadiri sufis of Uch, their descendants and *sajjada-nashins* till the start of the twentieth century are discussed, which are mostly based on earlier *tadhkirahs*. However, many anecdotes and stories are legendary in character, having no authentic reference from contemporary sources.

Co-authored by Muhammad Sibtain Raza Gilani and Iftikhar Ali Gilani, *Tadhkirah: Shaykh al-Kul Saiyyid Musa Pak Shahid Gilani* (2011) is a biography of the famous Qadiri sufi of Uch, Saiyyid Musa Pak. Divided into eight chapters in a chronological order, it offers the details of early life of Saiyyid Musa Pak, and achieving of the status of a celebrated sufi of the time. The work explores the various aspects of his life which include his teachings, his interaction with the ruling elite and his descendants. The careful use of primary sources and analytical approach gives this hagiographical work some weightage as a scholarly addition on the subject.

Muhammad Sibtain Raza Gilani's work, *Tadhkirah: Makhdum al-Kul Al-Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi Gilani Qadiri* (2015) is first detailed biographical work on the founder of Qadiri *Silsilah* at Uch. Gilani has used the primary sources to study the early life of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth, his migration to India and finally settling at Uch. The work also provides valuable details about his descendants, and chapter eight is dedicated to the study of his *Diwan-i Qadiri*, the collection of poetry. It is a comprehensive and well-researched work, which provides very useful insight into the life of the Saiyyid and foundation of Qadiri *Silsilah* in India.

5. Methodology

On methodological grounds the present study employs different approaches to grasp holistic picture of Uch as a centre of sufi traditions, evaluating socio-political, cultural, economic and religious dynamics of the region, and its various dimensions. By using analytical approach, the political and religio-spiritual history of the city of Uch is explored. Through adopting descriptive and narrative methodology, the emergence of Uch as centre of the activities of Suhrawardi and Qadiri sufis is studied. Different patterns of the relationship of the sufis and the state are studied by deploying exploratory and analytical approaches and techniques. Religion as a lived

experience is explored by studying the sufi institutions of Uch like *khanqahs*, their role as effective institution which interacted with medieval state and society, and also contributed to education, spirituality and learning. The contribution of sufis of Uch in the production of sufi literature is studied by critically analysing different genres of literature and deducing the teachings and practices of the sufis of Uch. Regional approach to Sufism, an approach which studies the history of a particular region, is employed to study the city of Uch as one of highly important centres of sufi traditions in medieval India.

6. Organization of the Study

The study is divided into five chapters in addition to an introduction. The first chapter after exploring a brief geography and history of Uch focuses the emergence of Uch as a centre of different religious traditions, and the activities of the Ismailis (an offshoot of Shi'ite Muslims), who made it a centre of their missionary activities. It also studies its emergence as a historically important seat of Muslim learning in India. The second chapter deals with the brief history of the advent of sufi *silsilahs* in India, and primarily focuses on the establishment of Uch as a seat of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* during the thirteenth century onwards. It investigates the life of major Suhrawardi sufis of Uch, their upbringing, influences on them, their conduct which inspired the people, and their policies, approaches and strategies towards the state and society. The third chapter provides a study on the arrival of Qadiri *Silsilah* in India and particularly discusses the emergence of Uch as a major centre of activities of Qadiri sufis during the second half of the fifteenth century. The fourth chapter identifies patterns of relationship of the sufis of Uch with the state during the period under study. The fifth and the last chapter evaluates the *khanqah* life and the major sufi *khanqahs* of Uch, their organization, traditions, practices and shrines. It also

offers a brief survey of the sufi literature produced by the sufis of Uch. It is followed by conclusion and bibliography.

Chapter 1

Uch: A Historical Background

The city of Uch has rich political, religious as well as cultural history. From the ancient time to the period under study, Uch served as a spiritual centre for the followers of different religions and sects. In medieval India, it rose to importance during Ismaili rule, as a centre of Ismaili missionary activities and later in the Sultanate period as a centre of sufi traditions and scholarly activities. The present chapter explores the foundation of the city of Uch, its geography and its place in the religio-political and spiritual history of South Asia. The chapter is divided into three sections. From the etymology of the word Uch to the question who founded the city, there are different opinions analysed in the first section. The course of history of Islam in the region and establishment of Uch as a political capital in the region of Sindh and south-west Punjab are also examined in this section. In the second section, the rise of Uch as a centre of Ismaili activities, the luminaries of Uch, which include, some early sufis and scholars who contributed in the fame of city of Uch are discussed. In last section a detail discussion is given on the process of conversion to Islam in India and the contribution of Ismaili *da'wa* and sufis in the process of conversion in the region.

1.1 Uch: Geography and History

The region of Pakistan housed one of the great civilizations of the world viz. Indus Valley Civilization. There have been several cities and towns which have played a significant role in the making of history of this region. The city of Uch is one of them. It is an ancient or premodern Indo-Muslim city in the south-western Punjab. It was a part of Bahawalpur State before partition of India in 1947. Today, Uch is part of the province of Punjab in Pakistan. During medieval period of Indian history, however, the whole basin of the river Indus and adjacent valleys from

Multan down to the Arabian Sea were part of Sindh. It is among one of the oldest cities of Punjab and Sindh. The town of Uch is situated some 70 km to the west of Bahawalpur city, close to the confluence of Rivers Chenab-Jhelum and Ravi.¹ It served as a major confluence for mercantile traffic and an important political and religious centre during medieval times.² Now a days it is a small town having no commercial or political significance.

Since its inception, Uch has been regarded as an important centre of religio-political activities. The archaeological remains present there show that the story of human activity in these areas must have started very early, sometimes during the period when this region had flourishing centres of the Indus Valley Civilization.³ It is evident from the presence of very old sacred sites in Uch that it has a long history of arrivals-of religious, political, and mercantile communities. These material and archaeological remains demonstrate that the city had a very significant past.⁴

1.1.1 Etymology and Foundation of the City of Uch

There are different opinions about the etymology of the word Uch as are about its foundation. Some historians are of the opinion that the city of Uch might have been founded by Aryans sometimes in the middle of the second millennium BC. They named it Ussa after the name of their goddess of dawn.⁵ It has been said that the word Uch is a derivation or corruption of the word *Ussa* or *Ushas*. On the other hand, it is argued that word Uch is associated with height. The city of Uch was and is still situated on height. According to Cunningham, the word *Uchcha* means “‘high or lofty’, both in Hindi and Sanskrit; and Uchchnagar is, therefore, a common

¹ *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, new ed., vol. X, art. Uch by C.E. Bosworth (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 766-67.

² During medieval period the river Indus also used to merge with Rivers Chenab-Jhelum, Sutlej and Beas near Uch. However, with the change of course of river Indus, now the confluence of these rivers is 60 kilometre south of Uch, near Kot Mithan.

³ Ahmed Nabi Khan, *Uchchh: History and Architecture* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 2001. rpt., first pub. 1980), 7.

⁴ Manan Ahmed Asif, *A Book of Conquest: The Chachnama and Muslim Origins in South Asia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 17.

⁵ Khan, *Uchchh: History and Architecture*, 3-7.

name for any place situated on a height.”⁶ Uch is called with different names in different sources. In Greek sources, it was known as Alexandria-Usha. In Arab sources, it is called Basmad or Swandi.⁷ Kufi called it Chachpur or Askalanda.⁸ It was also called Bhatiya in Ghaznavid period and in *Tarikh-i Masumi* it is named as Uch.⁹ In Mir Ali Sher’s work *Tuhfat ul Kiram* it is also named as Uch.¹⁰ Uch is situated in the region where majority of the people speak Seraiki language. In Seraiki, the lower place is called *jhik*¹¹ and an elevated place is called *och* or *uch*.¹² Uch is still situated on height and it seems more plausible that the present name of Uch is derivation from Hindi or Sanskrit word *uchcha* and Seraiki word *och* both used for high or lofty place. Another aspect of the word *uch* is spiritual one. In local languages and in the folklores of the region, the people with higher status (particularly the persons having a spiritual status) are also named as *uchay log* (The persons having higher status).¹³ Uch housed many important sufis and religious luminaries during medieval India who were venerated by the local population. The word *uch* has both geographical and spiritual connotations and it seems more probable in the naming of the place as Uch.¹⁴ Saiyyid Abd- Allah *alias* Baba Bulleh Shah (d. 1758), the famous Qadiri sufi poet of eighteenth century India was born in Uch.¹⁵ His family migrated from Uch to

⁶ Alexander Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India: The Buddhist Period* vol. I. (London: Trubner & Co, 1871), 242.

⁷ Abdul Rehman, *Historic Towns of Punjab: Ancient and Medieval Period* (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1997), 108.

⁸ Ali ibn Hamid ibn Abu Bakr Kufi, *Fath Nama Sindh urf Chach Nama*. 3rd ed., Urdu trans. Akhtar Rizvi (Jamshoro: Sindhi Adabi Board. 2008), 60.

⁹ Mir Muhammad Masum Bhakkari, *Tarikh-i Masumi*. Ed. Nabi Bakhsh Khan Baluch. Urdu Trans. Akhtar Rizvi (Karachi: Sindhi Adabi Board, 1959), 45, 59.

¹⁰ Mir Ali Sher Qani’i Thatvi, *Tuhfat ul Kiram*. Urdu trans. Akhtar Rizvi (Jamshoro: Sindhi Adbi Board. 2006), 363.

¹¹ Muhammad Saadullah Khetran, *Seraiki Lugh’aat* [Seraiki Dictionary] (Multan: Seraiki Area Study Centre, 2016), (first pub. 2007), 253.

¹² Khetran, *Seraiki Lugh’aat*, 21.

¹³ Khetran, *Seraiki Lugh’aat*, 21.

¹⁴ The city of Uch is spelled differently in different studies, which include ‘Uch’, ‘Uchch’ and ‘Uchchh’. In present study it is spelled as Uch, while drawing the conclusion from its etymological derivation.

¹⁵ Ijaz ul Haq Qadusi, *Tadhkirah Sufia-i Punjab* [A Biography of Sufis of Punjab] (Karachi: Salman Academy, 1996), 157-61.

the city of Qasur. He also venerated the city of Uch and its people due to the noble lineage, in his poetry. He says!

Tusi Uchay, Tuhadi Zaat vi Uchi,
Tusan vich Uch de rahndey....

[You are Noble; you are embodiment of nobility,
You live in the city of Uch (lit. high, noble)]

Assi Kasuri, Asadi Zaat Kasuri,
Asan vich Kasur de rahndey!

[I am sinner, I am embodiment of sin,
I live in city of Kasur (lit. sin, guilt)]

The city of Uch is destroyed and rebuilt many times after its first foundation. First as Ussa it was founded by the Aryans and later rebuilt by Alexander the Great (d. 323 BC) in the fourth century BC.¹⁶ It is also believed that Shaykh Safi al-Din Gazuruni (d. 1007), the earliest known sufi who settled down at Uch, built the city. However, he must have migrated to the place, which had already a certain geographical importance. It seems more convincing that his presence made the already established town of Uch as a spiritual centre. In local traditions, it is also a popular belief that Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Mir Surkh Bukhari (d. 1291), the founder of Uch branch of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in India, rebuilt the city of Uch after the fall of Nasir al-Din Qabachah (r. 1205-28).¹⁷ However, it seems that as the city was under the rule of Delhi Sultans at that time and regular governors were appointed in Uch, it was well in place already. Saiyyid Jalal al-Din only migrated into the city, and the part of the city where he settled was later named as Uch Bukhari. Uch was again attacked and a part of the city was destroyed by the Arghuns ruler of Thatta in the

¹⁶ David Ross, *The Land of Five Rivers and Sindh*. Reproduced by Sani Hussain Panhwar (London: 1883), 65.

¹⁷ Nasir al-Din Qabachah was the independent ruler of Sindh and Multan who made Uch as the capital of his kingdom. He was defeated by Shams al-Din Iltmish (r. 1211-36), the Sultan of Delhi in the year 1228.

year 1527 AD. The modern day Uch is a small town divided into three quarters, Uch Bukhari, Uch Gilani and Uch Mughlan.¹⁸

There are several others towns which were founded in medieval India, which were named as Uch, due to settlement of disciples or descendants of the sufis of Uch. These include Uch in District Nasirabad, Baluchistan, presently known for Uch power station, Uch in the salt range known for Jalali *faqirs*, Uch in Kashmir near Muzaffarabad where a monument is dedicated to the memory of Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari, Uch in Swat valley, Uch Bilot near Dera Ismail Khan in Khyber-Pukhtunkhwa and Uch Gul Imam in District Jhang.

1.1.2 The Place of Uch on the Political Map of India

Uch as a frontier town has a significant place in the political and military history of India. It was situated on the confluence of five rivers, which enhanced its commercial as well as strategic importance. It was on the route to the invasions from north and remained part of different empires. John Keay in his work *India: A History* is of the opinion that ancient Uch or Ussa of the Aryan might have been included in the dominions of Kamojas, and then in Achaemenian Empire before the Greek invasion.¹⁹ In fourth century BC, Alexander of Greece invaded these areas and founded a new city by the name of Alexandria after his own name at the confluence of the five rivers.²⁰ In fact, he rebuilt the ancient city of Ussa, which was strategically located and named it

¹⁸ In the quarter of Uch Bukhari, shrines of Suhrawardi sufis which include shrine of Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Bukhari and his descendants are located. Uch Gilani is the part of the city where shrines of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth and his descendants, the sufis of Qadiri *Silsilah* are located. Uch Mughlan is famous as during Mongol invasion a large number of Mongol soldiers settled here. Some scholars are of the opinion that Uch Mughlan is named Mughaln, as this quarter was established by Mughal rulers during seventeenth century. Uch Mughlan is also known as Uch Jamali, as the shrine of Shaykh Jamal al-Din 'Khandar Ru' also known as 'Jamal dervish' is situated here. For details see: Hassan, Arif and Mansoor Raza. *Migration and Small Towns in Punjab* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011), 89-90. and Muhammad Siraj Ahmed Saeedi, *Tarikh-i Uch Mutabarkah* [The History of Holy Uch] (Lahore: Ziaul-Quran Publications, 2017), 55-56.

¹⁹ John Keay, *India: A History* (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 2001), 71.

²⁰ Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, 243.

Alexandria.²¹ Alexander appointed a governor to look after the administration of this area. However, within a decade or so, the Greek hold on these areas diminished, and local chieftains started re-occupying the area.²² It was the time when Chandra Gupta Maurya (r. 321-297 BC) was consolidating his rule in northern India. It is certain that the city of Uch was included in the Mauryan Empire. At the close of the third century BC, the Mauryan dynasty was replaced by Sunga dynasty. However, the new rulers faced the invasions of Bactrian Greeks, who captured the entire northern India including Uch under Menander of Eukatides family.²³ The Bactrian Greeks were succeeded by Indo-Scythians and the Indo-Parthians, who successively ruled the northern parts of India until the arrival of Kushanas in the beginning of first century AD.²⁴

In fifth century AD, Rai dynasty was established in Sindh. Raja Diwa Ji founded this dynasty with its capital at Alor. The ruling family called itself Rajputs and were followers of Buddhism.²⁵ The kingdom was divided into four provinces with their headquarters at Brahmanabad, Siwistan (Sehwan), Askalanda and Multan. The Rai family ruled over Sindh for one hundred and thirty years. Rai Sahasi II's minister Chach who was a Brahman by caste and ruled Sindh for forty years succeeded Rai Sahasi II, the last ruler of Rai dynasty. He was later succeeded by his brother Chandra and after his death, Chach's sons Dahir and Daharriya divided the kingdom among themselves. However, after the death of Daharriya, the whole Kingdom came under Dahir in 670.²⁶

In the later part of Dahir's rule, the Arab armies invaded and annexed Sindh to the Umayyad Empire. It is considered the beginning of Muslim rule in India. The emergence of

²¹ Keay, *India: A History*, 72-77. See also Khan, *Uchchh: History and Architecture*, 9.

²² Burjor Avari, *India: The Ancient Past* (Oxon: Routledge, 2007), 105-7.

²³ Avari, *India: The Ancient Past*, 129-32.

²⁴ Keay, *India: A History*, 109-112.

²⁵ Mas'ud Hassan Shihab, *Khitta-i Pak Uch* [The Holy Region of Uch.] 3rd ed. (Bahawalpur: Urdu Academy, 1993), 91.

²⁶ Kufi, *Fath Nama*, 98.

Muslim rule in India was an important episode in the history of the region. It was not the result of any sudden development; rather it was result of multiple causes and a long process. A series of military expeditions on the North-western peripheral regions of India under the Pious Caliphs (11-40 AH/632-661 AD) and the Umayyads (41-132 AH/661-750 AD) eventually culminated in the Arab conquest of Sindh by Muhammad ibn Qasim in 711.²⁷

Nile Green has carved up a monolithic category, “Middle East,” divided into a subcategory, “Indian Ocean Arena”, and has placed the Arabian Peninsula, the Gulf, and parts of Iraq into an Indian Ocean arena.²⁸ Sindh as an Indian Ocean region was connected with Arabia even before the Arab invasion. The Arab rule in this region was not a disconnected episode; rather an extension of ancient connections in various fields, especially in trade between Sindh and Arabia.

The causes of Arab invasion included help of Persians by the ruler of Sindh and Makran against the Muslims, shelter offered to some Muslim rebels by Raja Dahir and activities of pirates in the Indian Ocean, which were harmful for sea trade.²⁹ Therefore, the Umayyads were interested in the region for several reasons, which include creating a secure frontier region, crushing the rebels and protection of important trading routes. However, the immediate cause was the looting of richly laden ships, which were carrying the grieved families of Arab merchants who had died in Sarandip (Sri Lanka), and gifts from the King of Sarandip for the Umayyad Caliph.³⁰

²⁷ Tanvir Anjum, “The Emergence of Muslim Rule in India: Some Historical Disconnects and Missing Links”, *Islamic Studies*, vol. 46, no. 2 (Summer 2007): 219.

²⁸ Nile Green. “Re-Thinking the ‘Middle East’ after the Oceanic Turn”, *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* vol. 34 no. 3 (2014): 561.

²⁹ Ahmad bin Yahya Baladhuri, *Kitab Futuh al- Buldan*. Part II. Eng trans. Francis Clark Murgotten (New York: Columbia University, 1924), 216.

³⁰ Anjum, “The Emergence of Muslim Rule in India”, 219.

Hajjaj ibn Yusuf (d. 714), the governor of Iraq and in-charge of Eastern territories, sent two expeditions to Sindh which were routed by Raja Dahir. He selected Muhammad ibn Qasim (d. 715) for a full-fledged onslaught, who entered Sindh via Makran in 92/711. He captured and annexed areas including the cities of Debul, Nirun (modern Hyderabad). Alor (the capital of Dahir's Kingdom), Askalandah (modern Uch), Multan and Batia (near Bahawalpur).³¹ After the death of Hajjaj in 95/714, Ibn Qasim was called back in 96/715 by Caliph Sulayman (r. 715-17). The Umayyad governors were regularly appointed in these areas after the return of Ibn Qasim. The Arabs allowed the natives considerable share in administration. Under the Abbasid rule, the hold of Empire on its peripheral areas started weakening. Sindh and Multan became semi-independent. Umar ibn Abd al-Aziz Habbari founded a semi-autonomous kingdom known as Habbariyyah Kingdom of Sindh (854-1026) with its capital at Mansurah.³² Banu Samah Kingdom was founded in Multan by Muhammad ibn Qasim ibn Munabbih Sami. The Samis ruled Multan and its neighbouring territories including Uch for nearly one century. Later, the Ismailis subdued them in 375/985.³³ A number of geographer-travellers during the Abbasid rule visited and wrote about Sindh (*bilad al-Sindh*) and mentioned Uch in their travelogues. These geographers include Ibn Khurdadhbih (d. 913), al-Istakhri (d. 951) and al-Ma'sudi (d. 957).³⁴

The Ismailis succeeded in capturing political power in these areas as a result of systematic Ismaili activities and preaching. The Ismaili rule was first established in Multan and Uch by Jalam b. Shayban in 374-5/985.³⁵ The Ismaili rulers of Multan and Uch owed their

³¹ Muhammad Aslam, *Muhammad ibn Qasim aur uske Janashin* [Muhammad ibn Qasim and his Successors] (Lahore: Riyaz Brothers, 1996), 36-48.

³² Mumtaz Hussain Pathan, *Arab Kingdom of Mansurah in Sindh* (Jamshoro: Institute of Sindhology, University of Sindh, 1974), 87.

³³ Ahmed Nabi Khan, "Advent and Spread of Isma'ili Dawat and the Establishment of its Rule in Sindh and Multan", *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, (Karachi) vol. II (Jan-March 2004): 5.

³⁴ Manan Ahmed Asif, "A Demon with Ruby Eyes", *The Medieval History Journal*, vol. 16, no. 2 (2013): 5.

³⁵ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century* (Aligarh: Department of History Muslim University, 1961), 291.

allegiance to the Fatimid Caliph of Egypt. They issued coins in the name of the Fatimid Caliph and acknowledged him as the legal sovereign. At first, they adopted a conciliatory approach towards their neighbouring state of Ghazna but Abu'l Fath Da'ud ibn Nasr, a grandson of Jalam b. Shayban, abandoned the policy of conciliation and as a result, could not maintain cordial relationship with rulers of Ghazna. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna also considered the Ismailis as heretics, and he invaded and defeated Abu'l Fath Da'ud ibn Nasr in 401/1010-11.³⁶ Though Ismaili rule ended in Multan, their activities continued in neighbouring areas. Loose and ineffective rule of the Ghaznavids in northern India provided suitable opportunity to Ismailis to prosper again until Shihab al-Din Ghauri's invasion in 1175. Ghauri's victory over them almost ended their political power in the Indian territories. According to Minhaj, there were one hundred and five forts of the Ismailis including seventy in Quhistan (Iran) and the thirty five in Alamut (Iraq) at that time.³⁷ Shihab al-Din also invaded Quhistan and broke the Ismaili power in one of its strongest centres. The defeat of Ismailis in India added insult into their injury and they retaliated by resorting to methods of assassination and secret hostile propaganda. In 1206, Shihab-al-Din was killed at Damyak on the bank of the Indus while going back to Ghazna, after chastising the Khokhars. There are different opinions that who killed him, one is that Ismaili assassins killed him in reaction to his campaigns against them.³⁸ On the front of Ismaili religious influence in Sindh and Multan, the Suhrawardi sufis of Multan and Uch started their proselytizing activities and preached Sunni Islam, thus making the propagation of Ismailism as ineffective as possible in the region.³⁹

³⁶ Ansar Zahid Khan, "Isma'ilism in Multan and Sindh", *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* (Karachi) vol. XXIII, part 1 (Jan 1975): 43.

³⁷ Mawlana Minhaj al-Din Abu 'Umar Uthman Juzjani (Minhaj al-Siraj), *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*. (comp. in 1260) vol. I. Trans. Major H. G. Raverty. (London: Gilbert & Rivington, 1881), 418.

³⁸ Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India*, 292.

³⁹ Khan, "Advent and Spread of Isma'ili Dawat", 9.

The Ghaznavid conquests paved the way for the future conquest of north India by the Afghans and the Turks. After the death of the Ghaznavid King, Sultan Mahmud in 1030, the chiefs of Ghaur established their own kingdom. The Ghaurids undertook the systematic conquest of India and laid the foundation of Muslim rule in northern India.⁴⁰ In the year 561/1175, Sultan Shihab al-Din Ghauri, the brother of Sultan Ghiyath al-Din (r. 1163-1203), led his army towards Uch, Batia, and Multan. After a few days of fighting, the fortress of Uch was taken by Shihab al-Din. He appointed Ali Karmakh in-charge of Multan and Uch.⁴¹ Between the year 571/1175 and 588/1192, the territories of Uch, Multan, Gujarat, Peshawar, Sindh and Lahore were occupied by Shihab al-Din Ghauri. The decisive victory of Tara'in in 588/1192 over Prithviraj Chauhan, the ruler of Delhi and Ajmer, laid the systematic foundation of Muslim or Turkish rule in India. In the year 602/1206, Sultan Shihab al-Din Ghauri was murdered and was succeeded by Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Mahmud. He appointed Qutb al-Din Aybeg (r. 1206-10), a Turkish slave general, as an independent ruler of Indian territories, who styled himself as a 'Sultan'.⁴²

Sultan Qutb al-Din Aybeg, the founder of Delhi Sultanate, died accidentally in 607/1210. Nasir al-Din Qabachah (d. 1228), the son-in-law of Qutb al-Din was the governor of Uch and Multan at that time. He declared his independence from Delhi Sultanate, and made Uch his headquarter. It was the time when the city of Uch rose to prominence on the Indian horizon as a centre of Muslim culture and education. There was educational institution like *Madrasa*

⁴⁰ Eaton is of the view in that in modern scholarship not only Islam is portrayed as an alien intrusion in India but also as 'Muslim Conquest'. Conquerors are not defined by their ethnicity or place of origin, but rather, a religion, the Islamic religion. But on contrary modern sources never speak of a 'Christian Conquest' of America or Spanish conquest of South America, and of European settlement in North America. See: introduction in Richard M. Eaton, ed. *India's Islamic Traditions, 711-750* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003), 9-10.

⁴¹ Yahya bin Ahmed bin Abdullah Sirhindi, *The Tarikh-i Mubarakshahi*, Eng. trans., K. K. Basu (Karachi: Karimsons, 1977), 6.

⁴² Peter Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate: A Political and Military History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. rpt., first pub. 1999), 28.

Firuziyya which became one of the important institutes of learning in Islamicate South Asia.⁴³ Minhaj al-Din Siraj the famous thirteenth century Muslim historian also served as a superintendent of the *Madrassa*.⁴⁴ Political rivalry between Nasir al-Din Qabachah and Sultan Iltutmish (r. 1211-36), who succeeded Aybeg as the new Sultan after a brief reign of Sultan Aram Shah (r. 1210-11) also translated into social and cultural competition between Uch and Delhi. Qabachah patronized local as well as foreign scholars, sufis, intellectuals, poets and literary figures who migrated to India due to Mongol devastation of the Middle East and Central Asia.⁴⁵ Uch was also connected through trade and other networks with Samarqand, Bukhara, Ghazna, Ghur, Kabul, Lahore, Multan in the northwest and Diu, Muscat in the southeast.⁴⁶ These cities were important urban and political centres during the thirteenth century and Uch borrowed cultural and civilizational traits through interaction of the people with traders and scholarly communities. So due to these multiple reasons Uch became a city of poets and scholars during early years of the Sultanate period.

During Qabachah's rule, Uch faced the onslaught of Sultan Jalal al-Din Khwarzam Shah (r. 1220-31), the ruler of Persia and Central Asia.⁴⁷ Qabachah agreed to pay tribute to the Sultan and he retreated. Another version of this campaign is that after facing resistance from local

⁴³ The term Islamicate was coined by Marshall G. S. Hodgson. According to him, the term Islamicate refers "not directly to the religion, Islam, itself, but to the social and cultural complex historically associated with Islam and the Muslims, both among Muslims themselves and even when found among non-Muslims". It refers to regions where Muslims left an impact on their culture and society. For details see: Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization: The Classical Age of Islam* vol. I. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1977. rpt., first pub.1974), 59-60.

⁴⁴ Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, 541.

⁴⁵ S.M. Jaffar, *Education in Muslim India: Being an Inquiry into the State of Education during the Muslim Period of Indian History (1000-1800 AC)* (Peshawar: S. Muhammad Sadiq Khan, 1936), 60. See also Anilla Mobasher, "Revisiting the Delhi Sultans in the light of their Patronage towards Learning and Education," (University of the Punjab, Lahore) *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* vol. 50, no. 2 (December 2013): 107.

⁴⁶ Asif, *A Book of Conquest*, 49.

⁴⁷ Sultan Jalal al-Din Khwarizm Shah was the ruler of dynasty of Khwarizm Shahs, which ruled most part of Central Asia and Iran from 1077 to 1231. Sultan Jalal al-Din was the last ruler of the dynasty, and was invaded by Mongol forces and retreated to India in the year 1221. He invaded Sindh during his retreat, and after strong resistance finally returned to Persia in 1223. Percy Sykes, *Persia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1922), 57-60.

inhabitants and due to non-payment of tribute by Qabachah, Sultan Khwarizm Shah put the city on fire and withdrew down to the Indus.⁴⁸ Sultan Shams al-Din Iltutmish, the sovereign of Delhi, invaded Uch and defeated Qabachah in 625/1228. Qabachah was drowned in River Indus while crossing it.⁴⁹ He ruled the areas of Sindh including Uch and Multan for twenty two years.⁵⁰ Although Nasir al-Din Qabachah's rule was short and could not convert into a dynasty, it is considered as an important period in the cultural history of Sindh.⁵¹ It was the period when due to Mongol invasion of Islamicate Persia, migration began into north India. The migrants included members of ruling families, religious scholars, poets and sufis.⁵² During this period, some of the best Persian scholars, historians and poets settled in Uch. Fouzia Farooq in her recent study on the period of Delhi Sultanate opines that “despite constant wars and instability in his region, Qabachah is credited with having built schools, colleges and mosques in the Sind that may already have had a predominantly Muslim population. Due to the considerable influx of an emigrant population he was able to give the region of Sind a predominantly Muslim character.”⁵³

After defeating Qabachah, Iltutmish appointed Taj al-Din Sanjar-i Kazlak Khan as the governor of Uch and its environs.⁵⁴ After the death of Taj al-Din, the governorship of Uch was assigned to Malik Sayf al-Din called Aybeg-i Uchi.⁵⁵ After the accidental death of Malik Sayf al-Din around 1236, Malik Kabir Khan Ayaz, succeeded him as the governor of Uch and Multan.

⁴⁸ Peter Jackson, “Jalal al-Din, the Mongols, and the Khwarazmian Conquest of the Panjab and Sind”, *British Institute of Persian Studies* vol. 28 (1990): 49-50.

⁴⁹ Abd al-Qadir ibn Muluk Shah Al-Badaoni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (Selection from Histories). Eng. trans. and ed. George S.A. Ranking, vol. I. (New Dehli: Atlantic Publishers & Distributors, 1990. rept.), 90.

⁵⁰ Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*. vol. I., 544.

⁵¹ Khurram Qadir, *Tabaqat Salateen-i Delhi: Kaifiyat* Vol. II. (Multan: Bahauddin Zakariya University Press, 2018), 59-60.

⁵² Muzaffar Alam, *The Languages of Political Islam in India:1200-1800* (Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2013), 222-23.

⁵³ Fouzia Farooq Ahmed, *Muslim Rule in Medieval India: Power and Religion in the Delhi Sultanate* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016), 50.

⁵⁴ Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. II, 724.

⁵⁵ Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. II, 730.

After few years, he broke away from Delhi and declared his independence in 639/1241.⁵⁶ He was succeeded by his son Taj-al-Din Abu Bakr Ayaz. It was the time when Delhi was passing through internal conflicts and struggle for power among nobility and the successors of Sultan Shams al-Din Iltutmish. Malik Kabir Khan Ayaz and his son Taj al-Din availed that opportunity and were successful in maintaining independent rule for a considerable time. After the death of Taj al-Din Abu Bakr, Uch and Multan once again reverted to the rule of Delhi. During the early years of the reign of Sultan Nasir al-Din Mahmud (r. 1246-66), the areas of Uch and Multan were given under the governorship of Malik ‘Izz al-Din Balban,⁵⁷ who tried to establish his independent rule. However, Malik Sher Khan was sent to check him by Sultan Nasir al-Din Mahmud. The former wrested the fortress of Uch from the latter, and thus the whole of the territory of Sindh once again came under the sway of the Delhi Sultanate.⁵⁸

Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Balban (r. 1266-86) ascended the throne of Delhi in 664/1266. After the death of Sher Khan, he appointed his own son, Prince Muhammad as the governor of Multan. The Prince was killed in an ambush with the Mongols in 1285 and was succeeded by his son Kai Khusrau. Prince Arkali Khan was appointed the governor of Uch and Multan under the Khalji rule, and Kishlu Khan was appointed the governor in early period of the Tughluq rule.⁵⁹ During Tughluq period, the famous Moroccan traveller, Ibn Battutah (b.1304-d.1377), visited India. He remained in the court of Sultan Muhammad ibnTughluq (r. 1325-51) for some period. He visited Sindh and Uch in the year 1341. In his travelogue *Aja'ib al-Asfar*, while describing his visit to Uch he writes that “the city of Uch is a large and well-built town which lies on the

⁵⁶ Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. II, 727.

⁵⁷ Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. II, 781.

⁵⁸ Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. II, 792.

⁵⁹ Khan, *Uchchh: History and Architecture*, 45.

bank of the River Indus. It has fine *bazars* and beautiful buildings.”⁶⁰ It was the period when Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq appointed Qiwam al-Mulk as the governor of Uch and Multan. He was replaced by Fakhr al-Din Bahzad and ‘Imad al-Mulk Sartez successively. When Sultan Firuz Tughluq (r. 1351-88) ascended the throne, he appointed ‘Ain al-Mulk Multani as the governor of Multan. After the death of Firuz Tughluq, there erupted political chaos in the region. Sarang Khan, the governor of Dipalpur, occupied the fort of Uch and appointed Malik Ali to govern Uch on his behalf.⁶¹ In this state of confusion in India, Amir Timur invaded the Sultanate of Delhi in 1398. His grandson, Pir Muhammad Jahangir, besieged the fort of Uch but could not reduce it to his subjugation. Timur himself set out to help Pir Muhammad Jahangir and defeated Sarang Khan. Amir Timur appointed Khizr Khan as the governor of Uch, Multan and Dipalpur besides Delhi. Khizr Khan also laid the foundation of the Saiyyid dynasty in India.

However, there was chaos and anarchy under the Saiyyid dynasty, and the people of Multan requested Shaykh Yusuf, the great grandson of Suhrawardi sufi, Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya (d. 1262), to assume the rule in these areas. He accepted this offer, but Rai Langah seized the throne through a conspiracy, and founded independent rule in Multan and assumed the title of Qutb al-Din. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Sultan Husayn Langah. Langah dynasty ruled Uch and Multan for eighty years till the invasion of the army of Arghuns of Thatta in 933/1527.⁶² However, Arghuns could not maintain their hold for long and the province of Uch and Multan eventually merged into the Mughal Empire founded by Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur (r. 1526-30) in 1526. Under the Mughal Empire, Uch remained a part of the province of

⁶⁰ Ibn Battutah, *Aja'ib al-Asfar* (Safarnamah-i-Ibn Battutah), Urdu trans. Mawlawi Muhammad Hussain (Islamabad: Qaumi Idara Tehqiq-o-Thaqafat, 1983), 20.

⁶¹ Khan, *Uchchh: History and Architecture*, 47.

⁶² Abu al-Fazal, *Ain-i Akbari* vol. II Eng trans. H. S. Jarrett (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1891), 335-36. Alexander Cunningham is of the opinion that it was last great siege of Uch which happened in in A.H. 931, or A.D. 1524-25, by Husayn Shah Arghun, in which city was destroyed and the materials were carried off to Bhakkar in boats through river. See: Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, 243.

Multan. Subsequent changes in the course of time reduced its political importance, and it is only a fair sized town in contemporary time.

In brief, Uch is among those ancient and historical settlements, which had considerable political and cultural importance in the past. As earlier mentioned, Multan and Uch were part of Sindh region, which became first populated area in India to come under the Arab rule. Later these towns remained under the rule of the Ismailis, Ghaznavids, the Ghaurids and the Delhi Sultans, and Mughals. The independent rulers of this region like Qabachah and Langahs also left strong imprints in this area. The centuries of Muslim rule in the area contributed in the development of Multan and Uch as significant centres of Islamic learning, culture and piety. Multan and Uch also served as major administrative and political centres of upper Sindh. The distance from Delhi allowed local governors to rule with significant independence. However, the location of Uch was both profitable and unsafe. As Uch was a frontier town of the Delhi Sultanate, it benefited from lying on a major trade route down the Indus valley to the Arabian Sea. Due to the tyranny of Khokhars the route of north-west Punjab was not opted by the immigrants coming from Afghanistan and Turkistan.⁶³ Most of the caravans used to come via Uch and Multan.⁶⁴ People from different occupations chose Uch as their permanent place of residence. On the other hand, as a frontier town it was exposed to the attacks for the invading armies from northwest which include Mongols, who attacked and laid siege to Uch on number of

⁶³ The Khokhar tribe was part of Rajput community. They were mainly concentrated in the salt range area (the area between Jhelum River to Indus River in northern Punjab, which include the present day districts of Jhelum, Chakwal, Attock and Khushab). The Khokhars were warlike tribe and they not only resisted to foreign invaders but made frequent ambush to neighbouring territories. See: Javed Haider Syed, "The Salt Range through the Centuries," *Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society* vol. 27, no.2. (July-December 2014): 75-77.

⁶⁴ S.M. Ikram, *Aab-i Kauthar: Islami Hind aur Pakistan ki Mazhabi aur Rohani Tarikh, Ehd-e-Mughlia say Pehle*. 4th ed. [Aab-i Kauthar: A Religious and Spiritual History of Islamic India and Pakistan, Before Mughal Rule] (Lahore: Idara Thaqafat-e-Islamia, 1990), 116.

occasions during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁶⁵ During the early period of Mughals, however peace was restored in the area, and Uch came under the direct rule of the Mughal Empire. In short, Uch enjoyed a significant political importance from ancient time to medieval Indian period.

The city of Uch in the period under study also served as one of the important centres of religious traditions in South Asia. From the ancient times to the medieval period, it housed different religious traditions. It was the centre of Ismaili activities and early sufis who arrived in India and settled in Uch. Later it became an important centre of Suhrawardi and Qadiri sufi *Silsilahs* in India. The sufis of both these *silsilahs* played an important role in the development of their respective *silsilahs* in the region and beyond. The development of these *silsilahs* is discussed in detail in succeeding chapters. Under Mughals, its political importance diminished gradually. However, its religious and spiritual importance continued due to the earnest activities of the sufis. In the ensuing section, the emergence of Uch as a spiritual centre and the brief profile of the some early sufis and scholars is given.

1.2 Mapping the Sacred Geography of Uch and its Emergence as a Centre of Ismaili Activities

The city of Uch housed different religious traditions from its inception. From ancient Hindu⁶⁶ sacred site to the centre of Ismaili activities, and later as a principal seat of Sufism, Uch is regarded as a place where a continuity of distinct religious ethos is found. After the arrival of Arab Muslims in India, many sufis and scholars settled here. The ensuing section is an attempt to

⁶⁵ A. B. M. Habibullah, *The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India (A History of the Establishment and Progress of the Turkish Sultanate of Delhi: 1206-1290 A.D.)* 2nd rev. ed. (Allahabad: Central Book Depot, 1961), 55.

⁶⁶ Hinduism does not reflect any single religious tradition like Christianity, Judaism and Islam. It is not a coherent body of belief rather a set of different beliefs and religious traditions.

take an overall view and map the sacred geography of Uch, focusing on the period after the arrival of the Muslims in the area and emergence of Uch as a centre of Ismailis.

Uch is one of the sacred cities in the memory of followers of different religions. As earlier mentioned, while tracing the etymology of word Uch, one of the opinions is that it is derived or corrupted from the word Ussa, the name of Aryans goddess of dawn. It seems plausible that there must be a temple of Ussa devi and constant activity of devotees coming for pilgrimage. Uch and Multan also remained a major pilgrimage site for Vishnavite and Surya devotees. The large number of devotees visited these temples in Multan and Uch from Sindh.⁶⁷ At the time of partition of the India in 1947, there was large numbers of Hindu population at Uch.⁶⁸ There are also remains of Hindu temples, which are mostly changed into residences after the partition.

Uch was also one of those cities in India, where early Muslims settled. The first contact of Islam in India was due to the activities of Arab merchants who settled at Indian coast of Malabar.⁶⁹ However, Makran, Sindh, Multan and Gujarat are among the foremost parts of India where Muslim rule was first established. At the end of the ninth century, and in the start of tenth century, Ismaili started to settle in Multan and Sindh.⁷⁰ As mentioned earlier, they captured political power and established Ismaili rule in Multan and Uch in tenth century. The Ismailis were defeated by Mahmud of Ghazana. However, their missionary activities continued in the

⁶⁷ Yohanan Friedmann, "The Temple of Multan : A Note on Early Muslim Attitude on Idolatry", *Israel Oriental Studies* ed. M.J. Kister (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1972), 177.

⁶⁸ Asif, "A Demon with Ruby Eyes," 5.

⁶⁹ Richard M. Eaton, "Approaches to the Study of Conversion to Islam in India" in Richard C. Martin ed. *Approaches to Islam in Religious Studies* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1985), 115.

⁷⁰ After the demise of sixth Imam Jafar al-Sadiq in 765, the Shi's were further divided into Twelvers (who believed in the imamate of Musa al-Kazim (d. 799), the younger son of Imam Jafar al-Sadiq) and Ismailis (who believed that the chain of imamate transferred to Ismail ibn Jafar al-Sadiq (d. 762), who died during the lifetime of his father and was the elder son of Imam Jafar, and into his descendants). These Ismailis captured political power in Egypt and established Fatimid Empire. The Ismailis further were divided into Nizari Ismailis and the Mustali, after the issue of succession between Nizar and Al-Mustasil, the two sons of eighth Fatimid Caliph Al-Mustansir Billah (r. 1036-94). For detail see: Farhad Daftary, *The Ismailis: Their History and Doctrines*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 88, 241-42.

region. They gradually developed a religious tradition, known as *satpanth* or the ‘true path’. Devotional literature comprising hymn-like poetry was also produced which is known as “ginans.”⁷¹ Pir Shams al-Din is the earliest known *da’i* who contributed in development of the *ginan* literature, and made Multan and Uch as the hub of his activities.⁷²

Ismaili *da’wa* (mission) was later consolidated in the region by Pir Şadr al-Din, a great-grandson of Pir Shams in the late fourteenth century. He is mainly associated with the city of Uch. It is believed that he converted a number of Hindus from the Lohanᅇa caste, came to known as Khojas after entering into the Ismaili fold.⁷³ The composition of largest portion of *ginan* literature is attributed to him.⁷⁴ He is also credited with the establishment of first *jama’at-khana* (literally, community house), in Sindh. These Nizari Ismailis must have developed some sorts of contacts with the sufis of Multan and Uch, as these cities were the centres of *satpanth da’wa* activities as well as sufis of Suhrawardi and Qadiri *Silsilahs*. However, no record of these contacts is found in contemporary sources. These Ismaili *pirs* (guides) established a tradition of hereditary succession. Şadr al-Din was succeeded as *pir* by his son, ᅇasan Kabir al-Din, who is considered the last major figure in Ismaili *da’wa* in Sindh and Multan.

1.2.1 Pir Sadr al-Din

Pir Sadr al-Din is one of the most important figures of Ismaili *da’wa*. He played very important role in the systematic preaching of Ismaili doctrines. As earlier mentioned, a major portion of

⁷¹ The *ginans* are hymn-like poems mostly dedicated to the Shi’i Imams. The fourteenth-century Ismaili pir, Saiyyid Sadr al-Din and his son, Pir ᅇasan Kabir al-Din composed *ginans* in various languages which include Sindhi, Punjabi, Seraiki, Gujrati and Hindi languages. It is believed that these poetic compositions exist in forty-two languages. *Ginans* are characterized by the use of Indian meters and evoke the vernacular symbol. For details see: Tanvir Anjum. “Vernacularization of Islam and Sufism in South Asia: A Study of the Production of Sufi Literature in Local Languages”, (University of the Punjab, Lahore) *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* vol. 54, no. 1. (January-June, 2017): 221.

⁷² Farhad Daftary, “Ismaili History and Literary Traditions” in Hermann Landolt, Samira Sheikh and Kutub Kassam, eds. *An Anthology of Ismaili Literature: A Shi’i Vision of Islam* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2008), 26-27.

⁷³ Khoja is derived from the Persian word *khawja*, an honorary title meaning lord or master corresponding to the Hindi term *thakur* by which the Lohanᅇas were addressed.

⁷⁴ Landolt, Sheikh and Kassam, “The Poetry of South Asia” in Landolt, Sheikh and Kassam, eds. *An Anthology of Ismaili Literature*, 311.

ginans are attributed to him. The centre of his activities was Uch, from where he managed the activities of *da'wa*.⁷⁵ He converted large numbers of Hindus from the Lohanna caste (a sub-caste of Kshatriyas) who were mostly traders. The member of Lohanna community were titled as *khoja* by Pir Sadr al-Din. As already explained, the word *khoja* is derived from the Persian word *khawja*, an honorary title that means lord or master. He also successfully extended Ismaili *da'wa* activities towards Gujarat. There is no authentic record of his death. According to different sources he died between 770/1369 and 819/1416.⁷⁶ It is difficult to determine the year of his death with certainty.

It is strange that almost sharing time and space there is nothing found in *malfuzat* (collections of sufi discourses) of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan about Pir Sadr al-Din. There must be certain reasons behind this. It might be a conscious effort on the part of Ismaili *da'is* to stick to their covert preaching activities and not to interact with Suhrawardi sufis to avoid any confrontation. As it was part of their strategy not to directly or indirectly engage with the orthodox Sunni rule. In some sources, 1416 AD is given as year of death of Pir Sadr al-Din and Makhdum-i Jahaniyan was died in the year 1384 AD almost four decades before the former's death. It might be this difference that there is no mention of Pir Sadr al-Din in the *malfuzat* of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan or any meeting reported between them. The shrine of Pir Sadr al-Din is located in Jetpur, near Uch. The translation of one of his *ginans* mentioning about the mysteries of the Divine is given below:

“The First, Incomparable Creator-King,
Allah
He is the very One
In our hearts.
O Allah!
The heart full of your worship

⁷⁵ Daftary, *The Ismailis*, 444.

⁷⁶ Daftary, *The Ismailis*, 444.

Is the pure translucent heart.
 You are the First,
 You are the Last,
 You,
 You alone
 Are my Lord.
 You
 Are the Apparent,
 You
 Are the Hidden
 You,
 Such as You are,
 You alone
 Are my Lord in truth.
 The entire world says,
 Beloved, beloved.
 But the beloved
 Is had by none.
 The lips relate but one story,
 While of the beloved's mystery,
 None knows a thing.⁷⁷

1.2.2 Saiyyid Hasan Kabir al-Din

Saiyyid Hasan Kabir al-Din (d. 875/1470), popularly known as Hasan Dariya, also belonged to family of Ismaili *Sadaat*.⁷⁸ There is no certainty about year of his birth. In certain Ismaili traditions, it is mentioned that, he was born in Uch in the year 1341. He was the first Ismaili *pir* to be born in South Asia. There is also a difference of opinion regarding the year of his death, which include 1449 and 1471. According to certain oral traditions, he lived for almost 180 years, which seems exaggerated. Daftary is of the opinion that the most likely date of Hassan Kabir's death is 1470,⁷⁹ which seems more accurate.

Shaykh Abd al-Haqq, a sixteenth century hagiographer, included a short biography in his work, *Akhbar al-Akhyar* about him. According to him, Saiyyid Hasan Kabir al-Din travelled a lot

⁷⁷ Landolt, Sheikh and Kassam, "The Poetry of South Asia" in Landolt, Sheikh and Kassam eds. *An Anthology of Ismaili Literature*, 311-312.

⁷⁸ Zubair Shafi Ghauri, *Uch Sharif: Tarikh, Thaqafat, Asar-i Qadamat wa Azmat* [Uch Sharif: History, Culture, and Great Archaeological Remain] (Lahore: Azad Enterprises, n.d.), 125.

⁷⁹ Daftary, *The Ismailis*, 444.

before settling down permanently in Uch and then worked for the spread the message of Islam in the region. Hundreds of non-Muslims embraced Islam at his hands.⁸⁰ Hasan Kabir al-Din had eighteen sons but the Nizari Imam appointed his brother Taj al- Din as his successor. This appointment was probably a step to weaken the idea of hereditary succession among Ismaili *pirs* in India.⁸¹ Taj al- Din was recognized as a *pir* by the Khojas, but not by the Imam Shahis. He died towards the end of the fifteenth century, not long after Kabir al-Din. He is buried in Sindh.

In certain *tadkirahs*, Hasan Kabir al-Din is mentioned as a Suhrawardi sufi. However, there is no reference that by whom he was initiated into Suhrawardi *Silsilah*. At that time, Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in Uch was experiencing decline after the demise of Saiyyid Hamid Kabir, the grandson of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan. It might be an effort on the part of Saiyyid Hassan Kabir to capture the space and influence the followings of Suhrawardi sufis by adopting Suhrawardi guise. Hafeez ur Rehman, an early twentieth century historian, in his work *Tarikh-i Uch* [History of Uch] states that, although most Ismaili Khojas of Uch are now Twelver Shias but the elders of the Ismaili community have always been associated with the Suhrawardi sufi *Silsilah* for the reasons of concealment.⁸² Shafique Virani, in his work *The Ismailis in the Middle Ages* is of the opinion that it was not a general practice of the Ismailis to mark themselves as sufis to avoid persecution, except in certain cases. According to him, there was a symbiotic relationship between Sufism and Ismailism, and Saiyyid Hasan Kabir al-Din is best example in case.⁸³ It seems that the Saiyyid was certainly associated with Suhrawardi *Silsilah* either for the sake of penetration of his ideology in the followers of Suhrawardi sufis or as a dissimulation from anti-Ismaili elements of the state. He is buried in Uch and his shrine is a mile distant from present day

⁸⁰ Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dehlavi, *Akhbar al-Akhyar fi Asrar al-Abrar* ed. Aleem Ashraf Khan (Tehran: Anjuman-i Asar wa Mafakhir-i Farhangi, 1383 AH), 425.

⁸¹ Daftary, *The Ismailis*, 445.

⁸² Hafeez ur-Rehman Hafeez, *Tarikh-i Uch* [History of Uch] (Delhi: Mehboob Press, 1931), 151-52.

⁸³ Shafique N. Virani, *The Isma'ilis in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 147.

city of Uch. One of the beautiful *ginans* of Hasan Kabir al-Din translated by Ali S. Asani is quoted here:

“A High and Lofty Fortress

A high and lofty fortress,
Beneath which flows a river.

I am a tiny fish adrift in the river.

O my Lord, come and rescue me.

Refrain:

I am tormented without the vision of You,

O my Beloved, O my Husband, come home!

(Although) this devotee forgot to worship You,

Yet, my Beloved, show me Your face.

I am in a (fragrant) little room of incense and sandalwood,

Whose doors are built with good deeds,

(But) closed shut with the locks of love,

O my Lord, come and open them. [*Refrain*]

Alas, I am imprisoned in the cage of family (worldly) attachments;

Only a few can truly understand

The agony of my body;

O Lord, come and soothe my anguish. [*Refrain*]

Please do not be so angry;

My Lord grant me your vision.

This is the humble plea of Pir Hasan Shah:

O my Lord, come and rescue me. [*Refrain*]⁸⁴

1.2.3 Luminaries of Uch

As earlier mentioned, Uch is known as a principal seat of Suhrawardi and Qadiri *Silsilahs* during the period under study. The famous Suhrawardi sufi, Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Mir Surkh Bukhari, who was disciple and *khalifah* of Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya, settled at Uch and made it a centre of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* during thirteenth century. His successors contributed to the fame of Uch as a sufi centre. Later, during second half of the fifteenth century, a renowned Qadiri sufi, Shaykh Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth migrated from Halab (Aleppo), in present day Syria, and settled at Uch. He is credited with the introduction and organization of Qadiri *Silsilah* in South

⁸⁴ Landolt, Sheikh and Kassam, “The Poetry of South Asia”, in Landolt, Sheikh and Kassam eds. *An Anthology of Ismaili Literature*, 315.

Asia. The major focus of next chapters is the activities, ideologies, institutions and traditions of the sufis of both these *silsilahs*. In addition to Suhrawardi and Qadiri sufis, many sufis, scholars and religious luminaries settled at Uch. This section offers a survey of these important personalities of Uch in the early centuries of Muslim rule in India, who contributed to the fame of Uch.

1.2.3.1 Shaykh Safi al-Din Gazruni

During the end of tenth century, a sufi named Shaykh Saiyyid Safi al-Din Gazruni Haqani Naqvi (d. 1007), migrated from Gazrun (also known as Kazerun, situated in present day Iran) and settled at Uch. He was an outstanding figure among the early sufis of the region.⁸⁵ Some scholars consider Shaykh Abu Turab (d. 787) as the earliest sufi of South Asia. However, there is difference of opinion that he was either a sufi or just an Abbasid governor in the area. Although Shaykh Abu Turab is venerated as a sufi in the present memory, however there are no such documented evidences, which can determine his position as a sufi or ruler.⁸⁶ Shaykh Safi al-Din Gazruni, who was born in 962 and came to India at the age of seventeen, is considered one of the early sufis of South Asia. The name of Shaykh Safi al-Din Gazruni's father was Saiyyid Muhammad and Shehr Bano was Shaykh's mother.⁸⁷ He was the principal disciple and nephew of Shaykh Abu Ishaq Gazruni, who was a famous sufi of his time.⁸⁸

Shaykh Abu Ishaq laid the stress on the love between humans and God like the other Iranian sufis. It is believed that he established a network of more than sixty-five lodges in

⁸⁵ Saiyyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India* vol. I (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1986), 110-11.

⁸⁶ Ikram, *Aab-i Kauthar*, 72.

⁸⁷ Muhammad Sibtain Raza Gilani, *Tadhkirah: Makhdam al-Kul Al-Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bandgi Gilani Qadiri* (Bahawalpur: Urdu Academy, 2015), 36.

⁸⁸ Shaykh Abu Ishaq Gazruni was famous as the protector of the travellers. He was especially venerated by the traders and merchants of China and India. During their journeys these traders used to pray for the protection from robbers and natural calamities and make vows to present gifts or certain amount of cash to the *khanqah* of Shaykh Abu Ishaq. In a result the *khanqah* received huge amount of cash offerings from these travellers. For details see. Ibn Battutah, *Aja'ib al-Asfar*, 417.

different parts southern Iran which provided shelters for travelers and the poor.⁸⁹ The sufi *silsilah* which was popularized by Shaykh Abu Ishaq is known as *Silsilah* Gazruniyyah as well as *Silsilah* Murshadiyyah. The followers of Shaykh Abu Ishaq were well versed in Islamic Juricprudence and served in different capacities in judicial setup of India.

Shaykh Safi al-Din Gazruni came and settled even before Saiyyid ‘Ali Uthman Hujwiri, popularly known as Data Ganj Bakhsh of Lahore, and earned considerable fame in the region. Shaykh Nizam al-Din Awliya (d. 1325) described an event about Shaykh Safi al-Din Gazruni that he defeated a Hindu *yogi* who had challenged him with his magical powers.⁹⁰ According to some sources, Shaykh Safi al-Din rebuilt Uch and is considered to be the founder of the existing city of Uch.⁹¹ It is argued that rehabilitation of Uch after Sultan Mahmud’s invasion and subsequent destruction was due to his efforts.⁹²

Shaykh Safi al-Din established a *khanqah* and a *madrassa* in Uch. It served as a boarding house for the students along with teaching and training in spiritual and religious matters.⁹³ It was an important centre of learning in north India, and became popular among local and foreign people alike. It has been recorded that at one point, hundreds of pupils were on the roll in the *madrassa*.⁹⁴ The settlement of Shaykh Safi al-Din at Uch and establishment of a *khanqah* there served as a foundation stone of for the emergence of Uch as sufi centre in succeeding centuries. Shaykh Safi a-Din is also considered as the founder of *Silsilah* Gazruniyyah in India. However, the *silsilah* could not succeed in achieving all India status. In medieval sources, no details about

⁸⁹ Nile Green, *Sufism: A Global History* (New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 58.

⁹⁰ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi, *Fawa'id al-Fu'ad: Malfuzat Hazrat Khwaja Nizam al-Din*. Urdu trans. Khawja Hassan Nizami (Lahore: Al-Faisal, 2011), 199-200.

⁹¹ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 408.

⁹² S. Moinul Haq, “Early Sufi Shaykhs of the Subcontinent”, *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* vol. XXII, part I (January 1974): 5-6.

⁹³ N.R. Farooqi, “Early Sufis of India: Legend and Reality” in Mansura Haider ed. *Sufi Sultan and Feudal Orders* (Delhi: Manohar, 2004), 8. It is believed that it was first Islamic residential *madrassah* in India.

⁹⁴ Khan, *Uchchh: History and Architecture*, 77.

any major disciple of Shaykh Safi al-Din are found. His descendants also could not get limelight in the sufi and historical works of the period.⁹⁵ However, we found that there were intermarriages among the descendants of Shaykh Safi al-Din and Saiyyid Jalal a-Din Surkh Bukhari and later in the family of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi. *Khanqah* Gazruniyyah also remained intact. Makhdum-i Jahaniyan in his *malfiz* titled *Jami al-‘Ulum* states that in Uch there were three *khanqahs*, one was of his father, other of Shaykh Jamal al-Din and the third was of Gazruni.⁹⁶ It proves that although there were no sufis of considerable fame in Gazruni *Silsilah* after Shaykh Safi al-Din Gazruni, his *khanqah* remained functional after his demise.⁹⁷ Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari’s decision to settle at Uch must have been encouraged by the presence of Gazruni *Khanqah* and the significance of the city as a sufi centre in the region. Shaykh Safi al-Din Gazruni died in the year 1007 and his shrine is located in Uch.⁹⁸ The architecture of the shrine is simple one as compared to the architectural beauty of the shrines of Suhrawardi sufis of Uch.⁹⁹

1.2.3.2 Minhaj al-Din Siraj Juzjani

Mawlana Minhaj al-Din Siraj Juzjani was another important personality who came to Uch in the reign of Sultan Nasir al-Din Qabachah in the year 624/1227.¹⁰⁰ He was born in a family of *ulama* in Juzjan (located on the borders of present day Afghanistan and Turkmenistan). His ancestors

⁹⁵ Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, *Advent of Sufism in Medieval Punjab: A Narrative of its Historical Role* in Surinder Singh and Ishwar Dayal Gaur eds. *Sufism in Punjab: Mystics, Literature and Shrines* (Delhi: Aakar Books, 2009), 51.

⁹⁶ Saiyyid Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum fi Tarjama Malfuz al-Makhdum*. Urdu trans. Zulfiqar Ahmad Naqvi. (Delhi: Matba’ a Ansari, 1309 AH.), 834.

⁹⁷ Makhdum-i Jahaniyan has mentioned in his *malfiz* about a descendant of Shaykh Safi al-Din named Muhammad Muttaqi Gazruni, who was the nephew of Shyakh Muin al-Din Gazruni and was an accomplished sufi and contemporary of the Makhdum. However, he spent most of his time in solitude in jungles in prayers and meditation. It shows that the descendants of the Shaykh Safi al-Din also followed spiritual path however remained low profiled. See: Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 60, 191.

⁹⁸ Hafeez, *Tarikh-i Uch*, 40.

⁹⁹ Munshi Mohan Lal, “Description of Uch Sharif”, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bangal* (Calcutta) vol. V (January-December 1836): 797.

¹⁰⁰ Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, 541.

had been scholars for several generations, and had distinguished themselves for learning. His mother was the foster sister and school-mate of the Princess Mah Malik, the daughter of Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Muhammad Sam. When Juzjani was hardly seven years old, his father was killed by robbers, so he was brought up under the care of Princess Mah Malik, thus he was fortunate to have a royal patronage which fully equipped him as a scholar, and made him conversant with politics. When Persia was invaded by the Mongols, he decided to migrate towards India.

After his arrival in Uch, he was appointed as superintendent of the Firuziyya *Madrassa* by Nasir al-Din Qabachah and was also made the Qazi of the forces of Ala al-Din Bahram Shah, a son of Qabachah.¹⁰¹ However, Juzjani's stay at Uch was very short. After the defeat of Qabachah, he joined the winning side of Sultan Iletmish. He accompanied Iletmish and reached Delhi in Ramazan 625/1228, and served at the court of Delhi in various capacities. He served as a *Qazi al-Quzzat* (Chief Justice) of Delhi.¹⁰² He was an excellent orator. Shaykh Nizam al-Din Awliya used to attend his sermons, and was very impressed by his rhetoric skills.¹⁰³ The former states: "Every Monday i used to go to attend his sermons and one day while listening to his sermon, I became ecstatic and remained in the state of ecstasy for hours".¹⁰⁴ Shaykh Abd al-Haqq informs in *Akhbar al-Akhyar* that Juzjani was inclined towards Sufism and was one of the most learned men of his times.¹⁰⁵ He wrote *Tabaqat-i Nasiri* which is considered to be one of the early chronicles of Indian history.¹⁰⁶ It is an excellent work of considerable historical authenticity, in which he has discussed the political developments of that time in India. It serves

¹⁰¹ Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, 541-42.

¹⁰² Juzjani, *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, vol. I, xxvi.

¹⁰³ Sijzi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, 449.

¹⁰⁴ Sijzi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, 471-72.

¹⁰⁵ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 152.

¹⁰⁶ Raj Kumar, "Some Chronicles and Chronicles of Medieval India" in *Essays on Medieval India*, ed. Raj Kumar (New Delhi: Discovery Publishing House, 2003), 72.

as an important source on the history of Uch in the early sultanate period.¹⁰⁷ He spent time in Ghur, Ghazni, Zaranj, Isfizar (Esfizar), Kuhistan and visited all important places in northern India including Lahore, Multan, Uch, Gwalior, Amroha and Lakhnauti. He also held official positions like Principal of *madrasahs*, *imam*, *khatib*, *qazi*, *sadr-i jahan* and developed contacts with religious class and the nobility. Nizami is of the opinion that his knowledge of geographical conditions of different areas, and participant observation in different events of political significance must have widened his exposure which is reflected in his historical writings.¹⁰⁸

1.2.3.3 Ali ibn Hamid ibn Abu Bakr Kufi

Ali ibn Hamid ibn Abu Bakr Kufi was born in Kufa in 1158, where he spent most of his life. He came to India, and when he reached Uch, he received patronage from ‘Ayn al-Mulk, the *wazir* (Prime Minister) of Sultan Nasir al-Din Qabachah. His major literary achievement is that he translated *Fathnama-i Sindh* from Arabic to Persian Popularly known as *Chachnama*. It is considered one of the early books written on the victory of Sindh by the Arabs. It covers the history of the region of Sindh from roughly 680 AD to 716 AD. The Persian translation of *Fathnama* made it a popular source on the early history of Sindh.¹⁰⁹ There are no details found on the life and achievements of Kufi in contemporary sources however, in the introduction of his translated work *Fathnama*, he briefly introduced himself. He does not give any details about his family lineage or explicit reasons of his migration to Uch. He only mentions that he spent most of his time in ease and comfort, but due to certain accidents in his life he migrated to Uch where

¹⁰⁷ Juzjani was contemporary of leading sufis of India. These include Shaykh Muin al-Din Chishti, Shaykh Qutb al-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki, Shaykh Farid Ganj-i Shakar, Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya, Qazi Hamid al-Din Nagauri. However he has not mentioned them or their role and contribution to contemporary society. This omission was criticized by the authors of sufi *tadhkirahs* as well as by the historians. For details see: Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *On History and Historians of Medieval India* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1983), 88.

¹⁰⁸ Nizami, *On History and Historians*, 79.

¹⁰⁹ Muhammad Tahir and Aftab Hussain, “*Riyasat Bahawalpur ki Ilmi Khidmat ka Jaiza*”, *Mujalla Tarikh wa Thaqafat* (April-Sept. 2002): 68.

he received patronage from ‘Ayn al-Mulk, the prime minister of Nasir al-Din Qabachah.¹¹⁰ According to him, in the year 613/1216 AD, at the age of 58, he decided to give up everything to create ‘a marvellous book’ about the invasion of Muhammad ibn Qasim telling how he conquered and governed it with wisdom. He decided to write about Arab invasion because nothing was yet found documented about it. He travelled to Aror and Bhakkar where he found the manuscript of *Fathnama* written in Arabic, which he translated into Persian.¹¹¹ Although Kufi’s claim is contested now that it was a translation; rather it was work of his own pen. Manan Ahmed is of the opinion that “long understood as a translation of an earlier text, it is instead a specifically imagined text that found political and romantic resonance in the histories of Uch and Sindh through the centuries.”¹¹² It is not a book of conquest; rather a text of political theory.¹¹³ He is of the opinion that *Chachnama*, basically represents the start of a new political theology. It is an attempt to link Muslims with a local pre-Islamic past within the site and settings of its production.¹¹⁴ Either it is translation or original work of Ali Kufi, it is one of the important sources of early history of Sindh. Although this work was created in the city of Uch, no details are found about the history and geography of Uch in it.

1.2.3.4 Sadid al-Din Muhammad Aufi

Sadid al-Din Muhammad Aufi was born in Bukhara. He made journeys to various countries due to his quest for learning. He moved towards India when Khurasan was attacked by Mongols. He reached Uch via Ghazni and Lahore in the reign of Sultan Nasir al-Din Qabachah. He wrote a book named *Lubab al-Albab* under the patronage of Ayn al-Mulk, the *wazir* of Nasir al-Din

¹¹⁰ Kufi, *Fath Nama Sindh*, 54.

¹¹¹ Kufi, *Fath Nama Sindh*, 54, 55.

¹¹² Manan Ahmed. “The Long Thirteenth Century of the Chachnama”, *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 49, 4 (2012): 459.

¹¹³ Asif, *A Book of Conquest*, 15.

¹¹⁴ Ahmed “The Long Thirteenth Century of the Chachnama”, 459.

Qabachah.¹¹⁵ It is a Persian *tadhkirah* of sufis and poets.¹¹⁶ It is considered the first book of this kind in Indian literature. It gives an introduction as well as a critical review of the lives and works of poets of Persian. Being one of the early *tadhkirah* it has immense importance even today. Aufi dedicated his book to ‘Ayn-al Mulk.¹¹⁷

He also wrote a book *Jawami al-Hikayat*, which was a collection of short stories.¹¹⁸ It is an important part of Persian literature. He started to write this rich collection of short stories on the instructions of Nasir al-Din Qabachah. However, it was completed after the death of Qabachah. Later, Aufi dedicated this work to Sultan Shams al-Din Iletmish. It serves as an important source of literary history of early medieval period.¹¹⁹

The scholars of Uch contributed and conducted research in various fields. Qasim Daud was a *khatib* (sermon-deliverer) in a mosque in Uch. He translated the famous book on Sufism titled *Awarif al-Ma‘arif* in Persian written by Shaykh Shihab al-Din Suhrawardi (d. 1234). This book was a very popular text in the sufi circles.¹²⁰ This is perhaps the first translation of *Awarif al-Ma‘arif* into Persian. It was translated soon after the demise of Shaykh Shihab al-Din Suhrawardi.¹²¹ Due to the popularity of *Awarif al-Ma‘arif* in Indian sufis this translation must have gain popularity and importance in sufi circles. Taj al-Din Abu Bakr Ayaz was an independent ruler of Uch at that time. He patronized Qasim Daud in this project of translation and was duly acknowledged by the translator for his love of knowledge.

¹¹⁵ Muhammad Khurshid, “*Khitta-i Pak Uch Main Islami Fun-i Tamir kay Nadir Namunay*,” *Mujalla Tarikh wa Thaqafat* (October 1997-September 1998): 10.

¹¹⁶ Muhammad Siddiq Shibli, “Languages and Literatures” in *Islam in South Asia*, eds. Waheed-uz-Zaman and Muhammad Salim Akhtar (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1993), 218.

¹¹⁷ Edward G. Brown, *A Literary History of Persia* vol. ii. (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2003), 478-79.

¹¹⁸ Qadir, *Tabaqat Salateen-i Delhi* vol. II, 59.

¹¹⁹ Brown, *A Literary History of Persia* vol ii, 477-78.

¹²⁰ This treatise was very popular among the Suhrawardi as well as Chishti sufis circles in South Asia. See: Saiyyid Muhammad Mubarak Alvi Kirmani Amir Khurd, *Siyar al-Awliya dar ahwal va malfuzat-i mashayikh-i-Chisht* ed. Chiranji Lal (Delhi: Mohibb-i Hind Press, 1884), 106, 249-50, 533.

¹²¹ Ghauri, *Uch Sharif*, 68.

Shams al-Din Muhammad Balkhi, Fazli Multani, Zia al-Din Sanjari and Bafroshi Bayamani were poets of high esteem in the court of Nasir al-Din Qabachah.¹²² They contributed in the field of literature under the patronage of Ayn al-Mulk, the *wazir* of Qabachah. Shams al-Din Balkhi was highly praised by Afi as a poet of high esteem. He wrote poetry in the praise of Nasir al-Din Qabachah and his *wazir* Ayn al-Mulk and received praise and patronage in Qabachah's court. Fazli Multani was also highly praised poet in the court of Qabachah. He was the class fellow of Afi and they studied together in Bukhara. Afi gave him the title of 'pride of poets'. On hearing the patronage of art and learning under Qabachah's rule, Bafroshi Bayamani emigrated to Uch from the court of Sultan Jalal al-Din Khawrzim Shah (r. 1220-31). Fazl-Allah popularly known as Umaid Lauki, was another famous poet of this era. He was associated with the court of Taj al-Din Abu Bakr, an independent ruler of Uch.¹²³

1.3 Ismaili *Da'wa*, Sufi Traditions and the Process of Conversion in Medieval India

Uch is also a best example in case to analyse the pattern of conversion in India, as it was hub of the activities of Ismaili *da'is* (missionaries) as well as centre of two major sufi *silsilahs* in India. The study of conversion to Islam in South Asia is a complex phenomenon, which involves different processes including immigration of thousands of Arabs, Persians, Turks, and Afghans into it, and intermarriages between Muslim men and non-Muslim women. These processes also include preaching activities and systematic efforts of conversion by Ismaili *da'wa* of Uch and Multan, and later direct and indirect role of the sufis in influencing the local population towards Islam.

The process of conversion was diverse in different regions of South Asia. When Arab armies invaded Sindh in the early eighth century, the ruler of Sindh was a Brahman. However,

¹²² Siddiq, "Languages and Literatures", 209.

¹²³ Ghauri, *Uch Sharif*, 74-5.

the local population was mostly comprised of Buddhists, Jains as well as people who followed a range of local cults.¹²⁴ It is in contrast to the widespread assumption that South Asian Muslims are largely “Hindu converts”. The Arab rulers were also not interested in any designed program or had any agenda for conversion.¹²⁵ An important factor of spread of Islam in Sindh and Multan was the missionary activities of Ismaili preachers who came from Yemen and Persia during the tenth century. Uch and Multan became the main centres of Ismaili activities. The principal Khoja missionary, Sadr al-Din, who died at Uch, wrote the basic texts of Ismailism in India.¹²⁶ Ismailis made first organized and conscious efforts for preaching their variant of Islam in Sindh.

Satpanth Ismaili tradition is considered a systematic effort to blend the Ismaili teachings with local traditions in the historical, social, cultural and political environment of medieval India. It is also evident from the *ginan* literature that it reflected a conscious attempt to use Indian vernaculars, rather than Arabic and Persian to maximize the appeal of their message to a local audience of mainly rural areas. They also used local idioms, and mythology in their literature and teachings to operate on an already familiar ground.¹²⁷ The question arises that why Delhi Sultanate did not act against the heterodox activities of these Ismailis. Some scholars argue that as Mongol were devastating force of that time and India, although not captured, was under regular invasions of the Mongol forces. Punjab and Sindh as frontier provinces were under constant threat of these invasions. Mongol invasions forced Delhi Sultans to tolerate ‘heterodox’ elements mainly operating in frontier region to avoid civil strife.¹²⁸

¹²⁴ These local cults had flexible identities and were not linked to any larger religious traditions.

¹²⁵ See introduction in Barbara D. Metcalf, ed. *Islam in South Asia in Practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 4.

¹²⁶ S.M. Ikram, *History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan: A Political and Cultural History*, 4th ed. (Lahore, Institute of Islamic Culture, 1989), 200-01.

¹²⁷ Daftary, “Ismaili History and Literary Traditions” in Landolt, Sheikh and Kassam eds. *An Anthology of Ismaili Literature*, 27.

¹²⁸ Hasan Ali Khan, *Constructing Islam on the Indus: The Material History of Suhrawardi Sufi Order, 1200-1500 AD* (Delhi, Cambridge University Press, 2016), 246-47.

Ismailis were successful in integrating agricultural and trading castes of Sindh and Gujarat into the Muslim community.¹²⁹ Their syncretic religious ideology acted as bridge between Islam and ancient Indian religions. Quite flexible religious identities can be traced in the names and traditions of Sumara and Samma rulers of Sindh. When Sultan Mahmud Begada (r. 1458-1511) of Ahmadabad invaded Sindh in year 1474 many Sindhi Muslim had a little knowledge about their religion.¹³⁰

In the beginning of thirteenth century, Muslim rule was formally established in most parts of north India that gradually expanded towards other regions. The situation in South Asia was different from most part of the Middle East and North Africa, where Muslims became majority in a short span of time. During the Sultanate period, however, it seemed not possible that Muslims would become a majority in South Asia in near future. So Muslims thinkers as well as political elite, faced difficulties to accommodate the Muslim rule, religious code of Islam and customs, traditions with the religious ideology of Hindu majority.¹³¹

Although the number of Muslim population gradually increased in present day region of Pakistan (especially in Punjab and Sindh), however, Muslims remained in permanent minority in *doab* region (area between the Rivers Ganges and Jumna) under the Delhi Sultans as well as under the Mughals. It is also a misconception that low caste Hindus overwhelmingly and happily embraced Islam. On the other hand, Hindu states resisted Muslim penetration and reinforced themselves whenever they got opportunity during the period under study.¹³²

Khurram Qadir is of the opinion that under the rule of Delhi Sultans, Indian population was divided into three major groups on religious grounds: First group was of those Muslims who

¹²⁹ Eaton, *Approaches to the Study of Conversion* in Martin ed. *Approaches to Islam*, 122.

¹³⁰ Ikram, *Aab-i Kauthar*, 39.

¹³¹ Khurram Qadir, "Sultanate-i Delhi: Ghair Muslim Akthariat mein Muslim Fikr ka Irtaqa," *Mujalla Tarikh wa Thaqafat* (Islamabad) vol. 26, no.1 (April-Sep. 2016): 26.

¹³² Qadir, "Sultanate-i Delhi," 27.

came as immigrants in India including Turks, Arabs, Central Asians, Afghans and Persians. Second group was of those Indian natives who were converted to Islam after the arrival of Muslims. Third group, which was in majority, was comprised of those who were still adherents of their older religions including Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism.¹³³

Mubarak Ali is of the view that there were two kinds of impacts on the society where Islam spread. In the regions where nobles and big landowners embraced Islam, it spread rapidly and incorporated local customs and traditions. It was the case in Persia, East African countries Sindh and west Punjab. However, in South Asia in the regions where Muslims were in minority and only lower strata of local population accepted Islam, the immigrants tried to protect their racial and cultural superiority like in the case of north India. Most of the reform movements also started in India from this region, and they tried to voice their criticism against syncretic practices of Muslim majority regions.¹³⁴

In modern scholarship, there are different theories to explain the process of conversion to Islam in India like theory of religion of the sword, political patronage theory and theory of religion of social liberation.¹³⁵ Richard Maxwell Eaton presented theory of Accretion and Reform to explain this process.¹³⁶ He is of the opinion that it is comparable with Clifford

¹³³ Qadir, “*Sultanate-i Delhi*,” 29.

¹³⁴ Mubarak Ali, *Baresaghir main Musalmaan Mu’ashre ka Almiya*. [Dilemma of Muslim Society in the Indian Subcontinent]. 6th ed. (Lahore: Fiction House, 2005. rpt., first pub. 1987), 6.

¹³⁵ The problem with the theories of religion of sword and political patronage is that these are unable to explain the mass conversion in the areas of East Bengal and West Punjab, which lay on the fringes of Muslim rule. However, on contrary in the heartland of Muslim rule the rate of conversion was very low. Theory of religion of social liberation has also no sound historical evidence. Islam spread mainly in those regions where Hinduism was not deeply rooted like in Sindh, majority of the population was Buddhist and there was no rigid class structure. Caste system was deeply entrenched in Hindu religious ideology and the fear of out casting one who accepted Islam was one of the major reason that affected the progress of Muslims in main Hindu territories. For details see, Ikram, *Aab-i Kauthar*, 195. and Eaton, “Approaches to the Study of Conversion” in Martin ed. *Approaches to Islam*, 107-10.

¹³⁶ See Introduction in Eaton, ed. *India’s Islamic Traditions*, 14-20. For details see: Eaton, “Approaches to the Study of Conversion” in Martin ed. *Approaches to Islam*, 110-123.

Geertz's "model of" and "model for" dimensions of religious behaviour.¹³⁷ Zaidi also concluded that the process of conversion was gradual and not abrupt, and the sufis indirectly played a part in the process of conversion. In reform aspect, he is of the opinion that *ulama* played their role in conversion as they emphasized on puritanical Islam. He is also of the opinion that increased birth rate among the Muslims in nineteenth century also contributed in increasing Muslim population in India.¹³⁸ The role of the sufis in the process of accretion through which Islam spread gradually in the masses, and in maintaining high levels of moral and spiritual life in the society has been more effective than that of any other single religious group, sect or an agent. These sufis faced challenges concerning interpreting Islamic teachings to non-Muslim population and making them compatible with local environment that was essential for co-existence. The sufis were more active than *ulama* in this process of accommodation, however, religious scholars also showed some flexibility in certain issues.¹³⁹ The sufis and Sultans were not interested in conversion as it is generally assumed but indirectly influenced the process.¹⁴⁰ The sufi practices, stories of their miracles and their flexible interpretation of Islam appealed to the non-Muslims. People were attracted towards them for one way or the other, and they welcomed them in their fold. The sufis generally tried to avoid any conflicting approach towards the people of other religions and their religious ideology. Their behaviour was of mutual respect and harmony. This conciliatory approach and the message of universal peace contributed in their popularity among the non-Muslims. The sufis who are believed to have converted large number of non-Muslims to Islam

¹³⁷ India's local religious practices, rituals and symbols served as a "model of" for converted Muslims of India and in reform aspect, Islam served as a "model for" and shaped social order and Indo-Muslim traditions. Eaton, "Approaches to the Study of Conversion" in Martin ed. *Approaches to Islam*, 123.

¹³⁸ Zawwar Hussain Zaidi, "Conversion to Islam in South Asia: Problems and Analysis," *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* vol. 6, no.1 (1989): 117.

¹³⁹ Qadir, "*Sultanate-i Delhi*," 30.

¹⁴⁰ Ali, *Baresaghir main Musalmaan Mu'ashre ka Almiya*, 45.

carry no hostile memory among the non-Muslims and are still venerated by non-Muslims.¹⁴¹ Raziuddin Aquil in his study on Indian Islam emphasizes that even most of the sufis had no agenda of conversion yet they played an important role in Islamization. The shrines and *khanqahs* of sufis became meeting places for Muslims and the non-Muslims alike, to get blessings. He is of the opinion that initially devotion to a particular sufi resulted into partial conversion and emergence of syncretic sects. From these syncretic sects emerged communities who professed Islam formally, but retained their local customs, practices and traditions.¹⁴² As mentioned earlier the newly converted Muslims carried some of elements of their older beliefs and practices into their new belief.¹⁴³ Hindus who converted to Islam faced challenges in their communities and were out casted. They joined the sufi *silsilahs* and institution of *khanqah* and become part of even larger communities. So, their spiritual, social and political needs were fulfilled by joining the sufi circles.¹⁴⁴ The sufis also played in the urbanization process. Jamal Malik is of the view that

Up to the mid-fourteenth century, Muslim influence in South Asia did not remain confined to the juridical level of rulers as witnessed by the Moroccan traveller Ibn Battuta who was affiliated with the courts. The influx of Muslim sufis and scholars of various shades accelerated this influence, though gradually. Many sufis settled along important caravan routes, where they sometimes also built fortifications. These establishments (*qasbahs*) grew into commercial-administrative-military bases at the regional level. Noted dignitaries and Islamic scholars established a network of clientele in these places.¹⁴⁵

The sufis continued to settle in India, working in their individual capacity. The Ghaznavid conquest and annexation of the Punjab, Multan and some parts of Sindh in the early eleventh

¹⁴¹ Ikram, *Aab-i Kauthar*, 192-93. The shrines of sufis like Shyakh Muin al-Din Chishti, Shaykh Nizam al-Din Auwliya, Sakhai Sarwar and Lal Shahbaz Qalandar are still visited and paid respect by Muslims and non-Muslims alike.

¹⁴² Raziuddin Aquil. *In the Name of Allah: Understanding Islam and Indian History* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2009), 28.

¹⁴³ Jamal Malik, *Islam in South Asia: A short History* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 185.

¹⁴⁴ Ali, *Baresaghir main Musalmaan Mu'ashre ka Almiya*, 83-85.

¹⁴⁵ Malik, *Islam in South Asia*, 157.

century accelerated the migration of sufis towards northern India. The sufis established their *khanqahs* in the urban centres of India. With the passage of time, many of these *khanqahs* were transformed into shrines and, as centres of popular devotionism, began to play a complex role in the processes of urbanization and acculturation.¹⁴⁶ Seyyed Hoessein Nasr is of the opinion that in the life of a sufi his *barkah* (blessings) is limited to his disciples but after his demise this *barakah* becomes more public. These shrines are visited by vast majority of Muslims who still follow traditional Islam. They draw spiritual blessings and feel connected to the foundational figure of their religion and through him to God.¹⁴⁷ Uch served as a one of the early centres of Ismaili activities and Sufism in India. Uch housed two major sufi *silsahs* Suhrawardiyyah and Qadriyyah along with shrines and *khanqahs* of some early sufis of India. Thus the establishment of *khanqahs* and shrines added to the sacred geography of Uch which ultimately contributed to the process of conversion.

To conclude, Uch enjoyed a significant position on the map of India from its inception. Due to its strategic location, it remained a mercantile as well as political centre of the region of Sindh and south-west Punjab under different empires and local kingdoms. It housed different religious traditions and with the passage of time, emerged as a centre of literary and spiritual activities in India. As a centre of Ismaili activities, syncretic traditions were developed here and later Ismaili missionary activities contributed in the process of conversion to Islam in India. During the early period of Delhi Sultanate, it was equal to Delhi in terms of patronage of scholars and literary activities. Due to the patronage of the local rulers and earnest efforts of

¹⁴⁶ See Introduction in Singh and Gaur eds. *Sufism in Punjab*, 1.

¹⁴⁷ He is of the opinion that there is general assumption that these shrines are now generally belong to popular piety and have no connection with actual followers of the sufi path. He refutes this assumption and claims that “many Sufi including even advanced ones, often visit such sites and derive special inspiration from them.” Secondly, in different parts of Islamicate, Sufi gatherings are held in or adjacent to these shrines to receive *barakah* from the spiritual atmosphere of the shrine. See: Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *The Garden of Truth: the Vision and Promise of Sufism, Islam’s Mystical Tradition* (New York: Hopper Collins, 2007), 151.

Ismaili pirs as well as sufis it became an early centre of Muslim learning contributing to the fields of literature and history in India. It was regarded among the greatest nuclei of sufi fervour in medieval India and a junction of *ulama*, sufis, poets and writers coming from various parts of Persia, Afghanistan, Central and West Asia, Iraq and Arabia. These sufis and scholars contributed in the sacred geography of Uch and its fame as a centre of spiritual and literary activities in the medieval Indian period.

Chapter 2

Emergence of Uch as a Centre of Suhrawardi Sufi *Silsilah*

The tradition of mysticism is part of many religions. Sufism or *Tasawwuff* represents this tradition in Islam and it deals with the esoteric aspect of Islam. During the early years of Islam, certain companions of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) showed tendencies towards the sufi way of life. However, Sufism as an explicit ideology and movement developed in the succeeding centuries of Islam. After the early period of individual sufis, sufis *silsilahs* (initiatic genealogies) were organized. These *silsilahs* flourished all over the Islamicate world, including South Asia. It was one of those regions, where these *silsilahs* were introduced in early stages of their institutionalization. The sufis settled in different areas of South Asia; however, few towns emerged as centres of these *silsilahs*. Uch is one of those early towns, which became a centre of sufi *silsilahs*, first as a centre of *Gazruni Silsilah* during tenth and eleventh centuries and *Suhrawardi Silsilah* during the thirteenth century, and later as centre of *Qadiri Silsilah* during the latter half of the fifteenth century.

The present chapter is an attempt to look into the emergence of Uch as a sufi centre in the Islamicate South Asia. After a brief overview of the meaning and origin of Sufism, the chapter explores the history of Sufism and its introduction in India. It focuses and investigates the emergence of Uch as a centre of *Suhrawardi sufi Silsilah* in the Islamicate South Asia. It also discusses the relationship of these sufis with already existing Muslim community of the region having different set of ideological orientations, particularly the *Ismailis*.

2.1 Defining Sufism and Tracing its Origin

The tradition of Sufism is an important part of the religion of Islam and it is widely discussed and explored phenomenon by scholars during the last two centuries. The present section

discusses the origin of Sufism as well as different definitions of Sufism and the word *sufi*, offered by the *sufis* as well as the scholars of Sufism and tries to draw an understanding of this tradition.

There are various opinions regarding the origin of Sufism. Some scholars are of the opinion that the roots of Sufism lay in pre-Islamic tradition, while others are in favour of the theory that Sufism represents the esoteric doctrine of the Prophet of Islam (PBUH).¹ The seeds of Sufism were present in ascetic tendencies, which were expressed by some companions of the Prophet (PBUH) during the first century of Islam.² It is argued by Nicholson that the early tradition of asceticism in Islam might have Christian influence, but overall the doctrine of Sufism is based on the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).³ It is believed that the intensity of the spiritual life during the time of the Prophet (PBUH) did not need a complete separation of exoteric and esoteric dimensions of the tradition. Both the *shari'ah* (the legal aspect of Islam) and the *tariqah* (the spiritual path) were part of the early traditions of Islam. However, with the establishment of monarchical rule, growing materialism, gradual degeneration of the social values, and emphasis on the outer/external or exoteric aspect of Islam led to the explicit manifestation of the esoteric dimension of Islam.⁴

It is true that all mystical traditions have something in common but it does not mean that Sufism largely borrowed doctrinal system, methods and practices from other religions.⁵ While discussing the origin of Sufism, Sayyed Hossein Nasr opines that, “the origin of Sufism is none

¹ Edward G. Brown, *A Literary History of Persia* vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977 rpt., first published 1902), 418-21.

² Reynold A. Nicholson, “A Historical Enquiry concerning the Origin and Development of Sufiism, with a List of Definitions of the Terms ‘Sufi’ and ‘Tasawwuf,’ Arranged Chronologically,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge) (Apr 1906): 304.

³ Nicholson, “A Historical Enquiry concerning the Origin and Development of Sufiism,” 329.

⁴ William C. Chittick, “Sufism and Islam” in Jean-Louis, Michon, and Roger Gaetani, eds. *Sufism: Love and Wisdom* (Bloomington: World Wisdom, 2006), 29.

⁵ Tanvir Anjum, *Sufism in History and its Relationship with Power* (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 2007), 19.

other than God Himself. For how can a path lead to God if it does not come from Him?” He further elaborates that the origin of Sufism can be found in many verses of the Quran (a Word of God/ the holy scripture of Islam) having direct spiritual and inward meaning. However, on reality plane, it starts with the Prophet (PBUH), the final link between God and the people of the path.⁶

During the early centuries of Islam as Muslim empire expanded and monarchical system replaced the pious caliphate, certain sections of the society started to criticize growing materialism. Acceptance of government service by some was considered submission to “ungodly” rulers. Now many withdrew into ascetic seclusion and spent their time in prayers and *dhikr* (remembrance of God). By the second century of Islam, the ascetic and devotional tendencies were merged. Rabia Basri (d. 801) introduced the concept of disinterested love for God in Sufism. In Sufi tradition, the notion of love with the Divine counterbalanced the idea of fear of the Day of Judgment.⁷ Nasr argues that during the eighth century many intellectual disciplines of Islam such as law, theology, and grammar became defined. Sufism was also clearly defined in this period, known as *Tasawwuff* (“Sufism” in English). The first person who was called “Sufi” was an ascetic of Kufa named Abu Hashim (d. 767).⁸ Hodgson is also of the opinion that Sufism made its presence felt in early centuries of Islam. However, it gained wide popularity and presence in the Islamicate world by the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁹

As earlier mentioned, Sufism is defined in a variety of ways by the earlier sufis themselves as well the modern scholars of Sufism. In the following discussion, different

⁶ Nasr, *The Garden of Truth*, 166-67.

⁷ Ainslie Thomas Embree, ed and revised. *Sources of Indian Tradition: From the beginning to 1800* vol. I, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 447.

⁸ Nasr, *The Garden of Truth*, 170.

⁹ Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization: The Expansion of Islam in the Middle Periods* vol. II (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1977), 210-22.

definitions of Sufism and the word *sufi* presented by the *sufis* and scholars of Sufism have been discussed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr, a leading contemporary scholar of Sufism and perennial philosophy states that “Sufism, which is the inner or esoteric dimension of Islam, while beginning with the *shari‘ah* as the basis of the religious life, seeks to take a further step toward that Truth (*Haqiqah*), which is also the source of the *shari‘ah*.”¹⁰ A.J. Arberry is of the view that “Sufism is the mystical movement within Islam, whereas a *sufi*, the one who associates himself with this movement, is an individual who is devoted to an inner quest for mystical union with his Creator. It also involves a ‘personal trafficking with God’.”¹¹ According to Murray Titus, Sufism is “an attitude of mind and heart toward God and the problems of life.”¹² Annemarie Schimmel states, “Mysticism can be defined as love of the Absolute—for the power that separates true mysticism from mere asceticism is love. Divine love makes the seeker capable of bearing, even of enjoying, all the pains and afflictions that God showers upon him in order to test him and to purify his soul.”¹³ Tanvir Anjum defines Sufism as “an attitude of soul that entails an individual’s direct relationship with God with a profound comprehension of the Real and Absolute Truth.”¹⁴

William C. Chittick opines that “Sufism is the most universal manifestation of the inner dimension of Islam; it is the way by which man transcends his own individual self and reaches God.”¹⁵ According to Martin Lings [Abu Bakr Sirajud-Din], “Mystics and Sufism is a kind of

¹⁰ Nasr further elaborates that *shari‘ah*, literary meaning ‘road’ is for all Muslims to follow for blessed life and hereafter. Most of them are limited to act upon the laws, perform good deeds, and have faith in God. Few of them try to search the reality (*Haqiqah*) and knowledge of the self. Nasr, *The Garden of Truth*, 5.

¹¹ A.J. Arberry, *Muslim Saints and Mystics: Episodes from the Tadhkirat al-Auliya* (Memorial of the Saints) by Farid al-Din Attar (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979), 1-2.

¹² Murray T. Titus, *Indian Islam: A Religious History of Islam in India* (London: Oxford University Press, 1930), 111.

¹³ Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 4.

¹⁴ Anjum, *Sufism in History and its Relationship with Power*, 15.

¹⁵ Chittick, “Sufism and Islam” in Louis and Gaetani eds. *Sufism: Love and Wisdom*, 21.

mysticism-are by definition concerned above all with ‘the mysteries of the Kingdom of Heaven’; and it would therefore be true to say, in pursuance of our image, that the mystic is one who is incomparably more preoccupied by the ebbing wave than by the water which it has left behind.”¹⁶ According to Frithjof Schuon [Isa Nur al-Din], “the Islamic religion is divided into three constituent parts: *Iman*, (Faith), which contains everything one must believe; *Islam*, (the Law), which contains everything one must do; *Ihsan*, (operative virtue), which confers upon believing and doing the qualities that make them perfect.”¹⁷ He is of the opinion that *Ihsan* is right acting, doing charitable activity, possessing the qualities, which make an individual perfect, and it is essentially an esoteric aspect of Islam. Alexander Knysh in his recent study on Sufism opines that “Sufism, the ascetic-mystical stream in Islam that emerged at the very early stage of this religion’s development and that subsequently took a wide variety of devotional, doctrinal, artistic, and institutional forms.”¹⁸ There are also different definitions present in earliest sources on Sufism.

Reynold A. Nicholson, the famous orientalist and the scholar of Sufism who translated the works of major sufis into English in the beginning of the twentieth century, have collected definitions of early sufi masters about the word ‘sufi’ from the primary sources on Sufism. According to the eighth century sufi of Baghdad, Maruf Karkhi (d. 815) “The saints of God are known by three signs: their thought is of God, their dwelling is with God, and their business is in God.”¹⁹ Bishr al-Hafi (d. 850) the ninth century sufi gave a simple definition that “the sufi is he that keeps a pure heart towards God.” Dhul-Nun al-Misri (d. 859), an Egyptian sufi was once

¹⁶ Martin Lings [Abu Bakr Sirajud-Din], *What is Sufism?* (Lahore: Suhail Academy, 2005. rpt., first published 1975),12.

¹⁷ Frithjof Schuon [Shaykh Isa Nur al-Din Ahmad], *Sufism: Veil and Quintessence*, Edited by James S. Cutsinger (Bloomington: World Wisdom, 2006. rpt., first pub. in 1980), 101.

¹⁸ Alexander Knysh, *Sufism: A New History of Islamic Mysticism* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2017), 1.

¹⁹ Nicholson, “A Historical Enquiry concerning the Origin and Development of Sufiism”, 307.

asked that who is sufi to which he replied, “They are the folk who have chosen God (may He be great and exalted) over all else, and who God (may He be great and exalted) has chosen over everyone else.”²⁰ Abu’l-Hasan Sari al-Saqati (d. 867), the spiritual master of Junayd al-Baghdadi states: “[The sufi] is the one in whom the light of knowledge does not extinguish the light of scrupulosity. In his inner self, he does not speak of any knowledge contradicting the external meaning of the [Holy] Book or the Prophet’s custom. [His] miracles do not cause him to violate the sacredness of the divine prohibitions.”²¹ Abu’l-Hasan al-Kharqani (d. 1033), a Persian Sufi states that, “the sufi is not a sufi in virtue of patched cloak and prayer-carpet, and the sufi is not a sufi by rules and customs; the true sufi is he that is nothing.”²²

One of the earliest known sufis of the Islamicate South Asia who wrote an earliest sufi treatise on Sufism in Persian was the eleventh century sufi, Ali ibn Uthman al-Hujwiri (d. 1071). He has discussed etymology of the word *tasawwuff* in his famous work *Kashf al-Mahjub* (The Unveiling of the Veiled). These include wearing of the *suf* or wool by sufis; sufis being in first rank (*saff-i awwal*) and derivation from *safa* (purity). He summed up by affirming that the word Sufi has no etymology.²³ However, most of the modern scholars agree that it seems more plausible that this term is derived from the word *suf* (wool).²⁴ The sufis generally believed in three principles, *shari‘ah* (the revealed law), *tariqah* (the way or the method), and *haqiqah* (the ultimate Truth). *Shari‘ah* as a conduct of life; the *tariqah*, as a method on the path of spiritual journey; while *haqiqah*, the attainment of ultimate truth was the road as well as final goal for a

²⁰ Abu’l-Qasim Al-Qushayri, *Al-Qushayri’s Epistle On Sufism (Al-Risala al-Qushayriyya fi Ilm al-Tasawwuff)* Eng trans. Alexander D. Knysh (Reading: Garnet Publishing, 2007), 291.

²¹ Al-Qushayri, *Al-Qushayri’s Epistle On Sufism*, 23.

²² Nur al-Din Abd al- Rahman Jami, *Nafhat al- Uns*, Urdu trans. Saiyyid Ahmad Ali Chishti (Lahore: Allah Walay ki Qaumi Dukaan, nd.), 329.

²³ Ali ibn Uthman Al-Hujwiri, *The Kashf al-Mahjub*. Eng trans. R.A. Nicholason (London: Luzac & Co,1911), 30-31.

²⁴ Nasr, *The Garden of Truth*, 171.

sufi.²⁵

While discussing varied definitions of Sufism and its origin, it is argued that “Sufism’s internal diversity has produced an equally wide variety of its assessments by both insiders and outsiders.”²⁶ It is also an interesting observation that academic scholars in the process of studying, imagining and reimagining Sufism repeatedly with different angles, exhibit no less creativity and imagination than the sufis themselves.²⁷ It is true that Sufism, having very deep philosophical current and diverse meaning, is constant source of creativity for the students of sufi studies. That is the reason that there are hundreds of definitions, commentaries and explanations about Sufism offered by scholars.

To sum up, Sufism and its origin is defined in variety of ways. One thing comes very clear that Sufism is an essentially an Islamic tradition. Although one can found few similarities in all the religious discourses and practices, it does not mean that they have essentially borrowed that trait from other. The seeds of Sufism lay in the Quran and the teachings and practices of the Prophet (PBUH). The tradition of Sufism is not altogether a distinct branch in Islam, as portrayed “popular Islam,” or “devotional Islam,” rather it is essentially ‘Islam’. Its emphasis on the esoteric aspect of Islam is to create a balance between *zahir* (outer aspect) and *batin* (inner aspect) of one’s life. This is expressed in a variety of ways.

As earlier mentioned, Sufism started gaining popularity in the early centuries of Islam, and by the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Sufism had gained its presence and popularity in the Islamicate world. The Indian Subcontinent or the Islamicate South Asia was among those regions where sufis started their activities quite early. The ensuing section discusses the introduction of sufi *silsilahs* in the Islamicate South Asia.

²⁵ Anjum, *Sufism in History and its Relationship with Power*, 15.

²⁶ Knysh, *Sufism: A New History*, 1.

²⁷ Knysh, *Sufism: A New History*, 33.

2.2 Introduction of Sufi *Silsilahs* in India

The Arab traders had enjoyed commercial relations with the Indians even before the advent of Islam. These commercial contacts continued after the emergence of Islam in the Arabian Peninsula.²⁸ These Muslim Arab traders had established their settlements along the Western and North-eastern coasts of India, which became the centres of the activities of early Muslims. The sufis were among those people who first introduced Islam in these areas. Some scholars are of the opinion that the earliest known sufi to migrate and settle in North-western India was Abu Hafs Rabi' ibn Sabih al-Adi al-Basri (d. 106AH/724AD), who came to Sindh during the first quarter of the eighth century.²⁹ The Ghaznavid conquest and annexation of the Punjab, Multan and some parts of Sindh in the early eleventh century accelerated the migration of sufis towards northern India. Among the earliest sufis of the India, include Shaykh Safi al-Din Gazruni (d. 1007), who settled in Uch, Shaykh Ismail, who settled in Lahore in 1005, Shaykh Abu'l-Hassan Ali ibn 'Uthman ibn 'Ali al-Jullabi al-Hujwiri, popularly known as Data Ganj Bakhsh (d. 1071), who also settled in Lahore.³⁰ In later centuries, the immigration of sufis and the introduction of the sufi teachings and sufi *silsilahs* in different regions of India was stimulated by such factors as the Mongol invasions of the Islamicate world; the mass persecution of sufis under the Safavids in Iran, and the trade links between Multan, Iraq and Transoxania.³¹

The sufis continued to settle in India, and started working in their individual capacity. When these sufis migrated from various parts of the Islamicate world to northern India, Sufism as a movement had almost passed its formative phase in Arabia, Western and Central Asia, Iraq,

²⁸ Tara Chand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture* (Lahore: Book Traders, 1979), 29-48.

²⁹ Chand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, 46.

³⁰ Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. 1, 109-13. See also Ikram, *Aab-i Kauthar*, 72.

³¹ Nile Green, "Emerging Approaches to the Sufi Traditions of South Asia: Between Texts, Territories and Traditions," *South Asia Research* (New Delhi) vol. 24, no.2 (November 2004): 137.

Persia and Afghanistan. However, at that time, the sufis had not yet organized themselves into *silsilahs*.³² The establishment of sufi *silsilahs* in the India began in the late twelfth century with the arrival of Khwaja Muin al-Din Chishti (d. 1236) in India.³³ In first quarter of the thirteenth century, *Silsilah* Chishtiyyah and Suhrawardiyyah were introduced in India almost simultaneously with the foundation of the Sultanate of Delhi. Other *silsilahs* such as a Qadiriyyah, Shattariyyah and Naqshbandiyyah were introduced in India in later centuries.³⁴ The sufis emerged as a major social, religious as well as political force in India during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Although on certain grounds the sufis were criticized by the *ulama*, they were important part of the Islamic traditions in India.³⁵

The Chishti *Silsilah* made its lasting impact upon India. Khwaja Muin al-Din Chishti laid its foundations and his successors made it popular all over India. The early Chishtis established their *khanqahs* at Ajmer, Nagaur, Ajodhan (Pakpattan), Delhi, Hansi and Kalyar during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and later spread in Deccan, Bengal and Malwah.³⁶ Following the introduction of Chishti *Silsilah* in India, *Silsilah* Suhrawardiyyah appeared on the Indian scene. The Suhrawardi *Silsilah* founded by Shaykh Zia al-Din Abu'l-Najib Abd al-Qahir Suhrawardi (d. 1168),³⁷ was introduced in India by Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya (d. 1262) in

³² Anjum, *Sufism in History and its Relationship with Power*, 31-32.

³³ Moinul Haq, "Early Sufi Shaykhs", 5.

³⁴ J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 64.

³⁵ Raziuddin Aquil, "The Study of Sufism in Medieval India: An Overview" in Ahmed, Syed Jaffar ed. *Challenges of History Writing in South Asia* (Karachi: Pakistan Study Centre University of Karachi, 2013), 285.

³⁶ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Tarikh Mashaikh-i Chisht* [History of Chishti Sufis] (Lahore: Mushtaq Book Corner, nd), 169-184, 222-30.

³⁷ There is a difference of opinion among the scholars that either Shaykh Ziya al-Din Abu Najeeb Abdul Qahir ibn Abdullah Suhrawardi or his nephew and principal *khalifah* Shaykh al-Shayukh Shihab al-Din Umar ibn Muhammad Suhrawardi was the founder of Suhrawardi *Silsilah*. However, it is established fact that Shaykh Shihab al-Din not only organized the *Silsilah* but also made the *khanqahi* system an important part of Islamic society. He also established a system of spiritual training and education and *Awarif al-Ma'arif* is his landmark sufi treatise. For details see: Hassan Nawaz Shah, "Bar-i Saghira main Khulafa-i Shaykh al-Shayukh Suhrawardi aur Shaykh al-Islam Baha al-Din Zakariyya ka Irfani Maqam," *Majla Ma'arif-i Awliya* (Lahore) vol. 5, no. 2. (June 2007): 81.

early decades of the thirteenth century.³⁸ Multan and Uch remained in succeeding centuries the two principal centres of its activity in India.³⁹

In later centuries, Qadiri, Shattari and Naqshbandi *Silsilahs* were introduced in India. The Qadiri *Silsilah* was established in Uch in late fifteenth century when the city of Uch had already made its fame as a centre of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in India.⁴⁰ Some of the early lesser known *silsilahs* introduced in India remained confined to a certain region. *Silsilah* Gazruniyyah, for instance, was introduced in India by Shaykh Safi al-Din Gazruni who arrived in Uch and established a *khanqah* there.⁴¹ Though *Silsilah* Gazruniyyah gained immense popularity among the local people, it could not spread all over India in an organized manner.

Tara Chand is of the view that Punjab was on the route to Muslim military expedition and cultural expansion. It was one of those provinces, which had longer been under Muslim rule than any other had. Its towns and villages housed the Muslim sufis and *faqirs*. At the time of the establishment of Mughal rule in India, Panipat, Sirhind, Pakpattan, Multan and Uch were places where some of the sufis settled. These include Baba Farid, Ala al-Haq, Jalal-al-Din Bukhari, Makhdum-i Jahaniyan and Shaykh Ismail Bukhari. He is of the opinion that “the name of these sufis had become household words for piety and devotion. The ferment in the minds of men set up by them prepared the intellectual milieu in which a synthesis of ideas could take place.”⁴²

Nile Green in his article “Emerging Approaches to the Sufi Traditions of South Asia” opines that

³⁸ S. Moinul Haq, “The Suhrawardis”, *Journal of Pakistan Historical Society* vol. XXIII, Part II (April 1975): 71.

³⁹ Hasan Nawaz Shah is of the opinion that thirty-four *khilafas* of Shihab al-Din came to India. They settled in Bengal, Amroha, Badaun, Jawar, Patna, Jewar, Hyderabad Deccan, Delhi, Sandila, Kathut, Bihar, Gujarat, Allahabad, Sakhi Sarwar, Sukkur, Sohdrah, Shahkot, Kaniguram, Badin and Multan. For details see: Shah, “*Bar-i Saghir main Khulafa-i Shaykh al-Shayukh Suhrawardi*,” 82-84.

⁴⁰ Murray T. Titus, *Islam in India and Pakistan* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1990, first pub.1929), 128-30.

⁴¹ Iqtidar Hussain Siddiqui, “Advent of Sufism in Medieval Punjab: A Narrative of its Historical Role,” in Singh and Gaur eds. *Sufism in Punjab*, 51.

⁴² Chand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, 166.

it is difficult to understand the history of Sufism in South Asia without reference to the several lengthy and distinct patterns of immigration into South Asia of holy men from different regions of the wider Muslim world, chiefly from Arabia, the Fertile Crescent, Iran and Central Asia. The patterns of interaction that developed between the religious and wider cultural institutions which these individuals brought with them and the pre-existing religious and cultural forms in the different regions into which they moved, forms one of the central processes at work in South Asian history.⁴³

The sufis were often founder-figures of different urban centres and communities. However, in the process of establishment of these new urban centres, shrines of these sufis played more important role rather than a living sufi. The sacred geography of South Asian Islam was also created through the presence of shrines built for the sufis, e.g. Ajmer was called ‘the Medina of Hind’.⁴⁴

Uch was also one of those cities, which had a sacred geography, emerged as an urban as well as a sufi centre, and played an important role in the process of acculturation in medieval India. The ensuing section discusses the emergence of Uch as sufi centre with the establishment of major branch of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in Uch.

2.2.1 Uch as a Centre of Sufism

The history and geography of Uch has been discussed in detail in first chapter. As mentioned earlier, Uch was one of the ancient towns in India, which had a sacred geography even before becoming a centre of Sufism in the Islamicate South Asia. While tracing the etymology of the word Uch, one of the arguments was that, the city of Uch was named after *Ussa* (a goddess of dawn). It also remained a centre of preaching activities of Ismailis along with the city of Multan in ninth and tenth centuries. Some of the early sufis also settled in Uch. Shyakh Safi al-Din Gazruni came and established a *madrasah* and *Khanqah* Gazruniyyah in the early years of the eleventh century. In the words of Manan Ahmed Asif, “the beginning of the eleventh century

⁴³ Green, “Emerging Approaches to the Sufi Traditions of South Asia”, 132.

⁴⁴ Green, “Emerging Approaches to the Sufi Traditions of South Asia”, 133-35.

witnessed a sacral and political diversity in Uch that was both unique and precarious. Unique, in that the sacral pilgrimage routes which connected the geography of the Vedas and Mahabharata and Ramayana intersected with routes linking Shi'a and Sunni polities—both messianic and military.”⁴⁵ Therefore, Uch became the intersection point of diverse political as well as religious traditions during that period. However, Uch achieved fame and popularity as a sufi centre from the thirteenth century onward when first it became the centre of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and later as a centre of Qadiri *Silsilah* during the second half of the fifteenth century. Even today, the city of Uch surrounded by the shrines of these sufis evokes its sacral geography and is a place of pilgrimage for the devotees.

The ensuing discussion is focused on introduction of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in India, the development of Uch as a centre of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* and the life and activities of major Suhrawardi sufis of Uch.

2.2.2 Development of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in India

From thirteenth century onwards, Sufism in India experienced an organizational change when sufi *silsilahs* started developing in India as in Persia, Iraq, Western and Central Asia. The rapid growth of Sufism in the thirteenth century India was largely due to the systematization of these sufi *silsilahs*. The Chishti and Suhrawardi were two principal *Silsilahs*, which flourished in India during the thirteenth century. The Suhrawardi *Silsilah* was founded by Shaykh Abdul-Najib Abd al-Qahir Suhrawardi (d. 1168),⁴⁶ but was developed by his nephew, Shaykh Shihab al-Din Umar

⁴⁵ Asif, “A Demon with Ruby Eyes”, 5.

⁴⁶ Suhraward is a town in north-western Iran famous for the birthplace of Suhrawardi *Silsilah*. Shaykh Abu'l-Najib Abd al-Qahir Suhrawardi (d. 1168), the founder of the *silsilah* was born here and later migrated to Baghdad. As a young man when he came to imperial capital Baghdad, soon he made his fame as a jurist, sufi, and preacher. In Baghdad, he built *ribats* for the sufis and taught *hadith* in the famous *madrassa* Nizamiyya. In 1163 he visited Damascus and received very warm reception by Nur al-Din Mahmud Zangi, the ruler of Syria. In Damascus, he held assemblies at which he preached, but after only a short stay returned to Baghdad. For details see: Erik S. Ohlander, *Sufism an Age of Transition: Umar al-Suhrawardi and the Rise of the Islamic Mystical Brotherhood* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 57.

Suhrawardi (d. 1234).⁴⁷ Shaykh Shihab al-Din sent many disciples to India. Most famous among them were Qazi Hamid al-Din of Nagaur (d. 1228),⁴⁸ Nur al-Din Mubarak of Ghazna (d. 1234-35), and Shaykh Jalal al-Din Tabrizi (d. 1226). However, the real founder of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in India was Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya. He was a sufi of different temperament and exposure. Due to his wide travels of the Islamic world, he developed a deep understanding of the problems of the Muslim society, which enabled him to organize the *Silsilah* accordingly.

According to *Siyar al-Arifin*, a sixteenth century hagiographical account, Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya was born in Kot Karor (presently a tehsil headquarter of District Layyah) near Multan.⁴⁹ After the death of his father, he went to Khurasan for higher studies and spent seven years at Bukhara. From Bukhara, he went to Makkah to perform Hajj and then moved to Medina where he stayed for almost five years. Then he visited Baghdad where he received *khirqah* (a patched cloak symbolizing spiritual succession) and *khilafat* (spiritual succession) from Shaykh Shihab al-Din Suhrawardi. He was directed by his *murshid* (spiritual mentor) to go to India and settle in Multan.⁵⁰ He eventually established a *khanqah* in Multan, a city of great political and strategic importance at that time. The city of Multan was also an important trade centre at that time as it was on the route to trade caravans operating between Central Asia, Middle East and Indian mainland. Soon due to the earnest activities of Shaykh Baha al-Din, it also became a famous centre of spiritual activities. Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya was not only one of the most

⁴⁷ Shaykh Shihab al-Din al-Suhrawardi was the paternal nephew of Shaykh Abu'l-Najib Abd al-Qahir Suhrawardi. He was born at Suhraward, from where he migrated to Baghdad and received education and spiritual training from his uncle. He made his fame as a distinguished jurist, sufi, and the master in the science of divine realities. He also developed contacts with the Caliph al-Nair al-Din Allah who appointed him as *Shaykh al-Islam* and sent him on important ambassadorial missions. Shaykh Shihab al-Din also wrote a famous sufi treatise titled '*Awarif al Mar'if*'. See, Ohlander, *Sufism an Age of Transition*, 58-60.

⁴⁸ He is considered as one of the most learned sufi scholars of his time. His works although extinguished now, were respected in the highest scholarly circles of that time. However, he perhaps lacked in organizing capacity and could not work for the organization of the Suhrawardi *Silsilah*. See Hamid ibn Fadl Allah Jamali, *Siyar al-Arifin*, 2nd ed. Urdu trans. Muhammad Ayub Qadiri (Lahore: Urdu Science Board, 1989), 214-15.

⁴⁹ Jamali, *Siyar al-Arifin*, 144.

⁵⁰ Jamali, *Siyar al-Arifin*, 148.

influential sufis of his age but also one of the early sufis who organized a *silsilah* in India.⁵¹ The *Fawa'id-ul-Fu'ad*, a collection of *mal'ufuzat* of Shaykh Nizam al-Din Awliya contains very important entries on the life and teachings of Shaykh Baha al-Din. The latter is believed to be the wealthiest sufi of medieval India. Enormous *futuh* (unasked for charity) was poured into the *khanqah*. However, contrary to the practice of the Chishtis, it was not distributed immediately among the needy. Shaykh Baha al-Din spent the wealth carefully. He had a treasury, which contained boxes full of gold coins.⁵² Some contemporary Chishi sufis criticized Shaykh Baha al-Din's possession of wealth, property and his close association with rulers. However, Suhrawardi sufis put forward arguments that Islam did not declare earning wealth by honest means and owning property unlawful. Therefore, whatever is lawful according to the *shari'ah*, cannot be condemned. Nevertheless, involvement in worldly affairs to the extent of neglecting the higher spiritual and moral values of life is certainly condemnable.⁵³ These arguments also answer a common understanding of Sufism as a distinct creed, different from orthodox Islam and a kind of asceticism.

Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya followed the school of Shaykh Junayd of Baghdad in which “*sahw* or sobriety” has the central place as opposed to “intoxication or *sukr*.”⁵⁴ He

⁵¹ It is believed that two notable poets of high esteem who were associated with the Suhrawardi sufis of Multan must have contributed in the fame of Suhrawardi branch of Multan. These poets were Fakhr al-Din Iraqi (d. 1289) and his younger contemporary Amir Husayni Sadat (d. 1328). Fakhr al-Din Iraqi stayed for twenty-five years with Baha al-Din Zakariyya in Multan and then proceeded to Konya, where he met Sadr al-Din Konyawi and possibly with Jalal al-Din Rumi. His poetry was very popular among the Chishti sufis as well and his poetical verses were sung by the Qawwals in the gatherings of *sama*. See: Bruce B. Lawrence, *Notes from a Distant Flute: The Extant Literature of Pre-Mughal Indian Sufism* (Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1978), 64.

⁵² Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India*, 226.

⁵³ Letters were exchanged between Chishti sufi Shaykh Hamiduddin Siwali Naguri and Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya through traders on the issue of accumulation of wealth. For details see Amir Khurd, *Siyar al-Awliya*, 158-59.

⁵⁴ ‘Sukr’ (spiritual intoxication) and the ‘Sahw’ (Sobriety) are two mystical states. Armstrong while explaining these conditions opines that “‘Sukr’ is an absence from self-awareness brought about through a powerful spiritual influence such as immersion in the remembrance of Allah (*dhikrullah*), ‘finding’ Allah within the ‘spiritual concert’ (*sama*), the glance of a friend of Allah (*wali*).” On the other hand the state of ‘Sahw’ is “returning to oneself after having been intoxicated (*sukr*) with the Divine Beloved.” The one in *sahw* is considered to be of great spiritual

preached that one must have control over emotion and criticized uncontrolled ecstasy of the sufis as a negation of the spiritual as well as moral laws.⁵⁵ He followed the approach of his spiritual master, Shaykh Shihab al-Din, who believed in a balance between external (material) and internal (spiritual) conditions. He led a practical life and set example for his followers.

Shaykh Baha al-Din is credited with laying down the foundation of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in India on strong footings. He trained a number of disciples who continued the work started by him. Multan was under his son Shaykh Sadr al-Din Arif (d. 1285), who succeeded him as his *khalifah* (spiritual successor), and Uch was under another disciple, Shaykh Jalal al-Din Mir Surkh Bukhari (d. 1291). These two cities rose to prominence and became centres of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in India. Shaykh Rukn al-Din alias Rukn-i Alam (d. 1335)⁵⁶ and Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Makhdum-i Jahaniyan Jahangasht (d. 1384), the grandsons of Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya, and Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari respectively contributed to the spread of the both the branches of Suhrawardi *Silsilah*.

The major regions of influence of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* were Sindh and the Punjab. Some Suhrawardi sufis settled in Delhi and around, but Chishti sufis of the region overshadowed them. However, due to the strategic location of Multan and Uch as frontier towns as well as trade centres, the fame of Suhrawardi sufis spread in the length and breadth of the Islamicate world, especially in Central Asia.

Khaliq Ahmad Nizami has discussed the factors behind the success of a particular sufi *silsilah* in a particular region. He is of the opinion that “the success of a sufi *silsilah* depended

maturity than the one in *sukr*. See Amatullah Armstrong, *Sufi Terminology (Al-Qamus Al-Sufi): The Mystical Language of Islam* (Lahore: Ferozsons, 2001), 206, 221.

⁵⁵ Muhammad Salim. “Shaykh. Baha al-Din Zakaria of Multan”, *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* (Karachi) vol. XVII, part I (January 1969): 24.

⁵⁶ Shaykh Rukn al-Din Abu’l Fath holds the same position in Suhrawardi *Silsilah* which Shaykh Nizam al-Din Awliya in the history of the Chishti *Silsilah*. For nearly half a century, he relentlessly and successfully propagated the Suhrawardi traditions. His major areas of influence remained Sindh and Multan.

very largely on a Shaikh's ability to adjust and adapt himself to the mental and emotional climate of a particular region."⁵⁷ It was a shaykh's ability to understand the spiritual and emotional requirements of the people and respond to them. According to Nizami, there were certain factors behind the success of Chishti *Silsilah* in India. "The Chishtis believed in the control of internal or emotional life prior to the control of external behaviour. The Suhrawardis tackled this problem vice versa. This decreased the chances of Suhrawardi expansion in non-Muslim environment." He is also of the opinion that the Chishti sufis very quickly adjusted themselves with the local customs and traditions, and religious sensitivities of the native Indians, which contributed in their fame and popularity in Indian mainland.⁵⁸ On the other hand, *shari'ah* oriented⁵⁹ attitude of Suhrawardi sufis was successful in Sindh and Multan, where due to the activities of Ismaili *dai's*, religious conditions were different. Moreover, the strong personality and efficient strategy of Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya was another major reason behind the spread of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in Sindh and Multan.

Khurram Qadir is of the opinion that the situation in Uch, Multan and Lahore was different from Delhi, Badaun, Hansi and Oudh where Muslim rule had just been established. In Uch, Multan and Lahore, the Muslims had been ruling from centuries. Local population was interacting with the Muslims for quite a long time here. It was one of the major reasons that Suhrawardi *Silsilah* flourished in this region. It was also easy for the Suhrawardis to operate in the fold of *shari'ah*.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India*, 177.

⁵⁸ Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India*, 177-78.

⁵⁹ In Sufism *shari'ah* is the basis of the religious life. It seeks to take a further step toward the Truth (*Haqiqah*). All the major sufi *silsilahs* emphasized that *shari'ah* is the base of sufi traditions and *shari'ah* oriented approach of Suhrawardi sufis does not mean here that sufis of other *silsilahs* were having non-*shari'ah* approach. Although not confirming to *shari'ah* groups were also there, which include, *muwallihs*, *qalandars*, *haydaris* and *juwaliqis*. However, emphasis of the Suhrawardi sufis on strict adherence of *shari'ah* was to counter the spread of Ismaili syncretic ideology in the region.

⁶⁰ Qadir, "Sultanate-i Delhi," 34. See also: Qadir, *Tabaqat Salateen-i Delhi* vol. II, 173.

Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya had seven sons. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Shaykh Sadr al-Din Arif, as his principal *khalifah* and *sajjadah-nashin* (hereditary custodian of a sufi shrine) and then by his grandson Shaykh Rukn-i Alam in Multan. It was the first example of hereditary succession in Indian sufi *silsilahs*, which later continued in Multan and Uch branches of Suhrawardi *Silsilah*. Shaykh Sadr al-Din is considered the first sufi in the India who knew about the thoughts and works of Muhiyy al-Din Ibn Arabi (d. 1240).⁶¹ Shaykh Baha al-Din's disciple, Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari (d. 1291) established another branch of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* at Uch at the behest of his spiritual mentor. After the demise of Shaykh Rukn-i Alam, not only the centre of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* shifted from Multan to Uch but also Uch became the new spiritual centre in South-west Punjab and Sindh under the stewardship of Makhdam-i Jahaniyan and his disciples and later through the activities of Qadiri sufis during the fifteenth century onwards, it regained its spiritual significance.⁶² The Suhrawardi *Silsilah* flourished and expanded in India mainly through the efforts of the sufis of these two branches of Multan and Uch. As earlier mentioned, on contrary to the tradition of Chishti *Silsilah*, the Suhrawardi sufis of Multan and Uch nominated their principal *khalifah* from their own family, mainly the eldest son. Thus, they established a principle of hereditary succession in Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in India. Despite hereditary succession, both the branches produced distinguished sufis who left strong imprints on the Indian sufi milieu. However, after two or three generations the *silsilah* declined due to weak successors, who were unable to manage the affairs of the *silsilah*.⁶³

The ensuing discussion is focused on the major Suhrawardi sufis of Uch and their life, teachings and contribution in the fame and development of Uch as a major sufi centre in India.

⁶¹ Ikram, *Aab-i Kauthar*, 262.

⁶² Ikram, *Aab-i Kauthar*, 267.

⁶³ Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India*, 224.

2.2.3 Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Mir Surkh Bukhari: The Founder of Uch Branch of Suhrawardi

Silsilah

Saiyyid Jalal al-Din ‘Surkh’ (d. 1291), literally meaning red, of Bukhara was the founder of Uch branch of *Silsilah* Suhrawardiyyah. His real name was Husayn. However, he is remembered with different titles, which include, *Haider-i Thani*, *Jalal al-Din*, *Mir Surkh Bukhari* and *Surkh Posh Bukhari*.⁶⁴ He was born in 595/1198 in Bukhara to a family of *Sadat* (the descendant of Prophet Muhammad PBUH) who traced their descent to Husayn ibn Ali through the tenth imam, Ali al-Naqi.⁶⁵ Saiyyid Jalal is a descendant of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) through twenty-one links. The local population, historians as well as a large number of scholars of Sunni or Shia sects of Islam, acknowledge him as a true descent of the Prophet (PBUH).⁶⁶ Mufti Ghulam Sarwar Lahori, a nineteenth century hagiographer has attributed a miraculous event to Saiyyid Jalal al-Din when he was a child, which shows that, he had spiritual tendencies even in his childhood.⁶⁷ Saiyyid Abu Mu’id, the father of Saiyyid Jalal al-Din was known for his piety and as a one of the leading sufis of Bukhara during that time. It is reported that he met with Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya of Multan when the latter was staying in Bukhara for higher studies. Both were impressed by each other’s personalities and spiritual accomplishments. Saiyyid Abu Mu’id spoke very high about the spiritual status of Baha al-Din Zakariyya to his son, Saiyyid Jalal al-Din. This praise of Shaykh Baha al-Din might be the driving force behind Saiyyid Jalal al-Din’s decision to leave

⁶⁴ Saiyyid Kamran Bukhari, *Makhdum-i Azam* (Peshawar: Al-Fateh Academy and Research Centre, 2018), 4. There are different opinions regarding the titles Mir Surkh and Surkh Posh. It is believed that as he had Central Asian features and had red face as compare to the colour of the locals, he was called Mir Surkh Bukhari. It is also believed that he used to wear red clothes and for that reason called Surkh Posh.

⁶⁵ Mir Hassan Ali, “Hazrat Sayyid Jalal Mir Surkh Bukhari of Uch Sharif”, *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, vol. XXIX, part I (January 1981): 40.

⁶⁶ Ali, “Hazrat Sayyid Jalal Mir Surkh Bukhari”, 40.

⁶⁷ Mufti Ghulam Sarwar Lahori, *Khazinat al-Asfiya (Silsilah Suhrawardiyyah)* Urdu Trans. Muhammad Zahiruddin Bhatti (Lahore: Maktabah Nabwiyyah, 1994), 63.

for India and get benefit from Shaykh Baha al-Din's spiritual excellence.⁶⁸

Saiyyid Jalal al-Din was first initiated into spiritual path at the hand of his father, Ali Abu al-Mu'id. However, there is no information found that whether he was initiated into a specific sufi *silsilah* or not. After the demise of his father, he migrated to India. Before his migration to India, he travelled to Najaf, Medina, Makkah and from Makkah to Baghdad and then to India.⁶⁹ There is no definite information on his motivations of migration from Bukhara. As earlier mentioned, he might have wanted to get benefit from the spiritual excellence of Shaykh Baha al-Din, who had established a Suhrawardi *Khanqah* at Multan. Another reason might be the destruction and upheaval brought by the Mongol invasions of 1220s in Central Asia. It seems more plausible as large number of Central Asian Muslims migrated to India due to Mongol devastations in that period. There are different opinions as to where he first arrived when he migrated to India. In certain medieval sources like *Siyar al-Arifin* and *Tuhfat al-Kiram* it is mentioned that when he came to India, he first arrived at Multan and then he went to Bhakkar (a medieval city near modern Rohri in Sindh).⁷⁰ However, according to *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, he first reached Bhakkar where he spent some time and got married, then migrated towards Suhrawardi *Khanqah* of Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya at Multan.⁷¹ His year of arrival in the India is around 635/1237. His two eldest sons accompanied him to India but later returned to Bukhara. Masud Hassan Shihab quotes *Ansabi Jalali* written by Saiyyid Safi al-Din who belonged to Bukhari *Sadat* of Uch that Saiyyid Jalal al-Din's eldest sons Saiyyid Ali and Saiyyid Jaffar left for India before their father but were lost on the way to India and were never found again.⁷² During his stay at Bhakkar, he married the daughter of Saiyyid Badr al-Din, who was known for his piety.

⁶⁸ Ali, "Hazrat Sayyid Jalal Mir Surkh Bukhari", 40.

⁶⁹ Bukhari, *Makhdum-i Azam*, 17-19.

⁷⁰ Jamali, *Siyar al-Arifin*, 149, 223-24. and Thatvi, *Tuhfat ul Kiram*, 367.

⁷¹ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 115.

⁷² Shihab, *Khitta-i Pak Uch*, 209.

According to Shaykh Abd al-Haqq, Saiyyid married in obedience to the Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) instructions given in a dream. Due to this marriage, brothers of Saiyyid Badr al-Din developed jealousy towards Saiyyid Jalal al-Din, which was one of the major reasons behind his migration from Bhakkar.⁷³ Saiyyid Kamran Bukhari in his work on Saiyyid Jalal al-Din titled *Makhdum-i Azam* argues that Saiyyid Badr al-Din Bhakkari, who was the son of Sadr al-Din Khatib, is mistakenly mentioned as the father in law of Saiyyid Jalal al-Din in most of the *tadhkirahs*. However, Saiyyid Badr al-Din Bhakkari was only five year old when Saiyyid Jalal al-Din reached Bhakkar. Therefore, although they shared name and space, there were two different Saiyyid Badr al-Din and Saiyyid Jalal al-Din married to the daughter of another Saiyyid Badr al-Din who later migrated to Uch and was buried there.⁷⁴ According to another account, the bride's name was Zahra and after her sudden death, Saiyyid Jalal al-Din married her sister Fatima. The couple had three sons: Sadr al-Din Muhammad, Ahmad Kabir, and Baha' al-Din.⁷⁵ There is no concrete information about the daughters of Saiyyid Jalal al-Din. The only information found is about his one daughter who was given in marriage to Muhammad, son of Ibrahim, who was a very pious man. Out of this wedlock Shaykh Jalal Mujarrad of Sylhet was born. Soon after the birth of Shaykh Jalal Mujarrad, his parents died one after another. Still a child, Shaykh Jalal Mujarrad was brought up by his maternal uncle, Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir, the son of Saiyyid Jalal al-Din.⁷⁶ Later, he became one of the most venerated sufi of Bengal. His shrine in Sylhet is the most visited shrine of East Bengal.

From Bhakkar Saiyyid Jalal al-Din went to Multan where he completed his spiritual

⁷³ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 115.

⁷⁴ Bukhari, *Makhdum-i Azam*, 28-34.

⁷⁵ Lahori, *Khazinat al-Asfiya (Silsilah Suhrawardiyyah)*, 66.

⁷⁶ Ikram, *Aab-i Kauthar*, 316. In *Gulzar-i Abrar*, a seventeenth century hagiographical work, it is mentioned that Saiyyid Jalal al-Din was born in Bengal and was the *khalifa* of Sultan Saiyyid Ahmad. However, no details about his blood relationship with the family of Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari are mentioned. Muhammad Ghawthi Shattari Mandavi, *Gulzar-i Abrar* (The Garden of the Pious) (comp. in 1014 A.H.) Urdu trans. Fadl Ahmad Juri, *Adhkar-i Abrar* (Lahore: Maktabah Sultan Alamgir, 1427 A.H.), 124-25.

training under the guidance of Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya and was initiated in Suhrawardi *Silsilah*.⁷⁷ There is no authentic date of his migration to Multan and his initiation into the Suhrawardi *Silsilah* at the hands of Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya.⁷⁸ However, he is considered one of the principal *khalifahs* of Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya, who on completion of spiritual training received *khirqah* and *khilafat* from him.⁷⁹ He almost remained for thirty years in Multan, first in the company of Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya and later with his son Shaykh Sadr al-Din Arif for a brief period.⁸⁰ Then he moved and settled in Uch on the directive of his *murshid* where he established *Khanqah-i Jalaliyya*.⁸¹ The Suhrawardi *Silsilah* became the most prominent sufi network in Sindh during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries through the efforts of the Suhrawardi sufis of Multan and Uch, as spiritual hires or descendants of Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya headed both the Suhrawardi *Khanqahs* in Uch and Multan in that period. The cordial relationship between the two main branches of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* of the two cities established by Shaykh Baha al-Din and his *khalifa*, Saiyyid Jalal al-Din were carried forward by successive generations. Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir and Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, the son and grandson of Saiyyid Jalal al-Din, were disciples of Baha al-Din's son, Sadr al-Din Arif, and grandson, Rukn al-Din Abu al-Fath respectively. For almost two centuries, Uch and Multan served as important centres of Suhrawardi activities in the region.

After permanently settling in Uch, Saiyyid Jalal al-Din frequently used to visit Multan and stayed with Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya. He had very cordial and sincere relations with Shaykh Sadr al-Din, the son and successor of Shaykh Baha al-Din. After the demise of Shaykh

⁷⁷ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 28.

⁷⁸ There are different opinions regarding Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Bukhari year of migration to Multan and his initiation at the hands of Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya which include 635/1237 and 650/1250. For details see: Amina M. Steinfelds, *Knowledge before Action: Islamic Learning and Sufi Practice in the Life of Sayyid Jalal al-din Bukhari Makhdum-i Jahaniyan* (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2012), 19.

⁷⁹ Jamali, *Siyar al-Arifin*, 224.

⁸⁰ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 768.

⁸¹ Ali, "Hazrat Sayyid Jalal Mir Surkh Bukhari", 45.

Baha al-Din, Saiyyid Jalal al-Din kept his routine of regularly visiting Multan. Soon Saiyyid Jalal al-Din's spiritual eminence was recognized and he became an important and influential sufi of the area. It is believed that many local people and tribes converted to Islam at his hands, which included the Chadars, Dher and Siyal.⁸² It is also believed that he laid the foundation of the city of Jhang Siyalan, currently known as Jhang.⁸³ He is also considered to be the founder of the Bukhari family of *Sadat* in India. Majority of the Bukhari Saiyyids in India claim their descent from him.⁸⁴ Still most of the Bukhari Saiyyids of India list or register themselves in a pedigree chart present in Uch.

Saiyyid Jalal al-Din died in the year 1291 and was succeeded by his son Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir as the in-charge of Suhrawardi *Khanqah* of Uch. Saiyyid Jalal al-Din is credited with the foundation of Uch branch of Suhrawardi *Silsilah*. He is venerated all over India as almost all the Bukhari *Sadat*, settled in different parts of India, trace their lineage through him. Saiyyid Jalal al-Din's disciples and descendants also established *khanqahs* in different areas, which contributed to his fame and veneration as a great sufi Shaykh.

2.2.4 Shaykh Jamal al-Din 'Khanda Ru'

Although Uch branch of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* mainly flourished through the activities of the descendants and disciples of Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Bukhari, however Shaykh Jamal al-Din also made his mark as a celebrated Suhrawardi sufi of Uch. Shaykh Jamal al-Din 'Khanda Ru' (d. 1314) was a disciple of Shaykh Sadr al-Din Arif, the son of Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya.⁸⁵ He traced his blood lineage from Hazrat Abu Hurairah, the companion of the Prophet Muhammad

⁸² Khan, *Uchchh: History and Architecture*, 82.

⁸³ Ikram, *Aab-i Kauthar*, 277. Jhang is currently a District Headquarter of Faisalabad Division in Punjab. See also Bilal Zubairi, *Tarikh-i Jhang*. [History of Jhang]. 3rd ed. (Jhang: Sultan Bahu Printing Press, 2002), 96.

⁸⁴ Shihab, *Khitta-i Pak Uch*, 279.

⁸⁵ Khandan Ru was the title given to Shaykh Jamal al-Din, meaning moon faced. He was very humble, had a smiling face and welcoming attitude. In local tradition, he is popularly known as 'Jamal dervish'.

(PBUH). He was known for his learning and piety.⁸⁶ After receiving *khilafat* and *khirqa* (mantle symbolizing spiritual succession) in Suhrawardi *Silsilah* from Sadr al-Din Arif, Shaykh Jamal al-Din came to Uch, and established a *khanqah* and *madrassa* there.⁸⁷ He used to give lessons in *hadith* and Quran in this *madrassa*. Shaykh Jamal al-Din was the primary teacher of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan. According to Jamali, Makhdum-i Jahaniyan came under Shaykh Jamal al-Din Uchi's tutelage at the age of seven. He was well respected in his lifetime by the masses and rulers alike. Once Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq (r. 1320-25) sent gifts but he refused to accept. In almost all sufi hagiographies, Shaykh Jamal al-Din is mentioned as one of the *pirs* and teachers of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan. In Makhdum-i Jahaniyan's *malfuzat*, he is remembered respectfully by the former as pious, humble, learned, and gifted with mystical insights. The *malfuzat* also mention numerous anecdotes about Jamal al-Din's teaching style, books he taught, and the circle of his disciples. It is believed that Makhdum-i Jahaniyan's status, popularity, and his relationship with Shaykh Jamal as his student and disciple contributed to preserve the memory of Shaykh Jamal al-Din for posterity.⁸⁸

In the *malfuzat* of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, various anecdotes are found supporting Jamal al-Din's piety and austere life style. His simplicity and humility was expressed in his life style and he never lost his patience specially while socializing with others.⁸⁹ Once a group of *qalandars* visited his *khanqah* and became angry because he offered them only a piece of bread, which was available at that time. While seeing their anger, he humbly bowed his head on the dining rag. Seeing this display of modesty, the *qalandars* fell at his feet.⁹⁰ Although the Shaykh

⁸⁶ Hafeez, *Tarikh-i Uch*, 150.

⁸⁷ Abd al-Hayy Al-Husayni Al-Luknawi, *Al-I'lam bi man fi Tarikh al-Hind min al-A'lam (Nuzhat al-Khawahir wa Bahjat al-Sami' wa 'l-Nawazir)* (Beirut: Dar Ibn Hazm, 1999), 151.

⁸⁸ Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*, 24.

⁸⁹ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 91, 303-4, 310.

⁹⁰ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 144, 529.

lived a very simple life, he had to accept *futuhat* during last years of his life probably because of his old age. Makhdum-i Jahaniyan was aware of the criticism on Suhrawardis for accepting *futuhat*, especially from rulers and nobles, so he defended his mentor Shaykh Jamal al-Din's act of accepting offerings arguing that he only followed the example of his preceptors. On the other hand, it is stressed that Shaykh Jamal al-Din only accepted *halal* (permissible in Islamic law) items and if in doubt he would bow his head get the Divine advice to accept it or not.⁹¹ During teaching assemblies, he used to bow his head to get Divine guidance to solve the unclear points. Many learned people used to visit his *khanqah* and *madrassa* to get lessons in *shari'ah* and Sufism.⁹² His son, Shaykh Razi al-Din Ganj-i 'Ilm (d. 1368) was also a scholar of high esteem. He was a disciple of Shaykh Rukn-i Alam of Multan, and a teacher of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan. He was famous for his scholarship, and was therefore titled as *Ganj-i 'Ilm*, meaning the store-house of knowledge.⁹³

In his *malfuzat*, Makhdum-i Jahaniyan narrated miraculous events related to Shaykh Jamal al-Din. Once during a teaching session, the Shaykh bowed his head for deep contemplation, and after returning into consciousness, he said that he had been to Aden, in Yemen, to save a sinking ship. According to Amina,

These events were marked out as miraculous not only by their physical impossibility but also by the language used to describe them. For example, whenever Makhdum-i Jahaniyan mentioned meeting a saint in a vision or through the saint's ability to transport himself over vast distances, he said that he "saw" (*didam*) the saint.⁹⁴

During an inquiry into the history of medieval Sufism, one of the major problems faced by historians is to analyse mundane and supernatural occurrences in the lives of the sufis and their disciples. The authors of *malfuzat* and *tadhkirahs*, though presenting these events as real, were

⁹¹ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 72-73, 238-39, 623.

⁹² Shihab, *Khita-i Pak Uch*, 189.

⁹³ Shihab, *Khita-i Pak Uch*, 189.

⁹⁴ Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*, 25.

fully aware of the difference between a normal/natural and supernatural occurring. The problem lies in the modern response to these supernatural occurring in sufi literature as sweepingly dismissing them as impossible and therefore, fabricated.⁹⁵ However, there seems a dichotomy when some sections of a text are considered authentic while other are rejected as false. These supernatural events must be studied comprehensively to extract the hidden meaning and to explore their purpose and make them useful subjects of inquiry. One may infer from the above cited incident that Makhdum-i Jahaniyan was not only establishing his mentor's spiritual authority but was also legitimizing his own before his disciples and devotees.

2.2.5 Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir

The sixteenth-century hagiographer Jamali informs that Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari had five sons. Two sons, Saiyyid 'Ali and Saiyyid Jaffar, were born in Bukhara while Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir, Saiyyid Baha al-Din and Saiyyid Muhammad were born in Uch.⁹⁶ After the demise of Saiyyid Jalal al-Din in 1291, Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir succeeded him as his spiritual heir. In addition to his father, Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir also received *khilafat* from Shaykh Sadr al-Din 'Arif. Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir got married to his maternal cousin, and had two sons, Jalal al-Din Husayn, popularly known Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, and Sadr al-Din Muhammad Raju Qattal.⁹⁷ The pattern of spiritual succession exemplified by the Suhrawardi sufis of Multan is considered as "hereditary" succession. No doubt that being part of sufi family also contributed in one's advancement on sufi path. However, advancement on the sufi path was also the result of individual capacity, spiritual calibre and dedication, whereas descent from a popular sufi was not a sufficient condition for succession in early sufi tradition.⁹⁸ In contrast to the Suhrawardis of

⁹⁵ Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*, 25.

⁹⁶ Jamali, *Siyar al-Arifin*, 224.

⁹⁷ Lahori, *Khazinat al-Asfiya (Silsilah Suhrawardiyyah)*, 96.

⁹⁸ Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*, 22

Multan and Uch, the spiritual succession in the Chishti *Silsilah* in Sultanate period was not based on biological descent.⁹⁹

Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir was sufi of an ecstatic temperament. He always remained busy in his prayers, and often in a state of ecstasy.¹⁰⁰ Makhdum-i Jahaniyan mentioned Ahmad Kabir's vulnerability, emotionalism and habit of yelling and crying during prayers in his *malfuzat*.¹⁰¹ An incident is quoted in *Jami' al-'Ulum* (a collection of *malfuzat* of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan) that after the completion of books that Makhdum-i Jahaniyan was studying since a year in Multan, Shaykh Rukn-i Alam sent him back to Uch in a hurry and even lent Makhdum-i Jahaniyan his own boat for the voyage. The reason for sending Makhdum in a hurry was that Rukn-i Alam wanted to send Ahmad Kabir an urgent message that he must submit to Jamal al-Din Uchi's authority and put himself under his care. Shaykh Rukn-i Alam was of the opinion, that without Jamal al-Din's care, Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir's state of emotions and ecstasy might drive him mad or cause him to become *muwallah* (enraptured one).¹⁰² Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir followed Rukn-i Alam's advice and submitted himself to the authority of Jamal al-Din. Shaykh Jamal al-Din told Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir that his father, Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Surkh, had predicted Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir's tendency for losing control and asked Jamal al-Din to take care of him.¹⁰³ This incident makes clear that Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir was inclined towards asceticism and had different temperament than his father, Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari as well as his son and spiritual

⁹⁹ Tanvir Anjum, "Sons of Bread and Sons of Soul: Lineal and Spiritual Descendants of Baba Farid and the Issue of Succession" in Singh and Gaur, eds. *Sufism in Punjab*, 65.

¹⁰⁰ Ghauri, *Uch Sharif*, 115.

¹⁰¹ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 546, 550.

¹⁰² A term used by the sufis for a person whom God has chosen for Himself, for a manifestation of His love and free from worldly affairs. The term *muwallah* (enraptured one) and *majdhub* were used interchangeably by some authors in medieval India. The *muwallih*s are also included into four *be-shar* (not confirming to *shari'ah*) groups, which include, *qalandars*, *haydaris* and *juwaliqis*. For details see: Simon Digby, "Qalandars and Related Groups: Elements of Social Deviance in the Religious Life of the Delhi Sultanate of the 13th and 14th Centuries" in Yohanan Friedmann, ed. *Islam in Asia*. vol. I. (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1984), 61.; and Tanvir Anjum, *Chishti Sufis in the Sultanate of Delhi, 1190-1400: From Restrained Indifference to Calculated Defiance* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011), 187, 289.

¹⁰³ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 550-51.

heir, Saiyyid Makhdum-i Jahaniyan.

A spiritual state of emotionalism and asceticism might be an attractive trait for the devotees of popular Sufism. However, Makhdum-i Jahaniyan despite his deep attachment, respect and reverence towards his father, rarely if ever considered the state of high emotions as a sign of someone's spiritual elevation, and himself displayed sober, scholarly and emotionally controlled behaviour.¹⁰⁴ Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir had two sons, Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Husayn, popularly known as Makhdum-i Jahaniyan Jahangasht, and Saiyyid Sadr al-Din, popularly known as Raju Qattal. The former succeeded his father, Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir as his principal *khalifa* at Uch.

2.2.6 Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Makhdum-i Jahaniyan Jahangasht: The Most Celebrated Suhrawardi Sufi of Uch

Saiyyid Jalal al-Din popularly known as 'Makhdum-i Jahaniyan' (served by the inhabitants of the world) and 'Jahangasht' (the world traveller) was the eldest son of Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir, who succeeded his father as the in-charge of his *khanqah*. The real name of Saiyyid Makhdum-i Jahaniyan was Husayn. He was given different titles, including the title of his grandfather, 'Jalal al-Din' as a mark of respect and as a true successor of Saiyyid Jalal al-Din.¹⁰⁵ As a son and grandson of famous sufi Shaykhs in Suhrawardi *Silsilah* and as a Saiyyid, (a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH) combining different modes of religious authority, he enjoyed a high status and respect among the masses.¹⁰⁶ When Ibn Battutah visited the city of Uch during the reign of Muhammad ibn Tughluq, he met with Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, received *khirqah* and

¹⁰⁴ Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*, 27.

¹⁰⁵ In oral tradition as well as in certain *tadhkirahs* however, this shared name and title have become a cause for confusion. Different events are wrongly attributed to either Saiyyid Jalal al-Din or Makhdum-i Jahaniyan in later works confusing one with the other.

¹⁰⁶ In early Indo-Muslim society, noble lineage played an important role to determine one's status. High born were given high official positions by the rulers. Being a Saiyyid was an important consideration for sufi authority in Islamicate South Asia. See: Buehler Arthur F, *Trends of Ashrafization in India* in Morimoto Kazuo ed. *Saiyyids and Sharifs in Muslim Societies: The living links to the Prophet* (London: Routledge, 2012), 233.

praised him as a great sufi.¹⁰⁷ Makhdum-i Jahaniyan was around thirty year of his age when Ibn Battutah met him. So he was venerated, as a great sufi even in his early age. It is believed that he became leading sufi of South Asia at the age of forty.¹⁰⁸ His personal stature as an accomplished sufi and a scholar with this noble innate social status contributed in establishing his place in the Indian society. It was under his stewardship that the Uch branch of the Suhrawardi *Silsilah* rose into prominence, and became an important centre of religious life in north India.

According to Shaykh Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dehlvi, Makhdum-i Jahaniyan was born in 707/1308 in Uch.¹⁰⁹ He received his early education in Uch under the guidance of Shaykh Jamal al-Din ‘Khandan Ru’ and Qazi Baha al-Din of Uch.¹¹⁰ Then he came to Multan and joined the *madrassah* established by Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya. There he received education from eminent *ulama* including Shaykh Musa and Mawlana Majd al-Din.¹¹¹ Shaykh Rukn al-Din Abu’l Fath, the grandson of Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya, took special care of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan’s education. The latter was initiated in Suhrawardi *Silsilah* and received *khirqah* from his father Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir.¹¹² As earlier mentioned that after the demise of his father, Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir, he succeeded him as incharge of Suhrawardi *Khanqah* in Uch. Muhammad ibn Tughluq (r. 1325-51) was the reigning Sultan of Delhi at that time. The Sultan appointed the Makhdum on the official position of *Shaykh al-Islam* and assigned him the supervision of forty *khanqahs* in Siwistan but this assignment became a turning point in Makhdum’s life.¹¹³ It is

¹⁰⁷ Ibn Battutah, *Aja’ib al-Asfar*, 21.

¹⁰⁸ Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*, 4.

¹⁰⁹ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 286.

¹¹⁰ His real name was Zakariyya. He was a scholar of both exoteric and esoteric sciences. He was given the title of ‘Baha al-Halim’ due to his accomplishment as a religious scholar. His tomb is located near the tomb of the Bibi Jawindi and adjacent to the *khanqah* of Saiyyid Jalal al-Din. The tomb of Baha al-Halim is one of the finest examples of Central Asian architecture in India. For details see: Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 550.

¹¹¹ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 506-7, 550. See also Sakhawat Mirza, *Tadhkirah Hazrat Makhdum-i Jahaniyan Jahangasht* (Hyderabad: Institute of Indo-Middle East Cultural Studies, 1962), 25.

¹¹² Muhammad Ayub Qadiri, *Hazrat Makhdum-i Jahaniyan Jahangasht* (Karachi: H.M. Saeed Company, 1983), 73.

¹¹³ Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*, 29.

reported that Makhdum-i Jahaniyan was instructed by Shaykh Rukn al-Din in a dream, not to accept the official position as it might lead him to become arrogant.¹¹⁴ Makhdum-i Jahaniyan was aware of Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq's strict policy against sufis and his expected reaction against his refusal to accept the post.¹¹⁵ He decided to perform the pilgrimage and proceeded to Makkah. He took a plea that he was instructed in a dream to proceed to Hijaz and made himself excuse of the supervision of these *khanqahs*. It seems that due to Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq's strict policies against the sufis, and particularly killing of Shaykh Hud, who was the head of Suhrawardi *Khanqah* in Multan, Makhdum-i Jahaniyan must have decided to avert official position and be a part of Sultan's campaign against the sufis and religious scholars. Makhdum-i Jahaniyan in his *mal'ufuzat*, often mentioned this meeting as crucial and important episode in his life. He proceeded to Hijaz and benefited from Shaykh Abd-Allah al-Yafa'i (d. 1366)¹¹⁶ and Shaykh 'Afif al-Din Abd-Allah Matri (d. 1364),¹¹⁷ who were the great sufis and eminent scholars of Makkah and Medina at that time.

Saiyyid Makhdum-i Jahaniyan was a widely travelled person. On the completion of his formal education and spiritual training, he travelled extensively and visited several places in the Islamicate world including the different regions of India. The main objective of these visits was to benefit from meetings with eminent sufis and scholars. According to Shaykh Abd al-Haqq, he travelled widely and received the blessings and benedictions from many sufis.¹¹⁸ Saiyyid Makhdum-i Jahaniyan journeyed through several countries and regions including Hijaz, Egypt,

¹¹⁴ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 255, 606.

¹¹⁵ For details see: Agha Mahdi Husain, *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq* (London: Luzac and Co., 1938), 113-16.

¹¹⁶ Jamali, *Siyar al-Arifin*, 226.

¹¹⁷ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 285. Afif al-Din Matri was the *muezzin* at the Prophet's mosque in Medina. He served as a teacher and a sufi guide for Makhdum-i Jahaniyan. Afif al-Din Matari taught *Awarif al-Ma'arif* and the books of *hadith* to Makhdum-i Jahaniyan. See: Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 36,761-62.

¹¹⁸ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 285.

Syria, Iraq, Iran, Balkh, Bukhara and Khurasan and performed Hajj several times.¹¹⁹ It was on account of these journeys that he came to be known as ‘Jahangasht’ (the World Traveler).¹²⁰

There are various travelogues, which are attributed to Makhdum-i Jahaniyan. However, the information about the Makhdum’s travels we found in these texts seems not only exaggerated but also misleading. These travelogues seem later construction to portray Makhdum as a legendary figure. However, a detailed study of Makhdum’s *malfuzat* show that the noteworthy and perhaps only journey was a single voyage that lasted seven years, from 742/1341–1342 to 749/1348, during which he stayed in Makkah and Medina and also visited the cities of Aden, Shiraz, and Gazarun.¹²¹

As earlier mentioned, Makhdum-i Jahaniyan benefited spiritually as well as scholarly from Afif al-Din Matri (698/1299–765/1364), the *muezzin* at the Prophet’s mosque during his stay in Medina. The Makhdum read *Sihah Sitta* (the famous six Sunni compilations of *ahadith*) under Shaykh Afif’s supervision.¹²² Makhdum-i Jahaniyan in his *malfuzat* informs that he also received *khirqah* and *khilafat* in Suhrawardi *Silsilah* from ‘Afif al-Din Matri.¹²³ His *khilafat* and permission by Matri in Suhrawardi *Silsilah* contributed greatly in the establishment of Makhdum’s authority as a Shaykh in that period.¹²⁴ He showed great respect and reverence towards Matri and became his favourite pupil/disciple because the manners, piety and humility showed by Makhdum were very impressive.¹²⁵

¹¹⁹ Jamali, *Siyar al-Arifin*, 152.

¹²⁰ After the study of *malfuzat* of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, Ayub Qadiri has mentioned the cities visited by the Makhdum. These cities include Makkah, Medina, Aden, Damascus, Madain, Shokara, Basra, Kufa, Tabriz, Balkh, Nishapur, Khorasan, Samarqand, Gazrun, Qatif and Bahrin, Ghaznin and different cities of India. For details see: Qadiri, *Hazrat Makhdum Jahaniyan Jahangasht*, 89-95.

¹²¹ Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*, 37.

¹²² Ahmad Baha al-Din Bhatti, *Khazana-i’ Fawa’id-i Jalaliyya*. MS (Kitabkhana Data Ganj Bakhsh Markaz-i Tahqiqat-i Farsi Iran-o-Pakistan, Islamabad, Islamabad. No.15427), 89a.

¹²³ Bhatti, *Khazana-i’ Fawa’id-i Jalaliyya*, 258b.

¹²⁴ Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*, 44.

¹²⁵ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 608.

After receiving education and blessings from Matari, Makhdum came to Makkah, where he remained under the supervision of Abd-Allah ibn Asad al-Yafa‘i, who was a sufi as well as a Shafa‘i scholar. Yafa‘i’s hometown was Aden in Yemen and later he migrated and settled in Makkah. He was a prolific writer and his works covered the themes like Sufism, Quran, theology, and sectarian issues. His most important work is *Mirat al-Jinan*, which deals with the lives of scholars and sufis of the past.¹²⁶ A work of hagiographical nature, it is considered a valuable source of Shafa‘i sufis and scholars. From Yafa‘i along with further spiritual training and the study of texts like Qutb al-Din Dimashqi’s famous sufi treatise *Risala al-Makkiyya*, Makhdum also received *khirqahs* in Suhrawardi and Qadiri *Silsilahs* from him.¹²⁷ It is believed that he availed every opportunity to get knowledge and spiritual blessings from renowned sufis and scholars. He visited a village in Iraq where he met Shaykh Sharaf al-Din Mahmud Tustari, a renowned *khalifah* of Shaykh Shihab al-Din Umar Suhrawardi, who was said to have been 132 years of age.¹²⁸ The Saiyyid studied the famous Suhrawardi text, *Awarif al-Ma‘arif* under him and also received the authority of spiritual succession from him.

Saiyyid Makhdum-i Jahaniyan had multiple initiations or *bayts* in various sufi *silsilahs*. As earlier mentioned, his father Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir first initiated him into Suhrawardi *Silsilah*. When he was in Makkah, his teacher Shaykh Abd-Allah Yafa‘i praised the Chishti sufis of Delhi, particularly Shaykh Nasir al-Din Mahmud Chiragh-i Delhi (d. 1356). When he came back to India, he visited Delhi, joined the sufi circle of Shaykh Nasir al-Din Mahmud, and thus acquired an affiliation with the Chishti *Silsilah*, in addition to his existing association with the Suhrawardi discipline.¹²⁹ Makhdum-i Jahaniyan has stated in his *malfuzat* that he revived his *bait*

¹²⁶ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New ed., vol. 11, art. “Yafi‘i,” by E. Geoffroy (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2002), 246–247.

¹²⁷ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 16.

¹²⁸ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 552, 609.

¹²⁹ Jamali, *Siyar al-Arifin*, 226.

from Shaykh Nasir al-Din Chiragh-i Delhi and got permission to initiate disciples, when later visited Uch while coming back from Thatta.¹³⁰ Shaykh Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dehlavi records in *Akhbar al-Akhyar* that Makhudum-i Jahaniyan received the robe of *khilafat* from fourteen different *silsilahs*.¹³¹ Makhudum-i Jahaniyan in his *malfuz Jami' al-'Ulum* stated that he received *khirqah* and *khilafat* from twenty eminent sufis of the time.¹³² These multiple *bayts* contributed a lot in shaping Makhudum's attitude towards the state and society of that period, which has been discussed in detail in the fourth chapter. Although, Makhudum-i Jahaniyan spent some time under the supervision of Shaykh Rukn-i Alam when he was studying in *madrassa* adjacent to the Suhrawardi *Khanqah* of Multan, contrary to popular assumption there are no evidences found that Makhudum received *khilafat* or *khirqah* from Shaykh Rukn-i Alam. It seems that Makhudum-i Jahaniyan was not directly a *khalifa* of Rukn-i Alam. However, it is mentioned in his *malfuzat* that Makhudum received *khirqah* and permission to initiate in Suhrawardi *Silsilah* from Rukn-i Alam in a dream.¹³³

Saiyyid Makhudum-i Jahaniyan developed cordial relations with Sultan Firuz Tughluq (r. 1351-88) who became Sultan when Makhudum returned from his travels.¹³⁴ Earlier, Makhudum had tactfully avoided the position of *Shaykh al-Islam*, bestowed by Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq, the predecessor of Sultan Firuz Tughluq. His relationship with the state and rulers has been discussed in detail in the fourth chapter. Makhudum-i Jahaniyan was profuse in speech and due to the efforts of his pupils, his several *malfuzat* were compiled. These *malfuzat* throw light on the religious, social and cultural history of that period enabling us to comprehend the beliefs and practices of Saiyyid Makhudum-i Jahaniyan as well as his ancestors. These *malfuzat* include

¹³⁰ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 471-72.

¹³¹ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 286.

¹³² Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 16-17.

¹³³ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 16, 256.

¹³⁴ Jamini Mohan Banerjee, *History of Firuz Shah Tughluq* (Lahore: Progressive Books, 1976), 193-94.

Jami' al-'Ulum, Khazana-i' Jawahir-i Jalaliyya, Siraj al-Hidaya, Khazana Fawaid al-Jalaliyya and *Manaqib-i Makhdum-i Jahaniyan*.¹³⁵

After, he returned to India, he stayed mainly at Uch. He organized a *madrassa* adjacent to *Khanqah* Jalaliyyah established by his grandfather, Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari, in Uch. Religious education was provided in this *madrassa* to the students who came from all over the Islamicate world. Renowned teachers and learned theologians were employed there. They taught Holy Quran, *hadith* and *tasawwuff* to the students. Makhdum-i Jahaniyan himself delivered lectures on different branches of knowledge. He was a *qari* (an expert in the recitation of the Quran) and had mastered the seven modes of reciting the Holy Book. He himself taught this discipline to his students, including his grandson Saiyyid Hamid Kabir, and some women of Uch.¹³⁶ One of the salient features of education at this *madrassa* was emphasis on etiquettes, manners and strong observance of *shari'ah*.¹³⁷

After the demise of Shaykh Rukn-i Alam Abu'l Fath, the Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in Multan experienced important transformations. Shaykh Hud, the nephew of Shaykh Rukn-i Alam succeeded him as his successor, however conflict generated on the issue of succession in the family. Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq gave his verdict in favour of Shaykh Hud on this issue. According to the Moroccan traveller Ibn Battutah, after some time, Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq was reported that Shaykh Hud and his relatives had accumulated huge wealth, indulged in extravagance, and did not provide food to the people in the *khanqah*. On these charges, the Sultan ordered to seize entire property of Shaykh Hud, and later the Shaykh was executed on charges of attempting to mastermind a Mongol invasion to India.¹³⁸ This incident marked the end

¹³⁵ Khan, *Uchchh*, 87-90.

¹³⁶ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 274.

¹³⁷ Mirza, *Tadhkirah*, 59-60.

¹³⁸ Ibn Battutah, *Aja'ib al-Asfar*, 152-54.

of the prominence of Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya's *khanqah* in Multan and this vacuum was filled by Suhrawardi *Khanqah* of Uch under the stewardship of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan.

As earlier mentioned, Makhdum-i Jahaniyan received training and education in both, *shari'ah* and *tariqah* under the famous scholars and sufis in Medina and Makkah, Multan and Uch. He was a staunch adherent of *shari'ah*. Amina M. Steinfels opines that,

for Bukhari (Makhdum-i Jahaniyan) however, living up to the requirements of the *shari'a* was the primary task of any aspirant on the sufi path, and instruction in the scholarly basis of the law was part of his own function as a sufi master. One of his maxims was 'first *'ilm* (knowledge), then *'amal* (actions)', *'ilm* being knowledge of the law and its roots in Quran and hadith while *'amal* are acts of devotion and piety.¹³⁹

Makhdum-i Jahaniyan also preferred and preached the importance of *sahw* (sobriety) over *sukr* (ecstatic intoxication or drunkenness). He asserted that all Muslims were obliged to perform the compulsory duties enforced by Islam including daily prayers, *zakat*, fasting and *shahda* (testimony that God is one and Muhammad is His Prophet) and no one is exempted from these duties. According to him, this uncontrolled ecstasy might also lead to contradict the basic Islamic beliefs and practices. He even did not approve the emotional state of his own father and also opined that the execution of Husayn ibn Mansur al-Hallaj (d. 922) was justified on legal grounds.¹⁴⁰ He advised his disciples that a seeker of sufi path must control his or her *hal* (mystical state) and not be controlled by it. Makhdum-i Jahaniyan's emphasis on *shari'ah* was probably the result of his education which was mostly under the scholars of Quran, *hadith* and *fiqh*. Another important reason of this approach must have been his effort to protect and promote Suhrawardi *Silsilah*, make it compatible with the the *shari'ah* oriented Sunni rule of the Tughluq Sultans and to counter the Ismaili influence in the region.

¹³⁹ Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*, 4.

¹⁴⁰ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 81-82, 745-46.

In modern scholarship, mostly sufis and *ulama* are considered two distinct groups having contradictory ideologies. However, the trends of medieval period of Islam were somewhat varied and where *khanqahs* and *madrassahs* were generally intermingled.¹⁴¹ The sufis believed that God's desire to be known was the reason of the creation of this world. In this context, often a *Hadith-i Qudsi* is quoted that "I was a Hidden Treasure that longed to be known, so I created the world". It is argued that Sufism is blend of a *muhabba* (Love) and *ma'arifa* (gnosis). For sufis, both knowledge and love towards God are complementary and strengthen each other.¹⁴² In case of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan and his teachers, especially Matri both the role of a sufi Shaykh and an *alim* (religious scholar) were overlapping. However, it cannot be generalized that these categories were fused with each other everywhere. Anyhow, Makhdum-i Jahaniyan performed the role of both a sufi Shaykh and a religious scholar. The developments of combining both traits in Makhdum-i Jahaniyan's personality were mostly result of his training in the field of Sufism and in religious sciences during his stay at Makkah and Medina. Arab influence was evident in his personality as he emphasized on combining sufi practices with Islamic law and strictly abiding the dictates of *shari'ah*. Steinfels opines that in this regard, he resembled more closely to his teachers and spiritual mentors of Makkah and Medina than his primary teachers of India.¹⁴³

Although Makhdum's major affiliation was with Hanafi School of jurisprudence, he had received training in four major Sunni schools of law. On various occasions he adopted the practices of other Sunni schools, especially Shafi'i. When Nasir al-Din Mahmud Chiragh-i Delhi died in 757/1356, Makhdum led his funeral prayer in Uch in *absentia* under the rules of the Shafi'i school of jurisprudence. Similarly, on one occasion he asked his disciples whether he

¹⁴¹ Omid Safi, *Politics of Knowledge in Premodern Islam: Negotiating Ideology and Religious Inquiry* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 98-100.

¹⁴² Eric Geoffroy, *Introduction to Sufism: The Inner Path of Islam*. Eng trans. Roger Gaetani (Bloomington: World Wisdom, 2010), 3.

¹⁴³ Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*, 36.

should lead them in prayer according to the Hanafi tradition or the Shafi'i one.¹⁴⁴ Makhdum-i Jahaniyan also practiced orthodox Sufism on the model of Shihab al-Din 'Umar al-Suhrawardi at least for general public. Although *Muqarrarnama*, a collection of Makhdum's *maktubat* and his study of commentary on the names of God with Matri show his interest in speculative and theoretical Sufism, his *malfuzat* lack any metaphysical or theosophical discussions.¹⁴⁵

An interesting phenomenon in the biographies about Makhdum-i Jahaniyan was emphasis on his noble lineage and social status as a Saiyyid. Also in his *malfuzat* he is called as *Saiyyid al-Sadat* (master of the Saiyyids) and he himself described that how miraculously Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in Medina confirmed his identity as a Saiyyid.¹⁴⁶ On the other hand, the early Chishti sufis of India did not emphasize or project their identity as a Saiyyid, although most of the principal Chishti sufis were Saiyyid.¹⁴⁷ It might be the settings of the fourteenth-century India, in which Makhdum-i Jahaniyan's identity as Saiyyid was projected and celebrated to enhance his status. The Saiyyids, who are said to enjoy the respect and prestige in many Muslim countries even today, were recognized as distinct social group in the fourteenth-century Indian society. According to Ibn Battutah, Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq gave Saiyyids special place along with other dignitaries in royal feasts.¹⁴⁸ Zia al-Din Barani, the fourteenth century historian and political theorist also praised Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq for his respect towards the Saiyyids, sufis and *ulama*.¹⁴⁹

Saiyyid Makhdum-i Jahaniyan's status as a great scholar and sufi of his time contributed in the development of Uch as a centre of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in India. As earlier mentioned, he

¹⁴⁴ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 38-39, 810.

¹⁴⁵ Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*, 50.

¹⁴⁶ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 371.

¹⁴⁷ Tanvir Anjum "Be Hell for Those Who Call Me Saiyyid": Social Stratification among the South Asian Muslims and the Sufi Worldview", *Pakistan journal of History and Culture* vol. XXXII, No.2 (2011):50-51.

¹⁴⁸ Ibn Battutah, *Aja'ib al-Asfar*, 111.

¹⁴⁹ Ziya' al-Din Barani, *Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi*, ed. Sayyid Ahmad Khan (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1862), 558.

rejuvenated *Silsilah* Suhrawardiyyah, which had begun to lose significance after the demise of Shaykh Rukn-i Alam in Multan. The Makhdum adopted new strategies to popularize the *Silsilah* all over India. Makhdum-i Jahaniyan generally had moderate attitude towards the non-Muslims, which might be the result of his multiple initiations in various sufi *silsilahs* including Chishti *Silsilah* which was considered liberal and accommodative towards non-Muslims. According to his *malfuz* titled *Jami' al-'Ulum*, once he fell ill during his stay at Delhi and was treated by a Hindu doctor despite the fact that many Muslim doctors were present there.¹⁵⁰ It shows that the Saiyyid had no hesitation in cultivating good social relations with the non-Muslims.

It is argued that Makhdum's initiation into both Suhrawardi and Chishti *Silsilahs* and his contacts with Rukn-i Alam Multani and Nasir al-Din Mahmud Chiragh-i Delhi, the two widely recognized sufi Shaykhs of fourteenth-century India, contributed in enhancing his status and prestige as a sufi Shaykh and legitimacy among the masses as well as in sufi circles.¹⁵¹ Makhdum's rise in the stature was gradual and his travels, foreign exposure, meeting with leading sufis, his education, and spiritual training under Yafa'i and Matri also contributed in establishing his status in the eyes of Indian masses. After returning to India and establishing himself as the head of his family's *khanqah* in Uch and as the leading heir to the Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in India, Makhdum enjoyed the respect and reverence of both masses and the political elite. He spent the decades of 1350s, 1360s and 1370s in teaching and training his disciples in both Suhrawardi and Chishti *Silsilahs* at Uch.¹⁵² He showed a humble attitude denying that he was a Shaykh, and considering himself only a transmitter of the message of his masters. However, during his lifetime, his contemporaries venerated him as a great sufi master. His

¹⁵⁰ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 135.

¹⁵¹ Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*, 36.

¹⁵² We found detail in *Khazana-i' Fawa'id al-Jalaliyya*, a *malfuz* of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, the record of his teachings. It was compiled by a disciple who was with Makhdum between 752/1351 and 767/1366. For details See: Bhatti, *Khazana-i Fawa'id-i Jalaliyya*.

stature as a great sufi contributed in the enhancement of sacred geography of Uch particularly as a centre of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in India during the latter half of fourteenth century.¹⁵³ Although he did not fit in modern, romanticized and popular image of medieval sufis in which asceticism is more idealized than resourcefulness, in his lifetime however, Makhdum was respected and venerated as a great sufi Shaykh.

2.2.7 Disciples of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan and Makhdum's Relationship with Contemporary Sufis

Makhdum-i Jahaniyan in later years of his life, which he spent mostly in Uch, is reported to have enrolled hundreds of disciples who received training from him and spread the Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in Punjab, Sindh, Bihar, Bengal, Gujarat, Kathiawar, Deccan, Madras and other parts of India. Along with common people and disciples, number of sufis visited Uch to meet Makhdum-i Jahaniyan. Two famous sufis who believed to meet him were Saiyyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani (d. 808/1405) and Saiyyid 'Ali Hamadani (d. 787/1385). The former spent some time in the company of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan.¹⁵⁴ He praised Makhdum's piety, learning and spiritual ability but there is no evidence that he became his disciple. In *malfuzat* of Saiyyid Ashraf Jahangir titled *Lataif-i Asharafi*, it is mentioned that Makhdum-i Jahaniyan repeatedly called Saiyyid Ashraf as a brother.¹⁵⁵ Later, Saiyyid Ashraf visited Bihar and Bengal and became a disciple of Chishti Shaykh 'Ala' al-Haqq Bengali of Pandua, and settled in Kichawcha.¹⁵⁶ In *Akhbar al-Akhiyar* Shaykh Abd al-Haqq recounts, that Saiyyid 'Ali Hamadani came to see Makhdum-i Jahaniyan and declared himself latter's servant. However, the Makhdum refused to meet him objecting his name that there is no 'Hamadan' (All-Knowing) expect God. Saiyyid 'Ali Hamadani angrily left

¹⁵³ Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*, 60.

¹⁵⁴ Nizam Yamani, *Lataif-i Asharafi (Malfuzat Saiyyid Ashraf Jahngir Simnani)* vol. I. Urdu trans. Shams Bareilvi (Karachi: Suhail Press, 1998), 610. See also Yamani, *Lataif-i Asharafi*, vol. II, 44-45.

¹⁵⁵ Yamani, *Lataif-i Asharafi*, vol. I, 608-612.

¹⁵⁶ Rizvi, *History of Sufism in India*, vol. I, 266.

and later wrote *Risala'-i Hamadaniyya* to explain the real meaning of the word Hamadan. Shaykh Abd al-Haqq also opines that this story seems incorrect while taking into account the hospitable nature and modesty of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan.¹⁵⁷ This argument seems valid because while studying the life and teachings of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, not a single event of inhospitality or word play is found.

Another sufi of fourteenth-century India whom Makhdum is reported to meet is Shaykh Sharaf al-Din Yahya Maneyari (d. 1381) of Bihar. However, there is no evidence that they developed master-disciple relationship. There are various stories reported in later period *tadhkirahs* about cordial relationship between these two shaykhs and show of mutual respect and admiration for each other. However, no information regarding their relations is found in *malfuzat* and it is possible that these stories are concocted later on to mutually enhance the stature of these sufis. Amina Steinfels also opines that it seems unlikely that the Makhdum met with such famous sufis especially Shaykh Maneyari and Hamadani and never mentioned these meetings in his conversation.¹⁵⁸ Makhdum-i Jahaniyan is also said to have met Shaykh Fakhr al-Din Thani, son of Shihab al-Din Haqq-gu (truth-teller) who was executed by Muhammad ibn Tughluq for heretical statements. It is believed that Makhdum-i Jahaniyan also had contact with Shaykh Ahmad Khattu Sarkhezi (d. 1446), who became his disciple and received a *khirqah-i mahbubiyat*. He later settled in Gujarat and was venerated by Sultans of Muzaffarid dynasty and the people of Gujarat alike.¹⁵⁹

Saiyyid Burhan al-Din Qutb-i Alam, the grandson of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, in his work *Jami' al-turuq* mentions four major disciples of his grandfather Makhdum-i Jahaniyan which are

¹⁵⁷ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 286-87.

¹⁵⁸ Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*, 137.

¹⁵⁹ Muhammad Yousaf Mutala, *Mashaiikh-i Ahmadabad* [Sufis of Ahmadabad] (Lahore: Maktabah Al-Harmain, 2011), 124,131. See also Muhammad Aslam, *Malfuzati Adab ki Tarikhi Ahammiyyat* (Lahore: Idara Tehqiqat-i Pakistan, 1995), 327.

Saiyyid Sharaf al-Din al-Husayni al-Mashhadi, Saiyyid Mahmud b. Muhammad al-Shirazi, Sayyid Sikandar b. Mas‘ud, and Taj al-Din Bhakkari.¹⁶⁰ In *Lata'if-i Ashrafi* few more names as the disciples of Makhdum are enlisted as, Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani, Sayyid Sharaf al-Din Sami, Mawlana ‘Ata’Allah, and Sayyid ‘Ala’ al-Din Husayni, the compiler of *Jami‘ al-‘Ulum*.¹⁶¹

Makhdum-i Jahaniyan’s popularity and fame is evident as he is included in the spiritual genealogies of many sufis of South Asia. Some Chishti disciples of Makhdum include Shaykh Qiwan al-Din Lakhnawi (d. 1436) and Shaykh Yusuf Budh Irajī (d. 834/1430-1431), and his disciple Shaykh Sarang (d. 832/1428)¹⁶² and his disciple Shaykh Meena (d. 1465), buried in Lucknow.¹⁶³ Shaykh Qiwan al-Din Lakhnawi was one of the *khalifahs* of Shaykh Nasir al-Din Mahmud ‘Chiragh-i Delhi’ (d. 1356), after whose death, he became the disciple of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan in Suhrawardi tradition. After receiving *khirqah* from the latter, he settled in Lucknow. He was a popular sufi of Lucknow and he taught and trained many disciples.¹⁶⁴ Shaykh Yousuf (d. 834/1434) was from Iraj. His ancestors came from Khwarizm to India and settled in Iraj. First he joined the sufi circle of Khawja Ikhtiyar al-Din ‘Umar Irajī. Then he joined the spiritual circle of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan and Shaykh Raju Qattal and got *khirqah* and permission to enrol disciples from both. He was an eminent sufi poet and a prolific writer. He translated Imam Ghazzali’s book *Minhaj al-‘Abidin* into Persian. Muhammad Bihamad Khani,

¹⁶⁰ Saiyyid Burhan al-Din Qutb-i Alam, *Jami al-Turuq*. MS. (Hyderabad State Library. No.18034), not paginated.

¹⁶¹ Yamani, *Lataif-i Ashrafi*, 611.

¹⁶² Shaykh Sarang (d. 832 /1428) was a noble in the court of Sultan Firuz Tughluq. He had converted to Islam from Hinduism, and laid the foundation of famous city named Sarangpur in Bhopal. He got inclined towards Sufism and became a disciple of Shaykh Yousuf Irajī, who himself was a disciple of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan. Shaykh Sarang also received *khirqah* and *khilafat* from Shaykh Raju Qattal. For details see, Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 312. and Aslam, *Malfuzati Adab ki Tarikhi Ahammiyyat*, 277.

¹⁶³ Shaykh Muhammad popularly known as Shah Meena was a famous sufi of Lucknow. He got his early education from Shaykh Qiwan al-Din and then he became disciple of Shaykh Sarang. He spent many years in prayers and meditation in isolation. He is buried in Lucknow. For details see, Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 312-13, Aslam, *Malfuzati Adab ki Tarikhi Ahammiyyat*, 273-96, Carl W. Ernst, and Bruce B. Lawrence, *Sufi Martyrs of Love: Chishti Sufism in South Asia and Beyond* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 51-53.

¹⁶⁴ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 311.

the writer of *Tarikh-i Muhammadi*, was his disciple.¹⁶⁵

Another important disciple of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan was Shaykh Akhi Rajgiri (d. 1398).¹⁶⁶ The former used to call him ‘Akhi’ meaning ‘my brother’, and he became famous as ‘Akhi’. He was a native of Daryabad in Awadh. Makhdum-i Jahaniyan granted him *khirqah* and *khilafat* in *Silsilah Suhrawardiyyah*, after which he settled in Qanauj.¹⁶⁷ During his stay at Qanauj, he was always surrounded by a crowd of devotees. He felt it inconvenient for his meditation and prayers. Therefore, he moved to Rajgir, a small village in medieval India, which was situated near the bank of River Ganges. He spent most of his time in prayers, meditations and preaching. Soon he became a famous sufi of that area. His fame and presence in this area contributed in the popularity of *Silsilah Suhrawardiyyah* in this region.

Shaykh Siraj Sokhta (d. 1402) was among the disciples of Saiyyid Makhdum-i Jahaniyan. He remained in the company of his *murshid* and led the daily five prayers for many years. He was a favourite disciple of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan and learnt so much that other disciples admired his position. After the demise of the Makhdum, he migrated to Kalpi and established a Suhrawardi *Khanqah* there. Shaykh Abd al-Haqq narrates an event in *Akhbar al-Akhyar* that Shah Madar¹⁶⁸ once cursed Sultan Qadir Shah, a grandson of Sultan Firuz Tughluq and the ruler of Kalpi, due to this curse, blisters appeared on the Sultan’s body. He came to Shaykh Siraj Sokhta and requested for his prayers. The Shaykh gave him his shirt, upon wearing this, all

¹⁶⁵ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 311. See also Mandavi, *Gulzar-i Abrar*, 141.

¹⁶⁶ Aslam, *Malfuzati Adab ki Tarikhi Ahammiyyat*, 262.

¹⁶⁷ When he was in Qanauj, a group of Hindu boys passed his house singing and dancing on the day of Hindu festival of Holi. He was so moved by the music that he fell into a state of ecstasy and followed the group around the streets for three days and nights. The orthodox religious authorities persuaded Khawaja-i Jahan (the Prime Minister) to discipline and punish Akhi Rajgiri. The Shaykh bluntly replied that he did not mind courting death, and for Divine love he had made death a cherished goal. See: Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. I, 284-85.

¹⁶⁸ Shah Madar was a contemporary of Shaykh Siraj Sokhta. He came to Kalpi and soon became famous as a great sufi in that area. He attracted large numbers of people who became his followers. According to Abd al-Haqq, some un-Islamic practices were also attributed to him. He moved from Kalpi to Jaunpur and from there he moved and settled in Qanauj. For details see, Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 327.

blisters disappeared from the Sultan's body.¹⁶⁹ Kalpi became one of the Suhrawardi centres due to the efforts and services of Shaykh Siraj Sokhta.

Another notable disciple of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan was Saiyyid Sikandar (d. 825/1422), who belonged to Tirmiz. He came to India and spent his time in the service of the Makhdum, who trained him and also granted *khirqah* and *khilafat*. Saiyyid Sikandar received special attention from Makhdum-i Jahaniyan because he belonged to a Saiyyid family.¹⁷⁰ On the instructions of his *murshid*, he migrated to Manglor in Kathiawar (Gujarat) and established a *khanqah* there. He spread the teachings of Islam and Suhrawardi Sufism in this region. He contributed to the fame of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in Gujarat and was titled 'Makhdum-i Jahaniyan Thani' (the Second Makhdum-i Jahaniyan).¹⁷¹

Shaykh Sama al-Din (d. 901/1496) was a disciple of Shaykh Kabir al-Din Ismail, who was a disciple of both Makhdum-i Jahaniyan and Saiyyid Raju Qattal.¹⁷² He was a Kamboh by caste. He migrated from Uch to Delhi in the reign of Sultan Bahlul Lodhi (r. 1451-1489). The Lodhi Sultans used to pay a profound respect to Shaykh Sama al-Din. The Shaykh was very fair in his dealings and spent very simple life. He was a man of knowledge and wrote a commentary on Shaykh Fakhr al-Din's famous book *Kitab al-Ma'at*. He also compiled a treatise named *Risalah Miftah al-Asrar* (Key to the Divine Secrets).¹⁷³ His piety made him a leading sufi of his time. One of his famous disciples was Shaykh Hamid ibn Fadl-Allah Jamali (d. 942/1535), the author of famous hagiographical work, *Siyar al-Arifin*.¹⁷⁴ He was a sufi and a great poet. He was

¹⁶⁹ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 327.

¹⁷⁰ Shihab, *Khitta-i Pak Uch*, 283-84.

¹⁷¹ Shihab, *Khitta-i Pak Uch*, 284.

¹⁷² Jamali, *Siyar al-Arifin*, 255.

¹⁷³ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 420-23.

¹⁷⁴ *Siyar al-Arifin* was completed between 1530 and 1536. It contains biographies of thirteen Indian sufis, beginning with Muin al-Din Chishti and ending with Jamali's *murshid*, Sama al-Din. The work is very valuable as it is first detailed hagiographical account of Suhrawardi sufis of India. It is also valuable as it contains first-hand information

orphaned at an early age, but he struggle hard to make his place in the history. By his constant devotion to the pursuit of learning, he gradually rose to distinction. He composed a book of poetry and his *mathnawi* titled *Mihr wa Mah* was very famous. He was very fond of travelling and visited Makkah and Medina. His extensive journey enabled him to meet well-known sufis and scholars. He also met Mawlana Abd al-Rahman Jami (d. 1492),¹⁷⁵ a famous sufi poet¹⁷⁶ and Jalal al-Din Muhammad Dawwani (d. 1502).¹⁷⁷ Jamali had good relations with Sultan Sikandar Lodhi (r. 1489-1517) and served in his court. After the death of Sultan Sikandar Lodhi in 1517, Shaykh Jamali couldn't maintain his position at the royal court.¹⁷⁸ He also enjoyed very good relations with Mughal Emperors Zahir al-Din Babur (r. 1526-30) and Nasir al-Din Humayun (r. 1530-40 and 1555-56). Both respected Jamali for his piety.¹⁷⁹ Due to the efforts of Shaykh Sama al-Din and his notable successors like Jamali, *Silsilah* Suhrawardiyah was popularized in Delhi and its environs.

To sum up, one of the major factors behind Makhdum-i Jahaniyan's popularity was his multiple initiations in various sufi *silsilahs*. He enrolled disciples in Suhrawardiyah as well as in Chishtiyyah *Sisilahs*, and trained them according to their inclination.¹⁸⁰ He also enrolled thousands of people in his discipleship in contrast with the early Suhrawardi sufis who enrolled

about the developments of Lodhi period. However, it is not entirely free from defects and discrepancies. It contains legends and certain traditions of early sufis, which are incorporated uncritically.

¹⁷⁵ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 456. Mawlana Abd al-Rahman Jami was born in Herat in Afghanistan. He was a sufi, scholar and a famous Persian poet. He was also well versed in the fields of logic, theology, grammar and Islamic Jurisprudence. His poetic fame was wide spread and near about one hundred books are attributed to him.

¹⁷⁶ Jamali's first meeting with Jami in Herat was very interesting. He was dressed in mendicant's clothes and went to the place where the Jami was delivering his lecture. He sat beside him. Jami identified the strange visitor, when during the course of their conversation, Jamali read one of his own verses. Soon they became intimate friends and exchanged views on various literary topics. For details see: Hameed-ud-Din. "Indian Culture in the Late Sultanate Period: A Short Study", *East and West* vol. 12, no. 1 (March 1961): 27.

¹⁷⁷ Jalal al-Din Muhammad Dawwani is considered one of the foremost Persian Muslim political thinker. He wrote a treatise on ethics called, *Akhlaq-i-Jalali*. For details see E.I.J. Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 210-23

¹⁷⁸ Siddiqui, "Resurgence of the Suhrawardi *Silsilah*", 58.

¹⁷⁹ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 456-57.

¹⁸⁰ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 646-47, 658.

only selected ones. Many of his disciples achieved the status of eminent sufis and scholars and contributed in the Makhdum's fame. He also filled the gap of a strong personality in Suhrawardi *Silsilah* after the demise of Shaykh Rukn-i Alam. Due to his personal stature, Uch emerged strongly on the Indian scene as the major centre of sufi traditions. He died in 785/1384 at the age of seventy-eight and was buried in Uch.

2.2.8 Descendants of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan at Uch and Dissemination of Suhrawardi *Silsilah*

After the demise of Saiyyid Makhdum-i-Jahaniyan, his younger brother Saiyyid Sadr al-Din (d. 827/1424) popularly known as Raju Qattal or Rajan Qattal,¹⁸¹ succeeded him as his principal *khalifah*.¹⁸² His father, Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir initiated him in Suhrawardi *Silsilah* and later he received initiation and training from Makhdum-i Jahaniyan. He was also a sufi of well-known repute, who contributed to the development of *Silsilah* Suhrawardiyah. There are no *malfuzat* or writings of Raju Qattal, and the information about him is largely based on *malfuzat* of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan and later *tadhkirahs*. In the long absence of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan from India during the reign of Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq, he administered the Suhrawardi *Khanqah* at Uch. He was a sufi of different temperament than his elder brother and spiritual mentor, Makhdum-i Jahaniyan. He had ecstatic tendencies, probably inherited from his father, Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir. When Makhdum-i Jahaniyan came back to Uch from his travels abroad, he and Saiyyid Raju jointly ran the Suhrawardi *Khanqah* at Uch. Some studies suggest that probably Saiyyid Raju Qatal administrated a separate Suhrawardi *Khanqah* at Uch.¹⁸³ However,

¹⁸¹ There are different opinions about the title Qattal. Ayub Qadiri notes in his work on Makhdum-i Jahaniyan that some believe that Katal is word of Syriac language, which means *buzarg* (a pious man or a sufi). However, in other *tadhkirahs* it is written as Qattal meaning the one who eliminates/kills. Qadiri, *Hazrat Makhdum Jahaniyan Jahangasht*, 184.

¹⁸² Jamali, *Siyar al-Arifin*, 230.

¹⁸³ Khan, *Constructing Islam on the Indus*, 109.

this assumption is based largely on the fact that he is buried in a separate larger shrine complex, which might be the place where the separate *khanqah* was probably situated. However, these shrines were later constructed and only have distance of few hundred meters in between.¹⁸⁴ Makhdum-i Jahaniyan was not only the brother of Saiyyid Raju Qattal but also his spiritual mentor. Saiyyid Raju mostly remained in his company during his stay at Uch. The Makhdum also nominated him as his principal *khalifa* and successor of Uch branch of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* instead of his own son, Saiyyid Nasir al-Din. After the demise of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan in the year 1384, he assumed the full charge of Suhrawardi *Khanqah* at Uch. Saiyyid Raju Qattal also initiated and trained many disciples in Suhrawardi *Silsilah* who achieved fame and popularity all over India.

An incident involving Saiyyid Raju Qattal and a Hindu official of Uch reported in *Siyar al-Arifin* portrays the personality of the former as very rigid and narrow-minded in matters of *shariah*. A Hindu official named Nawahan came to inquire about the health of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, during his illness in last days of his life. He praised the Makhdum out of respect that his status is among the saints of Allah is such as the status of Muhammad (PBUH) among prophets. On hearing this, Saiyyid Raju pointed out that he had testified the finality of Prophethood of Muhammad (PBUH) and thus he was a Muslim now. The Hindu official refused to accept this argument and fled to Delhi to plead his case before Firuz Shah. In the meantime, Makhdum-i Jahaniyan died and after his burial, Saiyyid Raju followed Nawahan to Delhi. Firuz Shah wanted to settle the issue amicably and got the opinion of *ulama* on it. However, Saiyyid

¹⁸⁴ Adjacent to the Shrine of Makhdum Jahaniyan is a mosque named as *Masjid-i Hajat*. There are different folklores that this mosque was constructed by Muhammad ibn Qasim and he named it after Hijaj ibn Yousaf. Some are of the view that because Hajis (the Muslims going for pilgrimage to Makkah) used to reside here and it was named after them. Baba Farid al-Din Ganj-i Shakar is believed to have performed *Chilla Makaus* in a well adjacent to the mosque. See: Saiyyid Sharif Ahmad Sharafat Naushahi, *Safarnama-i Uch* [A Travelogue of Uch] (Bahawalpur: Urdu Academy, 1999), 156. See also Kaptan Wahid Bakhsh Siyal, *Maqam-i Ganj Shakar* 3rd ed. (Lahore: Sufi Foundation, 1983), 132-33.

Raju Qattal remained firm on his point that either he must endorse his acceptance of Islam and set free, or be killed on the charges of heresy. Finally, Nawahan was killed on the charges of heresy and Saiyyid Raju Qattal came back to Uch after reportedly a successful pursuit.¹⁸⁵ It was probably his first and last visit to the royal court of Delhi. However, the above-mentioned incident reported in sixteenth century text is subject to critical analysis. It raises the question that either it was a unanimous or general approach of Suhrawardi branch of Uch or was it merely a single episode of its kind. This very incident might also be a construction and part of project to portray the sufis as saviour of Islam. Because not a single incident of such kind is found in the *malfuzat* of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan or in any contemporary source about the policy of forceful conversion of non-Muslims at the hands of Suhrawardi sufis of Uch. Therefore, if this particular incident ever happened, it must be treated in the light of circumstantial evidence and, not as a generalize policy of Raju Qattal or Suhrawardi sufis of Uch as portrayed in some later sources.

After the death of Saiyyid Raju Qattal, the grandson of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan headed the Uch branch of *Silsilah* Suhrawardiyah. In fact, Saiyyid Nasir al-Din Mahmud (d. 800/1397–1398), the son of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan had died very early. Saiyyid Sadr al-Din, instead of nominating his son as the head of Suhrawardi *Khanqah* of Uch, nominated Saiyyid Fazl al-Din, the son of Saiyyid Nasir al-Din as his successor.¹⁸⁶ Saiyyid Nasir al-Din was an eminent scholar, also known for his kindness and piety. Saiyyid Nasir al-Din Mahmud had many children and one of his sons, Burhan al-Din ‘Abd-Allah Qutb-i Alam (d. 1454), and grandson Siraj al-Din Muhammad Shah-i Alam (d. 1476), achieved stature of great sufi shaykhs like Makhdum-i Jahaniyan. Saiyyid Qutb-i Alam was born in Uch and migrated to Gujarat in the reign of Sultan

¹⁸⁵ Jamali, *Siyar al- Arifin*, 231-33.

¹⁸⁶ In Uch, parallel to the main line of *sajjada-nashisn* another line of *sajjadas* started from Saiyyid Fazl al-Din. The descendants of Saiyyid Fazl al-Din are called *dewan*. Saiyyid Fazl al-Din was awarded *khirqah* and *khilafat* from Saiyyid Sadr al-Din Raju Qattal. The descendants of Saiyyid Fazl al-Din are considered more *shari‘ah* oriented and engaged in learning activities. Hafeez, *Tarikh-i Uch*, 119.

Ahmad Shah I (r. 1411-42) of Muzaffarid dynasty. Although some sufi Shaykhs had settled in Gujarat prior its annexation by Sultan Ala al-Din Khalji (r. 1296-1316), it was under the influence of Suhrawardi sufi, Saiyyid Qutb-i Alam, who made Sufism popular in this region.¹⁸⁷ Saiyyid Qutb-i Alam established a *khanqah*, six miles from Ahmadabad. Sultan Ahmed Shah became his devotee. The Sultan was the grandson of Muzaffar Shah (r. 792-6/1390-4), the governor in Gujarat under the Tughluqs. Muzaffar Shah's ascendancy to power was believed to be the result of the prayers and blessings of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan.¹⁸⁸ Sultan Ahmad Shah composed a *qasidah* (an ode) in praise of Saiyyid Qutb-i Alam showing respect and veneration towards him.

Saiyyid Qutb-i Alam was not only venerated by the sultans of Gujarat, he also became popular among the people of Gujarat because of his piety and miraculous powers attributed to him.¹⁸⁹ Saiyyid Qutb-i Alam's son, Saiyyid Muhammad, popularly known as Shah-i Alam (The Emperor of the World) and Shah Manjhan also contributed in the fame of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in Gujarat.¹⁹⁰ Saiyyid Shah-i Alam spent most of his time in prayers and meditations. The Sultans of Gujarat respected him as they used to respect his father.

In Uch after the demise of Saiyyid Makhdum-i Jahaniyan and Raju Qattal, the Suhrawardi *Silsilah* survived its position for some time under leadership of the grandson of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, named Saiyyid Hamid Kabir.¹⁹¹ He received his training on spiritual path from his grandfather, Makhdum-i Jahaniyan. Saiyyid Hamid Kabir was a learned person and a

¹⁸⁷ Moinul Haq, "The Suhrawardis", 99.

¹⁸⁸ Mutala, *Mashaikh-i Ahmadabad*, 102.

¹⁸⁹ In *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, Shaykh Abd al-Haqq recounts one of his miracles. According to him, one day while bathing in a pond something hurt Qutb-i Alam's feet. People took out that thing and brought it to him. He remarked that he did not know whether the object was iron, wood or stone. Miraculously after his remarks, the object combined the qualities of these three elements. Nobody could distinguish, as it seemed like iron, stone and wood at the same time. See: Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 322.

¹⁹⁰ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 322.

¹⁹¹ Mirza, *Tadhkirah*, 187-88.

scholar of the Quran and *hadith*.¹⁹² He succeeded his brother Saiyyid Fazl al-Din, as the head of Suhrawardi *Khanqah* in Uch. Saiyyid Hamid Kabir had two sons Rukn al-Din and Baha al-Din. He was succeeded by Saiyyid Rukn al-Din as a principal *khalifa* and successor of Suhrawardi *Khanqah* at Uch. All the later *sajjada-nashins* of Uch *khanqah* trace their lineage from him.

In Uch, Bibi Jawindi, the great granddaughter of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, was also known for her piety.¹⁹³ She lived in the second half of the fifteenth century however, very little is found about her in the contemporary sources. Her tomb in Uch is considered one of the most beautiful and early pieces of Central Asian style of architecture in India. The material history surrounding the shrine of Bibi Jawindi highlights that the piety of women and their place in the spiritual environment of Uch. However, unfortunately the erasure of women from spiritual history of Uch is visible in contemporary sources where we find no mention of their place as well as participation in the sufi tradition.

Another important figure belonged to the family of Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari was Shaykh Abd al-Wahab. He attained initial spiritual knowledge from Mawlawi Sadr al-Din Bukhari. Shaykh Abd al-Haqq narrated an event in *Akhbar al-Akhyar* that once he was sitting with his *murshid*, when the latter said:

There are two great blessings present in this world and people are not aware of their value. First blessing is the presence of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) as a living person in Medina, and people are deprived of visiting and getting this blessing. The second is the Holy Quran, a book of Allah through which He addresses His people and the people are not getting this blessing by not reading the Quran.¹⁹⁴

Hearing this, Shaykh Abd al-Wahab got permission from his *murshid* and urgently proceeded to Medina. From Medina he came back to Multan and then moved to Delhi. Sultan Sikandar Lodhi

¹⁹² Al-Luknawi, *Al-I'lam bi man fi Tarikh al-Hind min al-A'lam*, 243-44.

¹⁹³ It seems more probable that her real name was Bibi Jind wadi (having long life). This name is common in women of this region and connotes a prayer for a long life of the child.

¹⁹⁴ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 429-30.

was a great admirer of Shaykh Abd al-Wahhab and respected him for his piety.¹⁹⁵ Shaykh Abd al-Wahhab was a learned man and he wrote a commentary on the Quran. He died in Delhi and his tomb is situated near the tomb of Shah Abd-Allah Qureshi in Delhi.¹⁹⁶

The younger brother and *khalifah* of Shaykh Abd al-Wahhab was Saiyyid Jamal al-Din (d. 908/1502), who was also a sufi of great stature.¹⁹⁷ The Suhrawardi sufis left a lasting impact in Kashmir and brought thousands of Kashmiri inhabitants into the fold of Islam. During the reign of Sultan Zayn al-Abidin (r. 1420-70), Saiyyid Muhammad Isfahani, a disciple of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, and Saiyyid Ahmed of Kirman came to Kashmir.¹⁹⁸ However, the Suhrawardi sufi who made a considerable impact on the sufi circles of Kashmir was Saiyyid Jamal al-Din. Although his stay there was short, he made tremendous contribution in the development of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* before coming back to Delhi. He initiated Shaykh Hamza (d. 984/1576), one of the most talented Kashmiri sufis, as his disciple. Shaykh Hamza popularly known as Mahbub-i Alam (Beloved of the world) in Kashmir was an eminent sufi and contributed a lot in the development of Sufism in Kashmir.

Another important sufi who belonged to Uch was Saiyyid Muhammad Ismail Bukhari. He was the son and disciple of Saiyyid Hamid Kabir of Uch. After completion of his training, he moved from Uch to Chiniot near Jhang, where he established a Suhrawardi *Khanqah*.¹⁹⁹ It is believed that he converted a Hindu Raja of Chiniot to Islam. However, no further details are found about the name or the reason of conversion of this Hindu ruler of Chiniot. The Sial family and its sub-castes in and around Chiniot embraced Islam at the hands of Shaykh Muhammad

¹⁹⁵ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 430.

¹⁹⁶ Mandavi, *Gulzar-i Abrar*, 230.

¹⁹⁷ Shihab, *Khitta-i Pak Uch*, 320.

¹⁹⁸ Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. I, 289-90.

¹⁹⁹ Siddique Sadiq, *Jhang: The Land of Two Rivers* vol. I (Lahore: Ahmed Sajjad Art Press, 2002), 648. See also Anjum Sultan Shahbaz, *Awliya-i Punjab: Nur al-Anwar fi dhikr al-Akhyar wal Abrar* [Sufis of Punjab] 2nd ed. (Lahore: Virgo Publishers, 2011), 85.

Ismail.²⁰⁰ His tomb is situated in Chiniot and is a masterpiece of Indo-Muslim architecture. His grandson Saiyyid Zayn al-Abidin established a *khanqah* in Pir Mahal near Faisalabad which became a famous centre of Sufism in that region.

Another member of Bukhari family of Uch who settled in Jhang was Saiyyid Mahbub-i Alam, popularly known as Shah Jiwna, (d. 1563). He was a grandson of Saiyyid Hamid Kabir. Saiyyid Mahbub-i Alam received his early education from the scholars of Uch. He got his spiritual training from his father, and after completion of his training he travelled to various parts of India and finally settled in a village near Jhang. He was very strict in the observance of *shari'ah*. Due to his prayers, very serious patients were cured and he was given the title of 'Shah Jiwan' (one who gives life).²⁰¹ Now he is popularly known as Shah Jiwna.

Another famous descendant and grandson of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan was Saiyyid 'Ilm al-Din Bukhari. He was son of Saiyyid Nasir al-Din. He was an eminent sufi and his successors established *khanqahs* at various places in India. His son was Saiyyid Jamal al-Din whose grandson, Saiyyid Abu Bakr, is considered to be the founder of a Suhrawardi *Khanqah* in Jalalpur Pirwala. Among Saiyyid Ilm al-Din's grandchildren, the most famous is Miran Muhammad Shah (d. 1604), popularly known Mauj Dariya Bukhari. One of Mauj Dariya's disciples established a new sufi *Silsilah* called Razzaq Shahiyyah.²⁰² One of Saiyyid Ilm al-Din's grandchildren, Saiyyid Abd al-Wahhab established a *khanqah* near Layyah and a town where he is buried is known as Daira Din Panah.

To sum up, the establishment of a branch of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in Uch by Shaykh Jalal al-Din Surkh Bakhari was an important episode in the sacred geography and history of the city of

²⁰⁰ Shihab, *Khitta-i Pak Uch*, 291. Although in most of the *tadhkirahs* the conversation of Siyal tribe to Islam is attributed to the Chishti sufi, Baba Farid al-Din Ganj-i Shakar.

²⁰¹ Muhammad Din Kaleem, *Lahore ke Awliya-i Suhraward* [Suhrawardi Sufis of Lahore] 2nd ed. (Lahore: Maktabah Nabwiyyah, 1997), 82. See also Shahbaz, *Awliya-i Punjab*, 85-86.

²⁰² Shihab, *Khitta-i Pak Uch*, 292.

Uch. His grandson Makhdum-i Jahaniyan's personal stature further added in the fame of Uch. Under his stewardship, the city of Uch became one of the important seats of sufi tradition in South Asia. Uch also served as a major spiritual centre for the descendants and disciples of Suhrawardi sufis of Uch, who were settled in different parts of India and were connected with Uch. However, after the demise Makhdum-i Jahaniyan no one among his successors at Uch received fame like the Makhdum. So gradually, Suhrawardi *Silsilah* declined at Uch, although its offshoot in Gujarat enjoyed considerable influence under Qutb-i Alam and Shah-i Alam during the fifteenth century. Nizami is of the view that the "Suhrawardi *Silsilah* was almost a defunct institution during the Mughal period. Now and then a saint of some note appeared, but the *silsilah* as a whole had nothing to contribute."²⁰³ Uch, however, later emerged as a centre of Qadiri *Silsilah* during second half of the fifteenth century.

2.3 Suhrawardi Sufis and their Relationship with Ismailis and Twelver Shi'ism

As Sufism and Shi'ism were both the result of early religious developments in Islam, they mutually borrowed certain traits and influenced each other in terms of traditions and practices.²⁰⁴ The traditional Shi'a concept of *'irfan* or gnosis, and *tasawwuff* (esoteric dimension) are in principle very much similar to each other. As in sufi traditions, sufis are believed to be in contact with the *qutb* (pole) of their age, in Shi'ism, they are believed to be spiritually connected with the Imam. It is argued that "the idea of the Imam as the pole of the Universe and that of the *qutb* in Sufism are nearly identical."²⁰⁵

Historically, majority of the sufis and sufi *silsilah* are Sunni and most of them believe 'Ali ibn Talib as the final spiritual link between them and the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) with

²⁰³ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, "The Suhrawardi *Silsilah* and Its Influence on Medieval Indian Politics", *Medieval India Quarterly* (Aligarh) vol. 3 (July-Oct 1957): 113.

²⁰⁴ John Norman Hollister, *The Shi'a of India* (London: Luzac & Company Ltd, 1953), 27.

²⁰⁵ Seyyed Hossein Nasr, "Shi'ism and Sufism: Their Relationship in Essence and in History", *Religious Studies* vol. 6, no. 3 (Sep 1970): 235.

the exception of Naqshbandiyyah, which traces its origin from the first caliph, Abu Bakr Siddiq.²⁰⁶ These include the major sufi *silsilahs* like Chishtiyyah, Suhrawardiyyah and Qadriyyah in India. It is also believed in sufi circles that love with *Ahl-i bait* (the family of the Prophet PBUH) is essential for the progress on spiritual path. Some sufi *silsilahs* boast their allegiance as well as descent from Hazrat Ali. Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani (d. 1166), the founder of Qadiri *Silsilah*, is referred to as al-Hasani al-Husayni due to his maternal decent from Imam Husayn and paternal from Imam Hassan, the two sons of the first Imam, Hazrat Ali. It is also argued that “in a shared cultural atmosphere of the subcontinent, popular Shi‘ism much like Sufism acted as an intermediary between the general population and the Muslim elite.”²⁰⁷ However, certain Shi‘i scholars put forward strong arguments against the sufis. According to them “*Tawalla* (seeking association with the *Ahl-i Bait*) ought to be demonstrated with *Tabarrah* (literal meaning ‘distancing’ thereby, distancing from the first three Caliphs of the Rashidun, a period held to be usurpers). Since sufis resorted only to *Tawalla* for seeking the *Tawassul* (Intercession) from *Ahl-i Bait*, their faith remains incomplete.”²⁰⁸ So they exclude sufis from their sect and believe that the latter’s faith is incomplete.

Hollister is of the opinion that basic difference between Sufism and Shi‘ism is the method of attainment of spiritual perfection. In Sufism, spiritual perfection is attained through achieving oneness with God, and Shi‘ism asserts that this can be achieved only through the Imam of the Age. Here the sufis disagree with them.²⁰⁹ Ismaili *pirs* tried to bridge the gap by adopting certain methods of the sufis in South Asia. Jalali *faqirs*, who trace their lineage from Suhrawardi

²⁰⁶ Itzhak Weismann, *The Naqshbandiyya: Orthodoxy and Activism in a Worldwide Sufi Tradition* (London: Routledge, 2007), 11, 24

²⁰⁷ Malik, *Islam in South Asia*. 113.

²⁰⁸ Saiyid Zaheer Husain Jafri, “Sufism and the Present Issues and Paradigms” in Saiyid Zaheer Hussain Jafri and Helmut Reifeld eds. *The Islamic Path: Sufism, Society and Politics in India* (New Delhi: Rainbow Publishers, 2006), 21.

²⁰⁹ Hollister, *The Shi‘a of India*, 27-28.

Silsilah, found in the Punjab and Sindh carry certain traits and traditions of Shi‘ism. They used to wear a cap made of twelve pieces of cloth, which serves an analogy to the twelve Imams of Shi‘ism.²¹⁰

The earliest doctrinal differences in Shi‘ism resulted into split in Twelver Shias and Ismailis.²¹¹ It is believed that the Nizaris Ismailis were tilted more towards esoteric traditions of Islam, which are generally associated with Sufism. Daftary is of the opinion that “these teachings and traditions allowed the Nizaris to adopt the guise of Sufism among other forms of *taqiyya* in the turbulent centuries following the collapse of the Nizari state.”²¹² He is also of the opinion that although these Persian Nizaris concealed themselves under the guise of Sufism, they did not join any sufi *silsilahs* which had started to develop in an organized form at that time. The Nizaris of different regions also adopted these practices including the Nizari Ismailis of South Asia. The mutual relations between sufi and Ismaili traditions in South Asia mainly developed in Sindh where *satpanth* already had deep roots. All these religious traditions borrowed certain customs and terminologies from each other. The Ismailis adopted the sufi terminology of *murshid* and *murid*, used for master-disciple. The similarities are also found in poetic and mystical expressions of the *ginan* literature and in sufi poetry.²¹³

Hasan Ali Khan in his recent work *Constructing Islam on the Indus: The Material History of Suhrawardi Sufi Order, 1200-1500 AD* argues that “there were strong metaphysical connections, and religious and theological empathy, between Ismailism and certain sufi orders,

²¹⁰ Hollister, *The Shi‘a of India*, 186-87.

²¹¹ During eighth century Shi‘is divided into Twelver Shias and Ismailis on the question of Imamate after the demise of sixth Imam Jafar al-Sadiq in 765. Twelver believed in the imamate of Musa al-Kazim (d. 799), and Ismailis on the Imamate of Ismail ibn Jafar al-Sadiq (d. 762) (who died in the life time of his father), and his descendants. The Ismailis were further divided into Nizari Ismailis and the Mustali after the issue of succession between Nizar and Al-Mustasil, the two sons of eighth Fatimid Caliph Al-Mustansir Billah (r. 1036-94). For detail see, Daftary, *The Ismailis*, 241-42.

²¹² Daftary, *The Ismailis*, 382.

²¹³ Daftary, *The Ismailis*, 412, 445.

especially the Suhrawardi Order. This connection evolved secretly over time to reach a zenith in the case of the middle Indus region.”²¹⁴ With the establishment of Delhi Sultanate, Sunni religiosity dominated political as well religious scene of India. In court chronicles of medieval India, Ismailis generally have been portrayed as heretics. They have been criticized on the grounds that, they allowed native Indians to retain their pre-Islamic cultural and religious traditions even after embracing Islam.²¹⁵

Finbarr B. Flood is of the opinion that Multan and Sindh were the regions where different religious streaks co-existed during medieval time which include the followers of Sunni tradition, Sun worshippers and the Ismailis. That is the reason that these areas accommodated heterodox Muslims.²¹⁶ Therefore, in these local settings Suhrawardi *Silsilah* developed its own dynamics and thrived. It was the time when the *Silsilah* was experiencing decline in Iraq due to Mongol invasions. It is argued that Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in Multan adopted more open and accommodative approach due to the multi-religious environment of the region than its Iraq branch.²¹⁷ However, the study of life and teachings of Suhrawardi sufis in Multan and Uch shows that their approach was more *shari‘ah*-oriented than their contemporary Chishiti sufis. Qazi Javed is also of the opinion that the approach of Suhrawardi sufis was more *shari‘ah* oriented as compared to other contemporary sufi *silsilahs*. He opines that Shaykh Baha al-Din, emphasis on *shari‘ah* was in reaction to the Ismaili influence. When Shaykh Baha al-Din made Multan a centre of his activities, the impacts of Ismaili ideology were still there and in this milieu, he thought it necessary to adopt the *shari‘ah*-oriented approach. The inclusive and accommodative approach was politically and religiously not suitable for the region, where Ismaili syncretic ideology was

²¹⁴ Khan, *Constructing Islam on the Indus*, 3.

²¹⁵ Khan, *Constructing Islam on the Indus*, 6.

²¹⁶ Finbarr B. Flood, *Objects of Translation: Medieval Culture and “Hindu-Muslim” Encounter* (Delhi: Permanent Black: 2009), 19.

²¹⁷ Khan, *Constructing Islam on the Indus*, 30.

still prevalent. He trained his students and disciples as missionaries to preach the orthodox Islam in the region and beyond.²¹⁸

Khan argues that the timings of the development of sufi *silsilahs* and the post-Buwayhid Shi'ism, especially Nizari Ismailism in the Islamic world is same. It was the period when these Shias were avoiding persecutions by the Seljuqs. He is of the opinion that some of these Shias must have adopted sufi guise for survival.²¹⁹ Daftary is of the opinion that the Ismailis of Sindh and Multan adjusted themselves as a mystical community in the predominantly Sunni Muslim and Hindu communities, which had their own mystical traditions. Their adjustment in religious, cultural and social structure of Sindh helped them escape persecution by the region's Sunni rulers. Therefore, the situation in India was different from Persia and here Ismailis concealed themselves by adopting the Hindu elements into *satpanth* tradition and avoided persecution under Sunni rule. Therefore, they had no need to hide in sufi guise for *taqiyya* purposes.²²⁰ Sarah Ansari is also of the opinion that adoption of Hindu ideas and traditions by Ismailis in Sindh was a conscious effort on their part to escape merger into the quickly flourishing sufi ideology. The first sufis to challenge the Ismaili influence in Sindh were Suhrawardis. Ultimately, due to the efforts of the sufis, Ismailis lost ground in Sindh and moved eastwards.²²¹

Another argument is that early Suhrawardi sufis developed cordial relations with Ismaili leadership like Abu Hafs, the founder of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* with Hasan III, an Ismaili *da'i* in Iraq. Khan assumes that similar relationship must have developed between Ismaili Pir, Shams al-Din and Baha al-Din Zakariyya.²²² However, there is not a single evidence or clue in

²¹⁸ Qazi Javed, *Punjab kay Sufi Danishwar* [Sufi Intellectuals of Punjab] (Lahore: Sheikh Ghulam Ali and Sons, n.d.), 93.

²¹⁹ Khan, *Constructing Islam on the Indus*, 26.

²²⁰ Daftary, *The Ismailis*, 445.

²²¹ Sarah F.D. Ansari, *The Saints and State Power: The Pirs of Sind, 1843-1947* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 17-19.

²²² Khan, *Constructing Islam on the Indus*, 35.

contemporary sources of medieval India that there was any kind of covert or overt relationship between Shams and Zakariyya. Khan also posits the thesis that the Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in Multan not only provided shield to people with heterodox beliefs including the Shias, but also developed strong relations with Nizari Ismailism.²²³ He draws this conclusion based on Zakariyya's relations with libertine sufi groups such as *qalandars*. However, the study of contemporary sources shows that Zakariyya's attitude towards *qalandars* and heterodox elements was of indifference and in some cases hostile.²²⁴ Ansar Zahid Khan is of the opinion that during the Mughal rule, Ismailis witnessed their final phase of decline. He opines that one of the major reasons of the downfall of Ismailis was due to the activities of Suhrawardi and Qadiri sufis in the region.²²⁵

In her comprehensive study *Knowledge before Action: Islamic Learning and Sufi Practice in the Life of Sayyid Jalal al-din Bukhari Makhdum-i Jahaniyan*, Amina M. Steinfels opines that the family's descent of Saiyyid Jalal and use of the name Husayn suggests that he was, in fact, Shi'a. While supporting her argument she suggests that in *Mazhar-i Jalali*, a collection of *malfuzat* of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, he has been referred to as *Haider-i Thani* (the second 'Ali) which appears to be a Shia title. She also submits that in contrast, his grandson Makhdum-i Jahaniyan taught and practiced Sunni Hanafi creed.²²⁶ It can be argued that both the use of name Husayn and the title *Haider-i Thani* were not strictly linked with Shia Islam as Sunni Muslims used both the name and title too. Saiyyid Jalal al-Din was the descendant of Imam Ali and is considered ancestor of Bukhari *Sadat* in South Asia and in this connection, the use of the title *Haider-i Thani* is not surprising. In addition, we do not find any explicit evidence

²²³ Khan, *Constructing Islam on the Indus*, 47.

²²⁴ Sijzi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, 198. See also Jamali, *Siyar al-Arifin*, 164-165, 168-169.

²²⁵ Ansar Zahid Khan, *History and Culture of Sind: A Study of Socio-Economic Organization and Institutions during the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1980), 276.

²²⁶ Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*, 16.

in the *malfuzat* of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan that Saiyyid Jalal was tilted towards Shia Islam or practiced it. On the contrary, on one occasion Makhdum-i Jahaniyan categorically stressed that he and his ancestors followed Hanafi *fiqh*.²²⁷ He also stressed that all the companion of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) are respectable and enmity towards any of these is not right.²²⁸

Hasan Ali Khan also claims that Saiyyid Jalal al-Din had a Twelver Shia background. He develops the argument on the basis that the pedigree of Saiyyid Jalal al-Din links him with the tenth Twelver Shia Imam ‘Ali ibn Muhammad Naqi (d. 868). He opines that unlike other Saiyyids in South Asia, majority of descendants of Imam Naqi are Shia. It is also in the case of descendants of Saiyyid Jalal and present *sajadah-nashin* in Uch who are also Shia.²²⁹ Saiyyid Jalal al-Din’s friendship with Shaykh Uthman Marwandi (d. 1274), and group of Jalali *faqirs*, who are considered as the follower of Shaykh Jalal having heterodox practices are also presented as an evidence of his Shia belief.²³⁰ However, all these above claims can be contested on certain grounds. As earlier mentioned, in *malfuzat* of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, the grandson of Saiyyid Jalal al-Din, it is categorically mentioned that he and his ancestors followed Hanafi *fiqh*. There is no evidence in contemporary court chronicles about the conflict between Delhi Sultans who were staunch Sunnis and Suhrawardis of Uch and Multan on their religious ideology. On the contrary Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya was appointed as a *Shaykh ul-Islam* by Sultan Shams al-Din Iletmish (r. 1211-35) and Makhdum-i Jahaniyan was given the charge of forty *khanqahs* in

²²⁷ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 377.

²²⁸ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 63-64.

²²⁹ Khan, *Constructing Islam on the Indus*, 99.

²³⁰ There is a difference of opinion regarding the origin of Jalali *faqirs* or *dervish*. The word Jalal is either derived from the name of Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari or his grandson Jalal al-Din Makhdum-i Jahaniyan. Jalali *faqirs* practiced *chahar zarb* (shaving the head, beard, moustache, and eyebrows). In spite of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan’s adherence to Sunni creed Jalali *faqirs* were fervent Shias. It seems more plausible that the Jalali *faqirs* were heterodox group of people who later got affiliated with shrines of Suhrawardi sufis of Uch. It was the period, however in which rejection of society through open social deviance had become an option in Indian society. For details see: Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *God’s Unruly Friends: Dervish Groups in the Islamic Later Middle Period, 1200-1550* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 123.

Siwistan by Muhammad ibn Tughluq (r. 1325-51). In a strong Sunni environment in the court of Delhi Sultans, covert or overt Shia creed of these Suhrawardi sufis could not have been gone unnoticed.

Another argument is put forward to prove that Makhdum-i Jahaniyan and his ancestors were tilted towards Shi'ism or had a covert Shia belief by some scholars. It is argued that Makhdum-i Jahaniyan's open adherence to Sunnism was probably to avoid state persecution at the time. Furthermore, most of the descendants of Saiyyid Jalal al-din and Makhdum-i Jahaniyan later adopted Shi'ism.²³¹ As discussed earlier in the case of Saiyyid Jalal al-Din later adoption of Shi'ism by the descendants of Saiyyid Jalal al-Din and Makhdum-i Jahaniyan does not qualify the point that they themselves were Shias. It is also argued the descendants of Makhdum at Uch have been tilted towards Shi'ism in last two centuries, and many offshoots of Bukharis of Uch still follow Sunni Islam. Makhdum-i Jahaniyan also received his education from Sunni scholars in India and abroad, and remained under the close supervision of Shaykh Rukn-i Alam, who was an orthodox Sunni.

Khan also questions the contents of the *mal'uzat* of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, as he suggests that these discourses were open to scrutiny of scholars, nobles and Sultan himself, so Makhdum avoided openly expressing his Shia leanings in his discourses.²³² Makhdum-i Jahaniyan's veneration of the Prophet (PBUH) and his close family members, which include Imam Ali, Saiyyida Fatima, Imam Hassan and Imam Husayn in it, is also presented as an evidence in this regard. As far as the argument of concealing Shia identity in *mal'uzat* as a conscious effort, it has a very weak standing. Makhdum-i Jahaniyan enjoyed very good relations with Sultan Firuz Tughluq (r. 1351-88) and his nobles, and was respected by them as a great sufi shaykh. It does

²³¹ Khan, *Constructing Islam on the Indus*, 106.

²³² Khan, *Constructing Islam on the Indus*, 108.

not seem possible to conceal identity for such a public figure like Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, having frequent interaction with the ruling class as well as with general public. He rather emphasized on his Hanafi creed in his *malfuzat*. It is narrated in *Jami al-'Ulum* that when Makhdum-i Jahaniyan was in Medina, he was asked about his *mazhab* (affiliation with a particular school of *fiqh*), to which he replied, "I follow the *mazhab* of Abu Hanifa, along with all my ancestors in Bukhara".²³³ Makhdum-i Jahaniyan asserted not only his own affiliation with Sunni Hanafi creed but also of his ancestors. The point of his veneration of the family of the Prophet (PBUH) as an evidence of his Shia leaning can be contested too. As Sunni and specially sufis also extend special respect to the family of Prophet (PBUH) including Imam Ali, Saiyyida Fatima, Hassan and Husayn, and it is not an exclusively Shia tradition.²³⁴ Ziya al-Din Barani, the fourteenth century historian, who is considered an orthodox Sunni and anti-Shia scholar, was a great admirer of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan and showed great respect and reverence considering him the best among the true believers of the time.²³⁵

While summing up different arguments on the relationship of the Suhrawardi sufis with Ismailis and Twelver Shias, it is argued that although they shared certain beliefs and practices, they had no covert relationship. As Chishti sufi operated in a Hindu dominant environment of the north India, they adopted certain practices like *sama'*, and their approach was more inclusive as part of their strategy to penetrate in that environment. However, the Suhrawardis operated in the region of Multan, Sindh and Uch, dominated by Ismaili ideology and thought; they also adopted same strategies to penetrate in Ismaili dominant religious environment. They started missionary

²³³ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 377.

²³⁴ As even a staunch Sunni like Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) notes: "There is no doubt that Muhammad's family (Al Muhammad) has a right on the Muslim society (*ummah*) that no other people share and that they are entitled to an added love and affection to which no other branches of Quraysh are entitled." quoted in: Teresa Bernheimer, *The Alids: The First Family of Islam, 750–1200* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 1.

²³⁵ Bhatti, *Khazana-i' Fawa'id-i Jalaliyya*, 196b-98b.

activities, venerated *Ahl-i Bayt* and in some cases tolerated syncretic traditions. Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya trained disciples and formed *jama'ats*, sent to various parts of India to preach like Ismaili *da'is*. The approach of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan was also *shari'ah* oriented. So the assumption that both collaborated is not correct; rather Suhrawardis adopted same strategies to counter them. The Suhrawardis also established *khanqahs* in those areas where Ismailis had stronghold like Multan, Uch, Sindh, Gujrat and countered their activities which is evident from declining in Ismaili and Shia influence in those regions. However, the emotional attachment and veneration towards the family of the Prophet (PBUH) preached in the masses by Ismailis, in a way facilitated the sufis to disseminate their message, as most of them were the descendants of the Prophet (PBUH).

To conclude, Uch emerged as a major sufi centre in India during the thirteenth century due to the establishment of a branch of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* by Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari at Uch. It remained a centre of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* during most part of the Sultanate period. There was a time when the Suhrawardi sufis of Uch were more prominent and popular than the Suhrawardis of Multan. With the passage of time, the significance of Uch as a vibrant sufi centre started declining. However, Uch again rose to prominence as a centre of Qadiri *Silsilah* during the second half of the fifteenth century. The Suhrawardi sufis of Uch also contributed a lot in the development and spread of the teachings of the *Silsilah* in other parts of India by establishing *khanqahs* in the length and breadth of India. They also countered the Ismaili influence in the region by popularizing the sufi traditions.

Chapter 3

Uch as a Centre of Qadiri Sufi *Silsilah*

The *Silsilah* Qadiriyyah is considered one of the early sufi *silsilahs*. It is named after one of the most venerated sufi shaykhs in the Islamic world, Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani (d. 1166), who made Baghdad a centre of his activities during the twelfth century. In Islamic South Asia, Chishti and Suhrawardi sufi *Silsilahs* were introduced during the thirteenth century and had made their mark; Qadiri *Silsilah*, however, could not get the hold on Indian scene before fifteenth century. Although few individual Qadiri sufis came and settled in India but could not contribute in the development of the *Silsilah* or establishing any strong centre for the activities of their *Silsilah*. The city of Uch, after becoming a centre of Suhrawardis under Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari during the thirteenth century, again rose to prominence as a sufi centre on Indian scene, when Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi (d. 1517), a sufi of Qadiri *Silsilah*, made it his headquarter during the second half of the fifteenth century. Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth and his descendants and disciples primarily contributed to the development of Qadiri *Silsilah* in India.

The present chapter studies the development of Uch as a centre of Qadiri *Silsilah*. It briefly explores the origin of Qadiri *Silsilah* and its introduction and dissemination in South Asia. The major focus of the chapter is, however, on the establishment of Uch as a centre of Qadiri *Silsilah* and the life and contribution of prominent Qadiri sufis of Uch, their disciples and descendants in the development of Qadiri *Silsilah* in South Asia.

3.1 The Foundation of Qadiri *Silsilah* and its Introduction in South Asia

The Qadiri *Silsilah* founded in twelfth century is considered to be one of the oldest and earliest sufi *silsilahs*. In India, however, it did not gain footings until the fifteenth century. The Qadiri *Silsilah* is named after the renowned sufi Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani (d. 1166), popularly known

as “Ghawth al-Azam” in Baghdad. He was also given the title of Muhiy al-Din (The reviver of the religion). Shaykh Abd al-Qadir was born in Jilan, a village in the province of Semnan in present day Iran. At the age of eighteen, he came to Baghdad where he completed his studies in *hadith*, *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) and literature. After completing his studies, he spent some twenty-five years in prayers and meditations in solitude in the deserts of Iraq.¹ When he was over fifty years old, he came into prominence as a popular preacher in Baghdad.² Many great sufis and scholars of the time benefited from his knowledge and spiritual excellence. He advocated very sober demeanour and won wide acclaim even in the non-sufi circles including Hanbalites.³ Sufi Masters such as Muhiy al-Din Ibn Arabi (d. 1240) considered him the spiritual pole (qutb) of the world of the time.

Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani was a prolific writer and his works are best examples of his profound scholarship. He is credited with harmonizing the spiritual traditions with the tenets of *shari‘ah* through his teachings and works.⁴ Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani trained many disciples including his sons, who carried on the work started by him. However, Qadiri *Silsilah* gradually grew and very slowly expanded to different parts of the Islamicate world as compared to other sufi *silsilahs*.⁵ Trimmingham is of the opinion that although Shaykh Abd al-Qadir was one of most venerated sufis however, Qadiri *Silsilah* never became popular or institutionalized before fifteenth century in any part of the Islamicate world. The sufis of Qadiri *Silsilah* operated in their

¹ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 21.

² Muhammad bin Yahya Tadini, *Qalaid al-Jawahir fi Manaqib-i Hazrat Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani*. Urdu Trans. Muhammad Abdul Sattar Qadiri (Lahore: Karman Wala Book Shop, 2009), 51-52.

³ The follower of Hanbali *fiqh* had more conservative approach towards the matters of *shari‘ah*. However, Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani himself followed Hanbali School of *fiqh*. It might be the reason that Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani made his followings among Hanbalites.

⁴ Major works of Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani include *Futuh al-ghaib* (The Revelations of Unseen), *Sirr al-asrar* (The Secret of Secrets), *Ghunyat al-Talibin* (Sufficient provision for Seekers of the Path) and *Al-Fath al-Rabbani* (The Sublime Revelation). *Al-Fath al-Rabbani* is a collection of sermons of Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani.

⁵ Fatima Zehra Bilgrami, *History of the Qadiri Order in India (16th-18th Century)* (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 2005), 9.

individual capacity.⁶ Marshall Hodgson is of the opinion that it seems that Shaykh Abd al-Qadir did not consciously establish any sufi *silsilah*. Although he had many disciples and bestowed them with *khirqahs*, he did not nominate his successor or principal *khalifa* to look after the organization of the *Silsilah* after him.⁷ It seems that there was no conscious effort on the part of Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani to found a new *silsilah*, however it later developed due to charisma attached with his personality. It might be the reason that Qadiri *Silsilah* was not organized on institutional level in the Islamicate world after the demise of the Shaykh until fifteenth century. It was his charismatic personality and popularity, which led to the institutionalization of the *Silsilah*.

Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani's reputation as a great sufi and miracle-worker spread in the length and breadth of the Islamicate world in his lifetime.⁸ In Indian sufi traditions too, he enjoyed central position from thirteenth century onward. Although Qadiri *Silsilah* was one of the late entrants in India, even before its introduction to India, the sufis of Chishti and Suhrawardi *Silsilahs* mentioned Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani in their *malfuzat* as one of the great sufis of his times. For instance, during the second half of the fourteenth century, Saiyyid Banda Nawaz Gesudiraz (d. 1422), a major Chishti sufi wrote a commentary on the conversations between God (based on *Ilham*) and 'Shaykh Abd al-Qadir titled *Jawahir al-'Ushshaq: Sharh-i risala-yi Ghawth al-A'zam*.⁹ In later hagiographies including *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, Shaykh Abd al-Qadir is addressed with different titles like, the inheritor of the Book (the Quran), the deputy of the Prophet (*khalifah*). He is remembered in popular memory and in Indian literature on Sufism as superior to all other sufis. He is the most venerated non-Indian sufi. His popularity in Islamicate

⁶ Trimmingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, 43.

⁷ Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*. Vol II, 216-17.

⁸ Geoffroy, *Introduction to Sufism*, 103.

⁹ Arthur Buehler, "The Indo-Pakistani Qadiriyya: An Overview", *Journal of the History of Sufism* vol. 1 (1999): 340.

South Asia also exceeds other regions of the Islamicate world. South Asian Muslims visit the shrine of Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani annually in large numbers. In the Islamicate South Asia, the death anniversary of Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani is also observed with great religious zeal every year on eleventh of Islamic month of Rabi-as Thani. On the eleventh night of every Hijri month, free milk is distributed, called as *giarwinh sharif* in his memory. It is argued that the important factors behind his popularity in Islamicate South Asia were supernatural legends attributed to him, which spread through travellers and migrants in India and contributed to his fame.¹⁰

There are different opinions about the introduction of Qadiriyyah *Silsilah* in India. Saiyyid Rukn al-Din, a native of Iraq, is believed to be the first Qadiri sufi who arrived in India and settled in Gulbarga in Deccan during the thirteenth century.¹¹ Another opinion is that Qadiri *Silsilah* was formally introduced in South Asia by Mir Nur-Allah ibn Shah Khalil-Allah, a grandson of Shah Nur al-Din Nimat-Allah (d. 834/1430-31) for the first time during the fifteenth century.¹² It is noted in *Tarikh-i Farishta* that Sultan Ahmad Shah (r. 1422-36) requested Shah Nimat-Allah of Kirman to send his son to Bahmani court of Deccan for blessings to the Bahmani rule. However, instead of sending his lone son, he sent his grandson Mir Nur-Allah to the Bahmani court.¹³ Mir Nur-Allah is considered the first major sufi of Qadiri *Silsilah* who settled in India. Ahmad Shah, the Bahmani Sultan received him with great respect and honour. Mir Nur-Allah established himself in Deccan and was well respected by Bahmani Sultans and nobles of the court. The Sultan gave him the privileged position of *Malik al-mashaikh*. However, in spite of royal patronage, Nimatullahis (as they are generally referred to) could not get following of the masses and fail to organize Qadiri *Silsilah* on strong footings. Nevertheless, they attracted the

¹⁰ Buehler, "The Indo-Pakistani Qadiriyya", 339.

¹¹ Buehler, "The Indo-Pakistani Qadiriyya", 345.

¹² Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. II, 55-56.

¹³ Muhammad Qasim Farishta, *Tarikh-i Farishta* (History of the Rise of Muhammadan Power in India till the Year AD 1612) vol. II Eng trans. John Briggs (Delhi: Low Price Publication, 1997.reprint; first pub. 1829), 259-60.

nobles and state officials who joined the circle of their discipleship.

Muhammad Ghawth (d. 1517), a descendant of Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani, who was born in Halb (Aleppo, a city in Syria) came and settled at Uch.¹⁴ It was the time when Lodhi Sultans were ruling Delhi. Uch had been the centre of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* from thirteenth century onward; however, after the demise Saiyyid Makhdum-i Jahaniyan (d. 1384) and his brother Saiyyid Raju Qattal, its significance as a sufi centre was decreased. Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth and his descendants not only established Qadiri *Silsilah* on strong footings in South Asia; they also rejuvenated Uch as a sufi centre on the Indian milieu. Due to the influence of Qadiri sufis of Uch, Qadiriyyah *Silsilah* spread in different parts of India, particularly in Punjab during the subsequent centuries.

During the fifteenth century when *Silsilah* Qadiriyyah was being established in South Asia, it was the time when the second phase of the expansion of sufi *silsilahs* started in India after the first phase spanning from the twelfth to thirteenth centuries. Jamal Malik is of the opinion that “in South Asia some new means of legitimacy were provided with the coming of orders such as the Qadiriyyah and the Central Asian Naqshbandiyya, both being quite urbane and elitist in their approach, and outwardly oriented.”¹⁵ As earlier mentioned, the Qadiri sufis established themselves in Deccan and Uch, and from there they spread to different parts of India and played an important role in rejuvenating the tradition of Sufism in the important period of Indian history.¹⁶ Fatima Zehra Bilgrami in her work on Qadiri sufis of India opines,

Qadiris were liberal in outlook, and tolerant in their approach towards the followers of other creeds. They disliked publicity and propaganda and made no pretensions of spiritual excellence by demonstrating spiritual powers in the

¹⁴ S. Moinul Haq, “Rise of the Naqshbandi and Qadiri *Silsilahs* in the Subcontinent (With Especial Reference to Their Efforts to Restore the Supremacy of Shari‘ah)”, *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* (Karachi) vol. XXV, part I (January 1977): 19-20.

¹⁵ Malik, *Islam in South Asia*, 122.

¹⁶ Bilgrami, *History of the Qadiri Order in India*, 368.

public.¹⁷

So their accommodative approach and tolerant attitude must have contributed in their success in religiously diverse society of India.

Fifteenth century was an important period in the history of Muslims in India as they were facing political, religious and cultural challenges. Politically, Delhi Sultanate was on the verge of decline. On the other hand, on religious front, reform movements like Bhakti were at their peak in this period. Punjab being a frontier province faced constant onslaughts from the northwest and received migrants who took refuge here. This area also housed different religious traditions even within the fold of Islam. As a result of internal tensions and external pressures, the society in this region got more complex and multi-layered.¹⁸ Bilgrami is of the opinion that “under such conditions, the society needed constant religious, social and cultural guidance, which was provided most ably by the protagonists of the Qadiri *Silsila*.”¹⁹

Another important factor which provided room for Qadiri *Silsilah* was that after the demise of great sufis shaykhs of Chishtiyyah as well as Suhrawardiyyah *Silsilahs*, these *silsilahs* were losing their popular base among the masses. There was a need of a strong personality who could rejuvenate the teachings of Sufism and counter the religious and cultural reform movements of the period, which were penetrating and attracting lower strata of the society into their fold, for instance Bhakti movement. At that critical juncture, Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth and his son Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani somehow filled the vacuum of a strong personality in sufi circles. Under their leadership, *Silsilah* Qadiriyyah flourished in north India, especially in Punjab and Sindh. During Mughal period, Uch was the centre from where the sufis of Qadiri

¹⁷ Bilgrami, *History of the Qadiri Order in India*, 12.

¹⁸ Fatima Zehra Bilgrami, “Crystallizing Punjabi Identity: A Note on the Role of the Qadiris and their Literature in Sufism and the Present Issues and Paradigms” in Jafri and Reifeld, eds. *The Islamic Path*, 132.

¹⁹ Bilgrami, “Crystallizing Punjabi Identity” in Jafri and Reifeld, eds. *The Islamic Path*, 132.

Silsilah established their *khanqahs* in various parts of India and played an important role in the state and society of that period.²⁰ The Qadiri sufis captured the sacred space of Uch and spiritual vacuum left behind after the death of Saiyyid Hamid Kabir, the grandson of Saiyyid Makhdum-i Jahaniyan and Saiyyid Hasan Kabir al-Din, an Ismaili *da'i*. After almost two centuries of domination of Suhrawardi sufis and Ismaili *pirs* at Uch, the field was now open for new entrants in the sacred space of Uch. Qadiri *Silsilah* filled that space at Uch and they not only reinforced sufi traditions in the region but also revived Uch as a sufi centre.

Jamal Malik cites the argument of Bruce B. Lawrence in his work that Qadiri *Silsilah* displayed a polycentric rather than a monocentric view. Qadiri Sufis were not bound to a single lineage as in case with the Chishtis, Suhrawardis and Naqshbandis. Possibly this polycentric status contributed in its success during Mughal period and it replaced the two major *Silsilahs* of Sultanate period, namely the Chishtiyyah and Suhrawardiyyah.²¹ This might be one of the reasons, but sufis of Chishti and especially Suhrawardis had also multiple *bayts* and were not bound to single lineage in later period. For instance, Makhdum-i Jahaniyan received *bayts* and *khilafat* in fourteen different *silsilahs*. Chishti and Suhrawardi sufis dominated the first two centuries of the Sultanate period, and during the fifteenth century, these *silsilahs* had lost the initial vigour, especially after the demise of great sufi masters of the *silsilahs*. Qadiri *Silsilah* also enjoyed the spiritual lineage and charisma attached to Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani who was one of the most venerated non-Indian sufi in South Asia. Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth also selected Uch as a centre of his activities, the place that had served as sacred space for different religious traditions for centuries. He and his descendants quickly adjusted themselves in the environment, which was conducive for sufi thought and practices.

²⁰ Bilgrami, *History of the Qadiri Order in India*, 368.

²¹ Malik, *Islam in South Asia*, 159-60.

The ensuing discussion focuses on the role and contribution of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi and his successors in the development of Uch as a centre of Qadiri *Silsilah* and dissemination of the *Silsilah* in different parts of South Asia.

3.2 Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi: The Founder of Qadiri *Silsilah* in Uch

In the second half of fifteenth century, a Qadiri *Khanqah* was established in Uch by Saiyyid Muhammad al-Husayni al-Jilani (d. 1517), also known as Shaykh Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi and Mahbub-i Subhani. He was a descendent of Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani.²² Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth was born at the city of Halb (Aleppo), presently situated in Syria. There are different opinions about the year of his birth. According to an important work on the Gilani Saiyyids of Uch named *Bahr al-Sarair*, he died at the age of ninety in Uch in the year 923/1517. According to these dates, he was born in the year 833/1430.²³ In *Shajarat al-Anwar*, however, the year of Saiyyid's birth is mentioned as 803/1401 and the year of death is 923/1517.²⁴ Although in most of the hagiographical literature on Indian sufis, an entry is found about Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth, but there is no mention that he lived more than hundred years. However, all are agreed that the year of his demise is 1517. So it seems more plausible that he was born around 1430.

Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth got his early education from his father, Saiyyid Shams al-Din Abu Muhammad in Halb (Aleppo). Following his family traditions, he was initiated in Qadiri *Silsilah* at the hands of his father and received *khilafat* as well as permission to initiate

²² Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 401-2. The genealogical tree in different *tadhkirahs* is given as such: Saiyyid Muhammad Husayni ibn Shams al-Din ibn Saiyyid Shah Mir ibn Saiyyid Ali ibn Saiyyid Masud ibn Saiyyid Ahmad ibn Saiyyid Safi al-Din ibn Saiyyid Saif al-Din Abd al-Wahab ibn Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani. For details see: Saiyyid Muftaba Gilani, *Ain al-Tasawwuff* Urdu trans. Kauthar Abbas Alvi and Awais Abdullah Manganvi (Manganvi Sharif: Kutabkhana Ibn-i Karam, 2017), 237. and Mufti Ghulam Sarwar Lahori, *Khazinat al-Asfiya (Silsilah Qadiriyyah)* Urdu Trans. Mufti Mehmud Alam Hashmi and Allama Iqbal Ahmad Faruqi (Lahore: Al-Ma'arif, 1392 A.H), 190.

²³ Saiyyid Sa'ad Allah Rizvi, *Bahr al-Sarair fi Manaqib-i Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani*. MS. (The Public Library Bagh Langey Khan Multan, Accession No. 36771), not paginated.

²⁴ Saiyyid Ali Asghar Gilani, *Shajrat al-Anwar* MS. (Darbar Sheikhu Sharif Okara), not paginated.

others in the *Silsilah*. When he completed his early education, he left his city to explore new avenues after taking the permission from his father. He travelled to Hijaz to acquire further education and became well versed in the subjects of *hadith* and *fiqh*. He went to the holy cities of Makkah and Medina and performed pilgrimage. Then he travelled to Iraq, Khurasan, Turkistan and India. During his visit to different parts of the Islamicate world, the Saiyyid met with various scholars and sufis of different areas and *silsilahs* and in the process got knowledge and their blessings.²⁵ During this journey, he came and stayed at *mohallah* (neighbourhood/ a locality in a city) Kofat Girran in the city of Lahore for some time. People of Lahore used to visit Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth to get his prayers and blessings.²⁶

Saiyyid Mujtaba Gilani (d. 1711), a descendant of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth, wrote in his work *'Ain al-Tasawwuff* that Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth arrived in Lahore with a small group of *dervishes* during his first visit. He describes an event, which contributed to the fame of Saiyyid in the city of Lahore. According to him, one of Saiyyid's disciples who came with him was a trader of horses and used to buy horses from Kabul and sell in the market of Lahore. However, he was heavily taxed by the *kotwal* of Lahore as compared to other traders. On hearing this discriminatory attitude, Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth went to the *kotwal* and asked him to be fair with the trader. However, he arrogantly replied that *dervish* like him had nothing to do with the affairs of the state. He further made an allegation, that he (the Saiyyid) must have taken money as bribery for this recommendation. The Saiyyid came back with heavy heart. In the meanwhile, fire broke out in the *mohallah* of *kotwal* starting from his house. Considering it the result of his misbehaviour, *kotwal* came to the Saiyyid and repented for his misbehaviour. This

²⁵ Lahori, *Khazinat al-Asfiya (Silsilah Qadiriyyah)*, 190.

²⁶ Gilani, *Ain al-Tasawwuff*, 237.

episode made Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth famous in the area and people started coming to him in large numbers to seek his prayers and blessings.²⁷

After a brief stay at Lahore, Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth went back to Halb. It is believed that before he left India he visited Nagaur and constructed a mosque there. He remained at Halb until the demise of his father, Saiyyid Shams al-Din Muhammad. He finally selected India as his final destination for permanent settlement. Various reasons may be attributed to his decision to permanently settle in India. One of the possible reasons might be that *Silsilah* Qadiriyyah had been introduced in India but it was not as organized as well as popular as Chishti and Suhrawardi *Silsilahs* at that time. The Saiyyid might want to establish a centre of *Silsilah* Qadiriyyah from where he might popularize it in the entire India. On the other hand, Suhrawardiyyah and Chishtiyyah *Silsilahs* were losing their initial vigour and vitality after the demise of the early shaykhs of both these *Silsilahs*. There was a space for new *silsilah* in India to address the spiritual quest of the people of the land, who had history of strong leaning towards mystical traditions. Moreover, the people of India had also great respect and love for Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani, the spiritual head of the Qadiriyyah *Silsilah*, which later paved the way for the establishment and popularization of Qadiri *Silsilah* in India. The Saiyyid was also well received in India due to his noble lineage. He had also made acquaintance with the local conditions during his first visit to South Asia. He was also married in a greatly revered family of *Silsilah* Gazruniyyah of Uch during his first visit. All above-mentioned reasons must have contributed to his decision to permanently settle in South Asia.

In different hagiographical traditions, it is mentioned that after his first visit to India, Saiyyid Muhammad requested his father to grant him the permission to settle in India, who asked him that the latter had few days in this world, and the former was allowed to settle anywhere

²⁷ Gilani, *Ain al-Tasawwuff*, 237-38.

after the latter's demise. Subsequently, after the demise of Saiyyid Shams al-Din, Saiyyid Muhammad migrated towards India via Khurasan.²⁸ According to Shaykh Abd al-Haqq, the Saiyyid came to India for the second time along with large number of followers, servants, elephants and horses. It was indeed, a royal arrival.²⁹ There are different opinions about the year of permanent settlement of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth at Uch. The author of *Bahr al-Sarair* notes that he permanently settled at Uch in the year 1460.³⁰ However, in *Shajrat al-Anwar*, the year of his permanent settlement at Uch is mentioned as 1482.³¹ In certain manuscripts of Gilani Library of Uch, the year of his arrival at Uch is mentioned as 1455. However, in recently located manuscript of *malfuzat* of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi titled *Makalimat-i Ghawthiyya* the year of his migration to Uch is mentioned 862/1458.³² It is important to note that compilation of the said *malfuzat* also started in the Islamic month of Zilhajj in the year 862/1458.³³ Probably this difference of opinion about his arrival and settlement in Uch is due to mixing up these dates with his early visit of India as well as his stay in different cities of India before permanently settling at Uch.

Sultan Qutb al-Din Langah (r. 1454-58) was ruling Multan and Sindh at the time of the Saiyyid's permanent migration to India.³⁴ After arriving in India, he first resided in Multan. In those days, there were very few scholars, sufis and religious luminaries of high stature in Multan, so the masses as well as the Sultan welcomed him with great honour. People used to visit him in

²⁸ Gilani, *Ain al-Tasawwuff*, 237.

²⁹ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 402.

³⁰ Rizvi, *Bahr al-Sarair*, not paginated.

³¹ Gilani, *Shajrat al-Anwar*, not paginated.

³² Abu Ishaq Qadiri Jamal al-Din Ahmad, *Makalimat-i Ghawthiyya (Malfuzat-i Hazrat Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi)* (Persian Manuscript. Ibn-i Karam Library Mangani Sharif), 6.

³³ Jamal al-Din Ahmad, *Makalimat-i Ghawthiyya*, 7.

³⁴ Qadi Muhammad Barkhurdar Multani, *Ghawth-i Azam wa Tadhkirah Mashaikh-i Qadiriyyah (Sadat) Uch Sharif*. (Lahore: Zawiah Publishers, 2012), 306-8.

large numbers and the Sultan also showed great respect and reverence towards him.³⁵ Langah ruler also wanted to counter the spiritual as well as political authority of Shaykh Muhammad Yousaf Qureshi, the *sajjadah-nashin* of the shrine of Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya Multani, who was dethroned as ruler of Multan in a conspiracy by Qutb al-Din Langah.³⁶

Sultan Qutb al-Din Langah became the disciple of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth. Keenly observing the popularity of Saiyyid among the masses, he decided to strengthen his rule by making matrimonial alliance with the Saiyyid. He gave his daughter named Des Gasain in the marriage to the Saiyyid. In this way, the Sultan strengthened his position in the public against Shaykh Muhammad Yousaf Qureshi, who was present in Delhi and wanted to attack Multan with the help of Sultan Bahlul Lodhi (r. 1451-89) to reclaim his rule over Multan.³⁷ Saiyyid Muhammad resided in Multan for a brief period, and then decided to migrate to Uch, which was once a centre of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in India. After the death of Sultan Qutb al-Din, his son Sultan Husayn Langah (r. 1458-1501-2) became the ruler of Multan, who also developed very cordial relations with the Saiyyid. He was great patron of the sufis and scholars, and gave special attention to education in the region.³⁸

Majority of scholars of Sufism credit Saiyyid Muhammad as the real founder of *Silsilah* Qadriyyah in India, although for some period, the Qadiri branch of Uch remained localized.³⁹ However, gradually it strengthened as a centre of the *Silsilah* and it was its centre from Uch that the Qadiri *Silsilah* flourished in different parts of India. Sheikh Muhammad Ikram is of the opinion that one of the earliest well-known sufis of *Silsilah* Qadriyyah in India was Shah Nimat-

³⁵ Multani, *Ghawth-i Azam wa Tadhkirah Mashaikh-i Qadriyyah*, 308.

³⁶ Shaykh Yousaf Qureshi fled to Delhi, where he sought the help of Sultan Bahlul Lodhi to recapture his throne. For details see, Abu al-Fazal. *Ain-i Akbari*, 335.

³⁷ Iqtidar Hussain Siddiqui, "Resurgence of the Suhrawardi *Silsilah* During the Lodhi Period (1451-1476)", *Journal of History and Culture* (Islamabad) vol. VI, no.2 (July-Dec. 1985):54.

³⁸ Jaffar, *Education in Muslim India*, 60-61.

³⁹ Trimmingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, 44.

Allah Qadiri; however, Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth was the person under whose leadership *Silsilah* Qadiriyyah was established on strong footings and later flourished in different parts of India.⁴⁰ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami in his work *Tarikh Mashaikh-i Chisht* informs that Qadiri and Shattari *Silsilahs* were established in India during the fifteenth century. He is of the opinion that Shah Nimat-Allah Qadiri established Qadiri *Silsilah* in India and later Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi, Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani, Saiyyid Musa and Shaykh Abd al-Haqq popularized it during the Mughal period.⁴¹ Mufti Ghulam Sarwar Lahori in his work *Khazinat al-Asfiya* opines that Sultan Sikandar Lodhi (d. 923/1517) and Sultan Husayn Langah (d. 908/1502) were the disciples of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth and *Silsilah* Qadiriyyah flourished and became popular due to his activities.⁴² It is obvious that the discipleship of these rulers must have contributed in the popularity of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth, and subsequently Uch as a Qadiri sufi centre.

Different hagiographers have sketched the personality of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth in their works, providing an understanding of his status in spiritual circles of the time. Shaykh Abd al-Haqq in *Akhbar al-Akhyar* writes that the Saiyyid had a very charismatic personality. His spiritual status was very high among his contemporaries. He was a source of spiritual benefits for the people who visited him. He had a very noble family lineage and his practices reflected that noble ancestry.⁴³ Prince Dara Shikoh (d. 1659), who himself belonged to Qadiri *Silsilah*, writes in his work *Safinat al Awliya* that the Saiyyid possessed the virtues of a great sufi master. He was a great scholar of both the esoteric and exoteric knowledge.⁴⁴ Mir Ali Sher Qaniy Thathavi in his

⁴⁰ S.M. Ikram, *Rud-i Kauthar: Islami Hind aur Pakistan ki Mazhabi aur Rohani Tarikh, Ehd-e-Mughlia* 5th ed. [Rud-i Kauthar: A Religious and Spiritual History of Islamic India and Pakistan, Mughal Rule] (Lahore: Idara Thaqafat-i Islamia, 2005), 63-64.

⁴¹ Nizami, *Tarikh Mashaikh-i Chisht*, 157.

⁴² Lahori, *Khazinat al-Asfiya (Silsilah Qadiriyyah)*, 190.

⁴³ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 402.

⁴⁴ Dara Shikoh, *Safinat al-Auliya*. Urdu trans. Muhammad Ali Lutfi (Lahore: Seventh Sky Publications, 2017), 93.

work *Tuhfat ul-Kiram* writes that he was a great scholar, sufi as well as a great spiritual guide in medieval India. During his stay at Uch, large number of Muslims and non-Muslims benefited from his teachings and spiritual benedictions.⁴⁵ Mufti Ghulam Sarwar Lahori writes that he belonged to Hassani *Sadaat*. His fame spread due to his piety and spiritual excellence and due to his efforts, Qadiri *Silsilah* spread in most parts of India.⁴⁶

Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth was also a prolific scholar and had a great interest in poetry. He used Qadiri as a pen name in his poetical works. His poetry is collected in a *Diwan* called *Diwan-i Qadiri*, which is a beautiful piece of an artistic work. He had very cordial relations with Abd al-Rahman Jami, (d. 1492) a great poet and sufi of fifteenth century Persia. Mufti Ghulam Sarwar Lahori describes that both the Saiyyid and Jami were in contact with each other. Even the poetry of Jami was introduced in India through him. Jami was a great admirer of his piety and scholarship, and the former used to send his poetry to the latter for rectification. Shaykh Abd al-Haqq is of the opinion that Jami had contact with Saiyyid Abd-Allah Rabbani, son of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth.⁴⁷ However, it seems misconception because Abd-Allah Rabbani (d. 1570) was not a contemporary of Jami. It seems most reliable that Jami had contact with Saiyyid Muhammad, who was not only his contemporary but also famous for his poetry. Two other works, which are attributed to Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth, are *Salat-wa-Salam* and *Isma-i Ghawthiyya*, which are in the personal collection of the *Sadat* of Dipalpur.⁴⁸ His literary contribution has been discussed in detail in the last chapter of the study.

As earlier mentioned, Saiyyid Muhammad got married in during his first visit to India. In *Shajrat al-Anwar* it is noted that his first wife was Saiyyida Bibi Fatima, who was the daughter

⁴⁵ Thatvi, *Tuhfat ul-Kiram*, 364.

⁴⁶ Lahori, *Khazinat al-Asfiya (Silsilah Qadiriyyah)*, 190.

⁴⁷ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 403.

⁴⁸ Syed Said Ali Thani Jilani, *Sirat-wa-Sawanih: Hazrat Syed Abd al-Razzaq Gilani alias Data Shah Chiragh Lahori* (Okara: Idarah Sut-i Hadi, 2014), 29.

of Saiyyid Abu'l Fateh Husayni, the thirteenth descendant of Saiyyid Safi al-Din Gazruni of Uch.⁴⁹ Saiyyid Abu'l Fateh presented land to Saiyyid Muhammad in Uch as a share to his daughter, which is now called Uch Gilanian. From his first marriage, the Saiyyid had four sons, Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani, Saiyyid Abd-Allah Rabbani, Saiyyid Mubarak Haqqani and Saiyyid Hassan Norani.⁵⁰ As earlier mentioned, when the Saiyyid finally migrated to India, he first resided in Multan and married the daughter of Sultan Qutb al-Din Langah named Des Gasain.⁵¹ However, information found in manuscripts of Gilani Library of Uch two wives named Saiyyida Fatima and Khayr al- Nisa of Saiyyid Muhammad are mentioned. The name or wedding details of his marriage with Des Gasain, daughter of Qutb al-Din Langah, are not found in these manuscripts. It seems that Khayr al-Nisa might be a title of Des Gasain given after marriage.

According to Shaykh Abd al-Haqq, Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth had three sons. However, Mufti Ghulam Sarwar writes that he had four sons from his wife Saiyyida Fatima, the daughter of Saiyyid Abu'l Fateh Husayni.⁵² Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani was the eldest son and principal *khalifah* of Saiyyid Muhammad. Saiyyid Abd-Allah Rabbani was the second son and was famous for his piety, scholarship, aesthetics and fine taste in poetry. Shaykh Abd al-Haqq praised him for his excellence in poetry.⁵³ Saiyyid Ismail, the son of Saiyyid Abd-Allah Rabbani was also a venerated sufi. Mufti Ghulam Sarwar Lahori writes that the Mughal Emperor, Akbar was a great admirer of Saiyyid Ismail and offered him *jagir* (a big chunk of land) in District Firuzpur, which he refused to accept. He is buried in Lahore adjacent to the shrine of Saiyyid Mauj Darya Bukhari.⁵⁴ Saiyyid Mubarak Haqqani (d. 1549), also known as Saiyyid Miran

⁴⁹ Gilani, *Shajrat al- Anwar*, not paginated.

⁵⁰ Saiyyid Hassan Norani died in his early age.

⁵¹ Gilani, *Shajrat al- Anwar*, not paginated.

⁵² Lahori, *Khazinat al-Asfiya (Silsilah Qadiriyyah)*, 190-91.

⁵³ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 403.

⁵⁴ Lahori, *Khazinat al-Asfiya (Silsilah Qadiriyyah)*, 201.

Mubarak, was the third son of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth, from whom Naushahiyya Qadiriyyah *Silsilah* traces back its lineage. Saiyyid Muhammad Nurani was the fourth son, who died issueless at very early age.⁵⁵

3.2.1 Saiyyid Mubarak Haqqani and the Naushahiyya branch of *Silsilah* Qadiriyyah

Saiyyid Mubarak Haqqani (d. 1549) also known Saiyyid Miran Mubarak, the son of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth, is one of the most venerated sufis of Uch branch of Qadiri *Silsilah*. He had ascetic tendencies from an early age and soon he renounced world for prayers and meditation. Mufti Ghulam Sarwar Lahori writes that he was very pious and had inclination towards asceticism. He left Uch, withdrew himself from the worldly affairs, and engaged himself in prayers and in the remembrance of God. He remained busy in meditation and spent many years in a state of ecstasy in solitude in the jungle of Lakhi.⁵⁶ Due to his extreme piety, he was popularly called *Shujah* (the brave). Shaykh Maru'f (d. 1579), a descendant of Baba Farid Ganj Shakar, joined the company of Saiyyid Mubarak and received blessings and *khilafat* from him.⁵⁷ Saiyyid Mubarak Haqqani predicted that from his spiritual lineage, a new *silsilah* would flourish. This prediction became true as from his spiritual lineage *Silsilah* Naushahiyya, a sub-branch of *Silsilah* Qadiriyyah flourished mainly in central Punjab.⁵⁸

Although Naushahiyya *Silsilah* traces back its lineage from Shaykh Maru'f, the title, 'Naushah' (meaning bride-groom) was actually given for the first time to Saiyyid Haji Muhammad (d. 1654). He was a disciple of the *khalifah* of Shaykh Maru'f, named Sulayman

⁵⁵ Lahori, *Khazinat al-Asfiya (Silsilah Qadiriyyah)*, 191.

⁵⁶ Lahori, *Khazinat al-Asfiya (Silsilah Qadiriyyah)*, 197.

⁵⁷ The shrine of Shaykh Maru'f is located in Khushab city. He is one of the most venerated sufis of the region. He is popularly called as, Sakhi Said Maru'f Chishti Qadiri. For details see: Saiyyid Sharif Ahmad Sharafat Naushahi, *Sharif al-Tawarikh* vol I. (Gujarat: Idarah Ma'arif-i Naushahiyya, 1979), 869-875.

⁵⁸ Lahori, *Khazinat al-Asfiya (Silsilah Qadiriyyah)*, 197.

Shah, popularly known as Sakhi Shah Sulayman Nuri Hazuri (d. 1603).⁵⁹ He received the title of ‘Naushah’ from his *murshid* Sulayman Shah and made the Naushahi branch very popular. He is also known as Naushah Ganj Bakhsh.⁶⁰ He is buried in the village Sahanpal in District Mandi Bahauddin in Pakistan.

Shaykh Maru’f was advised by his preceptor, Saiyyid Mubarak to wherever you stay, remain in the obedience and remembrance of God, preach the teachings of Islam, stay happy with whatever he had, purify his heart with the love of the beloved people of God, and try to educate ignorant ones and purify their hearts.⁶¹ Saiyyid Mubarak spent last days of his life in Lahore and was buried there. Later, his coffin was moved to Uch and he was buried in the tomb of his father, Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi.⁶²

3.2.2 Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani and His Descendants

Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir, popularly known Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani (the Second) and Makhdum-i Thani, the elder son of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi was born in the year 862/1457. He received his early education from his father and from the *khalifah* of his father, Maulana Abd al-Qadir alias *Faqir*. He lived his early life in ease and was fond of music and hunting.⁶³ However, his life changed once for all from leisure and ease to simplicity, prayers and devotion. In different hagiographical accounts, an incident is reported with almost same details, which changed the life of Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani. As once he was hunting in the jungles of Uch, he heard a partridge making very sad and fearful sounds. At the same time, a wandering *dervish* came to him and said: “all praise be to Allah! A day would come when you would cry in

⁵⁹ John A. Subhan, *Sufism Its Saints and Shrines: An Introduction to the Study of Sufism with Special Reference to India* (Lucknow: Lucknow Publishing House. 1938), 259-60.

⁶⁰ Naushahi, *Sharif al-Tawarikh*, Vol I, 958.

⁶¹ Naushahi, *Sharif al-Tawarikh*, Vol I, 863.

⁶² Lahori, *Khazinat al-Asfiya (Silsilah Qadiriyyah)*, 198.

⁶³ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 404.

the same way in the love of God.” On hearing this, Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani experienced a change in his heart and felt an aversion to worldly affairs. Later, he renounced all his worldly possessions and led a life of prayers, devotion and extreme poverty.⁶⁴ Before that he was very fond of music and used to carry musical instruments and singers while travelling and during hunting expeditions. However, after the said incident, he started avoiding music and even listening to *sama*‘. It is reported that even a slightest sound of music from far away made him weep in love of God and most of the times, it looked like he would die in that extreme state of ecstasy.⁶⁵ Another incident is reported in ‘*Ain al-Tasawwuff* that once Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth expressed anger on Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir on the issue of spending an offering on constructing residences for hunting dogs. Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth was instructed in a dream by Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani that Abd al-Qadir was his son and he would take care of him. After hearing of this dream, Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani showed aversion towards worldly affairs and dedicated rest of his life in prayers and remembrance of God.⁶⁶

Following the lines of his family traditions, Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani got *khilafat* and *khirqah* from his father Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth, who also appointed him as his successor at the Qadiri *Khanqah* at Uch during his lifetime.⁶⁷ The Saiyyid played an important role in the spread of Qadiri *Silsilah* in the region of Uch and Multan. Due to his personal stature and piety, people of all religions, castes and creeds used to visit him. Due to his teachings and aura of personality, certain incidents of conversion are reported in different *tadhkirahs*. Once a singer came to his *majlis* (gathering) and was advised by him to abandon music, shave his head and become *dervish*. The singer did not act upon his advice; however, chief of a Langah clan, who

⁶⁴ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 404. See also: Gilani, *Ain al-Tasawwuff*, 240.

⁶⁵ Lahori, *Khazinat al-Asfiya (Silsilah Qadiriyyah)*, 193.

⁶⁶ Gilani, *Ain al-Tasawwuff*, 240.

⁶⁷ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 405.

was present in the *majlis*, shaved his head, repented on his sins and embraced Islam at the hands of the Saiyyid. Shaykh Abd al-Haqq notes that immediately after the acceptance of Islam, he experienced the power of seeing things from far away.⁶⁸

Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani is credited with many miracles according to hagiographical literature. Shaykh Abd al-Haqq informs that he cured many diseases in the same way as Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani. The patients of plague were cured when they ate grass where Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Thani performed his daily ablutions.⁶⁹ Once a disease spread like an epidemic in Multan and Uch in which people first felt pain in their ribs, and later started dying from it. Ghiyath al-Din, a Langah chief, who was also a devotee of the Saiyyid, saw a dream in which he was given a piece of cane by Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and advised to give it to Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir. In another dream, the Saiyyid was asked by the Prophet (PBUH) to recite *Surah Ikhlas* for ten times on this cane and touch it to the bodies of patients. Shaykh Abd al-Haqq adds that hundreds of people were recovered by the blessings of God from that disease due to this.⁷⁰ Saiyyid Muhammad Rajan Bhag, son of Saiyyid Hamid Budha, a descendant of Makhdam-i Jahaniyan also benefited from this cane when he was ill at the age of one, and was brought by his father to the Saiyyid.⁷¹ Although changed in shape, this cane is still in the custody of *sajjada-nashin* of Qadiri *Khanqah* of Uch. It can be argued that these kinds of stories of miraculous powers attached to Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani must have greatly contributed towards firmly establishing Qadiri *Silsilah* in Sindh and Punjab.⁷²

⁶⁸ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 407. However Mujtaba Gilani writes in *Ain al-Taasawwuff* that the singer abandoned the musical instruments and repented his sins. It was the singer, who immediately started to see things of far away. Gilani, *Ain al-Tasawwuff*, 241.

⁶⁹ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 407.

⁷⁰ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 408.

⁷¹ Gilani, *Ain al-Tasawwuff*, 243.

⁷² Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. II, 59.

The Saiyyid spent most of his time in prayers, *dhikar* and in recitation of *aurad* and tried to avoid the company of people as much as possible. This routine is also reported in certain *tadkirahs* that Saiyyid spent most parts of his day and night in prayers and remembrance of God. He used to give *azan* of *fajar* prayers (morning prayers) and advised people to abandon sleep and receive the blessings of God at the blessed time of *fajar*.⁷³ Different hagiographers including Shaykh Abd al-Haqq, Saiyyid Sa'ad-Allah Rizvi, the author of *Bahr al-Srair* and Mufti Ghulam Sarwar Lahori are of the opinion that Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani was a true heir of Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani and one of the most popular and celebrated sufi of Qadiriyyah *Silsilah* in India.⁷⁴ His charismatic personality added to the popularity of the *Silsilah* as well as its establishment on strong footings during the sixteenth century. He was called Abd al-Qadir Thani (The second Abd al-Qadir) due to his spiritual lineage which linked him with Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani as well as his piety and miracles just as attributed to Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani, the founder of Qadiri *Silsilah*.

In different *tadhkirahs*, there is difference of opinion about the progenies of the Saiyyid. A manuscript in Gilani Library of Uch named *Halat Mashaikh-i Gilaniyya* informs that the name of his wife was Bibi Bhawni, the daughter Saiyyid Fakhr al-Din Gazruni. According to this work, the Saiyyid had three sons: Saiyyid Abd al-Razzaq, Saiyyid Zayn al-Abidin and Saiyyid Jaffar. Saiyyid Jaffar died issueless.⁷⁵ According to *Shajrat al-Anwar*, the Saiyyid had only two sons Saiyyid Abd al-Razzaq and Saiyyid Zayn al-Abidin. Saiyyid Zayn al-Abidin's mother was from the family of Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari of Uch.⁷⁶ However, the author of *Bahr al-Sarair* writes that he had seven sons named Saiyyid Abd al-Razzaq, Saiyyid Zayn al-Abidin,

⁷³ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 406.

⁷⁴ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 404. See also: Rizvi, *Bahr al-Sarair*, not paginated. and Lahori, *Khazinat al-Asfiya (Silsilah Qadiriyyah)*, 193.

⁷⁵ Muhammad Idrees Uchvi, *Halat Mashaikh Gilaniyya* MS. (Kutb Khana Gilaniyya: Uch Sharif), 9, 46.

⁷⁶ Gilani, *Shajrat al-Anwar*, not paginated.

Saiyyid Futuh al-Mulk, Saiyyid Jalal, Saiyyid Hassan, Saiyyid Jaffar and Saiyyid Husayn.⁷⁷ The mother of Saiyyid Abd al-Razzaq and Saiyyid Zayn al-Abidin was from Langah tribe and the mother of Saiyyid Futuh al-Mulk, Saiyyid Jalal and Saiyyid Hassan was the daughter of Saiyyid Muhammad Shah Bukhari, a descendant of Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Bukhari. Although difference in the numbers of Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani's children, all hagiographers are agreed that only Saiyyid Abd al-Razzaq and Saiyyid Zayn al-Abidin had children and all other were issueless.

Although no writings of Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani are found yet, his grandson Saiyyid Musa Pak Shahid notes in his work *Tasayyar al-Shaghilin* that his grandfather had written in his work *Awrad-i Ghawthiyya* that Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Jilani was died on 11th of Rabi Thani.⁷⁸ According to this tradition, it seems that Saiyyid Abd al Qadir Thani compiled a book named *Awrad-i Ghawthiyya*. However, this work has not been found yet.

Silsilah Qadiriyyah further flourished through the efforts of Saiyyid Abd-al Qadir Thani and his disciples and descendants in most parts of India including Bikaner, Marwar, Jaisalmer, Jodhpur, Jaipur and Ajmer during the sixteenth century. The Saiyyid had a great following in the city and surroundings of Nagaur and used to visit Nagaur almost every year. However, Multan and Uch were the major areas of his influence. He also visited Lahore and was well received, which created an atmosphere of spirituality among the public. During his lifetime, *Silsilah* Qadiriyyah also flourished in Sindh. Din Muhammad Abbasi notes that politically influential Mahar family of Sindh⁷⁹ joined the circles of Saiyyid and had continued this respect and

⁷⁷ Rizvi, *Bahr al-Sarair*, not paginated.

⁷⁸ Saiyyid Jamal al-Din Muhammad Musa, *Tasayyar al-Shaghilin* (Firuzpur: Mat'ba Sidiq, 1309 AH/ 1892 AD), 100.

⁷⁹ Mahar tribe is located in the District of Ghotki in Sindh, and has strong political influence in the region. The members of Mahar family were elected as a member of Provincial Assembly of Sindh and National Assembly of Pakistan on number of occasions. Ali Muhammad Khan of Mahar tribe also served as the Chief Minister of Sindh from 17th December 2002 to June 9, 2004.

affiliations till today even after almost five centuries.⁸⁰ Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani breathed his last in the year 1533 and is buried in the shrine complex of his father in Uch.

3.2.3 Saiyyid Abd al-Razzaq Gilani as the Head of Qadiri *Khanqah* at Uch

After the demise of Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani, his son Saiyyid Abd al-Razzaq became the head of Qadiri *Khanqah* at Uch. At the time of his father's demise, he was in Nagaur. When he returned to Uch, he received the *khirqah* and other relics of his father and became *sajjada-nashin* and the head of Qadiri *Khanqah* at Uch. He lived a pious life. Prince Dara Shikoh paid tribute to Saiyyid Abd al-Razzaq in his work *Safinat al-Awliya* and admired him as a great shaykh and *arif* (gnostic) of his period.⁸¹

Saiyyid Abd al-Razzaq married to Samo Bibi, the daughter of Saiyyid Sadr al-Din Haji Gazruni and had four sons named Saiyyid Shihab al-Din Muhammad, Saiyyid Hamid Jahan Bakhsh, Saiyyid Muhammad Sharif and Saiyyid Saghar al-Din Muhammad. Only Saiyyid Hamid had successors, and family tree continued from him.⁸² Saiyyid Abd al-Razzaq held the headship of Qadiri *Khanqah* for a brief period. He survived for only two years after the demise of his father and died in the year 942/ 1535.⁸³ He is buried in Uch in the tomb of his grandfather, Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi.

Saiyyid Zayn al-Abidin was the younger son of Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani. He became disciple of his father and was initiated in Qadiriyyah *Silsilah* by Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani. Robbers killed him on the way to Delhi during the lifetime of his father. He had one son named

⁸⁰ Allama Din Muhammad Abbasi, *Jadid Tarikh-i Uch Sharif* [Modern History of Uch] vol. II (Uch Sharif: Idarah Maarif al-Awliya, n.d.), 188-189.

⁸¹ Dara Shikoh, *Safinat al-Awliya*, 94.

⁸² Rizvi, *Bahr al-Sarair*, not paginated.

⁸³ Lahori, *Khazinat al-Asfiya (Silsilah Qadiriyyah)*, 197.

Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth alias Bala Pir, who was taken care and much loved by his grandfather and became one of the famous sufi of Qadiriyyah *Silsilah*, particularly in Punjab.⁸⁴

As earlier mentioned, Saiyyid Zayn al-Abidin, died during his father's lifetime and his brother Saiyyid Abd al-Razzaq only survived two years after the demise of Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani. The leadership of *Silsilah* Qadiriyyah now shifted to his two grandsons, Saiyyid Hamid Jahan Bakhsh and Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bala Pir. The former succeeded Saiyyid Abd al-Razzaq as a *sajjadah-nashin* at Uch and the other established a Qadiri *Khanqah* at Satgarah near Okara. From that period, both the branches operated separately and attracted many prominent sufis and scholars who joined the circles of the discipleship of the Qadiri sufis of Uch and Satgarah.

3.2.4 Saiyyid Hamid Jahan Ganj Bakhsh: A New Head of Qadiri *Khanqah* of Uch

Saiyyid Hamid, popularly known as Saiyyid Hamid Jahan Bakhsh (d. 1570), the son of Saiyyid Abd al-Razzaq, was a disciple of his grandfather, Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani. He became the head of Qadiri *Silsilah* in Uch after the demise of his father, Saiyyid Abd al-Razzaq who served as the leader of Qadiri *Khanqah* at Uch for a brief period.⁸⁵ After the demise of Saiyyid Abd al-Razzaq, the issue of succession was raised between his son Saiyyid Hamid and his nephew Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bala Pir at the Qadiri *Khanqah* at Uch. Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bala Pir was very close to his grandfather, Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani and received spiritual training under him. He claimed to be the real successor of his grandfather. The right of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bala Pir was refused on the plea that as his father Saiyyid Zayn al-Abidin had died during the lifetime of his father, so he could not claim inheritance or *sajadah-nashini* according to Muslim law of inheritance. Eventually, Saiyyid Hamid Bakhsh became the

⁸⁴ Lahori, *Khazinat al-Asfiya (Silsilah Qadiriyyah)*, 198.

⁸⁵ Al-Luknawi, *Al-I'lam bi man fi Tarikh al-Hind min al-A'lam*, 329.

sajjada-nashin (hereditary custodian of a sufi shrine) of Qadiri *Khanqah* at Uch. His father and grandfather trained him on the spiritual path. He was very generous in his dealings. He inherited good wealth yet he distributed it all among the poor and needy. He also used to distribute *futuhat* among the needy and never possessed more than a certain amount of wealth on which *zakat* becomes obligatory. He used to spend most part of the night in prayers and meditation only resting on the floor for a while. He became famous for his piety among the masses. Due to his popular stature, *Silsilah* Qadiriyyah further strengthened in the region.⁸⁶ It is noted in *Bahr al-Sarair* that once in a state of ecstasy, he asked that, was there anybody who wanted to purchase Multan from him? Mir Miran, son of Mir Chakar Khan Baluch, bowed his head at his feet. The Saiyyid stated that Mir Miran had purchased Multan on a very cheap rate, and after a few days, the latter was appointed *Subadar* of Multan province.⁸⁷ After becoming *Subadar*, Mir Miran gifted ninety thousands *bighas* of (36000 acres) land to the Saiyyid for the expenditure of his *langar* and *khanqah*.⁸⁸ The area of this land is called Hamidpur and most of the land is still owned by Gilani family of Uch.

The Saiyyid had two sons, Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir and Saiyyid Musa Pak Shahid. Saiyyid Hamid breathed his last in 978/1570 and is buried in the vicinity of the shrine of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi in Uch. Like his ancestors, Shaykh Hamid contributed to the development of Qadiri *Silsilah*. He and his son Shaykh Musa brought the influence of the Qadiri *Silsilah* to Multan. His disciples travelled and settled in different parts of the Punjab. Shaykh Dawud and Saiyyid Sher Shah, his two disciples and *khalifahs* made their fame as great sufis of

⁸⁶ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 410-11.

⁸⁷ The provinces were reorganized and named as *subahs* under the Mughal emperor Akbar. The *subadar* or the governor was the administrative head of a province. see I. H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, 2nd rev. ed. (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1944. rpt., first pub. 1942), 203.

⁸⁸ Rizvi, *Bahr al-Sarair*, not paginated.

the period and established Qadiri *Khanqahs* in Shergarh (Okara) and Sher Shah, a town near Multan respectively.

3.2.5 Shaykh Dawud as the leading Qadiri Sufi of Punjab

One of the leading *khalifahs* of Shaykh Hamid was Shaykh Dawud (d. 1574) of Shergarh (Okara), whose ancestors had migrated to India from Arabia. He was born at Sitpur near Multan.⁸⁹ His father died before his birth and later after the death of his mother, his elder brother Mian Rehmat-Allah brought him up. He received his early education from the eminent scholars of Uch, Multan and Lahore. Among his teachers was Mawlana Ismail of Uch, who was a disciple of Shaykh Arif-i Jami.⁹⁰

From the early age, he was inclined towards Sufism. In a state of ecstasy, he roamed in jungles for years and abandoned worldly desires and possessions. He spent his time in prayers and meditations during these years. He was instructed in a dream to join *Silsilah* Qadiriyyah, and he finally became a disciple of Shaykh Hamid.⁹¹ After receiving *khirqah* and *khilafat* from his *murshid*, he migrated and settled in Shergarh. He inspired a large number of people and became popular all over India.⁹² During the reign of Emperor Islam Shah Sur (r. 1545-1555), Shaykh Dawud was summoned by Makhdum al-Mulk Abd-Allah Sultanpuri, who was the head of the department for religious affairs in Emperor Islam Shah's court. Shaykh Dawud came to the Sultan's camp at Gwalior where Makhdum al-Mulk demanded an explanation of the rumour that his disciples recited '*Ya Dawud*' during *dhikr* (remembrance of God) sessions. The Shaykh

⁸⁹ S.M. Ikram, *Rud-i Kauthar*, 67.

⁹⁰ Abd al-Qadir ibn Muluk Shah Al-Badaoni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (Selection from Histories) Eng. trans. and ed. Sir Wolseley Haig, vol. III (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1925; rpt. Karachi: Karimsons, 1978), 48-49.

⁹¹ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 411-13.

⁹² Ikram, *Rud-i Kauthar*, 67.

replied that his disciples recited ‘*Ya Wudud*’, which is one of the ninety-nine names of Allah. Makhdam al-Mulk was convinced of his innocence and let him so.⁹³

Shaykh Dawud made a big piece of land cultivatable and with its income started *langar* (free food for visitors). Twice a year, he distributed all that he had in his *khanqah*. On the annual *Urs* (death anniversary) of Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani, food and money was distributed among the poor.⁹⁴ Mulla Abd al-Qadir Badaoni, his contemporary historian, visited his *khanqah* at Shergarh, met Shaykh Dawud and was very impressed by his personality and piety. Badaoni stayed in his *khanqah* for four days and described that there was hardly a day when groups of more or less fifty Hindus did not come to him in order to embrace Islam along with their families.⁹⁵ Shaykh Dawud’s personality and his spiritual eminence spread the Qadiriyyah influence from Punjab to Delhi and Agra.⁹⁶ He was also a poet and his pen name was ‘Ghurbati’. He and his successors spread the teachings of Qadiri *Silsilah* in the region. Shaykh Abd al-Haqq respected his piety and used to take advice from him on various issues.⁹⁷ Shaykh Dawud died in the year 1574 and was buried in Shergarh. Siddiqui opines, that before Miyan Mir (d. 1635) and Mulla Shah Badakhshi (d. 1635), he emerged as “the most charismatic Qadiri saint who flourished in Punjab since the reign of Sher Shah Sur.”⁹⁸ His son in law and successor, Khayr al-Din Abu’l-Ma’ali (d. 1615), who is buried in Lahore was also one of the leading sufis of Qadiri *Silsilah*.⁹⁹

3.2.6 Saiyyid Jamal al-Din Musa Pak and the Gilani Saiyyids of Multan

Saiyyid Jamal al-Din Musa Pak Shahid (d. 1010/1602), the son of Saiyyid Hamid Ganj Bakhsh,

⁹³ Al-Badaoni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, vol. III, 52-54.

⁹⁴ Siddiqui, *Advent of Sufism in Medieval Punjab* in Singh and Gaur. eds. *Sufism in Punjab*, 60.

⁹⁵ Al-Badaoni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, vol. III, 57.

⁹⁶ Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. II, 63.

⁹⁷ Moinul Haq, “Rise of the Naqshbandi and Qadiri *Silsilahs* in the Subcontinent”, 24.

⁹⁸ Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, “Advent of Sufism in Medieval Punjab” Singh and Gaur. eds. *Sufism in Punjab*, 60.

⁹⁹ Buehler, “The Indo-Pakistani Qadiriyya”, 347.

was born at Uch in the year 952/1545. He was very close to his father and always used to remain in his company at Uch and also accompanied him during his travels. Saiyyid Musa Pak received formal education and spiritual training at the hands of his father.¹⁰⁰ Saiyyid Hamid nominated him as his principal *khalifah* during his lifetime. After the demise of Saiyyid Hamid Bakhsh, the issue was raised on succession between Shaykh Musa and his elder brother Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir. This matter was brought to the Mughal court of Akbar. It is also noted in some *tadhkirahs* that their cousin Saiyyid Jiwan Shah alias Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thalith (the third) also went to the Mughal court to claim his right as *sajjada-nashin*. The matter remained unresolved for quite some time. However, finally it was decided that Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir would receive three out of five and Saiyyid Musa two out of five shares in the income. Saiyyid Musa would reside at Uch and Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir at Hamidpur.¹⁰¹ Shaykh Musa remained in the court of Akbar for some time and was given the rank or *mansab* of five hundred *sawars* (horsemen). Later, he came to Uch and assumed the charge of Qadiri *Khanqah*. Although Uch was main centre of his activities, he used to visit Multan frequently.

Shaykh Musa is also known as an accomplished scholar. He wrote on different subjects. His reputation as an accomplished scholar and sufi is recognized in later *tadhkirahs*. His work *Tasayyar al-Shaghilin* is a detailed work on sufi practices and is considered an important manual for the followers of Qadiri *Silsilah* in India. He was known for his piety like his father. One of the leading sufis and scholars of *hadith*, Shaykh Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlavi was among his disciples.¹⁰² Shaykh Musa was murdered by the dacoits of Langah clan in the year 1602 AD near

¹⁰⁰ He started to receive training on spiritual path at very early age and learned the names of God by heart and their recitation, when he was merely nine years old. For details see: Muhammad Sibtain Raza Gilani and Sayyid Iftikhar Ali Gilani, *Tadhkirah: Shaykh al-Kul Saiyyid Musa Pak Shahid Gilani* [An account of Shaykh al-Kul Saiyyid Musa Pak Shahid Gilani] (Multan: Bahauddin Zakariyya University, 2011), 90.

¹⁰¹ Multani, *Ghawth-i Azam wa Tadhkirah Mashaikh-i Qadiriyyah*, 339.

¹⁰² Moinul Haq, "Rise of the Naqshbandi and Qadiri *Silsilahs* in the Subcontinent," 21.

Multan,¹⁰³ which earned him the title of *Shahid* (martyred). He was first buried at Uch, where his shrine is still located near the shrine of Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi but later his descendants moved his coffin to Multan after fifteen years of his burial.

Saiyyid Musa Pak had four sons and was succeeded by his eldest son, Saiyyid Hamid Ganj Bakhsh Thani. Saiyyid Jan Muhammad was his second son who is buried near the Feroz Fort in Delhi. One of the sons of Saiyyid Jan Muhammad was Nawab Saiyyid Jamal-Allah, who remained *Subadar* of Lahore during the reign of Mughal Emperor Akbar. Saiyyid Essa was third son of Saiyyid Musa Pak, who was buried in Lahore. His youngest son was Nawab Saiyyid Yahya, who also served as *Subadar* of Multan under Mughal Emperor Jahangir. Nawab Saiyyid Musa Pak Din (the second), who served as a *Subadar* of Multan during the reign of Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan, succeeded Makhdum Saiyyid Hamid Ganj Bakhsh Thani.¹⁰⁴ Most of the Gilani Saiyyids of Multan are the descendants of Saiyyid Musa Pak and still hold important political and social position in the region.¹⁰⁵

3.2.7 Shaykh Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dehlvi and his Efforts for the Revival of *Hadith* Studies

One of the important disciples of Shaykh Musa Pak Shahid was Shaykh Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dehlavi (d. 1052/1642). He was a revered sufi, scholar and hagiographer and made an important contribution in the development of sufi traditions as well in the revival of *hadith* studies in India. The ancestors of Shaykh Abd al-Haqq came to India from Bukhara during the reign of Sultan Ala al-Din Khalji (r. 1296-1316).¹⁰⁶ His ancestors were bestowed with important positions in the courts of the Sultans of Delhi. Shaykh Abd al-Haqq was the son of Shaykh Sayf al-Din, who was

¹⁰³ Raza Gilani and Ali Gilani, *Tadhkirah: Shaykh al-Kul*, 110.

¹⁰⁴ Raza Gilani and Ali Gilani. *Tadhkirah: Shaykh al-Kul*, 133-36.

¹⁰⁵ One of the descendants of Saiyyid Musa Pak named Saiyyid Yousaf Raza Gilani served as the Prime Minister of Islamic Republic of Pakistan from 25th March 2008 to 26th April 2012.

¹⁰⁶ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 595.

himself an eminent scholar and sufi.¹⁰⁷ He was the disciple of Shaykh Aman-Allah (d. 1550) of Panipat.¹⁰⁸ Shaykh Sayf al-Din gave special attention to the education of his son. From the beginning, Shaykh Abd al-Haqq was a devoted and hardworking student. Since he had a passionate interest in Sufism, he became the disciple of Shaykh Musa of Uch, who was in Delhi at that time.¹⁰⁹

After his initiation in *Silsilah* Qadiriyyah, he remained in the company of his *murshid* for nearly a year, and received spiritual training under him. Then he decided to leave for Hijaz to perform pilgrimage. He travelled through Malwa and Gujarat. He stayed for some time with Mirza Aziz Koka, the governor of Malwa, and Shaykh Ghawthi Shattari, the author of hagiographical work, *Gulzar-i Abrar*.¹¹⁰ After reaching Gujarat, he spent some months in the company of Nizam al-Din Ahmed Bakhshi, the historian who composed *Tabaqat-i Akbari*.¹¹¹ During his stay at Makkah, he received education from Shaykh Abd al-Wahhab and became proficient in the subject of *hadith*. Shaykh Abd al-Haqq returned to India as a well-versed scholar of *hadith*, and developed a moderate and soft attitude towards the controversies among various sufi *silsilahs* and schools of *ulama*.¹¹² Shaykh Abd al-Haqq was also a contemporary of

¹⁰⁷ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 488, 598.

¹⁰⁸ The real name of Shaykh Aman-Allah was Abd al-Malik. He was sufi as well as scholar and wrote many books on *tassawwuff* and *hadith*. He was initiated in Qadiri *Silsilah* by Shaykh Muhammad Hassan, who traced his spiritual lineage back to Shaykh Nimat-Allah in the *Silsilah*. See Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 484-86.

¹⁰⁹ Bruce Lawrence is of the opinion that the relationship of Shaykh Abd al-Haqq and Shaykh Musa as a master-disciple is doubtful. He argues that Shaykh Abd al-Haqq in his hagiographical work *Akhbar al-Akhyar* has even not mentioned Shaykh Musa in a separate entry. In other hagiographical work of the period, *Gulzar-i Abrar*, their relationship as, master-disciple is also not mentioned. Lawrence is of the opinion that Shaykh Abd al-Wahhab Muttaqi, under whom Shaykh Abd al-Haqq studied in Makkah, influenced his thoughts more than Shaykh Musa. However, contrary to these claims, Shaykh Abd al-Haqq venerated Shaykh Musa as his spiritual preceptor in *Akhbar al-Akhyar* and in his other works. For details see, Bruce Lawrence, *Biography and the 17th century Qadiriya of North India* in Dallapiccola, Anna Libera, Stephanie Zingle and Ave Lallemand, *Islam and Indian Regions* vol. I. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1993), 409.

¹¹⁰ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Hayat-i Shaykh Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dehalvi* [A Biography of Shaykh Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dehlavi] (Lahore: Maktabah Rahmaniyya, n.d.), 93.

¹¹¹ Moinul Haq, "Rise of the Naqshbandi and Qadiri *Silsilahs* in the Subcontinent", 26.

¹¹² Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. II, 85.

Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi (d. 1624) and remained engaged with him on the interpretation of certain issues.

Shaykh Abd al-Haqq always stressed upon the supremacy of *shari'ah*. He was a prolific writer and wrote on the subjects of *hadith*, *Sirah* (biography of the Prophet PBUH), *fiqh* (Jurisprudence) and *tasawwuf*. In his writings on Sufism, he attempted to reconcile *shari'ah* with *tariqah* or Sufism.¹¹³ Although Shaykh Abd al-Haqq joined many *silsilahs*, his affiliation with *Silsilah Qadiriyyah* cast lasting influence on his life. In his works, he asserted the authority and superiority of Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani in sufi circles. In his famous hagiography titled *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, which is a collection of biographies of Indian sufis, he included a lengthy biography of Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani as a preface.¹¹⁴ He also translated seventy-eight sermons of Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani titled *Futuh al-Ghayb* into Persian from Arabic. It was a great contribution on his part to popularize the teachings of the founder of *Silsilah Qadiriyyah* in South Asia through this work.

Shaykh Abd al-Haqq wrote many other books and made a lasting contribution in the development of Islamic studies and Sufism. He was given the title of 'Muhaddith' (master of *hadith* studies) due to his expertise in the study of *hadith*. He always stressed the need of education of the Quran and *hadith* to face the challenges by Muslims on the political, social and religious fronts.¹¹⁵ He is credited with the revival of *hadith* studies in South Asia, which had been neglected for a long time.¹¹⁶ Shaykh Abd al-Haqq had three sons, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Shaykh Nur al-Haqq (d. 1663 AD) in spiritual terms. Like his father, he was also a

¹¹³ Nizami, *Hayat Shaykh Abd al-Haqq*, 283-85.

¹¹⁴ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 17-42.

¹¹⁵ Lahori, *Khazinat al-Asfiya*, 247.

¹¹⁶ Malik, *Islam in South Asia*, 178-79.

great sufi and scholar.¹¹⁷ His sons and disciples further popularized the traditions of *Silsilah* Qadiriyyah in India. These disciples were scattered in various parts of India, and made their contribution in the development of Sufism

3.3 Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bala Pir and the Development of Qadiri *Silsilah* in Central Punjab

Another branch of *Silsilah* Qadiriyyah flourished in central Punjab through the efforts of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bala Pir (d. 959/1551-52). He was the son of Saiyyid Zayn al-Abidin and grandson of Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Thani. He was born at Uch but later he migrated to Satgarha in Punjab, where he established a Qadiri *Khanqah*.¹¹⁸ His real name was Muhammad but was popularly known as Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bala Pir. He received his primary education in Uch and later moved to Multan for further education in the *madrasah* of Mawlana Muiz al-Din Multani. He remained under the guidance of Saiyyid Abd-Allah Rabbani, the younger brother of Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani. He also received education from Mawlana Abd al-Qadir alias *Faqir* Qadiri and Mawlana Qazi Muiz al-Din Multani.¹¹⁹ Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani had great love and affection towards his grandson, Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bala Pir, who received *khilafat* and *khirqah* from the former in Qadiri *Silsilah*.

As earlier mentioned, after the demise of Saiyyid Abd al-Razzaq, issue of succession was raised between Saiyyid Hamid and Saiyyid Ghawth Bala Pir. This tension is still reflected in the attitude as well as works authored on Gilani *Sadat* of Lahore, who consider Saiyyid Bala Pir as legitimate *sajjadah-nashin* and in the works of Gilani *Sadat* of Uch and Multan, who consider Saiyyid Hamid as a *sajjadah-nashin*. Saiyyid Mujtaba Gilani writes in '*Ain al-Tasawwuff* that

¹¹⁷ Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. II, 97.

¹¹⁸ Lahori, *Khazinat al-Asfiya (Silsilah Qadiriyyah)*, 198.

¹¹⁹ Syed Afzaal Hussain Gilani, *Hayat al-Amir: Almaruf Muhammad Ghawth Bala Pir Gilani*, vol. II (Okara: Idarah Sut-i Hadi, 2008), 108.

Saiyyid Bala Pir was the favourite of his grandfather Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani who appointed him as his successor. However, after the demise of Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani, Saiyyid Bala Pir's cousin Saiyyid Hamid developed conflict over succession, and argued that Saiyyid Zayn al-Abidin, the father of Saiyyid Bala Pir, had died during the life time of his father, so he had no share in inheritance. Saiyyid Bala Pir argued that *khilafat* is not a hereditary phenomenon but bestowed by the will and choice of *murshid* on merit.¹²⁰ However, Saiyyid Musa Pak acknowledged in *Tasayyar al-Shaghilin* that Saiyyid Hamid was the *sajjadah-nashin* of Qadiri *Khanqah* of Uch.¹²¹

Langar Khan, the ruler of Multan had great respect and devotion for Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani and became a disciple of Saiyyid Bala Pir on the instruction of Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani. Saiyyid Bala Pir and Langar Khan accompanied Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir during his journey to Lahore where Saiyyid Bala Pir married the daughter of Saiyyid 'Ilm al-Din Thani Bukhari of Uch *Sadat* named Bibi Gamaan alias Wadi Sain.¹²² Langar Khan, who finally settled in Lahore, reserved an area (known as Rasulpur) where he constructed a residence for Saiyyid Ghawth Bala Pir.¹²³ Although the latter used to reside in Lahore occasionally, he did not permanently settle there. Later, his descendants settled there and contributed to the development of the *Silsilah* in Lahore. Saiyyid Bala Pir travelled a lot including the region of Kashmir, Afghanistan and northern India. He also visited the *Khanqah* of Saiyyid Muin al-Din Chishti of Ajmer. He ultimately settled at Satgarah near modern day Okara, where Mir Chakar Khan Balouch constructed a *khanqah* for him.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ Gilani, *Ain al-Tasawwuff*, 245.

¹²¹ Muhammad Musa, *Tasayyar al-Shaghilin*, 101.

¹²² Gilani, *Hayat al-Amir*, vol. II, 85.

¹²³ Nur Ahmad Khan Faridi, *Tarikh-i Multan* [History of Multan] vol. II (Multan: Qasr al-Adab, 1977), 50.

¹²⁴ Faridi, *Tarikh-i Multan*, vol. II, 52.

Mufti Ghulam Sarwar Lahori in *Khazinat al-Asfiya* writes that Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bala Pir had a mesmerizing personality and was well versed in esoteric as well as in exoteric knowledge. He was one of the important Qadiri sufis of his time, famous for his piety and knowledge. He moved from Uch and settled in Satgarah after a conflict with his cousin Saiyyid Hamid Bakhsh on the issue of succession.¹²⁵ Saiyyid Bala Pir is also called the ‘Pir of Ravi’.¹²⁶ Mir Chakar Khan and his tribesmen were his disciples.

For almost after five years of his marriage, Saiyyid Bala Pir still had no children. On the insistence of his first wife, he again got married in the family of his uncle, Saiyyid Ismail, the son of Saiyyid Abd-Allah Rabbani in Lahore and had four sons from his second wife. His only son Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir had children, however, other three sons, Sayyid Abd al-Rahman, Saiyyid Ilahi Bakhsh and Saiyyid Allah Bakhsh died issueless.¹²⁷ Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bala Pir breathed his last in the year 959/1552 and was buried in Satgarah.¹²⁸

The presence of Saiyyid Ghawth Bala Pir in the area contributed to the dissemination of Qadiri teachings in the region. Some of his descendants settled in Lahore and some in the surroundings of Okara. Many important *khanqahs* established in the region of central Punjab trace their spiritual lineage from Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bala Pir and are eventually connected with Uch branch of Qadiri *Silsilah*.

3.3.1 Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thalith and the Development of Qadiri *Silsilah* in Lahore

Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir, popularly known as Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thalith (the third), the son of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bala Pir was born at *mohllah* Rasalnagar at Lahore. He received *khirqah* and *khilafat* from his father. He was a venerated sufi of his time who further popularized

¹²⁵ Lahori, *Khazinat al-Asfiya (Silsilah Qadiriyyah)*, 198

¹²⁶ The town of Satagarh is situated near the River Ravi, and the people of the area venerate Saiyyid Bala Pir and call him as the Pir of the region adjacent to the River Ravi.

¹²⁷ Gilani, *Hayat al-Amir*, vol. II, 90.

¹²⁸ Lahori, *Khazinat al-Asfiya (Silsilah Qadiriyyah)*, 198.

the Qadiri *Silsilah* in Lahore. He travelled to Hijaz to perform pilgrimage and stayed for many years in Makkah and Medina. Saiyyid Mujtaba Gilani in his work '*Ain al-Tasawwuff*' mentions the tension between Saiyyid Musa Pak, the son of Saiyyid Hamid, and Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thalith on the issue of succession. According to him, the matter was brought to Mughal court in which Emperor Akbar decided in favour of the latter and awarded him *jagir*.¹²⁹ Many miracles are attributed to him. He mostly resided in Lahore. He died in the year 922 /1584, and was buried in Lahore.¹³⁰

Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thalith was succeeded by his son, Saiyyid Abd al-Wahhab. After the demise of Saiyyid Abd al-Wahab, his son Saiyyid Zain al-Abidin, popularly known as Saiyyid Zain Ala al-Din succeeded him as *sajjada-nashin*. However, Saiyyid Abd al-Razzaq alias Saiyyid Data Shah Chiragh Lahori, the son of Saiyyid Abd al-Wahhab, and younger brother of Saiyyid Zain Ala al-Din made an important contribution in the popularity of Qadiri *Silsilah* in Lahore and its surroundings.¹³¹ He was initiated in Qadiri *Silsilah* at the hands of his father, who also gave him the title of 'Chiragh' (a lamp) as the latter predicted that the former would contribute to the fame of the family. He also received *khilafat* from his brother, Saiyyid Zain Ala al-Din. He went to Hijaz, where he performed pilgrimage and met with eminent scholars and sufis of the time. Lahori is of the opinion that Saiyyid Data Shah Chiragh was well respected and venerated by the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan, who wanted to marry his daughter with Saiyyid Mustafa, the son of Saiyyid Data Shah Chiragh, but the Saiyyid refused.¹³² His shrine is situated near the building of High Court in Lahore.

¹²⁹ Gilani, *Ain al-Tasawwuff*, 250-51.

¹³⁰ Gilani, *Ain al-Tasawwuff*, 252.

¹³¹ Jilani, *Sirat-wa-Sawanih*, 196, 210-11.

¹³² Lahori, *Khazinat al-Asfiya (Silsilah Qadriyyah)*, 289.

To sum up, after serving as a centre of Suhrawardi *Silsilah*, Uch again rose to prominence as a centre of Qadiri *Silsilah* in India. The sacred geography of Uch must have been one of the major reasons behind choosing it as centre of his activities by Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth, the founder of Uch branch of Qadiri *Silsilah*. From Uch, the descendants and disciples of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth contributed a lot in the spread and development of *Silsilah* Qadiriyyah in India. The pattern of succession in Qadiri sufis of Uch was hereditary almost similar to the Suhrawardi sufis of Multan and Uch. Uch branch of Qadiri *Silsilah* produced many eminent personalities, who achieved fame and popularity all over India due to their spiritual status. These sufis contributed in the sufi traditions, practices and thought and authored works on the sufi history and philosophy, which are discussed in detail in succeeding chapters. Although Qadiri sufis of Uch established their influence in Nagaur, Delhi and other parts of India, the major area of their influence remained Punjab. One of the Qadiri sufis of Uch, Saiyyid Ghawth Balapir, settled in Satgarah near Okara, in Lahore and established *khanqah*, and attracted large number of followers to the fold of Qadiri Sufism. The distinguished sufis and scholars like Shaykh Mar'uf, Shaykh Dawud and Shaykh Abd al-Haqq joined the circles of Qadiri sufis of Uch, which further enhanced the popularity and prestige of the *Silsilah*. Most of the Qadri *Khanqahs* in Punjab trace their spiritual lineage from Qadiri sufis of Uch and their descendants. Although a late entrant, Qadiri *Silsilah* from its centre Uch made its mark in South Asia, which was historically dominated by Chishti and Suhrawardi Sufism.

Chapter 4

State, Politics and the Sufis of Uch

There is a general assumption that Sufism only deals with the spiritual dimension of an individual's life and it is not concerned with worldly or external affairs. However, despite being an inward/esoteric and spiritual phenomenon, Sufism is not completely disconnected with worldly affairs including power and politics. From the beginning of the sufi tradition, many of the sufi shaykhs have been connected or engaged with the ruling elite in one way or other. The interaction between the state and the sufis, which started quite early, had various patterns. The sufis raised voice against despotic and authoritarian policies of the medieval states, and on many occasions acted as a counterweight against powerful regimes. However, on other hand, on certain occasions they cooperated with the rulers for redressing the grievances of the masses through collaboration.

The present chapter explores the early contacts of the sufis with the state, and different patterns of interaction between the sufis and the ruling elite. Scholars have interpreted this sufi-state interaction and their underlying motives differently, which are discussed in the chapter. The Indian sufis belonging to different *silsilahs* and their diverse response towards state as well as the approach of medieval rulers towards the sufis during the period under study are also analysed. Against this backdrop, patterns of relationship of Suhrawardi and Qadiri sufis of Uch with medieval Indian state are explored in detail in this chapter.

4.1 Relationship of the State and the Sufis: A Historical Background

The sufis generally did not lead passive or ascetic lives as it is portrayed in some studies; rather

they played an active role in the socio-political settings of medieval Muslim world.¹ The interaction of sufis with the state has diverse patterns, which has added to its complexity. There were various approaches among the sufis of early period of Islam while dealing with political authorities. Most of them avoided any relationship with the rulers and discouraged any association with them. On the contrary, some sufis had cordial relations with the state officials, and considered it a mean of affecting the policies of the state and the behaviour of ruling elite in a positive manner. The medieval rulers also adopted various kinds of attitudes and approaches while dealing with the sufis. Similarly, some of the rulers had good relations with the sufis, and used the popularity of the latter to consolidate and strengthen their rule. Some rulers left sufis and their *khanqahs* undisturbed, whereas some tried to regulate and control the activities of sufis and their *khanqahs*.² Therefore, there was no uniform attitude of the rulers towards the sufis. That is the reason that it is difficult to offer a simplistic explanation or generalize the sufi-state relationship. However, while looking at different patterns of these relationships and analysing diverse opinions of the scholars, an attempt can be made to develop an understanding of the phenomenon.

As a result of the early political developments in Muslim history, dynastic rule of the Umayyad was established which was perpetuated by the Abbasids. These rulers styled themselves as Caliph of the Islamic state, although their rule was solely the result of their political ambitions. The early sufis generally had strained relations with the state as they criticized these rulers for developing monarchical structure of the state as well as adopting

¹ It is believed that general prejudices towards Sufism are either due to ignorance or due to intellectual dishonesty, which portray Sufism as a kind of quietism. Secondly, it is generally mentioned as a “Popular Religion” which developed as a reaction to the orthodox practices or legalism of Islam, and thus in a conflict with *shari’ah*. However, sufis remained quiet in early period of Islam but the reason was to avoid political persecution under the Umayyad and Abbasids; rather it was their ideology. On the other hand, sufis were not in conflict with *shari’ah* and operated very much within the framework of *shari’ah*. See: Geoffroy, *Introduction to Sufism*, 29-31.

² Anjum, *Sufism in History and its Relationship with Power*, 67.

materialistic way of life. For instance, the early sufi Hassan al-Basri (d. 728) did not enjoy smooth relations with the political authorities. He used to boldly criticize the repressive policies of Hajjaj ibn Yusuf (d. 715), the Umayyad governor of Iraq. According to Farid al-Din Attar (d. 1220), once Hassan was delivering a sermon and Hajjaj came there with his troops. However, Hassan continued his sermon without paying any attention or respect to Hajjaj.³ Later, Hassan was forced to go into hiding until Hajjaj's death as the latter had ordered his arrest. Hassan also wrote a letter to Caliph Umar ibn Abd al-Aziz (r. 717-19) and warned him against the false hopes and expectations of the world, and asked him to cherish the values of hunger and voluntary poverty, branding wealth as an evil.⁴ Another celebrated sufi Ibrahim ibn Adham (d. 777), who was initially a prince of Balkh, abandoned worldly possessions and lived a simple life.⁵ These sufis not only refused to accept grants but also official posts offered by the state. Fudayl ibn 'Ayaz (d. 802-3), an eminent sufi, turned down the offering of a thousand gold coins from Abbasid Caliph Harun al-Rashid (r. 786-809). He also boldly criticized the Caliph for his abuse of power, and asked him to dispense justice and always fear from God.⁶ Similarly, another sufi named Shaiq al-Balkhi (d. 810) advised Caliph Harun to display trust-worthiness like Abu Bakr, discrimination between truth and falsehood like Umar, modesty and nobility like Uthman, and knowledge and justice like Ali.⁷ In the same way, many sufis boldly criticized and advised the rulers and refused to become beneficiaries of the state.

Despite the establishment of dynastic rule and adoption of coercive state policies, the rulers still tried to project themselves as protectors of *shari'ah* and Islamic traditions. They tried

³ Farid al-Din Attar, *Tadhkirat al-Awliya* (Lahore: Al-Hamd Publications, 2000), 26.

⁴ A.J. Arberry, *Sufism: An Account of Mystics of Islam* (New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 2003. rpt., first pub. 1950), 33-34

⁵ Al-Hujwiri, *The Kashf al-Mahjub*, 103-4.

⁶ Attar, *Tadhkirat al-Awliya*, 81-83.

⁷ Attar, *Tadhkirat al-Awliya*, 182-83.

to get the support of religious elite, which included *ulama*, jurists, scholars and sufis. The nature of their relationship with the religious elite had political and social implications for the rulers. The rulers tried to get political legitimation through the support of the religious elite. Many of the *ulama*, who had emerged as the custodians of religious authority, developed cordial relations with the rulers. On the other hand, the relationship of the ruling elite with the sufis was not well defined as with the *ulama*, and thus, varied from time to time.⁸

Many of the *ulama*, who perceived the sufis as a challenge to their authority, were against their influence and feared the latter's popularity. As a result, relationships between the sufis and the *ulama* were not always cordial.⁹ Many sufis were accused as heretics, and were awarded punishments by the political authorities on the insistence of *ulama*. The Caliph of Baghdad, for instance ordered the execution of Sufyan al-Thawri (d. 778) but the orders could not be executed due to the sudden death of the Caliph.¹⁰ Similarly, Zu al-Nun al-Misri (d. 861) was arrested and thrown into prison on the charges of heresy. The Caliph ordered the arrest of Abu Hamzah, Raqam, Abu Bakr Shibli, Abu'l- Hasan al-Nuri and Junayd al-Baghdadi on the advice of Ghulam Khalil (d. 888), a staunch Hanbali.¹¹ Some of the sufis were even executed by the political authorities. Among them are Husayn ibn Mansur al-Hallaj (d. 922), 'Ayn al-Quzat Hamadani (d. 1131) and Shihab al-Din Yahya al-Suhrawardi, known as 'Shaykh al-Ishraq' (the Master of Illumination). These are called 'Sufi martyrs'.¹² In the case of South Asia, the attitude of *ulama* towards sufis remained generally hostile. The *ulama* considered many sufi ideas and practices as *bida't* (corrupt practices or deviation from true faith) and against the *shari'ah*. They questioned

⁸ Tanvir Anjum. "The Symbiotic Relationship of Sufism and Politics in the Islamicate South Asia", (University of the Punjab, Lahore) *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* vol. 53, no. 1 (January-June 2016): 95-96.

⁹ Anjum, *Sufism in History and its Relationship with Power*, 68.

¹⁰ Attar, *Tadhkirat al-Awliya*, 175.

¹¹ Attar, *Tadhkirat al-Awliya*, 313.

¹² Anjum, *Sufism in History and its Relationship with Power*, 80-85.

sama‘ (sufi devotional music) and refusal to perform the congregational prayers.¹³ They were more concerned with protecting orthodox Islamic laws than spread of Islam and had limited interaction with the non-Muslims. They even criticized sufis for practicing non-Islamic customs.¹⁴ They encouraged the rulers to take action against the sufis for their unorthodox practices.¹⁵ The sufis of certain *silsilahs* not only criticized the *ulama* who were in the service of the state but also advised young students against joining the state services.

After the early period of individual sufis, the institutionalization of sufi *silsilahs* made the sufi masters or shaykhs the locus of alternative religious authority in Islam, and in some ways the monopoly of the *ulama* over religious authority was challenged by them. The institutions of *khanqah* also played a crucial role in the matters related to state and politics. The considerable following and the popularity of these sufi shaykhs in the masses enhanced their status, which forced rulers to get their support to establish the legitimacy of their rule. For instance, the Sunni Seljuqids after assuming political control in the Abbasid Empire in the eleventh century needed support from varied segments of the society including sufis to consolidate their rule. Therefore, they patronized and supported sufis and constructed *khanqahs*, and in return, they won the support of the sufi groups and the *ulama*. They strengthened their hold on power, and their patronage, in the words of Trimingham, “made sufi establishment more ‘respectable’ in the eyes of the people”.¹⁶ The sufi-state relationship was two-way as both the sufis and the states

¹³ Majority of the sufis abided the Muslim laws and performed their congregational prayers. However, *majzub* and *qalandars* had a different approach towards the matter of *shari’ah*. *Ulama* criticized them and considered their practices the result of sufi teachings, which gave space to these deviant groups.

¹⁴ The sufis provided solace and inspiration to varied local communities, tribes and castes. They made their presence felt in masses as well as in elite segment of the society. They influenced the culture of elites through music, literature, poetry and arts. This popularity prompted the state to patronize them to reach out to society. This popularity was also the reason that the orthodox *ulama* were cautious not to denounce these practices completely as ‘heresy’ rather; they pronounced these merely as ‘corrupt practices’ (*bid’at*), requiring ‘reforms’. See Jafari, “Sufism and the Present Issues” in Jafari and Reifeld eds. *The Islamic Path*, 4.

¹⁵ Aquil, “The Study of Sufism in Medieval India” in Ahmed, *Challenges of History Writing in South Asia*, 289.

¹⁶ Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, 9.

supported each other to strengthen their respective positions.

Many sufis used their cordial relations with the political authorities to influence the state policies in a positive and constructive manner. On the other hand, the ruling elite benefited from the sufis in order to tackle political problems as well as spread of particular brand of Islam. The sufis along with *ulama* and institution of *madrassa* were the most important agents and institutions in spread of Sunni Islam among the masses as well elites during the latter period of Abbasid.¹⁷ During this period, sufis were given considerable importance. For example, Shaykh Najib al-Din Abu'l Qahir Suhrawardi (d. 1167) was given such importance and honour by the rulers that if anybody sought shelter in his *ribat* (sufi dwelling), he could not be forcibly taken away even by a Caliph.¹⁸ His successor, Shaykh Shihab al-Din Abu Hafs Umar al-Suhrawardi also enjoyed good relations with the Caliphs of Baghdad. He served as chief religious advisor to Abbasid Caliph al-Nasir (r. 1180-1225). The Caliph founded *khanqahs* in Baghdad and appointed him as their director. In turn, the shaykh helped the Abbasid Caliphs in their hour of need. For instance, when Khwarizm Shah Muhammad II (r. 1200-20) and his armies marched towards Baghdad in 1217-18, Shaykh Shihab al-Din successfully persuaded him not to attack the city.¹⁹

In the twelfth century, Mamluk State in Egypt sought the help of the sufis for consolidation of their political legitimacy. At the same time, the rulers were fearful of the growing influence of the sufis in Egypt and tried to regulate them. The Mamluk Sultans used to confer the title of Shaykh al-Shuyukh (Master of the Masters) to the heads of various *khanqahs*.²⁰

¹⁷ Antony Black, *The History of Islamic Political Thought: From the Prophet to the Present* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 132.

¹⁸ Nizami, *Some Aspects of the Religion and Politics in India*, 252.

¹⁹ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., vol .VII, art. 'Al-Nasir Li-Din Allah' by A. Hartmann (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 997.

²⁰ Trimmingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, 18.

Although these rulers patronized the sufi *khanqahs*, their interference had an adverse impact on the development of Sufism. The sufis were drawn into political affairs and the autonomy of the *khanqahs* was compromised. In most cases, cordial relationship of the sufis with the rulers resulted in the subordination of the former to the latter.²¹ In contrast with to sufis who enjoyed good relations with the rulers, there were others who had strained relations with the political authorities. Their response towards state affairs was often characterized by indifference. However, some had open conflict with the political authorities, which resulted in the execution of some of the sufis.

To sum up, it was a triangle of political and religious elite during the early centuries of Islam, where *ulama* and sufis were under constant contestation to be the representative of true Islamic traditions under Muslim rule. The sufi responses towards the state were diverse, and similarly the policies of state towards the sufis were also not consistent and uniform. In the early period of Islam, the relationship between the sufis and state generally remained hostile. However, with the institutionalization of sufi *silsilahs* and in the changing political environment of the Muslim dynasties, the relationship became more cordial due to rational engagement of the sufis and the ruling elite with each other.

4.2 State and the Sufis in the Islamicate South Asia

In Islamicate South Asia, the sufis played an active social, and in certain cases, political role. On contrary to some generalization that Sufism is a kind of asceticism, which leads to aversion of worldly affairs, certain studies have challenged and rejected such generalizations about the role of the sufis in Indian society. For instance, Richard Maxwell Eaton in his book, *Sufis of Bijapur (1300-1700)* describes a variety of social roles played by the sufis. According to him, “some of them wielded a sword, others a pen, others a royal land grant, and still others a begging bowl.

²¹ Anjum, *Sufism in History and its Relationship with Power*, 75.

Some were introverted to the point of reclusive withdrawal, other extroverted to the point of zealous puritanism, other unorthodox to the point of heresy”.²² Milad Milani in his recent work titled ‘*Sufi Political Thought*’ opines,

as socio-political agents, sufis and sufi orders have functioned as an alternative to other forms of social agency. Sufism as a ‘source of force’ in both social and political activity defines sufi engagement in both contemporary and historical settings that offers an alternative to two others: the secular and conservative/radical Islamic traditions.²³

Omid Safi is also of the opinion that Sufism has not been disconnected from the realities of life. The sufis were engaged with the state in one way or the other having cordial or oppositional relationship. He concludes that “Sainthood in Islam is no less than a social phenomenon: it can only be recognized when it exists and is acknowledged socially.”²⁴ Sufism in the medieval times acted as a buffer in Indian polity, as the sufis successfully mediated between the marginalized masses and the powerful state. The sufis, who had an associational response towards the establishment, played this mediational role more successfully. Therefore, in the Islamicate South Asia, the sufis not only contributed to society and culture, they also played a significant role in the political affairs. However, the nature of their role and kinds of responses towards the medieval Indian state were diverse. Mainly these responses are categorized as ‘oppositional’ and ‘associational; although not mutually exclusive or in any dichotomous relationship, as it may apparently seem that these categories symbolize two extremes. The complexity of relationship between the state and sufis bars to offer a simplistic explanation or generalize any opinion of the phenomenon.²⁵

The Muslim rule was formally established in South Asia with the establishment of Delhi

²² Richard Maxwell Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur (1300-1700): Social Roles of Sufis in Medieval India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 283.

²³ Milad Milani, *Sufi Political Thought* (London: Routledge, 2018), 146.

²⁴ Safi, *Politics of Knowledge in Premodern Islam*, 126-28.

²⁵ Anjum, *Chishti Sufis in the Sultanate of Delhi*, 69.

Sultanate in the beginning of the thirteenth century. The Sultans of Delhi enjoyed ultimate powers in the matters of state but, their powers had support as well as checks, which include public opinion, *ulama* and sufis. Sunil Kumar is of the opinion that “Sultanate was political structure, which, perhaps ironically was the creation of variety of people not just of the Sultans of the Delhi. Sultanate received support from agents who were crudely speaking not always were its servants.”²⁶ It is argued that an important pressure group, *ulama* were mostly dependent on state’s patronage. They were recruited by state in different capacities, which include, *muftis*, *imam* of the mosques, *qazis* and *sadr al-sudur* etc. *Madrassahs* also received cash as well as land grants from the ruling elite. Therefore, generally the *ulama* were subservient to the state and even interpreted Islam, which was suitable to the interests of the political elite.²⁷ However, the pattern of relationship of the state with the sufis was somewhat different from *ulama* and *vice versa*.

Nevertheless, the sufis were also not out of the influence of the state. There was conflict as well as collaboration between the sufis and the state. The medieval Muslim rulers tried to get support of the sufis to create legitimacy for their rule among the Muslim masses. The sufis also used state patronage to enhance their followings as well as to compete with the orthodox *ulama* and fellow sufis.²⁸ Some scholars are of the view that the progress of sufi *silsilahs* was the result of direct or indirect support of the medieval Muslim state. Blain H. Auer is of the view that the establishment of Delhi Sultanate as well as sufi *silsilahs* at the same time during early thirteenth century is not merely a coincidence. The court chronicles and the *malfizat* of the sufis shared discursive spaces, and the authors of both were mostly members of the ruling elite and held official positions. It seemed that these *malfizat* and *tadhkirahs* or hagiographical literature was

²⁶ Sunil Kumar, *The Emergence of the Delhi Sultanate 1192-1286* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2007), 6.

²⁷ Aquil, *In the Name of Allah*, 129.

²⁸ Aquil, *In the Name of Allah*, 178.

indirectly received patronage from the state.²⁹ Another expression of state patronage towards the institution of Sufism was the award of cash and land grants. Many of the sufi *khanqahs* received offerings in the form of cash and land by the Sultans themselves or nobles and high state officials.³⁰ As a result, this patronage benefited ruling elite in creating the acceptability of their rule in the masses through the popularity of these sufis. The renowned Pakistani Marxist historian, Mubarak Ali is of the opinion that the sufis generally remained supportive to the Muslim rulers and were not part of the conspiracies and rebellions against the latter. Although sometimes they were forced into some political conflicts, otherwise they remained neutral.³¹ It seems that the sufis played an important role in getting Islam acceptable in India and in consolidating the Muslim rule in South Asia.

4.2.1 Major Sufi *Silsilahs* and their Diverse Response towards Medieval Indian State

As earlier mentioned the Chishti and Suhrawardi were the two major sufi *Silsilahs*, which were established during the thirteenth century in India. The sufis of these *silsilahs* had to deal with local rulers or Sultans of Delhi as far as issues relating to state were concerned. The Chishti and Suhrawardi sufis had no major differences on the basic sufi principles and traditions. However, there was difference in their attitude towards wealth, politics and government service. The Chishtis had an attitude of indifference towards politics, government service and wealth.

Tanvir Anjum in her work “*Chishti Sufis in the Sultanate of Delhi, 1190-1400: From Restrained Indifference to Calculated Defiance*” opines that

the Chishti Shaykhs maintained a safe distance from the Sultans and the Delhi court, and also tried not to antagonize the political authorities by minimizing any chances of overt conflict with and open defiance of the state....Individual shaykhs

²⁹ Blain H. Auer, “Intersections Between Sufism and Power: Narrating the Shaykhs and Sultans of Northern India, 1200-1400” in John J. Curry and Eric S. Ohlander. eds. *Sufism and Society: Arrangements of the Mystical in the Muslim World, 1200-1800* (London: Routledge, 2012), 17, 20.

³⁰ Auer, “Intersections Between Sufism and Power” in Curry and Ohlander. eds. *Sufism and Society*, 21.

³¹ Mubarak Ali, *The Ulama, Sufis and Intellectuals* (Lahore: Fiction House, 1996), 178.

conducted themselves, keeping in view the gravity of the situation, and thereby avoiding possible injury to the interests of the *Silsilah* and its space, welfare of the people at large, and indeed, the Sultanate of Delhi itself. Contrary to the misconstrued conception about the Sufis' 'other-worldly worldview; and their relationship with power, politics and state, the study proves that the views and attitudes of Chishtis, who were mistakenly considered to apolitical, and apparently did not believe in associating themselves with the state, had significant repercussions for the rulers, state policies, power and politics³²

Some scholars are of the opinion that actually the Chishtis provided indirect support to the state despite having the approach of indifference. For instance, Fatima Hussain is of the opinion that although Chishti sufis tried to distance themselves from the state to maintain their independence, however they still provided support to the state in a covert manner.³³ However, their support was mainly in the times of crises, during military campaigns and in welfare works. She also makes an interesting observation that the sufis who distanced themselves from the state acted as the articulators of public opinion. They provided "in-built system of dissent" and a kind of "safety valve".³⁴ This was one of the major factors of stability and it prevented any large-scale revolution against the state.

The Suhrawardis, however, developed cordial relations with the central authority or local governors more openly and accepted titles and official positions in the government. They generally adopted associational approach and had no issues interacting with the rulers and state officials. They also accumulated wealth, and the culture of their *khanqahs* was not as simple as that of Chishti *jama'atkhana*s.³⁵ The Sultans also purposefully tried to develop cordial relations with these sufis, showed reverence, gave gifts and land grants and publicized these acts of devotion to improve their public image.³⁶

³² Anjum, *Chishti Sufis in the Sultanate of Delhi*, 368-69.

³³ Fatima Hussain, *The War that Wasn't: The Sufi and the Sultan* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 2009), 115.

³⁴ Hussain, *The War that Wasn't*, 190.

³⁵ Nizami, "The Suhrawardi *Silsilah*", 109.

³⁶ Hussain, *The War that Wasn't*, 115.

The sufis of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* put forward certain arguments in favour of their associational relationship with the rulers. They believed that their cordial relationship with the rulers contributed in making the policies of Sultan more *shari'ah*-oriented and people friendly. They were of the view that there was no valid justification to exclude the Sultans from the programme of spiritual uplift. They believed that thought, behaviour and life of a ruler was directly linked with the public. So if the ruler was guided in this regard, it ultimately impacted the life of the ruled.³⁷

However, the Chishti sufis rejected all these arguments, saw any contact with the rulers as contamination of the soul. They also condemned accumulation of wealth as it was against the spirit of *tawakkul* (reliance on God).³⁸ They rejected state support and all land grants on the plea that involvement in politics leads towards materialism. Therefore, the issue of cordial relationship of the sufis with the state remained controversial. As Chishti sufis faced criticism on the issue of *sama'* and use of music, the major criticism on the Suhrawardi sufis was accumulation of wealth and their relationship with the rulers. During Mughal period, many of the Qadiri and Naqshbandi sufis remained involved in political affairs. However, their attitude was not uniform as it varied from sufi to sufi and the existing circumstances.

4.2.2 Approach of Medieval Indian Rulers towards the Sufis

With the institutionalization of *silsilahs* and network of *khanqahs*, the influence and followings of the sufis among the public was increased that medieval state could not ignore their presence. The institution of *khanqah* as a complex social and administrative sufi network played an important and multi-dimensional role in the process of acculturation and in power discourse in medieval India. People from all segments of society visited these *khanqahs* in search of solace,

³⁷ Sijzi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, 200-1. See also Nizami, "The Suhrawardi *Silsilah*", 114.

³⁸ Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India*, 253.

guidance, financial help, day-to-day problem solving and blessings from the sufi shaykhs. These visitors included common people as well as nobles and princes, creating a new paradigm for inter-group cooperation. As an institution of considerable power and influence, it became a subject of concern for many rulers during that period.³⁹ As earlier mentioned, the Suhrawardi *khanqahs*, in contrast to the Chishti *jama'atkhanas*, had well-organized and complex structure, and due to accumulation of wealth and contacts with the state, they had an aristocratic colour.

The approach of medieval Indian rulers towards sufis varied from time to time and Sultan to Sultan. It is argued that during the first phase of Delhi Sultanate, the Sultans were least bothered about public opinion and that was the reason that *ulama* were more dominant in religious discourse and political ideology than the sufis. However, during the latter half of the thirteenth century and onward, the sufis became more influential due to institutionalization of the *silsilahs* and their popularity among the masses.⁴⁰ The Sultans were also influenced by the principles and traditions of certain *silsilahs*. Khurram Qadir is of the opinion that the Sultans like Ghiyath al-Din Balban (r. 1266-86), Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq (r.1321-25) and Muhammad ibn Tughluq (r. 1325-51), who spent their early years in Multan and Dipalpur were influenced by the orthodox *shari'ah* oriented sufi thought of Suhrawardi sufis of Multan and Uch. As a result when they came in power they differed with the ideology of Chishti sufis and developed strained relations with them.⁴¹

Most of the Sultans, however, tried to win the favour of the sufis to strengthen their rule. The former wanted to cultivate good relations with the sufis to benefit from their popularity. The sufis, who showed no political ambitions, were patronized by the state. The sufis were gifted,

³⁹ Hussain, *The War that Wasn't*, 96-111.

⁴⁰ Qadir, "Sultanate-i Delhi," 51.

⁴¹ Qadir, "Sultanate-i Delhi," 45. Although in the case of Tughluq Sultans this observation seems correct, there are no evidences of Balban's confrontation with Chishti sufis.

awarded stipends, land grants and even in some cases, the Sultan built their *khanqahs*.⁴² Some of the rulers also respected the sufis to get spiritual benediction. Barbara Metcalf is of the opinion that “the sultans patronized them as inheritors of charisma (*baraka*) derived through ‘chains of succession’ (*silsilah*) from the Prophet himself. Their blessing was regarded as essential to a ruler’s power.”⁴³ While discussing the reason of these relations, it is argued that some Sultans sincerely sought the blessings of the sufis for their success but others used their support merely for political gains. Similarly, the sufis accepted royal patronage for a number of reasons. In some cases, the sufis shaykhs used these relations to influence the policies of the rulers in favour of public. They also used state patronage for diffusion of sufi traditions as well as strengthen their particular *silsilah*. However, the level of acceptance of this patronage by the sufis varied. Some sufis accepted official assignments and financial benefits and served the state in their official capacity. However, despite their political association, the sufis of the South Asia generally resisted state inference in their *khanqahs* or *silsilahs* as compared to other areas of the Islamic world.⁴⁴

While studying the sufi-state relationship in South Asia, many incidents also show problematic relations between the two. Sometimes the nature of conflict was tense but covert. In some cases, it was an open confrontation between the two. The reasons of the hostility included, criticism of the sufis on the state policies or ruler’s suspicion over the political designs of the sufis. The appointments of *khalifahs*, deputy *khalifas* and the assignment of a spiritual territory by the sufis looked like parallel hierarchy of provincial governors, appointed by the Sultan. The *bay‘a* (oath of allegiance) was taken for allegiance both by the sufis and Muslim rulers. Also the award of *khirqah* (sufi robe) and *khila* (robe of honour) by sufis and Sultans respectively

⁴² Ali, *The Ulama, Sufis and Intellectuals*, 179.

⁴³ See introduction in Metcalf, ed. *Islam in South Asia in Practice*, 8.

⁴⁴ Anjum. “The Symbiotic Relationship of Sufism and Politics”, 99-102.

resembled each other.⁴⁵ However, sometime political authorities initiated a conflict due to personal reasons or on theological issues initiated by *ulamas*.⁴⁶

Sufism gradually gained popularity, which was further strengthened by the institutionalization of sufi *silsilahs*. Sufism developed a parallel social organization, seen by the rulers as potential threat to their rule. The sufi teachings and practices penetrated in the peasantry, military and nobility.⁴⁷ The institution of *khanqah*, the popular titles of the sufis like *Sultan al-Hind*, and *Sultan al-Mashaikh*, and the concepts of *wilayat* (Spiritual jurisdiction over a particular geographical territory) were matters of concern for the Sultans.⁴⁸

During Sultanate rule, the period of Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq is considered the most tense as far as sufi-state relations are concerned. He tried to take religious elite (either sufis or *ulama*) under his control and pressurized them to join state service. Non-compliance of the Sultan's orders resulted in the punishment of the sufis. Certain *silsilahs* like Chishti having a policy of not taking part in government affairs was most affected.⁴⁹ The sufis of Chishti *Silsilah*, who wanted to maintain their independence, were maltreated by the Sultan, which created an atmosphere of mistrust and hostility between them. However, his successor, Firuz Shah Tughluq during the latter half of fourteenth century tried to create balance between *ulama* and the sufis and cultivated good relations with the religious elite of the period.

The Indian political and religious history took a major turn during the sixteenth century.

⁴⁵ Auer, "Intersections Between Sufism and Power" in Curry and Ohlander. eds. *Sufism and Society*, 28.

⁴⁶ Tanvir Anjum. "State-Sufi Confrontation in Islamic South Asia: A Causal Typology", *Journal of Asian Civilizations* (Islamabad) vol. 37, no. 1 (July 2014): 150.

⁴⁷ Black, *The History of Islamic Political Thought*, 132.

⁴⁸ Mubarak Ali is of the opinion that to achieve political domination was not possible without conspiracies, intrigues and bloodshed. Therefore, the sufis established their spiritual kingdoms, using their popularity and avoiding direct conflict with the political authorities. It is also significant as although different sufi *silsilahs* established their own spiritual kingdoms, they were not involved in any conflict with each other on the question of spiritual jurisdiction and remained peacefully. There were also structural differences between temporal and spiritual authority as there could be only one supreme authority in a temporal dominion but on the contrary, in a spiritual kingdom it was not the case. The temporal Kingdom also ended with the Sultan's rule or death but the spiritual kingdom exists even today even after the death of the Shaykh. See Ali, *The Ulama, Sufis and Intellectuals*, 180, 184, 189.

⁴⁹ Anjum, "State-Sufi Confrontation in Islamic South Asia", 159.

During the Mughal rule, Qadiri and Naqshabandi *Silsilahs* created their space in an environment where Chishti and Suhrawardi *Silsilahs* still held considerable followings. The Mughals continued the patronage of the sufis of different *silsilahs*. Zahir al-Din Babur (d. 1530), the founder of Mughal dynasty, extended his support to Central Asian Naqshbandi sufis, who soon made footings into India from their base in Kabul.⁵⁰ Emperor Akbar venerated Shaykh Salim Chishti (d. 1572) and made pilgrimage to the shrine of Shaykh Muin al-Din Chishti (d. 1235) in Ajmer. Prince Dara Shikoh (d. 1659), the son of the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan, was initiated into Qadiri *Silsilah* and wrote hagiographical work on sufis. However, the relationships of Mughal Emperors with the sufis were complex in nature as the latter were conscious of their independence from any political or religious influence. The sufis, however, enjoyed considerable influence in independent regional kingdoms and were venerated by the local rulers.

The ensuing section discusses the relationship and various responses of the major sufis of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* of Uch towards the ruling elite and the policies of the Delhi Sultans and local rulers towards them.

4.3 Suhrawardi Sufis of Uch and their Relationship with the State

As this section focuses on the approach of Suhrawardi sufis of Uch and their relationship with medieval Indian state, it seems pertinent to briefly discuss the approach of the founders of the Suhrawardi *Silsilah* towards the state, although certain references have been made earlier. Mostly Indian Suhrawardis followed the lines of their predecessors as far as their relationship with the state was concerned, though with slight modification. Therefore, Suhrawardi sufis of Uch and Multan imbedded the approach of their spiritual masters in their dealings with the ruling elite.

⁵⁰ See introduction in Metcalf, ed. *Islam in South Asia in Practice*, 13.

4.3.1 Suhrawardi *Silsilah* and the State: A Brief History

Associational approach towards the state is not exclusively identified with a particular *silsilah*. However, the Suhrawardi sufis generally had an associational approach towards the rulers, and they collaborated with the state. They had cordial and personal relationship with the rulers and were well respected by the ruling elite. The tradition of associational approach is usually identified with the early founders of the Suhrawardi *Silsilah*. Shaykh Najib al-Din Abdul Qahir Suhrawardi wrote a famous book on Sufism, titled *Adab al-Muridin*, in which he conditionally permitted the sufis to join government service only with the intention of redressing the grievances of the masses and to protect them from the atrocities of government officials.⁵¹ Shaykh Najib al-Din himself had good relations with the Caliphs of Baghdad. His nephew and successor, Shaykh Shihab al-Din followed the traditions of his uncle and became the chief religious adviser to the Abbasid Caliph Al-Nasir (r. 1180-1225). It is argued that this patronage relationship also brought certain compromises, commitments, and expectations for both the Caliph and the Shaykh.⁵² The cordial relationship not only influenced Caliph Al-Nasir's administration but also, more importantly, contributed towards the expansion of Suhrawardi *Silsilah*.⁵³

The Suhrawardi sufis adopted an attitude towards state, which was different from other contemporary *silsilahs*. They developed relationship with the rulers and justified their attitude on the grounds that by visiting royal courts they could help the poor by getting their grievances redressed by the Sultan. Shaykh Najib al-Din Abdul Qahir Suhrawardi urged his disciples to extend respect and reverence towards the rulers. He also advised them not to find faults in them.

⁵¹ Saiyyid Muhammad Hussaini Gesudiraz, *Khatima* (Epilogue to *Adab al-Muridin* by Shaykh Najib al-Din) Urdu tr. Saiyyid Yasin Ali Dehlavi (Lahore: Al-Kitab, 1977), 36-37.

⁵² Ohlander, *Sufism an Age of Transition*, 58, 306.

⁵³ Qamar-ul Huda, *Striving for Divine Union: Spiritual Exercises for Suhrawardi Sufis* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 18.

He presented the Quranic verse: “Obey Allah, obey His Prophet and obey those with authority amongst you (al-Quran 4:59).” used in support of this attitude.⁵⁴ He stated that seeing a just ruler was a blessing. However, Shaykh Najib al-Din cautioned his disciples to avoid meeting with unjust rulers, and if unavoidable a piece of good advice must be given to them.⁵⁵

Shaykh Najib al-Din’s *ribat* or sufi dwelling was visited not only by masses but also by nobles, *ulama* and even the Caliph himself. Caliph Nasir al-Din Allah (r. 1180-1225), was the last effective ruler of Abbasid Empire, who made Sufism an important pillar of his religio-political program, which included the reorganization of Sunni Islam.⁵⁶ The Shaykh’s dedication of his work, ‘*Awarif al-Ma‘arif*, to the Caliph shows the extent of their mutual relationship. However, the Shaykh never compromised on matters of principles. He resigned from the headship of *Madrasah* Nizamiyyah due to the law of escheat on the property of a boarder.⁵⁷ The Suhrawardis sufis believed that their relationship with the rulers could protect latter from wayward ideas. In *Fawaid al Fuad* Shaykh Nizam al-Din Awliya describes:

Once Shaykh Shihab al-Din Suhrawardi was told about the meeting of a philosopher with the *Khalifah*. On knowing this, the Shaykh immediately left for court. He was of the opinion that if *Khalifah* is influenced by philosophical ideas, there was danger of spread of heresy in the country.⁵⁸

Therefore, their relationship with the rulers was a conscious effort to influence their thought and policies in a manner, which they seemed as the rightest.

The real founder of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in India was Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya (d. 1262), who was an eminent disciple of Shaykh Shihab al-Din Umar Suhrawardi. It is argued that Shaykh Shihab al-Din’s teachings not only lived on in Central Asia but also in India. The sufis of

⁵⁴ Shaykh Diya al-Din Abu Najib Abd al-Qahir Al-Suhrawardi, *Adab al-Muridin*. Urdu trans. Muhammad Abd al Basit (Lahore: Tasawwuff Foundations, 1998), 66.

⁵⁵ Al-Suhrawardi, *Adab al-Muridin*, 67-68.

⁵⁶ Black, *The History of Islamic Political Thought*, 137.

⁵⁷ Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India*, 253.

⁵⁸ Sijzi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, 200-1.

Suhrawardi *Silsilah* became part of social as well as political structure of Islam.⁵⁹ Shaykh Baha al-Din followed the model of his spiritual preceptor, Shaykh Shihab al-Din while dealing with medieval Indian state although with certain differences.⁶⁰ He made Multan a centre of his activities at a very critical period of Indian history, when Multan and Sindh were governed by Sultan Nasir al-Din Qabachah (d. 1228). Sultan Shams al-Din Iletmish, the king of Delhi, wanted to annex the region of Sindh and Multan to the Sultanate. Though Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya lived under Qabachah's rule in Multan, he openly supported and sided with Sultan Iletmish.⁶¹ Shaykh Baha al-Din and Sharaf al-Din, the Qazi of Multan, wrote letters to Sultan Iletmish inviting him to attack and annex the region, but they were intercepted by Qabachah. He summoned Shaykh Baha al-Din and Qazi Sharaf al-Din in his court. Qabachah asked the Shaykh about the writing of this letter. Shaykh Baha al-Din fearlessly defended, admitting that he had written the letter under divine guidance, and asked Qabachah to do whatever he could do. Qabachah became nonplussed on this bold response. The Shaykh also took food with Qabachah, although against his tradition to avoid further fury of the Sultan. Later, the Shaykh was allowed to return home, however, the Qazi was killed on the charges of treason.⁶² In medieval *tadhkirahs*, Shaykh's escape from punishment is credited to his spiritual powers. However, Nizami is of the opinion that the reasons were more political than spiritual. The Shaykh enjoyed considerable political influence and immense popularity among the people of Multan. Any punishment to the Shaykh would have led to rebellion. It was not affordable in the circumstances where Iletmish could exploit the situation and attack Multan. However, popular imagination attributed to this

⁵⁹ Black, *The History of Islamic Political Thought*, 138.

⁶⁰ Ohlander, *Sufism an Age of Transition*, 306

⁶¹ It is very interesting rather misleading that Hassan Ali Khan in his recent work on Suhrawardi sufis of the Indus region repeatedly argued that Qabachah and Baha al-Din Zakariyya had cordial relations. He gave no reference of any contemporary or later sources about this understanding. This is historically incorrect as in contemporary sources it is clearly indicated that Baha al-Din Zakariyya was tilted towards Iletmish, which caused strained relations between Zakariyya and Qabachah. See: Khan, *Constructing Islam on the Indus*, 93.

⁶² Sijzi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, 290. See also Jamali, *Siyar al- Arifin*, 158-59.

politically motivated move is of the Shaykh's miraculous powers.⁶³ As evident from above mentioned episode, Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya was tilted towards Iletmish, which strained the relations between the Shaykh and Qabachah.

In 1228, Sultan Iletmish defeated the forces of Qabachah and annexed Multan and Sindh to his Sultanate. Shaykh Baha al-Din developed cordial relations with Sultan Iletmish and also accepted the honorific title of *Shaykh al-Islam* (the Chief of Islam).⁶⁴ Despite these close relations with Iletmish, the Shaykh did not enforce his opinion in political matters. However, the Shaykh played very effective role and coordinated with the state to deal with the Mongol problem. He played the role of arbitrator when the Mongol forces besieged Multan in 1246. Shaykh Baha al-Din gave one hundred thousand *tankahs* (silver coins) to the Mongol leader from his own treasury, and saved the town from destruction.⁶⁵ This event shows the affluence of Suhrawardi *Khanqah* of Multan as well as the active role of the sufis in issues faced by the state. In a process of mediation and ensuring the security of common people, they contributed to the consolidation of political authority of Delhi Sultanate.

The successors of Shaykh Baha al-Din continued to enjoy good relations with the Sultans of Delhi. These relations mutually contributed towards strengthening the authority of Delhi Sultanate and popularity of *Silsilah* Suhrawardiyyah in the region of Multan and Sindh. There was only a brief episode of hostile relations between Shaykh Sadr al-Din Arif, the son and principal *khalifa* of Shaykh Baha al-Din and Prince Muhammad (d. 1285), the son of Ghiyath al-Din Balban, who was the governor of Multan at that time. Shaykh Sadr al-Din also showed an aversion towards the matters of state and holding official position. However, the grandson and

⁶³ Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India*, 254.

⁶⁴ Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. 1, 192.

⁶⁵ Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India*, 256.

khalifah of Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya, Shaykh Rukn-i Alam (d. 1335) had very cordial relations with Khalji Sultans. Whenever he visited royal court, people used to put petitions in his palanquin to get recommendations by the Sultans.⁶⁶

During the reign of Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq (r. 1325-51), Bahram Aibah Kishlu Khan, the governor of Multan, rebelled against the Sultan. The royal forces invaded Multan in the year 1327-28 and crushed the rebellion. The Sultan ordered general massacre of the population of the city. On this occasion, Shaykh Rukn-i Alam requested the Sultan for amnesty, which he accepted.⁶⁷ Therefore, Shaykh's presence in the city and mediation saved the lives of the residents of Multan.

By and large, the sufi-state relationships proved beneficial for both of them, however, on certain occasions the sufis have to pay a heavy price for their political affiliation. In the above mentioned conflict between Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq and Bahram Aibah Kishlu Khan, 'Imad al-Din, the brother of Shaykh Rukn-i Alam, was killed while siding with the Tughluq Sultan. Ibn-i Battutah has noted in his travelogue, *Ajaib al-Asfar* that as reparation of Shaykh Rukn-i Alam's loss, the Sultan awarded him a *jagir* of hundred villages.⁶⁸ However, it is argued that his close association with the Sultan and the nobles as well as acceptance of *jagirs* brought the interests of the *Silsilah* in danger. The independence of Suhrawardi *Khanqah* was compromised during the reign of Muhammad ibn Tughluq as even Shaykh Rukn-i Alam had to get the permission of the governor of Multan before providing lodging to any person at his *khanqah*.⁶⁹

Shaykh Rukn-i Alam died issueless, and after his demise the issue of his succession

⁶⁶ Jamali, *Siyar al-Arifin*, 202-3.

⁶⁷ Nizami, "The Suhrawardi *Silsilah*," 129.

⁶⁸ Ibn Battutah, *Aja'ib al-Asfar*, 165.

⁶⁹ Ibn Battutah, *Aja'ib al-Asfar*, 23.

raised which was ultimately decided by Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq. This further provided space to the Sultan to take control of the Suhrawardi *Khanqah* at Multan. So the affiliation in this case allowed state interference in the matters of *khanqah*. It seems that Sultans's policy of regulating the religious elite and their establishments was one of the major factors behind this interference. This incident might have confirmed his belief that these institutions needed state control for effective functioning. The state/Sultan prevented conflict or possible split within the Suhrawardi *Silsilah* or *Khanqah*.

To sum up, Shaykh Rukn-i Alam's career is an example in case of the Suhrawardi practice of remaining in touch with the rulers and courtiers. Shaykh Rukn-i Alam's spiritual status, personal prestige and influence saved the reputation of the *Silsilah* but his weak descendants (lineal who claimed spiritual authority) could not neutralize the ill effects of power and wealth. Even worse was the Sultan's order of execution of Shaykh Hud, the grandson and successor of Shaykh Rukn-i Alam of Multan.⁷⁰

4.3.2 State and the Suhrawardi Sufis of Uch

As earlier mentioned, during the Tughluq period in the fourteenth century, Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in Multan experienced important transformations, and Uch branch of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* became more prominent under Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Makhdum-i Jahaniyan Jahangasht (d. 1384), a grandson of Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari. He was an eminent sufi of his times whose status was considered higher than his contemporary Suhrawardi sufis. He lived up to the needs of the time, which contributed in the success of Uch branch of Suhrawardi *Silsilah*.

During the period of Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari and his son Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir, Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya and later his grandson, Shaykh Rukn-i Alam remained

⁷⁰ Riazul Islam, *Sufism in South Asia: Impact on Fourteenth Century Muslim Society* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002), 285.

active on the social as well political scene of the Sultanate. Therefore, these sufis of Uch branch of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* remained under the shadow of their spiritual preceptors of Multan in matters of state and did not come to the forefront. However, after the weakening of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in Multan, Saiyyid Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, the grandson of Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari, emerged as an influential figure and filled the gap of a strong personality in Suhrawardi *Silsilah*. The Makhdum's approach towards medieval Indian state was not uniform one, rather determined by the circumstances. Although Makhdum-i Jahaniyan avoided any contact as well as the official assignment offered by Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq, he enjoyed good relations with Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq, the successor of Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq.

As earlier mentioned, Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq adopted very strict policy towards the religious elite of that time including *ulama* and the sufis. He intervened in the matters of *madrassa* and *khanqah* and tried to regulate these institutions according to his own terms. He wanted to utilize the services of *ulama* and sufis in running the affairs of the state, which he thought were helpful for his rule. He tried to engage Makhdum-i Jahaniyan in the service of the state, as Uch branch of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* had a considerable influence in Sindh. The Sultan appointed him as *Shaykh al-Islam*, made him in-charge of forty *khanqahs* in Siwistan (Sindh), and awarded him a *jagir*.⁷¹ In spite of these favours, the Makhdum could not hold the office for long and tactfully abandoned this assignment. In his *malfuz Jami' ul-'Ulum*, it is mentioned twice that he was directed by his *murshid* Shaykh Rukn-i Alam in a dream to give up that position and proceed to Makkah. He acted upon on these instructions, and left for travels in the Islamicate world. Makhdum-i Jahaniyan referred to abandoning this post as 'coming out of the filth'.⁷² In this brief encounter with the Sultan, the Makhdum, however, managed to avoid any

⁷¹ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 245.

⁷² Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 255, 606.

overt confrontation. He spent the remaining years of his rule in travels. Even after his return to India, he did not speak high about the Sultan. The Makhdum gave no explicit reason for his aversion to him. Riazul Islam discusses two possible reasons of his aversion towards Sultan. Firstly, the Sultan's harsh treatment towards *ulama* and sufis, and secondly, the Sultan's meddling in the affairs of the Suhrawardi *Silsilah*. Even during the period of Shaykh Rukn-i Alam, nobody was allowed to stay in the *khanqah* without prior permission of the governor of Multan.

When Makhdum-i Jahaniyan returned to India from his travels, Sultan Firuz Shah ascended the throne of Delhi. The former revived the Suhrawardi centre at Uch in a manner that his reputation spread all over India. He was very strict in matters pertaining to the observance of *shari'ah* by all Muslims. The Sultan was also known for his strict adherence to the principles of *shari'ah*. Makhdum-i Jahaniyan enjoyed friendly relations with the Sultan and also exercised considerable influence on state policies under him.

As earlier mentioned, Makhdum-i Jahaniyan's attitude towards state was not wedded with a particular approach. Nizami is of the view "probably no saint of the Suhrawardi *Silsilah* has explained his views vis-a-vis the state with such candidness and clarity as Sayyid Jalal al-Din Bukhari."⁷³ Although he had close contact with Sultan Firuz Shah and his nobles, he explicitly criticized court life and the sources of the income of the ruling class. Nizami as well as other scholars are of the opinion that this contradiction in his thought was probably due to his spiritual affiliation with both the Chishtis and the Suhrawardis, who held opposite views on political matters.⁷⁴ On one occasion, Makhdum-i Jahaniyan praised the rulers and asked his disciples to obey the political authority faithfully. He said:

⁷³ Nizami, "The Suhrawardi *Silsilah*", 114.

⁷⁴ Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India*, 250. See also Javed, *Punjab kay Sufi Danishwar*, 124.

The rulers of the world are the ‘Chosen’ ones of God, the Almighty. Under no conditions, showing disrespect to them or disobeying their orders is proper or permitted in *shari‘ah*. It is for this reason that God has committed to their care so many prayers and religious services e.g., Friday prayers, Eid prayers, control of the Public Treasury---opposing their commandments, openly or secretly, is not permitted. O careless fellow! Thou (whom the Sultan gives) villages, rewards and territories etc., why do you not help the king in (getting over) the difficulties that come in his way, and (why) do you not meet his enemies with anger? If thou does not do all this; it is unlawful for thee to eat or accept all these means of livelihood. Tomorrow on the Day of Judgment you shall be severely punished for this. The Prophet said, ‘Whoever obeys the Sultan, obeys God and whoever obeys God attains salvation’.⁷⁵

But on another occasion, he criticized the rulers while responding to a person who wanted to know whether taking meals with them was permitted or not, and declared:

It is recorded in *Fatawa-i-Khani* that it is abominable to eat the food of Maliks and Sultans. The reason is that most of their revenues these days are derived from sources which are based on tyranny and oppression, e.g. the income from: *Dalalat-i-Bazarha*, *Jazari*, *Amir Mutrabi*, *Jikri Ghalla*, *Hasil-i-Kayyalan*, *Habba Khumaran*, *Bagigaran*, *Mahi-Faroshan*, *Sabzi wa Tara faroshan*, *Lamabra*, *Nisbat wa Qismat*, *Sabun-garan*, *Musadrah faroshan*, *Gul faroshan*, *Jazai*, the property of dead and the property placed in another’s custody. All Muslim Jurists are unanimously of the opinion that all money from these sources is illegal. Since the present rulers get money from these sources, eating and drinking with them is prohibited.⁷⁶

Riazul Islam is of the opinion that although Makhdum was initiated into several sufi *silsilahs* including the Chishtiyyah, his primary affiliation was with Suhrawardi *Silsilah*. Being primarily a sufi of Suhrawardi *Silsilah*, his political ideas and practices were more in line with of this *Silsilah*. Most of his statements regarding rulers show his pro-establishment stance, as most of these urge the masses to submit themselves to the authority of the ruler.⁷⁷ On his way home from

⁷⁵ Ahmed Barani, *Siraj al-Hidayah (Malfuzat of Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Bukhari Makhdum-i Jahaniyan)* ed. Qazi Sajjad Hussain (Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research, 1983), 61-2.

⁷⁶ Barani, *Siraj al-Hidayah*, 111-12. Some of the taxes mentioned above are translated by Nizami, which include, *Dalalat-i-Bazarha* (tax on brokers), *Jazari* (tax on butchers) , *Amir Mutrabi* (amusement tax on festival gatherings), *Jikri Ghalla* (octroi on grains and cereals), *Hasil-i-Kayyalan* (tax collected from measurer of grain), *Habba Khumaran* (tax on vintners and wine merchants), *Bagigaran* (tax on sellers of malt-liquor), *Mahi-Faroshan* (tax on sale of fish), *Sabzi wa Tara faroshan* (tax on the sale of vegetables), and *Sabun-garan* (tax on soap making). See Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India*, 251.

⁷⁷ Riazul Islam, *Sufism in South Asia*, 279-80.

Makkah, he visited Shiraz and there he presented a unique interpretation of the Quranic verse, ‘Obey Allah, the Apostle, and those charged with authority among you’ (4:59). The Makhdum took the view that if one does not render obedience to the last one that rendered to the first two would not be accepted. This was reported to the king of Shiraz, who was so impressed by it that he came in person to pay his respects to the Makhdum and presented him with two trays, one of gold coins and the other of silver. He remarked that he had never heard such interpretation of the verse before. The Makhdum stated that he had only narrated what he had himself heard from his teachers said at Makkah.⁷⁸

Makhdum-i Jahaniyan’s approach towards the state was clearly associational and on his return to India, he developed good relations with ruling elite, as his spiritual preceptors. He developed very friendly relations with Sultan Firuz Tughluq.⁷⁹ According to Shams Siraj Afif, a fifteenth century historian, after two or three years, the Saiyyid travelled from Uch to Delhi to meet the Sultan. Sultan Firuz used to welcome him with great respect and honour, and always showed profound reverence for him. When Makhdum-i Jahaniyan visited the court, the Sultan used to stand up to receive him.⁸⁰ Whenever he visited the Sultan, people used to put their petitions in his palanquin. He never prevented the people from doing so. The Sultan considering it an honour, used to pass instant orders for the redress of these grievances.⁸¹ Makhdum-i Jahaniyan always stayed as a royal guest in Delhi, mostly at the residence of Prince Fath Khan. The Sultan had a routine to visit the residence of the Makhdum.⁸² Sultan Firuz also presented

⁷⁸ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 645-46.

⁷⁹ Razul Islam is of the opinion that first instances of meeting between Makhdum-i Jahaniyan and Sultan Firuz Tughluq are found on the eve of Makhdum’s mediation between Samma chiefs and the Sultan in 1367. See: Riazul Islam, *Sufism in South Asia*, 286-87.

⁸⁰ Shams Siraj Afif, *Tarikh-i Firuzshahi*, Urdu trans. Mawlawi Muhammad Fida Ali Talib (Hyderabad: Dar al-Tab Jamiah Uthmaniyya, 1938; rpt., Karachi: Nafis Academy, 1966), 331.

⁸¹ Afif, *Tarikh-i Firuzshahi*, 331-32.

⁸² Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 764-65.

offerings in cash and kind and granted land to the Makhdum.⁸³ Whenever Makhdum-i Jahaniyan left Delhi for Uch, the Sultan saw him off up to one stage of his journey.⁸⁴ The Makhdum kept on visiting Delhi for several years.

The Makhdum gave reason of his visits to royal court, as in *Siraj al-Hidaya*, his *malfuz*, he stated that:

I did not undertake this journey to Delhi for the sake of fame or worldly fortune. (The reason was) that the son of a teacher of mine told me: ‘Your teacher died leaving behind seven daughters. The Sultan of Delhi and the dignitaries of the state have faith in you. You should go there and collect from these people something for me so that, through your kind help, I might arrange for their marriages.’ I have come to Delhi with this purpose; otherwise, what has a *dervish* got to do with the society of rich people and nobles.⁸⁵

In *Jami’ al-‘Ulum*, another collection of *malfuzat* of the Makhdum, the purpose of his trip to Delhi in the year 1379/80 is described as helping of his disciple, Shams al-Din Mas‘ud, who was under a huge debt, and to provide him with funds from any donations that might come his way.⁸⁶ So, some of these trips were meant to raise funds for the needy and not for his personal benefit.

Makhdum-i-Jahaniyan also helped the people in trouble. Some nobles of the Sultan did not like the growing influence of the former on the latter. They developed hostile attitude towards the former. Khan-i Jahan, the *wazir* (prime minister) of the Sultan, also developed strained relationship with him. Hamid ibn Fazl-Allah Jamali, a sixteenth century hagiographer, narrates an event that once the Khan-i Jahan imprisoned the son of a petty government functionary unjustly. The father of this prisoner, who was a follower of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, requested him to make a recommendation to Khan-i Jahan for the release of his son. Makhdum-i Jahaniyan went to Khan-i Jahan’s home for the recommendation. However, Khan-i Jahan refused

⁸³ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 340, 350.

⁸⁴ Afif, *Tarikh-i Firuzshahi*, 331-32.

⁸⁵ Barani, *Siraj al-Hidayah*, 334.

⁸⁶ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 437.

to meet him. He also sent an angry message through a servant and asked him not to come again. The Makhdum went to the Khan-i Jahan's door as many as nineteen times to get the recommendations for the release of the unjustly imprisoned man. However, on every occasion he got the same refusal. When the Makhdum went for the twentieth time, Khan-i Jahan sent a message stating that "Oh Saiyyid! Are you not ashamed of hearing my repeated refusal to see you?." The Makhdum replied that he earned divine reward every time he attempted to meet him, and that he (the Makhdum) wanted him to share it by undoing the injustice he had done in the case. Hearing this, the Khan-i Jahan felt immensely ashamed of his previous conduct, and requested the Makhdum for forgiveness. He released the detainee and joined his circle.⁸⁷ In this case, the Makhdum's commitment to persuade the state official to act justly is evident. It seems that this incident happened when Firuz Shah Tughluq was out of the capital for a military campaign in Samana region and the Makhdum stayed in Delhi for a few months. Otherwise, owing to the nature of the Makhdum's relations with Sultan Firuz, the rude behaviour of *wazir* must have not gone unnoticed by the Sultan.

The Makhdum did not favour disaffection against the Sultan, saying if the ruler was just, offer thanks to God; if he was unjust, one must practice *sabr* (patience). He also cited the oft-quoted tradition that "one moment spent in administering justice was better than sixty years of worship."⁸⁸ He used his influence on the ruling elite to fulfil the needs of the people. Due to the efforts of the Makhdum, Sultan Firuz abolished twenty-two taxes imposed on the people and introduced various reforms in his kingdom.⁸⁹ On the other hand, Makhdum-i Jahaniyan warned

⁸⁷ Jamali, *Siyar al-Arifin*, 227-28.

⁸⁸ Riazul Islam, *Sufism in South Asia*, 281.

⁸⁹ The Sultan abolished a number of taxes due to the Makhdum's efforts which include tax on butchers, fish-sellers, flower-sellers, vegetable-sellers, betel leaf-sellers, soap-makers, and rope-makers, etc. For details see Firuz Shah Tughluq, *Futuh-i Firuzshahi*. ed. Shaikh Abdur Rashid (Aligarh: Department of History, Muslim University, 1954), 5.

the rulers and state officials against evil deeds. Once he addressed the masses, nobles and Sultan Firuz Tughluq after Friday prayers and asked them not to take bribes. He also stressed that during the early days of Islam, the Companions of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) used to warn the political authorities against bribery.⁹⁰ In *Khazana-i' Jawahir-i Jalaliyyah*, one of his *malfuz*, it is recorded that while giving his opinion about relationship between the sufis and the rulers, he stated that the *mashaikh* (sufi guides) of the *silsilahs* were unanimously of the view that for sufis to meet the *Muluk* (kings or the ruling elite) and the Sultans was *haram* (unlawful), and was indeed like poison for the former. He further explained that the sufis might meet the rulers either for the sake of *arz-i amr-i maruf* (guidance towards good conduct) or *nahi un al-munkar* (warning against evil deeds), or for the sake of *hajat al-nas* (needs of the people).⁹¹ According to Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, the sufis having associational response towards the state put forward some arguments in support of their attitude. They believed that their visits to royal courts provided them with opportunities to help the poor people by getting their grievances redressed by the rulers. They were also of the opinion that by establishing personal contacts with the rulers, they could bring about a change in their outlook and attitude, and guard their conscience against wayward ideas.⁹² Riazul Islam is of the opinion that Makhdum-i Jahaniyan's deep knowledge of *shari'ah* laws helped him to put forward best suited explanation, most convenient in a particular situation. This shows that he was flexible and pragmatic in his approach towards matters of the state.⁹³

On many occasions, the sufis also played a mediational role in different political and socio-cultural situations. They acted as arbitrators among various segments of the society as well

⁹⁰ Mirza, *Tadhkirah*, 38-39.

⁹¹ Riazul Islam, *Sufism in South Asia*, 281. For details, see *Khazana-i' Jawahir-i Jalaliyyah* (*Malfuzat* of Saiyyid Makhdum-i Jahaniyan compiled by Fazl-Allah) quoted in Aslam, *Malfuzati Adab ki Tarikhi Ahammiyyat*, 229.

⁹² Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India*, 248-49.

⁹³ Riazul Islam, *Sufism in South Asia*, 279.

as between different polities.⁹⁴ Makhdam-i Jahaniyan also played a very effective role at a number of important political moments. He extended his help to resolve conflicts between different stakeholders of power and saved the lives of common people by evading the conflict through mediation.⁹⁵ For example, he helped to diffuse conflict between Firuz Shah Tughluq and Samma rulers of Sindh. During mid-fourteenth century the two Samma chiefs, Banbhina and Jun, had established their rule in Sindh. They posed a serious challenge to the Delhi Sultanate by extending their support to the Mongols against Delhi Sultanate. After the death of Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq, his successor Sultan Firuz Tughluq launched a campaign against the Samma Chiefs. He besieged Thatta in 1362-63 and as the siege prolonged, it became hard for the Samma chiefs and local inhabitants. Their resistance was weakened by famine and scarcity of food grains due to blockade. In this critical state of affairs, the Samma chiefs contacted Makhdam-i Jahaniyan and requested his help to mediate and secure peace with the Sultan of Delhi. The Makhdam travelled from Uch to Thatta and when he reached at the Sultan's camp, he was well received by the former. He ultimately convinced the Sultan to accept the apology and submission of Samma chiefs and end the conflict. The Samma chiefs presented themselves before the Sultan, and were ultimately forgiven due to the mediation of the Makhdam.⁹⁶ Sultan Firuz Tughluq was, however, angered at the people of Thatta because of their resistance to his invasion and siding with the Samma chiefs. He wanted to punish them on this act of betrayal to the central government but Makhdam-i Jahaniyan recommended their remission and the Sultan

⁹⁴ Tanvir Anjum. "Mediational Role of the Sufis in the Islamicate South Asia: A Conceptual and Empirical Study", *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, vol. 51, no. 1 (January-June 2014), 158.

⁹⁵ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Salatin-i-Delhi Kay Mazhabi Rujhanat* (Lahore: Nigarishat, 1990), 419.

⁹⁶ The dynastic rule of medieval India largely depended on establishing relationships with local rulers. It gave rise to "layered sovereignties," the boundaries of their reach shifting as alliances stabilized or were undone. Thus, rather than to suppress or kill old local rulers, a dynast would seek a local alliance, looking not to deepen control but to extend dominion. So it was suitable solution for Firuz Tughluq to accept the submission of the Samma chiefs. For details see, See introduction in Metcalf, ed. *Islam in South Asia in Practice*, 4.

obliged. So finally, the conflict came to an end and peace was restored in the region.⁹⁷

Although Makhdum-i Jahaniyan played an important role in diffusing the situation, he put his weight on the side of central authority.⁹⁸ His mediational role as well as involvement in politics is evident from this episode. He successfully played a role of mediator between the Samma rulers of Sindh and Sultan Firuz Tughluq by using his status as a respected sufi of the time. This account also shows the level of trust and respect of both the local rulers as well as central authority towards him. It also seems that this episode was the start of cordial relations between the Sultan and the Makhdum which were further strengthened in coming years.

At another occasion, the Makhdum was approached by the people of Alamabad, when some people of Langah clan residing in Alamabad, were inclined to rebel against the government and to undertake a night assault at the city. The people of Alamabad requested him to come to the city. When he went there, the rebels gave up their plan to assault the city. Therefore, his presence in the city saved the lives of innocent civilians.⁹⁹

On the other hand, question arises why most of the sultans wanted to build cordial relations with the sufis. Like Sultan Firuz Tughluq, a powerful monarch accepted the influence of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan in the case of conflict between him and Samma chiefs. Raziuddin Aquil is of the opinion that Firuz Shah Tughluq, although dubbed as a pious ruler, used religion for political purposes. He employed the religious elite in his administration. He is of the opinion that the Sultan wanted to portray to his Muslim masses as if he was running an Islamic state.¹⁰⁰ Another possible reason of cordial relations of Firuz Shah with religious elite might be his conscious effort to appease them after Muhammad ibn Tughluq's period of strict treatment and

⁹⁷ Afif, *Tarikh-i Firuzshahi*, 170-75.

⁹⁸ Ansari, *The Saints and State Power*, 30.

⁹⁹ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum fi Tarjama Malfuz al-Makhdum*, 97.

¹⁰⁰ Aquil, *In the Name of Allah*, 129.

stern attitude towards the sufis and *ulama*. As argued earlier, the sufi-state relationship was a two-way phenomenon. The Sultans wanted to establish their legitimacy in the Muslim masses, as they were their major support base. The sufis and *ulama* also put forward certain arguments that the purpose of their relationship with the state was betterment of the public. The sufis also wanted to create a space for their respective *silsilahs* and avoid confrontation with the state.

The above discussion shows that in last decades of his life, Makhdum-i Jahaniyan has established himself as a most prominent Suhrawardi sufi as well as a popular and influential figure in India. He was not only revered by his disciples but also by his contemporary sufis as well by the member of nobility and government officials. His popularity among the masses helped him to win the respect of the Sultan. On the other hand, his relationship with Sultan Firuz Tughluq contributed to enhance his influence among the nobility and government officials.

It is also important to note that Zia al-Din Barani, a famous fourteenth century historian, was also aware of the Makhdum's influence in Delhi court. When Barani was exiled from Delhi court, he wrote a treatise entitled *Ma'asir-i Jalali* about the obligation to love the Prophet (PBUH) and his descendants and he sent it to the Makhdum along with a letter, the text of which is copied in the latter's *malfuz Khazana-i 'Fawa'id al-Jalaliyya*. Barani showed great humility and respect towards him in this letter, hoping to get his favour in his case in royal court. This letter demonstrates the Makhdum's reputation as an important figure in fourteenth century Indian society and polity.¹⁰¹

Makhdum-i Jahaniyan had also good relations with local administration. During the last decades of his life, Uch was part of province of Multan, and the governor of Multan was 'Ayn al-Mulk Ibn Mahru, who was a great patron of learning. A collection of his letters is preserved

¹⁰¹ Bhatti, *Khazana-i 'Fawa'id al-Jalaliyya*, 196b-198b.

under the title *Insha'-i Mahru*.¹⁰² He wrote a letter to the Makhdum in which the language is very modest and words of respect are written for the Makhdum. However, the purpose of the writing this letter is practical one. In this letter, he complained about non-payment of land tax by a community of Saiyyids in his area and sought his advice in this matter.¹⁰³ This episode also reinforces that the Makhdum's help was sought not only in spiritual matters but also in political and financial issues faced by central as well as local authority.

To sum up, Makhdum-i Jahaniyan's attitude towards the state was very conscious and calculated. He served as mediator between the state and society, and tried to redress the grievances of the people through his influence on the Sultan of Delhi. Although Makhdum-i Jahaniyan's played a very significant political role, his successors showed no such inclination, and very little is known about their response towards the state. Makhdum-i Jahaniyan brother and successor, Saiyyid Sadr al-Din Raju Qattal is reported to have visited Delhi only once, when he followed Nuhawan on the charges of heresy. Due to absence of strong personality after the demise of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, Uch branch of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* lost its political significance on the Indian scene. During the fifteenth century, Delhi Sultanate was also weakened due to internal strife and foreign invasions, and many independent regional kingdoms had emerged. During the latter half of the fifteenth century, Uch also emerged as a centre of Qadiri *Silsilah* and its sufis started capturing the space on local as well as central political scene, left by the Suhrawardi sufis.

However, an offshoot of Suhrawardi sufis of Uch established themselves in Gujarat, and

¹⁰² The *Insha-i Mahru* is a collection of the 134 letters and documents drafted by 'Ayn al-Mulk Mahru, some for himself, some on behalf of the government and some for others. Ayn al-Mulk was an able administrator of the Tughluq period. He was governor of Multan and Uch during the period of Firuz Tughluq. He was well respected for his scholarly talent, political acumen and administrative skills. *Insha-i Mahru* is considered the most valuable collection of documents by an official after *Ijaz-i Khusravi* of Amir Khusrau during Sultanate period. For details see: Nizami, *On History and Historians*, 211, 216.

¹⁰³ 'Ayn al-Mulk Multani, *Insha-i Mahru: Munshaat e 'Aynuddin 'Ayn al-Mulk 'Abd-Allah Bin Mahru*, ed. Shaikh Abdur Rasheed (Lahore: Idarah Tahqiqat-i Pakistan, 1965), 51-55.

developed a considerable influence on the political and social scene of the region. As discussed in previous chapters, Zafar Khan, later known as Muzaffar Shah's (r. 1391-1403, 1404-1411) kingship was prophesied by Makhdum-i Jahaniyan. Zafar Khan later established independent kingdom in Gujarat in the year 1396. As he was a disciple of the Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, the latter was considered a patron sufi of the Kingdom of Gujarat. Saiyyid Burhan al-Din Qutb-i 'Alam (d. 1454), a grandson of Makhdum-i-Jahaniyan, went to Gujarat to receive education from Maulana 'Ali Sher. Sultan Muzaffar Shah received Qutb-i Alam with great honour. Sultan Ahmad Shah (r. 1411-1442), the successor of Muzaffar Shah, composed a *qasidah* or an ode in praise of Saiyyid Qutb-i-'Alam and recited it before him with great humility. The moral support extended to the Sultan by Qutb-i 'Alam helped him consolidate his position in Gujarat.¹⁰⁴ Saiyyid Muhammad, popularly known as Shah-i Alam (b. 1414 - d. 1475), the son and successor of Qutb-i 'Alam, was one of the most venerated sufi by the masses as well as the King of Gujarat and his nobles. Many nobles were his disciples. Shaykh Abd al-Haqq in *Akhbar al-Akhyar* offers very interesting details about him. According to him, he lived an aristocratic life, wore silken clothes and followed the ways of *malamati* sufis. However, the hagiographer accepts that there was no doubt about spiritual excellence of the Shah-i Alam, and that he was highly praised in his contemporary times.¹⁰⁵ To sum up, although Uch branch of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* lost its influence after the demise of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, an offshoot of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* of Uch enjoyed considerable political influence and social prestige in Gujarat during fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Nizami, "The Suhrawardi *Silsilah*", 144.

¹⁰⁵ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 322-23.

¹⁰⁶ Mutala, *Mashaikh-i Ahmadabad*, 236-39.

4.3.3 Suhrawardi Sufis and the Issue of Accumulation of Wealth (*Ghina'*)

The sufis of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in India faced criticism on the issue of accumulating wealth. There have been discussions and arguments in favour of and against hoarding wealth in the sufis circles from the time of Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya, the founder of the *Silsilah* in India. It is believed that the Shaykh consciously made efforts to establish a permanent source of revenue generation. He invested in trade and agriculture, and large sum of money was collected from *futuh* which poured into his *khanqah*.¹⁰⁷ Contrary to the practice of the Chishti sufis, *futuh* was not distributed immediately among the needy and poor. The Shaykh kept his wealth in his treasury carefully, and spent it with still greater care. Jamali describes an event in *Siyar al-Arifin* that once a box containing five thousands *tankas* went missing, but the loss was not considered as a serious one.¹⁰⁸ However, Shaykh Sadr al-Din Arif, the son and successor of Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya, showed an aversion towards wealth and government service. After the demise of his father, he received the share of seven lac *tankas* but he distributed the entire amount among the poor and needy. Some people questioned him on his contradictory approach with his predecessor on the matter of wealth, to which he replied,

Since his father had complete control over worldly desires, so he could, with justification, hoard wealth and spend it, but, as he himself did not possess that strength of character, and was afraid of accumulating wealth lest it might lead him astray.¹⁰⁹

Nizami is of the opinion that although Shaykh Sadr al-Din gave personal reasons for his aversion to wealth, it had underlying importance. Probably the criticism of contemporary sufis against the

¹⁰⁷ Shaykh Baha al-Din established centres of trade in different cities including Mansurah, Sukkur and Bhakakr. His trade network was expanded to Iraq, Arab, Egypt, Iran and Afghanistan. He inherited very fertile land, which was situated in Karor. He also made huge piece of land able to cultivate. These were the main sources of his income. For details see: Muhammad Hussain Azad Al-Qadiri, “*Shaykh al-Islam Hazrat Baha al-Din Zakariyya ki Siyasi, Tablighi aur Ilmi o Dini Khidmat*,” *Mujjalla Ma’arif-i Awliya* (Lahore) vol. 5, no. 2. (June 2007): 7-30. See also Nur Ahmad Khan Faridi, *Tadhkirah Hazrat Baha al-Din Zakariyya Multani* [An Account of Hazrat Baha al-Din Multani] (Lahore: Ulama Academy, 1980), 76.

¹⁰⁸ Jamali, *Siyar al-Arifin*, 159.

¹⁰⁹ Jamali, *Siyar al-Arifin*, 181.

accumulation of wealth contributed in this approach. On the other hand, he must have realized that this aversion to wealth and government service was essential for deepening the roots of his *Silsilah* among the masses.¹¹⁰

It is interesting that Shaykh Rukn-i Alam, the son and successor of Shaykh Sadr al-Din Arif, returned to the approach adopted by his grandfather on the matter of wealth. Shaykh Abd al-Haqq has noted in *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, that Shaykh Rukn-i Alam stated that since all types of people visited a sufi, it was essential for him to possess three things, money, knowledge and spiritual ability. He argued that with money, he could help those who were poor and visit *khanqah* in a hope of fulfilment of their material needs. With knowledge and learning, a sufi could solve the problems of scholars who have certain questions in their minds. A sufi must have spiritual ability, necessary to satisfy those who came to him for spiritual help and guidance.¹¹¹ In this way, he argued the importance of wealth for a sufi. Makhdum-i Jahaniyan followed middle path as for as matters of wealth were concerned. Although he accepted *futuhat* from the Sultan and his nobles, he used to distribute it immediately among the needy and poor and did not accumulate wealth. On certain occasions, he also advised against the accumulation of wealth.¹¹² On one occasion, he told his audience that whatever he had accepted from Sultan Firuz Tughluq was for extending help to the people, and not for “hoarding and looking after it.”¹¹³

After the demise of great sufis shaykhs of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* of Multan and Uch, Suhrawardi *Silsilah* lost its importance in India. During the second half of fifteenth century, Qadiri *Silsilah* emerged on the Indian scene from its centre at Uch. It was the time when Delhi Sultanate was on the verge of decline and many independent kingdoms were being established in

¹¹⁰ Nizami, “The Suhrawardi *Silsilah*”, 125.

¹¹¹ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 125-26.

¹¹² Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 680.

¹¹³ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 437. See also Nizami, “The Suhrawardi *Silsilah*”, 116.

peripheries. With the arrival of Mughals in India, Indian political scene changed and a strong centralized government was formed at the centre.

The Qadiri sufis of Uch interacted with the Delhi Sultans, local rulers of Multan and later with Mughals. The ensuing discussion focuses on the relationship of the Qadiri sufis with the ruling elite of the period and their various responses towards the medieval Indian state.

4.4. Qadiri Sufis of Uch and their Relationship with the State

Silsilah Qadiriyyah was formally introduced and popularized in India by Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth al-Husayni al-Jilani (d. 1517). He made Uch a centre of his activities. Through his and his successors' efforts, the *Silsilah* spread all over India. The relationship of Qadiri sufis of Uch towards the state cannot be put into any one strict category; rather it varied from time to time and from sufi to sufi. While studying their relationship with the state, an independent spirit is evident in their attitude.

The following section briefly explores the attitude of Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani, the founding figure of *Silsilah* Qadiriyyah towards the state.

4.4.1 Qadiri Traditions and Relationship with the State

The celebrated sufi Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani, also known as “Ghawth al-A‘zam” is the figure whom the foundation of Qadiri *Silsilah* is attributed. During his life time, the Abbasid Caliphs were ruling Baghdad. There are no episodes known about any overt conflict between Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani and the Abbasid Caliph or any sort of cordial relationship between them. He, however, generally remained at a distance from the ruling elite. He never visited the court, although it is reported that the Abbasid Caliph al-Mustanjid Billah (r. 1160-1170) came to see him, and offered cash, which the Shaykh refused to accept on the plea that it was derived through

oppression and tyranny. The Caliph became nonplussed and went back without any argument.¹¹⁴

However, the relations of early Qadiri sufis in India and the ruling elite were somewhat different. Mir Nur-Allah ibn Shah Khalil-Allah, a grandson of Shah Nur al-Din Nimat-Allah (d. 834/1430-31) is considered one of the early Qadiri sufis, who settled in India.¹¹⁵ Farishta notes that Sultan Ahmad Shah of Gujarat requested Shah Nimat-Allah of Kirman to send his son to Bahamani court for blessings. However, he sent Mir Nur-Allah, his grandson to the Bhamani court.¹¹⁶ Mir Nur-Allah is considered the first major sufi of Qadiri *Silsilah* who settled in India. The Sultan received him with great honour. He established himself in Deccan. The Sultan gave him the privileged position of *Malik al-mashaikh*. However, in spite of state patronage he could not organize the *Silsilah* in the region. It was under the Qadiri sufis of Uch that the *Silsilah* Qadriyyah made its presence felt in India and flourished.

4.4.2 Qadiri Sufis of Uch and their Relationship with the Ruling Elite

In the second half of the fifteenth century, Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth came to India and established a Qadiri *Khanqah* at Uch. It was the time when the regional Muslim kingdoms were emerging in India having considerable independence and power. The sufi *silsilahs* spread throughout India due to the patronage of the rulers of these regional dynasties. However, with the establishment of Mughal Empire in India, the pattern of sufi-state relationship considerably changed. Although Mughal rulers showed respect towards the sufis on occasions, they did not follow the policy of Delhi Sultans to exploit the religious following and prestige of these sufis to strengthen their rule. However, regional rulers still tried to develop cordial relations with the sufis and get their support to establish their legitimacy among the masses.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Tadini, *Qalaid al Jaawhir*, 136-137.

¹¹⁵ Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. II, 55-56.

¹¹⁶ Farishta, *Tarikh-i Farishta*, 259-60.

¹¹⁷ Nizami, "The Suhrawardi *Silsilah*", 149.

Bilgrami is of the opinion that although the state was more powerful under the Mughals, the Qadiri sufis of Uch emerged as an alternative source of authority for the common people, who used to visit Qadiri *Khanqahs* to redress their grievances. Most of them kept aloof from all association with the royalty, and those who kept contact with the rulers and accepted grants from them, did not let it make them subservient to the royal will.¹¹⁸

The fame of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth's piety spread in the neighbouring regions. Sultan Sikandar Lodhi (r. 1489-1517) of Delhi and the Langah ruler of Multan revered him as great sufi shaykh.¹¹⁹ Sultan Qutb al-Din Langah warmly welcomed Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth and married his daughter to him. It is believed that the Sultan was very concerned by the presence of Shaykh Muhammad Yousaf Qureshi, a descendant of Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya, in the Delhi court, who was a constant threat for his rule in Multan because the latter was ousted from power through a conspiracy by Sultan Qutb al-Din.¹²⁰ Actually, Sultan Qutb al-Din wanted to strengthen his rule by using the popularity of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth in his favour by establishing matrimonial alliance with him. It was an attempt to appease the people of Multan, who had resentment against the Langah rulers due to the ouster of Shaykh Yousaf Qureshi, from the rule of Multan. Sultan Qutb al-Din's son, Sultan Husayn Langah also enjoyed very cordial relations with Saiyyid Muhammad.

As earlier mentioned, Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth was well received in Multan by the ruler of Multan Sultan Qutb al-Din Langah. After his death, his son Sultan Husayn Langah (d. 1502) ascended the throne. He patronized sufis and scholars and also expanded his rule by capturing the areas of Shorkot and Kongar and annexing them to Multan. He was a staunch

¹¹⁸ Bilgrami, *History of the Qadiri Order in India*, 370.

¹¹⁹ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 402. Shaykh Abd al-Haqq has not mentioned the name of any ruler. However, Mufti Ghulam Sarwar named Sikandar Lodhi and Sultan Husayn Langah, the son of Sultan Qutb al-Din who became the disciples of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth. Lahori, *Khazinat al-Asfiya (Silsilah Qadriyyah)*, 190.

¹²⁰ Faridi, *Tarikh-i Multan: Langhaon kay Daur say Ahd-i Hazir Tak*, vol. II, 14-15.

disciple of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth. Sultan Bahlol Lodhi sent an expedition towards Multan under the command of his son, Barbak Khan on the insistence of Muhammad Yousaf Qureshi, the former ruler of Multan. Sultan Husayn Langah was busy curbing the revolt of his brother, Shihab al-Din Langah at Kot Karor at that time. While returning from Kot Karor, Sultan Husayn heard about the armies of Delhi being on the way to attack Multan. Sultan Husayn immediately sent his messenger to his spiritual mentor, Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth and requested his prayers. The Saiyyid predicted the victory of Sultan Husayn and ultimately his armies were victorious. The Sultan showed great respect and reverence towards the Saiyyid, and the former was considered the closest to the Saiyyid, among the rulers of that period. He used to get his advice in matters of state conduct.¹²¹

Sultan Sikandar Lodhi, who succeeded Sultan Bahlol Lodhi, to the throne of Delhi, also showed respect towards Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth. Evidence suggests that he received grants from the state, and the Sultan also appointed him *qazi* (chief judicial officer) of Multan.¹²² The Sultan met Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani, the eldest son of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth in Nagaur and was impressed by his piety. He later joined the circle of Saiyyid Muhammad.¹²³ Prince Fath Khan, a brother of Sultan Sikandar Lodhi, was also a disciple of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth, as the latter composed a couplet in praise of the Prince, which shows mutual love for each other.¹²⁴

Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth was succeeded by his eldest son Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani, who upheld the tradition of his predecessor. As mentioned earlier, the latter experienced a sudden change and an aversion towards worldly affairs. After developing inclination towards

¹²¹ Rizvi, *Bahr al-Sarair*, not paginated. See also Muhammad Sibtain Raza Gilani, *Tadhkirah: Makhdum al-Kul Al-Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bandgi Gilani Qadiri* (An Account of Makhdum al-Kul Al-Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bandgi Gilani Qadiri) (Bahawalpur: Urdu Academy, 2015), 31.

¹²² Anjum. "The Symbiotic Relationship of Sufism and Politics", 104.

¹²³ Lahori, *Khazinat al-Asfiya (Silsilah Qadriyyah)*, 190.

¹²⁴ Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi, *Diwan-i Qadiri*. MS. (Ibn-i Karam Library, Mangani Sharif), ghazal no. 112.

Sufism, he renounced his official post in the court of Langah ruler of Multan. He returned all *farmans* (royal decrees) of grants and stipends he had received from the Sultan. Sultan Mahmud, the Langah ruler of Multan, was incensed by his sudden resignation from the government. For several years, the relations between the Sultan and the Saiyyid remained strained. Finally, the Sultan apologized to him and invited him to the court. However, the Saiyyid declined.¹²⁵ Another reason of these strained relations between the Sultan and the Shaykh could be the issue of appointment as the head of Qadiri *Khanqah* as Sultan Mahmud issued the royal decree to appoint Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani as the next head of Qadiri *Khanqah* at Uch. However, the Saiyyid resisted this move and considered it as interference in the matters of the *Khanqah*. He wanted to preserve the independence of the *Khanqah* and returned the royal order, by stating that he did not need any royal decree to be the spiritual successor of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth.

After aversion to aristocratic way of life, Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir's attitude towards the Sultan and the state dignitaries came off as indifference. He avoided the company of the rulers. Once he was residing at the house of his disciple Nawab Muhammad Khan Nagauri in Nagaur. Sultan Sikandar Lodhi, while returning from a journey learned about his presence there. He expressed his wish to see him, and asked the Nawab to arrange the meeting. The Saiyyid used to deliver sermon after morning prayers. The Nawab requested the Sultan to come and attend the sermon in a simple dress so that he might introduce him to the Saiyyid in an informal way. The Sultan came in this gathering, became deeply impressed by the Saiyyid's personality, knowledge, and was mesmerized by his speech. The Saiyyid advised the audience that prayers must be offered at their due time, not at once. The Sultan used to offer all prayers at one time which nobody but his close confidants knew. After the Saiyyid's sermon, the Sultan humbly paid his respect to the former and the Nawab introduced him and requested the Saiyyid for any advice

¹²⁵ Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. II, 59.

for the Sultan. The Saiyyid asked that the things he had discussed were his advice. This meeting of Sultan Sikandar Lodhi with Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir inclined him towards Qadri *Silsilah* and later the former became a disciple of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi.¹²⁶

Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir resigned from the position of *Shaykh al-Islam* after his aversion to the worldly affairs. It is noted that the Sultan developed an ill-feeling towards him. However, after the death of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth, the Sultan issued an official decree of appointment of Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani as *sajjadah-nashin*. The Saiyyid returned this official decree while saying that Sultan might give it to any person. This curt reply strained the relations between them.¹²⁷ On another occasion, Sultan Mahmud in an official letter asked him to come to the court so that his past mistakes could be forgiven. However, the Saiyyid replied in a couplet that he had dedicated all his time for the Almighty Allah, he who wears the garment of love does not need the dress of heaven.¹²⁸ Anyhow, there is no further information that how the Sultan reacted to this reply. It is quite possible that the popularity of the Saiyyid among the masses barred the Sultan to treat him harshly. On the other hand, Sultan Mahmud's predecessors had great respect and reverence towards his father, Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth, which might be a moral check on the Sultan to treat the Saiyyid well.

During Langah period Baha al-Din Baranchi, a self-styled sufi and religious scholar, introduced some controversial religious practices and teachings like allowing his followers to abandon five daily prayers. Shaykh Hussam al-Din Muttaqi requested Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir

¹²⁶ Syed Afzaal Hussain Gilani, *Hayat al-Amir: Almaruf Muhammad Ghawth Bala Pir Gilani*. vol. I (Okara: Idarah Sut-i Hadi, 2006), 98-101.

¹²⁷ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 405-6.

¹²⁸ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 284. Although Shaykh Abd al-Haqq has not mentioned the name of Sultan, it is believed that it was Sultan Mahmud Langah who had strained relations with Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani.

Thani to come to Multan and check these heretic ideas. He came to Multan, educated the masses and cleared all these misconceptions and misinterpretations spread by Baranchi.¹²⁹

It is evident that Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani's attitude towards state was characterized by indifference. However, he helped the people of Uch in times of crises. When Shah Husayn Arghun (r. 1524-1556), the ruler of Thatta, attacked Uch and Multan, he came out of the city and requested the invader to ensure the security of the people of Uch. Shah Husayn Arghun granted this conditionally, and asked the Saiyyid to accompany him in the campaign against the ruler of Multan. The Saiyyid accepted this condition, and thus saved the lives of hundreds of innocent civilians.¹³⁰ After defeating the Langah rulers, Shah Arghun appointed three *amirs* including Nawab Langar Khan to look after the affairs of Multan and Uch. Due to his just polices and popularity, Langar Khan became the sole administrator of the region within a year. He also developed affection and regards towards Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani. At that time, Mir Jahan Khan Langah claimed his right to the throne of Multan. The peace of region was still at stake due to Mir Jahan Khan's threat. The Saiyyid used his influence on both Nawab Langar Khan and Jahan Khan and they reached on an agreement of peace.¹³¹

Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani was succeeded by his eldest son, Saiyyid Abd al-Razzaq (d. 1535), who survived his father by two years only. Makhdum Saiyyid Hamid (d. 1570), the son of Saiyyid Abd al-Razzaq, became the new leader of *Silsilah* Qadiriyyah in Uch. According to Rizvi, Saiyyid Hamid was summoned to Agra by the *Sadr al-Sudur* (the head of department for religious affairs) Shaykh Gada'i Kamboh in early period of Akbar's reign. Angered at this, the Saiyyid cursed both Shaykh Gada'i and his patron, Bairam Khan (d. 1561). Both fell from power

¹²⁹ Rizvi, *Bahr al-Sarair*, not paginated.

¹³⁰ Faridi, *Tarikh-i Multan: Langhaon kay Daur say Ahd-i Hazir Tak*, vol. II, 35.

¹³¹ Gilani, *Tadhkirah: Makhdum al-Kul*, 43, 44.

and many sufis ascribed their sudden fall to being cursed by Saiyyid Hamid.¹³²

Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bala Pir was the son of Saiyyid Zayn al-Abidin and grandson of Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani, who founded another branch of Qadiri *Silsilah* in Punjab. Saiyyid Bala Pir also avoided the company of the Sultans and kings. However, when Mughal Emperor Hamayun was on the way to Persia after defeated by Sher Shah Suri, he came to see Saiyyid Bala Pir along with Mir Chakar Khan in the jungle of Satgarah. Hamayun requested for prayer, and the Saiyyid gave him a piece of bread and prayed for him.¹³³ When Sher Shah Suri captured the throne of Delhi, he tried to use the influence of the sufis in his favour. He sent Makhdum al-Mulk Abd-Allah Sultanpuri to Saiyyid Bala Pir and requested for a meeting, which the Saiyyid refused, saying that if Sher Shah came to meet him, he would migrate from there.¹³⁴

In this period, issues of succession among the sufis were brought to the court of Mughal Emperors for amicable settlement. During the reign of Emperor Akbar, an issue of succession aroused between Saiyyid Hamid's two sons, namely Abd al-Qadir and Saiyyid Jamal al-Din, popularly known as Shaykh Musa. For several years, the issue remained unresolved. Finally, the dispute was taken to the royal court, which decided the case in favour of Shaykh Musa.¹³⁵ Both the brothers remained at the court of Akbar during that period. During their stay at court, one day Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir strongly condemned Emperor Akbar for consuming poppy seeds or their oil, which annoyed the latter. However, the Shaykh remained firm on his point.¹³⁶ On another occasion, the Shaykh began his supererogatory prayers in the *diwan-khana* (audience hall in the

¹³² Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. II, 59.

¹³³ Gilani, *Hayat al-Amir*, vol. II, 95. However, Faridi has mentioned in his work that this meeting took place between Saiyyid Hamid Jahan Bakhsh and Hamayun at Uch. See: Nur Ahmad Khan Faridi, *Tarikh-i Multan* [History of Multan], vol. II (Multan: Qasr al-Adab, 1977), 83-84.

¹³⁴ Gilani, *Hayat al-Amir*, 93-94.

¹³⁵ Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. II, 60.

¹³⁶ Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. II, 60.

court). Emperor Akbar ordered him to conduct these prayers in his own house. The Saiyyid replied rather bluntly that it was not an administrative affair in which his orders had to be obeyed. Saying this, the Saiyyid left for Uch.¹³⁷ However, Shaykh Musa, the second son of Saiyyid Hamid, enjoyed good relations with Emperor Akbar and accepted the rank of an Amir. Shaykh Musa also developed cordial relation with two powerful courtiers of Akbar, Abu'l Fazl and Faizi.¹³⁸

Shaykh Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dehlavi, the author of a renowned hagiographical text, *Akhbar al-Akhyar* was a contemporary of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan. He was initiated into Qadiri *Silsilah* at the hands of Shaykh Musa of Uch. Shaykh Abd al-Haqq distanced from Emperor Akbar, though developed relationship with some nobles including Farid Bukhari (d. 1652) and Abd al-Rahim Khan-i Khanan (d. 1627) and gave them advices in matters of religion as well as politics. Once he was called by Queen Nur Jahan, the influential wife of Emperor Jahangir, but the Shaykh refused on the grounds that a *faqir* had nothing to do with state dignitaries. However, he extended his help when any advice was needed in any matter.¹³⁹ He also wrote a treatise named *Risalah-i Nuraniyya Sultaniyya* for Emperor Jahangir to advise him on state conduct on Islamic lines. He also collected forty *ahadith* on the rules of government, which was meant for the guidance of Emperor Shahjahan.¹⁴⁰

The above discussion shows that it is not easy to generalize the relations of the sufis with the state. From the early centuries of Muslim rule, the examples of state-sufi symbiotic

¹³⁷ S. Moinul Haq, "Rise of the Naqshbandi and Qadiri *Silsilahs* in the Subcontinent", *Journal of Pakistan Historical Society* vol. XXV Part I (January 1977): 21.

¹³⁸ Abd al-Qadir ibn Muluk Shah Al-Badaoni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (Selection from Histories). Eng. trans. and ed. George S.A.Ranking. vol. II (New Delhi: Atlantic Publisheres, 1990; rpt.), 418. See also Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. II, 60-61.

¹³⁹ Nizami, *Hayat Shaykh Abd al-Haqq*, 141-46.

¹⁴⁰ Nizami, *Hayat Shaykh Abd al-Haqq*, 143.

relationship have been found in the Islamicate.¹⁴¹ There were relations of mutual dependence between the agents of temporal and spiritual authorities. In the Islamicate South Asia, some rulers sought spiritual blessings of the sufis and they supported and funded sufi establishments. Many of the sufis accepted state help and patronage in solving different issues. In certain cases, however, the state forcefully sought the collaboration of the sufis to achieve their political gains. Sometimes, the sufis had to pay a heavy price for political affiliation by compromising on the independence of the *khanqah* and the traditions of their particular *silsilah*. However, sometime the sufi shaykhs are confused with *sajjada-nashins* or the lineal descendants of the sufi shaykhs. These *sajjada-nashins* were the custodians of the shrine of great sufi masters and mostly accepted state patronage. Although mostly these *sajjada-nashins* had no spiritual qualities of their ancestors, they enjoyed social eminence as well as religious and political authority.

To sum up, the Suhrawardi sufis of Uch particularly Saiyyid Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, was actively engaged with the ruling elite during the Sultanate period. His attitude towards the state was pragmatic and mostly associational. He tactfully avoided confrontation with Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq and thus saved the Uch branch of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* from state oppression. When he sensed conducive environment, he developed cordial relationship with Sultan Firuz Tughluq. His relationships with Sultan Firuz not only enhanced his status as a great sufi but also through state patronage, he rejuvenated Suhrawardi *Silsilah* which was experiencing decline in Multan. Makhdum-i Jahaniyan's personal stature, his rational and pragmatic attitude and associational approach towards medieval Indian state contributed in the spread of Suhrawardi influence in India. The Qaidiri sufis of Uch also made their presence felt during the second half of fifteenth century. Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth and his son, Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani, were venerated both by the Lodhi Sultans of Delhi and by Langah rulers of Multan.

¹⁴¹ Anjum, "The Symbiotic Relationship of Sufism and Politics", 113.

During the Mughal rule, the role of the sufis changed considerably because the Mughals conquered most of the India, which made them powerful and absolute. They had immense resources, and generally did not require support of the sufis for their success as in the case of the Sultans of Delhi. However, the Qadiri sufis of Uch enjoyed considerable followings and popularity among the masses and emerged as a source of solace for the common people. The people used to visit Qadiri *Khanqahs* to redress their grievances. Early Qadiri sufis of Uch tried to preserve the independence of their *silsilah* by mostly remaining at distance from the state. Later on, the Qadiri *Silsilah* suffered a temporary setback under Emperor Aurangzeb, because the Qadiri sufis had sided with Prince Dara Shikoh during the war of succession between Aurangzeb and Dara. However, it remained the most popular sufi *silsilah* during the Mughal-rule.

Chapter 5

Khanqahs, Khanqah Life and Shrines in Uch

The term *khanqah* having Persian root is generally used for a sufi dwelling or a place of residence. At first, *khanqah* was the place where sufis used to spend their time in meditation and prayers and sufi shaykh trained his disciples on spiritual path. However, gradually these *khanqahs* developed into more complex institutions and their scope widened. With the passage of time, *khanqah* did not remain merely a place of residence for the sufis but also served as a mosque, *madrassa*, shelter house or inn for travellers and free kitchen for the poor. These *khanqahs* produced eminent sufis as well as the scholars of Quranic studies, *tafsir*, *hadith*, theology, *fiqh* or Muslim Jurisprudence and literature. These sufis and their disciples also played an important role in production of sufi literature, which is considered an important source of the history of Sufism as well as social, religious and cultural history. Uch was among those sufi centres where *khanqahs* of different *silsilahs* were established and played an important role in the development of sufi traditions in South Asia.

The present chapter focuses on the sufi *khanqahs* of Uch and their diverse traditions. It is divided into three sections. The first section studies the structure of the *khanqah* in medieval India as well as the important *khanqahs* and shrines of Uch. The second section deals with various traditions and customs of sufi *khanqahs* of Uch, which include views of the sufis of Uch on *sama'* or devotional sufi music, the development of hereditary succession in spiritual affairs or in *silsilah*, non-conformist Sufism, relationship with the sufis of other *silsilahs* and women sufis of Uch. The third section deals with the production of sufi literature in these *khanqahs*. While taking critical appraisal of the sufi literature in Islamicate South Asia in this section, the contribution of sufis of Uch in the production of sufi literature is analysed.

5.1 *Khanqah* Life in Medieval India and the Major *Khanqahs* of Uch

The development of the institution of *khanqah* was connected with the development and progress of sedentary tradition of Sufism, as opposed to the tradition of itinerant sufis. The name and the organization of the *khanqahs* varied from time to time. From simple *duwayrahs*, they developed into *ribats* and developed later into more organized institution of *khanqah*. The *khanqahs* became an important element of institutionalised Sufism. The *khanqahs* in North Africa, were called *zawiyah* and in some Turkish regions, its name was *tekke*.¹ The first *khanqahs* were established in Khurasan in Persia. They developed as places, where the people who had inclination towards Sufism used to meet for spiritual contemplation, worship and training.² During the early period of Seljuqid, Ayyubid, Mamluk as well as in Ottoman dynasties the major sponsorship to *khanqahs* was provided by the state. Some nobles, traders and rich people also donated money to the *khanqahs*. The common people also contributed in the form of *futuhat*.³

In the following section the institution of *khanqah*, its structure, organization, sources of income and diverse traditions in Islamicate South Asia are discussed. All these themes provide a necessary background to discuss sufi *khanqahs* of Uch. These themes are, one way or the other, connected with the *khanqahs* of major sufi *silsilahs* of Uch.

5.1.1 Development of *Khanqahs* in India

In Islamicate South Asia, the Ismaili missionaries were among those who first established their *jama'atkhanas*. However, these were different in their structure and organization. These *jama'atkhanas* served mainly as the base for their missionary activities. Although Ismaili activities got success among the masses, they were opposed by the scholars of Sunni school of

¹ Spahic Omer, "From Mosques to *Khanqahs*: The Origins and Rise of Sufi Institutions", *Kemanusiaan* vol. 21, no. 1, (2014): 18.

² Homerin Th. Emil. "Saving Muslim Soul: The *Khanqah* and the Sufi Duty in Mamluk Lands", *Mamluk Studies Review* vol. 3, (1999): 59.

³ Omer, "From Mosques to *Khanqahs*", 13.

thought, and later by the sufis.⁴ With the development of sufi *silsilahs* in Uch and Multan, a competitive structure of sufi *khanqahs* also developed which gradually minimized the influence of Ismaili thought and institutions in the region.

During the thirteenth century, Chishti and Suhrawardi *Silsilahs* started developing an organized network of *khanqahs* in South Asia. Chishti *Khanqahs* were also called *Jama'atkhanas*. There was difference between the Chishti *Khanqahs*, which were simple in their architecture and organization, and Suhrawardi *Khanqahs*, which had spacious structure and complex roles and organization. Contrary to Chishti sufis, the Suhrawardi sufis were engaged with rulers in matters of politics, accepted land grants from the state and accumulated wealth. This diverse attitude towards state and wealth of both the *silsilahs* influenced the culture of their respective *khanqahs* in one way or the other. The area of Suhrawardi *Khanqah* of Multan was vast, and separate quarters were allotted to inmates and to visitors. However, the Chishti *Jama'atkhanas* usually had only a big hall where inmates as well as visitors used to stay, pray and sleep. Although the guests in Suhrawardi *Khanqah* of Multan were entertained with many course meals but the table was not open for all and only invitees were entertained. Nizami is of the opinion that

the Suhrawardi *Khanqah* was, in many ways, a direct contrast to the Chishti *Jama'atkhanah*. It was, no doubt, more magnificent, better furnished and better organized, but not for the people. It had an aristocratic air both as to its structure and its organization, though the atmosphere of religious devotion was never wanting.⁵

The Chishti *Khanqahs* were flexible in their roles and accepted guests and visitors any time; however in Suhrawardi *Khanqahs* the timings were fixed.⁶

⁴ Omer, "From Mosques to *Khanqahs*", 13.

⁵ Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India*, 227.

⁶ Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 235.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth century, Qadiri and Naqshbandi *Silsilahs* developed in the Islamicate South Asia. Uch was the centre of Qadiri *Silsilah* in India and Qadiri *Khanqahs* made their mark on the region. Qadiri *Khanqahs* also shared the basic structure and organization with earlier *khanqahs* with little variations. These *khanqahs* kept the sufi institutions intact in South Asia and contributed in their continuity. The Muslim rulers adopted Persian as a court language, and most of the medieval Indian literature was produced in it. The sufis also used Persian language, however, they also contributed in the development of local languages and literature. The contribution of sufis in the development of music and poetry is also remarkable. The sufis of Chishti, Suhrawardi and later Qadiri *Silsilahs* learned vernacular languages and local dialects to develop a better communication system with the local visitors of the *khanqah*, as language was an important tool to understand the issues and problems of the masses and connect with them.⁷

The institution of *khanqah* accommodated the local Indian traditions, languages and culture and played an important role as a bridge among different racial, cultural and religious groups. The sufis who realized and adjusted themselves to the social and religious climate of the region made their *khanqahs* more popular among the general public. Nizami is of the opinion that intuitive intelligence of the sufis, which they used to guide the disciples, was also needed for the organization of *khanqah*. To establish the repute of the *khanqah* and gain confidence among the public, it was essential for the sufis to identify the issues, hopes and aspirations of the public and redress it accordingly. In *khanqahs* people from different cultural backgrounds, ethnicity, languages, attitudes and temperaments used to visit and live together. Their attachments were

⁷ Maksud Ahmad Khan, “*Khanqahs: Centers of Learning*” in Mansura Haider, ed. *Sufis, Sultans and Feudal Orders* (Delhi: Manohar, 2004), 89.

diluted and tensions resolved into the philosophy of the particular sufi *silsilah*.⁸ The inmates of *khanqahs* performed a variety of daily tasks together. It created a friendly atmosphere, developed a group feeling and environment of sharing each other's problems which ultimately established a culture of accommodation and sacrifice.

5.1.2 Khanqahs: Centres of Learning and Spiritual Training in Islamicate South Asia

Due to Mongol devastation during the late Abbasid era, the major cities of India started receiving many sufis and scholars from the Islamicate world. These Muslim immigrants also brought with them the elements of Turco-Persian and Afghan culture.⁹ The institutions of higher education called *madrassas* (college of Muslim learning), and sufi *khanqahs* which were developed in other parts of the Islamicate World were replicated in South Asia. The institution of *khanqah* and *madrassa* were intermingled and served as a religio-spiritual as well as educational centre at that time.¹⁰ The subjects in these institutions were mostly taught in Arabic language which include *tafsir* (Quranic exegesis), *hadith* (traditions of Prophet Muhammad PBUH), *fiqh* (Muslim jurisprudence), *usul-i fiqh* (principles of Islamic law), *ilm-inahf* (grammar), *adab* (literature), *mantaq* (logic), *tasawwuff* (Sufism), and *ilm-al kalam* (scholasticism).¹¹ After Arabic language and the sources in Arabic, the second most important language and the sources of these Muslim educational institutions were in Persian.

In medieval India the pattern of education system of Muslims was modelled much on the Greco-Arab tradition. In some respects it was not organized as it was mostly based on individuals and not on the institutions. Although there were separate *madrassas* for religious

⁸ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, "Some Aspects of *Khanqah* Life in Medieval India", *Studia Islamica* no. 8 (1957): 54, 55.

⁹ Saiyid Zaheer Husain Jafri, "Education and Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval India," *Intellectual Discourse* vol. 20 no. 1 (2012): 84.

¹⁰ Safi, *Politics of Knowledge in Premodern Islam*, 98-100.

¹¹ Anilla Mobasher, "System of Higher Education under the Delhi Sultans", *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences* (Multan) vol. 34, no. 1 (2014): 122.

education, *khanqahs* served both as the centres of spiritual training as well as religious education.¹² The sufi shaykh was the fountain head of all this literary activity. Medieval Indian education system of Muslims produced towering personalities in almost all fields including *tafsir, hadith, fiqh, tasawwuf*, history and logic. These include the scholars of *hadith* like Razi al-Din Hasan Saghani (d. 1252) and Shaykh Abd al-Haqq (d. 1642), sufi scholars like Qazi Hamid al-Din Nagauri, Shaykh Nizam al-Din Awliya (d. 1325), Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi (d. 1330), Makhdum-i Jahaniyan and historians like Minhaj al-Din Siraj Juzjani and Zia al-Din Barani (d. 1360) etc.

Maksud Ahmad Khan is of the opinion that the institution of *khanqah* contributed towards the development of vernacular languages, and harmonising different religious ideologies while imparting religious education.¹³ After studying different *malfuzat* of medieval Indian sufis, he identifies the major books which were taught in almost all *khanqahs*, which include:

Tafsir-i-Madarik; Tafsir-i-Haqaiq; Tafsir Maqatil; Tafsir-i-Zahidi; Tafsir-i-Imam Nasiri, Nahj ul Balagha, Maqamat-i Shaykh Abu Sa'id Abu Khair; Kimiya-i-Sa'adat; Qut u'l Qulub; Fusus ul Hikam Mashariq ul Anwar; Tafsir-i-Kashshaf; Sair ul Mulik; Kitab Akhbar ul Samar; Ta'aruf Az a Ahl-i-Tasawwuf and Awarif ul Ma'arif of Shaykh Shihab al-Din Suhrawardi¹⁴

It is evident that not only spiritual education and training was imparted in the *khanqahs*, but also subjects like *tafsir, hadith*, logic, grammar, jurisprudence and dialectics were taught. So both the *ilm-i batin* (esoteric knowledge) and *ilm-i zahir* (exoteric knowledge) were imparted in the *khanqahs*. The sufis were the spiritual mentors as well as teachers and made *khanqahs* the places of learning in medieval India.¹⁵ They also started the system of distance education as they

¹² Jafri, "Education and Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval India", 99.

¹³ Khan, "Khanqahs: Centers of Learning" in Haider, ed. *Sufis, Sultans and Feudal Orders*, 71.

¹⁴ Khan, "Khanqahs: Centers of Learning" in Haider, ed. *Sufis, Sultans and Feudal Orders*, 75-6.

¹⁵ Khan, "Khanqahs: Centers of Learning" in Haider, ed. *Sufis, Sultans and Feudal Orders*, 77.

instructed their disciples through sending them the *maktubat* (letters) and writing the treatises.¹⁶ The *majalis* (sufi gatherings) were also an informal way of education. *Mal'ufuzat* which were collected during these gatherings, throw light on questions, issues and the subjects which were discussed in these informal sittings.¹⁷

5.1.3 The Rules and Regulations in a *Khanqah*

The sufi Shaykh was the head of the *khanqah* who administrated its affairs. His family usually lived in a separate quarter adjacent to it. The Suhrawardi and Qadiri sufis used to look after their families relatively better than the Chishtis. Shaykh Baha al-Din appointed separate teachers for his sons and paid them well. He also showed his concern about their proper training.¹⁸ The sufi shaykh had generally fixed timings for his prayers and meditations as well instructing his disciples. The five congregational prayers were mostly led by the sufi shaykh himself. Although *khanqah* was the place, where Muslims and non-Muslims gathered to receive the blessings of the sufi Shaykh, among them, select few got the training on spiritual path.

Shaykh Shihab al-Din Suhrawardi in his celebrated work, *Awarif al-Ma'arif* laid down certain principles for the keepers of the *khanqah*. He advised that the sufis of *khanqah* must develop good relationship with all human beings. However, their primary concern should be submission to God through prayers and meditation. They must submit their lives to the will of God and should abandon the indulgence in earning livelihood. The inmates of *khanqah* should

¹⁶ The famous sufi instructive work, *Kashf al-Mahjub* of Shaykh 'Ali 'Uthman al-Hujwiri was written in response to the request of a disciple to answer certain queries. Shaykh Sharaf al-Din Yahya Maneri and Makhdum-i Jahaniyan wrote series of letters in response of the questions which are compiled with the titles of *Maktubat-i Do Sadi* and *Muqarrar Namah* respectively.

¹⁷ Khan, "Khanqahs: Centers of Learning" in Haider, ed. *Sufis, Sultans and Feudal Orders*, 84.

¹⁸ Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India*, 225-26.

try to purify their inner being and abstain from anything that leads toward evil. They should give value to time and avoid laziness and lethargy.¹⁹

The disciples and inmates of *khanqah* also had to follow certain rules and were expected to contribute in maintenance of the *khanqah*. Strict discipline was maintained and the inmates of *khanqah* were given instruction about matters like how to talk to the Shaykh, how to behave with the people who visited the *khanqah*, and how to sit and walk. There were fixed timings for sleep as well. The shaykh strictly ensured that these rules must be followed.²⁰ In addition to the permanent residents of a *khanqah*, daily visitors or travellers used to come there. If a traveller wanted to spend a night or more in a *khanqah*, he was asked to arrive there before the ‘*asr* or afternoon prayers. If the traveller wanted to stay on after the third day, he had to perform some routine duties in the *khanqah* along with the inmates. The keepers of the *khanqah* were ordered to show hospitality to the guests even if they were unaware of the sufi etiquettes, practices and customs.²¹ So the organization of the *khanqah* was run under certain rules and regulations with little variations at times.

5.1.4 Egalitarian Environment of the Sufi Khanqahs

Contrary to the rigid social structure of the Hindu community, and exclusive and elite culture of Muslim ruling class, the institution of *khanqah* had a very cordial and egalitarian atmosphere during medieval Indian period. For example, the Chishti *Khanqah* of Shaykh Nizam al-Din Awliya attracted large numbers of devotees from different classes, religious beliefs and areas. They were equally treated, and generally had profound impact of the personality of the shaykh in

¹⁹ Shaykh Shihab al-Din ‘Umar ibn Muhammad Al-Suhrawardi, *Awarif al-Ma‘arif*. Eng trans. H. Wilberforce Clarke (Calcutta: Government of India Central Printing Office, 1891), 25-26.

²⁰ Nizami, “Some Aspects of *Khanqah* Life”, 56.

²¹ Al-Suhrawardi, *Awarif al-Ma‘arif*, 23-24.

their lives.²² The egalitarian worldview of the sufis rejected the notions of superiority of one on the basis of blood and race. The distinction was only based on one's relationship with God. The atmosphere in sufi *khanqahs* was classless, in contrast with the royal courts. The sufis had "tried to construct an alternative social universe with a distinct set of norms and values, which were in many ways in direct opposition to the established and prevalent societal norms."²³ Thus the institution of *khanqah* played a variety of roles, ranging from spiritual, and social, cultural to educational for both Muslims as well as for non-Muslims. The institution of *khanqah* further evolved and changed with the passage of time. Soon the authority of the institution was shifted from the sufi shaykhs to their hereditary successors who were known as *sajjada-nashins*. This compromised the actual environment of *khanqahs* in most of the cases.²⁴ It has been discussed in detail in an ensuing section in this chapter.

The institution of *khanqah* not only influenced the social structure of the society but also played a vital role in the politics from medieval period till today. The ruling class was more comfortable in engaging with *sajjada-nashins* of these *khanqahs* than the sufi shaykhs for attaining their support in the maintenance of power.²⁵ The institution of *khanqah* received setback at the hands of Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq during the Sultanate period. Due to his interference, the independence of *khanqahs* was compromised and many of its traditions were destroyed. With the establishment of independent regional kingdoms, however, *khanqahs* were also established in the provincial towns.²⁶

²² Riaz Hassan, "Religion, Society, and the State in Pakistan: Pirs and Politics", *Asian Survey* vol. 27, no. 5 (May 1987): 555, 556.

²³ Tanvir Anjum. "Be Hell for Those Who Call Me Saiyyid": Social Stratification among the South Asian Muslims and the Sufi Worldview", *Pakistan journal of History and Culture* (Islamabad) vol. XXXII, no.2 (July-Dec 2011): 48.

²⁴ Hassan, "Religion, Society, and the State in Pakistan", 555-57.

²⁵ Hassan, "Religion, Society, and the State in Pakistan", 558.

²⁶ Nizami, "Some Aspects of *Khanqah* Life", 69.

5.1.5 *Khanqahs and Madrassas of Uch*

The sufis and religious luminaries made Uch a centre of learning and spiritual excellence during the period under study. Although relatively a peripheral area as compared to Delhi, Lahore and Multan, Uch was one of those cities of medieval India where intellectual and religio-spiritual activity was at its best. There were *madrassas* and *khanqahs*, where students from various parts of the world came and studied. These institutions also contributed in the process of urbanization of the city. The Suhrawardi and Qadiri *Khanqahs* of Uch also functioned as seats of higher learning. *Madrassas* were mostly adjacent to these *khanqahs*. These *khanqahs* provided food to hungry, education to students, shelter to travellers, solace to people having problems, and spiritual training to the seekers. Some important *khanqahs* and *madrassas* of Uch are discussed in the following:

5.1.5.1 *Khanqah Gazruniyyah*

The earliest known *khanqah* which was established at the end of tenth century at Uch was *Khanqah Gazruniyyah*. It was founded by Shaykh Safi al-Din Gazruni who migrated from Gazrun and settled at Uch. He is considered one of the earliest sufis who migrated to India and established an organized sufi network here.²⁷ Shaykh Safi al-Din established a *khanqah* and a *madrassa* in Uch, which served as a boarding house for the students along with imparting teaching and training in spiritual and religious matters.²⁸ It was an important centre of learning in India, and became popular in the entire Islamic world. It has been recorded that at one point in time, as many as five thousand pupils were on the roll in the *madrassa*.²⁹ Shaykh Safi al-Din's presence at Uch and establishment of a *khanqah* there contributed in the emergence of Uch as

²⁷ Moinul Haq, "Early Sufi Shaykhs of the Subcontinent", 5-6.

²⁸ Farooqi, "Early Sufis of India" in Haider ed. *Sufi Sultan and Feudal Orders*, 8.

²⁹ Khan, *Uchchh: History and Architecture*, 77. However, it seems little exaggerated as although an important institution, there are no details found that it had a huge building or the sources of income to cater these large number of students. Hafeez mentions the number of students around twenty five hundred. Hafeez, *Tarikh-i Uch*, 140.

sufi centre in succeeding centuries. After his demise, no figures of his stature are known who contributed in further development of the Gazruni *Khanqah* at Uch. However, Makhdum-i Jahaniyan in his *malfiz* titled *Jami al-'Uhum* states that in Uch there were three *khanqahas*, one was his father, the other one of Shaykh Jamal al-Din and the third one of Gazrunis.³⁰ It proves that although no details of well-known sufis of Gazruni *Silsilah* after the demise of Shaykh Safi al-Din Gazruni are found, *Khanqah* Gazruniyyah was functional even during the fourteenth century.

5.1.5.2 *Khanqah* Jalaliyya

Shaykh Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari, the disciple and *khalifa* of Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya, established *Khanqah* Jalaliyya in Uch. It emerged as a centre of sufi teachings and also served as an institution of Islamic learning. Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir, son of Shaykh Jalal al-Din Bukhari, succeeded him as the in-charge of this *khanqah*. However, the fame and popularity of this institution was spread all over India and beyond under Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, the son of Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir. During the period of Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari and his son Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir, the Suhrawardi *Khanqah* of Multan under Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya and his son Shaykh Sadr al-Din Arif and grandson Shaykh Rukn-i Alam dominated the spiritual as well as educational scene of the region. However, the Suhrawardi *Khanqah* of Uch rose to prominence and played an important role in the cultural and religious life of medieval India under the stewardship of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, and later under his descendants and disciples. Siddiqui is of the opinion that “no history of cultural and intellectual life and thought of the Muslim community in South Asia could be complete without a reference

³⁰ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 834.

to the role of the Suhrawardi sufis.”³¹ Nizami is of the opinion that “Makhdum-i-Jahaniyan’s fondness for travel left him neither the time nor the energy necessary to build up an effective organization at Uch. Nevertheless his influence was immense and wherever he went he left a deep mark of his highly impressive personality.”³² However, this assessment of Nizami seems incorrect as Makhdum-i Jahaniyan after coming back to India in the year 1350-51, mostly remained at Uch until his death in 1384 and organized the *Silsilah* and *Khanqah* at Uch. He spent nearly thirty four years in Uch except his few visits to Delhi and Thatta. The Makhdum gave time and energy to the *Khanqah* and remained actively engaged in education and training of the disciples. Students from all over India as well as other countries came to Uch to receive education under his guidance who himself used to regularly deliver lectures on the Quran and *hadith* there. Even some women of Uch received Quranic education from him. Rizvi is of the opinion that *Khanqah* Jalaliyya of Uch produced scholars and sufis who spread Muslim education and sufi traditions all over India.³³

Under the stewardship of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, *Khanqah* Jalaliyya attracted large number of students from different parts of the Islamicate world. He employed eminent scholars and theologians to teach at his *khanqah*. The major subjects which were taught include *tafsir*, *hadith* and *tasawwuf*. He used to deliver lectures on different subjects after the *fajar* or morning prayers. Ala al-Din, the compiler of *Jami‘ al-‘Ulum*, states that he used to teach *Tafsir-i Madarik* instead of *Tafsir-i Kashshaf* of Zamakhshari, who was a Mutazilite. The Makhdum stated that the *ulama* of Makkah and Medina used to forbid teaching *Tafsir-i Kashshaf* as its author gave arguments according to the Mutazili traditions.³⁴ However, *Tafsir-i Madarik* was authored by a

³¹ Siddiqui, “Resurgence of the Suhrawardi *Silsilah*”, 59.

³² Nizami, “The Suhrawardi *Silsilah*”, 113.

³³ Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. I., 110-11.

³⁴ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 796.

Sunni scholar so it was preferred by him.

The major focus of his lectures was *hadith*. He explained every tradition word by word along with its analysis on grounds of grammar. The collections of *hadith* which were taught include *Sahih al-Bukhari*, *Sahih al-Muslim*, *Tirmizi*, *Sunan Abu Daud*, *Mishkat al-Masabih* and *Jami' al-Saghir*. The Makhdum was also expert in jurisprudence and mainly taught Hanafi school of jurisprudence and consulted famous books like *Hidaya*. He also mastered seven methods of reciting the Holy Quran during his stay at Medina. He taught the recitation of the Quran to the students including some women of Uch.³⁵

Along with the subjects of *tafsir*, *hadith* and *tasawwuff* the students were taught *sarf*, *nahv* (principles of grammar), *lughat* (lexicography) to get expertise of the Arabic language. Students were also taught mannerism and respect towards the teachers and elders. They were allowed to question after the completion of the lecture, and open discussion was held after the class. The books which were taught at the *Khanqah* include *Sharh Kabir Chahl Ism*, *Asrar al-Dawat*, *Mashariq al-Anwar*, *Qasida-i-Lamiya*, *Kitab-i Muttafiq*, *Awarif al-Ma'arif* and *Aurad-i-Shaykh Shihab al-Din Suhrawardi*.³⁶ Sabir is of the opinion that the study of *malfuzat* shows that a large number of students had joined the *madrassa* attached to *Khanqah Jalaliyya*. The senior students were engaged in teaching their fellow junior students.³⁷

In *Khanqah Jalaliyya* separate quarters were provided for the seekers of spiritual journey. Makhdum-i Jahaniyan stated the importance of solitude for spiritual training and remembrance of the Divine. He ordered the disciples to remain engaged in the remembrance of God in a

³⁵ Aneesa Iqbal Sabir, "Suhrawardi Mysticism in South-Western Punjab: Contribution of Syed Jalaluddin Bukhari Makhdum-i-Jahaniyan" in Singh and Gaur. eds. *Sufism in Punjab*, 113-15.

³⁶ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, xiv.

³⁷ Sabir, "Suhrawardi Mysticism in South-Western Punjab" in Singh and Gaur. eds. *Sufism in Punjab*, 113.

particular time during day and at night.³⁸ There was a schedule for the training of the disciples. The provision of separate quarters to the inmates of the *Khnaqah* shows its affluence.

Makhdum-i Jahaniyan also had rich and rare collection of books in the library of the *Khanqah*, which include a copy of *Awarif al-Ma'arif*, which had remained in the personal use of Shaykh Shihab al-Din Suhrawardi.³⁹ After the demise of the former, his younger brother, Saiyyid Sadr al-Din Raju Qattal and his descendants contributed to the fame of the *Khanqah*. After the demise of Saiyyid Sadr al-Din, his nephew and son of Saiyyid Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, Saiyyid Nasir al-Din became its head. He also remained engaged in teaching at the *Khanqah*. However, the popularity and importance of the *khanqah* was gradually decreased after the demise of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan. One of his grandsons, Saiyyid Burhan al-Din Qutb-i Alam moved to Gujarat where he and his son, Saiyyid Shah-i Alam established Suhrawardi *Khanqah* and achieved immense popularity and fame in the region.

5.1.5.3 *Khanqah Jamaliyya*

Shaykh Jamal al-Din 'Khanda Ru' (d. 1314) was a disciple of Shaykh Sadr al-Din Arif, the son of Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya. He was known for his learning and piety. After receiving *khirqah* (mantle symbolizing spiritual succession) from Sadr al-Din Arif, Shaykh Jamal al-Din came to Uch, and established a *khanqah* and *madrassa* there. He used to deliver lessons in the Quran and *hadith* in this *madrassa*, and according to the Makhdum, he used his intuitive knowledge to solve even most difficult juristic questions.⁴⁰ He is said to be a very humble person who never lost his patience.⁴¹ Shaykh Jamal al-Din did not accept cash and land grants from rulers. However, during the last years of his life, on few occasions he accepted *futuh* from the

³⁸ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 264-65.

³⁹ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 478-79.

⁴⁰ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 27-28.

⁴¹ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 310.

ruling elite, arguing that he accepted *futuh* from rulers just to follow the tradition of Suhrawardi sufis of Multan, who were his spiritual preceptors.⁴²

Many learned people used to visit the *Khanqah* and *madrassa* of Shaykh Jamal al-Din to get lessons in *shari'ah* and Sufism.⁴³ He used to deliver lectures on *hadith*, *fiqh* and *tasawwuff* from the books of *Hidaya*, *Bazuri*, *Mashariq*, *Masabih* and *Awarif al-Ma'arif*.⁴⁴ His son, Shaykh Razi al-Din Ganj-i 'Ilm (d. 1368) was also a scholar of high esteem, was a disciple of Shaykh Rukn-i Alam of Multan, and a teacher of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan. He was famous for his scholarship, and was therefore, titled as *Ganj-i Ilm*, meaning the storehouse of knowledge.⁴⁵ Although simple in its structure and edifice, *Khanqah* Jamaliyya served as one of the major spiritual as well as educational centres of Uch during the fourteenth century.

5.1.5.4 Qadiri *Khanqah* of Uch

After almost two centuries of dominance of Suhrawardi *Khanqah*, its influence and popularity was now replaced by Qadiri *Khanqah* in Uch founded by Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth in the latter half of the fifteenth century. The Qadiri *Khanqah* and sufis filled the vacuum in spiritual domain at Uch after the demise of early Suhrawardi sufi shaykhs of Uch. Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth himself was a scholar and poet of high repute. Sultan Sikandar Lodhi of Delhi, and Qutb al-Din and his son Husayn Langah, the rulers of Multan had association with Saiyyid Muhammad and showed great respect towards him. This must have contributed to the fame of Qadiri *Khanqah* of Uch along with getting financial support for running it.

⁴² Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 458-59, 620.

⁴³ Shihab, *Khita-i Pak Uch*, 189.

⁴⁴ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 631.

⁴⁵ Shihab, *Khita-i Pak Uch*, 189.

Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth first constructed a mosque in Uch and made it the centre of his activities.⁴⁶ Later, a *khanqah* was constructed adjacent to the mosque, which also served as a *madrassah*. He established a library in the *Khanqah* which was further developed by his descendants. Although poorly preserved now a days, still it has a very rare collection of manuscripts on various subjects. Jamal al-Din Ahmad, the compiler of *malfuzat* of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi, describes that the Saiyyid himself taught the disciples and students at his *khanqah*.⁴⁷ Adjacent to the mosque and the shrine of Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi, the tomb of Saiyyid Musa Pak is situated. The body of Saiyyid Musa Pak was shifted to Multan and the building of the tomb later served as a *madrassa*. This *madrassa* boarded students from different areas, who were provided scholarship, food and books.⁴⁸ This *madrassa* was named *Makhdum al-Madaris*. The Qadiri *Khanqah* further gained popularity under Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani and Saiyyid Hamid Bakhsh, the son and grandson of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth. The Qadiri *Khanqah* remained functional even after the demise of Saiyyid Musa Pak. It, however gradually declined after the establishment of new Qadiri centres in different parts of India.

5.1.5.5 Madrassas of Uch

Uch was not only a sufi centre but some of the best *madrassas* (educational institutions) in India were also established there. These include *Madrassa Firuziyya*, which was one of the important institutions of learning in India. Minhaj al-Siraj mentions it in his book *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*. He was appointed superintendent of this *Madrassa* by Nasir al-Din Qabachah in 624/1227.⁴⁹ Some historians argue that this institution was perhaps set up earlier by the Ismaili Sumra rulers of the

⁴⁶ Gilani, *Tadhkirah: Makhdum al-Kul*, 69.

⁴⁷ Jamal-al-Din Ahmad, *Makalmat-i Ghawthiyya*, 11.

⁴⁸ Gilani, *Tadhkirah: Makhdum al-Kul*, 72.

⁴⁹ Minhaj al-Siraj, *Tabkat-i-Nasiri*, vol. I, 541.

region who used to adopt the title of Malik Firuz. It is assumed that Firuziyya is derivation from the title Malik Firuz.⁵⁰ *Madrassa* Firuziyya was at its peak of popularity in the period of Nasir al-Din Qabachah who enlarged its building.⁵¹ *Hadith*, *fiqh*, and *tasawwuff* were taught there.⁵² Jamal Malik is of the opinion that this institution contributed in producing elite, needed in the social and political sectors to strengthen the Muslim rule in India.⁵³ *Madrassa* Firuziyya considerably contributed to the intellectual traditions of Uch and made the city a famous centre of Muslim learning in medieval India.

Another important educational institution of Uch, established by Qazi Baha al-Din during the second half of the thirteenth century was *Madrassa* Baha'iyya. It contributed into the fame of Uch as a city of scholars. Among the Qazi's pupils was Makhdum-i Jahaniyan Jahangasht.⁵⁴ The Makhdum mentions in his *malfuzat* that he studied *Hidaya* and *Bazuri* from Qazi Baha al-Din and after his demise, he left for Multan to complete his education.⁵⁵ Makhdum-i Jahaniyan built a beautiful tomb over his grave, which is regarded as one of the foremost examples of the Uch style of architecture, having the characteristics of Central Asian art of building in this region.⁵⁶ So along with education imparted in *khanqahs*, these *madrassas* served as institutions dedicated for education and made Uch a centre of spiritual as well as religious learning.

⁵⁰ Shihab, *Khitta-i Pak Uch*, 168-69.

⁵¹ Maulvi Abul Hasnaat Nadvi, *Hindustan ki Qadeem Islami Darasgahen* [Old Islamic Educational Institutions of India] (Lahore: Maktabah Khawar, 1979), 70-72.

⁵² Ghauri, *Uch Sharif*, 56.

⁵³ Malik, *Islam in South Asia*, 97.

⁵⁴ Al-Luknawi, *Al-I'lam bi man fi Tarikh al-Hind min al-A'lam*, 148. See also Sajida Haider Vandal, "Overview of the Cultural Assets of the Communities of District Multan and Bahawalpur" in Vandal, ed. *Cultural Expressions of South Punjab*, 24-25.

⁵⁵ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 360-61, 550.

⁵⁶ Khan, *Uchchh: History and Architecture*, 78.

5.1.6 *Khanqahs* of Uch and their Sources of Income

One of the basic principles of sufi thought is *tawakkul* (trust in God), particularly in matters relating to the sources of income, sufis have relied on God and considered Him the ultimate Provider. Although some sufis were involved in *kasb* (sources of livelihood), they generally avoided indulging in regular work. The service in the royal court was also discouraged as it was considered an obstacle in one's spiritual journey. Thus *khanqahs* mainly derived their income from *futuh* (unsolicited charity), *jagirs* (land grants), and *waqfs* (religious endowments). *Futuh* were the main source of income for *khanqahs* which were used for charity and running the affairs of the *khanqah*.⁵⁷ However, there was difference of opinion among the medieval Indian sufis on the question of accepting or rejecting *futuh* and land grants from the rulers. The Chishti sufis mostly rejected land grants from the Sultan, however occasionally accepted *futuh*. They wanted to minimize the state interference in matters of *khanqah* by avoiding economic dependency on the rulers.⁵⁸

There was a difference in the use of *futuh* in Chishti and Suhrawardi *Khanqahs*. The Chishti sufis used to distribute *futuh* immediately, and on many occasions, had no money to fulfil the basic needs of the residents of the *khanqah*. However, the Suhrawardi *Khanqah* of Multan had developed permanent sources of income by establishing trade network and agriculture and had a permanent source of income in the form of revenue collected from land grants. The Suhrawardi *Khanqah* of Multan also received *futuh* in abundance, and it was not distributed immediately, and was saved. Thus, the Suhrawardi *Khanqah* of Multan was better organized in its edifice and style, and the Suhrawardi sufis of Multan were the richest sufis of medieval India.

⁵⁷ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 546.

⁵⁸ Hussain, *The War that Wasn't*, 106.

During his visit to Delhi, Makhdum-i-Jahaniyan once raised a large amount of *futuh* for a relative who was under a large debt.⁵⁹ He also mentioned in his *mal'uzat*, the misuse of *futuh* in the *khanqah* and called it ‘*duzd-i khanagi*’ (thief in the house).⁶⁰ Riazul Islam is of the opinion that “the saint’s motives in seeking grants may have been the very best, but he unavoidably placed himself under obligation to the government by seeking and accepting grants and favours (precisely the position shunned by the Chishti masters).”⁶¹ He further elaborates that the Makhdum followed the Suhrawardi tradition of accepting *futuh* from the Sultans, and his raising of funds was not an unusual practice for a Suhrawardi sufi. On the contrary, when Makhdum-i Jahaniyan was studying in Makkah, he worked as a scribe to meet his daily expenses. In a foreign country and as a student, he never hesitated or felt ashamed to work and earn his livelihood; rather he mentioned it as a praiseworthy and remarkable thing to do.⁶² However, on contrary to Suhrawardi sufis of Multan, Makhdum-i Jahaniyan immediately distributed *futuh*. Makhdum-i Jahaniyan advised against the accumulation of wealth and set the personal example by immediately distributing the *futuh* among poor and needy.⁶³

The Qadiri sufis of Uch also received large amount of *futuh*. Sultan Sikandar Lodhi and the Langah rulers of Multan had great respect towards Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth and his descendants. They offered cash and land grants which were usually accepted. Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani, however, once renounced the official title and land grants given by Sultan Mahmud, a Langah ruler of Multan. However, the successor of Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani accepted the land grants as well as official positions. Saiyyid Hamid Bakhsh, the grandson of

⁵⁹ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 437.

⁶⁰ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 681.

⁶¹ Riazul Islam, *Sufism in South Asia*, 291.

⁶² Riazul Islam, *Sufism in South Asia*, 182.

⁶³ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 680. Makhdum-i Jahaniyan even mentioned that one should be so much indifferent towards wealth that people might consider him insane.

Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani, accepted a big *jagir* offered by Mir Miran, the *Subedar* of Multan. Mir Miran gifted ninety thousands *bigha* (36000 acres) land to him for the expenditure of *langar* and *khanqah*.⁶⁴ The area of this land is called Hamidpur, and most of the land is still owned by Gilani family of Uch. So both the Suhrawardi and Qadiri *Khanqahs* received sufficient amount in cash and land grants to run their *khanqahs*. However, they did not accumulate the wealth like Suhrawardi sufis of Multan or developed aversion towards wealth like Chishti sufis. On the other hand their approach was moderate in this regard.

5.1.7 Sufi Shrines of Uch

The shrines, which were built to commemorate the memory of the sufis were important religious symbols of Muslims in India. These shrines, which were connected with sacred geographies of India, served as a sacred space for the Muslims.⁶⁵ They also reflected the process of migration of the individual sufis as well as the cultural expressions of Islamicate world, which were the hallmark of Muslim Civilization and important part of history. These sufi shrines shared the architecture, techniques and aesthetics of construction, rituals and administration with Central Asia and Persia, and played the role of cultural integration of Muslim coming from different areas.⁶⁶ Also around many sufi shrines, the process of acculturation started which gradually led to the conversion of non-Muslims to Islam, and development of local Muslim communities.⁶⁷

The material remains of Uch enhance its spiritual sacredness. The shrines of Uch represent the city all over the world. The architecture of these shrines is a beautiful manifestation of Indo-Muslim architecture. The architectural style of the shrines produced in the cities of Multan and Uch had its deep impact on the architecture of the region and beyond. In Uch two

⁶⁴ Rizvi, *Bahr al-Sarair*, not paginated.

⁶⁵ Nile Green. "Migrant Sufis and sacred space in South Asian Islam", *Contemporary South Asia* 12,(4) (December, 2003), 493.

⁶⁶ Green, "Migrant Sufis and Sacred Space in South Asian Islam", 506.

⁶⁷ Aquil, "The Study of Sufism in Medieval India" in Ahmed, *Challenges of History Writing in South Asia*, 291.

styles, flat roofed and dome-like structures were used in the building of the shrines.⁶⁸ The Shrines of Shaykh Safi al-Din Gazruni, Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari, Abu Hanifa,⁶⁹ Makhdum-i Jahaniyan Jahangasht, Raju Qattal and Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi have flat roofed structures. These flat roofs are supported by wooden pillars and beams. Wooden ceilings of these shrines are decorated with *naqaashi* (art work).⁷⁰ Brightly coloured tile work of turquoise blue, navy blue and brilliant white further adds to the timeless beauty of architecture. There are no inscriptions on these shrines to record the date of construction or the name of their constructors. However, it is believed that Ghazi Khan, the ruler of Dera Ghazi Khan built the shrines of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan and Raju Qattal around 1450 when Fazl Din, son of Nasir al-Din was, the *sajjada-nashin* or care-taker of the Suhrawardi *Khanqah* of Uch.⁷¹ The shrine of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi was first constructed by Saiyyid Hamid Bakhsh in 1567 and later renovated by Saiyyid Muhammad Sharif alias Makhdum Shams al-Din in 1658.⁷² The present shrine of Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari was constructed by Nawab Bahawal II of Bahawalpur in the year 1617.⁷³ The shrine of Shaykh Jamal al-Din ‘Khandan Ru’ is located in the quarter of Uch Mughlan, and has a very simple edifice. The shrines of Bibi Jawindi, Baha al-Halim, Ustad Nauriyya, Shaykh Hassan Kabir al-Din and Shaykh Musa Pak Shahid have dome-

⁶⁸ Subhash Parihar, “Early Sufi Tombs in South-Western Punjab: Understanding the Architectural Features” in Singh, and Gaur. eds. *Sufism in Punjab*, 310.

⁶⁹ There is no exact information found about Abu Hanifa. It is written on the shrine that the actual name of Abu Hanifa was Shaykh Salah al-Din. According to folklores, he was the disciple of Saiyyid Rajjan Qattal and was expert in metallurgy. Shihab is of the opinion that he was the Qazi of the city of Bhakkar and a contemporary of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan. Ibn Battutah had also mentioned his meeting with Abu Hanifa, the Qazi of Bhakar. It seems that he originally belonged to Uch and after his demise was buried there. The roof of the shrine is destroyed and it is among those few shrines, which were not renovated and are in their original shape. See Ibn Battutah, *Aja'ib al-Asfar*, 19. Al-Luknawi, *Al-I'lam bi man fi Tarikh al-Hind min al-A'lam*, 143. See also Shihab, *Khitta-i Pak Uch*, 251.

⁷⁰ Sajida Haider Vandal. “The Decorative Building Arts” in Sajida Haider Vandal, ed. *Cultural Expressions of South Punjab* (Lahore: Thaap, 2011), 130.

⁷¹ Khan, *Uchchh: History and Architecture*, 95.

⁷² Gilani, *Tadhkirah: Makhdum al-Kul*, 70.

⁷³ Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari was first buried outside the city of Uch but after the destruction of his shrine due to floods, his body was shifted to his present burial site.

like structure.⁷⁴ The architecture of flat roofed shrines of Uch is believed to be influenced by the architecture of the shrine of Shah Yousaf Gardezi (d. 1136) of Multan. On the other hand, the shrine of Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya and Shaykh Rukn-i Alam in Multan are one of the first examples of dome-like architecture in the Islamicate South Asia. Although some scholars believe that architectural style of the shrines of Uch is extension and copy of the architectural style of the shrines of Multan, the shrines of Uch also have distinct characteristics in art and architecture.⁷⁵ The beautiful ornamentation of the interior and exterior and the use of sufi symbolism in these shrines is reflective of material manifestation of sufi traditions in India.

Almost all the major shrines of Uch have beautiful mosques adjacent to them. The mosques adjacent to the shrines of Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari, Makhdum-i Jahaniyan and Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi have considerable architectural and historical value. The mosque adjacent to the shrine of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth has dome-like structure. It is a beautiful example of triple dome structure in the Islamicate South Asia. The inscription on the mosque shows that it was built by Makhdum Shams al-Din Thani, the sixth *sajjada-nashin* in 1676. The mosque adjacent to the shrine of Saiyyid Jalal al-Din is flat roofed and was build and renovated by the Nawabs of Bahawalpur. The inscription on the mosque shows that its renovation was completed in the region of Nawab Bahawal Khan Thalith (the Third) in the year 1845. Hafeez ur Rehman Hafeez is of the opinion that the foundation stone of the mosque was laid in 1618.⁷⁶ Near to these shrines, there are some graves which are venerated by the visitors. As outside the shrine of Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari there is a grave of Gaman Sachar

⁷⁴ It is believed that the tomb of Qazi Baha al-Din, popularly known as Baha al-Halim, was constructed by Makhdum-i Jahaniyan who was his pupil. The shrine of Bibi Jawindi was constructed by the ruler of Khurasan named Dilshad. He also later built the tomb of Ustad Nauriyya, who was the architect of the tomb of Bibi Jawindi. For details, see Khan, *Uchchh: History and Architecture*, 106.

⁷⁵ Parihar, "Early Sufi Tombs in South-Western Punjab" in Singh, and Gaur. eds. *Sufism in Punjab*, 311.

⁷⁶ Hafeez, *Tarikh-i Uch*, 145.

(Gaman, the truth teller). He is believed to be a *khalifa* of Saiyyid Jalal and belonged to the ruling family of Dera Ghazi Khan. In folklores, many stories of straightforwardness and humour are attributed to him.⁷⁷ Outside the shrine of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, there is grave of a local Hindu influential chief named Rana Rai Tulsi Das, who converted to Islam. His Muslim name Kalim al-Din is also written on the grave stone.⁷⁸ There is also a site of pilgrimage adjacent to the shrine of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan known as *Qadam-gah* of Hazrat Ali (The footprint of Hazrat Ali, the fourth Caliph of Islam). It is believed that Makhdum-i Jahaniyan brought this footprint from Makkah. However, there is no proof of its authenticity or any mention of it in any contemporary sources.

5.2 Sufi Doctrines and Practices

With the establishment of sufi *silsilahs* in Uch and due to the activities of the sufi shaykhs of these *silsilahs*, diverse sufi traditions developed there. It was the period in which sufi doctrines, practices and attitudes were further crystalized and became permanent feature or a tradition of a particular *silsilah* in India. In Uch Suhrawardi and Qadiri, two major *Silsilahs* of the period, flourished and both these *silsilahs* had distinct practices and doctrines which are discussed in the succeeding section.

5.2.1 Position and Views regarding *Sama*'

In sufi traditions, *sama*' is generally referred to as of listening music or chanting to invoke religious emotions and ecstasy. It is believed that this state of ecstasy helps the soul to communicate directly with the Divine.⁷⁹ Abu Hamid al-Ghazzali (d. 1111), in his work *Ihya al-*

⁷⁷ Naushahi, *Safarnama-i Uch*, 152.

⁷⁸ Asif, *A Book of Conquest*, 103.

⁷⁹ Arthur Gribetz, "The Sama' Controversy: Sufi vs. Legalist", *Studia Islamica* no. 74 (1991): 43.

ulum al-Din, states that *sama'* is a major tool to unearth the secrets of hearts.⁸⁰ Although there was difference of opinion among the sufis on the legality of *sama'*, it was considered very instrumental for the spiritual progress of a seeker.

In South Asia, the Chishti sufis approved of listening to *sama'* and popularized it. They were generally opposed by the *ulama* on this issue. The Suhrawardi sufis generally avoided listening to *sama'* and permitted it only with strict conditions like Chishtis also allowed it conditionally. However, several leading Suhrawardi sufis like Qazi Hamid al-Din Nagauri, a contemporary of Qutb al-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki, used to listen to *sama'* and wrote in its favour.⁸¹ Few *ulama* issued *fatwa* against him on this issue, to which he replied that “those who are writing *fatwas* against him are still in the wombs of their mothers.”⁸² The founding figures of Suhrawardi *Silsilah*, declared *sama'*, a dangerous mystical experience and only suitable for few. In *Adab al-Muridin*, Abu Najib presented different arguments of earlier sufis and scholars about the lawfulness or unlawfulness of *sama'*. He was, however, convinced that listening to *sama* was lawful for only select few with certain conditions.⁸³ His nephew and successor, Shaykh Shihab al-Din Suhrawardi's avoidance or opposition to *sama'* is considered little milder than his uncle.

Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya, the founder of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in India, was also not inclined towards listening to *sama'*. However, on one or two occasions, in a close environment and without instruments, he listened to *sama'* and gave cash award to the *qawwals* or the singers.⁸⁴ Alm al-Din, the grandson of Shaykh, wrote treatise on *sama'* titled *Maqsidah*.⁸⁵ Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq (r. 1321-25) was instigated against Shaykh Nizam al-Din Awliya's

⁸⁰ For detail discussion on *sama'* see: Imam Abu Hamid Al-Ghazali, *Ahya al-Ulumiddin* (The Revival of Religious Sciences) vol II. Eng trans. Fazalul Karim (Karachi, Darul-Ishat, 1993), 162-179.

⁸¹ Raziuddin Aquil, “Hazrat-i-Dehli: The Making of the Chishti Sufi Centre and the Stronghold of Islam”, *Los Angeles* vol. 28(1) (Feb 2008), 26.

⁸² Amir Khurd, *Siyar al-Awliya*, 520.

⁸³ Al-Suhrawardi, *Adab al-Muridin*, 101-13.

⁸⁴ Amir Khurd, *Siyar al-Awliya*, 100.

⁸⁵ Amir Khurd, *Siyar al-Awliya*, 530.

practice of *sama'* and called a public debate on it. In this debate, Alm al-Din, spoke in favour *sama'* and told the audience about its prevalence around the world.⁸⁶ Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari had no explicit views on *sama'*. His son, Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir had ecstatic tendencies but he is not reported to listen to *sama'*. However, Makhdum-i Jahaniyan was not against listening to *sama'*, but he was against the use of instruments in it. He was of the view that the use of instruments was prohibited in all four schools of *fiqh*. To him, only *daff* (tambourine) was allowed at the time of marriage or at the time of war.⁸⁷ In a *malfuz* of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, it is opined that the sufis who allowed *sama'* made certain strict conditions for it.⁸⁸ These conditions include fasting for three to seven days, extra care in taking meals after *sama'*, and listening to it only occasionally. According to *Jami-al-'Ulum*, Makhdum-i Jahaniyan used to listen to *sama'* occasionally.⁸⁹ So Makhdum-i Jahaniyan's views about *sama'* were moderate, and probably it was because of his affiliation with both Suhrawardi and Chishti *Silsilahs*.

The Qadiri sufis of India generally had moderate attitude towards *sama'*. There are no explicit views of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi on it. However, his poetry shows his tendency and inclination for it. The poetry of Saiyyid Muhammad was later recited in the gatherings of *sama'* by the *qawwals*. The details of Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani's aversion to *sama'* after an event are mentioned earlier. Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani used to live his early life in ease and was fond of music.⁹⁰ He used to keep *qawwals* and musical instruments even during his travels. However, his life changed once for all due to a certain incident. As once he was hunting in the jungles of Uch, he heard a partridge making very sad sounds. At the same time, a wandering *dervish* came to him and said: "all praise be to Allah! A day would come when you

⁸⁶ Amir Khurd, *Siyar al-Awliya*, 529-30.

⁸⁷ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 150.

⁸⁸ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 276-77.

⁸⁹ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 39-40.

⁹⁰ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 404.

would cry in the same way in the love of God.” On hearing this, he experienced a change in his heart. After this incident, he started avoiding music and even listening to *sama*’. Even a slightest sound of music from far away made him weep in love of God and most of the times, he fell in a state of ecstasy.⁹¹ Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth must have the knowledge about his inclination towards *sama*’ and did not forbid him. However, it seemed that the Qadiri sufis of Uch did not develop the tradition of listening to *sama*’ on regular basis as practiced and institutionalized by Chishti sufis in their *khanqahs*. The Qadiri sufis generally expressed their thoughts through the medium of poetry.

5.2.2 Succession among the Sufis of Uch and the Development of Institution of *Sajjadah-nashin*

The sufis of Chishti, Suhrawardi and later Qadiri *Silsilahs* initiated many disciples on spiritual path, however, they awarded *khilafat* to a select few. These *khalifas* generally had the permission to initiate others in the *silsilah* as well as to establish their separate *khanqahs* and work for the development of the *silsilah*. The sufis of these *silsilahs* also selected a principal *khalifa* who was designated as the spiritual head of a particular *silsilah*. The principal *khalifa* was given the relics of the sufi shaykhs, which included the *khirqah* (a patched cloak or robe), *musalla* (a prayer-mat), *kullah* (a turban), *asa* (a staff) and wooden sandals.⁹²

There were different traditions of spiritual succession in the Chishti, Suhrawardi and Qadiri *Silsilahs* in India. The major Chishti sufis did not appoint their principal successors from their family members. The discipleship or *khilafat* of the son, grandson or other family members of the sufi shaykh was, not necessarily based on blood relationship or lineage but on their

⁹¹ Lahori, *Khazinat al-Asfiya (Silsilah Qadiriyyah)*, 193.

⁹² Anjum, “Sons of Bread and Sons of Soul” in Singh and Gaur. eds. *Sufism in Punjab*, 68.

spiritual excellence.⁹³ However, the sufis of Suhrawardi and Qadiri *Silsilahs* developed the tradition of hereditary succession. After the demise of Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya who was the founder of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in India, his son Shaykh Sadr al-Din Arif succeeded him as his principal *khalifa*.⁹⁴ Sheikh M. Ikram is of the opinion that it was the first example of hereditary succession in Indian sufis, which later continued in Multan and Uch branches of Suhrawardi *Silsilah*.⁹⁵ However, the tradition of hereditary succession later contributed to the decline of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in Multan after the demise of great sufi shaykhs. After the demise of Shaykh Rukn-i Alam, who himself was a sufi of great stature, the tradition of hereditary succession which had become an accepted principle of the *silsilah* caused rift among his successors. Since Shaykh Rukn-i Alam had no son, his succession was contested among his nephews which lowered the prestige of the Suhrawardi branch of Multan in contemporary sufi circles.⁹⁶

The sufis of Suhrawardi branch of Uch also followed the principle of hereditary succession. Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari, the founder of Uch branch of Suhrawardi *Silsilah*, was succeeded by his elder son Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir and grandson Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Makhdum-i Jahaniyan respectively as the heads of Suhrawardi *Khanqah* at Uch. After the demise of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, his brother, Saiyyid Sadr al-Din Raju Qattal became the head of the *Silsilah* at Uch. He later appointed his nephew and son of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, Saiyyid Nasir al-Din as his principal *khalifa* and the in-charge of the *khanqah*. This practice of hereditary succession later continued at the Suhrawardi *Khanqah* of Uch.

⁹³ Anjum, "Sons of Bread and Sons of Soul" in Singh and Gaur. eds. *Sufism in Punjab*, 64.

⁹⁴ Alexander Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism: A Short History* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 204.

⁹⁵ Ikram, *Aab-i Kauthar*, 262.

⁹⁶ Nizami, "The Suhrawardi *Silsilah*", 113.

The Qadiri sufis of Uch also followed the line of Suhrawardi sufis of Uch and Multan in matters of succession. Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth, the founder of Qadiri *Silsilah* in India, made his eldest son, Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani, as his principal *khalifa*. This tradition continued in successive generations and the principal *khilafat* and the relics remained in the family of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth. Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani was succeeded by his son, Saiyyid Abd al-Razzaq for a brief period of time, and later by his grandson, Saiyyid Hamid Bakhsh. An issue rose between Saiyyid Hamid Bakhsh and his cousin, Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bala Pir, over the headship of Qadiri *Khanqah* at Uch. Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bala Pir later shifted to Satgarah near Okara and established a separate *khanqah* there. So on contrary to the Chishti *Silsilah*, there was a principle of hereditary succession in Suhrawardi and Qadiri sufis of Islamicate South Asia and the Suhrawardi and Qadiri sufis of Uch were no exception to it.

The spiritual legacy of sufi Shaykh continued through his disciples and descendants. There were two lines of this spiritual continuity, the Shaykh's major disciples and lineal descendants. In the case of Suhrawardi and Qadiri sufis of Uch this spiritual *barakah* was combined in the lineal descendants of the sufis as they were the principal heirs of the *silsilah*. In case of the *silsilahs* where the principal *khalifa* was not among the members of the family, the shrine and the lineal descendants still inherited the spiritual charisma attached to the sufi Shaykh. The institution of *sajjada-nashin* (hereditary custodian/ or caretaker of a sufi shrine) developed at the shrines of sufi shaykhs. The closest and in most cases, the eldest son was recognized as the head and the figurehead of the rituals of *khanqah*, who was mostly succeeded by his son or other close relative and so on as *sajjada-nashin*.⁹⁷

As earlier mentioned, both among the Suhrawardi and Qadiri sufis of Uch, the principal *khilafat* and institution of *sajjada-nashin* merged in one personality. However, after the demise

⁹⁷ Anjum, "Sons of Bread and Sons of Soul" in Singh and Gaur. eds. *Sufism in Punjab*, 63.

of great sufi shaykhs of both these *silsilahs*, the *sajjada-nashins* were not necessarily spiritually accomplished. These *sajjada-nashins* also inherited as well as received substantial land grants and cash offerings from their contemporary rulers, and also received their share from *futuhat* offered by the devotees who visited the shrine of the sufis. The medieval Indian rulers were more comfortable in dealing with these *sajjada-nashins* rather than the living sufi shaykhs, and used the influence of the former to strengthen their rule. Both the Suhrawardi and Qadiri *Khanqahs* of Uch continued the tradition of hereditary succession of *sajjada-nashins* which exists even today. An institution of influence, power and wealth, it became a source of conflict among the descendants of the sufi shaykhs in later centuries.

5.2.3 Non-conformist Sufism

Under major sufis of Suhrawardi and Qadiri *Silsilahs*, the environment of the *khanqahs* was *shari'ah*-oriented. However, in later periods certain groups of non-conformist *dervish* and *faqirs* claimed their affiliation with these sufis. The major unorthodox group which is worth mentioning is of Jalali *faqirs*. This ascetic group known as Jalali *dervishes* or Jalali *faqirs* traces its spiritual lineage from the Suhrawardi sufis of Uch. The word 'Jalal' is either derived from the name of Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari or his grandson Jalal al-Din Makhdum-i Jahaniyan. Jalali *faqirs* practiced *chahar zarb* (shaving the head, beard, moustache, and eyebrows).

There are different opinions about the origin of the Jalali *faqirs*. According to one view, on many occasions Makhdum-i Jahaniyan and his descendants were engaged in intellectual discussions and spiritual contests with Hindu yogis. Many of these yogis subsequently joined the *silsilah* after defeat at the hands of the sufis, and later formed the group of Jalali *faqirs*.⁹⁸ However, contrary to it, no such frequent incidents of conversion of these yogis are found in contemporary sources which might result into the formation of this group.

⁹⁸ Khan, *Constructing Islam on the Indus*, 110-11.

In spite of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan's adherence to Sunni creed, the Jalali *faqirs* were mainly Shi'as. Their dress included a cap made of twelve different pieces of cloth symbolizing their veneration to twelve Imams.⁹⁹ In spite of their veneration of twelve Imams and Shi'a leanings, they had unorthodox belief and ascetic tendencies. Makhdum-i Jahaniyan criticized on certain occasions the non-*shari'ah* based practices of *qalandars* and other groups and considered it un-Islamic.¹⁰⁰ It seems more plausible that they were heterodox and later got their affiliation with shrines of Suhrawardi sufis of Uch. Karamustafa is of the opinion that "by the end of the ninth/fifteenth century, rejection of society through blatant social deviance had become a prominent religious option in Indian societies."¹⁰¹ So possibly the emergence of these Jalali *faqirs* was the result of development of this unorthodox environment. These Jalali *faqirs* have also been present in Deccan. They used to wear black threads round their heads; amulets tied round their arms and used to carry a horn.¹⁰² At present, these *faqirs* are found in different shrines which include the shrine of Lal Shahbaz Qalandar in Sehwan (Sindh) and shrines of Uch. On the other hand, although certain *faqirs* and *dervishes* associated themselves with the shrines of Saiyyid Hassan Kabir al-Din, Shaykh Jamal al-Din and Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi, they did not develop themselves into a group like Jalali *faqirs*.

5.2.4 Relationship with the Sufis of other *Silsilahs*

The sufi shaykh used to carve out an area of spiritual influence called *wilayat*. The head of a *silsilah* used to dispatch his deputies or *khalifahs* to different areas, who further appointed *khalifas* to sub-sections of the *wilayats*. This established a hierarchy of *khanqahas* of a particular *silsilah*. Some of the sufi shaykhs tried to protect their spiritual territory by discouraging other

⁹⁹ Hollister, *The Shi'a of India*, 186-87.

¹⁰⁰ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 228-29, 733-34.

¹⁰¹ Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends*, 123.

¹⁰² Subhan, *Sufism: Its Saints and Shrines*, 237.

sufis, to stay for long in that area. In certain hagiographical literature, the episode of placing Shaykh Qutb al-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki's shoes in the direction of Delhi by Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya is noted, when the former was residing in Multan. Although they had cordial relations, placing the shoes towards the direction of Delhi was a symbolic gesture to ask him to leave Multan, which was the *wilayat* of Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya.¹⁰³ In *Siyar al-Arifin*, however, it is reported that Shaykh Bakhtiyar Kaki left for Delhi, in spite of Qabachah's request to stay in Multan, by declaring that Multan was under the protection of Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya.¹⁰⁴ Another example of this mutual understanding is Shaykh Farid al-Din Ganj-i Shakar. When a traveller requested him to pray for his safe journey, which he did. However, Shaykh Farid advised him that from a particular reservoir onwards, the *wilayat* of Baha al-Din started and he must pray for his safety from him onwards.¹⁰⁵ Thus the sufis of different *silsilahs* generally avoided conflict by recognizing each other's spiritual territory and area of influence. It is also mentioned in the *malfuzat* of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan that the area of Sindh was the spiritual jurisdiction of Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya and Hind of Shaykh Farid al-Din Ganj-i Shakar.¹⁰⁶

Nizami is of the opinion that although tension and struggle among the sufis of different *silsilahs* in other parts of the Islamicate world was found during medieval time, it was avoided in South Asia.¹⁰⁷ The early sufis, particularly the sufis of Suhrawardi and Chishti *Silsilahs* in India, developed an environment of mutual trust and accommodation which was followed by their successors. Makhdum-i Jahaniyan's principal affiliation was with Suhrawardi *Silsilah*, however he also took *bayt* from Shaykh Nasir al-Din Chiragh-i Delhi, in Chishti *Silsilah*. The Makhdum also venerated Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani, the spiritual head of Qadiri *Silsilah* in his *malfuzat*.

¹⁰³ Aquil, "The Study of Sufism in Medieval India" in Ahmed, ed. *Challenges of History Writing in South Asia*, 296.

¹⁰⁴ Jamali, *Siyar al-Arifin*, 26.

¹⁰⁵ Jamali, *Siyar al-Arifin*, 160-61.

¹⁰⁶ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 380-81.

¹⁰⁷ Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India*, 177.

His relationship with Saiyyid Ali Hamadani is a matter of controversy. As earlier mentioned, in *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, Shaykh Abd al-Haqq narrates, that Saiyyid Ali Hamadani of Kubrawiyyah *Silsilah* came to see Makhdum-i Jahaniyan. However, the Makhdum refused to meet him objecting that there was no Hamadan (All-Knowing) except God. This angered Saiyyid Ali Hamadani, who wrote *Risala-yi Hamadaniyya* in response of it. Shaykh Abd al-Haqq declared this story unauthentic, as it was contrary to hospitable nature and modesty of the Makhdum.¹⁰⁸ This argument seems valid as not a single event of inhospitality or word play is found about him in contemporary sources.

There was no conflict among the sufis of different *silsilahs* at Uch. Both the Qadiri and Suhrawardi sufis had matrimonial alliances with the sufis of Gazruni *Silsilah*. After their arrival at Uch, the Qadiri sufis also developed cordial relations with the sufis of other *silsilahs*. In the introduction of *malfuzat* of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth, the compiler Jamal al-Din mentions that when the Saiyyid arrived at Uch, the Bukhari and Gazruni Saiyyids of Uch welcomed him.¹⁰⁹ Saiyyid Hamid Budha, the *sajjada-nashin* of Suhrawardi *Khanqah* brought his son Saiyyid Muhammad Rajan Bhag to Qadiri sufi, Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani to get his blessings, when his son was ill.¹¹⁰ So the relationship of the sufis of Uch with the sufi of other *silsilahs* remained cordial.

5.2.5 Sufi Women of Uch

Sufism is one of those areas of Islam in which women enjoy more space. Rather than physical appearance or gender specific, Sufism is more connected with soul of a human. Hazrat Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) is one of those personalities, who are most venerated by the sufis. Rabia Basri (d. 801) changed the course of sufi tradition from mere

¹⁰⁸ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 286-87.

¹⁰⁹ Jamal-al-Din Ahmad, *Makalamat-i Ghawthiyya*, 6.

¹¹⁰ Gilani, *Ain al-Tasawwuff*, 243.

repentance and weeping to unconditional Divine love. She stated that “when a woman becomes a man in the path of god, she is man and one cannot anymore call her a woman.”¹¹¹ In works on Sufism, however, women sufis have received marginalized treatment.

Uch is one of those regions of the Islamicate South Asia where female spirituality has ample manifestation. The preservation of memory of sufi women of Uch and the prominent siblings of the sufis is a unique phenomenon which one experiences in form of beautiful shrines erected for them. The prominent of these women are Bibi Jawindi, Bibi Ayesha and Bibi Tigni. It is an interesting fact that although little detail is found about these pious women in the texts produced on Uch, oral traditions and architectural tribute offer a different story.¹¹² The shrine of Bibi Jawindi,¹¹³ who was the granddaughter of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, is one of the beautiful pieces of architecture. It serves as the representative shrine of Uch to the world, built by the ruler of Khurasan, Muhammad Dilshad in 1494. He was the maternal grandfather as well as an admirer of the spiritual excellence of Bibi Jawindi. The shrine was half destroyed during severe flooding in area in 1817. It is recently being preserved by UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) and still has the magnificence to attract the lovers of the Muslim art and architecture.¹¹⁴ Bibi Jawindi is venerated as a great sufi woman in local folklores, who died in her early age.

¹¹¹ Maria Massi Dakake, “Walking Upon the Path of God Like Men? Women and the Feminine in the Islamic Mystical Tradition” in Michon and Gaetani eds. *Sufism: Love and Wisdom*, 138.

¹¹² It not only in the case with the sufi women of Uch, there is also a historiographical silence about the women spirituality and details of sufi women in overall medieval sources on Sufism. As the role of women in the Indian society is generally missing in the medieval texts, sufi literature is also no exception from this tradition.

¹¹³ Hafeez argues that the actual name of Bibi Jawindi is Jind Wadi (the women having long life). This name is quite common in the women of the area of Seraiki region including Uch. See: Hafeez, *Tarikh-i Uch*, 142.

¹¹⁴ Asif, *A Book of Conquest*, 128.

Bibi Tigini was the daughter of Sultan Husayn Langah, the ruler of Uch and Multan. She was married to Saiyyid Nasir al-Din, the son of Saiyyid Makhdum-i Jahaniyan.¹¹⁵ She is also known as a pious lady, and in the oral tradition of Uch, venerated for her great spiritual eminence. Although not completely preserved, the shrine of Bibi Tigni still manifests a marvellous piece of architecture. Its walls are decorated with blue tiles and calligraphy. The wife of Saiyyid Makhdum-i Jahaniyan is also buried in this shrine complex.

The material remains of shrine of Bibi Jawindi in Uch affirm that the women also played a crucial role in the religious history of the region. Makhdum-i Jahaniyan also acknowledged the spiritual perfection of an anonymous woman of Uch in his *malfuz*, who was his contemporary. While answering about her spiritual status, he replied that even no man was at par with her spiritual attainment in Delhi or Uch.¹¹⁶ His statement shows that he not only believed in female spirituality but also openheartedly accepted that sometimes the spiritual perfection of women might be more than men. In his *malfuzat*, he repeatedly hinted at the piety and spiritual inclination of his wife.¹¹⁷ Always mentioning his wife as mother of his sons and not by the name, the Makhdum stated she used to wake him up for *tahjjud* (midnight) prayers. She was also well versed in Arabic and Persian, and studied books on grammar, *fiqh* and *tasawwuff*.¹¹⁸ She even used to deliver lectures on '*Awarif al-Ma'arif*' to women of Uch.¹¹⁹

5.3 Production of Sufi Literature

The *khanqahs* of Uch were not only the centres of spiritual training and religious education but in these *khanqahs* sufi literature was produced which is considered as an important addition into

¹¹⁵ Robina Tareen, *Multan ki Adabi aur Tehzeebi Zindgi main Sufia-i Karamka Hisa* [Role of Sufis in the Literary and Cultural Life of Multan] (Lahore: Beacon Books, 2011), 162.

¹¹⁶ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 37-38.

¹¹⁷ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 336, 501-2.

¹¹⁸ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 131, 460.

¹¹⁹ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 454.

the existing body of knowledge in the Islamicate South Asia. This literature, which comprised of various genres is considered an alternative source to explore the history of the period under study. This literature also serves as an important source to investigate the life and teachings of the sufis of Uch, and the distinct practices and traditions of the *khanqahs* of Uch. The present section attempts to briefly introduce the works, which were produced in the *khanqahs* of Uch. The study of sufi literature is not a simple task. Different scholars on Sufism have identified problems in the study of this kind of literature which are discussed here under.

5.3.1 Sources on the History of Medieval India

The primary sources on the history of medieval India range from court chronicles to different genres of sufi literature. These works are mostly written in Persian language which was the official language of Delhi court. As far as court chronicles are concerned, these works are mainly descriptive and focus on the rulers, nobles, their military campaigns and state conduct. These sources are criticized on the grounds that their approach is not critical and objective, and these works lack the history of the common people. As these works are mainly written with elite and state centric approach, they do not provide a complete picture of state and society in medieval India.¹²⁰ Orientalists have mostly used these works to study the history of medieval India, which is criticized in recent scholarly works. It is emphasized that these court chronicles need more careful study. Some scholars question the lack of objectivity in these medieval texts.¹²¹ However, some historians are of the opinion that it cannot be generalized about all the medieval court

¹²⁰ Anjum, *Chishti Sufis in the Sultanate of Delhi*, 17-18.

¹²¹ For details see Peter Hardy, *Historians of Medieval India: Studies in Indo-Muslim Historical Writing* (London: Luzac and Company Ltd, 1966 reprint), See also Sunil Kumar, *The Emergence of the Delhi Sultanate: 1192-1286*, (Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2007), 23.

chronicles. They are of the opinion that although some works are biased and lack analysis, some have sound analysis and comprehensive information like Barani's Work *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*.¹²²

Other important primary sources available on the history of medieval India are sufi texts. Other than court chronicles, these are considered as an alternative sources to study history. These are also mainly in Persian language as at the time of the advent of sufi *silsilahs* in India, the Muslim religious literature was being produced in Persian language in Persia, Central Asia as well as in the Islamicate South Asia. The sufi Literature of medieval India is comprised of various genres; the foremost is sufi instructive literature.¹²³ The first major sufi instructive text written in Persian was *Kashf al-Mahjub* by Shaykh 'Ali ibn 'Uthman al-Hujwiri during the eleventh century in Lahore.¹²⁴ Another important genre is *malfuzat* literature (conversations of sufi masters) like *Fawaid al-Fuad*, the *malfuzat* of Hazrat Khwaja Nizam al-Din Awliya. Most widespread literature of all sufi genres is *tadhkirah* (hagiographical literature) such as Amir Khurd's *Siyar al-Awliya*, Hamid ibn Fazl-Allah Jamali's *Siyar al-Arifin* and Shaykh Abd al-Haqq's *Akhbar al-Akhyar*. Nile Green is of the opinion that hagiography "was one of the central ways through which South Asian Muslims connected their own history with that of the wider Muslim world."¹²⁵ There are also collections of letters (*maktubat*) and poetry (*diwan*) of sufi masters which throw ample light on the social conditions and various issues of the time.

In South Asia, the Suhrawardi sufis are considered the major contributor in the production of sufi literature. One of the *khalifahs* of Shaykh Shihab al-Din in India was Qazi Hamid al-Din Naguari, who wrote on various topics. He supported the Chishti view on *sama* '.

¹²² These historians include Irfan Habib, Khaliq Nizami and Harbans Mukhia. For details see Kumar, *The Emergence of the Delhi Sultanate*, 23.

¹²³ This instructive literature is important in sufi history precisely for the fact that it formed a set of rules for sufis and sufi life in the sufi lodge.

¹²⁴ Green, "Emerging Approaches to the Sufi Traditions of South Asia", 125.

¹²⁵ Green, "Emerging Approaches to the Sufi Traditions of South Asia", 125.

and also issued a *fatwa* (a legal decree) in its support.¹²⁶ He wrote a number of essays on specific topics of Sufism and its practice including *sama*‘. However, most of his works could not survive and only extracts of these works are found in later texts. On the other hand, *malfuzat* collections of Suhrawardi sufis of Multan, which include *Kanz al-Fawaid*, *malfuzat* of Shaykh Sadr al-Din Arif and *Majma al-Akhbar*, a *malfuzat* collection of Shaykh Rukn al-Din Abu‘l- Fath are also extinct.¹²⁷ A collection of the prayer formulas and instructions on the manners related to eating, going to *bazar*, sleeping etc., is found titled *Al-Awrad*, authored by Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya.¹²⁸ Fakhr al-Din Iraqi (d. 1289) and Mir Husayni Sadat (d. 1328), two eminent poets who remained in the Suhrawardi *Khanqah* of Multan also contributed to the fame of the Suhrawardi sufis of Multan through their poetical veneration, and provided the glimpses of their life history.¹²⁹

The Suhrawardi sufis of Uch also contributed in the production of sufi literature. Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, wrote on many subjects. His works include two commentaries on *hadith* collections, titled *Sharh-i Mashariq al- Anwar* and *Sharah-i Masabih al-Sunnah*, which are now extinct. Other works which are attributed to him include a compilation of *maktubat* titled *Muqarrarnamah*, and a Persian translation of Qutb al-Din Dimashqi’s *Al-Risalat al-Makkiyya*. Makhdum-i Jahaniyan is one of those sufis whose conversations were recorded and preserved in different *malfuzat* collections. These *malfuzat* are important source of information on his life and personality and also of his predecessors. The most voluminous *malfuz* of Makhdum is *Khulasat al-alfaz Jami al-‘Ulum. Siraj al-Hidaya, Manaqib al- Makhdum-i*

¹²⁶ Lawrence, *An Overview of Sufi Literature in the Sultanate Period*, 38.

¹²⁷ Lawrence, *An Overview of Sufi Literature in the Sultanate Period*, 41.

¹²⁸ For details see Baha al-Din Zakariyya, *Al-Aurad*. Urdu. Trans. Muhammad Mian Siddiqui (Lahore: Tasawwuf Foundation. 1999).

¹²⁹ Lawrence, *An Overview of Sufi Literature in the Sultanate Period*, 46.

Jahaniyan, *Khazana-i' Jawahir-i Jalaliyya*, and *Khazana-i' Fawaid al-Jalaliyya* are other *malfuzat* collections which have survived.¹³⁰

The Qadiri sufis of Uch also contributed directly and indirectly to the production of sufi literature. Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth, was an eminent poet and scholar. The collection of his poetry is compiled in a *diwan* titled *Diwan-i Qadiri*. A collection of *malfuzat* titled *Makalmat-i Ghawthiyya* is also attributed to him. Shaykh Musa Pak, the descendant of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth, wrote *Tasayar al-Shaghilin* which is an important work in the genre of sufi instructive literature.

5.3.2 The Study of Sufi Literature: Significance and Issues

Although sufi literature has historical significance, it contains certain problems and issues as well. These problems range from the question of authenticity of these sufi texts to their focus and contents. It is argued that “as the Persian court chronicles are Sultan centric, these sufi texts are also *Shaykh* centric and narratives revolve around one individual.”¹³¹ It is argued that as these works were authored by the people who himself were the sufis or their disciples, they could not take objective assessment of the issues of their contemporary times.

However, Shahzad Bashir in his work, *Sufi Bodies: Religion and Society in Medieval Islam* is of the opinion that details of extraordinary events in religious texts are of a great historiographical value. These historical writings, however, have been judged by using strict historiographical standards, and as a result, received criticism. But these sources are important to assess socio-cultural atmosphere of the period. Bashir is of the opinion that “making the best use

¹³⁰ Lawrence, *An Overview of Sufi Literature in the Sultanate Period*, 46.

¹³¹ Lawrence, *An Overview of Sufi Literature in the Sultanate Period*, 27.

of materials of this nature requires that we analyse them carefully in multiple dimensions including inter-textual, intra-textual and socio-historical examination.”¹³²

Nile Green is of the opinion that although sufi texts offer a clear picture of sufi life and give useful accounts of their activities but when examined in contexts or ‘territories’ in which these works became popular, the matter becomes complex. In these texts, sufis are generally presented simply as a sufis, however in reality they have played all kinds of other social roles, which are difficult to reconcile.¹³³ In recent studies, the focus is shifting to more personal types of sufi writings like *maktubat* (collection of letters) which are an alternative source to look into their lives.¹³⁴ Certain issues in different genres of sufi literature have also forced historians towards epigraphic and numismatic sources. Other aspects of sufi life in medieval India are also being traced through the study of material remains and architectural legacy of the sufi centres.¹³⁵

On the other hand, sufi texts, particularly *malfuzat* and *tadhkirahs*, are being analysed carefully focusing their stylistic form, content and narration to enhance the status of the sufi shaykhs.¹³⁶ As some writings are often an act of concealing as are of disclosure. Nile Green is of the opinion that recent studies on sufi traditions of South Asia are carefully selecting the textual genre and still reading these texts with great care which is a welcome addition in the sufi studies.¹³⁷ Richard M. Eaton’s work on the sufis of Bijapur is a paradigm shift in the study of sufi traditions in South Asia. Eaton places sufis in their regional contexts, and as an important part of the society deviating from classical approach of portraying the sufis merely as an

¹³² Shahzad Bashir, *Sufi Bodies: Religion and Society in Medieval Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 3-4.

¹³³ Green, “Emerging Approaches to the Sufi Traditions of South Asia”, 137.

¹³⁴ Green, “Emerging Approaches to the Sufi Traditions of South Asia”, 137.

¹³⁵ Ahmed Nabi Khan, Hussain Ahmad Khan, Hassan Ali Khan and Manan Ahmed Asif have recently explored the history of the region through studying architecture and the material remains. See. Khan, *Uchchh: History and Architecture*, Hussain Ahmad Khan, *Artisans, Sufis, Shrines: Colonial Architecture in Nineteenth Century Punjab*. (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015), Khan, *Constructing Islam on the Indus*, and Asif, *A Book of Conquest*.

¹³⁶ Kumar, *The Emergence of the Delhi Sultanate*, 28.

¹³⁷ Green, “Emerging Approaches to the Sufi Traditions of South Asia”, 140-41.

outsider, only transmitting the teachings of Sufism and Islam.¹³⁸ There is a strong relationship of sufi shrines with the process of acculturation.¹³⁹ Scholars like Riazul Islam have also shifted their focus from the biographical studies of the sufis to discover the impact of sufi traditions on South Asian society during the fourteenth century.

To sum up, there is a consensus that sufi texts have a historical significance, however; these sources must be analysed while looking into their contents, forms, roots, and most importantly route, of their production, circulation and utilization. Their historiographical potential can be unearthed by pondering over the rhetorical purposes, uses and intended audience of these texts. So these work need careful study as these hold immense complexity in that period.¹⁴⁰

The ensuing section evaluates the literature produced by the sufis of Uch and their disciples. Each text has its historical significance and needs a full length study to unearth the themes, issues and historical significance. However, due to the limitation of the present study these texts are briefly introduced here, in order to have at least glimpses of their focus content and organization.

5.3.3 The Production of *Malfuzat* Literature and Sufis of Uch

Malfuzat, literally meaning “what has been said” were the contemporary records of the teachings and activities of a sufi shaykh. With the development of sufi traditions, the sufi master or shaykh became the central figure for the seekers to gain guidance and blessings. People were interested to know more about the life and teachings of the sufi shaykhs who served as a source of inspiration for them. As the sufi shrines provided physical connection with a deceased sufi

¹³⁸ For details see Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur (1300-1700)*.

¹³⁹ See Introduction in Singh and Gaur eds. *Sufism in Punjab*, 11, 13.

¹⁴⁰ Bashir, *Sufi Bodies: Religion and Society in Medieval Islam*, 1-4.

shaykh, the sufi texts provided guidance for the followers.¹⁴¹ The Indian sufis of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were involved directly or indirectly in the production of sufi literature. *Malfuzat* as the genre focuses on an individual sufi, and its compiler is usually a close disciple of the sufi shaykh. These *malfuzat* throw ample light on the sufi traditions in *khanqahs*. The style of *malfuzat* varied but generally these were compiled in a diary style or divided into chapters according to different topics. Steinfels is of the opinion that “In their preservation of a sufi master’s personality and instruction long after his death, the *malfuzat* can be compared with that other structure by which the power of saints is preserved after death: the tomb.”¹⁴² So the *malfuzat*, or the words of sufis were not mere texts but considered as a source of *barakah* for the followers of sufis.

In *malfuzat*, anecdotes are present in abundance which greatly attract the general reader’s attention. However, the acceptance of these anecdotes as a historical fact is somewhat problematic. These anecdotes need more critical examination due to the presence of mythical elements as well as the issue of accuracy of the time and space of the events.¹⁴³ One must not forget that the intent of citing the anecdotes was moralisation, and not preservation of historical data. Although sufi instructive texts are translated in English language and used by the Western scholarship in study of Sufism, *malfuzat* have not received that much attention. Lawrence is of the opinion that extensive study of this kind of literature is needed to properly evaluate the life of Indian sufis and their contribution to Sufism.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ Amina Steinfels, “His Master’s Voice: The Genre of *Malfuzat* in South Asian Sufism”, *History of Religions* (Chicago) vol. 44, no.1 (August, 2004): 56-57.

¹⁴² Steinfels, “His Master’s Voice”, 69.

¹⁴³ Riazul Islam, *Sufism in South Asia*, 18-19.

¹⁴⁴ Bruce B. Lawrence, *An Overview of Sufi Literature in the Sultanate Period, 1206-1526 A. D.* (New Delhi: V.S. Johri, 1992), 62.

As earlier mentioned, the *malfuz* literature is an important source for reconstructing the history of medieval India. These *malfuzat* throw light on social, cultural and religious life of the period. Through it one can have glimpse of the medieval society and assess the issues, beliefs and traditions of the common people.¹⁴⁵ The genre of *malfuz* literature in India was first developed in the circles of Chishti sufis. These *malfuzat* were mainly shaykh-centric and the question-answers sessions were added in the conversation. The place where these *malfuzat* originated was also enhanced in sacredness in the process.¹⁴⁶ The ensuing discussion is focused on the collections of the *malfuzat* of the sufis of Uch.

5.3.4 The *Malfuzat* of Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Makhdum-i Jahaniyan

Early Suhrawardi sufis of Uch, which include Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari, Shaykh Jamal al-Din Khandan Ru and Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir have no collection of *malfuzat*. However, Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Makhdum-i Jahaniyan is among those sufis of South Asia, and particularly of Uch, whose many compilations of *malfuzat* are found. It is very rare and important phenomenon in the genre of *malfuzat* that different compilers in different space and time collected and wrote down the teachings and activities of an individual sufi. Almost six *malfuzat* collections are attributed to Makhdum-i Jahaniyan.

Khulasat al-Alfaz-i Jami al-Ulum (Abstract of the Words of the Collector of Knowledge), usually referred to as *Jami al-'Ulum* was compiled by Ala al-Din Husayni from 1379 to 1380. *Siraj al-Hidaya* (Lamp of Guidance) was compiled by Ahmed Barani, *Khazana-i' Jawahir-i Jalaliyya* by Fazlallah b. Ziya' al-'Abbasi, *Khazana-i' Fawaid al-Jalaliyya* (Treasury of Jalalian Morals) by Ahmad Baha al-Din ibn Yaqub Bhatti between 1351 and 1366, *Tuhfat al-Sarair* (Gift

¹⁴⁵ Anjum, *Chishti Sufis in the Sultanate of Delhi*, 25. See also Steinfels, "His Master's Voice," 59.

¹⁴⁶ Marcia K. Hermansen and Bruce B. Lawrence, "Indo-Persian *Tazkiras* as Memorative Communications" in Gilmartin and Lawrence eds. *Beyond Turk and Hindu*, 151.

of Secrets) by Muhammad Ghaznawi in 1376, and *Manaqib-i Makhdum-i Jahaniyan* are the collection of *malfuzat* which are analysed here.

5.3.4.1 *Jami al-'Ulum*

Khulasat al-Alfaz-i Jami al-'Ulum, popularly known as *Jami al-'Ulum*, is one of the most comprehensive collections of the *malfuzat* of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan Jahangasht. It was compiled by Saiyyid Abu 'Abd-Allah 'Ala' al-Din al-Husayni in Delhi during the Makhdum's long stay of around ten months. Saiyyid Ala al-Din was the disciple of the Makhdum, and daily participated in his gatherings during his stay in Delhi. He recorded day to day conversations of the Makhdum almost for ten months from July 1379 to April 1380. The language of the *malfuz* is Persian with occasional quotations in Arabic. It is one of the detailed *malfuzat* of the Makhdum, which covers his daily schedule, prayers and meals along with his conversations. Saiyyid Ala al-Din, the compiler of the *Jami al-'Ulum*, states that he worked hard to collect each and every word coming from the blessed lips of his shaykh. Makhdum-i Jahaniyan was aware that his conversations were being recorded, as he had instructed Ala al-Din to note down the important points.¹⁴⁷ During this period Ala al-Din also studied a number of books from the Makhdum and recorded the major issues which were discussed while studying these books.

Ala al-Din states that he first started taking notes of the daily gatherings of the Makhdum. When the latter came to know, he approved this recording. During discussions, the Makhdum used to ask him to note down if anything was of particular importance. In this way, the Makhdum sometime seems directly participating in the writing process by dictating certain omissions and inclusions in the text. The chronological order and diary-like structure of *Jami al-'Ulum* gives an elaborate picture of the sufi life of the time. Its diary-like format and minimum editing makes it a more vivid text. The compiler and other disciples were interactive participants

¹⁴⁷ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, xv.

of these conversations.¹⁴⁸ Wladimir Ivanow is of the opinion about *Jami al-'Ulum* that “it may not be superfluous to mention the most exemplary exactness, accuracy and completeness of the statements of the compiler, so rare in Persian and especially sufi literature.”¹⁴⁹ The Makhdum’s teachings were mostly scholarly, which were supplemented with the references of Quranic verses and *ahadith*. It is also argued that the simplicity of the language and content, and avoidance to include the wonders and miracles in the text, which is the main strength of the *malfuz*, however, led to the neglect of the text in contemporary times.¹⁵⁰

Makhdum-i Jahaniyan discussed his travels in the Islamic world and his meetings with sufi shaykhs and scholars, and getting blessing as well as *khirqahs* and *khilafats* from the sufis of different *silsilahs*.¹⁵¹ He discussed his stay at Medina and Makkah and frequently mentioned his teachers Shaykh Abd-Allah Yafi and Matari. His meetings with Sultan Firuz Shah are also mentioned by Ala-al-Din.¹⁵² In *Jami'-al 'Ulum* Makhdum-i Jahaniyan on many occasions condemned the ill practices which had penetrated in the society in the guise of Sufism. He stated that the person having no knowledge of *shari'ah* could not become a sufi shaykh.¹⁵³ He himself challenged the so-called *dervishes* who adopted un-Islamic practices.¹⁵⁴

Makhdum-i Jahaniyan adopted very humble tone in these *malfuzat* and did not claim or assert his authority as a sufi shaykh. Citing different anecdotes, he emphasized the virtue and importance of humility and the acts of kindness.¹⁵⁵ While teaching his grandson, Saiyyid Hamid,

¹⁴⁸ Steinfels, “His Master’s Voice”, 61.

¹⁴⁹ Wladimir Ivanow, *Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1927), 576.

¹⁵⁰ Ivanow, *Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts*, 576.

¹⁵¹ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 16-17.

¹⁵² Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 764-65, 812-13.

¹⁵³ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 320.

¹⁵⁴ An anecdote of the Makhdum is mentioned that he challenged a so called *dervish* near Bhakkar, who claimed that he was not bound to offer five daily prayers and claimed to receive food from heaven. However, after the Makhdum’s advice, he submitted himself and followed *shari'ah*. Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 446-47, 503-4.

¹⁵⁵ Riazul Islam, *Sufism in South Asia*, 38.

he emphasized that having noble lineage was not sufficient for one's forgiveness from sins. He gave the reference of the son of Prophet Noah.¹⁵⁶ In *Jami' al-'Ulum* Makhdum-i Jahaniyan repeatedly emphasized the importance of *shari'ah*. He also practically enforced the principles of *shari'ah* and did not tolerate any deviation from it or objectionable practice. Muhammad Aslam in his detail study of different *mal'fuzat* collections titled *Mal'fuzati Adab ki Tarikhi Ahammiyyat* (Historical Importance of *Mal'fuzat* Literature) also discusses *Jami' al-'Ulum*. He is of the view that its study shows that the Makhdum had great expertise in *hadith* and *fiqh*.¹⁵⁷ He was not merely a sufi but also a *muhaddith* and *faqih*. Beside teaching and spending certain amount of time with visitors, he used to remain busy in meditation and offering non-congregational supererogatory prayers. Ala al-Din states that he offered hundred *nawafil* every night even at the age of seventy five.¹⁵⁸

Certain anecdotes and issues discussed by the Makhdum are recorded more than once, although in different timings. It seems that the compiler of *Jami al-'Ulum* wanted to preserve each and every word of the Makhdum and also preserve the diary like structure of the *mal'fuzat*. *Jami al-'Ulum* is translated in Urdu with the title of *Al-Durr al-Manzum* by Zulifqar Ahmed and published from Delhi and later from Multan. The Indian Council of Historical Research also published a Persian edition edited by Sajjad Husain. Another edition of *Jami' al-'Ulum* was published from Islamabad by Iran Pakistan Institute of Persian Studies, which was edited by Ghulam Sarwar. Manuscripts of *Jami' al-'Ulum* are also preserved in personal collections and different libraries of India and Pakistan.

¹⁵⁶ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 338, 494-95.

¹⁵⁷ Aslam, *Mal'fuzati Adab ki Tarikhi Ahammiyyat*, 208.

¹⁵⁸ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 67-68.

5.3.4.2 *Siraj al-Hidaya*

Siraj al-Hidaya is also a collection of the *mal'fuzat* of Makh'dum-i Jahaniyan. It is divided into nine chapters which deal with different themes like *hadith*, *fiqh*, different sects and the life and time of the Prophets. Important information about historical developments of the period is also found in it. It also contains important discussions on various aspects of religion and sufi traditions. For example, the Makh'dum's views on the relationship of the sufis with the state and his attitude towards contemporary rulers are well reflected in it.¹⁵⁹ The collector of the *mal'fuzat*, Ahmad Barani remained in the company of the Makh'dum when he visited Delhi in the year 1371. The former stated in his preface that he studied *hadith*, *tafsir*, *fiqh* and poetry from the Makh'dum.¹⁶⁰ Barani also mentioned the complete titles of books which the Makh'dum mentioned in the course of his discussions.

In *Siraj al-Hidaya*, the names of various books on different themes and subjects are mentioned in which some works are now extant. Makh'dum-i Jahaniyan admired India as a blessed land amidst other countries of the world.¹⁶¹ He preached tolerance towards fellow human beings, irrespective of their personal affiliations. Once answering a question about the real essence of nobility, he described four types of nobility. These include brilliance in qualities, excellence of person, the sacredness of place and the real excellence. Nizami further explains these qualities of being a noble:

Excellence of qualities meant excellence which is the result of prayers and performance of religious obligations; excellence of person meant excellence due to scholarship and learning richness or poverty; excellence of place meant living at places of religious sanctity, like Mecca and Medina; the real excellence, however, meant having ancestors distinguished for learning and piety.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁹ Barani, *Siraj al-Hidayah*, 360.

¹⁶⁰ Barani, *Siraj al-Hidayah*, 17-21.

¹⁶¹ Barani, *Siraj al-Hidayah*, 184-85. In *Jami al-Ulum* also Makh'dum-i Jahaniyan praised India as the most blessed land after Makah and Medina. See: Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 8-9.

¹⁶² Nizami, *On History and Historians*, 190.

Makhdum-i Jahaniyan gave the reference of Shaykh Nizam al-Din and Shaykh Nasir al-Din Chiragh-i Delhi on the distribution of food among the public as well as dining with them without any discrimination. He was also in favour of educating those selected few, who had inclination, talent and temperament to comprehend it. He also talked about certain social evils and the failure of the state to control these problems and condemned them which include black marketing and hoarding. He also condemned the appearance of women in public without *pardah* or veil. He also objected to kissing of graves.

The Persian manuscripts of *Siraj al-Hidaya* are available at Maulana Azad Library Aligarh, Raza Library of Rampur and in some personal collections. It is also published by Indian Council of Historical Research, Delhi and edited by Qazi Sajjad Husain. Qazi Sajjad, the editor of the *Siraj al-Hidaya*, is of the opinion that large chunks of earlier works are used in the *malfuzat*. Like *Risalah Ma'rifat al-Madhahib* is completely included in *Siraj al-Hidaya* and almost twenty pages from Ibn 'Arabi's *Futuh-i Makkiyya* are part of it.¹⁶³ Some scholars have doubted the authenticity of the text and pointed out certain shortcomings of the style. Steinfles is of the view that:

It is certain that the text we have before us cannot be accepted on face value as an accurate collection of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan's teachings. However it seems that *Siraj al-Hidaya* is ultimately based on Bukhari's (Makhdum's) teachings but that these have been poorly preserved and transmitted, so that numerous errors may have crept in.¹⁶⁴

However, the major themes and teachings of *Siraj al-Hidaya* are same as in other *malfuzat* of the Makhdum, which include prayer, *hadith*, and laws of *shari'ah*. At times the compiler has failed to maintain the focus and style of writing. Riazul Islam is of the opinion that *Siraj al-Hidaya* falls into the category of *malfuzat* in which mostly discussions are thematic, and anecdotes are

¹⁶³ Barani, *Siraj al-Hidayah*, 12-13.

¹⁶⁴ Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*, 167.

interwoven with these themes.¹⁶⁵ In spite of all the issues of focus and style mentioned above, *Siraj al-Hidaya* is an important source to understand Makhdum-i Jahaniyan's views and position on various religious and social issues.

5.3.4.3 *Khazana-i' Jawahir-i Jalaliyya*

Khazana-i' Jawahir-i Jalaliyya was compiled by Fazl-Allah ibn. Ziya al-Abbasi, a disciple of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan. It is a compilation of *awrad* and collection of general teachings of the Makhdum.¹⁶⁶ Very little information can be extracted about his life from it. Like *Siraj al-Hidaya*, Makhdum's *malfuzat Khazana-i' Jawahir-i Jalaliyya* also contains large section of writings from earlier works by different authors.

Muhammad Aslam in his celebrated work *Malfuzati Adab ki Tarikhi Ahammiyyat* has devoted a separate chapter on *Khazana-i' Jawahir-i Jalaliyya*. He mentions that the compiler of the work has included many Friday sermons in Arabic in these *malfuzat*. The compiler has also relied on many earlier sources. Aslam is of the opinion that it shows the vast knowledge of the compiler, who had also expertise in Arabic, Persian and Hindi languages and also had interest in poetry.¹⁶⁷

Khazana-i' Jawahir-i Jalaliyya is very rich in certain aspects, as it offers detailed description of certain customs and rituals of wedding ceremonies prevalent at that time. The Makhdum criticized the extravagance in wedding ceremonies as well as gave certain pieces of advice to take care of the poor and needy at the events of marriage. Aslam mentions certain

¹⁶⁵ Riazul Islam, *Sufism in South Asia*, 2.

¹⁶⁶ Fazal-Allah bin Ziya Al-Abbasi, *Khazana-i' Jawahir-i Jalaliyya. (Jawahir-i Jalali)*. Malfuzat Hazrat Makhdum-i Jahaniyan Jahangasht). MS. (Kutabkhana Ganj Bakhsh Markaz-i Tahqiqat-i Farsi-yi Iran o Pakistan, Islamabad. No. 2463).

¹⁶⁷ Aslam, *Malfuzati Adab ki Tarikhi Ahammiyyat*, 224-25.

words of local languages used in the *malfiz* and affirmed the contribution of the sufis in the development of Urdu language in India.¹⁶⁸

5.3.4.4 *Khazana-i' Fawa'id al-Jalaliyya*

Khazana-i' Fawa'id al-Jalaliyya, also referred as *Khazana-i' Jalali*, was compiled by Ahmad Baha al-Din ibn Yaqub Bhatti (d. 1375/76).¹⁶⁹ These conversations of the Makhdum were recorded in Uch between the years 1351 to 1366. Its compiler has organized these conversations according to different themes and tried to retain the actual words of the Makhdum. However, sometimes these topics overlap with each other. While arranging these *malfizat* according to topics, the author has omitted the context and audience, who were actually addressed. Due to this editing process, the compiler has compromised its flow. During discussions the Makhdum frequently quoted *ahadith*, works of *fiqh* and poetry which are mostly in Arabic. Lawrence is of the view that its study shows that “he was fond of sufi anecdotes, intimately acquainted with Quran and *hadith*, and consistently cogent in his explanation of mystic practices.”¹⁷⁰

Unlike *Jami al-'Ulum*, *Khazana-i' Jawahir Jalaliyya* and *Khazanah-i' Fawaid al-Jalaliyya* do not contain much about the matters pertaining to sufi ideology, thoughts, traditions and practices. The major focus of this work is theological issues, and the opinions of earlier authorities have been cited unlike *Jami al-'Ulum* in which the Makhdum shares his personal opinion and experiences on different issues.¹⁷¹

5.3.4.5 *Manaqib-i Makhdum-i Jahaniyan*

Manaqib-i Makhdum-i Jahaniyan is believed to be another collection of the *malfizat* of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan. A partial manuscript of this text, of unknown authorship, was described

¹⁶⁸ Aslam, *Malfizati Adab ki Tarikhi Ahammiyyat*, 235-36.

¹⁶⁹ For details see Ahmad Baha al-Din Bhatti, *Khazana-i' Fawa'id al-Jalaliyya* (Khazana-i Jalali). *Malfizat* Hazrat Makhdum-i Jahaniyan Jahangasht. MS. (Ibn-i Karam Library, Mangani Sharif).

¹⁷⁰ Lawrence, *An Overview of Sufi Literature in the Sultanate Period*, 46.

¹⁷¹ Riazul Islam, *Sufism in South Asia*, 283.

sometimes under the title *Malfuzat-i Makhdum-i Jahaniyan*.¹⁷² Ivanow is of the opinion that the compiler seems to belong to family of the Makhdum. One of its copies is preserved in the collections of the Persian manuscripts of Asiatic Society of Bengal.

5.3.4.6 *Tuhfat al-Sara'ir*

Tuhfat al-Sara'ir is a very brief *malfuz* of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan compiled by Fakhr Muhammad Ghaznawi. It covers only one week of his conversation from the first to the seventh of Zu al-Qa'da 777 AH /23–29 March 1376.¹⁷³ The place where this recording was made is unknown, however, the compiler belonged to the region of Kara. The style of the recording is very simple, and mostly the lectures of the Makhdum and the question-answers are recorded. The compiler himself stated that it was for the benefit of common folk who could not understand the complex ideas.

The study of *malfuzat* of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan shows that he was a great sufi and an accomplished scholar. He frequently quotes from the Quran, *hadith* and Muslim jurisprudence while discussing various issues ranging from daily life to the sufi practices. The questions raised by his disciples on various issues were also answered through supportive arguments from the Quran, *hadith* and *fiqh*. His stay in Makkah and Medina and his education from the eminent teachers made him well versed in Arabic language. He also cited poetic verses which further show his exposure to a variety of subjects.¹⁷⁴ The usage of quotations from other sources in his discourses also throws light on the texts which were being used by him for teaching and training of his disciples. Riazul Islam is of the opinion that the *malfuzat* of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan are largely free from *ta'alli* (self-praise) and *jalali* (manifesting the characteristics of God's Majesty)

¹⁷² Ivanow, *Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts*, 576.

¹⁷³ Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*, 166.

¹⁷⁴ Steinfels, "His Master's Voice," 65.

anecdotes.¹⁷⁵ Makhdum-i Jahaniyan had also touched very sensitive issues in his *malfizat* which include his experience of human love and the matters pertaining to relationship between husband and wife, etc.¹⁷⁶ His teachings show that he strictly preached the primacy of the Quran and Sunnah. He was of the opinion that only those laws which were in conformity with the Quran and Sunnah were applicable. He had received education from eminent scholars which established his authority as a scholar, his spiritual linkage with eminent sufis, and his noble descendant and preservation of his life in a vast range of *malfizat* collections added to his status as a great Sufi of his time and for the posterity.

5.3.5 Maktubat

There is only one collection of *maktubat* (letters) of the sufis of Uch available under the title of *Muqarrar-nama or Nasai'h-i Makhdum-i Jahaniyan*.¹⁷⁷ It is a collection of letters sent by Makhdum-i Jahaniyan to one of his disciples answering about various issues. The disciple's name was Ahmad Muin Siyah-Posh Alawi, a resident of Iraj, near Delhi.¹⁷⁸ The text is divided into brief sections. Each section starts with *muqarrar farzandibad* (My son, it is certain). While advising Taj al-Din Ahmad, Makhdum-i Jahaniyan has supported his arguments with *ahadith* and the examples of early sufis. The latter has also mentioned about great sufi shaykhs and his teachers, Afif al-Din Matari of Medina, and Rukn-i Alam Multani, his teacher and spiritual mentor in Multan. The mention of both the above mentioned sufis contributes to its authenticity.

These letters are important sources to comprehend the esoteric teachings of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan which were aimed for select few. The first letter is about the benefits and harms of

¹⁷⁵ Riazul Islam, *Sufism in South Asia*, 43.

¹⁷⁶ Makhdum-i Jahaniyan frankly discussed and gave advice on sexual relationship between man and woman in the light of *ahadith*. He also described his feeling of love towards a son of a slave girl during his childhood. For details see: Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 292, 332-33.

¹⁷⁷ Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Bukhari Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, *Muqarrar-nama (Maktubaat Saiyyid Makhdum-i Jahaniyan)*. MS. (Hyderabad State Library, No. 7821).

¹⁷⁸ Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, *Muqarrar-nama*, 20.

keeping good or bad company.¹⁷⁹ The second letter is about the importance of knowledge before action.¹⁸⁰ He also emphasized self-accountability and touched the subjects like knowledge of Muslim law, lawful food and disengagement from evil desires and selfishness. He also emphasized the importance of patience, hopefulness, thankfulness to God, *faqr* (voluntary poverty and disengagement with worldly possessions), being kind towards God's creatures. He also emphasized that the seekers must spend their time in prayers, meditation and reading the Quran to attain nearness to God, not for the love of paradise.

The authenticity of the work is questioned on the grounds that, contrary to the repeated stress on the attainment of knowledge in his *malfuzat*, the Makhdum has repeatedly criticized the useless learning in *Muqarrar-nama*. Steinfels is of the opinion that "given the consensus of the *malfuzat* texts that learning was of central interest to Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, one wonders at the reversal of his estimation of the relative roles of 'ilm (knowledge) and 'amal (action)."¹⁸¹ However, she also points out that perhaps this work was meant for particular audience and not for general public, that is the reason he advised not to indulge in learning at the cost of spiritual journey as without action, knowledge has little value. However, the importance of knowledge is not denied as the second letter emphasizes the importance of knowledge before action. So in this context, Makhdum-i Jahaniyan only advised the seekers of spiritual attainment, not to seek useless knowledge.

¹⁷⁹ Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, *Muqarrar-nama*, 2-3.

¹⁸⁰ Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, *Muqarrar-nama*, 3-5.

¹⁸¹ Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*, 170.

5.3.6 Travelogues Attributed to Makhdum-i Jahaniyan

The most unreliable work attributed to Makhdum-i Jahaniyan is a travelogue, titled *Safarnama-i Makhdum-i Jahaniyan*.¹⁸² This travelogue is full of miraculous and legendary occurrences and the journeys which find no mention in other *malfuzat* collections. Although there are certain details which can be verified through other sources, much of the text seems fabricated. The details of the towns and cities given in this travelogue are imaginary, and not found in contemporary travelogues. The legendary content of the *safarnama* does not match with the life and sober teachings of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, and it seems to be a fabricated account of his travels. The other two travelogues *Musafir-nama* and *Sayr-nama*, which are also attributed to the Makhdum, contain the same diction and legendary content as the *Safarnama-i Makhdum-i Jahaniyan* and their authenticity is also not scrupulous. Most of the scholars have rejected these travelogues as authentic texts.¹⁸³

5.3.7 Other Works Attributed to Makhdum-i Jahaniyan

Other works attributed to Makhdum-i Jahaniyan include, *Risala-i' Makkiyya Jalaliyya*, a sufi instructive work and *Sharh-i Mashariq al-Anwar* and *Sharh-i Masabih al-Sunna*, two commentaries on *ahadith* collections. The Makhdum also copied the Quran in a beautiful script known as *khat-i Bahar*. This copy is in the custody of the *sajjada-nashin* of Suhrawardi *Khanqah* of Uch. Muhammad Ayub Qadri, who himself examined the copy of this translation, is of the opinion that it is a fourteenth-century manuscript. Certain portions of it are translated in Persian. Qadiri is of the view that it is one of the oldest translations of the Quran in India.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸² For details see Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Makhdum-i Jahaniyan Jahangasht, *Safarnama: Makhdum-i Jahaniyan Jahangasht*. Urdu trans. Muhammad Abbas ibn-i Ghulam Ali Chishti Dehlavi (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011).

¹⁸³ Qadiri, *Hazrat Makhdum Jahaniyan Jahangasht*, 84-88. See also Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*, 169.

¹⁸⁴ Qadiri, *Hazrat Makhdum Jahaniyan Jahangasht*, 155, 206.

5.3.8 *Risala Makkiyya Jalaliyya*

Most of the scholars are of the view that *Risala-i' Makkiyya Jalaliyya* is a Persian translation of Qutb al-Din Dimishqi's *Risala-i' Makkiyya*.¹⁸⁵ Only a portion of this work has survived. It is considered one of the important sufi instructive works like *Kashf al-Mahjub*, *Risala-i-Qushairiyya* and *'Awarif al-'Maarif*. This text is basically an instruction manual for the seekers of spiritual path and explains themes like repentance and its importance to achieve the rewards in life hereafter. In Persian manuscript, the name of the translator is mentioned as Husayn b. Ahmad b. Husayn al-Husayni al-Bukhari, known as Jalal al-Din Makhdum-i Jahaniyan. In the preface of the text, the Makhdum gave the information about his travels and meeting with eminent sufis and scholars of the time. It is mentioned in *Jami al-'Ulum* that when Qutb al-Din Damishqi completed *Risala-i' Makkiyya*, he sent a copy to Makhdum-i Jahaniyan.¹⁸⁶ Copies of this Persian translation are preserved in the libraries of the Cambridge University, the UK, and Princeton University, the USA.¹⁸⁷

5.3.9 *Makalimat-i Ghawthiyya*: A Collection of *Malfuzat* of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi

Makalimat-i Ghawthiyya is a collection of the *malfuzat* of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi, compiled by Abu Ishaq Qadiri Jamal al-Din Ahmad. The compiler was a disciple of the Saiyyid and was initiated in Qadiri *Silsilah* by him.¹⁸⁸ The manuscript of this *malfuz* has recently been located, and it is an important discovery as far as the *malfuzat* of Qadiri sufi of Uch are concerned. It contains important information about the life and teachings Saiyyid Muhammad

¹⁸⁵ Bruce B. Lawrence, *Notes from a Distant Flute: The Extant Literature of Pre-Mughal Indian Sufism* (Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1978), 69. See also Sabir, *Suhrawardi Mysticism in South-Western Punjab* in Singh and Gaur. eds. *Sufism in Punjab*, 115.

¹⁸⁶ Ala al-Din, *Al-Durr al-Manzum*, 702.

¹⁸⁷ Lawrence, *Notes from a Distant Flute*, 69. See also Sabir, "Suhrawardi Mysticism in South-Western Punjab" in Singh and Gaur. eds. *Sufism in Punjab*, 115.

¹⁸⁸ Jamal-al-Din Ahmad, *Makalimat-i Ghawthiyya*, 4.

Ghawth. It has corrected certain misunderstandings regarding the year of the Saiyyid's permanent settlement in India. It has diary-like structure and consists the details of thirty of his gatherings, and a short introduction by the compiler.

In its introduction, the compiler Jamal al-Din Ahmed gives 1458, as the year of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth's permanent settlement in Uch.¹⁸⁹ He also describes that the latter was well received by the people of Uch including Gazruni and Bukhari *Sada'at*.¹⁹⁰ *Makalmat-i Ghawthiyya* is mainly consisted of anecdotes and different issues are explained with the help of these anecdotes. It shows that the Saiyyid stressed on the importance of spending time in prayers and meditation by giving the example of Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani. In ninth *majlis*, Saiyyid Muhammad is reported to have discussed in detail different sufi *silsilahs* and their sub-branches in different parts of the Islamicate world.¹⁹¹ He has also discussed the special status of the family of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).¹⁹² Although an important discovery and free from legends, this *malfuz* still needs critical evaluation to prove its authenticity as a genuine text.

5.3.10 *Diwan-i Qadiri*: A Masterpiece of Persian Poetry

Diwan-i Qadiri is collection of the Persian *ghazals* (love poems) of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth,¹⁹³ who was one of the celebrated poets of his time. He had also contacts with the famous Persian poet and sufi, Abd al-Rahman Jami. Even the poetry of Jami was introduced in India through him. Jami used to send his poetry to the Saiyyid for rectification. Due to its diction and theme, *Diwan-i Qadiri* remained very popular among the scholars and sufis. Mulla Abd al-Qadir Badayuni, a famous historian, mentions a letter of Shah Abu'l-Ma'ali Qadiri of Lahore to him in *Muntakhab al-Tawarikh* in which the former wrote that he was helpless to write anything

¹⁸⁹ Jamal-al-Din Ahmad, *Makalmat-i Ghawthiyya*, 6.

¹⁹⁰ Jamal-al-Din Ahmad, *Makalmat-i Ghawthiyya*, 6.

¹⁹¹ Jamal-al-Din Ahmad, *Makalmat-i Ghawthiyya*, 25-31.

¹⁹² Jamal-al-Din Ahmad, *Makalmat-i Ghawthiyya*, 19-20.

¹⁹³ See: Bandagi, *Diwan-i Qadiri*.

further because he was feeling ecstatic due the poetry of Hazrat-i Qadiri at this time.¹⁹⁴ Shaykh Abd al- Haqq states that the Saiyyid was a poet of high esteem and he wrote *qasidah* (ode) in praise of Shaykh Abd al- Qadir Jilani. Shaykh Abd al-Haqq also included a few of his couplets in *Akhbar al-Akhyar*.¹⁹⁵

Diwan-i Qadiri consist of two hundred and eighty one *ghazals* which are excellent examples of literary eloquence, and highlight the notion of Divine love. He used the metaphor of a Beloved for the Divine and used the symbols of separation and wine drinking in his poetry. Along with Divine love, *Diwan-i Qadiri* contains themes like the mysteries of the universe and journey on spiritual path. He used Qadiri as his pen name at the end of every *ghazal*. The Persian manuscripts of *Diwan-i Qadiri* are available in different libraries and in personal collections. Jameel Qalandar has rendered the Urdu translation of *Diwan-i Qadiri*, which is present in Ibn-i Karam Library, Jhang and is presently under publication. A degree of Doctorate is also awarded to Saira Khanam from University of Tehran, who has worked on *Diwan-i Qadiri*.¹⁹⁶

5.3.11 *Miftah al-Khalas* of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth

Saiyyid Musa Pak Shahid wrote in his work *Tasayyar al-Shaghilin* that *Miftah al-Khalas* was authored by Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth.¹⁹⁷ The latter used to compose poetry on the life and teachings of Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani, and this work is primarily about the Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani. Saiyyid Muhammad also included in this work hundred fables from *Khulasat al-Mafakhir fi Manaqab Shaykh Abd al-Qadir* authored by Imam Yafi‘.¹⁹⁸ However, this work is extinct now.

¹⁹⁴ Al-Badaoni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, 620.

¹⁹⁵ Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, 401-3.

¹⁹⁶ Gilani, *Tadhkirah: Makhdum al-Kul*, 69.

¹⁹⁷ Muhammad Musa, *Tasayyar al-Shaghilin*, 100.

¹⁹⁸ Muhammad Musa, *Tasayyar al-Shaghilin*, 89-96.

5.3.12 *Tasayyar al-Shaghilin* of Saiyyid Jamal al-Din Musa Pak Shahid

Saiyyid Jamal al-Din Musa, the son of Saiyyid Hamid Bakhsh and great grandson of Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani, wrote *Tasayyar al-Shaghilin* which is considered an important text among the Qadiri sufis of South Asia. It is written in Persian, however it contains many Arabic phrases and Quranic verses. This work is divided into three chapters. Each chapter is further divided into six sections. In the introduction of the book, Saiyyid Musa Pak states that this work was for the followers of the path of Qadiri *Silsilah*. It is mostly comprised of the *awrad* and *adhkars* and *waza'if* which are attributed to Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani.

Its first chapter is dedicated to five congregational prayers and the pattern of *adhkar* and *awrad* after and before these prayers.¹⁹⁹ The second chapter is dedicated to non-congregational prayers which include *ishraq*, *chasht*, *tahajud*, *awabin* and *istekharah*, etc. and *adhkars* related to these prayers. The third chapter and its six sections are dedicated to *tasawwuff* and include the subjects of love for the Prophet (PBUH), relationship between a sufi shaykh and a disciple.²⁰⁰ At the end of the chapters, a detail biography of Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani is also provided. Although apparently it seems that this work deals primarily with issues related to prayers and *adhkars*, it is also related to one's inner life and spirituality.²⁰¹ Saiyyid Musa Pak has also given the references of different books on *tasawwuff* while discussing various issues related to sufi traditions. The Persian manuscript of *Tasayyar al-Shaghilin* was first published by Munshi Ghulam Mohyuddin Qadiri in India in 1891. It was later translated into Urdu by Mahr Abd al-Haq from Multan in 1997 and later an abridged edition of this translation was published by

¹⁹⁹ Muhammad Musa, *Tasayyar al-Shaghilin*, 1-29.

²⁰⁰ Muhammad Musa, *Tasayyar al-Shaghilin*, 70-77.

²⁰¹ Muhammad Amin, *Maqalat-i Tasawwuff* (Dissertations of Tasawwuff) (Lahore: Idarah-i Thaqafat-i Islamiyya, 2018), 108.

Syed Sibtain Raza Gilani in 1999 from Multan. It was also translated in urdu by Dr. Khaliq Dad Malik, published by Idarah Sut-i Hadi Sheikhu Sharif Okara in 2011.

To sum up, Uch emerged as a centre of spiritual and educational activities of Muslims in India during the period under study. The earliest known *khanqah* and *madrassa*, which were the institutions of both esoteric and exoteric knowledge and training, were established there. The institution of *khanqah* played a very important role in the cultural life of the Islamicate South Asia. From thirteenth century onwards, Suhrawardi and later Qadiri *Khanqahs* of Uch served as effective institutions for disseminations of sufi traditions in India. These *khanqahs* were the places where the people coming from different social, ethnic, racial and religious backgrounds used to interact, resulting in acculturation. The material history of Uch is also very rich. Uch houses the shrines, which are exquisite manifestation of Muslim art and architecture. After the demise of the great sufi shaykhs, their shrines served as a place of spiritual benediction and charisma. The material remains of Uch also show that sufi women had an important place in the memory of the city of Uch. The sufis of Uch had diverse practices and doctrines. Contrary to the Chishti sufis, the Suhrawardi and Qadiri sufis of Uch developed the practice of hereditary succession. They generally avoided *sama* and advised certain condition for it. The Suhrawardi and Qadiri sufis also had different approach towards the matters of wealth and politics from the Chishtis. However, they avoided any conflict with the sufis of other *silsilahs*. The sufis of Uch also contributed to the production of sufi literature which is an important source of constructing social, cultural and religious history of South Asia. Although works of only few sufis of Uch are found, these are valuable for studying the life and teachings of the sufis of Uch. This literature produced by them is comprised of various genres, which range from *mal'fuzat*, *maktubat* to

poetry. In a nutshell, although in a periphery, Uch remained one of the important centres of spiritual, intellectual and educational activities in medieval India.

Conclusion

Sufism, which represents the esoteric aspect of the religion of Islam, started crystalizing in the early centuries of Muslim history. The sufis, who emphasized the inner dimension of Islam, also remained actively engaged in the Muslim societies and polities, while playing a variety of roles. The early centuries of Islam witnessed the expansion of Muslim rule in different parts of the world including South Asia. The sufis settled in different areas of India and started their activities, which were further strengthened by the foundation of sufi *silsilahs* during the thirteenth century. Certain cities became the hub of their activities, and Uch was one of those cities, which served as a centre of sufi traditions in medieval India.

Since its inception, the city of Uch in north-western region of India remained an important political and religious centre. The traces of history show that the city was founded during the period of Aryans. Over the course of history, it was destroyed and rebuilt many times and carried different names. It gained political significance first under the Ismailis, when they made it, along with Multan, a centre of their political power in the tenth century. After weakening of Ismaili rule at the hands of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna and finally under Ghurids, it again rose to prominence as capital of the independent kingdom of Sindh and Multan established by Nasir al-Din Qabachah during the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

Uch also served as a sacred site for the devotees belonging to different religious traditions. During the age of Aryans, it was the pilgrimage site for the devotees of Usha, the Goddess of Dawn, and during the Vedic period, a sacred site for the devotees of Vishnu and Surya. With the arrival of Muslims in South Asia, Ismaili *dai's* made Uch and Multan the major centres of their activities. Although they operated in a clandestine manner, they played an important role in conversion to Ismailism, and in the development of syncretic traditions in the

region. Ismaili *pirs* of Uch, Pir Sadr al-Din and Pir Hassan Kabir al-Din also contributed to the literary traditions of India by producing *ginan* literature. Uch also housed the early sufis and scholars who immigrated to India namely Shaykh Safi al-Din Gazruni, Minhaj al-Din Siraj Juzjani, the author of *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, Ali ibn Hamid ibn Abu Bakr Kufi, the translator of *Chachnama* and Sadid al-Din Muhammad Afi, the author of *Lubab al-Albab*. Under the rule of Nasir al-Din Qabachah, it remained cultural hub and educational centre for the Muslims of India, as many Muslim scholars and luminaries settled there. These scholars and religious luminaries contributed to the fame of Uch as an important place for Muslim learning and piety. The real fame, however, Uch received as a major sufi centre in India was between 1200 to 1600, when it served as a hub of activities of Suhrawardi and Qadiri Sufism.

During the thirteenth century, with the establishment of Delhi Sultanate, Muslim rule was formally established in north India. It was also the period when sufi *silsilahs*, after passing their formative phase in Central Asia and Middle East, started establishing their roots in India. Suhrawardi *Silsilah* was one of the two major *silsilahs* which were established in India during the thirteenth century, the other one being the Chishti *Silsilah*. The Chishti sufis mainly operated in Ajmer, Delhi, Nagaur and in Punjab. However, the major focus of the activities of sufis representing the Suhrawardi *Silsilah* was the region of Sindh and Multan. Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya, the founder of Suhrawardi *Silsilah*, made Multan headquarter of his activities. His son, Sadr al-Din Arif and grandson Shaykh Rukn-i Alam, further contributed in the development of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in the very region.

Almost at the same time, another branch of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* was established at Uch by Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari, the disciple and one of the principal *khalifas* of Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya. His real name was Husayn, however, he is remembered with different

titles, which include, *Haider-i Thani*, *Jalal al-Din*, *Mir Surkh Bukhari* and *Surkh Posh Bukhari*. He was born in Bukhara to a family of *Sadat* and later migrated to India due to destruction and upheaval brought by the Mongol invasions of 1220s in Central Asia. On the instance of his spiritual preceptor, Shaykh Baha al-Din, he permanently settled at Uch, where he founded Suhrawardi *Khanqah*. After his demise his son, Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir and grandson, Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Makhdum-i Jahaniyan succeed him as the head of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* at Uch respectively. Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir was sufi of an ecstatic temperament, who always remained busy in his prayers, and often in a state of ecstasy, however, his son, Saiyyid Makhdum-i Jahaniyan showed sober attitude and remained quite active in social as well as in political circles. Both were the eminent sufis of their time, who contributed revitalizing the mission and activities of the *Silsilah*. Another important sufi and disciple of Shaykh Sadr al-Din Arif of Multan, who founded a Suhrawardi *Khanqah* at Uch was Shaykh Jamal al-Din ‘Khandan Ru’. He was the primary teacher of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan and also used to guide Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir, in spiritual matters. His humble attitude and excellence in religious and mystical scholarship won him great fame and followings in the learned circles of the time. The Suhrawardi sufis of Uch, particularly Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, through their vigorous humanistic conduct, thoughts and producing literature made an important contribution in preserving the memory and enhancing the popularity of the Suhrawardi *Silsilah*, which was experiencing its decline after the demise of Shaykh Rukn-i Alam of Multan. Makhdum-i Jahaniyan stands out as one of the most influential sufis of the latter half of the fourteenth century India, who travelled to different parts of the Islamicate world, acquired education and spiritual training from eminent sufi scholars, and ultimately settled in Uch, making it a centre of his activities.

Makhdum-i Jahaniyan adopted very balanced approach in matters of *shari'ah* and *tariqah* based on his diverse educational exposure, acquaintance with myriad mystical traditions in the Islamicate world, and dynamic understanding of the heterodox Indian society. After his demise, his brother Saiyyid Sadr al-Din Raju Qattal, and later his son, Saiyyid Nasir al-Din became the head of the *Khanqah* and the Uch branch of Suhrawardi *Silsilah*. The Suhrawardi sufis generally adopted *shari'ah*-oriented approach, thus making the *Silsilah* compatible with the ideology of the ruling elite, who practiced Sunni Islam. They almost shared the space and time with *Ismaili* pirs, which brought certain claims that the Suhrawardi sufis of Uch had secret contacts and sympathies towards the Ismailis, undertaking missionary activities. Even it is claimed that they were tilted towards Shi'ism. However, a careful study of the life and texts of these sufis unearths that these claims have no sound grounds; rather the activities of these sufis were overt, and their teachings and practices explicitly supported Sunni brand of Islam. In fact, they tried to minimize the influence of Ismaili doctrines and disseminated the Suhrawardi sufi traditions in the region. The Suhrawardi *Silsilah* experienced decline at Uch after the demise of Saiyyid Hamid Kabir, the grandson of Saiyyid Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, who was the last major sufi of the *Silsilah*. However, Saiyyid Burhan al-Din Qutb-i Alam, another grandson of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, established a strong sufi centre in Gujarat which was further strengthened by his son Siraj al-Din Muhammad Shah-i Alam.

The sufi traditions at Uch revived with the arrival of a Qadiri sufi, Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi, a descendant of Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani, who made the city as a centre of his activities. Although Qadiri *Silsilah* is considered one of the oldest sufi *silsilahs*, it made its footing in South Asia during the latter half of the fifteenth century. Though some individual Qadiri sufis had arrived in India before Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth, he is accredited as the real

founder of the *Silsilah* in India. The sacred history of Uch as an early centre of sufi tradition in South Asia must have contributed to the decision of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth to make it a centre of his activities. After the demise of major sufi shaykhs of both Chishti and Suhrawardi *Silsilahs*, Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth also filled the gap of a strong personality in sufi circles of South Asia. The Qadiri sufis of Uch also enjoyed the spiritual lineage and charisma attached to Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani, which helped in popularizing it in Indian environment. The son and successor of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth, Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani, to whom many miracles are attributed was also an eminent sufi, who further popularized the Uch branch of Qadiri *Silsilah*. His son Saiyyid Abd al-Razzaq and grandson Saiyyid Hamid Ganj Bakhsh succeeded him as the head of Qadiri *Khanqah* of Uch respectively and enjoyed considerable influence and the popularity in the region. Saiyyid Jamal al-Din Musa Pak, the son of Saiyyid Hamid, brought the fame of Qadiri *Silsilah* to Multan and wrote important sufi instructive text, *Tasayyar al-Shaghilin*, which remained very popular among Qadiri sufi circles.

Making Uch the centre of their activities, Qadiri sufis established their *khanqahs* in different parts of India including Qadiri *Khanqah* of Satgarah (District Okara) established by Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bala Pir, the grandson of Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani and one at Shergarh (Dipalpur, Okara) by Shaykh Dawud, the *khalifah* of Saiyyid Hamid Ganj Bakhsh. An offshoot of Qadiri *Silsilah* which made its mark in Punjab was the Qadiri Naushahi *Silsilah*, which also traces its spiritual lineage back to Saiyyid Mubarak Haqqani, the son of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth. Eminent scholars like Shaykh Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dehlavi, the disciple of Saiyyid Musa Pak, contributed to the fame of their preceptors. Similarly, most of the Qadiri *Khanqahs* in Punjab trace their spiritual lineage to Uch. Through their network of

disciples and descendants, the Qadiri sufis of Uch rejuvenated sufi traditions and practices in South Asia.

During the Sultanate period, Uch remained predominantly the part of Delhi Sultanate, yet during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries before the Mughal Empire set in, it went under the political influence of independent regional kingdoms for brief intervals. The sufis of Uch, however, had to deal mostly with the Delhi Sultans and later with Mughal Emperors. Contrary to the general assumption that the sufis led isolated and passive lives, the sufis of Uch actively engaged themselves with the state in one way or the other. The founders of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* generally had an associational approach towards the rulers, and they collaborated with the state. Shaykh Najib al-Din, and his nephew and successor, Shaykh Shihab al-Din developed good relations with the Caliphs of Baghdad. Shaykh Baha al-Din also followed the model of his spiritual preceptor, Shaykh Shihab al-Din while dealing with medieval Indian state and developed cordial relations with Sultan Shams al-Din Iletmish and also accepted the honorific title of *Shaykh al-Islam*. The successors of Shaykh Baha al-Din also continued to enjoy good relations with the Sultans of Delhi. However, in Multan, after the demise of Shaykh Rukn-i Alam, conflict was generated on the issue of succession in the family of the Shaykh. The issue was brought to the court of Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq, who gave his verdict in favour of Shaykh Hud, a nephew of the Shaykh. However after a brief period, Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq was reported that Shaykh Hud and his relatives had accumulated huge wealth, indulged in extravagance, and did not provide food to the people in the *khanqah*. On these charges, the Sultan ordered to seize entire property of Shaykh Hud, and later the Shaykh was executed on charges of attempting to mastermind a Mongol invasion to India. This incident not only marked

the end of the prominence of Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya's *khanqah* in Multan, it resulted into strained relations between the Sultan Muhammad and Suhrawardi sufis of Multan.

The major sufis of Uch branch of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* remained under the Sultanate rule, in which different patterns of their relationship with the Sultans of Delhi can be discerned. Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari and his son Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir, shared the time with Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya, his son Shaykh Sadr al-Din Arif, and grandson, Shaykh Rukn-i Alam, who remained active on the social as well political scene of the Sultanate. Therefore, Saiyyid Jalal al-Din and Saiyyid Ahmad Kabir remained under the shadow of their spiritual preceptors of Multan in matters of state and did not come to the forefront. However, after the weakening of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in Multan, Saiyyid Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, emerged as an influential figure. After the episode of Shaykh Hud in Multan, Makhdum made conscious effort to preserve the space of the *silsilah* and avoided landing in conflict with the medieval Indian state, and developed cordial relations with the rulers. This can also be found that the Sultans too remained keen in exploiting the influence of the Suhrawardi sufis to serve their vested personal interests, or those of the state. For instance, when after the demise of Shaykh Rukn-i Alam of Multan, Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Makhdum-i Jahaniyan emerged as the new leader of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in India, Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq tried to use the former's influence by appointing him *Shaykh al-Islam* and awarding him the headship of forty *khanqahs* in Siwistan. However, the Saiyyid was very conscious and concerned about the hostile attitude of the Sultan towards the sufis, and thus tactfully quit the post and left India for pilgrimage to Makkah. His underlying motives were to preserve the space of the *Silsilah* by avoiding an overt conflict with the state, in which he succeeded. After returning to India, he established cordial relation with Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq's successor, Sultan Firuz Tughluq. The relationship of the

Makhdum towards central power remained associational during the period of Sultan Firuz and he further enhanced his status by successfully mediating between the Samma rulers of Thatha and the Sultan.

Makhdum-i Jahaniyan had a routine to visit Delhi court, after two or three years and was warmly welcomed by Sultan Firuz Tughluq on each occasion. Whenever he visited the Sultan, people used to put their petitions in his palanquin and the Sultan used to pass instant orders for the redress of these grievances. By developing close relations with the sultans, the sufis influenced them to adopt public friendly policies. Makhdum-i Jahaniyan seems to influence the policies of the state in a positive manner by convincing Sultan Firuz Tughluq to abolish certain illegal and oppressive taxes. On the other hand, the Sultan also took benefit by using the former's influence in Sindh. He succeeded in restoring peace as well as establishing his authority in the region through the Makhdum's mediational efforts. The Delhi Sultans wanted to establish their legitimacy in the Muslim masses, as they were their major support base, and generally developed cordial relations with sufis and *ulama*, who had a considerable following among the masses. This leads to infer that the relationship of Suhrawardi sufis of Uch and the medieval Indian state was symbiotic, and that they both successfully preserved their interests by collaborating with each other.

Makhdum-i Jahaniyan appears to be one of those few sufis of the fourteenth century, who had developed cordiality with the Sultan and ruling elite, and influenced the state policies. However, after his demise and that of Firuz Tughluq, both Sultanate of Delhi and Uch branch of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* could not maintain their strength due to multiple reasons. The reasons of the weakening of central authority of Delhi Sultans include *inter alia* political turmoil, conspiracies in the court, civil strife and the invasion of Amir Timur in 1398. On the other hand, after the

demise of Saiyyid Hamid Ganj Bakhsh, the grandson of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan and *sajjada-nashin* of Suhrawardi *Khanqah* of Uch, the *Silsilah* also experienced decline due to the weak successors of the Saiyyid. The successors of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan too avoided conflict with the state, but there were no remarkable episodes of coordination between medieval Indian state and his descendants.

When the Qadiri sufis arrived in India, many regional independent kingdoms had also emerged as a second layer of sovereignty along with central authority of the declining Delhi Sultanate in fifteenth century India. Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani, the spiritual head of Qadiri *Silsilah* lived in Baghdad, however, there are no episodes known about any overt conflict or any sort of cordial relationship between the Abbasid Caliph and him. He, however, generally remained at a distance from the ruling elite. The early Qadiri sufis who settled in Deccan, however, adopted associational approach towards Bahmani Kingdom of Deccan and developed cordial relations with its rulers. Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi, the founder of Uch branch of Qadiri *Silsilah* also adopted associational approach towards the state, and developed cordial relations with Langah rulers of Multan and the Lodhi Sultans of Delhi. Qutb al-Din Langah, the ruler of Multan, wanted to create legitimacy of his rule among the local population after overthrowing Shaykh Yousaf Qureshi, a descendant of Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya, in Multan. He joined the circle of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth and established matrimonial relationship with him to get the support of an alternative source of religio-spiritual authority. His son, Sultan Husayn Langah, and Sultan Sikandar Lodhi of Delhi also developed cordial relationship with Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth, which ultimately contributed to the fame of Qadiri *Khanqah* at Uch. There was a brief period of strained relationship between Sultan Mahmud, the Langah ruler of Multan, and Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani, the successor of Saiyyid

Muhammad Ghawth. Sultan Mahmud issued the royal decree to appoint Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani as the next head of Qadiri *Khanqah* at Uch. However, the Saiyyid resisted this move and returned the royal order, by stating that he did not need any royal decree to be the spiritual successor of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth. Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani wanted to preserve the independence of his *Khanqah* and resisted the interference of the Langah ruler in the matters of succession at the *Khanqah*.

After the establishment of Mughal rule in India, the authority of centre was re-established in Uch and its environs. Establishing themselves as a powerful dynasty, the Mughals were least bothered about winning over the support of the sufis. However, they continued the patronage of sufi *khanqahs*. The successors of Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani engaged themselves with the Mughals, and brought the conflict and issues of succession and the matters of the Qadiri *Khanqah* to Mughal court for resolution, eventually compromising the independence of their *Silsilah*. The descendants of Qadiri sufis of Uch also served the state in different capacities, which include the governorship of Multan and Lahore. So despite preserving of the autonomous space and independence of the Qadiri *Khanqah* by early Qadiri sufis of Uch, their descendants completely aligned themselves with the Mughal Emperors.

The sufis of Uch also contributed directly or indirectly to the development of the institution of *khanqah*, sufi practices and traditions, Indo-Muslim art and architecture and in the production of sufi literature in South Asia. The institution of *khanqah* or sufi dwelling, which was initially a place, where sufis used to spend their time in meditation and prayers, however, it gradually developed into more complex institution and its scope widened. With the passage of time, *khanqah* did not remain merely a place of residence for the sufis but also served as a centre of spiritual training, a mosque, *madrassa*, shelter house or inn for travellers and free kitchen for

the poor in Islamicate world. The sufi *khanqahs* of Uch also served as important centres of spiritual training and learning as well as of interaction among the diverse groups of the society. Uch housed one of the early sufi *khanqahs* of India established by Shaykh Safi al-Din Gazruni in early eleventh century as well as *Madrassa* Firuziyya, an important institution of learning in the Islamicate world. *Khanqah* Jamaliyya established by Shaykh Jamal al-Din ‘Khandan Ru’ and *Madrassah* Baha’iyya, under the headship of Qazi Baha al-Din, added to the fame of Uch as a centre of spiritual training as well as religious learning during the fourteenth century India. These were the institutions where the pupils like Makhdum-i Jahaniyan received training and education.

Khanqah Jalaliyya, which was established during the thirteenth century by Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari, gradually became the leading *khanqah* of the region, where both spiritual training and religious education were imparted. Under the stewardship of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, *Khanqah* Jalaliyya attracted a large number of students, the seekers of spiritual path, the sufis and scholars from far flung areas of India, who later carried on the traditions of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* in different parts of India. The Makhdum himself remained actively engaged in education and training of the disciples and used to regularly deliver lectures on the Quran and *hadith* there. Even some women of Uch received Quranic education from him. He also employed eminent scholars and theologians to teach at his *khanqah*. The major subjects which were taught include *tafsir*, *hadith* and *tasawwuff* along with *sarf*, *nahv* (principles of grammar), *lughat* (lexicography) to get expertise of the Arabic language. Students were also encouraged to raise questions and open discussion was held after the lectures. Students were also taught mannerism and respect towards the teachers and elders. In the *Khanqah* special attention was given to spiritual training as separate quarters were provided for the seekers of spiritual journey for

meditation. The Makhdum stressed the importance of solitude for spiritual training and remembrance of the Divine. He ordered the disciples to remain engaged in the remembrance of God in a particular time during day and at night. A library was also established in the *Khanqah*, which had rich and rare collection of books.

During the fifteenth century, Qadiri *Silsilah* dominated the scene of sufi activities of Uch in terms of popularity and importance. In case of the Qadiri *Khanqahs* too, the *madrassa* and *khanqah* intermingled, from where the Qadiri *Silsilah* flourished and its teachings were disseminated, particularly in Punjab and Sindh. Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi was a scholar and poet of high repute, and he himself used to teach the disciples and students at his *Khanqah*. The Qadiri *Khanqah* further gained popularity under Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani and Saiyyid Hamid Bakhsh, the son and great grandson of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth. Adjacent to the mosque and the shrine of Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi, the empty building of the tomb of Saiyyid Musa Pak later served as a *madrassa* and was named *Makhdum al-Madaris*. This *madrassa* boarded students from different areas, who were provided scholarship, food and books. The Qadiri *Khanqah* remained functional even after the demise of Saiyyid Musa Pak. It, however gradually declined after the establishment of new Qadiri centres in different parts of India. The Suhrawardi and Qadiri sufis accepted *fituhat* and land grants from the ruling elite as well as from the public, which were the major sources of income, used for running the affairs of these *khanqahs*.

Both the Suhrawardi and Qadiri sufis of Uch developed good relations with the sufis of other *silsilahs*, in spite of having differences of opinion pertaining to issues like accumulations of wealth, relationship with the rulers and listening to *sama*. The tradition of *sama* which is generally referred to as of listening music to invoke religious emotions and ecstasy and is

believed that it helps the soul to communicate directly with the Divine remained very popular among the Chishti sufis of India. Although Suhrawardi and Qadiri sufis did not regularly adopt the practice of *sama* as Chishti sufis in India, they were not opposed to it.

Contrary to the tradition of Chishti sufis, the sufis of Uch developed the tradition of hereditary succession in matters of succession. Initially, this tradition served well, as the early successors kept the spiritual traditions of their preceptors alive, however, later on, this hereditary succession became one of the major causes of the decline of Suhrawardi and Qadiri *Khanqahs* of Uch. An issue rose between Saiyyid Hamid Bakhsh and his cousin, Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bala Pir, two grandsons of Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani over the headship of Qadiri *Khanqah* at Uch. Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bala Pir later shifted to Satgarah near Okara and established a separate *khanqah* there. After the demise of Saiyyid Hamid Bakhsh, the issue was raised again on succession between his sons, Shaykh Musa and his elder brother Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir. This matter was brought to the Mughal court of Akbar. The matter remained unresolved for quite some time. Shaykh Musa remained in the court of Akbar and was given the rank or *mansab* of five hundred *sawars* (horsemen). Later, he came to Uch and assumed the charge of Qadiri *Khanqah*. These conflicts over the issue of succession and the interference of the state lowered the prestige of the *khanqahs*. Both the Suhrawardi and Qadiri sufis of Uch also received cash and land grants from the rulers, and after the demise of early influential sufis, this economic linkage and dependence compromised the prestige of their *silsilahs*. The prestige, power and wealth coupled with the office of *sajjada-nashin* also made it a source of conflict among the lineal descendants of these sufis.

The religio-spiritual history of Uch is also represented in the world through its beautiful shrines. These shrines also unearth the female spirituality in the city of Uch, which is otherwise

largely missing in the textual sources. The shrine of Bibi Jawindi, the great granddaughter of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan is one of the early representative tombs of Central Asian architecture in India, which also manifests the recognition of female spirituality in Uch. The shrine of another sufi woman, Bibi Tigni, the wife of Saiyyid Nasir al-Din, is also a reminiscent of beautiful piece of architecture as well as the place of sufi women in Uch. Both the dome like structure of the tombs, flat roofed style of the shrines of Uch and the beautiful decorative tile work on walls and roofs also represent diverse traditions of art and architecture in the region. These shrines and adjacent mosques share the architecture, techniques and aesthetics of construction, rituals and administration with Central Asia and Persia, playing the role of cultural integration of Islamic world.

The sufis of Uch also made their contribution in production of sufi literature in South Asia. Makhdum-i Jahaniyan is among those sufis of medieval India, whom a large number of *malfuzat* collections is attributed. These *malfuzat* include *Jami' al-'Ulum*, *Khazana-i' Jawahir-i Jalaliyya*, *Siraj al-Hidaya*, *Khazana-i' Fawaid al-Jalaliyya* and *Manaqib-i Makhdum-i Jahaniyan*. A collection of letters sent by Makhdum-i Jahaniyan to one of his disciples answering about various queries regarding sufi traditions, is preserved under the title *Muqarrar-nama* or *Nasai'h-i Makhdum-i Jahaniyan*. These letters touch very deep esoteric issues. Three travelogues, which include *Safarnama-i Makhdum-i Jahaniyan*, *Musafir-nama* and *Sayr-nama* are also attributed to Makhdum-i Jahaniyan, but their authenticity is doubtful. Other works attributed to Makhdum-i Jahaniyan include, *Risala-i' Makkiyya Jalaliyya*, a sufi instructive work and *Sharh-i Mashariq al-Anwar* and *Sharh-i Masabih al-Sunna*, two commentaries on *ahadith* collections. The teachings of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth are also preserved in a *malfuz* titled *Makalimat-i Ghawthiyya*. This recently located *malfuzat* collection is an important source to look

and revisit the history of arrival of the Saiyyid in India, and establishment of Qadiri *Khanqah* at Uch. However, authenticity of these *malfuzat* is not proven yet. A collection of the two hundred and eighty one Persian *ghazals* (love poems) of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth is found titled *Diwan-i Qadiri*. These *ghazals* are excellent examples of literary eloquence, which by using the symbols of separation, wine drinking and discussing the themes like the mysteries of the universe and journey on spiritual path, highlight the notion of Divine love. Saiyyid Jamal al-Din Musa, great grandson of Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani, wrote *Tasayyar al-Shaghilin* which is considered an important instructive text among the Qadiri sufis of South Asia. These different genres of sufi literature are not only important sources for exploring the life and teachings of the sufis of both the *silsilahs*, but also serve as alternative sources for reconstructing the social, cultural, literary and religio-spiritual history of South Asia.

To sum up, the sufis of Uch have an important place in the history of South Asia for their religio-spiritual endeavours, socio-political role, and cultural and literary contributions. They were active agents of dissemination of sufi doctrines and practices through their teachings as well as training of the disciples, who spread the ideology of their respective *silsilahs* to other parts of India. Uch served as the centre of Suhrawardi and Qadiri *Silsilahs* although in different period of times, the sufis of both the *silsilahs* almost shared views and practices on different issues, which include acceptance of grants from the ruling elite, relationship with rulers, *sama* and the principle of hereditary succession. The city of Uch once flocked by the devotees of the Suhrawardi and Qadiri sufis, still manifests the continuity of the sacred geography of the region and its importance as an important sufi centre in the annals of religio-spiritual history of South Asia.

The study of the religio-spiritual history of the city of Uch opens up very important and new avenues for further exploration of this region. Different aspects of the material, cultural and textual history of the city are not explored properly. The material remains of the city, which include, the beautiful shrines and mosques need a detailed study to identify the patterns of Indo-Muslim architecture as well as hidden symbols woven into the colour schemes as well as in the decorative tile work of these monuments. A rich collection of sufi texts and scholarly works were produced at Uch. A careful as well as inter-textual, intra-textual and socio-historical study of this literature can also unearth new aspects of religio-spiritual as well as socio-cultural history of the region and can contribute to the existing body of knowledge on the history of Muslims in South Asia.

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Glossary

<i>adab</i>	literature
<i>akhi</i>	brother
<i>amal</i>	action
<i>arif</i>	gnostic
<i>arz-i amr-i maruf</i>	guidance towards good conduct
<i>asa</i>	a staff
<i>batin</i>	inner aspect
<i>ba'yts</i>	initiation /oath of allegiance
<i>be-shar</i>	not confirming to <i>shari'ah</i>
<i>bida't</i>	corrupt practices or deviation from true faith
<i>chahar-zarb</i>	shaving the head, beard, moustache, and eyebrows
<i>daff</i>	tambourine
<i>da'i</i>	missionary
<i>da'wa</i>	mission
<i>dervish</i>	a wandering sufi
<i>dhikr</i>	remembrance of God
<i>diwan khana</i>	audience hall
<i>duzd-i khanagi</i>	thief in the house
<i>fajar</i>	morning
<i>faqr</i>	voluntary poverty/ disengagement with worldly possessions
<i>farmans</i>	royal orders

<i>fatwa</i>	a legal decree
<i>fiqh</i>	Muslim jurisprudence
<i>futuh</i>	unasked for charity
<i>ghazal</i>	love poem
<i>hadith</i>	the Prophetic tradition
<i>hal</i>	mystical state
<i>haram</i>	unlawful
<i>hajat al-nas</i>	needs of the people
<i>halal</i>	permissible in Islamic law
<i>haqiqah</i>	the Ultimate Truth
<i>jagir</i>	land grant
<i>jahangasht</i>	the world traveller (a title)
<i>jalali</i>	manifesting the characteristics of God's Majesty
<i>ilm</i>	knowledge
<i>ilm-al kalam</i>	scholasticism
<i>ilm-i batin</i>	esoteric knowledge
<i>ilm-i nahf</i>	grammar
<i>ilm-i zahir</i>	exoteric knowledge
<i>imam</i>	Prayer leader
<i>jagir</i>	a big chunk of land
<i>jama'at-khana</i>	community house
<i>jhik</i>	lower place
<i>kasb</i>	sources of livelihood

<i>khalifah</i>	spiritual successor
<i>khanqah</i>	sufi dwelling
<i>khatib</i>	sermon deliverer
<i>khawja</i>	lord or master
<i>khila</i>	robe of honour
<i>kullah</i>	a turban
<i>khilafat</i>	spiritual succession
<i>khirqah</i>	a worn and patched cloak symbolizing spiritual succession
<i>langar</i>	free food for visitors
<i>lughat</i>	lexicography
<i>madrassa</i>	college of Muslim learning
<i>mantaq</i>	logic
<i>ma'arifa</i>	gnosis
<i>majlis</i>	assembly
<i>majzub</i>	the enraptured one
<i>maktubat</i>	collection of letters
<i>malfuzat</i>	collection of discourses of sufis (sing. <i>malfuz</i>)
<i>mashaikh</i>	sufi guides (sing. <i>shaykh</i>)
<i>mathnawi</i>	a long poem
<i>madhhab</i>	any particular school of <i>fiqh</i>
<i>mohalla</i>	a locality in a city
<i>muhabba</i>	love
<i>muhaddith</i>	master of <i>hadith</i> studies

<i>muluk</i>	ruling elite
<i>murid</i>	disciple
<i>murshid</i>	spiritual mentor
<i>musalla</i>	a prayer-mat
<i>muwallah</i>	enraptured one
<i>nahi an al-munkar</i>	warning against evil deeds
<i>och</i>	high or lofty
<i>pir</i>	guide
<i>qalandar</i>	a libertine mendicant having non- conformist tendencies
<i>qadam-gah</i>	the footprint
<i>qari</i>	an expert in the recitation of the Quran
<i>qasidah</i>	an ode or a poem written in praise of a king or a nobleman
<i>qawwals</i>	the singers
<i>qazi</i>	chief judicial officer
<i>qazi al-quzzat</i>	Chief Justice
<i>qutb</i>	pole
<i>sabr</i>	patience
<i>sadr al-sudur/ sadr-i jahan</i>	In-charge of religious and judicial affairs in the Sultanate
<i>safa</i>	purity
<i>safarnama</i>	travelogue
<i>saff-i awwal</i>	being in first rank
<i>sahib-i nisab</i>	the one for whom the payment of <i>Zakat</i> is obligatory
<i>sajjadah-nashin</i>	hereditary custodian of a sufi shrine

<i>sama</i>	sufi devotional music
<i>satpanth</i>	true path
<i>sahw</i>	sobriety
<i>sawar</i>	horseman
<i>shahda</i>	testimony that God is one and Muhammad (PBUH) is His Prophet
<i>shahid</i>	martyred
<i>shujah</i>	the brave
<i>shari'ah</i>	legal aspect of Islam
<i>Shaykh al-Islam</i>	Chief of Islam (a title)
<i>Shaykh al-shuyukh</i>	Master of the masters
<i>sirah</i>	biography of the Prophet PBUH
<i>sukr</i>	spiritual intoxication
<i>suf</i>	wool
<i>silsilah</i>	a spiritual lineage
<i>ta'alli</i>	self-praise
<i>tabarra</i>	distancing
<i>tariqah</i>	spiritual path/ the way or method
<i>tasawwuff</i>	Muslim tradition of Mysticism or Sufism
<i>tadhkirah</i>	hagiography
<i>tawalla</i>	seeking association
<i>tawassul</i>	intercession
<i>tawakkul</i>	reliance on God
<i>thalith</i>	third

<i>thani</i>	second
<i>uchay log</i>	The persons having higher status
<i>uchcha</i>	high or lofty
<i>ulama</i>	religious scholars (sing. <i>alim</i>)
<i>urs</i>	death anniversary
<i>usul-i fiqh</i>	principles of Islamic law
<i>waqf</i>	religious endowment
<i>wazir</i>	Prime Minister
<i>wilayat</i>	Spiritual jurisdiction over a particular geographical territory
<i>yogi</i>	a Hindu spiritualist

Illustrations



Interior view of the Shrine of Shaykh Safi al-Din Gazruni



Exterior view of the Shrine of Shaykh Safi al-Din Gazruni



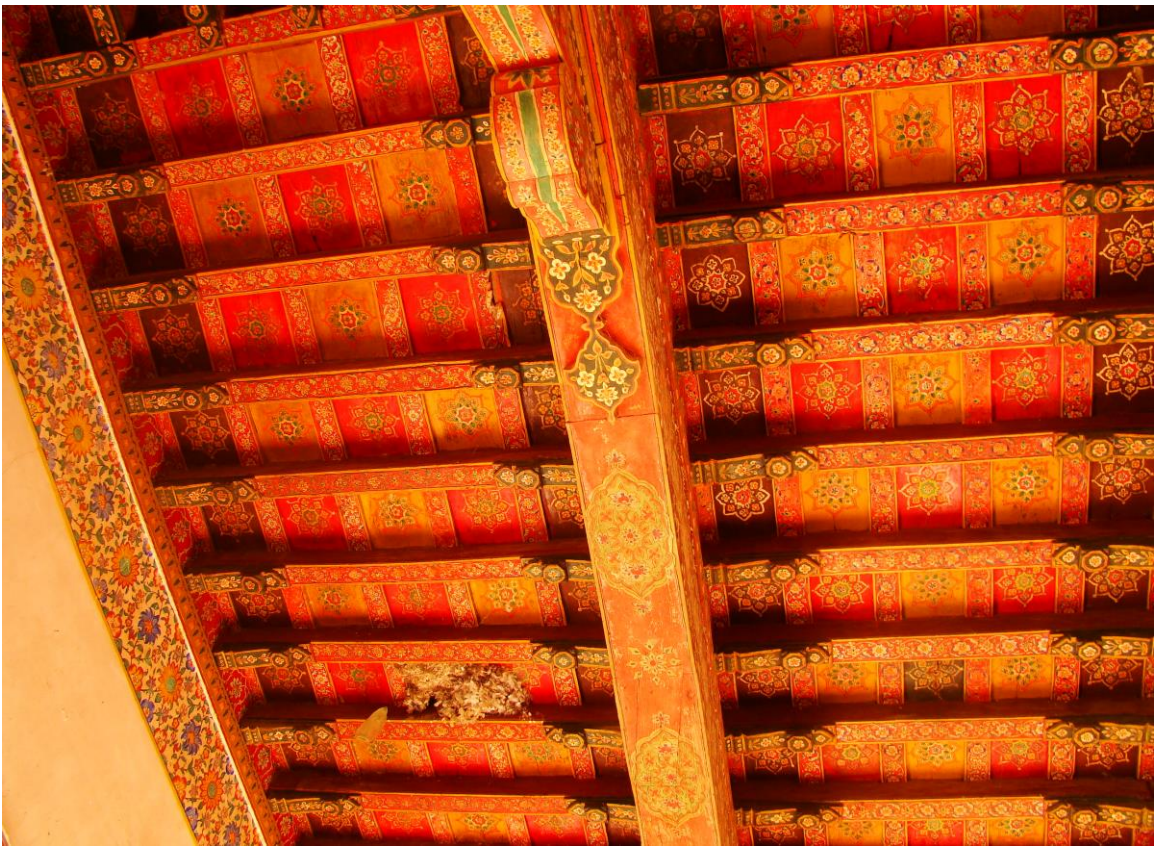
Shrine of Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari



The Mosque adjacent to the Shrine of Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari



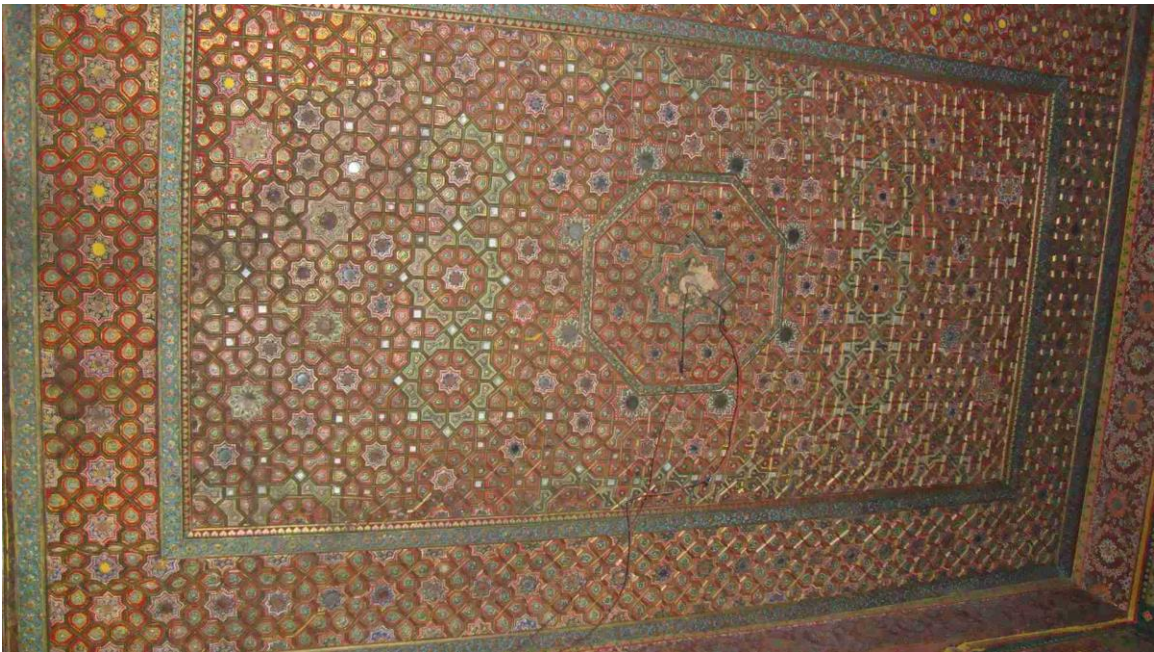
Shrine of Saiyyid Makhdum-i Jahaniyan Jahangasht



Roof Carvings in the Shrine of Saiyyid Makhdum-i Jahaniyan Jahangasht



Shrine of Saiyyid Sadr al-Din Raju Qattal



Roof Carvings in the Shrine of Saiyyid Sadr al-Din Raju Qattal



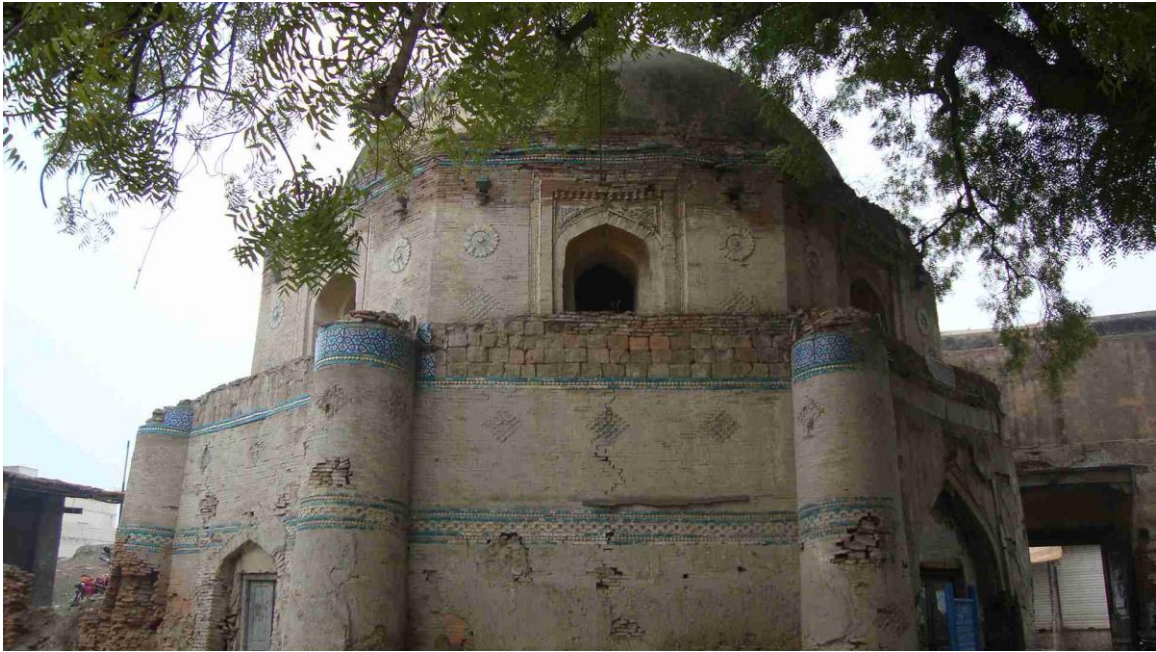
Interior view of the Shrine Complex of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi and Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani



The Mosque adjacent to the Shrine of Saiyyid Muhammad Ghawth Bandagi and Saiyyid Abd al-Qadir Thani



Gradually falling Historical Tomb of Qazi Baha al-Din Uchi



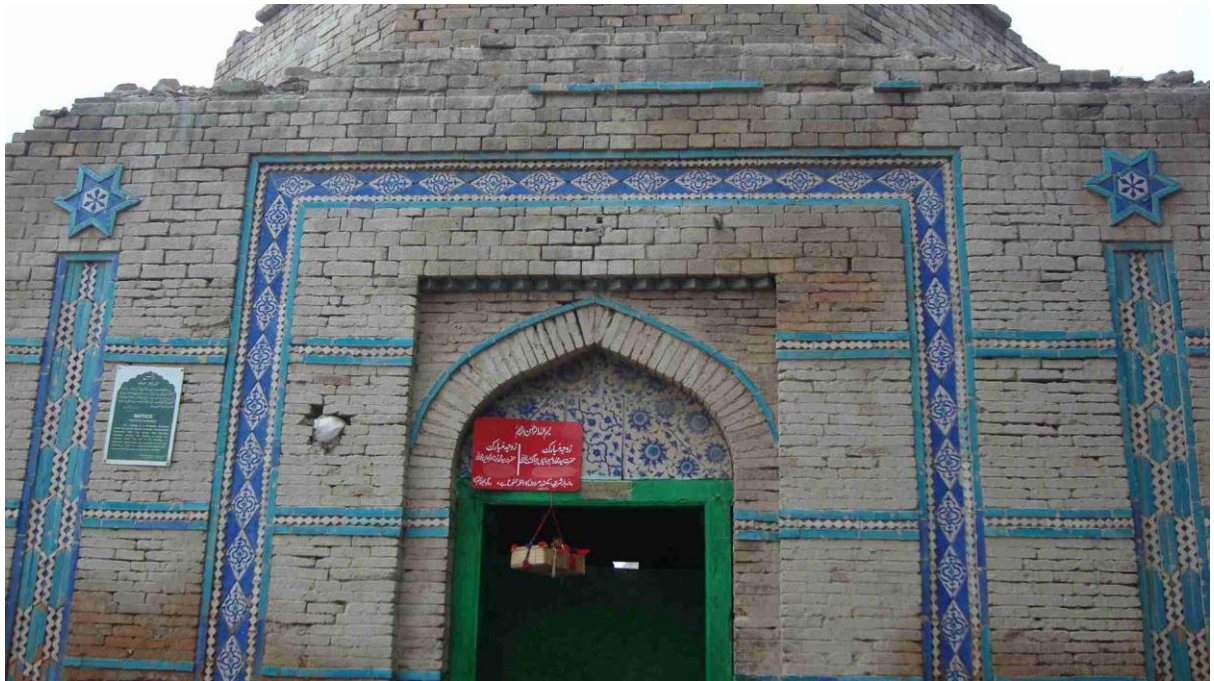
Tomb of Saiyyid Jamal al-Din Musa Pak in Uch



Tomb of Bibi Jawindi in Uch



Exterior and Interior view of the shrine of Shaykh Jamal al-Din 'Khanda Ru'



Shrine Complex of Bibi Tigni and wife of Saiyyid Makhum-i Jahaniyan



Tomb of Saiyyid Hasan Kabir al-Din



Shrine Complex of Shaykh Abu Hanifa