

**SUFISM IN PUNJAB FROM ELEVENTH TO
EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY**

**A
THESIS**

**Presented to the
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
of the
PUNJABI UNIVERSITY, PATIALA
In Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of**

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

**in
HISTORY**

by

SHER SINGH



**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
PUNJABI UNIVERSITY, PATIALA
2017**

SUPERVISOR'S CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this thesis entitled, "**Sufism in Punjab from Eleventh to Early Sixteenth Century**" embodied the work carried out by **Sher Singh** himself under my supervision. The thesis is submitted towards fulfillment of conditions for the award of the degree of Doctorate of Philosophy in the Faculty of Social Sciences. This thesis is worthy of consideration for the award of the Ph.D. degree.

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CONCLUSION

By way of conclusion it can be said that Sufi movement was the most remarkable religious movement, which turned a new leaf in the history of Punjab. After the discussion of Chishti and Suhrawardi silsilas' history in Punjab from eleventh to early sixteenth century in six chapters this work proposes many new facts.

The study contains a comprehensive discussion on the important issues of the advent and spread of Sufism in Punjab. Scholars have given different opinions about the reasons of the advent and spread of Sufism. The findings clearly bring out the fact that in the early medieval period Sufism was famous in all the Central Asian countries. Because of the atmosphere of Mangol terror, the Central Asian countries and towns were not suitable for them. So many Sufi saints with their families or Sufi saints' ancestors moved to safe places.

With the help of the contemporary sources the study throws light on the Muslim traders and merchant's role in the expansion of Sufism. During the early medieval period many Central Asian traders and merchants came to Punjab. Ibn Battuta in his writing mentions, "These journeys were much longer and risky." So many times these traders and merchants during their journeys went to Sufi khanqahs, which were situated in Central Asian countries, for rest and safety of their life and goods. Muslim traders and merchants when visited Sufi khanqahs, during that time they shared their views with Sufi saints about Punjab's culture, people and religion. So, on account of it there arose an eagerness in their hearts to come to Punjab.

The history of every country or religion is shaped to a great extent by its conditions. The geographical features of Punjab like its soil, rivers, mountains, and its passes also made impact on its history. During early medieval mostly Central Asian countries people came to India through Punjab and for that purpose they used North-Western passes named Khyber, Kurram, Tochi, Gomal and Bolan. These passes served as routes between Punjab and Central Asian countries. Sufi saints also used these for their travelling.

The present study highlights the problems of Sufis, which they faced in Punjab. The thesis Sufi saints came to Punjab from central Muslim countries whose language and atmosphere was completely different from Punjab. Apart from this, Hindus always kept distance from them. During that time Sufism emerged as one of the most striking religious movement of the Punjab. The most significant aspect of

Sufism, and one which had the greatest impact on the people, was the way of life which was adopted by Sufi saints. Sufi saints, particularly those belonging to the Chishti silsila, cut themselves off completely from State and its affairs. They spent their life in a simple way and mostly accepted *Futuh* (religious charity) only from people and refused to accept Jagirs (land grants), and other offers from Delhi Sultans and other State officers. Their simple living style impressed the people because they saw that these Sufi saints were very famous in the all categories of people but apart from this they spent simple life and also refused the Royal gifts.

Sufi saints gave too much importance to social welfare works. According to Sufis, “The religious ideal could not be reached through countless prayers or endless fasts. The path of spiritual progress lay through service of mankind. Fasts and prayers were acts of devotion which even an old widow could perform. The real mission of a saints’ life should be to strive for the welfare of His creation.” Sheikh Muinuddin Chishti, the founder of the Chishti order in India, remarked: “It was nothing but feeding the hungry, providing clothes to the naked and helping those in distress.” Inspired from these, Sufi saints of Punjab used their energies for the welfare of the people which made them a great soul in the eyes of common men. Contemporary sources like *Fawaid al-Fuad*, *Siyar-ul-Awliya* and *Khair-ul-Majalis*, mentions that Sufism with help of open kitchen system (which was very old in Sufis) tried to help the needy people.

The study makes an effort on the travellers, merchants, scholars and musician’s role in the spread of Sufism in Punjab. During their visits to Sufi khanqahs, these people talked with the Sufi saints on different aspects, besides these in these khanqahs, they also saw their open kitchen system and heard their *Sama* music. Sufi saints gave respect to everyone without any difference. Sufi saints’ personalities and good atmosphere of Sufi khanqahs impacted on their minds. So when with this mindset they went to other places, they shared their experience with the people. So a saints’ prominence was delivered from one place to another place by these travelers, merchants, scholars and musicians.

The study also throws light on the Sufis policy about the Hindus. During early medieval period Sufis’ tried to convert their religion. But after some time they rejected this policy because they realised that until we get respect or a place in their hearts, they will not accept our religion. So they started to make friendly relations with them. For the succession of this purpose they also started to give respect to their

religion, rituals and customs. The popularity and success of the Sufism especially Chishti saints in Punjab was due to their understanding the conditions and the religious attitudes and aspirations of the people of Punjab. They adopted many Hindu practices, customs and ceremonials like, circulating *zanbil*, shaving the head of new entrants to the mystic circle and the *Chillah-i-ma'kus* (the Inverted *Chillah*). Expect this, these saints met with Hindu saints and discussed with them on spiritual aspects.

The study contains Sufis' writings, which were source for the spread of Sufi thoughts, teachings and doctrines to the people. *Kashf-ul-Mahjub*, *Mulhamat and Diwans* are specific examples of it. *Malfuzat* or the table talks were also compiled during this period. *Malfuzat* or 'Table-talk' of the Sufi saints was recorded by their disciples. It was the ambition of every disciple to record the conversation of his master from day to day in the most accurate way possible. *Fawaid al-Fuad*, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, *Khair-ul-Majalis*, *Jami-ul-Ulum* etc. were famous *Malfuzats* of medieval period.

With the help of the archeological sites, the study makes an effort to investigate the famous Sufi centers and shrines of Punjab. After Sheikh Hussain Zinjani and Abul Hasan 'Ali bin 'Uthman bin 'Ali al Ghaznavi al-Jullabi al Hujwiri (1008-1079 A.D.) many saints of different orders or silsilas came to Punjab, but only two Sufi silsilas, like Chishti's and Suhrawardi's succeeded in their spiritual aims. Sheikh Farid (1173-1265 A.D.) was the first famous Chishti Sufi saint of Punjab. Sheikh Jamaluddin Hansvi (d.1261 A.D.), Sheikh Burhanuddin Sufi, Qutabuddin Munawwar (d.1359 A.D.), and Sheikh Nuruddin were other famous saints of this silsila. Hansi, Ajodhan (Pakpattan), Karnal and Panipat were important centres of Chishti mystical activities. Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya (1182-83-1262 A.D.) a disciple of Sheikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi (1144-1234 A.D) was the founder of the Suhrawardi silsila in Punjab and Sheikh Sadruddin Arif (d.1285-86 A.D.), Sheikh Jalaluddin Surkh Bukhari (d.1291 A.D.), Sheikh Ruknuddin (d.1334-35 A.D.), Sheikh Syed Jalaluddin Bukhari (Makhdum-i-Jahaniyan Jahangasht) (1308-1383 A.D.) were other famous Sufi saints of this silsila. All these saints were very popular among the people so after their death many Sufi shrines constructed over their tombs by their followers during this period. Sheikh Farid's shrine (Pakpattan), Chahar Qutab shrine (Hansi), Bu Ali Shah's shrine (Panipat), Syed Jalaluddin Surkh Bukhari's shrine (Uch), Syed Jalaluddin Bukhair Makhdum-i-Jahanian Jahangasht's shrine (Uch),

Sheikh Alauddin's shrine (Pakpattan), Bahauddin Zakariya's shrine (Multan) and Sheikh Ruknuddin Abdul Fateh's shrine (Multan) are most famous shrine of Punjab.

The present work has also investigated the architectural features of Sufi shrines. Chishti and Suhrawardi Sufi saints of Punjab made important reason of new historical constructions in Punjab. Many beautiful shrines constructed over Sufis' tombs by their followers, which were very famous for their designs, tile works, geometric and floral designs. Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya and Sheikh Ruknuddin Abdul Fateh's shrines are beautiful example of it.

The study highlights the religious dimension of this period. The reaction of the Sufis about the Hindu religious movements was positive. The Bhakti movement was famous religious movement of India. This movement reached Punjab through Namdev, in the last half of the 13th century. Guru Nanak Dev and Bhagat Sadhna were other famous saints of Punjab. Both movements belonged to different religions, but in spite of this their relations in Punjab were cordial. These saints gave respect to each other and many times they visited each other's places and discussed various spiritual issues. Their similar spiritual ideas or views on many different aspects played significant role in their friendly relations in Punjab.

In this work also makes an effort to highlights the similar views of Sufis and Bhakti saints. Their views were similar about God. According to them, God is one. True is His name, Creative his personality and immortal His form. God is the power and energy behind the Universe. He is the creator of everything which exists in it. He is beyond of time. There is none other than Him. Sheikh Ali Bin Ushman Ali-Hujwiri in his book *Kashf-al-Mahjub* writes, "Knowledge of the Divine Essence involves recognition, on the part of one who is reasonable and has reached puberty, that God exists externally by His essence, that He is infinite and not bounded by space, that His essence is not the cause of evil, that none of His creatures is like unto Him, that He has neither wife nor child, and that He is the Creator and Sustainer of all that your imagination and intellect can conceive. God has attributes existing in Himself, which are not He, nor a part of Him, but exist in Him and subsist by Him, e.g. Knowledge, Power, Life, Will, Hearing, Sight, Speech, etc. God is the Creator of mankind and of all their actions, that He brought the non-existent universe into being; that He predestines good and evil and creates all that is beneficial and injurious." In the same sense Namdev says in his hymn that God is everywhere there is no besides Him. Punjab's Sufi and Bhakti saint's views were also similar about the necessity of the

Divine knowledge (*Gyan* or *Ilam*) in human life, because with the Divine Knowledge, anyone understood and achieved God. According to Ali Bin Uthman Al-Hujwiri, "Knowledge is of two kinds: Divine and Human. The object of human knowledge should be to know God and his commandments. God's knowledge is that by which He knows all things existent and non-existent. In the same sense Guru Nanak Dev in his hymns says, "By obtaining the wealth of divine knowledge the insight into the three worlds is acquired. When he sees to God and understands that the Lord is fully abiding in all the places."

As far as Sufi saints also gave stress to the necessity of spiritual teacher or Master (Guru). According to Guru Nanak Dev, "No doubt that the Divine knowledge (Gyan) of God is very important for the people, but without the spiritual Master's grace, divine comprehension is not obtained. But the real spiritual master is obtained through God's grace, who is creates from the chain of births and deaths." Ali Bin Uthman Al Hujwiri writes that Prophet Muhammad himself gave importance to Fakirs and Darwashes (Spiritual teacher), because God is obtained through their grace. Sufi and Bhakti saints believed also in the equality of all men. According to Sheikh Farid, "Do not utter even a single rude word to any one, as the True Master abides in one and all and do not break the heart of any one, as every heart is a priceless jewel." Apart from this Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi in *Fawaid-al-Fuad* also mentions that the doors of the Sufis khanqahs were always open to all the people, which were belonging to different groups, faiths, religions without discriminations of caste and creed, rich and the poor. According to Guru Nanak Dev's views, "All men are equals because they have been created by one God. No high or low among them." He again says that all religions alike and regarded all conflicts of creeds, castes and classes as meaningless and the words Hindu and Muslim were only our names for masks, and that behind all those masks was common humanity' These saints of Punjab also gave importance to *Nam Simram* or dedication to the Name of God. According to Guru Nanak Dev, "The Divine Name was the medicine for the people. Without the Name life was as a barren land. Without God's Name of pervading God, the world is not emancipated and without the Name, none attains salvation." Another famous Bhakti saint Namdev also gave importance to it and one of his hymns, he says:

ਤੂੰ ਰਹਿ ਭਜੁ ਮਨ ਮੇਰੇ ਪਦੁ ਨਿਰਬਾਨੁ।

ਬਹੁਰਿ ਨ ਹੋਇ ਤੇਰਾ ਆਵਨ ਜਾਨੁ॥

("Meditate thou on thy God, O my soul and thou shalt obtain the
dignity of Salvation. Like this thou shalt not again come and go.")

Like Guru Nanak Dev and Namdev, Sheikh Farid also gave stress on dedication to the True Name. According to him:

"They, who forget God's Name,
Become a burden on the earth."

Bhakti and Sufi saint's views were also similar on good deeds (Karma). According to Sheikh Farid:

The body of three and a half maunds, lives on water and grain.
Entertaining high hopes, the mortal had come into the world.
But, when the Death's angel comes, he breaks open all the doors.
He binds down the mortal, before the very eyes of those dear
brothers of his.

Lo, the mortal is going on the shoulders of four men.
O Farid ! Only the good deeds, which he did in the world, would
avail him in the Lord's Court.

Guru Nanak agrees with Sheikh Farid. In his hymns he says, Man is accountable for his actions: "An account of every *ghari* (second) and moment shall be taken, and the soul shall obtain punishment and reward." Besides these, their special characteristics were also similar on many other matters like: (I) these saints emphasised on the importance of the use of local languages for their spiritual aims and works. (II) They believed in living simple life. (III) They also believed in the householder's life. (IV) Some saints of these movements used open kitchen (*langar*) system for their spiritual aims also.

Sufism's impact on the Guru Nanak Dev's life and teachings is very controversial aspect. Tara Chand, Wahid Bakhsh Rabbani and Hamid Hussain mention that Sufis had tremendous influence on Guru Nanak Dev. According to Hamid Hussain, "Sheikh Farid, who was a famous Sufi saint of Punjab, had tremendous influence on Guru Nanak Dev. A constant friendly relation between Guru Nanak Dev and Bhai Mardana, who was a Muslim and a companion of Guru Nanak Dev, during his long journeys, was a peculiar example of it." According to Wahid Bakhsh Rabbani, "It was the impact of Sufi saints' company that he gave up the Hindu beliefs in idolatry, incarnation." Tara Chand writes, "Like all Sufis, Nanak taught that in the soul's journey towards God it was necessary to be guided by a

spiritual master. The spiritual master directed the disciple upon the path which has four stages- *Saran Khand*, *Jnan Khand*, *Karam Khand* and *Sach Khand*, which, according to the author of Nanak Prakash, correspond with the Sufi *Shariaf*, *Marifat (Marfat)*, *Tariqat* and *Haqiqat*. But other side Anil Chandra Banerjee and Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi disagree with them. According to Anil Chandra Banerjee, "Whatever the external influences on Guru Nanak Dev's religion might be, he evolved a new system which owed its internal cohesion and universal appeal to his personal realization of the truth. He may have picked up words and phrases from here and there and 'woven these into the pattern of his revelation'; but his teachings were based on his own communion with nature, his own soul, and with his creator." According to Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, "After the analysis of Guru Nanak Dev's teaching in the light of Sufi thought should not be constructed as an assertion that the great Nanak borrowed his thought from the Sufis." It is true that the identity of two beliefs does not prove that one is generated by the other. Even where connection is assured, it may be impossible to show which the ancestor is and which is the descendent. But we also cannot ignore many important things on this issue, like: (I) *Fawaid al-Fuad* and *Khair-ul-Majalis* (which had written before Guru Nanak Dev's birth) prove that before Guru Nanak Dev, open kitchen system was an important part of Sufi khanqah life. (II) During Guru Nanak Dev's time, Sufi movement and its saints had become very popular among the people of Punjab. It is natural fact that during that time, when we live in same place, at same time and with same views, we impact on each other. (III) Besides these Guru Nanak Dev's special meetings and discussions with many famous Sufi saints during his journeys, prove that Guru Nanak gave importance to Sufi saints. So after the above discussions we can say that no doubt Guru Nanak Dev was great spiritual Master and he had *Divine Knowledge*. But we also cannot ignore that good things of societies and religions create deep impact on the people of society and great persons assimilate the ideas.

The study highlights that mostly Delhi Sultans impressed from Sufi saints and wanted their blessings and support for themselves and their reigns. Keeping this view in mind rulers visited Sufi khanqahs and offered them, land grants, amounts of money and positions in their courts. But Chishti and Suhrawardi Sufi saints treated them according to their forefather's policies. Suhrawardi established friendly relations with the Delhi Sultans. They thought that their visits to Courts provided them some opportunities to help the needy or poor people and they also thought that by

establishing personal contact with the Sultans and Rulers they could impact on their outlook, behavior, thoughts and character. Besides this they also took part in politics, accepted *Jagirs* (land-grants), services under the State and at many crucial times they also helped the rulers. But Chishti's attitude towards the State was different from Suhrawardi and they avoided the company of the Delhi Sultans and their nobles. They also rejected all their offers including amounts of money and land grants. According to Tanvir Anjum, "They adopted the conflictual or oppositional relationship policy about the Delhi Sultans and their nobles" Khaliq Ahmed Nizami writes, "Mostly Indian Chishti saints neither came to the Royal court and nor liked the visits of the royals their khanqahs. But Punjab's Chishti's relations with the State were neither oppositional nor friendly and they were also not against Delhi Sultan's visiting in their khanqahs. Although they kept distance from Delhi Sultans and their affairs, but many times Chishti saints went to Delhi courts and whenever Sultans and Rulers came to khanqahs for blessings or works, Chishti saints respected to them. Many famous Sufi saints like Sheikh Qutbuddin Munnawar and Sheikh Nuruddin Munnawar went to Delhi Court during the time period of Muhammad bin Tughluq and when with the permission of Sultan Nasiruddin, Giyasuddin Balban (Ulugh Khan) came to Sheikh Farid's khanqah at Ajodhan; Sheikh Farid met Sultan Giyasuddin Balban and blessed him.

The study contains a comprehensive discussion on the important issues of the cordial relations between Chishti and Suhrawardi saints. Their relations were cordial in Punjab. In their good relations, many facts played significant role. They did not interfere and criticise spiritual and other activities of each other. They also had divided areas of spiritual influence among themselves and did not interfere in another silsila's saints' spiritual area. For instance, "Once a musician named Abdullah Rumi came in the presence of Sheikh Farid. He wanted to visit Multan, but the road of this route was not safe. So he told the Sheikh Farid to pray for his safe journey. Sheikh Farid suggests and said to Abdullah, "The area up to such village wherein there was a pond, and which was at a distance of so many miles from that place, was under his control; he (Abdullah) would reach upto that village safe and sound. Beyond that up to Multan the whole area was under Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya's charge."

The study has also attempted to investigate the Sufis impact on the social, cultural, religious and economic life of Punjab. Foreigner's invasions, political changes and anarchy of Punjab impacted on the people's moral character. Sufi saints

gave importance to good moral character in the life of a man. They worked and advised the people for good character. About the respect and help of the visitors, Sufi saints always advised to the people that whenever the guest arrives, don't sustain any inconvenience and don't consider him as a burden upon yourself.

Sufi saints not only openly criticise slavery system, but they did work for the welfare and freedom of the slaves. Sayyid Muhammad Kirmani in *Siyar ul-Awliya* writes that they did work for the welfare of the slaves and many times suggested to the people and their followers to free their slaves. Amulet or *Tawiz* system entered in Punjab with the Muslims. Sufi saints played an important role to extend it. Sufi saints were spiritual personalities in the eyes of the local people. People came to their khanqahs for blessings of God and many people demanded Amulet or *Tawiz* from them for their goodwill. On their demand, Sufi Sheikhs distributed *Tawiz* or amulet to the people with their own hands. Another famous tradition, worship of tombs became popular in Punjab under Sufis influence. Sufi followers gave respect to them and thought that Sufis are God's gift for society. So, during their life time they came to their shrines and took *amulets* from them. They believed on their spiritual power even when the saint died, it was firmly believed that he would still respond favourably to requests made at his tomb. So, in Punjab a new system called 'worship of tombs' or worship of *Dargah* was originated, where people came for blessings.

Caste system was an important reason of division of society. Although Islam believed in social equality, but apart from this it was increased during early medieval period. Delhi Sultans also played an important role. Sufi saints of Punjab believed in social equality. For social equality, they advised the people that they should live together with love and without differences. In this matter Sufi khanqahs played a significant role, where people belonging to all categories visited and sitting together. Sufis' open kitchen system was another feature of Sufis' khanqahs, where people ate together without any difference. Sufi *Malfizats* prove that open kitchen system was very old system in Sufism. Open kitchen among the Chishti saints of Punjab was probably established by Sheikh Farid. His open kitchen was based on *Fatuh* (a charity amount), when *Futuh* came to him, he established langer which distributed food to all the people.

Punjab's Sufis impacted on Muslim population or strength. Many Sufis of Punjab were famous not only in Indian states but also abroad. So, every year many foreigners came to their shrines for their blessings and guidance. Many times some

people from these, decided to live there (Sufi khanqah) permanently under Sufis' impact. Sufi saints and their khanqahs also played a significant role in internal and external trade. Sufi saints and their khanqahs especially Chishti khanqahs provided food, residence place, security and information about local needs, production and safe routes to the traders.

The Ulema was a very famous class of Muslim society. They were held in high esteem on account of their religious learning. Delhi Sultans always gave respect to them and tried to appoint them on high or famous posts. Like Ulema, Sufi saints' also knowledgeable and learned men and they had good knowledge about Islam and its laws. So Sufis were those persons, who were able to debate with the Ulema on equal ground. Many times when they saw or observed Ulema's unethical works or acts, they criticised them. These criticisms of Sufi saints made deep impact on Ulema class's reputation. Apart from this, many Sufis' appointment on high posts was a challenge for Ulema's reputation. Post of *Sheikh-ul-Islam* was one of these, which was very famous post of Delhi Sultanate period. The *Sheikh-ul-Islam* was in charge of the ecclesiastical affairs of the Sultanate. *Sheikh-ul-Islam* was both an office and an honorific title.

Chishti and Suhrawardi Sufi saints also played a significant role in the growth of Sufism in other Indian states. Every year many disciples of Sufis came to their khanqahs for *Divine knowledge*. Some disciples from these, after the completing their study went to other states, where they established their khanqahs. In these khanqahs they gave knowledge to the people about their silsilas and Islam.

The findings of the research work collectively lead to overall understanding of Sufism in Punjab. It's clear that Sufism was a great religious movement, which played a very important role in Punjab from eleventh to early sixteenth century. Although during this time its saints faced many crucial problems, but in the end they succeeded to win the hearts of local people with their great works, policies and their simple and attractive teachings on this land.

Sufism is a mystical movement of Islam, which originated and developed in Arabia, flourished in Iran and Central Asia. During early medieval period Sufism came to Punjab. The present research work *Sufism in Punjab from Eleventh to early Sixteenth Century* focuses on the history of Chishti and Suhrawardi silsilas in Punjab and deals with the important issues of these silsilas's history like reasons of the advent and spread of Sufism in Punjab, famous Chishti and Suhrawardi's centers and shrines, Chishti and Surawardi's relations with the State, relations between Sufism and Bhakti movement and Sufi impact on various aspects of Punjab like society, culture, economy, language, literature art and architecture. Multan, Uch, Hansi, Pakpattan and Panipat were important centers of these silsilas. Sheikh Farid, Sheikh Jamaluddin Hansvi, Sheikh Burhanuddin, Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya, Sheikh Sadruddin Arif, Sheikh Jalaluddin Surkh Posh Bukhari, Sheikh Ruknuddin etc. were famous Sufi saints of these silsilas.

With the help of the contemporary and near contemporary sources, the study makes an effort to interrogate the various problems of Sufi saints, which separated Muslims and Hindus. Besides these Chishti and Suhrawardi saints started their work and for the succession of their aims, they adopted local dialect languages and customs of the Hindus. As far as they established cordial relations with Hindus saints. In the end with the help of their good policies, teachings and works, they succeeded in their spiritual aims and established their khanqahs in many towns of Punjab. They specially succeeded in eradicating common Hindu people's enmity against the Muslims. Sufi saints played a significant role in the political, economic and socio-cultural life of Punjab. Apart from this their role in art and architecture of Punjab was tremendous. The findings of the research work collectively lead to overall understanding of Sufism in Punjab. It's clear that Sufism was a great religious movement of that time, which played a very important role in Punjab from eleventh to early sixteenth century.

ਸੂਫੀਵਾਦ ਇਸਲਾਮ ਦੀ ਇੱਕ ਰਹੱਸਵਾਦੀ ਸ਼ਾਖਾ ਹੈ। ਜਿਸਦਾ ਆਰੰਭ ਅਰਾਬੀਆਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਹੋਇਆ ਅਤੇ ਬਾਅਦ ਵਿੱਚ ਈਰਾਨ ਅਤੇ ਮੱਧ ਏਸ਼ੀਆ ਵਿੱਚ ਵਧੀ ਫੁੱਲੀ। ਪੰਜਾਬ ਵਿੱਚ ਸੂਫੀਵਾਦ ਮੱਧਕਾਲ ਦੇ ਮੁਢਲੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਆਇਆ ਸੀ। ਇਹ ਖੋਜ ਕਾਰਜ ਚਿਸ਼ਤੀ ਅਤੇ ਸੁਹਰਾਵਰਦੀ ਸਿਲਸਿਲਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਦੇ ਅਹਿਮ ਪਹਿਲੂਆਂ ਜਿਵੇਂ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਵਿੱਚ ਸੂਫੀਆਂ ਦੀ ਆਮਦ ਅਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਰ ਦੇ ਕਾਰਣ, ਚਿਸ਼ਤੀਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਸੁਹਰਾਵਰਦੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਮੁੱਖ ਕੇਂਦਰ ਅਤੇ ਖਾਨਖਾਹਾ, ਸੁਹਰਾਵਰਦੀਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਚਿਸ਼ਤੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਰਾਜ ਨਾਲ ਸਬੰਧ, ਸੂਫੀਵਾਦ ਦੇ ਭਗਤੀਵਾਦ ਨਾਲ ਸੰਬੰਧ ਅਤੇ ਸੂਫੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਉੱਤੇ ਪਏ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਜੋ ਕਿ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੀ ਸਮਾਜਿਕ, ਆਰਥਿਕ, ਸੰਸਕ੍ਰਿਤੀ, ਭਾਸ਼ਾ, ਸਾਹਿਤ, ਕਲਾ ਅਤੇ ਭਵਨ ਉਸਾਰੀ ਕਲਾ ਉੱਤੇ ਪਏ ਸਨ ਨੂੰ ਉਜਾਗਰ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੈ। ਇਹਨਾਂ ਸਿਲਸਿਲਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਮੁੱਖ ਖੇਤਰ ਹਾਸੀ, ਪਾਕਪਟਨ, ਉੱਚ, ਮੁਲਤਾਨ ਅਤੇ ਪਾਣੀਪਤ ਸਨ। ਸ਼ੇਖ ਫਰੀਦ, ਸ਼ੇਖ ਜਮਾਲਉਦੀਨ ਹਾਂਸਵੀ, ਸ਼ੇਖ ਬੁਰਹਾਨਉਦੀਨ ਸੂਫੀ, ਸ਼ੇਖ ਬਹਾਉਦੀਨ ਜਕਰੀਆ, ਸ਼ੇਖ ਸਦਰਉਦੀਨ ਆਰਿਫ, ਸ਼ੇਖ ਜਲਾਲਉਦੀਨ ਸੁਰਖਪੋਸ਼ ਬੁਖਾਰੀ, ਸ਼ੇਖ ਰੁਕਨਉਦੀਨ ਆਦਿ ਇਹਨਾਂ ਸਿਲਸਿਲਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਮੁੱਖ ਸੰਤ ਸਨ।

ਪ੍ਰਾਇਮਰੀ ਅਤੇ ਸੈਕੰਡਰੀ ਸ੍ਰੋਤਾਂ ਦੀ ਮਦਦ ਨਾਲ ਇਸ ਖੋਜ ਕਾਰਜ ਵਿੱਚ ਸੂਫੀਆਂ ਦੀ ਮੁਸੀਬਤਾਂ ਦਾ ਜ਼ਿਕਰ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਅਤੇ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਵੱਖਰਾ ਕਰਦੀਆਂ ਸਨ। ਇਸੇ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਇਹ ਵੀ ਜ਼ਿਕਰ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਸਦੇ ਬਾਵਜੂਦ ਵੀ ਇਹਨਾਂ ਸੰਤਾਂ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਉਦੇਸ਼ਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਜਾਰੀ ਰੱਖਿਆ ਅਤੇ ਇਹਨਾਂ ਦੀ ਪੂਰਤੀ ਲਈ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੀਆਂ ਸਥਾਨਿਕ ਭਾਸ਼ਾਵਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਰੀਤੀ-ਰਿਵਾਜਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਵੀ ਅਪਣਾਇਆ। ਸੁਹਰਾਵਰਦੀਆਂ ਨੇ ਲੋਕ ਭਲਾਈ ਲਈ ਦਿੱਲੀ ਦੇ ਸੁਲਤਾਨਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਸੰਬੰਧ ਬਣਾਉਣ ਤੋਂ ਵੀ ਗੁਰੇਜ਼ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੀਤਾ ਸੀ। ਅਖੀਰ ਆਪਣੀਆਂ ਮਹਾਨ ਸਿੱਖਿਆਵਾਂ, ਕੰਮਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਨੀਤੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਇਹ ਸੰਤ ਆਪਣੇ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਉਦੇਸ਼ਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਕਰਨ ਵਿੱਚ ਸਫਲ ਰਹੇ।

ਹਿੰਦੂਆਂ ਦੇ ਦਿਲਾਂ 'ਚੋਂ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨਾਂ ਪ੍ਰਤੀ ਨਫਰਤ ਖਤਮ ਕਰਨਾ, ਇਹਨਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਪ੍ਰਮੁੱਖ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤੀਆਂ ਵਿੱਚੋਂ ਇੱਕ ਸੀ। ਇਹਨਾਂ ਨੇ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੇ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ, ਸਮਾਜਿਕ, ਆਰਥਿਕ, ਜੀਵਨ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ-ਨਾਲ ਕਲਾ ਅਤੇ ਭਵਨ ਨਿਰਮਾਣ ਕਲਾ ਦੇ ਵਿਕਾਸ ਵਿੱਚ ਵੀ ਅਹਿਮ ਯੋਗਦਾਨ ਪਾਇਆ ਸੀ। ਅਖੀਰ ਵਿੱਚ ਕਿਹਾ ਜਾ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਇਸ ਕਾਲ 'ਚ, ਚਿਸ਼ਤੀ ਅਤੇ ਸੁਹਰਾਵਰਦੀ ਸੰਤਾਂ ਲਈ ਅਹਿਮ ਥਾਂ ਰਿਹਾ, ਜਿਥੇ ਇਹਨਾਂ ਸਿਲਸਿਲਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਸੰਤ ਮਸ਼ਹੂਰ ਹੋਏ, ਉਹਨਾਂ ਦੇ ਵਿਚਾਰਾਂ, ਰਹਿਣ-ਸਹਿਣ, ਨੀਤੀਆਂ, ਸਿੱਖਿਆਵਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਯੋਗਦਾਨ ਨੇ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੇ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਦੇ ਜੀਵਨ 'ਤੇ ਡੂੰਘਾ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਪਾਇਆ ਸੀ।

CHAPTER – 1

HISTORICAL MILIEU AND CAUSES OF THE ADVENT AND SPREAD OF SUFISM IN PUNJAB

Mysticism is a universal phenomenon which represents a streak or a current that runs through many great religious traditions of the world, including Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Hellenism, Christianity and Islam. In Islam, this tradition is referred to Sufism or Islamic mysticism.¹ Sufism as earlier has attracted considerable interest in recent years. Many historians and writers write on Sufism's history, teachings, features, principles, impact and shrines. Khaliq Ahmed Nizami's *Politics and Society during the Early Medieval Period*, vol-I, (People's Publishing House, New Delhi, 1974); *State and Culture in Medieval India*, (Adam Publishers & Distributors, New Delhi, 1985), and *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century*, (Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, Delhi, 1980), are the most important sources in this respect. In these works he gives very good knowledge about the early history of Sufism, its early Sufis' saints, doctrines, historical sources of Indian Sufis and their disciples. Apart from these Chishti and Suhrawardi's attitude towards society and State, their Khanqah life, teachings, famous Sufi centers and their impact on Indian culture and society also discussed. No doubt these accounts are very effective and tried to analyse various factors of this movement, but these works are silent about Sufi shrines of Punjab.

Fauja Singh in his edited book, *History of the Punjab (A.D.1000-1526)*, (Punjabi University, Patiala, 1972), covered five hundred years long period of the Delhi Sultanate. This work occupies one of the most important phases in the long history of Punjab. It is the work that provides an insight of movement, but it has given hardly any information about the advent and spread of Sufism in this area.

Masood Ali Khan and Sri Ram's edited book, entitled, *Chishti Order of Sufism and Miscellaneous Literature*, (Anmol Publications, New Delhi, 2003) adequately deals with the Chishtis' early history, its teachings and life of Hazrat Khawaja Khwajgan Syed Muinuddin Hasan Chishti Ajmeri. No doubt this book is very useful source for the early history of Chishti silsila, its philosophy and life of Hazrat

¹ Tanvir Anjum, 'Sufism in History and Its Relationship with Power', *Islamic Studies*, Islamic Research Institute, Islamabad, vol-45:2, 2006, p.221

Khawaja Khwajgan Syed Muinuddin Hasan Chishti Ajmeri. But mostly part of this book focuses only on life and teachings of Hazrat Khawaja Khwajgan Syed Muinuddin Hasan Chishti Ajmeri and it does not give any information about Chishti saints of Punjab and their activities.

Masood Ali Khan and Sri Ram's another edited book, entitled, *Sufism and Suhrawardi Order*, (Anmol Publications, New Delhi, 2003) deals with Suhrawardi orders' early history, its philosophy and Suhrawardi silsila's sub-orders. This work, of course gives a deep insight in the early history of Suhrawardi silsila, its development, philosophy and progress in India, but it does not give any information about Suhrawardi's shrines and their relations with the State.

Raziuddin Aquil's edited book, *Sufism and Society in Medieval India*, vol-I, (Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2010) has discussed many important topics such as Sufis encounters or interactions in the Indian environment episodic conversion, process of expansion of Islam in India. So this work, of course, is a very valuable source about the history of Sufism during medieval times, but it is absolutely silent about many important aspects such as Bhakti movement and its relations with Sufism.

Richard Maxwell Eaton in his book, *Sufis of Bijapur 1300-1700 A.D. Social Roles of Sufis in Medieval India*, (Princeton University Press, New Jersey, USA, 1978) adequately deals with the advent of Islam and Sufism in Bijapur under the Sultans, Sufi saints' relations with the State and Hindu people, Sufi literature, causes of the decline of Bijapur and the role of Sufi saints in Bijapur's social life. This work, of course, is really a valuable source of information about the history of Sufism in Bijapur during this period. But this work focuses only on Bijapur history.

Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi in his book, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, (Munshiram Ram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1986) covered six hundred years of Indian Sufi history. In this work he has discussed the early history of Sufism and activities of the Suhrawardis, Chishtis, Firdausis and Qalanders in India. He has discussed also in detail about Sufi centers of these silsias and the interaction of medieval Hindu mystic traditions and Sufism which form a significant chapter of his book. No doubt his work is very valuable source for the information about the Sufism, but the author is absolutely silent about the causes of the advent and spread of Sufism.

S.R. Sharda in his book, *Sufi Thought, its Development in Panjab and its Impact on Panjabi Literature from Baba Farid to 1850 A.D.*, (Munshiram

Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1974) has discussed many important issues such as historical background of Sufism, the advent of Sufism in Punjab, Sufi's orders, its development and general conditions of Punjab. It has discussed also impact of Sufism on Punjabi literature. This account is very effective and tried to analyse various factors, but the author has been unable to give much details about the effects of Sufism on Punjab's arts, social, political, economic, religious conditions, Bhakti movement and its relations with Sufism.

Surinder Singh and Ishwar Dayal Gaur's edited work, *Sufism in Punjab. Mystics, Literature and Shrines*, (Aakar Books, Delhi, 2009) adequately deals with the advent of Sufism, its literature and some famous shrines of Punjab, but it is absolutely silent about the causes of the advent and spread of Sufism in Punjab and Sufis relations with the State.

Tanvir Anjum in her book, *Chishti Sufis in the Sultanate of Delhi 1190–1400: From Restrained Indifference to Calculated Defiance*, (Oxford University Press, Karachi, 2011) gives information about the history of Chishti silsila in India and their relations with the State in details. Apart from this her work also deals with the historical background of Sufism and its political dimension. No doubt her book is very useful source for these aspects. But this work focuses only on Chishti silsila and it does not give any information about the Suhrawardi saints and their relations with the Delhi Sultans.

Conventionally the word *Sufi* is considered synonymous with the word *mystic*. But the word *Sufi*, as used in Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Urdu languages, has a religious connotation. So, scholars and historians have given different views about the meaning and derivation of this word. According to Sheikh Shabuddin Suhrawardi, a famous Sufi saint of Suhrawardi silsila of twelfth century, in his famous book *Awarif-ul-Mawarif* writes that Sufi word was derived from Arabic word *Suf* meaning those who wore woollen garments.² The author of *Ghiathul-Lughat* states another theory that *Suffa* was the name of a tribe of Arabs, who at the time of ignorance separated themselves from their people engaged in the service of the *Meccan* Masjid. This Arab tribe of *Suffa* lived in Bni Muzar.” Another great historian and writer named Abu-Rehan Alberuni, who visited many Islamic countries and met many famous Sufi saints during the first half of the eleventh century, about this word writes in detail.

² ਸ਼ੇਖ ਸ਼ਹਾਬੁਦੀਨ ਸੋਹਰਾਵਰਦੀ, ਅਵਾਰਿਫ-ਉਲ-ਮਆਰਿਫ, ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਅਨੁਵਾਦ ਗੁਲਵੰਤ ਸਿੰਘ, ਪੰਚ-ਨੰਦ ਸਾਹਿਤਯ ਪ੍ਰਤਿਸਠਾਨ, ਲੁਧਿਆਣਾ, 1963, ਪੰਨੇ-78

According to him, “This is also the theory of the Sufis, i.e. *the sages*, for *Suf* means in Greek wisdom. Therefore a philosopher is called *pailasopa* means loving wisdom. When in Islam persons adopted something like the doctrines of these *philosophers*, they also adopted their name; but some people did not understand the meaning of the word, and erroneously combined it with the Arabic word *Suffa* as if the *Sufi* were identical with the so called *Ahl-assuffa* among the companions of Prophet Muhammad. In later times the word was corrupted by misspelling, so that it was taken for a derivation from *Suf* means the wool of goats. *Abu-alfath Albusti* made a laudable effort to avoid this mistake when he said, “From olden times people have differed as to the meaning of the word *Sufi*, and have thought that it a derivative from *Suf* means wool. I, for my part, understand by the word a youth who is *Safi* means pure. This *Safi* has become *Sufi*, and in this form the name of a class of thinkers, the *Sufi*.”³ Another famous Sufi scholar of eleventh century named Ali Ibn Uthman-al-Hujwiri (d. 1072 A.D.), in his work *Kashf-al-Mahjub* (The Unveiling of the Veiled) writes, “The true meaning of this word has been much discussed and many books have been composed on this subject. About this name some asserts that the Sufi is so called because he (Prophet Muhammad) wears a woolen garment (*Jama-i-suf*); others say that the Sufis are so called because they are in the first rank (*Saff-i-awwal*); others say that it is because the Sufis claimed to belong to the *Ashab-i-Suffa* with whom may God be well-pleased! While again others declare that the name is derived from *Safa* means purity.”⁴ But without *Safa* (purity), all of these explanations of the true meaning of Sufism are far from satisfying the requirements of etymology, though each of them is supported by subtle arguments. According to him, “*Safa* (purity) is universally praised, and its opposite is *kadar* or *kadurat* (impurity). The word *Safu* (pure part, i.e., the best) is gone, and only its *kadar* (impurity) remains. Therefore since the people of this persuasion have purged their morals and conduct, and have sought to free themselves from natural taints, on that account they are called Sufis.”⁵

The above discussion indicates that there is no consensus regarding the etymological derivation of this word. But most of the historians agree with that the word Sufi comes from the word *Suf* or wool, because most of the early ascetics wore

³ Abu-Rehan Muhammad bin Ahmed Alberuni, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, eng. trans. by E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Rupa & Co, New Delhi, 2000, pp.17-18

⁴ Ali bin Uthman Al-Hujwiri, *Kashf-al-Mahjub*, eng. trans. by Reynold A. Nicholson, Taj Company, Delhi, 1982, p.101

⁵ *Ibid*, pp.101-102

woolen garments of a coarse quality. This coarse cloth symbolized their voluntary poverty and renunciation of the world and all its pleasures.⁶

The scholars and writers have also defined and explained the meaning of Sufism in different ways. According to Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, “Sufism represents the inward or esoteric side of Islam, it may, for the sake of convenience, be described as the mystical dimension of Islam.”⁷ According to Murray Titus, “Sufism is an attitude of mind and heart towards God and the problems of life.”⁸ According to Burckhardt, “Sufism is an expression of the inward or internal (*batin*) and esoteric aspect of Islam, as distinguished from its outward or external (*zahir*) and exoteric aspect. It designates the whole of the contemplative ways founded on the sacred forms of Islam.”⁹ In the opinion of A.J. Arberry, “Sufism is the mystical movement within Islam, whereas a Sufi, the one who associates himself with the 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.”¹⁰ According to Darshan Singh, “Sufism is a mystical movement within Islam in which the Muslim seeker endeavours to attain direct experience of God or reunion with him.”¹¹ The above discussions prove that there is no consensus regarding this aspect. According to Imtiaz Ahmad, “To define Sufism in a specific manner is almost impossible, because it evolved in different regions, under diverse influences and in distinct stages spread over two centuries, from a simple state of ascetic life to a well developed philosophy embodying a code of conduct, before its advent in the Indian subcontinent.”¹²

Historians and scholars have given different opinions about the origin of Sufism also. According to E.H. Palmer, “Sufism is the development of the primeval religion of the Aryan race.”¹³ Nicholson also points out to the external or non-Islamic

⁶ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, 1986, pp.88-89

⁷ *Ibid*, p.18

⁸ Murry T. Titus, *Indian Islam: A Religious History of Islam in India*, Oxford University Press, London, 1930, p.11

⁹ Titus Barckhardt, *An Introduction to Sufi Doctrine*, trans, by D.M. Matheson, Sheikh Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, 1996, (reprint), pp.3, 164

¹⁰ Farid al-Din Attar, *Tadhkirat al-Auliya*, eng. trans. by A.J. Arberry under the title, *Muslim Saints and Mystics: Episodes from the Tadhkirat al-Auliya (Memorial of the Saints)*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1979, pp.1-2

¹¹ Darshan Singh, ‘Attitudes of Al-Junayed and Al-Hallaj towards the Sunna and Ahwal and Maqamat’, *Islamic Culture*, vol-LVIII, No-I, The Islamic Culture Board, Hyderabad, July, 1984, p.217

¹² Imtiaz Ahmed, ‘Sufis and the State in Medieval India and Punjab’, *Punjab History Conference*, (Proceedings) 43rd Session, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2011, p.61

¹³ E.H. Palmer, *Oriental Mysticism: A Treatise on Sufistic and Unitarian Theosophy of the Persians*, Luzac, London, 1969 (reprint), p.9

influences on Sufism, which include Christianity, Neo-Platonism, Gnosticism, Buddhism and Vedanta.¹⁴ According to Sadhu Ram Sharda, “The early Sufism is a natural blend of Islam and pre-Islamic dualistic asceticism mainly of Gnosticism and Neo-Platonism and generally of Buddhism. It will also be correct to say that the Sufi movement was a continuation of pre-Islamic asceticism which accepted Islamic influence.”¹⁵ For evidence, he has given two major causes about it. These are as follows:

First, “Before the advent of Islam, throughout the Middle East region from Samarqand to Egypt, there were prevalent some ascetic systems such as Buddhism, Gnosticism, Neo-Platonism, Manichaeism. With, certain variations in details, all these sects broadly believed that the renunciation of the worldly pleasures leads one to the emancipation of self from the prison of matter, which was the source of evil and miseries of life. Whether Christians or Zoroastrians in their formal religions, all had predilections for this ascetic ideology, which was considered by them a universal faith and higher than the formal religions. Even after embracing Islam they did not see any antinomianism to Islam in it. In this way, the pre-Islamic dualistic asceticism of these countries did not die, but survived and percolated into the Muslim religious life through the converts.”¹⁶

Second, “During that time the Muslim Arab tribes were the masters of these countries. Their victories aroused in them a sense of pre-Islamic tribal haughtiness and they took themselves as superior and chosen people of God and the native population inferior. Their treatment to non-Arabs was contemptuous and humiliating. They imposed a number of social, economic and political degradations, besides certain taxes. Even those who embraced Islam could not become their equals. And these people were not ignorant serfs, but men whose culture was acknowledged by the Arabs themselves, men who formed the backbone of the influential learned class and ardently prosecuted those studies, Divinity and Jurisprudence, which were then held in highest esteem. The discontentment of the native people manifested itself in a number

¹⁴ Reynold A. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1979, (reprint), p.20

¹⁵ Sadhu Ram Sharda, *Sufi Thought: Its Development in Panjab and Its Impact on Panjabi Literature From Baba Farid to 1850 A.D.*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, 1974, p.7

¹⁶ *Ibid*, pp.6-7

of economic-cum-political outbursts which broke out in the eighth century. These were firmly crushed by the Abbasi Caliphs. The failure of these movements added to their discontentment. In a situation of utter helplessness there was no other alternative but to adopt asceticism. Asceticism suggests the denial of worldly pleasures. The aversion from worldly life is a sign of miseries and helplessness in asserting for one's own requirements. If activism speaks of availability of opportunities for gainful enterprises, asceticism speaks of total denial. Expressions and expansions are the signs of freedom and favorable conditions, but contraction and withdrawal, of oppression and unfavorable conditions. A few religious-minded persons like al-Muhasibi who were stimulated by the fear of God and Hell, also ran to these ascetics, who only knew the true Knowledge of God and had evolved a system and practices of their own to know Him.”¹⁷

But on the other side William Stoddart, who was a famous scholar of Sufism, refutes the view that Sufism developed mainly as a result of external influences. According to him, “Sufism has sometimes borrowed formulations deriving from Neo-Platonic and other spiritual doctrines which coincide with its own view of reality, but this has always been for convenience of expression, and does not constitute any syncretism.”¹⁸ According to Duncan B. Macdonald “Like almost everything else in Islam the seeds were already in the mind of Prophet Muhammad.”¹⁹ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami has also suggested that the origins of the Sufi ideas can be traced back to the *Quranic* and Prophetic traditions. He has rejected the alternative views that the Sufi doctrines owe their origins to the Greek, Vedanta or Buddhism philosophies.²⁰ According to Tanvir Anjum, “While discussing the origins of Sufism, the similarities between the spiritual traditions, doctrines and mystical experiences of the adherents of faiths other than Islam and those of Sufism have been brought to the fore. First, one may find a certain degree of truth in the assertion that all mystical traditions associated with different religions of the world have something in common but the similarities and commonalities do not necessarily mean that the latter were a

¹⁷ Sadhu Ram Sharda, *Sufi Thought: Its Development in Panjab and Its Impact on Panjabi Literature From Baba Farid to 1850 A.D.*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, 1974, pp.6-7

¹⁸ William Stoddart (Imran Yahya), *Sufism: The Mystical Doctrines and Methods of Islam*, Suhail Academy, Lahore, 1999, (reprint), p.43

¹⁹ Duncan Black Macdonald, *Aspects of Islam*, Macmillan, New York, 1911, p.184

²⁰ Khaliq Ahmed Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, Delhi, 1980, p.50

borrowing from the former in terms of their doctrinal system, methods and practices. Secondly, there were stark differences among the mystical and spiritual traditions as well, as each of them stemmed from a particular religious tradition. Moreover, historical factors such as intellectual environment, socio-cultural conditions and political climate in which a mystical system took roots and flourished, cannot be overlooked in this regard. Lastly, like any other mystical tradition, Sufism did not develop in a void. When the Muslims came into contact with people of other races, cultures and intellectual traditions, mutual exchange of ideas was inevitable. The Sufis imbibed ideas and concepts as well as practices from them, which helped in developing the Sufi doctrines further.”²¹

It is clear that many historians and writers give different views about the origin of Sufism but mostly historians agree with that Sufism has its origin in the *Quran Mazed* and *Hadith*, though later on it absorbed elements from Christianity, Neo Platonism, Gnosticism, Buddhism and Vedanta.²²

About the beginning of Sufism, N.R. Farooqi writes that Sufism is as old as Islam.²³ According to Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, “In September 622 A.D., the Prophet Muhammad migrated from Mecca to Medina plunged himself into organizing his community and into fighting battles against his religious opponents. However, all sources unanimously relate that he himself continued to lead an exceedingly austere and ascetic life. He considered his own pursuit of *faqr*, that is, a life of poverty and resignation to God’s will, a source of personal pride. Among Muhammad’s companions at this time were a number of people who dwelt in the Medina Masjid practicing poverty and self-mortification. They were called *Ahl al-Suffa* or *Ashab-i-Suffa* (The people of the Verandah).”²⁴ According to Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, “These seventy people prayed day and night during Prophet’s life time. They had no earthly attachment and no worldly engagements. They received spiritual guidance directly from the Prophet Muhammad himself.”²⁵ Sheikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi writes that they were much respected people and Prophet Muhammad himself gave importance to them. According to Prophet Muhammad, “*He that hears*

²¹ Tanvir Anjum, ‘Sufism in History and Its Relationship with Power’, *Islamic Studies*, p.231

²² Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, Macmillan, London, 1958, p.433; J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford Press, London, 1971, p.2

²³ N.R. Farooqi, ‘The Early Chishti Sufi of India: An Outline of Their Thought and an Account of the Popular Appeal of Their Shrines (1)’, *Islamic Culture*, vol-LXXVII, No-I, The Academic and Cultural Publications Charitable Trust, Hyderabad, Jan-2003, p.1

²⁴ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, p.21

²⁵ Tanvir Anjum, ‘Sufism in History and Its Relationship with Power’, *Islamic Studies*, p.241

the voices of Sufis (*ahl al-tasawwuf*) and does not say Amen to their prayer is inscribed before God among the heedless.”²⁶ According to I.H. Azad Faruqi, "They lived in extreme poverty as members of a family and their worldly needs were satisfied by charitable-minded Muslims. These people served as prototypes for the later Sufis.²⁷ Foremost among the companions particularly extolled for their high spiritual attainments were the first four Caliphs, Hadrat Abu Bakar, Hadrat 'Umar, Hadrat Uthman and Hadrat 'Ali. It is said that the first statement of Sufism was uttered by Hadrat Abu Bakar when the Prophet requested that a fund be raised for the arrangement of an expedition. Hadrat Abu Bakar brought everything he had in his house to contribute to the fund. When the Prophet asked what he had left for his family, he replied, "God and His Prophet". This absolute reliance on God and self-negation for God and His Prophet has always been a Sufi ideal. The later three Caliphs enjoyed similar high rank spiritually. But Hadrat 'Ali, the fourth, has special significance for the Sufis as almost all the Sufi fraternities except *Naqshbandis* are connected with the Prophet through Hadrat 'Ali.”²⁸ Abu Ubayda bin al-Jarrah, Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī (d.653 A.D.), Salmān al-Fārsī (d. 656 A.D.), and Ailāl Ibn Rabāh al-Habashī (d. 641 A.D.), Masud bin Rabi al Faris etc. were the most famous companions of the Prophet Muhammad.²⁹ According to Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, “The word Sufi was not originally used to describe the movement begun by the companion of the Prophet Muhammad. They were better known by the distinguished title, *Sahaba*, or Companions of the Prophet Muhammad.”³⁰

The generation after the companions, called *Tabi'in* (*al-Tabi'in*) or companions of the companions.³¹ According to I.H. Faruqi, “The conquests it achieved resulted in great prosperity for Islamic cities. The secular region of the Umayyads, with the exception of Umar II, presented an ideal which cared for worldly gains mainly. The nature and policies of the Umayyads and the lifestyle of an affluent society seemed a betrayal of the high ideals of early Islam.”³² The religious minded people were shocked to see the norms of Islam ignored in State and public life. A

²⁶ ਸ਼ੇਖ ਸ਼ਹਾਬੁਦੀਨ ਸੋਹਰਾਵਰਦੀ, *ਅਵਾਰਿਫ-ਉਲ-ਮਆਰਿਫ*, ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਅਨੁਵਾਦ ਗੁਲਵੰਤ ਸਿੰਘ, ਪੰਨਾ-21

²⁷ I.H. Azad Faruqi, *Sufism and Bhaktism: Mawlana Rum and Sri Ramakrishna*, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1984, p.8

²⁸ *Ibid*, pp.8-9

²⁹ Ali bin Uthman Al-Hujwiri, *Kashf-al-Mahjub*, eng. trans. by Reynold A. Nicholson, pp.157-158

³⁰ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, pp.25

³¹ I.H. Azad Faruqi, *Sufism and Bhaktism: Mawlana Rum and Sri Ramakrishna*, pp.8-9

³² *Ibid*, pp.9-10

reaction to this general trend of worldliness from the unworldly was natural. A group of such spiritual persons, who had the example of the Prophet and his pietistic companions before them, reacted sharply to the materialistic tendencies becoming common among Muslims. They criticized the State for its un-Islamic policies, reminded people of religious injunctions and set an example of ascetic life. These ascetics among the *Tabi'in* or the second generation of Islam were the forerunner of the later Sufis. The emergence of this kind of ascetic in Muslim society under the Umayyads was the first stage in the formation of the Sufi tradition. At this stage the separate identity of these extra-spiritually minded people within Muslim society was taking shape and the basic norms of the tradition were laid. But it is noticeable that the ascetic movement was at this early stage almost wholly dominated by the fear of God.”³³

The most famous personality of this period was Hadrat Hasan Basri (d.728 A.D.). Harim bin Hayyan, Sa'id bin al-Musayyib and Umays al-Qarani were other famous Sufi saints of this era.³⁴ Although, Hasan Basri's time the wearing of wool was (*Suf*) fashionable among Muslim ascetics,³⁵ but B.A. Dar writes that Abu Hashim al-Kufi (d.776. A.D) is considered to be first person who was known as a Sufi.³⁶

Next generation was *Taba-Tabi'in* (the disciples of *Tabi'in*) started thriving; a politico-cultural revolution had taken place in the Muslim world. In 750 A.D., the Arabic Umayyad dynasty was replaced by the Abbasids. The political change from the Umayyads to the Abbasids, became an important reason of growing their popularity. According to I.H. Faruqi, "Muslim contacts with the various cultural and religious traditions in the Islamic State and with the countries bordering their far-flung Empire had already started cultural and civilization ferment in Islamic society. Faced with this challenge and full of vigor, the Muslims were rapidly advancing in various branches of learning and culture. The Abbasids rule not only protected these advances but encouraged and contributed to this process to a great extent. To what degree the ascetic movement was impacted by this wave of cultural expansion and growth is difficult to assess but what is apparent at this stage is that from around the middle of the 8th century A.D. the ascetic and growing popularity. At this stage, there emerged a score

³³ I.H. Azad Faruqi, *Sufism and Bhaktism: Mawlana Rum and Sri Ramakrishna*, pp.10-11

³⁴ Ali bin Uthman Al-Hujwiri, *Kashf-al-Mahjub*, eng. trans. by Reynold A. Nicholson, pp.159-164

³⁵ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, p.28

³⁶ M.M. Sharif, (ed.) *A History of Muslim Philosophy*, Adam Publishers, Delhi, 2001, (reprint) pp.1,336; Khaliq Ahmed Nizami (ed.), *Politics and Society During the Early Medieval Period*, vol-I, People's Publishing House, New Delhi, 1974, p.268

of such personalities who became the shining stars of the whole Sufi tradition."³⁷ Habib al-Ajami, Malik bin Dinar, Abu Halim Habib bin Salimi al-Rai, Abu Hazim al-Madani, Muhammad bin Wasi, Abu 'Ali al-Fudayl bin 'Iyad, Bishar bin al-Harith al-Hafi, Abu Yazid Tayfur bin 'Isa al-Bistani, Abu-Abdullah al-Harith bin Asad al-Muhasibi, Abu Sulaman Dawud bin Nusayr al-Tai, Abu Ali Shqiq bin Ibrahim al-Azdi were famous Sufi saints of that time.³⁸

In the last half of the 9th century many mystic sects or schools (*garoh*), appeared in Sufism. It was a historical change for Sufism. According to Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, "These sects were concerned with the problem of mystic metaphysics. The founders of these sects were men of great learning and produced enormous literature on mystic subjects. They specialized in risalahs or short treatises on special subjects. Though these risalahs, written in Arabic, contained valuable discussions yet a consistent mystic philosophy had not developed."³⁹ On this topic Fritz Meier also writes, "During this era, which constituted that classical era of Sufism, Sufi ideas found a perceptible degree of public approval, and Sufism emerged as a religious movement. The great Sufi masters lined in this era, which also witnessed the composition of Sufi texts and the establishment of purpose-specific residential school of the Sufis."⁴⁰

Ali bin Uthman Al-Jullabi Al-Hujwiri in his book '*Kashf-al-Muhjab*' mentions eleven Sufi sects or orders which were famous during the 11th century in the Muslim world. These are as follows:

- 1 *The Muhasibis* These were the followers of Abu 'Abdullah Harith bin Asad bin al-Muhasibi of Basrah (d. 857 A.D.).
- 2 *The Qassaris* These were the followers of Abu Saleh Hamdun bin Ahmad bin 'Umara al-Qassar (d. 884 A.D.).
- 3 *The Junaydis* These were the followers of Sheikh Abu 'I-Qasim al-Junayd bin Muhammad of Baghdad (d. 909-10-11 A.D.).
- 4 *The Nuris* These were the followers of Sheikh Abu "I-Hasan Ahmed bin Muhammad Nuri (d. 899 or 907-08 A.D.).

³⁷ I.H. Azad Faruqi, *Sufism and Bhaktism: Mawlana Rum and Sri Ramakrishna*, pp.8-9

³⁸ Ali bin Uthman Al-Hujwiri, *Kashf-al-Mahjub*, eng. trans. by Reynold A. Nicholson, pp.165-244

³⁹ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, p.53

⁴⁰ Bernard Lewis, (ed.), *The World of Islam*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1980, (reprint), pp.117-125

- 5 *The Sahlis* These were the followers of Sahl bin ‘Abdullah of Tustar (d. 896 A.D.).
- 6 *The Hakimis* These were the followers of Abu ‘Abdullah Muhammad bin Ali al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi.
- 7 *The Kharrazis* These were the followers of Abu Sa’id Kharraz (d. 899 A.D.).
- 8 *The Khafifis* These were the followers of Abu’ Abdullah Muhammad bin Khafif of Shiraz (d. 942-43 A.D.).
- 9 *The Sayyaris* These were the followers of Abu ‘l ‘Abbas Sayyari, the Imam of Merv (d. 953 A.D.).
- 10 *The Hululis* These were the followers of Abu Hulman of Damascus.⁴¹
- 11 *The Tayfuris* These were the followers of Sheikh Abu Yazid Tayfur bin Isa bin Surushan al-Bistami (d. 848 or 874-75 A.D.).

But Abul Fazl ‘Alami, who was a famous courtier of Akbar’s court, in his work *Ain-i-Akbari* mentions twelfth famous Sufi schools or sects, which were famous during early eleventh century. According to him, “*Hallaji* was the name of twelfth sect and this sect had its origin in a Persian who was one of the disciples of Husayn-bin-Mansur Hallaj of Baghdad.”⁴²

Under these Sufis’ generations and schools this movement had popularized or reached in mostly Muslim lands like in Egypt, Iraq, Persia, Central and Western Asia, and Afghanistan.⁴³ About the growth of Sufism during its early time, Sadhu Ram Sharda writes that Muslim political powers, their attacks on medieval Asian countries and old traditions of these people were mainly responsible for it.⁴⁴ But Khaliq Ahmed Nizami does not agree with him and gives different causes about the growth of Sufism. According to him, “The causes were psychological, social and personal. These are:

“Firstly, its basis may be sought in the human aspiration to a personal, direct

⁴¹ Ali bin Uthman Al-Hujwiri, *Kashf-al-Mahjub*, eng. trans. by Reynold A. Nicholson, pp.263-361; Abul Fazl ‘Alami, *Ain-i-Akbari*, eng. trans. by Colonel H.S. Jarrett, vol-III, Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, New Delhi, 1978, pp.389-393

⁴² Abul Fazl ‘Alami, *Ain-i-Akbari*, eng. trans. by Colonel H.S. Jarrett, vol-III, pp.389-393

⁴³ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, pp.21-108

⁴⁴ Sadhu Ram Sharda, *Sufi Thought: Its Development in Panjab and Its Impact on Panjabi Literature From Baba Farid to 1850 A.D.*, pp.6-7

approach to and a more intense experience of the Supreme Being and the religious truth. The Prophet Muhammad himself had direct consciousness of divine presence. Mystics were eager to tread the, same path. Besides, a strong religious emotion could not be satisfied by any orthodox or formal approach to the Ultimate Reality. The Ulema had reduced Islam to a set of lifeless rituals and ceremonies. Intensely religious spirits, hungering after a deeper communion, naturally turned to mystic speculation and experience as the real source of religious progress and spiritual development. A consciousness of contradiction in the metaphysical and ethical aspects of popular theology further encouraged the mystic attitude which is essentially an attempt to transcend discord and reduce all contradictions into an absolute unity.”⁴⁵

“Secondly, mysticism represents a reaction against over-intellectualism, formalism and hair-splitting theology. It was under the influence of Greek thought that the Muslim scholars had adopted a sophisticated approach towards religion. Their attitude was characterized by artificialism (*waziat*) and they tried to represent the simple facts of faith in terms derived mainly from Greek logic and metaphysics. Hair-splitting controversies which started in theology—particularly amongst the Asharite and the Mutazalites- froze the heat of spiritual life. Naturally, people who yearned for a direct and natural approach towards religion turned towards the spiritual aspects of religion. They developed cosmic emotions as an antidote to over-intellectualism.”⁴⁶

“Besides, the rigidity and formalism of the various sects or schools of *fiqh* found its reaction in the development of mystic thought. Mysticism is at its higher level a form of free-thinking.”⁴⁷

“Lastly, the mystic call in Islam was the result of an inner rebellion of conscience against the social injustices of the age. The rise of the Umayyad gave a rude shock to the religious sentiments of those Muslims, who thought that Islam had not come simply to establish empires. They looked with dismay at the spectacle of the Muslims drifting away from the ideals of Islam and wallowing in sordid materialism. The impious ways of the Muslim governing classes provoked great disgust in their sensitive minds. If in the field of

⁴⁵ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, pp.51-52

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p.52

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p.52

politics the Umayyad Imperialism gave birth to the *Mawali* movement, it gave rise to the *Shuubiyya* movement in the cultural and the mystic ideology in the religious sphere. It is significant that the main centers of mysticism during the early years of its development were Kufa and Basra, the two cantonment towns of Iraq, which had witnessed horrible scenes of Umayyad atrocities. Sensitive souls could not help being driven inwards and look elsewhere for spiritual solace.”⁴⁸

Tanvir Anjum also agrees with Khaliq Ahmad Nizami and writes that Sufis reaction against the growing materialism, formalism and their good policies played a significant role in the growth of Sufism in the other Muslim lands.⁴⁹ Mostly historians agree with them.⁵⁰ It is clear that before the advent of Sufism in Punjab this movement had developed and became ready to establish its spiritual area in Punjab.

Sufism in Punjab

The history of Sufism in Punjab began from Sheikh Husain Zinjani (d. 1007 A.D.), who entered in Punjab in last half of the tenth century.⁵¹ Mostly historians agree that Sheikh Hussain Zinjani was the first Sufi saint, who came to Punjab.⁵² After him another Sufi saints followed him and settled in Punjab. Some famous were: Abul Hassan al-Hujwiri (d.1072 A.D.) and Sakhi Sarwar.⁵³ On this topic Sadhu Ram Sharda writes that many Muslim saints had come in Punjab even before the establishment of Muslim rule in India. The tomb of Imam Nasiruddin (d.945 A.D.) at Jullundur is a big example of this. According to him, “They were very few and they met only the spiritual needs of the Muslim traders. For the Hindus they were untouchable.”⁵⁴

In the early medieval period Sufism was entering in the last and most important phase of its history– the organization of Sufi silsilas. Abul Fazl ‘Alami in his work *Ain-i-Akbari* mentions seventeen name of Sufi silsilas or orders, which

⁴⁸ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, p.52

⁴⁹ Tanvir Anjum, ‘Sufism in History and Its Relationship with Power’, *Islamic Studies*, vol-45:2, pp.233-237

⁵⁰ Irfan Habib, *Medieval India: The Story of a Civilization*, National Book Trust, India, 2013, pp.81-83

⁵¹ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, p.112

⁵² Sadhu Ram Sharda, *Sufi Thought: Its Development in Panjab and Its Impact on Panjabi Literature From Baba Farid to 1850 A.D.*, p.61; ਮੁਹੰਮਦ ਹਬੀਬ, *ਭਾਰਤ ਵਿੱਚ ਸੂਫੀਵਾਦ: ਚੌਠਵੇਂ ਸੰਦਰ*, ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਯੂਨੀਵਰਸਿਟੀ, ਪਟਿਆਲਾ, 2009, ਪੰਨਾ-36

⁵³ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, pp.112

⁵⁴ Sadhu Ram Sharda, *Sufi Thought: Its Development in Panjab and Its Impact on Panjabi Literature From Baba Farid to 1850 A.D.*, p.61

named are:

- 1 *The Habibi* They were the followers of Sheikh Habib-i-Ajami.
- 2 *The Tayfuri* They were the followers of Sheikh Bayasid Taifur Bishtami (Sheikh Abu Yazid Tayfur bin Isa bin Surushan al-Bistami) (d.848 or 874-75 A.D.).
- 3 *The Junaydi* They were the followers of Sheikh Junaid Baghdadi (Abu 'I-Qasim al-Junayd bin Muhammad of Baghdad (d. 909-10-11 A.D.).
- 4 *The Karkhi* They were the followers of Sheikh Maruf Karkhi (d.815 A.D.).
- 5 *The Saqatiy* They were the followers of Sheikh Abul Hasan Sariy Saqatiy (d.867 A.D.).
- 6 *The Kazruni* They were the followers of Sheikh Abu Ishq-b-Shahryar (d.1034-35 A.D.).
- 7 *The Tusi* They were the followers of Sheikh Alauddin Tusi.
- 8 *The Firdausi* They were the followers of Sheikh Najmuddin Kubra (d. 1221 or1225 A.D.).
- 9 *The Suhrawardi* They were the followers of Sheikh Ziauddin Abu'n Najib Abdul Qahir Suhrawardi (1153-1191 A.D.).
- 10 *The Zaydi* They were the followers of Sheikh Abdul Wahid-bin-Zaid.
- 11 *The I'yasi* They were the followers of Sheikh Fuzayl-bin-Iyaz of Kufah (d.802-3 A.D.).
- 12 *The Adhami* They were the followers of Sheikh Ibrahim Adham of Balkh (d.777-78-79 A.D.).
- 13 *The Hubayri* They were the followers of Sheikh Hubayrah of Basra.
- 14 *The Chishti* They were the followers of Sheikh Abu Ishq Shami of Chisht (b.940 A.D.).⁵⁵
- 15 *The Qadiriya* They were the followers of Sheikh Muhyi'ddin Abdul Qadir Jili (Jilani or Gilani), (1077-78 A.D-1165-66 A.D.).

⁵⁵ Abul Fazl 'Alami, *Ain-i-Akbari*, eng. trans. by Colonel H.S. Jarrett, vol-III, pp.393-405

- 16 *The Naqshbandi* They were the followers of Khawajah Bahauddin Naqshband (d. 1389 A.D).
- 17 *The Yasawi* They were the followers of Khwajah Ahmed Yasawi.⁵⁶

Besides these two other famous Sufi silsilas were:

- 18 *The Qalandar* They were followers of Sheikh Yusuf al-Andalusi of Andalusia or Mufti Sheikh Jamaluddin of Sawa (Persia).⁵⁷
- 19 *The Shattari* They were the followers of Sheikh Abdullah Shattari.⁵⁸

Punjab on the Eve of the Advent of Sufism

After the death of Harsha Vardhana in 647 A.D. the Northern India had split up into a number of states and with the passage of time a large number of small independent kingdoms had emerged.⁵⁹ In Punjab during that time many political powers tried to establish their supremacy.⁶⁰ But only Arabs and Hindushahi Kingdom succeeded in their aims. After persistent efforts about seven decades the Arabs under Muhammad bin Kasim had overrun the whole of the Indus Valley and conquered Sind and Multan area in the first half of eighth century.⁶¹ But the Arabs could not extend their region beyond Sindh and Multan. In the last half of the tenth century the Caramathians (a heretic Muslim sect) had established their power in Multan. Sheikh Hamid Lodi and his son Abdul Fateh Daud were famous Rulers of the last half of the tenth century. Their relations with the Hindushahis were friendly and they cooperated with each other.⁶²

In 1006 A.D., the Sultan Mahmud Ghazni invaded the Multan territory,⁶³ besieged the King of Multan for seven months in his capital and compelled him to pay a heavy indemnity after abjuring his heresy. In 1011 A.D., Mahmud Ghazni again

⁵⁶ Abul Fazl 'Alami in his book *Ain-i-Akbari*, give the information about the *Yasawi* silsila, but other historians and writers silent about it, *Ibid*, p.398

⁵⁷ Khaliq Ahmed Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, p.295

⁵⁸ Masood Ali Khan and Shri Ram (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Sufism: Sufism: Tenets, Orders & Saints*, vol-II, Anmol Publications, New Delhi, 2003, pp.52-53

⁵⁹ Fauja Singh (ed.), *History of the Punjab (A.D.1000- 1526)*, vol-III, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1972, p.37

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, pp.37-49

⁶¹ R.C. Majumbar (ed.) *The Struggle for Empire*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay, 1957, pp.1-2

⁶² Fauja Singh (ed.), *History of the Punjab (A.D.1000- 1526)*, vol-III, p.45

⁶³ *Imperial Gazetteer of India: Provincial Series, Punjab*, vol-I, Superintendent, Calcutta, 1908, pp.29

invaded the territory of Multan,⁶⁴ as Abdul Fateh Daud had relapsed into heresy, took the capital and, after slaughtering and mutilating a great number of his heretical subjects, sent Abdul Fateh Daud to end his days as a prisoner in the fortress of Ghurak.⁶⁵

During that time Hindushahi region was a big power and a big portion of Punjab under this kingdom. According to Gurbux Singh, "The Hindushahi dynasty which supplemented the effect and declining the Turkish at Kabul, was a dominant political force in Punjab for more than two hundred years from the last quarter of the ninth century to the first quarter of the eleventh."⁶⁶ According to Alberuni, "The Kallar laid the foundation of this dynasty."⁶⁷ But Kalhan, who was another famous historian of early medieval period, writes that Lalliya was the first Ruler of Hindushahi dynasty.⁶⁸ Mostly historians agree with that the foundation of the Hindushahi dynasty in Kabul was laid by Kallar.⁶⁹ Jaipal (965-1001 A.D.) was a famous Ruler of the last half of the tenth century of this kingdom. He had carved out a powerful state, extending from Sirhind to Laghman and from Multan to Kashmir.⁷⁰

The time period from 960 A.D. to 1020 A.D., witnessed the growing popularity and down fall of Hindushahi kingdom in Punjab. According to D.B. Pandey, "It has been quite rightly remarked that the history of Jaipal and his successors is practically speaking, the history of long drawn struggle with the Muslim power at Ghazni."⁷¹

Alptigin (962-963 A.D.) who was originally a slave and a vassal of the Samanid King of Khurasan and Bukhara had established himself as an independent Ruler of Ghazni in 962 A.D. From his time a struggle started between the Ghazni Turks and the Hindushahi rulers which continued for about sixty years. Alptigin

⁶⁴ Mohamanad Habib and Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, (ed.), *A Comprehensive History of India: The Delhi, Sultanat, (A.D. 1206-1526)*, vol-V, People Publishing House, New Delhi, 1982, p.1117

⁶⁵ Izzu'ddin Isami, *Futuhu's Salatin*, eng. trans. by Agha Mahdi Husain, vol-I, Asia Publishing house, Bombay, 1967, p.120

⁶⁶ Gurbux Singh, 'Origin of the Hindu Shahis', *Punjab History Conference*, (Proceedings) Punjabi University, Patiala, Nov. 1965, p.68

⁶⁷ H.M. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, vol-II, Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, 1869, p.403

⁶⁸ Fauja Singh (ed.), *History of the Punjab (A.D.1000-1526)*, vol-III, p.49

⁶⁹ D.B. Pandey, *The Shahis of Afghanistan and the Punjab*, Historical Research Institute, Delhi, 1973, pp.80-82

⁷⁰ Muhammad Kasim Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, eng. trans. by John Briggs, under the title, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, vol-I, Editions Indian, Calcutta, 1966, (reprint), p.11

⁷¹ D.B. Pandey, *The Shahis of Afghanistan and the Punjab*, p.103

fought with the Hindushahi Ruler, defeated him and conquered some parts of Kabul.⁷² After him his successors Abu Ishaq Ibrahim (963-965 A.D.), Pritigin (975–977 A.D.), Subuktigin (977-998 A.D.) and Mahmud Ghazni were attacked by Hindushahi King Jaipal.⁷³ About the impact of Ghazni ruler's invasions, Al Utbi in his book *Tarikh-i-Yamini* writes, “The Hindus turned their tails towards their heads like frightened dogs, and the Raja was contended to offer the best things in his most distant provinces to the conqueror on condition that the hair on the crowns of their heads should not be shaven off. So, the country in that neighborhood was clear and open before Amir Subuktigin, and he seized all the wealth which was found in it.”⁷⁴ Abu-Rehan Alberuni in his writing also gives information that although before Subuktigin his elders attacked Hindushahi dynasty. But they could not conqueror passed beyond the frontier of Kabul and the river of Sindh. Subuktigin was the first Ruler who crossed it. According to him, “In the interest of his successors, he constructed in order to weaken the Indian frontier, those roads on which afterwards his son Yamin-addaula Mahmud marched into India during a period of thirty years and more.”⁷⁵ But besides these unbroken invasions, Jaipal had not lost his heart and always tried to save his Kingdom from them. But after one shameful defeat from Mahmud Ghazni during his second invasion (1001 A.D.), he lost his heart. He could not bear the shock of defeat and humiliation, he had suffered at the hands of the Turks and he burnt himself to death.⁷⁶

After him his successors Anandpal (1002-12 A.D.) and Trilochanpal (1012-1020 A.D.) were spearheaded the struggle for maintaining the independence of the Hindushahis from Mahmud Ghazni. But in the end in 1021 A.D. Mahmud Ghazni conquered and subdued the whole Punjab.⁷⁷ About the successful and strong invasions of Mahmud Ghazni, Abu-Rehan Alberuni writes, “Mahmud utterly ruined the prosperity of the country and performed their wonderful exploits, by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions.”⁷⁸ Mahmud Ghazni ruled

⁷² Fauja Singh (ed.), *History of the Punjab (A.D.1000- 1526)*, vol-III, p.63

⁷³ *Ibid*, pp.63-79

⁷⁴ Nasir Muhammad Ibn Muhammad al Jabbaru-I Utbi, *Tarikh-i-Yamini*, eng. trans. by H.M. Elliot and Dowson, under the title, *History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, vol-II, Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, p.23

⁷⁵ Abu-Rehan Muhammad bin Ahmad Alberuni, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, eng. trans. by E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, p.5

⁷⁶ H.M. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, vol-II, p.27

⁷⁷ Izzu'ddin Isami, *Futuhu's Salatin*, eng. trans. by Agha Mahdi Husain, vol-I, pp.120-124

⁷⁸ Abu-Rehan Muhammad bin Ahmad Alberuni, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, eng. trans. by E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, pp.5-6

over Punjab for ten years, from 1021 A.D. to 1030 A.D.⁷⁹ After his death (1030 A.D.), his successors continued to wield their authority over the Punjab for about one and a half century. The last Ruler of the Ghaznavide dynasty was Khusroh Malik,⁸⁰ who was defeated by Muhammad Ghori in 1186 A.D. and with this victory, Punjab became a part of Muhammad Ghori's region. After his death (1206 A.D.), Qutabuddin Aibak sat on the throne of Delhi. He was the first Ruler of Delhi Sultanate period. After some time, he fought a big battle with Tajuddin Yalduz (Sultan of Ghazna), and after defeating him, he selected Lahore permanent residence for himself and made it the capital of his Kingdom. From his time Punjab had become an important part of Sultanate region. After him other rulers of the Sultanate Dynasties like Slave, Khalji, Tughluq and Lodhi dynasties were ruled till 1526 A.D.⁸¹

Social Condition

The Hindu Caste system was an important feature of the society and during early medieval period the society was divided into castes and sub-castes.⁸² The institution of caste among the Hindus based on its own religious scriptures like *Rigveda*. Abu-Rehan Alberuni, the Muslim scholar of the early eleventh century, writes about this system in detail. According to him, "The Hindus called their castes, *varna*, i.e., colours, and from a genealogical point of view, they called their *jataka*, i.e., births. These were four from the beginning –the *Brahman*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaishya* and *Sudra*.⁸³ The Brahman was the highest caste of the Hindu society. According to *Rigveda*, "They were created from the head of God Brahma."⁸⁴ The Hindu respected the Brahmans and considers them as the very best of mankind.⁸⁵ Performed sacrifices, offered prayers, recited and teach *Vedas*, and worked as '*Purohit*' in a family were the main works of them."⁸⁶

The next famous caste of the Hindu society was the Kshatriya. According to

⁷⁹ Fauja Singh (ed.), *History of the Punjab (A.D. 1000- 1526)*, vol-III, p.79

⁸⁰ Izzu'ddin Isami, *Futuhu's Salatin*, eng. trans. by Agha Mahdi Husain, vol-I, pp.135-141

⁸¹ Fauja Singh (ed.), *History of the Punjab (A.D. 1000- 1526)*, vol-III, pp.126-203

⁸² Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf, *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan (1200-1550 A.D.)*, Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi, 2000, p.98

⁸³ Abu-Rehan Muhammad bin Ahmad Alberuni, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, eng. trans. by E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, p.84

⁸⁴ *Rgveda Samhita*, vol-XIII, eng. trans. by Swami Satya Prakash Sarasvati and Satyakam Vidyalkar, Veda Parkashana, New Delhi, 1987, X, 90:12, p.4487; Abu-Rehan Muhammad bin Ahmad Alberuni, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, eng. trans. by E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, p.84

⁸⁵ Abu-Rehan Muhammad bin Ahmad Alberuni, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, eng. trans. by E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, p.84

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* pp.538-547

Rigveda, "The Kshatriya people were created from the arms of God Brahma."⁸⁷ Their rank was not much below that of the Brahman. The duty of the Kshatriya was to rule the people and defend them. The Kshatriya read the *Veda*, but did not teach others.⁸⁸

The Vaishya was third famous caste of society. According to *Rigveda*, "They were created from the thigh of God Brahma."⁸⁹ The main function of a Vaishya was to practice agriculture and cultivate the land to tend to the cattle and to remove the needs of the Brahmins.⁹⁰

The next caste was Sudra. According to *Rigveda*, "They were created from God Brahma's feet."⁹¹ The main function of a Sudra was to render services to each of the preceding classes. Between the latter two classes there was no great difference. They lived together in the same towns and villages, mixed together in the same houses and lodgings. But these people and other low-castes people could not read and learn the *Vedas*.⁹²

The Antyaja people were another important part of the Hindu society, which rendered various kinds of services. They were members of a certain craft or professions. There were eight classes of them, who freely intermarry with each other. These eight guilds were the fuller, shoemaker, juggler, the basketmen and shield maker, the sailor, fisherman, the hunter of wild animals and of birds, and the weaver. They lived at the outskirts of the villages and towns of the four castes.⁹³

Many workers like Hadi, Doma (Domba), Chandala, and Badhatau were the lowest people of Hindu society which were not part of any caste or guild. They were occupied with dirty work, like the cleansing of the villages and other services. They were considered as one sole class, and distinguished only by their occupations. They were considered like illegitimate children; for according to general opinion that they descended from a Sudra father and a Brahmani mother as the children of fornication;

⁸⁷ *Rgveda Samhita*, vol-XIII, eng. trans. by Swami Satya Prakash Sarasvati and Satyakam Vidyalankar, p.4487

⁸⁸ Abu-Rehan Muhammad bin Ahmad Alberuni, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, eng. trans. by E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, p.545

⁸⁹ *Rgveda Samhita*, vol-XIII, eng. trans. by Swami Satya Prakash Sarasvati and Satyakam Vidyalankar, p.4487

⁹⁰ Abu-Rehan Muhammad bin Ahmad Alberuni, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, eng. trans. by E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, p.545

⁹¹ *Rgveda Samhita*, vol-XIII, eng. trans. by Swami Satya Prakash Sarasvati and Satyakam Vidyalankar, p.4487

⁹² Abu-Rehan Muhammad bin Ahmad Alberuni, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, eng. trans. by E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, pp.85-545

⁹³ *Ibid*, p.86

therefore they were degraded outcastes.⁹⁴

The caste system had become so rigid and inflexible that inter caste marriage was forbidden; even eating together of different castes was prohibited.⁹⁵ The Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra have to stick to their profession strictly. If anybody found guilty, for example a Brahman to trade, a Sudra to agriculture, they were considered only a little less than the crime of theft.⁹⁶

Ashram system was a famous part of Hindu society. It was only related to the life of the Brahmans. According to this system, their life was divided into four parts. The first part of their life began in the eighth year and related with their education. This first period of the Brahman's life was extended till the twenty-fifth year of his age. During this period their Acharyas or teachers taught them *Veda* and its explanation, the science of theology and law. The second period of their life was extended from the twenty-fifth year till the fifteenth. During this period they marry, establish a household, and intend to have descendants. The next period of the life of the Brahmans was extended from the fiftieth year to the seventy fifth. During this time, they practice abstinence, leave their household, and hand it as well as their wives over to their children, if the latter did not prefer to accompany with them into the life in the wilderness. The last period was extended till the end of their life. During this period they wore a red garment, and hold a stick in their hands. They were always given to meditation.⁹⁷

Marriage was an important part of Hindu society. According to Alberuni, "Hindu people married at a very young age. The parents arranged the marriage for their children. It was bettered to marry a stranger than a relative. The more distant the relationships of a woman with regard to her husband were better."⁹⁸

About the number of wives and marriage instructions of the Hindus, Alberuni writes that some Hindus thought that the number of the wives depend upon the caste; that, accordingly, a Brahman may took four, a Kshatriya three, a Vaishya two wives, and a Sudra one. A man's marriage was possible with its own caste's women or one of the castes or caste below his; but nobody was allowed to marry a woman of a caste

⁹⁴ Abu-Rehan Muhammad bin Ahmad Alberuni, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, eng. trans. by E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, pp.84-85; 540-41; 545-46

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, p.546

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, p.546

⁹⁷ *Ibid*, pp.539-547

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, pp.562-564

superior to his own.⁹⁹ Divorce system was not part of their life and the only death became a reason of their separations.¹⁰⁰

According to Fauja Singh, “The social condition of women was more or less the same as had been described in the Hindu *Smritis*. During the entire span of her life, she was under the subservience and guardianship of a man; first, under her father and brothers as an unmarried girl; under her husband, after marriage; and under her sons, during old age.”¹⁰¹ When a child was born people showed particular attention to the male child, not to the female child.¹⁰² Early marriages, Sati system, number of wives, purdah (seclusion) system were parts of their social life. Abu-Rehan Alberuni writes that they were married at a very young age,¹⁰³ and a Brahman was not allowed to marry a woman above twelve years of age.¹⁰⁴ After the death of husband, his wife could not marry again. She had only two choices— either to remain a widow as long as she lives or to burn herself. Mostly women’s chose the latter thing. As regards the wives of the rulers, the second option was compulsory for them, whether they wished it or not. They made an exception only for women of advanced years and for those who had children; for the son was the responsible for protector of his mother.¹⁰⁵ The custom of Sati was originally restricted to high castes only like Brahmans and Kshatriyas.”¹⁰⁶ The Muslims invasions also made an important cause of their poor condition.¹⁰⁷ The purdah (seclusion) system in Hindu women was a big example of it. But apart from these problems and customs, they were important part of their social life. Women played a significant role in the Hindu social life.¹⁰⁸ Men gave importance to them. They took the advice of the women and in all consultations and emergencies.¹⁰⁹ Abu-Rehan Alberuni writes that the prominent rule of the law of inheritance was this that the women did not inherit, except the daughter. She got the fourth part of the share of a son. If she was not married, the money was spent on her

⁹⁹ Abu-Rehan Muhammad bin Ahmad Alberuni, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, eng. trans. by E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, pp.563-564

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, p.563

¹⁰¹ Fauja Singh (ed.), *History of the Punjab (A.D. 1000- 1526)*, vol-III, p.328

¹⁰² Abu-Rehan Muhammad bin Ahmad Alberuni, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, eng. trans. by E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, p.169

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, p.562

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, pp.540-41

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*, p.563

¹⁰⁶ Fauja Singh (ed.), *History of the Punjab (A.D. 1000- 1526)*, vol-III, p.330

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, pp.328-333

¹⁰⁸ Abu-Rehan Muhammad bin Ahmad Alberuni, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, eng. trans. by E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, pp.169; 588-594

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, p.169

till the time of her marriage, and her dowry was brought by means of her share. If a widow woman did not burn herself and prefers to remain alive, the heir of her deceased husband had to provide her with nourishment and clothing as she lived.¹¹⁰ Alberuni also gives information that most of the Hindu festivals were related with women only.¹¹¹

Muslim women were in a better condition than Hindu women. Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf writes that they had many social rights like during her marriage time; she had the right to reject that man, if she did not like him.¹¹² According to K.N. Chitnis, “The right of divorce and remarry also gave the Muslim women a better position than her Hindu sister. This certainly secured for her a status of greater freedom as against her Hindu sister.”¹¹³ The *purdah* (seclusion) system was an important part of their life. But this system was only part of upper class and absent among the people of lower classes such as artisans, peasants and manual labourers. Generally, education was imparted to the girls at home, the curriculum for them largely consisting of religious subjects.¹¹⁴

Muslim People

Although Islam believed in the Universal brotherhood and it came to Punjab with its class-less or caste-less society. But after some time Muslim society of Punjab had divided into many sections or classes.¹¹⁵ According to Fauja Singh, “It is not possible to find clearly marked sections or classes of people governed by rigid rules and regulations. Yet some classes may be distinguished in a general way: the aristocratic or ruling class (*Ahl-i-daulat*); the class of intelligentsia (*Ahl-i-kalam* or *Ahl-i-Suad*), the merchant class, the artisan class, the peasant class and the labour class. The aristocratic class (*Ahl-i-daulat*) belonged to those persons who were mainly engaged in the affairs of the State. Even though the latter were held in great esteem, the real power lay with the Turks and the Afghans.”¹¹⁶ They enjoyed political powers and all the major posts of the State were held by them.

¹¹⁰ Abu-Rehan Muhammad bin Ahmad Alberuni, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, eng. trans. by E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, p.573

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, pp.588-594

¹¹² Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf, *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan (1200-1550 A.D.)*, pp.167-168

¹¹³ K.N. Chitnis, *Socio-Economic History of Medieval India*, Atlantic Publishers, New Delhi, 1990, pp. 86-87

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*, p.87

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 47-48

¹¹⁶ Fauja Singh (ed.), *History of the Punjab, (A.D. 1000-1526)*, vol-III, pp.340-41

The intelligentsia (*Ahl-i-Kalam* or *Ahl-i-Suad*) belonged to those persons which were the religious leaders of Muslim society. They had religious knowledge and also known about *Hadis*. They did work for the welfare of the people. Although they had no political power but their reputation in the Muslim society was good.¹¹⁷ The condition and reputation of the merchant class was good and they had power over money. The next class of society was the artisan and their condition and reputation in the Muslim society was better from the others low classes. The jewelers, bakers, butchers, goldsmiths, blacksmith, shoe-makers, needle-workers, cap-maker, potters, carders, milkmen etc. were the parts of this class.¹¹⁸ The peasants and the land-less labourers were two other major classes of the Muslim society. The condition of the peasants was not good and they often became miserable owing to oppression and government's heavy taxes. Besides these the slave people were another significant part of the Muslim society. Sources give information that many times they achieved high positions.¹¹⁹

Wheat, rice, pulse, green vegetables and cow milk were the chief articles of food of the people and for the food preparation they also used the mixture of ghee and tasteful spices.¹²⁰ Meat of animals was forbidden for the Brahmans.¹²¹ But many castes used this. Abu-Rehan Alberuni gives the list of those animals, which were to be killed for that purpose were sheep, gazelles, goats, hares, rhinoceroses, the buffaloes and land birds, as sparrows, ring-doves, peacocks, francolins. Cows, crows, camels, horses, mules, elephants, tame poultry, parrots, nightingales and all kinds of eggs were forbidden for the Hindus."¹²² Besides these, Garlic, onions, a kind of gourd; the root of a plant like the carrots called *krnen*, and another vegetable which grows round their tanks called nail, were forbidden to them by the religious code.¹²³

As regards the use of wine, Alberuni writes that Brahmans did not drink wine because it was forbidden for them.¹²⁴ But Kshatriyas used it.¹²⁵ The Sudra also used it.¹²⁶

¹¹⁷ K.N. Chitnis, *Socio- Economic History of Medieval India*, p.50

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, pp.51-52

¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, p.52

¹²⁰ Purushottam Thakur, *Social and Religious Life of Northern India*, Classical Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1995, p.35

¹²¹ Abu-Rehan Muhammad bin Ahmad Alberuni, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, eng. trans. by E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, p.559

¹²² *Ibid*, p.560

¹²³ *Ibid*, p.544

¹²⁴ *Ibid*, p.560

¹²⁵ Purushottam Thakur, *Social and Religious Life of Northern India*, p.38

¹²⁶ Abu-Rehan Muhammad bin Ahmad Alberuni, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, eng. trans. by E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, p.560

Dhoti (length of cloth worn round the waist and covering the lower body), *kurta* (shirt), and *langot* (loincloth) were major cloths of the Hindu men. According to Abu-Rehan Alberuni, "The Hindu men used turbans. Their *sider* (a piece of dress covering the head and the upper part of breast and neck) fastened at the back by buttons. Those who wanted little dress were contented to dress in rag of two fingers' breadth, which they bound over their loins with two cords.¹²⁷ The women used to wear Sari (*antariya*), half tied round the legs and half wound round the shoulders. A dopatta (*uttariyah*) was wrapped round it outdoors. During the winters, the women wore a kurti or blouse with slashes on both-sides.¹²⁸ During that time some people wore huge trousers stuffed with cotton and covered their bodies with a sheet (*chadar*)."¹²⁹

Different types of ornaments were also part of their life and mostly men and women used them. Abu-Rehan Alberuni writes that Men and women used cosmetics, wore arm-rings, earrings, golden seal-rings on the ring finger. Kings and nobles also used ornaments. The costly pearl necklaces, rings, bangles and arm-rings studded with gold and silver. *Kundals*, (large heavy ear-rings or ringlet), plain or ringed, were famous ornaments of these people.¹³⁰

Religious Condition

Hinduism: Hinduism is the oldest religion of India. According to *Cultural and Religious Heritage of India*, "The name had originally a geographical significance. The Persians who invaded India through the north western passes of the Himalayas gave the name Sindhu to the region watered by the river Indus; and the word '*Hindu*' is only a corrupt form of 'Sindhu'."¹³¹ Hinduism does not owe its origin to any historical personage. No such date or founder can be cited as marking the beginning of 'Hinduism'. Hence it is called *Sanatana* and *Vaidika*, ancient and revealed.¹³² No doubt that mostly religious part of ancient Punjab history related with Hinduism. But during that time Hinduism was facing many problems and many new religions

¹²⁷ Abu-Rehan Muhammad bin Ahmad Alberuni, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, eng. trans. by E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, p.168

¹²⁸ Khaliq Ahmed Nizami, *Politics and Society During the Early Medieval Period*, p.210

¹²⁹ *Ibid.* p.210

¹³⁰ Abu-Rehan Muhammad bin Ahmad Alberuni, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, eng. trans. by E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, p.169

¹³¹ The word 'India' is derived from 'Sindhu' and means the land of the Indus

¹³² Suresh K. Sharma & Usha Sharma (ed.), *Cultural and Religious Heritage of India*, vol-I, A Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 2004, pp.1-2

(Buddhism and Jainism) tried to replace it.¹³³ Besides these, it was a popular religion of this land.¹³⁴ Many foreign travelers in their writings write about the popularity of Hinduism. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsiang (Yuan Chwang) gives information that although Buddhism was famous religion on this land during his journey, but Hinduism was re-gaining its old popularity again.¹³⁵ The worship of the Hindu Gods in Quinquennial distributions of Prayaga was a big example of it.¹³⁶

After Harsha's region (647 A.D.), next strong region was Hindushahi. The Hindushahis were the devotees of Hinduism and they support to extend it.¹³⁷ But during eleventh century Hinduism was again facing many internal and external problems, like its orthodoxies and unnecessary rituals, caste-system and Turkish invasions etc.

Buddhism: Buddhism is one of the oldest religions of Punjab and it was founded by Gautma Buddha in the second half of the sixth century B.C.¹³⁸ Gautma Buddha's early name was Siddharatha and according to the Buddhist tradition, he was born in 566 B.C. After the *Mahaparinirvan* (death) of Gautma Buddha, his teachings became the way of life and after some time with the help of great saints, disciples, Kings, ministers and merchants, this religion had flourished not only in India but also beyond its frontiers.¹³⁹ About the popularity of Buddhism during 400 A.D., a famous Chinese pilgrims Fa-Hien gives information that Buddhism and its law were very popularized between Udyana (now called the Swat territory), (he called this place Woo-Chang) and Mathura (Ma-t'aou-lo).¹⁴⁰ Two other famous Chinese Pilgrims, named Hiuen-Tsiang and I-Tsing, who visited India during in 629-45 A.D. and 675-93 A.D. gives information that Buddhism was famous religion of Punjab during their traveling in India and its philosophical schools or sects did good work in this area. They also give name of those centers of Buddhism, which were famous during their times.¹⁴¹

¹³³ James Hastings, (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol-VI, pp.694-97

¹³⁴ *Ibid*, p.697

¹³⁵ Hiuen-Tsiang or Yuan Chwang, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India (629-645 A.D.)*, eng. trans. by Thomas Watters, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, 1973, p.296

¹³⁶ Baijnath Sharma, *Harsha and His Times*, Susma Prakashan, Varanasi, 1970, pp.431-32

¹³⁷ D.B. Pandey, *The Shahis of Afghanistan and the Punjab*, pp.80-82

¹³⁸ Suresh K. Sharma and Usha Sharma (ed.), *Cultural and Religious Heritage of India*, vol-III, A Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 2004, p.207

¹³⁹ James Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethies*, vol-VII, T & T. Clark, New York, p.210

¹⁴⁰ Fa-Hien, *The Travels of Fa-Hien*, eng. trans. by James Legge, Master Publishers, New Delhi, 1981, (reprint), pp.28-42

¹⁴¹ Hiuen-Tsiang or Yuan Chwang, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India (629-645 A.D.)*, eng. trans. by Thomas Watters, pp.225-314; I-Tsing or Hiouen-Thsang, *Hiouen-Thsang in India*, eng. trans. by Laura Ensor, Indological Book House, Varanasi, 1965, pp.81-108

According to Sukhninder Kaur Dhillon, “Apart from the accounts of the Chinese travelers, Hiuen-Tsang and I-Tsing, Indian literary records, especially Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* and Banabhatta's *Harsha-Charita* and the archaeological remains of ancient Punjab have established that Buddhism continued to develop in this area until the first half on the seventh century.”¹⁴²

But during eleventh century, Buddhism had lost its old glory. According to Alberuni, “In ancient times, Iraq, Mosul, Persia, Khurasan, the country up to the frontier of Syria was Buddhist, and that afterwards the Zeroastrian Kings, who made their religion "the obligatory state religion" in their dominions banished the Buddhists from those countries.”¹⁴³ L.M. Joshi writes that during the time of the composition of Abu-Rehan Alberuni's *Tarikh-i-Hind*, Buddhism seems to have completely disappeared from Punjab.¹⁴⁴ According to Edward C. Sachau, "India as far as known to Abu-Rehan Alberuni was Brahmanic not Buddhistic.”¹⁴⁵ So basic on these descriptions it appears that Buddhism had almost disappeared from Punjab.

Jainism: Jainism was another famous religion of ancient Punjab.¹⁴⁶ According to *The World's Religion: Continuities and Transformations*, “The name 'Jain' derives from the Sanskrit word ‘Jina’ meaning conqueror. The *Jinas* are the great spiritual masters who have conquered all passions; and have conquered the cycle of birth and death.”¹⁴⁷ Jains believed that Rsabha, who was the first *Tirathankara*, was the founder of this faith. Lord Mahavira Jain was the 24th *Tirathankara* of this line. He was a contemporary of Lord Buddha.¹⁴⁸ According to *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, “There were twenty three *Tirathankaras* or spiritual teachers before Mahavir Jain.”¹⁴⁹ But modern historians do not agree about the first twenty two *Tirathankaras* as historical persons. According to Sukhninder Kaur Dhillon, “It does not seem possible that all these *Tirathankaras* were historical, Parsavanath, the 23rd *Tirathankara*, is generally acknowledged historically.”¹⁵⁰

¹⁴² Sukhninder Kaur Dhillon, *Religious History of Early Medieval Punjab*, National Book Organisation, New Delhi, 1991, pp.28-29

¹⁴³ Abu-Rehan Muhammad bin Ahmad Alberuni, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, eng. trans. by E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, pp.4-5

¹⁴⁴ Fauja Singh (ed.), *History of the Punjab (A.D.1000-1526)*, vol-III, p.291

¹⁴⁵ Abu-Rehan Muhammad bin Ahmad Alberuni, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, eng. trans. by E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, p.XLVI

¹⁴⁶ James Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol-VII, p.464

¹⁴⁷ Peter B. Clarke, S. Peter Beyer (ed.), *The World's Religion: Continuities and Transformations*, Routledge, Abingdon, 2009, p.325

¹⁴⁸ Sukhninder Kaur Dhillon, *Religious History of Early Medieval Punjab*, p.32

¹⁴⁹ James Hastings, (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol-VII, p.466

¹⁵⁰ Sukhninder Kaur Dhillon, *Religious History of Early Medieval Punjab*, p.32

About the development of Jainism in Punjab, Sukhninder Kaur Dhillon writes that during that time when many famous Chinese travelers like Fa-Hien, Hiuen-Tsiang and I-Tsing came to India, Jainism was a famous religion of Punjab and its two famous sects namely the *Digambara* and *Shvetambara* were popular in Punjab. Jullunder, Kurukshetra and Hoshiarpur were famous places of Jainism.”¹⁵¹ But Jainism was not remaining popular for a long time. Banabhatta's *Harsha-Charita* and Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* give information that during the ninth and tenth centuries Jainism was facing many (internal and external) problems. Jainism had lost its previous glory.¹⁵² Abu-Rehan Alberuni in his work does not give any information about the activities of this religion on this land. So it seems that this religion had almost disappeared until eleventh century.

Islam: Islam was a new religion of this land. According to *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, “The Islam is the infinitive form of *aslama*, and means 'to resign oneself;' to profess Islam.”¹⁵³ The people which believe in the principles of Islam, its rituals and practice are called Muslims.¹⁵⁴ During the times of Prophet Muhammad (b.571-d.632 A.D.) this faith started in Arabia. Within a century of the Prophet's death, his followers had spread his teachings over a large part of the World.¹⁵⁵ Hazrat Umar, Hazrat Usman, Abu Malik (685-705 A.D.), who belonged to the Marwani branch of the Umayyad Dynasty, and his four sons Alwalid (705-715 A.D.), Sulaiman, Yezid-II (720-724 A.D.) and Hisham (724-743A.D.) played a major role in extending the boundaries of the Islamic Empire. After some time Syria, Iraq, Iran, Egypt, Damascus, the Pyrenees to the Indus and right up to the borders of China, North Africa and Spain had become a part of Islamic Empire.¹⁵⁶

In the first half of the eighth century the Islamic faith came to Punjab.¹⁵⁷ Although long before the advent of Sufism in Punjab, Islam had spent a long time on this land. But it could not become a popular religion in this land and mostly people maintained distance from it. Abu-Rehan Alberuni writes that Hindu disliked Muslim people and called them *Mleccha* (impure).¹⁵⁸

¹⁵¹ Sukhninder Kaur Dhillon, *Religious History of Early Medieval Punjab*, p.34

¹⁵² *Ibid*, pp.34-36

¹⁵³ James Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol-VII, p.437

¹⁵⁴ Matthew S. Gorden, *Encyclopedia of World Religions*, vol-VII, Crest Publishing House, New Delhi, 2004, p.6

¹⁵⁵ Fauja Singh (ed.), *History of the Punjab (A.D.1000-1526)*, vol-III, pp.37-56

¹⁵⁶ Phillip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, Macmillan, London, 1961, p.176

¹⁵⁷ Fauja Singh (ed.), *History of the Punjab (A.D.1000-1526)*, vol-III, p.306

¹⁵⁸ Abu-Rehan Muhammad bin Ahmad Alberuni, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, eng. trans. by E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, p.3

The Causes of the Advent and Spread of Sufism in Punjab

The advent of Sufism in Punjab was a historical event and so many causes were responsible for the spread. The historians and writers give very little information about it and their general impression that the Muslim saints came to India in the wake of the Ghourid conquering enemies is far from reality. No doubt, these invasions helped the mystics in extending the sphere of their work to the cities, but it also added to their problems. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami writes that it is incorrect and misleading.¹⁵⁹ So far no systematic and serious attempt has been made in this regard. So, there is a great need to evaluate and examine the causes of the advent of Sufism in Punjab. These causes are mentioned below:

Turkish invasions: Turkish invasions played a very important role for the advent of Sufism in Punjab. Long before their arrival the Arabs under Muhammad bin Qasim, had come on this land and established their hold on Sind and Multan. According to L.M. Joshi, “The Arab conquest of these places did not materially impact the religious outlook of either the Arabs themselves or the people with whom they came into contact, except, of course, those who were converted to the new faith.”¹⁶⁰ About the religious impact of Arab invasions on Sind, Abu-Rehan Alberuni writes, “Muhammad bin Qasim during his invasions in Sind leaving to the people their ancient belief, except in the case of those who wanted to become Muslims.”¹⁶¹ So there was very little religious activity that happened among the people of Punjab. On the other side a major part of Punjab was under the control of Hindushahi Kingdom. They promoted Hindu religion and its rituals. Islam did not affect Hindu people’s religious rituals and practices. But in the eleventh and twelfth centuries Mahmud Ghazni and Muhammad Ghori's strong invasions destroyed Hindushahi Kingdom from Punjab and broke the existing barriers. Abu-Rehan Alberuni and Abu Nasir Muhammad Ibn Muhammad al Jabbaru-I-Utbi were very famous historians and writers of that time, gives information that Mahmud’s invasions completely destroyed Hindushahi Kingdom from Punjab.¹⁶² So with these Turkish invasions the Hindushahi Kingdom and existing barriers had finished from Punjab until in early medieval

¹⁵⁹ Khaliq Ahmed Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, p.261

¹⁶⁰ Fauja Singh (ed.), *History of the Punjab (A.D.1000-1526)*, vol-III, p.306

¹⁶¹ Abu-Rehan Muhammad bin Ahmad Alberuni, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, eng. trans. by E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, p.5

¹⁶² *Ibid*, pp.5-6; Abu Nasir Muhammad Ibn Muhammad al Jabbaru-I-Utbi, *Tarikh-i-Yamini* eng. trans. by H.M. Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, vol-II, pp.24-40

period. Sufis took advantage from the circumstances and migrated to Punjab in large numbers from Central Asian and other Muslim countries.¹⁶³

Spiritual aims of Sufism: In the early medieval period Sufism was famous in all the Muslim countries. But its famous Sufi saints were not satisfied with this success. According to Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, “In the 12th century Sufism had become a universal aspect of Islamic social life whose influence had spread to all Muslims. There were also an important number of Sufis who, transcending religious and communal distinctions, promoted the interests of humanity at large.”¹⁶⁴

The establishment of Sufi Silsilas or Orders: The establishment of Sufi schools and silsilas (orders) were another principal cause. According to Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, “The establishment of schools and silsilas (orders) placed Sufism on a firm and organized and at the same time, was an attempt to make the movement more meaningful to individual Sufis.”¹⁶⁵ About the organisation of Sufi orders, Khaliq Ahmad Nizami writes, “The most important development in the history of Islamic mysticism was the organisation of Sufi orders (silsilas). Long before the Mongols carried sword and fire into flourishing centers of Muslim culture and spiritual impoverishment had honeycombed the Muslim society. The Sufis met the situation by organizing silsilas, demarcating areas of activity as their *walayats*, and transforming mystical activity into a movement for moral and spiritual regeneration of society.”¹⁶⁶

After the establishment of these schools or silsilas many famous founders of these schools and silsilas wanted to establish their schools and silsilas everywhere in the world. For this purpose prominent saints of different schools or silsilas gave orders to many of their disciples to settle in Punjab. For example Abul Fazl Muhammad bin al-Hassan Khattali, a famous saint of Junaid schools, ordered his disciple, Sheikh Husain Zinjani to settled in Punjab. After many years of this incident he asked his young disciple, Abul Hasan 'Ali bin 'Uthsman bin 'Ali al Ghaznavi al-Jullabi al Hujwiri to follow Sheikh Husain Zinjani.¹⁶⁷ According to *Fawaid al-Fuad*, “During that time Sheikh Ali Hujwiri submitted to him that Lahore was the abode of Sheikh Husain Zinjani. But he was still asked to leave for Lahore. So under his

¹⁶³ N.R. Farooqi, ‘The Early Chishti Sufis of India : An Outline of Their Thought and an Account of the Popular Appeal of Their Shrines (i)’, *Islamic Culture*, vol-LXXVII-No-I, pp.1-5

¹⁶⁴ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, p.1

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p.83

¹⁶⁶ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *State and Culture in Medieval India*, Adam Publishers, New Delhi, 1985, pp.205-206

¹⁶⁷ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, p.112

spiritual master's order he did it and arrived at Lahore.”¹⁶⁸ These matters prove that under the command of the prominent Sufi saints of different schools and silsilas, many their disciples entered in Punjab. According to N.R. Farooqi, “This network of Murids (spiritual disciples) and Khalifahs helped created a under constituency for the founder of the order and facilitated the transmission of his message and the diffusion of the tales of his spiritual charisma and loftiness to far-flung areas.”¹⁶⁹

Political conditions of the Central Asian countries: During the early medieval period the political conditions of the Central Asian countries like- Chisht, Herat, Qabul, Afghanistan, Syria and Basra were not politically suitable. Due to Mongol invasions in Central Asia and Iran, these countries and towns were not suitable for Sufism. So many Sufi saints with their families or Sufi saint's ancestors drove away from these places and moved to safe places. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami writes, “Due to the Ghuzz and Mongol of devastation of Ajam (Iraq-o-Azam), many disciples of Sheikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi migrated to India.”¹⁷⁰ On the other side during that time the political condition of Punjab was suitable. After the establishment of Muslim rule in Punjab, this area had become peaceful. So, during that time a large number of Sufi saints came to Punjab. Sheikh Badruddin Ghaznavi was a typical example of it, who during early medieval period came to Lahore due to the unfavorable conditions of his homeland and probably attracted by the prospects of a peaceful and prosperous life in the newly emerging Empire of Delhi.¹⁷¹ Sheikh Farid's ancestors also came to Khotwal (Punjab) from Qabul, because political condition of Qabul was not favorable.¹⁷²

The Geographical features of Punjab: Geography is considered to be the foundation of all historical knowledge. It has been beautifully remarked, "Geography and chronology are the sun and the moon or the right eye and left eye of all history." The history of every country or religion is shaped to a great extent by its conditions. The geographical features of Punjab like its soil, rivers, mountains, and its passes also impacted on this state's history. During early medieval period Punjab was a famous State of North-West India. From ancient time the people of the Central Asian

¹⁶⁸ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, D.K. Printworld, New Delhi, 1996, pp.119-120

¹⁶⁹ N.R. Farooqi, 'The Early Chishti Sufis of India : An Outline of Their Thought and an Account of the Popular Appeal of Their Shrines (i)', *Islamic Culture*, vol-LXXXVII-No-I, p.2

¹⁷⁰ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, p.220

¹⁷¹ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, pp.119-120

¹⁷² *Ibid*, p.35

countries came to Punjab through this side. For this purpose these people used Himalayan passes, which named are– Khyber, Kurram, Tochi, Gomal and Bolan. The Khyber Pass connected to Kabul with Jamrud (near Peshawar). Other passes Kurram, Tochi and Gomal connected to Kohat, Bannu and Derajat with Central Afghanistan. These passes served as routes between Punjab and Central Asian countries. In the early medieval period Central Asian people also used these passes for their trade and invading territories. The Khyber Pass was the most important from these, because mostly foreign invaders entered in Punjab through this pass. Central Asian countries already had become centers of Sufi movement. In the summer times, these passes got opened for all visitors. Indian and foreign visitors used these for their needs.¹⁷³ Central Asian Sufi saints also used these for their travelling. So the geographical features of the area played a crucial role in this event.

Interest of the Muslim Rulers: After the establishment of Muslim rule in India, many Muslim rulers wanted to support and get guidance of Sufi saints for themselves. They always tried that Sufi saints should establish their *khanqhas* in their regions. For example Mahmud Ghazni after the annexation of Punjab in Ghazni Empire, he tried to promote many Sufi saints to settle in the area.¹⁷⁴ Another example when Sheikh Qutubuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki reached Delhi, during that time Iltutmish requested him to stay in this city permanently.¹⁷⁵

The role of Muslim traders and merchants: The trade relations between India and Central Asian countries were cordial from ancient times. Inland trade increased in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as a result of growing urbanization. From Lahore to Qabul and from Multan to Qandahar were very important trade routes of that time¹⁷⁶ and with the help of these routes Multan and Lahore had famous marts for Indian trade with Afghanistan and other Central Asian countries. Horses, musk, furs, camels and fruits were imported from these countries and many important things were exported to Central Asian countries.¹⁷⁷ For trade every year many foreign Muslim traders from Central Asian countries visited Punjab. These journeys were much longer and risky. So many times many traders and Merchants during their

¹⁷³ Satish Chandra, *Essays on Medieval Indian History*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2005, pp.150-155

¹⁷⁴ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, p.112

¹⁷⁵ N.R. Farooqi, 'The Early Chishti Sufis of India : An Outline of Their Thought and an Account of the Popular Appeal of Their Shrines (i)', *Islamic Culture*, p.10

¹⁷⁶ Fauja Singh (ed.), *History of the Punjab (A.D.1000-1526)*, vol-III, pp.357-358

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.357-359

journeys went to Sufi khanqahs (which were situated on Central Asian countries or routes) for rest and safety of their life and goods.¹⁷⁸ According to Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, “Some foreign Sufi khanqahs operated a type of 'spiritual insurance' scheme in which financial pledges were made by Muslim traders and merchants in return for Sufi prayers for protection during a journey, installments being collected *en route*. Gaziruni khanqah in Zaidan was a big example of it, which was situated outside the town and received sums of money from merchants vowed in gratitude for their protection.”¹⁷⁹ Muslim traders and merchants when visited Sufi khanqahs, during that time they shared their views with Sufi saints about Punjab’s culture, people and religion. So, on account of it there arose an eagerness in their hearts to come to Punjab.

Thus we can surmise that there were several reasons responsible for the advent of Sufism in the Punjab. After some time in Punjab, Sufi saints succeeded in their spiritual aims and established their khanqahs in many towns of Punjab. It was another major incident of that time, because Sufi saints came to Punjab from Central Asian Muslim countries whose language and atmosphere was completely different from Punjab. Although the rule of the Muslims had established in Punjab, but majority of the people were Hindus and they kept distance from the Muslims. In this matter the cruelty of Turkish invasions on Hindus played significant role. The adoption of orthodoxical policy of Brahmans to save the Hindu religion extended it more. Abu-Rehan Alberuni writes about the various problems of Muslim people, which they faced in Punjab. He writes that the barriers which separated Muslims and Hindus rest on different causes. These were as mentions bellow:

First, the Hindu people differed from Muslims in language. According to Alberuni, “Although have the difference of language also exists between other nations. But if you want to conquer this difficulty, you will find it easy, because the language is of an enormous range, both in words and inflections, something like the Arabic, calling one and the same things by various names, both original, derived and using one and the same word for a variety of subjects, which, in order to be properly understood, must be distinguished from each other by various qualifying epithets. For nobody could distinguish between the various meanings of a word unless he understands the context in which it occurs, and its relation both to the following and

¹⁷⁸ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, pp.398-99

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid*, pp.398-99

the preceding parts of the sentence. The Hindus, like other people, boast of this enormous range of their language.”¹⁸⁰

Secondly, the Hindus totally differed from Muslims in religion, as Muslims believed in nothing which they believe. According to Abu-Rehan Alberuni, “On the whole, there is very little disputing about theological concepts among themselves; at the utmost, they fight with words, but they will never stake their soul or body or their property on religious controversy. On the contrary, all their fanaticism is directed against those who do not belong to them-against all foreigners. They call them *Mleccha* (impure), and forbid having any connection with them, be it by intermarriage or any other kind of relationship, or by sitting, eating, and drinking with them, because thereby, they think, they would be polluted. They consider as impure anything which touches the fire and the water of a foreigner; and no household can exist despite these two elements. Apart from these, they never desire that a thing which once has been polluted should be purified and thus recovered, as, under ordinary circumstances, if anybody or anything has become unclean, he or it would strive to reign the state of purity. They are not allowed to receive anybody who does not belong to them, even if he wished it, or was inclined to their religion. This, too renders any connection with them quite impossible, and constitutes the widest gulf between us and them.”¹⁸¹

In the third place, in all manners, the Hindus differed from Muslims to such a degree as to frighten their children with them, with dress, and ways and customs, and as to declare Muslims to be devil’s breed.¹⁸²

Next was the Budhists, which increased the existing antagonism between Hindus and Muslims. According to Alberuni, “Although they cordially hate the Brahmans, still are nearer akin to them than to others. In ancient times, Khurasan, Persia, Iraq, Mosul, the country up to the frontier of Syria, was Buddhistic, but then Zarathustra went forth from Adharbaijan and preached Magism in Balkh. His doctrine came in favour with King Gushtasp, and his son Isfendiyad spread the new faith both in east and west, both by force and by treaties. He founded fire-temples throughout his whole empire, from the frontiers of China to those of the Greek Empire. The succeeding Kings made their religion (*i.e.* Zoroastrianism) the obligatory state-

¹⁸⁰ Abu-Rehan Muhammad bin Ahmad Alberuni, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, eng. trans. by E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, pp.1-2

¹⁸¹ *Ibid*, pp.3-4

¹⁸² *Ibid*, p.4

religion for Persia and Iraq. In consequence, the Buddhists were banished from those countries, and had to immigrate to the countries of east of Balkh. There are some Magians up to the present time in India, where they are called *Maga*. From that time dates their aversion towards the countries of Khurasan. But then came Islam; the Persian Empire perished, and the repugnance of the Hindus against foreigners increased more and more when the Muslims began to make their inroads into their country; for Muhammad Ibn Elkasim Ibn Elmunabbih entered Sindh from the side of Sijistan and conquered the cities of Bahmanwa and Mulasthana. He entered India proper, and penetrated even as far as Kanauj (Kaunauj), marched through the country of Gandhara, and on his way back, thought the confines of Kashmir, sometimes fighting sword in hand, sometimes gaining his ends by treaties. All these events planted a deeply rooted hatred in their hearts.”¹⁸³

Turkish invasions on the Hindus were another principal cause of it. Abu-Rehan Alberuni writes in the following times no Muslim conqueror passed beyond the frontier of Kabul and the river Sindh until the days of the Turks, when they seized the power in Ghazni under the Samani dynasty, and the supreme power fell to the lot of Nasir-addaula Sabuktigin. This Prince chose the holy war as his calling, and therefore called himself *Al-Ghazi* (i.e. *warring on the road of Allah*). In the interest of his successors he constructed, in order to weaken the Indian frontier, those roads on which afterwards his son Yamin-addaula Mahmud marched into India during a period of thirty years and more. Mahmud utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed there wonderful exploits, by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions, and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people. Their scattered remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims. This is the reason, too, why Hindu sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by the Muslims, and have fled to places which their hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Banaras, and other places, and there the antagonism between them and all foreigners receiver more and more nourishment both from political and religious sources.”¹⁸⁴

In the fifth place, the Hindus believed that there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no Kings like theirs, no religion like theirs, and no science like

¹⁸³ Abu-Rehan Muhammad bin Ahmad Alberuni, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, eng. trans. by E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, pp.4-5

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, pp.5-6

theirs. These thoughts create a wall between Hindus and Muslims. According to Alberuni, “They are by nature niggardly in communicating that which they know, and they take the greatest possible care to withhold it from men of another caste among their own people, still much more, of course from any foreigner.”¹⁸⁵

So in such a time and conditions Sufism came to Punjab, but apart from these after sometime Sufi saints succeeded in won the hearts of the people of all religions. There was not only one reason behind it but had many reasons which played role for this historical event. There were as follows:

Attractive life style of Sufi saints: The most significant aspect of Sufism, and one which had the greatest impact on the people, was the way of life which was adopted by Sufi saints. Sufi saints, particularly those belonging to the Chishti silsila, cut themselves off completely from State and its affairs. They spent their life in a simple way and mostly avoided the company of Kings and their nobles. They accepted *futuh* (religious charity) only from simple people and refused to accept Jagirs (land grants), and other offers from Kings and other State officers.¹⁸⁶ They also liked simple life. Chishti thought that wealth is a big wall between God and a simple man. Ali bin Uthman Al-Jullabi Al Hujwiri in his book *Kashf-al-Mahjub* writes that poverty has a high rank in the way of truth.¹⁸⁷ In other places he writes that his elders always say that poverty is a sign of purity.¹⁸⁸ Abu al-Najib al-Suhrawardi also in his book *Kitab Adab al-Muridin* writes that poverty is better than riches. Gabriel advised, the Prophet Muhammad not to accept the treasures from the people.¹⁸⁹

Sheikh Farid’s *hymns* also give the information of his thought about poverty. For example some these are:-

1. ਫਰੀਦਾ ਰੋਟੀ ਮੇਰੀ ਕਾਠ ਕੀ ਲਾਵਣੁ ਮੇਰੀ ਭੁਖ ॥
ਜਿਨਾ ਖਾਧੀ ਚੋਪੜੀ ਘਣੇ ਸਹਨਿਗੇ ਦੁਖ ॥੨੮॥¹⁹⁰
2. ਫਰੀਦਾ ਇਕਨਾ ਆਟਾ ਅਗਲਾ ਇਕਨਾ ਨਾਹੀ ਲੋਣੁ ॥
ਅਗੈ ਗਏ ਸਿੰਵਾਪਸਨਿ ਚੋਟਾਂ ਖਾਸੀ ਕਉਣੁ ॥੪੪॥¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁵ Abu-Rehan Muhammad bin Ahmad Alberuni, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, eng. trans. by E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, p.6

¹⁸⁶ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, pp.240-48

¹⁸⁷ Ali bin Uthman Al-Hujwiri, *Kashf-al-Mahjub*, eng. trans. by Reynold A. Nicholson, p.89

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid*, pp.20-28

¹⁸⁹ Abu al-Najib al-Suhrawardi, *Kitab Adab al-Muridin*, eng. trans. by Menahem Milson under the title, *A Sufi Rule for Novices*, Harward University Press, Cambridge, 1975, p.30

¹⁹⁰ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਸਲੋਕ ਬਾਬਾ ਫਰੀਦ, ਪੰਨਾ-1379

¹⁹¹ ਉਹੀ, ਪੰਨਾ-1380

3. ਫਰੀਦਾ ਦਰਵੇਸੀ ਗਾਖੜੀ ਚੋਪੜੀ ਪਰੀਤਿ ॥

ਇਕਨਿ ਕਿਨੈ ਚਾਲੀਐ ਦਰਵੇਸਾਈ ਰੀਤਿ ॥੧੧੮॥¹⁹²

Sheikh Farid's simple life is a big example of this. Sheikh Farid, who was a very famous Sufi saint of medieval period and a large scale of people were disciples of him. But apart from this he lived in a small house of mud walls, which were covered with a thatched roof. He had strictly forbidden to his disciples from the use of burnt bricks for his house.¹⁹³ He wore very simple clothes, whenever anybody presented him a new dress; he gave this to the needy people.¹⁹⁴ He slept on a plain wooden cot, and used a blanket as a bedspread, which was very small to cover his body.¹⁹⁵ Sheikh Jamauddin Hansvi is another example for it.¹⁹⁶

This simple living style impressed the people because they saw that these Sufi saints were very famous in the all categories of people but apart from this they spent simple life and also refused the royal gifts. So their life style made great impact on the minds of the people and now they gave respect to them.

Welfare works of Sufi saints: Sufi saint's welfare works for the people was another great cause about the spread of Sufism in Punjab. Sufi saints gave too much importance to social welfare works. According to Khwaja Abdullah Ansari, "The religious ideal could not be reached through countless prayers or endless fasts. The path of spiritual progress lay through service of mankind. Fasts and prayers were acts of devotion which even an old widow could perform. The real mission of a saints' life should be to strive for the welfare of His creation."¹⁹⁷ Sheikh Muinuddin Chishti, the founder of the Chishti order in India, always told to his disciples, "It was nothing but feeding the hungry, providing clothes to the naked and helping those in distress."¹⁹⁸ Elaborating the same view, Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya once observed: "Devotion is transitive as well as intransitive. The intransitive devotion is that by which only the devotee gets benefited, and that consists of prayer, *Hajj*, fasting, the repetition of litanies and other similar things. But the transitive devotion is that which comes forth

¹⁹² ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਸਲੋਕ ਬਾਬਾ ਫਰੀਦ, ਪੰਨਾ-1384

¹⁹³ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, pp.148-149

¹⁹⁴ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Fard-ud-Din Ganj-i-Shakar*, Muslim University Aligarh, Aligarh, 1955, p.41

¹⁹⁵ I.H. Azad Farooqi, *The Early Chishti Sufis of India : An Outline of Their Thought and an Account of the Popular Appeal of Their Shrines (i)*, *Islamic Culture*, p.16

¹⁹⁶ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, pp.134-441

¹⁹⁷ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *State and Culture in Medieval India*, p.214

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid*, p.181

in the form of, for example, expending on and being helpful to others out of sheer love for their good and comfort; and the reward of this transitive devotion is immense and immeasurable. In intransitive devotion sincerity is the first pre-requisite so that it may be liked and favorably accepted by the Almighty, while the acts of transitive devotion are acceptable (to God) and would be rewarded in whatever form they are performed.”¹⁹⁹ Inspired from these, Sufi saints of Punjab used their energies for the welfare of the people which made them a great soul in the eyes of common men. For example in 1246 A.D. when Mangols under Malik Shamsuddin and Sali Nuyin tried to siege the city of Multan, during that time Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya went to the Mangol leader Malik Shamsuddin for peace settlement.²⁰⁰ Sheikh Farid is another example, who always tried the welfare of the people. Primary sources like *Fawaid al-Fu'ad*, *Siyar-ul-Awliya* and *Khair-ul-Majalis*, give many stories, where Sheikh Farid with the help of his khangah and open kitchen tried to help the needy people.²⁰¹ Many times for help of the people he broke his rules. For example, once a poor man came to Sheikh Farid’s khanqah and requested him that he was in great trouble so he wrote a recommendation letter to the Ruler. First Sheikh Farid did not want to do this but after some time he wrote a letter to the Ruler for the needy man.²⁰² Besides these many times Sufi saints also gave advice to the Sultans that they should always try to help their people. For example, once the Sheikh Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki advised the Sultan Iltutmish: “O Ruler of Delhi! It is incumbent on thee to be good to all poor people, mendicants, dervishes and helpless folk. Treat all men kindly and strive for their welfare. Everyone who thus behaves towards his subjects is looked after by almighty and all his enemies turn into friends.”²⁰³ Sheikh Qutabuddin Munnawar is another example of it. Once when he met with Sultan Feroz Shah Khalji, he suggested to Sultan that he do work for the people.²⁰⁴ These works of Sufis impacted on the people.

¹⁹⁹ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p.88

²⁰⁰ Khaliq Ahmed Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth century*, p.256; Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, pp.191-194

²⁰¹ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, pp.181,346-347, 364, 416

²⁰² Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, Delhi, 2013 pp.45-46

²⁰³ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, pp.188-89

²⁰⁴ Shams-i- Siraj Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, eng. trans. by H.M. Elliot and John Dowson under the title, *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, vol-III, pp.286-287

Role of Sufi's Khanqahs: After the advent of Sufism in Punjab, Sufi saints succeeded to establish their khanqahs in many towns and cities of Punjab, which doors were opened for all. These khanqahs also provided shelter, food and other facilities to all the needy people.²⁰⁵ In the early period this system started only for Muslims, but after some time this system opened for all the people. *Sama* and *Dance* were other features of their khanqah life.²⁰⁶ In these khanqahs all sorts of people like Sultan and beggar, rich and poor, citizens and villagers, free born and slaves, men and woman, scholars, traders, artisans, peasants, even Hindu saints visited²⁰⁷ and discussed with them on various aspects.²⁰⁸ Sheikh Farid's khanqah is a big example of it.²⁰⁹ All these features and friendly atmosphere of these khanqahs attracted the Hindu people.

Role of Delhi Sultans: In this matter Delhi Sultans gave full sport to them. After the establishment Muslim rule in India mostly Muslim rulers wanted Sufi saint's blessings and sport for their region, and when these Sufi saints established their shrines in their region, they gave them *jagirs*, amounts, and positions in their court.²¹⁰ Besides these Delhi Sultans gave them monetary support to the Sufi saints, which they used for their spiritual aims.²¹¹ Suhrawardi Sufi saint Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya is a prominent example of it. Sultans gave him position in their court, amounts and jagirs, which he used this for their spiritual aims.²¹² Apart from this many times Delhi Sultans issued royal orders for welfare of the people under the influence or request of Sufi saints, which made them more popular in the eyes of people. Sheikh Ruknuddin Abul Fateh is another example of it. Sayyid Muhammad Kirmani in *Siyar-ul-Awliya* gives information that under the request of Sheikh Ruknuddin, Sultan Qutbuddin did many good works for the people.²¹³

²⁰⁵ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, pp-181,251

²⁰⁶ Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, pp.380-381, 391-392

²⁰⁷ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *State and Culture in Medieval India*, p.180

²⁰⁸ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, pp.181, 434-435

²⁰⁹ *Ibid*, pp.181,196, 434-435

²¹⁰ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, p.192

²¹¹ Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, pp.97-112

²¹² Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, p.192; Imtiaz Ahmed, 'Sufis and the State in Medieval India and Punjab', *Punjab History Conference* (Proceedings), p.10

²¹³ Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, pp.95-99; Molana Hameed Qalander, *Khair-ul-Majalis*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari and Hamid Afaq Qureshi, Idarah-I Adabiyat-I Delli, Delhi, 2010, p.55

Hindu Caste system: The caste system was another principal cause about the spread of Sufism in Punjab. From ancient times Hindu society was divided into four main castes and many sub-castes and after the establishment of Muslim rule in Punjab their number had increased. About the Caste system Abu-Rehan Alberuni writes that Brahmin, Kashatriya and Vaisha were upper classes of society and their condition was good. But Sudra and other lower people's condition were not good and called them Hadi, Doma and Chandala. All these people were untouchables. The doors of knowledge were closed for them; and any attempt to cross the barrier was severely punished.²¹⁴ So their condition in Punjab had become inferior.²¹⁵ On the other side Sufi saints of Punjab rejected the caste system. They believed universal brotherhood and unity of mankind and their doors of khanqahs were open for all people. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami writes, "The khanqahs of the early Indo-Muslim Sufis would reveal the fact that most of them were established outside the caste cities in the midst of the lower sections of the Indian population. The unassuming ways of the mystics, their broad human sympathies and the classless atmosphere of their khanqahs attracted these despised sections of Indian society to its fold."²¹⁶ So the lower classes people came under their influence and became their disciples.²¹⁷

Role of travellers, merchants, scholars and musicians: The travellers, merchants, scholars and musicians also played a significant role in the spread of Sufism in Punjab. Many times these people during their traveling time came to Sufi saint's khanqahs for rest, security and their blessings.²¹⁸ Many professional musicians also went to their khanqahs for singing songs and earning money.²¹⁹ During their visit to Sufi khanqahs, these people talked with the Sufi saints on different aspects. Besides these in their khanqahs, they also saw their open kitchen system and heard their *sama* music.²²⁰ During that time Sufi saints gave respect to everyone without differences. All these things especially Sufi saints' personalities and good atmosphere of Sufi khanqahs impacted on their minds. So with this mindset they went to other places and

²¹⁴ See in details on pp.33-36

²¹⁵ Fauja Singh, *History of the Punjab (A.D. 1000-1526)*, vol-III, pp.325-26; Khaliq Ahmad Nizami (ed.), *Politics and Society During the Early Medieval Period*, vol-I, p.138

²¹⁶ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, p.261

²¹⁷ Farida Khanam, *A Simple Guide to Sufism*, Goodward Books, New Delhi, 2006, p.43

²¹⁸ Molana Hameed Qalander, *Khair-ul-Majalis*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari and Hamid Afaq Qureshi, p.205; Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p.231

²¹⁹ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p.278

²²⁰ *Ibid*, pp.153, 181, 216-217, 408-410

shared their experience with the people.²²¹ So a saints' prominence was delivered from one place to another place by these travelers, merchants, scholars and musicians. Thus, in course of time, a saint became a famous saint of that place. The fame of Sheikh Farid and Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariyya in the other states of India and Asian countries is a big example of it. Ibn Battuta mentions that every year many travellers came in their khanqahs from other Indian states and abroad²²² and after met them, they shared their experience with the others.

Use of regional languages: During early medieval period language was a big wall between Hindu and Muslim people.²²³ During that time Sufi saints came to Punjab from Central Asian countries with Persian and Arabic languages and they were unaware of Indian languages. In Punjab, Sufi saints realized that language is a big wall between Hindus and them and with Arabic and Persian they could not achieve their spiritual aims. So after some time they studied and started to use Punjab's regional languages for their spiritual aims.²²⁴ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami writes, "In a multi-lingual society this attitude was a guarantee against all types of tensions and conflicts. Whenever the Sufi saints settled in India, they adopted the local languages and dialects for communicating with the people. It is for this reason that in the growth of Indian vernaculars the role of Muslim mystics was the most outstanding. They invested the local languages with the dignity they deserved and prescribed devotional practices in them. Their aim was emotional integration and they did not consider language an impediment in the realization of that objective. Their motto was: To be of one heart is better than to be of one tongue."²²⁵ So when Sufi saints started to converse with the Punjab's people in their local dialect languages, then their teachings started make more impact on the local people's minds, because now these people understood their teachings and real aims. For example, Sheikh Farid used Hindawi (a famous local dialect language of Punjab during that time) language for his day to day conversation²²⁶ and also his hymns.²²⁷

²²¹ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p.278

²²² Ibn Battuta, *The Rehla*, eng. trans. and edited by Tim Mackintosh-Smith under the title, *The Travels of Ibn Battutah*, Picador, London, 2003, pp.157-158; Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, pp.181, 231

²²³ Abu-Rehan Muhammad bin Ahmad Alberuni, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, eng. trans. by E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, p.1

²²⁴ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, pp.120-169

²²⁵ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *State and Culture in Medieval India*, pp.191-92

²²⁶ Yusuf Husain, *Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1973, pp.89-90

²²⁷ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਸਲੋਕ ਬਾਬਾ ਫਰੀਦ, ਪੰਨੇ-1378-1384

Sufi Saints’ good relations with the Hindu people and their saints: During early medieval period Sufi saints’ policy about the Hindu people was not good. They always tried to convert their religion. But after some time they rejected this policy because they realized that until we get respect or a place in their hearts, they will not accept our religion. So they started to make friendly relations with them. For the succession of this purpose they also started to give respect to their religion, rituals and customs. For example once Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya was strolling with Amir Khusrau on the roof of the *Jamaat-khana* from where he cited with a group of Hindus at worship place. Greatly impressed with their devotion, he remarked to Amir Khusrau, "Every community has its own path and faith, and its own way of worship."²²⁸ About this topic Khaliq Ahmad Nizami writes, “The success of a silsila depended very largely on a Sheikh's ability to adjust and adapt himself to the mental and emotional climate of a particular region, what the mystics call *nafs-i-gira* an intuitive intelligence that could understand, comprehend, control and direct the mind of people – was needed in an abundant degree to appreciate the spiritual needs and emotional requirements of the people and attract them to the mystic fold. Unless the saints of a silsila identified themselves with the problems of the people– their worries, their hopes and their aspirations– their organization floated in a vacuum and failed to strike roots into the soil.”

The popularity and success of the Sufism especially Chishti saints in Punjab was due to their understanding the conditions and the religious attitudes and aspirations of the people of Punjab. They adopted many Hindu practice, customs and ceremonials like— circulating *zanbil*, shaving the head of new entrants to the mystic circle and the *Chillah-i-ma'kus* (the Inverted *Chillah*)²²⁹ etc.²³⁰ Apart from this, these saints met with Hindu saints and discussed with them on spiritual issues. For example Sheikh Farid took great interest in visiting Siddhas and other Hindu saints.²³¹ These matters made positive impact on the Hindu people.

Sufi saints’ simple and effective teachings: Sufi saints’ teachings also played a significant role. Sufi saints’ teachings were simple and effective and which made

²²⁸ Shaikh 'Addu'l-Quddus Gangohi, *Anwaru-i-Uyun*, quoted by Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, pp.166-167

²²⁹ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi, *Fawa'id-u'l-Fuad*, quoted by Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *State and Culture in Medieval India*, pp.106-107; 239-40

²³⁰ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, pp.178-179

²³¹ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi, *Fawa'id-u'l-Fuad*, quoted by Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *State and Culture in Medieval India*, p.196

direct impact on the people's mind. Their teachings were based on unity of God, universal brotherhood, love and humanity. For example, Sheikh Farid's hymns give sufficient information about Sufi saints' simple teachings. Some hymns are:

1. ਫਰੀਦਾ ਖਾਲਕ ਖਲਕੁ ਮਹਿ ਖਲਕ ਵਸੈ ਰਬ ਮਾਹਿ ॥
ਮੰਦਾ ਕਿਸ ਨੋ ਆਖੀਐ ਜਾਂ ਤਿਸੁ ਬਿਨੁ ਕੋਈ ਨਾਹਿ ॥੭੫॥²³²
2. ਫਰੀਦਾ ਬੁਰੇ ਦਾ ਭਲਾ ਕਰਿ ਗੁਸਾ ਮਨਿ ਨ ਹਢਾਇ ॥
ਦੇਹੀ ਰੋਗੁ ਨ ਲਗਈ ਪਲੈ ਸਭੁ ਕਿਛੁ ਪਾਇ ॥੭੮॥²³³

During Sultanate period many Hindu people, which disliked caste-system, meaningless rituals and customs, were greatly impressed by the simple teachings of Sufi saints. Khaliq Ahmed Nizami writes that under Sheikh Farid's simple teachings many lower classes people made his disciples.²³⁴

Sufi literature: Sufi saints and Sufi disciple's writings were another great cause of the spread of Sufism in Punjab area, because all these works became a source of information of their simple thoughts, teachings and doctrines to the people. Ali bin Uthman Al-Jullabi Al Hujwiri's *Kashf-al-Mahjub* gives very information about the teachings, principles, doctrines and thoughts of the Sufism in detail.²³⁵ About the importance of *Kashf-al-Mahjub*, Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya used to say, "One who had no spiritual mentor, *Kashf-al-Mahjub* was enough for him to guide."²³⁶ Sheikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi's *Awarif-ul-Mawarif* and Sheikh Farid's *hymns* are another example of it.

Role of Irani saints: Iran played an important role in the development and growth of mystic ideology and institutions in Punjab. Mystic ideas, life style and literary works of Irani saints influenced on the Sufi saints of Punjab. According to Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, "The ethical and moral ideals enunciated by Irani masters became the inspiring motive of the lives of the Indian Sufi saints. Especially Irani saints's poetical works, their religious books, their traditions and their mystic ideas made too influence on the spiritual thought and behavior of the Punjab Sufi saints."²³⁷ Their works supplied a warm fund of emotions to Indian Sufis, and provided those

²³² ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਸਲੋਕ ਬਾਬਾ ਫਰੀਦ, ਪੰਨਾ-1381

²³³ ਉਹੀ, ਪੰਨੇ-1381-1382

²³⁴ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, pp.320-321

²³⁵ Sadhu Ram Sharda, *Sufi Thought: Its Development in Panjab and Its Impact on Panjabi Literature From Baba Farid to 1850 A.D.*, p.62

²³⁶ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *State and Culture in Medieval India*, p.231

²³⁷ *Ibid*, pp.203-238

moral and ethical ideas which became élan of the mystic movement in India.²³⁸

The above discussion proves that this movement reached in Punjab after a long journey, when Muslim invaders were trying to establish their Kingdom in Punjab. Although the political condition of Punjab was favoring them. But apart from this many problems like difference of language and attitude of Hindus about the Muslims were ahead of them. But besides these problems Chishti and Suhrawardi Sufi saints of Punjab started their work in Punjab according to their silsilas rules and regulations. For the succession of their spiritual aims, these saints adopted local dialect languages and customs of Hindu people and also established friendly relations with Hindu saints of Punjab. In this work Muslims rulers, traders, merchants, scholars and musicians also played a significant role. With the help of their good policies, teachings and works, they succeeded in their spiritual aims and spreading their faith in whole Punjab. Now every man of different religion gave respect to them.

²³⁸ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *State and Culture in Medieval India*, p.210

CHAPTER – 2

MAIN CENTERS AND SHRINES OF SUFISM IN PUNJAB

From eleventh to early sixteenth century the illustrious line of Chishti and Suhrawardi Sufi saints and their successors established their khanqahs in many towns, cities and villages of Punjab. From these places they worked on their mystical aims and tried to extend their silsilas. As a result, a number of cities and towns like Hansi, Panipat, Ajudhan (Pakpattan), Uch and Multan emerged as important Sufi centres of Chishti and Suhrawardi's mystical activities in Punjab.

The Sufi movement with the help of Sufi saint's policies became a popular and significant movement of Punjab. But their presence in Punjab not only popularized Sufism but also contributed to the rise of the *dargah* or shrine cult in Punjab.¹ Sufi shrine called that place or building which have been constructed over the tomb of famous Sufi saint.² About the historical background of construction of these Sufi shrines, According to *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, "After the establishment of Sufi orders, many famous Sufi saints established their branches in many Muslim countries. As a result, the Sufi orders penetrated into common Muslims' lives and influenced their ritualistic behaviours, some of the Sufi leaders, usually the founders of orders or the heads of branches, began to develop reputations as saints (*Awliya* or *Wali*) who had supernatural power or divine blessing granted by God. Through this power, it was believed, the saint could do miracles (*karamat*) such as foretelling the future, mindreading, flying in the air, treating illness, and other extraordinary acts. Devotees from both within and outside the order often visited the saint asking for a small share of divine blessing, so that he gradually began to be venerated as if he were a divine being. When the saint died, it was firmly believed that he would still respond favourably to requests made at his tomb. Therefore followers erected a special building at the site of the tomb."³

Although from eleventh to early sixteenth century many Sufi saints entered in Punjab and established many Sufi centres and many Sufi shrines were also

¹ Surinder Singh and Ishwar Dayal Gaur (ed.), *Sufism in Punjab: Mystics, Literature and Shrines*, Aakar Books, Delhi, 2009, p.402

² John L. Esposito (editor-in-chief), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, Vol-4, Oxford University Press, New York, 1995, p.117

³ *Ibid*, p.117

constructed in Punjab, but only few are famous in Sufi history of Punjab. Some of the famous towns associated with Sufi saints were as follow:

PANIPAT

The ancient town Panipat was a famous town of Punjab (which is now in Haryana State and situated on the Sher Shah Suri Marg (highway) or G.T road between Karnal and Sonipat district. In history this town is famous for the decisive battles, which were fought here and these created deep impact on the Indian history. First battle of Panipat of 1526 A.D.; second battle of Panipat of 1556 A.D.⁴ and third battle of Panipat of 1761 A.D.⁵ were famous battles fought in this town. These battles at Panipat led to the establishment of new dynasties and their rule or the fallen foes were completely destroyed. According to David Ross, "Its vast antiquity dates back to the period of the war between the Pandavas and the Kaurvas (famous characters of *Mahabharat*), when it formed one of the well-known *pats*, or *prasthas*, demanded by Yudishthira from Duryodhan as the price of peace."⁶

According to *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, "In Muhammadan times it would appear to have been of considerably greater importance. It was from Panipat that Prince Humayun (Sikander) son of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud Tughluq II (1390-1394 A.D.) plundered Delhi in 1390 A.D., and he was defeated in the neighbourhood by Abu Bakr (Bukr). Panipat was seven years later held for Tatar Khan and taken by Ikkal Khan, and in the next year deserted on Timur's approach. During the reign of Bahlol Lodhi, his son Nizam Khan, afterwards Sikandar Lodhi, seized Panipat and made it his headquarters."⁷

Sheikh Sharafuddin Bu Ali Shah Qalandar was very famous Sufi saint of this town. Panipat was his birthplace, where he was born in 1195 A.D.⁸ His forefathers came to Punjab from Iraq in the middle of the thirteenth century.⁹ He was son of

⁴ Harbans Mukhia, *The Mughals of India*, Bleckwell Publishing, Malden (USA), 2005, pp.18, 30

⁵ A.C. Banerjee, *Peshwa Madhav Rao-I*, A. Mukherjee & Co., Calcutta, 1968, p.13

⁶ David Ross, *The Land of Five Rivers and Sind*, Languages Department of Punjab, Patiala, 1970, p.243

⁷ *Imperial Gazetteer of India: Provincial Series, Punjab*; vol-I, Superintendent of Government Printing, Calcutta, 1908, pp.316-317

⁸ Masood Ali Khan and Sri Ram (ed.), *Sufism and Suhrawardi Order*, Anmol Publications, New Delhi, 2003, p.302

⁹ Surinder Singh and Ishwar Dayal Gaur (ed.), *Sufism in Punjab: Mystics, Literature and Shrines*, p.342

Hazrat Fakhruddin¹⁰ and Bibi Haliza Jamal.¹¹ About the name of his master and silsila Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi writes that Qalandari and Chishti legends claim that the celebrated Qalandar, Sheikh Sharafuddin Bu Ali Shah Qalandar (Panipati), was either the disciple of Sheikh Shah Khizr Rumi or that of Saiyad Najmuddin. This linked him with Sheikh Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki. According to Sheikh Abdul-Haqq the claims that Sheikh Bu Ali Shah was the disciple of Sheikh Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki or of Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya were unauthentic. Abdur Rahman Chishti compromised by asserting that Sheikh Sharafuddin Bu Ali Shah Qalandar had been initiated into the Chishti order by the spirit of Sheikh Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki. Whatever his spiritual lineage Sheikh Sharafuddin Bu Ali Shah Qalandar was a stern ascetic who renounced the world and became totally engrossed in self-mortification and contemplation. As a qalandar he refused to observe the rules of the *Shariah*.¹²

Bu Ali Shah Qalandar lived for some time in Delhi,¹³ and after there he settled in Panipat for a long time and established his khanqah in this place. According to Masood Ali Khan and Sri Ram, "In Panipat he gave religious discourses to the people, showing them the right path of Islam."¹⁴ Sheikh Sharafuddin Bu Ali Shah Qalandar wrote many famous books. Some famous were: (1) *Muktubat Binam Ikhtiaruddin* (2) *Hukum Nama Sharafuddin*, (3) *Masnawi Kanzul Israt* (4) *Risala Ishqia*.¹⁵

Although Bu Ali Shah Qalandar spent most of his life in Panipat, but in the later days of his life, he went to a village near Karnal. Masood Ali Khan and Shri Ram writes about the reason of his shifting from Panipat to Karnal, that Hazrat Khwaja Shamsuddin Turk (*Shamsul-Auliya*) was main cause for it.¹⁶ Khwaja Shamsuddin Turk came in this city in the last years of his life and started living permanently in Panipat. So, after some time Sheikh Bu Ali Shah Qalandar left his old khanqah and went near Panipat called *Ghotae*. After some time from this place he again shifted to place called Moza Budh Khera near Karnal, where he spend last days of his life. He died at the age of 119¹⁷ on September 1324.¹⁸ Although after his death,

¹⁰ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1978, p. 305

¹¹ Masood Ali Khan and Sri Ram (ed.), *Sufism and Shurawardi Order*, Anmol Publications, New Delhi, 2003, p.302

¹² Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, p.305

¹³ Masood Ali Khan and Sri Ram (ed.), *Sufism and Shurawardi Order*, p.303

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p.303

¹⁵ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, p.305

¹⁶ Masood Ali Khan and Sri Ram (ed.), *Sufism and Shurawardi Order*, p.303

¹⁷ *Ibid*, pp.303-304

¹⁸ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, p.305

his body was buried in Karnal, but later his body was taken to Panipat by his disciples of Panipat, where his mortal remains lie enshrined today.¹⁹

Sheikh Shamsuddin Turk was another famous saint of Panipat. He was a *Khallifa* of Sheikh Alauddin Ali Ahmad Sabir of Kaliar Sharif and settle in Panipat²⁰ in the early fourteenth century. He died in 1318 A.D.²¹

Famous Shrines

The shrine of Sheikh Bu Ali Shah Qalander is very attractive and famous shrine of Panipat city, which is presently located in the middle of the city and just 2-3 kilometers far from Sher Shah Suri Marg (highway) or G.T. road. This is a commercial-cum-residential area of this city and so many shops are constructed around it. The shrine is a part of Bu Ali Shah Qalander's complex, which is a house of many historical buildings. The whole complex commands considerable historical and architectural significance. Mostly monuments of this complex are approximate seven hundred years old.

The entry gate of this beautiful complex is very huge. (picture-1) Sheikh Bu Ali Shah Qalander's shrine is situated on the northern side of the main entry gate of the complex. Sheikh Bu Ali Shah's shrine is a main part of this complex, which is a fine specimen of architectural style of medieval North India. (picture-2) About the name of the constructor of this shrine, it is believed that it was built by Prince Khizar Khan and Prince Shadi Khan, which were the sons of Sultan Alauddin Khilji (1296 A.D. to 1316 A.D.). The beautiful touch-stone pillars (picture-3) presently existing in the shrine were erected by Muqarrab Khan, a physician (Hakim) in the service of Emperor Akbar.²² A beautiful wall with its three small gates is standing on the southern side of Bu Ali Shah's tomb, which are entry gates of this shrine. (picture-2) The shrine of Bu Ali Shah is located in the northern side with a beautiful corridor. (picture-2) The main entrance gate of Bu Ali Shah Qalander's chamber is beautiful. Although it is a wooden gate but the work of gold and silver make it more attractive and beautiful. (picture-4)

¹⁹ Masood Ali Khan and Sri Ram (ed.), *Sufism and Shurawardi Order*, p.304

²⁰ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, p.270

²¹ Masood Ali Khan and Shri Ram (ed.), *An Introduction to Sufism; Origin, Philosophy and Development*, Anmol Publications, New Delhi, 2003, p.301

²² Surinder Singh and Ishwar Dayal Gaur (ed.), *Sufism in Punjab: Mystics, Literature and Shrines*, p.346



(Picture-1)

Source: By the Research Scholar



(Picture-2)

Source: By the Research Scholar

The main cenotaph of Bu Ali Shah Qalander is situated in the middle of the main building, which is decorative with wood, silver and other beautiful things (but it

is a not primary work). (picture-5 A-B) The most attractive part of this tomb is its dome, which is mostly made of red sandstone and decorated with beautiful floral designs and paintings from inside. (picture-6) The white marble used in its inner walls. The Khurasani arch is used between the main enclosure and verandah.²³ (picture-7) The corridor or verandah of this tomb is situated in the southern side of the main cenotaph, standing with its eight pillars of Kasauti stone (picture-3 and 8), which was added during the period of Akbar region.



(Picture-3)

Source: By the Research Scholar

²³ Surinder Singh and Ishwar Dayal Gaur (ed.), *Sufism in Punjab: Mystics, Literature and Shrines*, pp.344-45



(Picture-5 B)

Source: By the Research Scholar



(Picture-4)

Source: By the Research Scholar



(Picture-5 A)

Source: By the Research Scholar

The walls of corridor decorated with beautiful tiles works, paintings, colours, and couplets of *The Quran*. (picture-3 and 8) Apart from this decoration with

geometrical patterns in gold, yellow and red of the ceiling on the tomb was also completed during Aurangzeb's time.²⁴



(Picture-6)

Source: By the Research Scholar



(Picture-7)

Source: By the Research Scholar

Along with the time a noticeable changes has taken place in the structure of this shrine. Mostly plaster has been replaced of the shrine. For adding more beauty to

²⁴ Surinder Singh and Ishwar Dayal Gaur (ed.), *Sufism in Punjab: Mystics, Literature and Shrines*, p.346

the verandah, tiles and stone tiles have been fixed on the walls of the corridor and room just below the main dome. (picture-8) The calligraphy decorating the walls of the verandah has lost its old grace. Maximum part of the shrine and its verandah has been repainted many times. Presently many workers are doing work in the verandah and decorating its roof and walls with tiles and paint. (picture-8) According to *Haryana State Gazetteer*, "Its originality is obtained in the grave chamber but the rest has been subjected to the successive alterations and additions."²⁵



(Picture-8)

Source: By the Research Scholar

Mubarik Khan's tomb, Muqqarab Khan's tomb, Altaf Hussain Hali's tomb and Farukhidin Masjid are other famous structures of this complex. The tomb of Mubarik Khan (picture-9) is just located in the northern side of Bu Ali Shah Qalandar's tomb. People enter in this tomb from two sides, one side through Bu Ali Shah Qalandar's tomb and another side from its western gate. About constructor of this tomb writers give information that Sultan Alauddin Khilji was built this tomb for Sheikh Bu Ali Shah Qalandar under his son Mubarik Shah's request. But unfortunately, Mubarik Shah himself died before Bu Ali Shah Qalander. So it was dedicated to him.

²⁵ *Gazetteer of India, Haryana State Gazetteer*, vol-I, Gazetteers Organization, Chandigarh, 2004, p.832

The tomb of Muqqarab Khan (picture-10) is located to the south-west side of Bu Ali Shah's tomb and built in 1643 A.D.²⁶ This tomb is a house of six graves (picture-11), which belonged Muqarrab Khan's family. Screened verandah and flat ceiling is its main qualities. The whole chamber is covered with bangaldar (biangular) roof.



(Picture-9)

Source: By the Research Scholar



(Picture-10)

Source: By the Research Scholar

Altaf Husain Hali's²⁷ tomb is located (picture-12) within the courtyard of Bu Ali Shah Qalander. Hali was a famous poet of that time and his original name was Altaf Hussain.²⁸ The Masjid of Farukhidin is located to the left side of the main entry gate of the complex and south-west of Muqqarab Khan's tomb. (picture-13) It is nothing more than a verandah converted into a Masjid.²⁹ Besides these a historical well,³⁰ (picture-14) many rooms, which are situated on the southern and south-west side of Sheikh Bu Ali Shah Qalander's tomb and many other unknown graves (picture-15 A-B) are also part of this historical complex. According to *Census of India, 1991; District Panipat village and town Directory*, "During the uprising in

²⁶ Subhash Parihar, *Muslim Inscriptions in the Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh*, Inter-India Publications, New Delhi, 1985, p.55

²⁷ Altaf Husain Hali (1837-1914) was a famous Urdu poet.

²⁸ Shikha Jain and Bhawna Dandona (ed.), *Haryana Cultural Heritage Guide*, Intach Aryan, New Delhi, 2012, p.325

²⁹ Charles Rodgers, *Report of the Punjab Circle of the Archeological Survey for 1888-89*, Calcutta, 1891, p.44

³⁰ It is believe that this well related with Sheikh Bu Ali Shah Qalander and he was used this during his life time. But during this time it has covered with plaster and iron grills for safety reasons.

1857 A.D., the people of Panipat gathered in the shrine of Sheikh Bu Ali Shah Qalander. Trouble was apprehended but before it could assume a serious form, it was suppressed. The endowment attached to the shrine was confiscated by the British government as a punishment.”³¹



(Picture-11)

Source: By the Research Scholar



(Picture-12)

Source: By the Research Scholar



(Picture-13)

Source: By the Research Scholar



(Picture-14)

Source: By the Research Scholar

³¹ *Census of India, 1991; District Panipat Village and Town Directory, Series-3, Haryana, The Government of Haryana, 1994, p.23*



(Picture-15 A)

Source: By the Research Scholar



(Picture-15 B)

Source: By the Research Scholar

HANSI

Hansi is another ancient town of Northern India, which is now situated on the Rohtak-Hissar highway in the district of Hissar (Haryana). Its distance from Hissar is just 23 kilometers. According to *Imperial Gazetteers of India: Provincial Series, Punjab*, “The Tomar King of Delhi named Anang Pal was the founder of this city. In 1036 A.D. Masud, son of Mahmud Ghazni took it from Hindu King, after one failure. But it had again become a part of the Delhi Hindu King in 1043 A.D. During the last half of the twelfth century Prithviraj Chouhan (1166-1192), who was a very famous Rajput King of northern India, made Hansi’s fort an important military stronghold for his kingdom. But after the defeat of Prithviraj Chouhan, it had fallen into the hands of Muhammad Ghori in 1192 A.D., and was, until the foundation of Hissar, the administrative headquarters of the neighbourhood.”³² George Thomes (d.1802 A.D.) an Irish adventurer occupied Hansi in the last half of the eighteenth centuries and made it his head quarter. After him it was became a part of British Kingdom. According to David Rose, “After the battle of Delhi in 1803 A.D., it was made a British cantonment garrisoned with local troops. In 1857 A.D. they mutinied, murdering all the Europeans they could seize, and joined the wild Mewat tribes in plundering the country.”³³

Hansi was second most famous Sufi centre of the Chishti order of this period.

³² *Imperial Gazetteers of India: Provincial Series, Punjab*, vol-I, Superintendent of Government Printing Calcutta, 1908, pp. 243-44

³³ David Ross, *The Land of Five Rivers and Sind*, p.244

Sheikh Jamaluddin Hansvi was the first famous saint of this area. He was a senior disciple of Sheikh Farid.³⁴ Sheikh Farid loved too much him and always used to say: ‘Jamal is our *Jamal* (beauty).’ It is also believed that Baba Sheikh Farid’s love for Sheikh Jamaluddin Hansvi was a main reason behind his twelve years stay in Hansi.³⁵ Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya also liked Sheikh Jamaluddin Hansvi and once he offered his all disciples to Sheikh Farid for exchange them with him. But Sheikh Farid did not accept his offered and replied, “Any such transition was possible regarding *mal* (property), but not in case of *Jamal* (beauty).”³⁶

Before becoming a Sufi saint, Sheikh Jamaluddin had been the Khatib of Hansi and he was owner of huge property.³⁷ But under his spiritual teacher’s instructions, he got renunciation all his property and government position. He maintained distance from the State and its affairs and spend his whole life in great poverty. His early days were difficult and once he sent a message to Sheikh Farid through his pupil, “What desperate circumstances he was in.” On hearing Sheikh Jamaluddin’s message from his pupil, Sheikh Farid replied, “He should be told that when a *waliyat* is assigned to anyone it is his duty to bear this burden.” Another time, when Sheikh Jamaluddin was ill and unable to undertake the journey from Hansi to Adjodhan, during that time his maid servant came to Sheikh Farid’s khanqah on his behalf and informed him of her master’s plight. The Sheikh merely expressed pleasure at this news: “*Allah be praised Jamal is happy.*”³⁸ Sheikh Jamaluddin was also a good scholar. His famous two works, a Persian *Diwan*³⁹ and an Arabic treatise, *Mulhamat*⁴⁰ are very famous.⁴¹ Sheikh Jamaluddin died in 1261 A.D. at Hansi.⁴²

Maulana Burhanudin was next famous Sufi saint stood in the line of Chishti saints of Hansi. After the demise of Sheikh Jamaluddin, his tender aged son Burhanuddin was enrolled by Sheikh Farid as a disciple. After a short period of his educational life, Sheikh Farid granted the certificate of succession to Sheikh

³⁴ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, D.K. Printworld, New Delhi, 1996, pp.90, 130

³⁵ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *The Life and Times of Sheikh Farid-u’-d-din Ganj-i-Shakar*, Muslim University Aligarh, Aligarh, 1955, p.69

³⁶ *Ibid*, p.69

³⁷ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, p.153

³⁸ Muneera Haeri, *The Chishti: A Living Light*, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 2001, p.81

³⁹ This *Diwan* is in two volumes, One volume contains *Ghazals*, the other contains *Rubais* and *Qit’ahs*.

⁴⁰ It is full of Sufistic aphorism, "Sublime in ideas and sweet in expression."

⁴¹ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *The Life and Times of Sheikh Farid-u’-d-din Ganj-i-Shakar*, p.70

⁴² Masood Ali Khan and Shri Ram (ed.), *An Introduction to Sufism; Origin, Philosophy and Development*, p.300

Burhanuddin and advised him that he complete his next training under Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya at Delhi.⁴³ But Sheikh Jamaluddin Hansvi's maid servant did not agree with this act, because she thought that the age of Sheikh Burhanuddin was not much, so she questioned this action. During that time Sheikh replied, "The crescent of Islam was also small."⁴⁴ Actually he knew the boy's potential. After some time he went to Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya's khanqah for completion of his remaining spiritual study.⁴⁵ Sheikh Burhanuddin lived for some time with Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya but he did not enroll any disciples, "It is not meet for me", he used to say, "to enroll anyone as my disciple when Hazrat Nizamuddin Muhammad is there".⁴⁶

Next famous Sufi saint of this area was Sheikh Qutbuddin Munnawwar, who was son of Sheikh Burhanuddin and grandson of Sheikh Jamaluddin Hansvi. He played a leading role in the later expansion of the Chishti movement.⁴⁷ He was a very simple man and very famous among the masses.⁴⁸ His early life was spent in the highly mystical atmosphere of the *Jamaat-Khana* in Hansi. He became a disciple of Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya and after completion of his study Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya appointed him his *Khalifa* and allowed to settle his forefather's town.⁴⁹ During that time when he was going to Hansi, Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya gave him a copy of the *Awarif-ul-Mawarif* which his grandfather Sheikh Jamaluddin Hansvi had given to the Sheikh to be passed on to his grandson. Although during his early days in Hansi, he faced some political kind of problems. Finally he succeeded his spiritual aims.⁵⁰ He died in 1359 A.D. at Hansi.⁵¹

After the death of Sheikh Qutbuddin Munawwar, his son Sheikh Nuruddin sat on the spiritual seat of Hansi.⁵² He was also a known as Nuruddin *Nur-i-Jahan*. He was a good scholar and author of several Arabic and Persian books. In his character he was a blend of religious and social elements. According to him, "Knowledge

⁴³ Surinder Singh and Ishwar Dayal Gaur (ed.) *Sufism in Punjab: Mystics, Literature and Shrines*, Aakar Books, Delhi, 2009, p.338

⁴⁴ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, p.338

⁴⁵ Muneera Haeri, *The Chishti: A Living Light*, p.81

⁴⁶ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *The Life and Times of Sheikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar*, p.70

⁴⁷ Muneera Haeri, *The Chishti: A Living Light*, p.81

⁴⁸ Surinder Singh and Ishwar Dayal Gaur (ed.) *Sufism in Punjab: Mystics, Literature and Shrines*, p.349

⁴⁹ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, p.178

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p.178

⁵¹ Masood Ali Khan, *An Introduction to Sufism: Origin, Philosophy and Development*, p.302

⁵² Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, p.179

without social awareness is futile.”⁵³ He lived a simple life. Shams-i-Siraj Afif writes that Sheikh Nuruddin commanded tremendous respect for his spiritual qualities and he lived very simple life and always rejected the offers of Kings. Apart from this many contemporary writers believed that when Timur Shah plundered (1398-99 A.D.) the capital city of Delhi, the people of Hansi and Hissar-Firuz remained safe on account of the blessings of Sheikh Nuruddin.⁵⁴

Famous Shrine of Hansi

The Chahar Qutb is a very famous shrine of Hansi, which is located on the western side of the town and just 2-3 kilometres far from Hansi bus stand. The shrine is almost above six hundred years old. This famous shrine is the part of Chahar Qutb complex, which is house of many historical buildings including the tombs of the Qutabs or shrine of Chahar Qutb, Ali Mir Tijara or Alam's tomb, a large Masjid, Chilla of Sheikh Farid and a khanqah. The main entrance gate of this complex has destroyed (but presently Indian government is trying to build a new entry gate for this complex). A square domed chamber (picture-16) is entry gate of the shrine. The shrine is located in the eastern side of the main entrance. (picture-17) A simple wooden gate is entry gate of the main chamber.



(Picture-16)

Source: By the Research Scholar

⁵³ *Haryana Samvad*, November (issue), 1972, p.19

⁵⁴ Shams-i-Siraj Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, eng. trans. by R.C. Jauhri, Sandeep Prakashan, New Delhi, 2001, pp.95-96



(Picture-17)

Source: By the Research Scholar

This chamber is houses of four Qutabs and their family member's graves.

These Qutbas are:

- (1) Sheikh Jamaluddin Hansvi (picture-18)
- (2) Sheikh Burhanuddin Sufi (picture-19)
- (3) Sheikh Qutabuddin Munawwar (picture-20)
- (4) Sheikh Nuruddin (picture-21)



Sheikh Jamaluddin Hansvi (Picture-18)

Source: By the Research Scholar



Sheikh Burhanuddin Sufi (Picture-19)

Source: By the Research Scholar



Sheikh Qutabuddin Munawwar (Picture-20)

Source: By the Research Scholar



Sheikh Nuruddin (Picture-21)

Source: By the Research Scholar

The main enclosure measure of the shrine is 47' x 22'3" and mostly part of this chamber is made of bricks and plaster. The main inner part of this chamber is very simple, which is standing on many wide-pillars. (picture-22) During this time maximum parts of these pillars have been covered by modern tiles-work. (picture-23) The beautiful part of this shrine is its dome. (picture-24) But the inner part of this dome is very simple (picture-25) and it's looking totally different from Sheikh Bu Ali Shah Qalander's dome. The ground plan of the Chahar Qutb becomes a unique construction, owing to the rectangular middle parts in simple domed and gable vault roofs. Many beautiful ventilators, decorated with flowers and leafs are significant part of this chamber. (picture-26) A small Masjid called *Alai Masjid* (picture-27) also part of this chamber which is located in the west side from the grave of Sheikh Jamaluddin Ahmad Hansvi. Two small rooms also part of this chamber, which are home of many graves. These people belonged to Jamali family. Pull-out paint from the roofs of these rooms; describe the old beautiful paintings on these roofs.

About the name of its constructor and date of construction, one inscription which is affixed on a wall of the shrine gives good information. The inscription reads, "In praise and gratitude to God, Raza Ali, 903 A.H. (1497 A.D.), erected outside the city this shrine of Hazrat Qutb Jamaluddin, son of Sultan Hamiduddin, who came with Shihabuddin from Ghazni and conquered this part of the country. The city of

Hansi having fallen to his share, Hazrat Qutb Jamaluddin became a recluse, and was the disciple of Hazrat Sheikh Farid Ganj of Pakpattan. He died in 670 A.H. (1271A.D.) His shrine is pure, handsome, and in contiguity with a Masjid."⁵⁵ About the beauty of this shrine Hitender Kumar writes, "The corridor arrangement of the shrine with pillared inner main compartment was a persuasive example of a direct use of the Hindu type pavilion for an Islamic shrine. The structure reflects the characteristics of early Indo-Muslim. It is one of the most authentic architectural specimens of the transitional period, which falls before the arches and domes gained currency."⁵⁶



(Picture-22)

Source: By the Research Scholar

⁵⁵ Subhash Parihar, *Muslim Inscriptions in the Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh*, p.25

⁵⁶ Surinder Singh and Ishwar Dayal Gaur (ed.) *Sufism in Punjab: Mystics, Literature and Shrines*, pp.340-341



(Picture-23)

Source: By the Research Scholar



(Picture-24)

Source: By the Research Scholar



(Picture-25)

Source: By the Research Scholar



(Picture-27)

Source: By the Research Scholar

A beautiful large Masjid is located in the north-western side of this complex. (picture-28) According to Hitender Kumar, “The Masjid was built by Sheikh Abdul Fateh, who was a disciple of Sheikh Jamaluddin.” Its beautiful dooms and historical

inscriptions make this more important. (picture-29 A-B-C)



(Picture-26)

Source: By the Research Scholar



(Picture-28)

Source: By the Research Scholar



(Picture-29 A)

Source: By the Research Scholar

A small Madrasa (religious school) (picture-30) and a residence room (which is attach with a big hall) (picture-31) also parts of this Masjid's courtyard and located just in the east and south-eastern side of the Masjid.



(Picture-29 B)

Source: By the Research Scholar



(Picture-29 C)

Source: By the Research Scholar



(Picture-30)

Source: By the Research Scholar



(Picture-31)

Source: By the Research Scholar

A beautiful tomb of Ali Mir Tizara or Alam is another historical building of this complex (picture-32) and located outside the southern court. Hitender Kumar writes that he was a merchant by profession and disciple of Sheikh Jamaluddin

Hansvi.⁵⁷ Chand Meya Jamali,⁵⁸ (He is younger brother of Waqar-ur-Rehman Jamali, which is presently *Sajjdah-Nashin* of Chahar Qutab) called him *Lakkhi* and he was a Banjara.⁵⁹ According to him, “He was disciple (Murid) of Sheikh Jamaluddin Hansvi and this building was built by him for his *pir* or Murshid Sheikh Jamaluddin. Incidentally, he died earlier and was Himself buried there.”⁶⁰ The structure of this building is square, symmetrically arranged with an arched opening on each side. The walls of this beautiful mausoleum are very thick. The façade has an intricate and impressive design, which has been wrought in stained glass. Its glazed tile work is marked by freshness and harmony of its colouring. (picture-33) Its vault was one of the very first to undergo the process of embellishment, when the art of burning the tiles was in its early stages.⁶¹ According to H.B.W. Garrick's report of the tour in the Punjab and Rajputana in 1883-84 A.D., “This structure is the most beautiful of all the tombs in the complex”.⁶²



(Picture-33)

Source: By the Research Scholar

⁵⁷ Surinder Singh and Ishwar Dayal Gaur (ed.) *Sufism in Punjab: Mystics, Literature and Shrines*, p.342

⁵⁸ During this time he is doing service at Chahar Qutab as a Sewadar and Care-taker of this shrine

⁵⁹ In personal interview with Chand Meya Jamali at Chahar Qutb Shrine (Hansi)

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Surinder Singh and Ishwar Dayal Gaur (ed.) *Sufism in Punjab: Mystics, Literature and Shrines*, p.342

⁶² H.B.W. Garrick, *Report of A Tour in the Punjab and Rajputana in 1883-84*, Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, vol-XXIII, New Delhi, 2000 (reprint), pp.14-16



(Picture-32)

Source: By the Research Scholar

Two other structures, which are located in west-southern side of these tombs, are known as *Char Diwan* and *Ek Diwan*. (picture-34) But during this time these three tombs are in very poor condition. Because no state government and nor Sheikh Jamaluddin Hansvi's the current family members are working on the maintenance of these tombs. Some years ago, the current family members of Sheikh Jamaluddin, built a new wall between Chahar Qutab and Alam Khan's tomb. (picture-35) The Chilla of Sheikh Farid is just located in the south-western side of the main shrine. (picture-36) This is a small building. But apart from this the Chilla of Sheikh Farid is a very famous in whole town. A khangah (hospice) is also part of this shrine's courtyard and

located in the southern side of the main chamber. (picture-37) Apart from these many unknown tombs are part of this complex also.



(Picture-34)

Source: By the Research Scholar



(Picture-35)

Source: By the Research Scholar



(Picture-36)

Source: By the Research Scholar



(Picture-37)

Source: By the Research Scholar

About the maintenance of Chahar Qutab, Hitender Kumar in his article '*Some Prominent Sufi Shrines of South Eastern Punjab*', which is published in Surinder Singh and Ishwar Dayal Gaur's edited book named *Sufism in Punjab: Mystics, Literature and Shrines* appears that Chahar Qutb has been repaired and modified during the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq.⁶³ For witness, he gives Shams Siraj-i-Afif's book '*Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*'s in these words:

"To earn the merit and blessings of God, the Sultan (Feroz Shah Tughluq), during his reign, undertook the task of restoration and renovation of the tombs of the previous Sultans, Saints and Sheikhs. The tombs of all the previous Sultans were repaired and renovated. It is evident that such an act on the part of the Sultan was to earn the grace of God and was the result of the Sultan's good and honest disposition, otherwise the Kings, on account of their majesty and awe, seldom remember the dead Kings, what to talk of the repair of their tombs. As a result, the graves of the past Kings remain dilapidated. This sorry state of affairs harmed those attached to the tombs. In the *Farmans* of kingship, it is customary that every Ruler, on his accession, grants villages and territories for the maintenance of religious persons attached to the

⁶³ Surinder Singh and Ishwar Dayal Gaur (ed.) *Sufism in Punjab: Mystics, Literature and Shrines*, p.341

tombs and hospices. The revenue of such lands is entrusted to these persons for the maintenance of tombs, so that after their demise, the expenses of the tombs and madrasas attached therewith may be met from such grants."⁶⁴

According to Chahar Qutab's inscriptions, Sheikh Jamaluddin Hansvi's tomb constructed by Raza Ali in 903 A.H./1497 A.D., and the large Masjid was built by Sheikh Abdul Fateh in Muharram 877 A.H. / 1472 A.D. Another side Firuz Shah Tughluq's reign period was 1351A.D. to 1388 A.D. So, how it can be possible that Firuz Shah Tughluq repaired and modified this complex. No doubt, during his reign period, Alam Khan's tomb had been constructed. Alam Khan was no saint nor Sultan and Sheikh. Scholar

UCH

Uch (now in Pakistan), was very famous centre of Suhrawardi silsila during medieval period. The town of Uch, situated 100 kilometres to the south-west of Multan and 60 kilometres⁶⁵ to the south east of Bahawalpur town, on the south bank of the Sutlej, opposite its confluence with the Chenab.⁶⁶ Archeologically and historically Uch is a place of great interest. Sir Alexander Cunningham identified it with the city which Alexander the Great built near the meeting of the Punjab Rivers. He believed that it is also the town mentioned by Rashiduddin as the capital of one of the four principalities of Sind under Ayand, the son of Kafand. This identification is, however, far from certain. Uch was in the twelfth century known as *Deogarh*, 'The Gods stronghold'; and its Ruler Deo Singh fled to Marwar, when the great Muslim missionary and saint Saiyad Jalaluddin Bukhari came to the place, converted Sundarpuri, Deo Singh's daughter, to Islam, and bade her build a fort called *Uchha* or *Uchh* ('high'). Since then it has been known to Muslims as '*Uch-i-Sharif*' or '*Uch the Sacred*'. In spite of its undoubted antiquity, Uch is not mentioned by the earlier Muslim historians under same name. Raverty, however, identified it with the town of *Bhatiah* near Multan, mentioned by the historians of the Ghaznavid period as taken by Mahmud of Ghazni in 1006 A.D. Subsequently recaptured by Muhammad of Ghor, it

⁶⁴ Shams Siraj Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, eng. trans. by H.M. Elliot and John Dowson under the title, *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, vol-III, Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, pp.354-355

⁶⁵ Surinder Singh and Ishwar Dayal Gaur (ed.), *Sufism in Punjab: Mystics, Literature and Shrines*, p.309

⁶⁶ *Imperial Gazetteers of India: Provincial Series, Punjab*, vol-II, Superintendent of Government Printing Calcutta, 1908, p.354

became the prominent city of Upper Sind under Nasiruddin Qubacha, and was burnt by Jalaluddin Khwarizmi in 1223 A.D. It was afterwards taken by Iltutmish.⁶⁷

Uch was the second most famous Sufi centre of Suhrawardi order in Punjab during Sultanate period. Syed Jalaluddin Surkh Posh Bukhari (b.1192 d.1291 A.D.) was the first famous Sufi saint of this town.⁶⁸ According to Mahesh Vikram, “Syed Jalaluddin Surkh Posh Bukhari also called Surkh-Posh (Red-clad) on account of the red mantle.”⁶⁹ He was born in Bukhara in 1192 A.D. He was the son of Syed Ali Al-Moeed and grandson of Syed Jaffar Hussain. He got his early education from his father in Bukhara. He spent his whole life in travelling and several tribes, such as Soomro, Samma, Chadar, Sial, Dahir etc. embraced Islam owing to his efforts.

Syed Jalaluddin Surkh Posh Bukhari married with Syed Fatima, daughter of Syed Qasim in Bukhara and his two sons, named Syed Ali and Syed Jafar were born from her womb. After the death of Fatima, he along with his sons came to Punjab 635 Hijri (1237-38 A.D.). But after some time his sons went back to Bukhara. Johra, daughter of Sayyid Badaruddin Bukhari, became his second wife and from her he became father of Sayyid Muhammad Ghaus. After her death, he married the second daughter of Sayyid Badaruddin Bukhari. Sayyid Ahmed Kabir was born from her womb, who was the father of Makhdum-i-Jahanian-e-Jahangasht.⁷⁰ In Multan Syed Jalaluddin Surkh Posh Bukhari met with Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya. According to Khaliq Ahmed Nizami, “The Sheikh initiated him into his discipline and instructed him to settle in Uch and propagate the Suhrawardi mystic principles.”⁷¹ He lived in this town until his death.⁷² He died in 1291 A.D.⁷³ About the legacy of Sheikh, T.W. Arnold writes, “Syed Jalaluddin Surkh is the ancestor of a generation of saints, some of whom were achieve and successful propagandists of Islam.”⁷⁴

⁶⁷ *Imperial Gazetteers of India: Provincial Series, Punjab*, vol-II, Superintendent of Government Printing Calcutta, 1908, pp.354-55

⁶⁸ Surinder Singh and Ishwar Dayal Gaur (ed.), *Sufism in Punjab: Mystics, Literature and Shrines*, p.98

⁶⁹ Mahesh Vikram Singh and Brij Bhushan Srivastava, *Encyclopaedic History of India Series, Bhakti and Sufi Movement*, Centrum Press, 2011, Delhi, pp.267-268

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, pp.268-269

⁷¹ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, Idarah-i-Alabiyat-i-Delli, Delhi, 2002, p.224

⁷² Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, p.203

⁷³ Masood Ali Khan and Shri Ram (ed.), *An Introduction to Sufism: Origin, Philosophy and Development*, p.308

⁷⁴ John A. Subhan, *Sufism its Saints and Shrines in India*, Lucknow Publishing House, Lucknow, 1938, p.236

Next and most famous Sufi saint of Uch was Syed Jalaluddin Bukhari popularly known as *Makhdum-i-Jahaniyan Jahan Gasht*. He was the son of Syed Ahmad Kabir and the grandson of Syed Jaluddin Surkh (Red) Posh Bukhari.⁷⁵ He was born in Uch in 19 January 1308 A.D. After receiving his early religious education, he became Syed Ahmad Kabir's disciple and after him, he obtained initiation into the Suhrawardi order from Sheikh Ruknuddin.⁷⁶ According to Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, "It would see that Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq appointed him the *Shaikh ul-Islam* and made him the head of a khangah in Siwistan (Sehwan) known as the '*Khangah-i-Muhammadi*' to which several villages were attached. However, Sheikh Syed Jalaluddin Bukhari did not remain there long. Soon he embarked on a pilgrimage, travelling to many parts of the Islamic world, visiting eminent saints and being initiated into their orders. During his travels the Sheikh was met by more than three hundred important Sufis."⁷⁷ About the sub-title accompanying his name, Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi also writes, "It seems likely that for most of the reign of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq, the Sheikh lived abroad and his khanqah was administered by his brother. So well-travelled did he become that Syed Jalaluddin was called the Jahangasht (world traveller)."⁷⁸

Syed Jalaluddin Bukhari was founder of the Makhdum section, which was a sub-section of Suhrawardi order.⁷⁹ About the achievements of Syed Jalaluddin Bukhari, Khaliq Ahmad Nizami writes, "Under his guidance the Uch branch of the Suhrawardi order became a factor of great importance in the religious and political life of Sindh."⁸⁰ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi also writes, "After the death of Sheikh Ruknuddin the order declined in Multan, only to be rejuvenated in Uch. The Sufi, who infused it with new life there, was Syed Jalaluddin Bukhari who was popularly known as the *Makhdum-i-Jahaniyan* (Lord of the Mortals)."⁸¹ He died in 1383 A.D. and was buried in Uch.

⁷⁵ Surinder Singh and Ishwar Dayal Gaur (ed.), *Sufism in Punjab: Mystics, Literature and Shrines*, p.98

⁷⁶ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, p.277

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, pp.277-78

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, pp.277-78

⁷⁹ John A. Subhan, *Sufism its Saints and Shrines in India*, p.237

⁸⁰ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, p.225

⁸¹ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, p.277

Famous Shrines of Uch

Sheikh Syed Jalaluddin Surkh Posh Bukhari and Syed Jalaluddin Bukhari Makhdum-i-Jahanian Jahangasht's shrines are famous shrines of this city. During this time these shrines have become centres of pilgrimage for the common people of Uch. According to Ahmad Nabi Khan, "Stylistically, the religious buildings of Uch can be classified of two distinct groups, while the first group is represented by the tombs constructed on square or rectangular plan with low flat-roof supported with wood framing and up-right columns, the second group is of the domed mausoleum, erected on octagonal plans. The tombs of Sheikh Jalaluddin Surkh-Posh Bukhari and Syed Jalaluddin Bukhari Makhdum-i-Jahanian Jahangasht are prominent specimens of the first group."⁸²

The history of Sheikh Syed Jalaluddin Surkh-Posh Bukhari's tomb is totally different from other Sufi saint's shrines. Because the rest place of the Sheikh or place of shrine has changed many times from different reasons. According to *Encyclopaedic History of India Series, Bhakti and Sufi Movement*, "First time, after his death, he was buried at Sonak Bela, which was three miles far from Uch, but the river Ghaggar reaching quite close to his grave, so his descendants removed his remains to Uch and buried them at the place where the shrine of Hazrat Sadaruddin Rajan Qattal is now situated. In 1027 A.H. (1618 A.D.), *Sajjadah-Nashin* Makhdoom Hamid son of Muhammad Nassiruddin removed the remains, buried them in the present location in Uch and erected a building over them. Syed Jalaluddin Surkh-Posh Bukhari's shrine is situated in the Surkh-Posh Bukhari's complex. This complex is situated approximate twenty feet high on the plane land. The external walls of this shrine are very thick, high and strong. Its five strong turrets or pillars are situated in the south-western side of the main grave, are important parts of shrine. (picture-38) The stairs are present for departing to upwards the high complex, (picture-39) which is situated on the western side of the main grave.

The main entrance to the courts is through a square domed chamber. The shrine is located in the western side of the main entrance. (picture-40 and 41) The main entry gate of the shrine is also through a square chamber, (picture-41) which is situated in the east-southern side of the main grave. A decorated (with leafs and

⁸² Ahmed Nabi Khan, *Uchhh History and Architecture*, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad, 1980, p.54

flowers) wooden gate is the main entry gate of this shrine. (picture-44) The shrine is house of near about one hundred ninety person's graves. (picture-43) The grave of the Sheikh Syed Jalaluddin Surkh-Posh Bukhari's situated on the some high of the plane and decorated with wooden works. (picture-43) The well designed, strong, beautiful and painted pillars of this shrine are main beauty and significant part of this chamber. Roof of this shrine is another beautiful part of this chamber, which is decorated with different wooden designs and colourful leaves and flowers. (picture-42)



(Picture-38)

Source: www.orientalarchitecture.com



(Picture-39)

Source: www.orientalarchitecture.com



(Picture-40)

Source: www.orientalarchitecture.com

Mostly internal walls of this shrine are simple, but many places these are decorated with beautiful and designer tiles-works. Some ground plan of the shrine is made from simple plaster and some of square stones. Like Mir Tijara's tomb the external or front wall of this shrine also decorated with beautiful blue colours. (picture-40 and 41)



(Picture-41)

Source: www.orientalarchitecture.com



(Picture-42)

Source: www.orientalarchitecture.com

To the southern side of the tomb is a tank or pool, (picture-40) which is built by Nawab Muhammad Bahawal Khan III in 1261 A.H. (1844 A.D.) A beautiful Masjid is also important part of this complex, (picture-45) which is situated in the south-western side of the main grave. It is an eight door Masjid, which is made from wooden and decorated with beautiful designs and different blue colours. Apart from these four small doors is also part of this shrine. This Masjid is decorated with beautiful and attractive blue tiles work. The Masjid is indeed a grand edifice having a spacious prayer chamber. Its beautiful eighteen carved pillars support its flat roof. (picture-46) Internal and external walls of this Masjid are decorated with different designs and blue colours. (picture-45 and 46)



(Picture-43)

Source: www.orientalarchitecture.com

A Persian inscription, (picture-47) which is fixed on the mehrab, gives information that it was repaired by Mulla Ahmed under the orders of Sheikh Hamid in 1617 A.D. It appears that the shrine of Syed Jalaluddin Surkh-Posh Bukhari has been repaired and modified from time to time. According to *Encyclopaedic History of India Series: Bhakti and Sufi Movement*, "In 1261 A.H. (1844 A.D.), Nawab Muhammad Bahawal Khan III made some additions to it and built a tank and well in

compound of the Shrine. In 1300 A.H. (1882 A.D.), Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan IV had it repaired and made some additions.”⁸³



(Picture-44)

Source: www.orientalarchitecture.com



(Picture-45)

Source: www.orientalarchitecture.com



(Picture-46)

Source: www.orientalarchitecture.com

⁸³ Mahesh Vikram Singh and Brij Bhushan Srivastava, *Encyclopaedic History of India Series: Bhakti and Sufi Movement*, pp.269-270



(Picture-47)

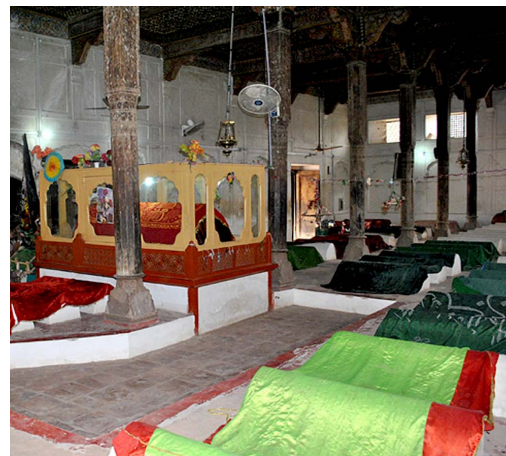
Source: www.orientalarchitecture.com

The tomb of Rajan Qattal (brother of Makhdum-Jahaniyan Jahangast), (picture-48 A and B) tomb of Abu Hanifa (picture-49) (who belonged to the Royal family) and tomb of Hazrat Safiuddin Gazruni and its madrassa also part of this complex.⁸⁴ These buildings are very beautiful, which are decorated with different designs, glazed tiles-works and beautiful blue colour. About the some architect features of Rajan Qattal, Ahmed Nabi Khan writes, “The tile mosaic revetment and wood screens of the finest execution are noticeable at the tomb Rajan Qattal.⁸⁵ Apart from this brick tiles-work, flat decorative border, glazed tiles works, wood works and its mehrab and interior are main features of his tomb.”⁸⁶



(Picture-48-A)

Source: www.orientalarchitecture.com



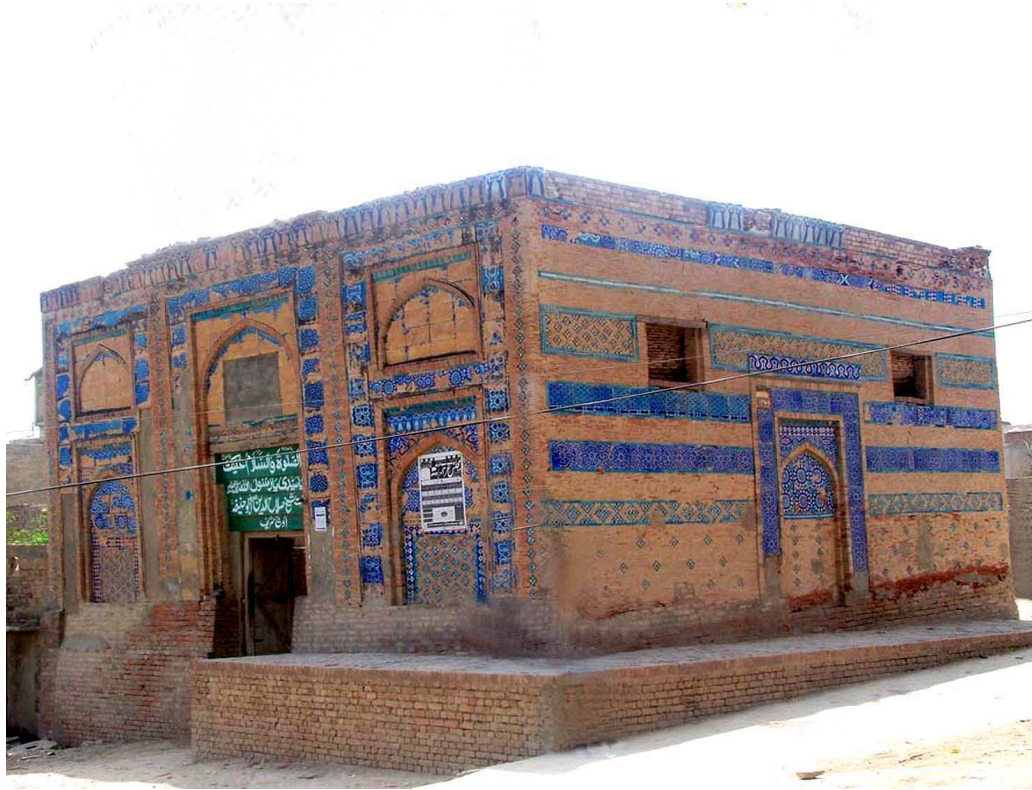
(Picture-48-B)

Source: www.orientalarchitecture.com

⁸⁴ Mahesh Vikram Singh and Brij Bhushan Srivastava, *Encyclopaedic History of India Series: Bhakti and Sufi Movement*, p.137

⁸⁵ Ahmed Nabi Khan, *Uchch History and Architecture*, p.55

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, pp.55-63



(Picture-49)

Source: www.flickrriver.com

Shrines of Sheikh Syed Jalaluddin Bukhari Makhdum-i-Jahaniyan-Jahangast

The shrine of Sheikh Syed Jalaluddin Bukhari Makhdum-i-Jahaniyan Jahangest is situated on a high platform surrounded by a wall with a gateway in Uch. The main entry of the shrine is through a beautiful square chamber, which is standing on beautiful designed pillars. (picture-50) A wooden gate is the main entry gate of this shrine. The shrine is house of many uncertain graves. (picture-51) Well-carved pillars are important part of this shrine. These pillars support to its flat roof. (picture-51) Its flat roof is very beautiful, which decorated with wooden, different colours and designs. (picture-52)

The main grave of this shrine is situated on some height from land, which is decorated with wooden and glass. (picture-53) The original date of its construction is uncertain. Mostly part of the structure was restored or rebuilt during the nineteenth and twentieth century. An inscription, which is fixed on the façade of the tomb of the Sheikh, gives information about its repair date. It records that the major repairs

executed to the monument in 1912 A.D. during the days of Hamid Muhammad Naubahar.⁸⁷



(Picture-50)

Source: www.orientalarchitecture.com



(Picture-51)

Source: www.orientalarchitecture.com

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p.75



(Picture-52)

Source: www.orientalarchitecture.com



(Picture-53)

Source: www.orientalarchitecture.com

The Masjid of Jahaniyan Jahangasht known as Hazrat Masjid is situated to the north of the tomb. (picture-54) According to Kamran Mufti, “Hazrat Masjid is popularly believed to be constructed by Muhammad bin Qasim.”⁸⁸



(Picture-54)

Source: www.orientalarchitecture.com

⁸⁸ Kamran Mufti, ‘Concept of Tomb Architecture at Uchch’, *Sultanate Period Architecture*, Seminar Proceeding, Anjuman Mimaran, Lahore, October, 1990, p.137

The north-western side of the prayer chamber, has a row of cells, the door-openings of which have wood shutters and, above them, wood screens. The centre of the western part has been provided with the prayer chamber in the shape of a recessed arch faced with a decorative wood frame while the spandrels are filled with brick tiles which have been arranged in chevrons. The spandrels possess glazed brick-tiles having full-blown lotuses with twelve well-marked petals. Flanking the mehrab are two rectangular recesses covered with wood shutters and a frame, carved in delicate design. The arrangement meted out to the more elaborately built mehrab of the tomb of Sheikh Alauddin at Pakpatan.⁸⁹

Many beautiful and historical tombs like tomb of Bibi Jawindi (picture-55) tomb of Baha-ul-Halim, (picture-56) and tomb of Ustad Nurya (picture-57) are also parts of this complex. It has been related that the first was built for Baha-ul-Halim (1292 A.D.), by his pupil, Jahaniyan Jahangasht, the second for the Bibi Jawindi (1494 A.D.), who was the pious grand-daughter of the saint Jahaniyan Jahangasht., and the last for the Ustad Nurya, who was the architect of latter's mausoleum.⁹⁰ Although during this time maximum parts of these tombs have damaged but apart from this, their decorated domes, carved timbers, cut and mounded brick, and blue tile and white faience mosaic tiles gives information about their old beauty and glory.



(Picture-55)

Source: www.orientalarchitecture.com

⁸⁹ Ahmed Nabi Khan, *Uchch History and Architecture*, pp.68-69
⁹⁰ *Ibid*, pp.59-60



(Picture-56)

Source: www.orientalarchitecture.com



(Picture-57)

Source: www.orientalarchitecture.com

PAKPATTAN or AJODHAN

Pakpattan (now in Pakistan), or Ajodhan (Ajodhan is another ancient name of Pakpattan) is very famous Sufi centre of the Punjab. This ancient town is situated on the high bank of the old Satluj, 28 miles to the south-west of Depalpur, and 10 miles

from the present course of the river.⁹¹ Miles Irving writes that the original name of this town was Judwa.⁹² According to Sir Alexander Cunningham, “This name appears to be derived from the *Yaudheya* tribe, the modern Johiyas, who are still important across the Sutlej in Bahawalpur and hold a good deal of land in the Pakpattan tehsil. But as the old name of Ajodhan is the only noted by Ibn-Batuta in 1334 A.D. and by Timur times’ historians in 1397 A.D., it seems probable that the present name of Pak-Pattan is of comparatively recent date.”⁹³ According to Miles Irving, “The town appears called simply Pattan in the *‘Ain-i-Akbari’* and is said to have received its present name by the orders of the Emperor Akbar.”⁹⁴

Ajodhan was the principal ferry on the Sutlej River, during the medieval period. The Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan, which were very famous western roads of that time, met on this place. At this point the famous conquerors Mahmud Ghazni and Timur Shah and the great traveller Ibn-Batuta crossed the Sutlej. The fort of this place is said to have been captured by Sabuktugin in 977-78 A.D. According to Sir Alexander Cunningham, “On the invasion of Timur Shah, the maximum population fled to Bhatner, and the few people that remained were spared by that the ruthless barbarian out of respect for the famous saint, Sheikh Farid, whose shrine is in Ajodhan. From this saint the place derives the modern name of *Pak-Pattan*, or the *Ferry of the Pure One*, ‘that is, of Farid, whose later days were spent at Ajodhan.’”⁹⁵

The most outstanding and famous saint of the Chishti silsila in Pakpattan was Sheikh Fariduddin Masud Ganj-i-Sahakar also known as Sheikh Farid.⁹⁶ He was one of the greatest Sufi saints of Punjab, who responsible for the spread of the Chishti order in this area.⁹⁷ His ancestors belonged to Kabul. But the turmoil of the twelfth century compelled his grandfather to leave his home country. After this he settled in

⁹¹ Sir Alexander Cunningham, ‘Ajodhan or Pakpattan’, *The Punjab Past and Present*, (Journal), vol-VII, Part-II, Punjabi University, Patiala, October, 1973, p.398

⁹² Miles Irving, ‘The Shrine of Baba Farid Shakarganj at Pakpattan’, *The Punjab Past and Present*, (Journal), vol-VII, Part-II, Punjabi University, Patiala, October, 1973, p.405

⁹³ Sir Alexander Cunningham, ‘Ajodhan or Pakpattan’, *The Punjab Past and Present*, (Journal), vol-VII, Part-II, p.401

⁹⁴ Miles Irving, ‘The Shrine of Baba Farid Shakarganj at Pakpattan’, *The Punjab Past and Present*, (Journal), vol-VII, Part-II, p.405

⁹⁵ Sir Alexander Cunningham, ‘Ajodhan or Pakpattan’, *The Punjab Past and Present*, (Journal), Vol-VII, Part-II, p.40; P.J. Fajan, ‘Pak-Pattan—Ancient Ajodhan’, *The Punjab Past and Present*, (Journal), vol-VII, Part-II, Punjabi University, Patiala, October, 1973, p.401

⁹⁶ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, p.191

⁹⁷ Syed Abdul Quddus, *Punjab: The Land of Beauty, Love and Mysticism*, Royal Book Company, Karachi, 1992, p.146

Punjab. In Punjab he was appointed as a *Qadi* of Kothwal.⁹⁸ Sheikh Farid was born at this place in 1173 A.D.⁹⁹ He was son of Sheikh Jamaluddin Sulaiman and Mariam. Mariam belonged to a good noble family. She was a tender-hearted and a God-fearing lady. She also made a great impact on the development of her son's personality.¹⁰⁰

Sheikh Farid received his early education from his mother at home. He received many qualities like piety from her. About his nickname Sudarshan Singh writes, "It was during his childhood that a miracle is said to have occurred which earned him the appellation referred to above, of *Ganj-i-Shakar*. His mother, in order to induce him to say his prayers (*namaz*) regularly and zealously gave him after every prayer some sugar as a reward, which was kept under a side of his prayer carpet or mat. Once it appears she forget to do this, but by Divine intervention some pieces of sugar got deposited in the place."¹⁰¹ Henceforth, as a legend has it, he was nicknamed 'Shakarganj', that is, 'Treasure of Sweets'.¹⁰²

Sheikh Farid was attracted towards mysticism during early days of his life. During his early life, he met Sheikh Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki in a *Madrasa* which was attached to a Masjid in Multan. During that time he revealed his desire to be the disciple of the Sheikh. But during that time the Sheikh did not accept it. Sheikh Farid's uncompleted study was the main reason of it. So after completing his study of the External sciences (*Ulum-i-Zihiri*), he became disciple of Sheikh Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki.¹⁰³ Sheikh Farid was the first Chishti Sufi saint of Punjab, who performed the *Chillah-i-Makus*.¹⁰⁴ After completing his study under Sheikh Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki, he lived in Hansi for some year.¹⁰⁵ In Hansi his reputation had grown. But Sheikh Farid was unhappy with it, because his popularity became a

⁹⁸ Gurbachan Singh Talib, 'Baba Sheikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar', *The Punjab Past and Present*, (Journal), vol-VII, Part-II, Punjabi University, Patiala, October, 1973, p.290

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, p.291

¹⁰⁰ Sudarshan Singh, 'Baba Farid- His Message', *The Punjab Past and Present*, (Journal), vol-VII, Part-II, Punjabi University, Patiala, October, 1973, p.384

¹⁰¹ Gurbachan Singh Talib, 'Baba Sheikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar', *The Punjab Past and Present*, (Journal), vol-VII, Part-II, p.291

¹⁰² Masood Ali Khan and Sri Ram (ed.), *Sufism and Chishti Order*, Anmol Publications, New Delhi, 2003, p.20

¹⁰³ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, p.104

¹⁰⁴ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawa'id al-Fu'ad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, pp.106-107; Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, Idarah-i-Alabiyat-i-Delli, Delhi, 2013, p.43

¹⁰⁵ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, p.191

wall between him and his devotion to God. So after some time he shifted to Ajodhan with his family and devotees, he spent the remaining days of his life at Ajodhan. This journey was so perilous for Sheikh Farid because during this journey he lost his mother.¹⁰⁶

In Ajodhan, Sheikh Farid established his khanqah, whose doors remained open until midnight for all the visitors.¹⁰⁷ Khaliq Ahmed Nizami writes, "It was in that neglected and out-of-the-way town that he came into the full gaze of history and spiritually starved people turned to him from every part of the country."¹⁰⁸

Amir Hasan, on the authority of Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya, gives some idea of his popularity in his book *Fawaid-al-Fwad*. According to *Fawaid-al-Fuad*, "In 1252 A.D. Sultan Nasiruddin marched towards Uch and Multan. On the way, his soldiers decided to pay their respects to Sheikh Farid. When the soldiers flocked to the city all the streets and bazaars of Ajodhan were blocked. It was impossible to shake hands and bless personally each one of these soldiers. A sleeve of Sheikh Farid's shirt was hung on a thoroughfare so that the people might touch and go. As the crowd moved, the sleeve was torn to pieces. The Sheikh himself was so painfully mobbed that he requested his disciples to encircle him in order to save his person from the eager public trying to elbow its way to him."¹⁰⁹

Sheikh Farid was a great scholar and poet, who wrote excellent poetry in Arabic, Persian and the local languages of Punjab. Sheikh Farid is also the first poet and Sufi saint of the Punjabi language, whose hymns are preserved in the *Shri Guru Granth Sahib*.¹¹⁰ According to Pritpal Singh, "As a poet and thinker, Sheikh Farid was far ahead of his time. He was an erudite scholar and a superb artist, who wrote poetry

¹⁰⁶ Muneera Haeri, *The Chishti: A Living Light*, p.77

¹⁰⁷ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p.181

¹⁰⁸ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, p.191

¹⁰⁹ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p.290

¹¹⁰ Max Arthur Macauliffe in his book *The Sikh Religion*, vol-VI, writes that Sheikh Braham (or Ibrahim), who was the tenth successor (or *Gaddi-Nashin* of Ajodhan khanqah) of Baba Sheikh Farid, is composer of these Shaloks. *The Sikh Religion*, vol-VI, S. Chand & Company, New Delhi, 1985, pp.356-357; Another side Bawa Budh Singh writes that both Baba Farid and Sheikh Ibrahim are the authors of these shaloks, Bawa Budh Singh quoted by R.L. Ahuja, 'Baba Farid (1173-1265)', *The Punjab Past and Present*, (Journal), vol-VII, Part-II, Punjabi University, Patiala, October, 1973, 370; But mostly historians like R.L. Ahuja, Bhai Jodh Singh etc. agree with that these shaloks only composed by Baba Sheikh Farid, R.L. Ahuja, 'Baba Farid (1173-1265)', *The Punjab Past and Present*, (Journal), vol-VII, Part-II, Punjabi University, Patiala, October, 1973, 370; Bhai Jodh Singh, 'Sheikh Farid or Sheikh Ibrahim', *The Punjab Past and Present*, (Journal), vol-VII, Part-II, pp.392-95

in several artist who wrote poetry in several Indian and foreign languages.¹¹¹ As a poet he achieved such a high degree of excellence that he shall always be counted among the very best of the language.”¹¹² Sheikh Farid lived long age on this earth near about ninety. He passed from this earth in 1265 A.D. at Ajodhan.¹¹³

Next famous Sufi saint of this area was Maulana Badruddin, who was the son-in-law and *Khalifah* of Sheikh Farid¹¹⁴ and also second famous Sufi saint of this area. He used to perform the duties of personal service to the Sheikh and was in-charge of the general supervision of his *Jamaat-Khanah*.¹¹⁵ According to Nizamuddin Auliya, “He was a trusted Khadim of the *Sheikh-ul-Islam* (Sheikh Farid) and as he was his confident, he used to tell him everything and ask him to do whatever he desired to be done. He testified that he had never found any contradictions in the public and private utterances of the *Sheikh-ul-Islam* (Sheikh Farid). Thus, externally as well as internally, he was always consistent and that was undoubtedly one of the wonders of the world.”¹¹⁶

But after Sheikh Farid's death, his relations with one of Sheikh Farid's son, named Badruddin Sulaiman became strained. So to prevent any conflict, with him Maulana Badruddin went to the Jami' Masjid at Ajodhan, where he taught the *Quran Mazeed* to the people.¹¹⁷ He died 1291 A.D. at Ajodhan.¹¹⁸

Next famous saint of this place was Sheikh Alauddin, commonly known as Mauj Darya.¹¹⁹ He was the son of Sheikh Badruddin Sulaiman and the grandson of Sheikh Farid. According to Amir Khurd, "He was a great favourite of his grandfather who loved him very much."¹²⁰ He sat on the seat of his father at the age of sixteen years. The great personalities of these Sheikhs impacted on this city. Ibn Battuta gives information that due to the presence of this saint this city again became principle Sufi

¹¹¹ Pritpal Singh, 'Sheikh Baba Farid: The Man and the Poet', *The Punjab Past and Present*, (Journal), vol-VII, Part-II, Punjabi University, Patiala, October, 1973, p.389

¹¹² *Ibid*, p.388

¹¹³ Gurbachan Singh Talib, 'Baba Sheikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar', *The Punjab Past and Present*, (Journal), vol-VII, Part-II, p.300

¹¹⁴ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawa'id al-Fu'ad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p. 65

¹¹⁵ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, p.194

¹¹⁶ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawa'id al-Fu'ad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p.187

¹¹⁷ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, p.152

¹¹⁸ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawa'id al-Fu'ad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, on foot note, p.65

¹¹⁹ Ahmad Nabi Khan, 'The Mausoleum of Saint Ala-ud-din at Pakpattan (Punjab) a Significant Example of the Tugluq Style of Architecture', *East and West*, vol-24, No.3/4, Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente (ISIAO), (Journal), Sep-Dec, 1974, p.313

¹²⁰ *Ibid*, p.313

centre of India, where people came from far and near.¹²¹

According to Ahmad Nabi Khan, “Sheikh Alauddin spent most of his time in meditation and in concerning himself with the welfare of the people, who came to meet him for guidance or refuse it is recorded that in those days in Khanqah was a real home for people, many of whom came there to take shelter from the wrath of the King or the oppression of his men. The awe inspired by the saint was such that no one dared to enter the khanqah to take these oppressed people back.”¹²² About the reputation of the Sheikh Alauddin, Sayyid Muhammad Kirmani in *Siyar-ul-Awliya* writes, “For spiritual greatness spread in the world during his lifetime and his sacred name came to be reckoned among the great saints. Thus in Ajodhan, Dipalpur and the hills on the side of Kashmir, the people, out of their excessive love and faith, have put up buildings and constructed graves which they call his mausoleums; they accept offerings, distribute charities and complete the recitations of the *Quran*”.¹²³ He died in 1320 A.D. at Ajodhan.¹²⁴

Sufi Shrines of Pakpattan (Ajodhan)

The shrine of Sheikh Farid is very famous in Pakpattan, which is situated in the middle of Sheikh Farid's complex. (picture-58) It was built by his famous chief and favourite disciple Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya. During that time it was a small building and not more than twelve feet square. It has two doors, which are situated on the east and southern side of the shrine. Its east door five feet by 2½ in size called the door of Paradise or *Bihishti Darwaza* (picture-59) in respect of which a revelation was given to Nizamuddin Auliya. This door is very important part of this shrine, which is made of silver, on which floral designs are inlaid in gold leaf.¹²⁵ The door is opened only on the fifth day of the sacred Muharram, when huge number of pilgrims came to visit the shrine. According to tradition, “People believe that the people who pass through this doorway are saved from the fire of perdition.” The doorway is just two feet wide and cannot be entered without stopping, and the apartment itself is not

¹²¹ Ibn Battuta, *The Rehla*, eng. trans. and edited by Tim Mackintosh-Smith under the title, *The travels of Ibn Battutah*, Picador, London, 2003, pp.157-158

¹²² Ahmad Nabi Khan, 'The Mausoleum of Saint Ala-ud-din at Pakpattan (Punjab) a Significant Example of the Tugluq Style of Architecture', *East and West*, vol-24, No.3/4, p.313

¹²³ Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, pp.143-144

¹²⁴ Masood Ali Khan and Shri Ram (ed.), *An Introduction to Sufism: Origin, Philosophy and Development*, p.303

¹²⁵ Mahesh Vikram Singh and Brij Bhushan Srivastava, *Encyclopaedic History of India Series, Bhakti and Sufi Movement*, p.237

capable of containing thirty people crowded together.¹²⁶ The east door (picture-60) of the shrine is that ordinarily used for access to the shrine, and there is on the north a window at which women are allowed to pay their devotions. (picture-61) Within the mausoleum is the tomb to the saint and also a monument called *Qadam Rasul* built to mark the spot where the Prophet Muhammad's soul is said to have stood on the occasion of the interment of Sheikh Farid.¹²⁷



(Picture-58)

Source: mapio.net

About the popularity of this shrine, a famous foreigner historian P.J. Fajan in his article 'Ancient Ajudhan', which was published in *The Punjab Past and Present* (Journal), in October, 1973, writes, "The sanctity of the town and of its shrine is acknowledged far beyond the boundaries of the Punjab, even in Afghanistan and Central Asia, and pilgrims are constantly flocking to it."¹²⁸

The shrine of Sheikh Alauddin was another famous shrine of this city and also part of Sheikh Farid's complex. It was built under the orders of Muhammad bin Tugluq in 1330 A.D. According to *Jawahir-e-Faridi* (written in 1623 A.D.), "Once, during the life time of the saint, Sultan Muhammad bin Tugluq requested the Sheikh

¹²⁶ Surinder Singh and Ishwar Dayal Gaur (ed.), *Sufism in Punjab: Mystics, Literature and Shrines*, pp.207-208

¹²⁷ P.J. Fajan, 'Pakpattan-Ancient Ajudhan', *The Punjab Past and Present*, (Journal), vol-VII, Part-II, p.409

¹²⁸ *Ibid*, pp.403-404

to allow him to erect a mausoleum for him. The saint expressed his desire to postpone the idea till his death. After the death of the Sheikh, therefore, the Sultan appointed two of his courtiers, Qutb Khan and Bisarat Khan, to undertake the project."¹²⁹



(Picture-59)

Source: www.shughal.com



(Picture-60)

Source: www.flickr.com



(Picture-61)

Source: www.flickr.com

¹²⁹ Ali Ashgar Chishti, *Jawahir-e-Faridi*, quoted by Ahmad Nabi Khan, 'The Mausoleum of Saint Ala-ud-din at Pakpattan (Punjab) a Significant Example of the Tughluq Style of Architecture', *East and West*, vol-24, No.3/4, p.315

The shrine of Sheikh Alauddin is situated on the north-eastern side of the main entry of the complex. (picture-62) It was house of sixteen graves. The main grave is situated in the north-western side of the main entry. (picture-63) Other graves are of the spiritual successors of the Sheikh. The building is square in plan, which measures are 45 feet along the sides, with slightly walls. It has three wooden entrances doors, first is situated on the north, second on the east and the third situated on the south side with the mehrab.¹³⁰ The southern gate of this shrine is main entrance of the tomb. (picture-64) The main entrance is marked with a slightly projected rectangular frame, the surface of which has been divided into three decorative bands of fine cut-bricks running upright and at top. The central band possesses *Quranic* verses in *Suls* and *Naksh* characters, while the bands flanking it have interlaced diaper work.¹³¹ The projected cornice of the frame has a row of battlements made of fine cut bricks in high relief.¹³²

The important feature of the interior of the shrine is the series of the three wooden courses put at intervals. The exposed side of these courses has carved inscription, a unique feature of its kind known so far. The decorated Mehrab is sunk deeply in the western wall. It is an arched rectangle augmented with a slightly projected tympanum made of cut-bricks and ornamented with floral geometrical patterns. The square chamber is converted into an octagon by means of corner-squinches, for the purpose of placing the round base of the dome. The corner squinches are created in the shape of arched rectangles sunk deeply into the thickness of structure. They are placed on three wooden beams set in the masonry obliquely. The exposed ends of the beams are carved in the shape of hanging bells. A wooden ring having dentil decoration put in the masonry at the base of the squinch, supports its brick work.¹³³ Externally the tomb is simple but elegant. (picture-62) According to Abdul Rehman, "In form it closely resembles to the tomb of Sultan Giyasuddin Tughluq at Delhi, contemporary construction. The external facade has horizontal bands with triangles in the lowermost band. There are two niches having trefoil arches

¹³⁰ Ahmad Nabi Khan, 'The Mausoleum of Saint Ala-ud-din at Pakpattan (Punjab) a Significant Example of the Tugluq Style of Architecture', *East and West*, vol-24, No.3/4, p.315

¹³¹ Ahmad Nabi Khan, 'Evolution and Development of Islamic Funerary Memorial Architecture in Pakistan', *Sultanate Period Architecture*, Seminar Proceeding, Anjuman Mimaran, Lahore, October, 1990, p.29

¹³² Ahmad Nabi Khan, 'The Mausoleum of Saint Ala-ud-din at Pakpattan (Punjab) a Significant Example of the Tugluq Style of Architecture', *East and West*, vol-24, No.3/4, p.315

¹³³ Ahmad Nabi Khan, 'Evolution and Development of Islamic Funerary Memorial Architecture in Pakistan', *Sultanate Period Architecture*, Seminar Proceeding, 1990, p.29

on either side of the main entrance. In its decorative scheme it closely resembles the tomb of Saddan Shaheed in Muzaffargarh District. Glazed tiles have been completely avoided in both the tombs and the decorative elements are synonymous with each other."¹³⁴



(Picture-63)

Source: <http://2.bp.blogspot.com>



(Picture-62)

Source: www.flickr.com

¹³⁴ Abdul Rehman, 'Sultanate Period Architecture in Punjab (1000 A.D.-1500 A.D.)', *Sultanate Period Architecture*, Seminar Proceeding, Anjuman Mimaran, Lahore, October, 1990, p.50



(Picture-64)

Source: www.flickr.com

MULTAN

Multan (now in Pakistan) was one of the most famous towns of Punjab during the early medieval period. The geographical location of Multan, just opposite the Bolan Pass, assigned it a decisive role in the history of the Indian subcontinent. The trade route connecting the subcontinent with Qandhar and the world beyond passed through it. As long as the Bolan served as the main Pass, the town formed a gateway to India.¹³⁵ According to *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, "In the earliest times the town now known as Multan probably bore the name of *Kasyapapura*, derived from *Kasyapa*, father of the Adityas and Daityas, the sun-gods and Titans of Hindu mythology."¹³⁶ According to David Ross, "Kasyapa was one of the seven *Rishis*, sons of Manu, a direct descendant of Brahma, and consequently belonging to the greater gods of the Hindu pantheon".¹³⁷ According to '*Imperial Gazetteer of India*', "Multan formerly called *Kashtpur*, *Hanspur*, *Bagpur*, *Sanb*, or *Sanabpur*, and finally *Mulasthan*, derives its name from that of the idol and temple of the Sun, a shrine of vast wealth in the pre-Muslim period."¹³⁸ But David Ross gives different views on this topic that according to ancient native tradition Multan is said to be simply a

¹³⁵ Surinder Singh and Ishwar Dayal Gaur (ed.), *Sufism in Punjab: Mystics, Literature and Shrines*, p.305

¹³⁶ *Imperial Gazetteer of India: Provincial Series (Punjab)*, vol-II, Superintendent of Government Printing, Calcutta, 1908, p.225

¹³⁷ David Ross, *The Land of the Five Rivers and Sind*, pp.91-92

¹³⁸ *Imperial Gazetteer of India: Provincial Series (Punjab)*, vol-II, p.240

corruption of the Sanskrit term *Malistan*, or the seat or stronghold of the Mali tribe.¹³⁹

Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya known as Baha-ul-Haq was the first famous Suhrawardi Sufi saint of this town. His ancestors came to Punjab from Mecca. He was son of Sheikh Wajihuddin. His mother was the daughter of Maulana Husamuddin Tirmizi, who had migrated to Punjab in the wake of Mongol invasions.¹⁴⁰ He was born at Kot Aror (near Multan) in 1182-83 A.D.¹⁴¹ His father was died, when he was just twelve years old. After completing his early religious education from Punjab, he went to Khurasan for further studies. He remained Khurasan near about seven years, and after this place, he went to Bukhara, where his piety earned him the title *Angel*. After this place, he went to Mecca for *Hajj* and after performing this, he left to Medina, where he studied *Hadis* or *Hadith* under Maulana Kamaluddin Muhammad, the greatest scholar in his days. From this place he went to Yerusalem and later to Baghdad, where he joined Suhrawardi silsila and became Shiekh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi's disciple. Shiekh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi was very impressed from him so he made him his *Khalifa*.¹⁴² About the training period of Sheikh Bahauddin, Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi in *Fawaid al-Fuad* gives mention that it was just seventeen days. The Sheikh's other disciples, which had spent many years serving for him, were annoyed at an Indian being elevated to a high status in such a short time. During that time Sheikh Sahabuddin told them, "When they had first come to met him, they had been like green wood which would not catch fire, whereas Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya had been like a dry wood, which had begun to burn with a single breath."¹⁴³

After completing his study from Shiekh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi, Sheikh Bahauddin came to Multan. But the Some Sufis of this town were unhappy with his entry and wanted that he may settle in any other place. So they sent their message through a symbolic act. They sent a cup full of milk to the Sheikh, pointing out that the town was as full of scholars or religious persons as the cup of milk and had no space for him. According to Saiyid Arther Abbas Rizvi, "The Sheikh understood the significance of their action and placing a rose on the milk returned the cup. Such a gesture implied that he would occupy the same place among the scholars and holymen

¹³⁹ David Ross, *The Land of the Five Rivers and Sind*, p.92

¹⁴⁰ Surinder Singh and Ishwar Dayal Gaur (ed.), *Sufism in Punjab: Mystics, Literature and Shrines*, p.80

¹⁴¹ Khaliq Ahmed Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, p.223

¹⁴² Ahmed Nabi Khan, *Multan: History and Architecture*, Islamic University, Islamabad, 1983, p.190

¹⁴³ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p.135

of Multan as the rose in the milk.”¹⁴⁴ He established a khanqah in Multan. After a short period his khanqah turned into a great centre of mystic discipline in Punjab,¹⁴⁵ where people not only came from the far and near corners of India, but also came from foreign countries like Herat, Hamadan and Bukhara.¹⁴⁶

Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya’s life style was totally different from other Sufi saints. He believed in accumulation of wealth and also established intimate relations with the contemporary Rulers. About the features of his life style Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya said that Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya acted on the *Quranic* injunction: *Eat of what is pure and act righteously.*¹⁴⁷ According to Khaliq Ahmed Nizami, “Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya held independent views on many problems of religion and politics. He believed in living a normal, balanced life in which both the body and the spirit receive equal care. Neither he himself fasted perpetually nor did he recommend a life of starvation and self-mortification to those associated with him.”¹⁴⁸ About the great personality of Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya, Khaliq Ahmed Nizami also writes, “He enjoyed a tremendous reputation for his piety, scholarship and spirituality. Being the chief successor (*Khalifah*) of Sheikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi of Baghdad, Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya earned great fame and popularity throughout the Islamic world.”¹⁴⁹ Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya after a long life, died on 21 December, 1262 at Multan.¹⁵⁰

Next famous Sufi saint of Multan was Sadruddin Arif. He was eldest son of Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya.¹⁵¹ He was very kind-hearted man. Although Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya had many sons but he appointed him his *Khalifah* and *Sajjadah-Nashin* of Multan.¹⁵² He was also alone of them, whom inherited from his father’s property worth 7, 00,000 Gold *tankas*. A famous contemporary historian Jamali writes that mostly portions of his share seven lakhs of Gold *tankas* (Mohars) and landed property, he distributed in the poor or needy people. After this distribution, his one

¹⁴⁴ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, pp.190-191

¹⁴⁵ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, p.222

¹⁴⁶ Ahmad Nabi Khan, *Multan: History and Architecture*, pp.189-90

¹⁴⁷ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p.341

¹⁴⁸ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, p.222

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p.222

¹⁵⁰ N. Hanif, *Biographical Encyclopaedia of Sufis*, Sarup & Sons, New Delhi, 2009, p.398

¹⁵¹ John A. Subhan, *Sufism its Saints and Shrines in India*, p.231

¹⁵² Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, p.223

friend questioned to him on this action that why he had thrown away the wealth of his father which he had carefully collected? He replied to him, "But my father had complete control over all worldly desires, and so could afford to hoard such wealth, whereas I am weak, and therefore fear lest worldly possession should make me forget God."¹⁵³ Khaliq Ahmed Nizami writes that Sheikh Sadaruddin Arif worked for nearly 23 years after the death of his father from whom he differed basically in his attitude towards some of the fundamental problems of religion and politics. He hated wealth and considered it to be the source of all spiritual distractions and worldly troubles.¹⁵⁴ He died on February 1286 A.D.¹⁵⁵ at Multan and was buried near the tomb of his father.¹⁵⁶

Multan's next famous Suhrawardi Sufi saint was Hasan Afghan. He was the disciple and famous *Khalifa* of Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya. He was good learned man.¹⁵⁷ Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya loved him and used to say, "If God asked him what he had brought from the world, he would present Hasan as a gift."¹⁵⁸ About the spiritual power of the Sheikh Hasan, once Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya says one story to his disciples, "On one occasion Hasan Afghan was wandering through the streets, and at prayer-time went to the nearest Masjid and began to perform *Namaz* behind the *Imam*. When it was finished and the congregation had dispersed, Sheikh Hasan went up to the *Imam* and said to him: 'Khwaja! You commenced *namaz* and I followed you. In your thoughts you travelled from here to Delhi, did some shopping, and then went to Khurasan and Multan, then back to the Masjid. Unfortunately I had to wander with you. What sort of *namaz* is this?'"¹⁵⁹ Sheikh Hasan Afghan died on 1291 A.D.¹⁶⁰

Sheikh Ahmad-i-Mashuq was another famous Sufi saint of this area. He was disciple of Sheikh Sadruddin Arif.¹⁶¹ John A. Subhan writes that Sheikh Ahmad Mashuq one of the disciple of Sadruddin Arif, is an example of a specific type of saint in Muslim Hagiology (Hagiography).¹⁶² He belonged to Qandhar, where his father was a big merchant. During early days of his life Ahmad Mashuq was an alcoholic

¹⁵³ John A. Subhan, *Sufism its Saints and Shrines in India*, p.231

¹⁵⁴ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, p.224

¹⁵⁵ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, p.203

¹⁵⁶ John A. Subhan, *Sufism its Saints and Shrines in India*, p.232

¹⁵⁷ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p.82, 129

¹⁵⁸ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, p.203

¹⁵⁹ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p.82

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid*, in foot-note, p.129

¹⁶¹ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, p.210

¹⁶² John A. Subhan, *Sufism its Saints and Shrines in India*, p.232

man. About the story of Ahmed Mashuq's first meeting with his spiritual teacher (Murshid or Pir) Sheikh Sadruddin, Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi writes, "Often on business trips, he would accompany his father and came to Multan and on one such trip Sheikh Sadruddin happened to pass by a shop where Ahmad Mashuq was conducting business. The Sheikh sent a servant back to the shop and requested Ahmad Mashuq to come to see him. When he came to his house, Sheikh Sadruddin gave him a glass of Sherbet. After drinking the cood liquid, Ahmad Mashuq underwent an intense spiritual enlightenment. He became Sheikh Sadruddin's disciple."¹⁶³ After this incident Ahmad Mashuq distributed his whole property to the needy persons and for seven years, having withdraw totally from the world, remained completely engrossed in meditation. In the last part of his life, Sheikh Ahmad Mashuq was so often in a State of ecstasy that he even abandoned obligatory prayers.¹⁶⁴

About the sub-title accompanying his name *Mashuq*, Nizamuddin Auliya in '*Fawad-al-Fwad*' says, "Once Sheikh Ahmad Mashuq is reported to have asked God to tell him his status in his eyes. The Divine reply was: "I am thy lover and thou art my Mashuq (Beloved)." To get the Divine reply he had entered waters and he came out of the river when, a Divine reply was forth coming. Henceforth he came to be known Mashuq."¹⁶⁵ He died in 1320 A.D.¹⁶⁶

Next most famous Sufi saint of this area was Sheikh Ruknuddin Abul Fateh, (ob.1335) who was son of Sheikh Sadruddin Arif and grandson of Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya. He better known as Shah Rukn-i-Alam. He was a man of great religious and political influence in the days when the city visited by the traveller Ibn Batuta in 1334 A.D.¹⁶⁷ Sheikh Sadruddin Arif appointed him as his *Khalifah* (successor) and *Sajjadah-Nashin* of Multan. According to Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, "He occupies the same place in the history of the Suhrawardi silsila which Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya occupies in the history of the Chishti order."¹⁶⁸ Sheikh Ruknuddin's mother was a most pious lady, and Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariyya prophesied his prominence while he was still in his mother's womb. His grandfather's favourite, at the age of four, Ruknuddin

¹⁶³ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, p.210

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p.210

¹⁶⁵ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p.452

¹⁶⁶ Masood Ali Khan and Shri Ram (ed.), *An Introduction to Sufism: Origin, Philosophy and Development*, p.308

¹⁶⁷ Syed Abdus Quddus Khan, *Punjab: The Land of Beauty Love and Mysticism*, p.304

¹⁶⁸ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, p.225

donned Sheikh Bahauddin's turban, and although his father objected strongly, Sheikh Bahauddin approved of the child's action. After Sheikh Ruknuddin succeeded his father, he wore the same turban and Sheikh Sadruddin's *Khirqah* or *Khirqah*.¹⁶⁹ Sheikh Ruknuddin died in 1334-35 A.D.¹⁷⁰

Famous Shrines of Multan

Multan city is a famous for its Sufi shrines and historical tombs. Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya and Sheikh Ruknuddin Abul Fateh's shrines or tombs are one of them. All these shrines are not only popular for its religious aspects but also architecture styles. Ahmad Nabi Khan writes, "During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a new style of architecture was introduced for funerary memorials of the Muslims in and around Multan. The style began with the tomb of Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya and culminated in the mausoleum of Sheikh Ruknuddin, which has been admired as 'one of the most splendid memorials ever erected in honour of the dead.'¹⁷¹ The mausoleums of Bahauddin Zakariya and Sheikh Ruknuddin served as perfect models for the future architect who continued imitating them for well over six hundred years. The popularity of the style did not lessen even when the more refined and gorgeous Mughul style was introduced and popularized."¹⁷²

Percy Brown (a famous writer on Indian architecture) in his book *Indian Architecture (Islamic Period)*, writes that building art of these shrines or tombs different from other northern Indian architectural style of the Sultanate period.¹⁷³ Subhash Parihar also writes, "Its characteristic features were determined by the geological formation of its land. No building stone is available in the plains, but its alluvial soil can be easily moulded into fine bricks. Hence brick has been the chief building material in Punjab since earliest times as indicated even at the Harappan sites. To strengthen the brick walls, these were given a slight camber and occasionally timbers were embedded in them. Another method of providing stability to the structures was by appending buttresses and towers to their corners. But plain brick structures would have given a very monotonous look. To add colour to their monuments, the Punjab builders made use of coloured glazed tiles. It may be noted

¹⁶⁹ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, pp.210-11

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p.215

¹⁷¹ Ahmad Nabi Khan, *Multan: History and Architecture*, p.172

¹⁷² *Ibid*, p.172

¹⁷³ Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Islamic Period)*, D.B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay, 1981 (reprint), p.32

here that although the technique of glazing tiles was known in ancient India, but the use of glazed tiles for architectural decoration was important from Persia. The region of Multan and Sind, due to its proximity to Persia, was the earliest to use of this mode of decoration. Gradually the rest of Punjab became as great a centre of this craft as Sind and Multan. And from this region, the use of glazed tiles spread to the rest of the Indian subcontinent.”¹⁷⁴ Syed Abdul Quddus writes, “The architecture of the Punjab used mainly brick. In the absence of fine stone, which was not readily accessible, brickwork of remarkable good quality was produced at Multan, the bricks being not unlike those used by the Roman builders, broad but thin, and when occasion demanded it was not uncommon for them to be laid in upright courses to ensure additional strength.”¹⁷⁵

Shrine of Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya

Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya’s shrine is a famous shrine of Multan. According to Munshi Hukan Chand, "He was buried in the tomb he had built himself during his life time at Multan."¹⁷⁶ Many famous historians and writers write about its architecture features. According to Percy Brown, "This tomb (shrine) has an appearance of purposeful strength combined with a simple elegance which is noteworthy.”¹⁷⁷ Kamil Khan Mumtaz writes that it was the most elegant shrine among the Multan shrines.¹⁷⁸

The shrine occupies the centre of a vast oblong open area which measures 260 feet from north-southern side and by 203 feet from east-western side. Two beautiful gates are main entry gates of the shrine’s complex, which are situated in the east and western side of the main grave.¹⁷⁹ (picture-65-A and B) The structure of the shrine is square on plan. (picture-66) The tomb has been constructed in three parts, ground floor is in square; first is an octagon, which is decorated with rough semi-stalactites and blue colour, and second floor of this shrine is a grand hemispherical dome, which is situated on the top of the shrine.¹⁸⁰ (picture-66) It has two doors which are situated

¹⁷⁴ Surinder Singh and Ishwar Dayal Gaur (ed.) *Sufism in Punjab: Mystics, Literature and Shrines*, p.306

¹⁷⁵ Syed Abdus Quddus Khan, *Punjab: The Land of Beauty Love and Mysticism*, p.367

¹⁷⁶ Munshi Hukan Chand, *Tawarikh-i-Zila 'e Multan*, quoted by Ahmad Nabi Khan, *Multan: History and Architecture*, p.191

¹⁷⁷ Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Islamic Period)*, p.33

¹⁷⁸ Ahmed Nabi Khan, 'Evolution and Development of Islamic Funerary Memorial Architecture in Pakistan', *Sultanate Period Architecture*, Seminar Proceeding, 1990, p.26

¹⁷⁸ Syed Abdus Quddus Khan, *Punjab: The Land of Beauty Love and Mysticism*, p.44

¹⁷⁹ Ahmad Nabi Khan, *Multan: History and Architecture*, p.191

¹⁸⁰ Ahmed Nabi Khan, 'Evolution and Development of Islamic Funerary Memorial Architecture in Pakistan', *Sultanate Period Architecture*, Seminar Proceeding, 1990, p.26

in the east and southern side of the shrine, but the main entrance has been provided through the southern side. Both gates are wooden gate, which are decorated with beautiful designs. Internal part of this shrine is very beautiful and attractive. Internal walls of this chamber are very strong, beautiful and decorated with different designs and *Quranic* verses. Internal part of the dome is also very attractive, which is decorated with blue colour painting. (picture-67 and 68) The graves of the Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya and Sheikh Sadaruddin Arif are placed on a four feet high rectangular brick platform surmounted with a gaudily ornamented *chhatri*. (picture-68)



(Picture- 65-A)

Source: en.wikipedia.org



(Picture- 65-B)

Source: www.dostpakistan.pk

Two oblong verandas of low flat roofs of wooden battens and planks situated in the south-western side of the main graves. (picture-66) These are also house of many unknown graves. (picture-68) Last Saddozai Ruler of Multan and his sons' graves (who fell fighting with the Sikhs in 1818 A.D.) are situated in the southern verandah of the shrine. The interior surface of the verandah is plastered. About the constructor of southern verandah, an inscription, which is fixed on a wall of the verandah, gives information that Sheikh Murid Hussain (who was a *Sajjadah-Nashin* of the Sheikh) was constructor of this verandah.¹⁸¹

¹⁸¹ Ahmad Nabi Khan, *Multan: History and Architecture*, pp.190-198



(Picture- 66)

Source: fun.putidea.info



(Picture-67)

Source: fun.putidea.info

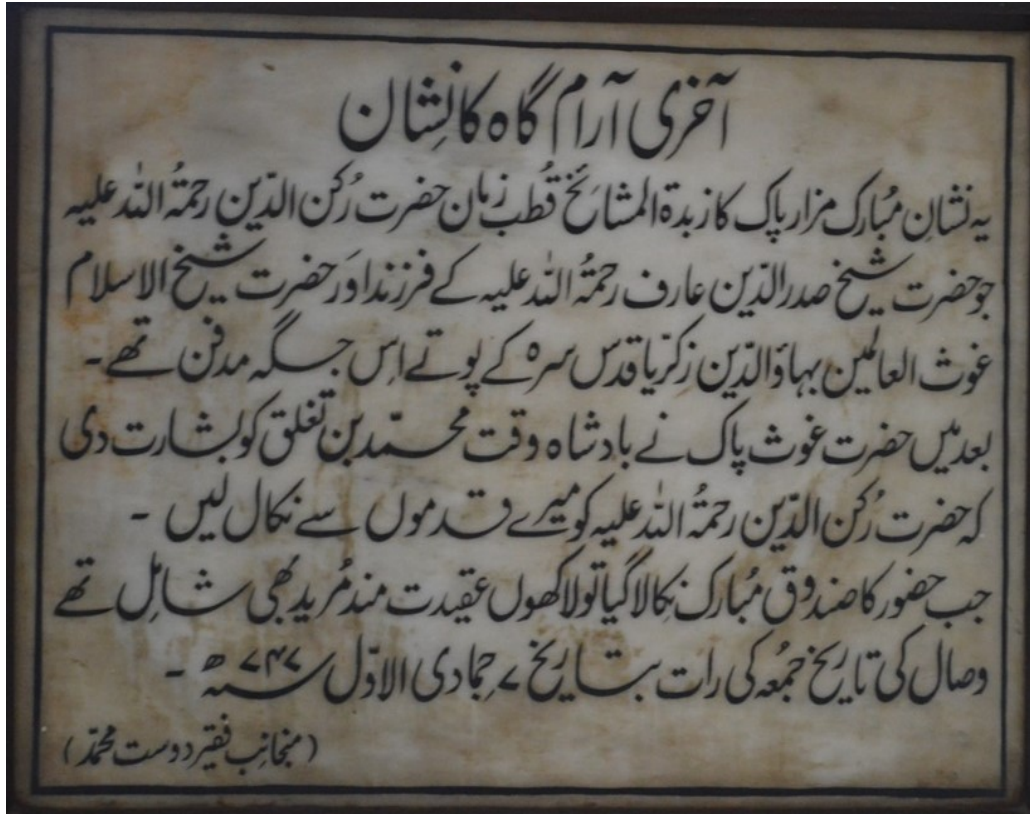


(Picture-68)

Source: ghousia-jamait.blogspot.in

The history of this shrine is very popular. Present building of the shrine is not original building, because mostly parts of this tomb had damaged in the siege of Multan by the British army in 1848 A.D. But was repaired immediately thereafter by

Makhdum Shah Mahmud by means of public subscription.”¹⁸² According to Cunningham, “The shrine was reduced to a mere wreck and there was little of original structure left intact. A sufficiently clear picture can, however, be glimpsed from a sketch which was made immediately before the bombardment by a British officer, John Dunlop, who, while in his military duty on the occasion, sketched some old buildings and scenes of Multan.”¹⁸³ According to Ahmed Nabi Khan, “This sketch and recent exploration of the tomb for its restoration show that a considerable part of the mausoleum was destroyed by bombardment, which was later on repaired according to the original plan of the building.”¹⁸⁴ Besides this many inscriptions of this shrine, which are fixed on many walls of this shrine also proved that this shrine has repaired many times. (picture-69)



(Picture-69)

Source: fun.putidea.info

The Shrine of Sheikh Ruknuddin Abul Fateh (Rukn-e-Alam)

Sheikh Ruknuddin Abul Fateh’s shrine is another famous building of this city

¹⁸² Ahmad Nabi Khan, *Multan: History and Architecture*, p.191

¹⁸³ *Ibid*, pp.191-192

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, pp.191-192

and he was buried just a couple of hundred meters far from his father and grandfather's shrine. According to Ahmed Nabi Khan, "After his death, his body was buried in the shrine of his grandfather Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya according to his own will."¹⁸⁵ But after sometime, his coffin was transferred to the present place. This beautiful shrine was not built for the Sheikh. Actually it was built by Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughluq (1320-28 A.D.) for himself, during the time period of his Governorship of Depalpur (Multan).¹⁸⁶ But after some time he become Sultan of Delhi, so during that time he built another or new tomb for himself at Delhi. So later on, this building was given away by his successor Firoj Shah Tughluq to the descendents of Sheikh Ruknuddin Abul Fateh.¹⁸⁷

This shrine is a master piece of medieval architecture of Punjab. So, mostly modern writers of history and architecture have given importance to this building in their writings. According to John Marshal, "It is one ever erected in the honour of the dead."¹⁸⁸ According to Percy Brown, "The tomb of the Sheikh Ruknuddin Abul Fateh is one of the most impressive buildings of this country."¹⁸⁹ Subhash Parihar writes that the provincial style of Punjab reached its top with the shrine of Sheikh Ruknuddin Abul Fateh.¹⁹⁰ Ahmed Nabi Khan mentions, "The mausoleum of Sheikh Ruknuddin Abul Fateh is unique for its architecture as well as architectural embellishment. It is a remarkable specimen of majestic strength and solidity and is equally noteworthy for its most sophisticated surface decoration. Indeed, it was for the first time in the history of Islamic architecture that the care, interest and monetary resources of a spiritual luminary were combined with the proficiency, experience and devotion of a master architect and a host of masons and artisans to create such a masterpiece. These combined efforts have been responsible for a number of innovations never before practiced in the art of building in the subcontinent."¹⁹¹

This beautiful shrine is situated on Kohna Qasim fort road in Multan. It is built on some feet high from simple plan or road like southern Hindu temples. (picture-70)

¹⁸⁵ Ahmad Nabi Khan, *Multan: History and Architecture*, p.215

¹⁸⁶ Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Islamic Period)*, p.33

¹⁸⁷ Ahmed Nabi Khan, *Multan: History and Architecture*, p.215

¹⁸⁸ Abdul Rehman, 'Sultanate Period Architecture in Punjab (1000 A.D.-1500 A.D.)', *Sultanate Period Architecture*, Seminar Proceeding, p.47

¹⁸⁹ Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Islamic period)*, p.33

¹⁹⁰ Surinder Singh and Ishwar Dayal Gaur (ed.), *Sufism in Punjab: Mystics, Literature and Shrines*, p.307

¹⁹¹ Ahmed Nabi Khan, 'Evolution and Development of Islamic Funerary Memorial Architecture in Pakistan', *Sultanate Period Architecture*, Seminar Proceeding, pp.34-35

It is huge building, which's total height from simple plain or road is near about 115 feet.¹⁹² So it can be seen easily from far away. It has two doors, which are situated in the south-western and south-eastern side of the main grave. (picture-70 & 71) But south-eastern gate of this shrine is main entry gate of this complex. (picture-71) The tomb is octagon on plan. The shrine has been constructed in three parts. (picture-72 and 73) The ground floor and first floor of this shrine is in the shape of octagon and second is in a grand hemispherical dome. (picture-73)



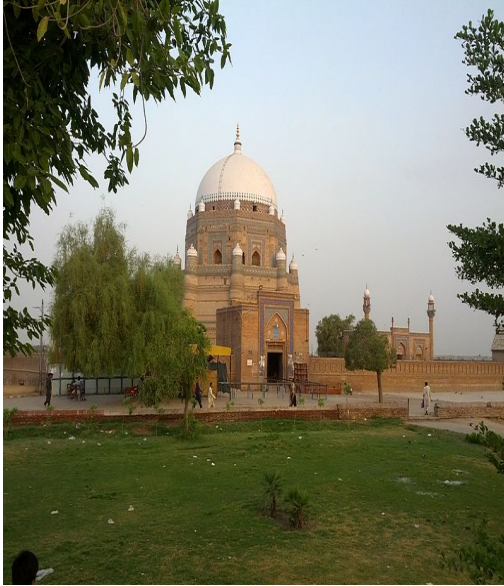
(Picture-70)

Source: www.flickr.com

It has two doors, which are situated in the north and southern side of the main grave. But southern gate is the main entry gate of the shrine. (picture-72) The entry of

¹⁹² Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Islamic Period)*, p.33

the shrine is through a flat thatched roof room, which is situated in the southern side of the main grave.



(Picture-71)

Source: commons.wikimedia.org



(Picture-72)

Source: travelmultan.blogspot.in



(Picture-73)

Source: travelmultan.blogspot.in

The whole chamber of the shrine is house of around one hundred graves. (picture-74) The main cenotaph is built in the middle of the shrine and close to northern gate. (picture-75) It is situated some height from simple-plan and placed in a beautiful chamber which is decorated with beautiful wooden and marble work. Beautiful and colourful leafs and flowers are also another beauty of this chamber. Internal walls of the shrine are very strong, which are decorated with beautiful bricks design and colours. Intricate floral scrolls and *Quranic* inscriptions are also use in this purpose. Beautiful wood work is interesting part of internal beauty. The wood framing is filled with bricks and brick tiles.¹⁹³

A decorative *mehrab*, which situated in the west of the shrine, is the most significant feature of the internal part of the shrine. Internal part of the dome is very simple. (picture-76) Internal part of first and second floors is also attractive, which is decorated with beautiful designs and many ventilators. (picture-74 and 76)



(Picture-76)

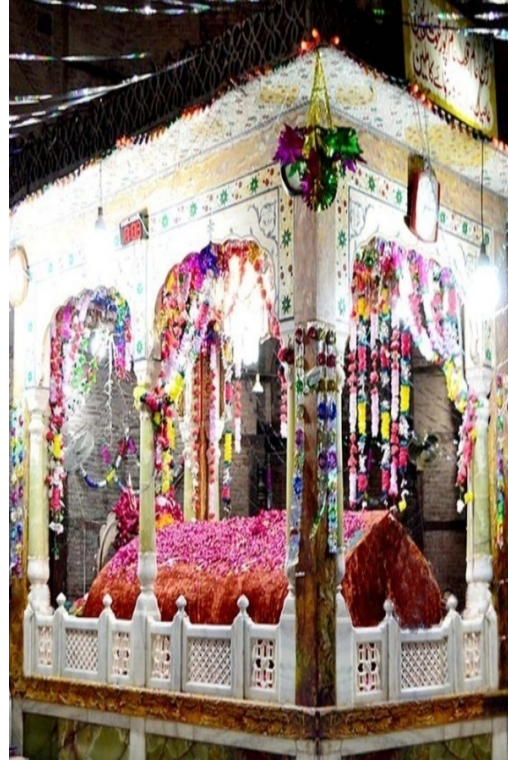
Source: archnet.org

¹⁹³ Ahmed Nabi Khan, 'Evolution and Development of Islamic Funerary Memorial Architecture in Pakistan', *Sultanate Period Architecture*, Seminar Proceeding, 1990, p.29



(Picture-74)

Source: archnet.org



(Picture-75)

Source: wikivisually.com

External look of this shrine is very beautiful and attractive. Ground floor of this shrine (which is too lofty from other stories) is decorated with a dado of carved bricks and tiles.¹⁹⁴ Cut-brick work, string course of tile-faced bricks, bands of brick work, floral geometric, calligraphic, cut-brick friezes and bands of *sisu* wood are major features of this floor. (picture-77) Besides these different types of blue colour like sky blue and light blue, are give attracted shape to this floor. Its eight tapering turrets, which are situated on every corner of the octagon of the shrine, are most beautiful part. (picture-77)

The first floor of this shrine is also beautiful part of this shrine. Its cut-brick work, beautiful floral design and use of different blue colours, made it best part of this shrine. Its eight small turrets, which are situated on each corner like ground floor, give beautiful shape to this. The first floor has an arched opening in each face to admit light to the interior.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴ Syed Abdus Quddus Khan, *Punjab: The Land of Beauty Love and Mysticism*, p.368

¹⁹⁵ Abdul Rehman, 'Sultanate Period Architecture in Punjab (1000 A.D.-1500 A.D.)', *Sultanate Period Architecture*, Seminar Proceeding, p.48

The hemispherical dome, which is situated in the top of the shrine and decorated with floral designs, blue and sky-blue colours, is another attractive part of this shrine. The whole dome is covered with a thick coat of whitewash.¹⁹⁶



(Picture-77)

Source: www.flickr.com

A masjid, (picture-78) which is situated in the north-eastern side of the shrine, is also beautiful part of this complex. It has many wooden doors, which are decorated with floral design. Apart from these its decorated walls with different floral design and blue colour made it attractive part of this complex.

¹⁹⁶ Abdul Rehman, 'Sultanate Period Architecture in Punjab (1000 A.D.-1500 A.D.)', *Sultanate Period Architecture*, Seminar Proceeding, p.48



(Picture-78)

Source: yousufbaway.com

The above discussion gives information that under Chishti and Suhrawardi Sufi saints' personalities and works, Pakpattan (Ajodhan), Hansi, Panipat, Uch and Multan became major Sufi centres of these silsilas. Sheikh Farid and Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya and their successors played a significant role. These Sufi saints also contributed to the construction of new historical buildings and Sufi shrines in the Punjab area. Although these buildings were constructed in the memory of these Sufi saints, but these shrines also give information about many historical issues like art and architecture, date of birth and death of Sufi saints and Ruler's interest in religious matter etc. Mostly Sufi shrine of these saints are in good condition and give historical knowledge about art and architecture to the people in general and the scholars in particular. But many Sufi shrines like Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya and Chahar Qutab's shrine had lost their old shape.

CHAPTER – 3

BHAKTI MOVEMENT AND SUFISM

The Bhakti movement was a famous religious movement of India. Satish Chandra writes that the Bhakti movement which stressed mystic realization of God within oneself, and the ultimate union of the individual with God, based on loving devotion on the part of the devotees and God's grace, had been at work on Indian land long before the advent of Sufism.¹ According to *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, "Bhakti Marga (path) is a general name given to those sects of modern Hindustan, which lay stress on the importance of *Bhakti*, or devotional faith, as a means of salvation, as opposed to the *Works-path (Karma-marga)* and the *Knowledge-path (Jnana-marga)*."²

According to *Encyclopedia of Hinduism*, "Bhakti word (devotion to God) is derived from the Sanskrit word (which is a most famous ancient language of India) *bhaj* 'to serve', meaning *service to God*".³ According to *The Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, "The concept is traceable to the Vedas where its intimations are audible in the hymns addressed to deities such as Varuna, Savitra and Usha. However, the word Bhakti does not occur there. The word occurs for the first time in the *Upanisads*, where it appears with the co-doctrines of grace and self-surrender (prapatti)."⁴ Lord Krishna in the *Bhagavadgita* has expressed this view at many places that the supreme state can be attained through only by the practice of devotion of the God.⁵ Bhakti is considered to be the surest, swiftest and easiest doctrine or path of liberation.⁶ In the sixth and seventh *salok* of the twelfth chapter of *Bhagavadgita*, Lord Krishna gives too much importance to the path of Bhakti and says to Arjun (a famous character of Mahabarta),

¹ Satish Chandra, *Medieval India From Sultanat to the Mughals*, Part-I, Har-Anand Publications, New Delhi, 1997, p.247

² James Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol-II, T. & T. Clark, New York, 1967, p.539

³ K.L. Seshagiri Rao (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Hinduism*, vol-II, Rupa & Co., New Delhi, 2010, pp.218-19

⁴ Harbans Singh (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, Punjabi University, Patiala, vol-I, 2002, p.335

⁵ ਤਸਮਾਤ ਸ੍ਰਵੇਸ਼ ਕਾਲੇਸ਼ੁ ਮਾਮ ਅਨੁਸਮਰ ਯੁੱਧਯ ਚ।

ਮਯਿ-ਅਪਿਤ-ਮਨਹ ਬੁੱਧਿਹ ਮਾਮ ਏਵ ਏਸ਼ਯਸਿ ਅਸੰਸ਼ਯਮ ॥7॥

ਸ਼੍ਰੀਮਦ ਭਗਵਤ ਗੀਤਾ, ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਅਨੁਵਾਦਕ, ਰਾਜ ਕੁਮਾਰ ਕੰਬੋਜ, ਉਡਾਨ ਪਬਲੀਕੇਸ਼ਨਜ਼, ਮਾਨਸਾ, 2008, ਅਧਿਆਏ ਅੱਠ, ਸਲੋਕ-7, ਪੰਨਾ-93

⁶ ਪੁਰੂਸ਼ਹ ਸਹ ਪਰਹ ਪਾਰਥ ਭਕਤਯਾ ਸਭਯਹ ਤੁ ਅਨੋਨਯਯਾ।

ਯਸਯ ਅੰਤਹ ਸਥਾਨਿ ਭੂਤਾਨਿ ਯੇਨ ਸ੍ਵਮ ਇਦਮ ਤਤਮ ॥22॥

ਉਹੀ, ਅਧਿਆਏ ਅੱਠ, ਸਲੋਕ 22, ਪੰਨਾ-97

“Those who, renouncing all actions in ME regarding ME as the Supreme Goal, meditating on ME worship ME with single minded yoga and thoughts set on ME, I become very soon, O, Partha (maternal name of Arjun) the deliverer from the ocean of the mortal samsara.”⁷

Bhakti movement appeared in South India after the fall of Vardhana Dynasty (580-647 A.D.). During the early days of its history, it was not a religious movement also another path of salvation. The sentiment of Bhakti had grown in Northern Indian states. But in the southern states of India, it was developed as a mass phenomenon.⁸ Many reasons which played a significant role in carrying this event to its fulfillment are mentioned below:

Political condition of Northern Indian states: After Vardhana Dynasty the political condition of North India was not suitable for Hindu religious movements. According to Darshan Singh, “The region of North India, occupies a significant place in the religious history of India. All ancient major religious systems (movements) or religions including Bhagavatism, Buddhism and Jainism originated in North India, and mostly significant scriptures of Indian religions, were composed there. But after the fall of Vardhana Dynasty (580-647 A.D.) from Northern India, the leadership and initiatives in religious affairs pass from the north to the south. Attacks of foreigners from the North-West area may also be one of the most powerful factors leading to this instability. During that time south, which was a peaceful area of India, becomes a new home of religious activities and reforms in India.”⁹

Buddhism and Jainism in South India: The religious condition of South India was another principal cause of its origin in this region. During that time the religious condition of South India had favored the rise of new movements. Buddhism and Jainism, which were very popular religions of ancient India, had lost its old glory. So it was good time for revival and reformation in Hinduism. R.C. Majumdar writes, “No-doubt the loss of royal patronage was primary cause of it, but the growth of debased tantric elements in which gross sensuality and carnal passions find a religious

⁷ (1) ਜੇ ਤੁ ਸ੍ਵਾਨਿ ਕ੍ਰਮਾਨਿ ਮਇ ਸੰਨਯਸਯ ਮਤਪਰਾਹ।
ਅਨਨਯੇਨ ਏਵ ਯੋਗੇਨ ਮਾਮ ਯਯਾਯੰਤਹ ਉਪਾਸਤੇ ॥6॥

(2) ਤੇਸ਼ਾਮ ਅਹਮ ਸਮੁੱਚਤਾ ਮੁਤਯ-ਸੰਸਾਰ-ਸਾਗਰਾਤ।
ਭਵਾਮਿ ਨਚਿਰਾਤ ਪਾਰਥ ਮਯਿ ਅਵੇਸ਼ਿਤ-ਚੇਤਸ਼ਾਮ ॥7॥

ਉਹੀ, ਅਧਿਆਏ ਬਾਰੁਵਾਂ, ਸਲੋਕ 6 ਅਤੇ 7, ਪੰਨਾ-134 ; *Srimad Bhagavad Gita*, eng. trans. by Som Nath Raina, Nag Publishers, Delhi, 1997, pp.281-282

⁸ Satish Chandra, *Medieval India from Sultanat to the Mughals*, Part-I, pp.1-25

⁹ Darshan Singh, *A Study of Bhakta Ravidasa*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1981, pp.42-43

sanction; resulting in sexual immorality masquerading in the name of religion. The close rapprochement of the Mahayana Buddhism to Hinduism also proves fatal for their separate existence and leads to an assimilation of both into the broad stream of Hinduism."¹⁰ Apart from these the revival of Hinduism itself is another significant factor in the decline of Buddhism. The rejuvenated Hinduism fights Buddhism on every level.¹¹ Those elements of the heterodox religious systems that seem to be the basis of their universal appeal and widespread popularity are appropriated in the religious movements of the latter period.¹²

Role of Nayanars and Alvars: The saints of Nayanars (Shiva saints and who were worshipers of Shiva) and Alvars (Vaishnava saints and who were worshipers of Vishnu) also played a significant role in the origin of Bhakti movement in South India.¹³ These saints flourished in South India between the latter part of the sixth and the tenth centuries. Low and high castes, men and women were part of these saints. These saints attacked Buddhism and Jainism, which were dominant in South India at that time. According to Satish Chandra, "These saints were able to wean over people to their side because Buddhism and Jainism had, in course of time, become hide-bound and enmeshed in meaningless ritualism with an emphasis on austerities to inflict pain on the body. Thus, they no longer catered to the emotional needs of the people."¹⁴ For the success of their aims, they adopted simple way of life and local languages of the South Indian people.¹⁵ Darshan Singh writes that with the emergence of these saints Bhakti movement enters into a decisive phase and sectarian schools begin to take a definite shape. It is actually from these Shiva and Vaishnava saints, that the Bhakti movement takes its roots.¹⁶

Support of Local Rulers: Local Rulers of South India especially Pallava Rulers played a major role in the rise and development of this movement in the South Indian states. Pallava Rulers supported to Bhakti movement from different ways. According to Satish Chandra, "The movement was pushed forward by the support of many local rulers, the Pallava Rulers to begin with. The change in the attitude of the

¹⁰ R.C. Majumdar, 'Evolution of Religious-Philosophic Culture in India', *The Cultural Heritage of India: The Religions*, vol-IV, The Ramakrishna Mission, Calcutta, 1956, p.48

¹¹ Tara Chand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, The Indian Press Publications, Allahabad, 1963, p.87

¹² Darshan Singh, *A Study of Bhakta Ravidasa*, pp.42-43

¹³ *Ibid*, p.43

¹⁴ Satish Chandra, *Medieval India from Sultanat to the Mughals*, Part-I, p.248

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p.248.

¹⁶ Darshan Singh, *A Study of Bhakta Ravidasa*, pp.43-44

rulers is generally ascribed to the influence of some eminent saints whose aura of saintliness combined with their capacity to make miracles, to the discomfiture of their Buddhist or Jain opponents, led to the change in the attitude of the Ruler. In the immediate context, royal support was used, on occasions, to persecute the Jains and Buddhists.”¹⁷

Impact of Shankarachariya: Shankarachariya, who was a famous Hindu saint of South India, also played a significant role in this work. He was a knowledgeable man. He criticized ideas and beliefs of the Buddhist and tried to extent philosophy of *Advaita* in South India. His views were very attractive and based on logics. According to him, “The separation of God and the phenomenal world was due to ignorance, and the way to salvation was through the realization, by means of knowledge (*Gyan*), that God and the created world was one. He used dialectics to demolish Buddhist ideas, and to establish that the Vedas were the fountain head of knowledge.”¹⁸ So under the impact of his views, Buddhism had lost its old glory and now this land was free for new movements and new thought.

The above discussion proves that so many causes were responsible for the rise and development of Bhakti movement in South India. Scholars have given different views about the origin of the idea of Bhakti in Hinduism. According to Max Weber, “Bhakti, as the means and condition of spiritual salvation was foreign idea which came to India with Christianity and exercised a considerable influence on the Hinduism of the period of the great epics and of the *Puranas*.”¹⁹ But many foreign and Indian historians reject his view and trace the roots of the Bhakti movement to internal factors. According to Barth, “The movement of Bhakti was an indigenous phenomenon which had its roots in the religious thought of the Hindus. ‘We have only to ask ourselves’, he says, ‘whether India had to wait until the coming of Christianity in order, on the one hand, to arrive at monotheistic conceptions, and on the other to apply those conceptions to popular Gods such as Lord Shiva and Krishna. To deny this, and we do not hesitate to do so, is to admit that Bhakti can be explained as in indigenous fact which was arising in India, as elsewhere in the religions of Osiris; Adonis; Cybele and Bacchus, at its hour and independently of all Christian

¹⁷ Satish Chandra, *Medieval India from Sultanat to the Mughals*, Part-I, pp.248-249

¹⁸ *Ibid*, pp.248-49

¹⁹ Max Weber, *Indian Antiquary*, (Journal), vol-III, 1969, Bombay, pp.21,47 quoted by Yusuf Husain, *Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1973, p.3

influence.’’²⁰

Indian scholar Tara Chand gives different views. He writes that the Bhakti movement was largely an outcome of the Muslim impact on Indian society. He makes particular mention of the increasing emphasis on monotheism, emotional worship, self-surrender (*prapatti*) and adoration of the teacher (Guru-Bhakti) and in addition to them laxity in the rigours of the Caste system.²¹ But many famous historians and writers do not agree with his view. Anil Chandra Banerjee in his writing *Guru Nanak and His Times* writes, “If we accept his view on this topic we must conclude that the whole religious movement in medieval India, which we have called the medieval reformation, was a direct result of the impact of Islam.” For witness of his views or against Tara Chand, he gives many arguments. These are:

“The emphasis on monotheism began with Shankarachariya's doctrine of absolute monism which was derived from the *Upanishads*. Saint Ramanuja and his followers, who believed in qualified monism, needed no inspiration from Islam.”²²

“The idea of *prapatti* was a special feature of the old spiritual heritage of India. *Sri Bhagavata Gita* is a specific example of it. Laxity in the rigid of the Caste system was probably a legacy from the Buddhists, although Islam may have exercised some influence on Hindu society in this respect. Guru Bhakti or service of spiritual teacher is an ancient feature of India’s spiritual heritage”²³

“Indifference towards rituals was a logical corollary of Shankarachariya's teachings; pursuers of *Jnana-marga* need not simultaneously be pursuers of the *Karma-marga*. Kumarila emphasized the Mimansa teaching which attached too much importance to rituals. But Hindu society was already somewhat tired of rituals. Possibly the black rituals of the Tantric Buddhists, in addition to the growing selfishness of priestly prescriptions, had exasperated the popular mind. The natural reaction was insistence on Bhakti, and this presupposes the relegation of rituals to the background. But the process took time.”²⁴

Some historians and writers agree with that the idea of Bhakti is native to India.²⁵ According to Senart, “Bhakti has very deep roots. It is much less a dogma

²⁰ Yusuf Husain, *Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture*, p.4

²¹ Tara Chand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, The Indian Press, Allahabad, 1963, pp.112-118

²² Anil Chandra Banerjee, *Guru Nanak and His Times*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1971, p.40

²³ *Ibid*, pp.41-43

²⁴ *Ibid*, p.43

²⁵ James Hastings (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol-II, p.550; Anil Chandra Banerjee, *Guru Nanak and His Times*, p.43

than a sentiment, whose powerful vitality is attested all along the course of history and poetry. Already in the Vedic hymns the pious enthusiasm burst into vibrant expressions of quasi-monotheism; the passionate longing of the one penetrates the oldest metaphysics; the Hindus and even Aryans, were largely prepared to bow down before divine unities. Many superhuman personalities must have emerged from the religious fermentation which was working silently under the traditional surface and which assisted, along with the blending of races, the increase of local traditions, and rose to the divine figures such as Vishnu, Krishna, Shiva, whether entirely new or renewed by their unforeseen importance. For this there was no need of any foreign influence.”²⁶

With the passage of time Bhakti was taking strong roots in South India. According to *The Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, “Under the impact of Alwar and Nayanar saints many new Bhakti schools had taken birth on South Indian land between second and ninth centuries.”²⁷ In the first half of the twelfth century this movement has been divided into many Sampradayas or schools. But Sri-Sampardaya was most popular school from one of them. A great Hindu saint named Ramanuja was founder of this school.²⁸ According to Ramanuja, “For salvation, the grace of God was more important than knowledge about him. He further argues that the path of Bhakti was open to all, irrespective of caste, and enrolled disciples from all castes.”²⁹

The Bhakti movement started to spread its area to the other parts of India. It came to north Indian states during the time of saint Ramananda. About the journey of Bhakti movement from south India to North India, Munshi Ram Sharma writes, "The Dravid country is the birth place of Bhakti school; Bhakti became young in Karnataka, it grew old in Maharashtra and Gujrat; but when it arrived in Vrindavana, it became young again."³⁰

The Bhakti movement began in North India from the 14th–15th centuries.³¹ About the causes of its advent and spread in northern India mostly historians agree with that Hindu caste system, its rituals; the use of the Vernacular in preference to Sanskrit, the language of the elite, and the emergence and birth of great personalities in northern India were main causes about it. But some historians give one another

²⁶ Yusuf Husain, *Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture*, pp.4-5

²⁷ Harbans Singh (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, vol-I, p.335

²⁸ James Hastings (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol-II, p.544

²⁹ Satish Chandra, *Medieval India from Sultanat to the Mughals*, Part-I, pp.249

³⁰ Harbans Singh (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, vol-I, p.335

³¹ Satish Chandra, *Medieval India from Sultanat to the Mughals*, Part-I, p.250

cause about it that “Bhakti grew in the north as a kind of a defense mechanism, to save Hindu society from the threat of subversion posed to it by the Turkish Rulers, and the challenge faced from the Islamic ideology which was simple, and emphasized the ideas of brotherhood and equality.”³² But Satish Chandra rejects this view and writes, “However, this does not take into account the totality of the situation. As we have seen earlier, after an initial phase of warfare, the Hindus did not face any immediate threat of conversion, though prisoner of war, and even women and children captured in the course of operations were enslaved and converted to Islam. Both rulers and saints, such as Nizamuddin Auliya, admitted that the Hindu faith was too strong to be affected by Islam. In any case, social equality had long disappeared in Islam, and the Turkish Rulers looked down upon Hindu converts, especially those from the artisan and low castes.”³³

Maheswar Neog writes that Bhakti became in a true sense people's religion when the Ramananda movement started northern India with a great band.³⁴ Historians and writers described him as ‘the bridge between the Bhakti movement of the south and the north’.³⁵ Ramananda was a follower of saint Ramanuja and born at Prayag (Allahabad). Ramananda gave equal importance to all castes people. So he enrolled disciples from all castes, including the low castes. For example Ravidas was a cobbler by caste; Kabir was a weaver; Sen, which was a barber; and Sadhana, which was a butcher, were his disciples.³⁶

Under the impact of Saint Ramanand and his disciple’s teachings, two other schools of Bhakti, one conservative or *Saguna* Bhakti and other radical or *Nirguna* Bhakti or *Saint prampara* were rise in this area. The conservative or *Saguna* Bhakti school’s saints believed in the doctrine of avatars and Tulsidas was famous saint of this school. The radical school or *Nirguna Bhakti* or *Saint prampara’s* saints were against cast-system, idol worship and the doctrine of Avatar.³⁷ Kabir, Ravidas and Guru Nanak Dev etc. were its famous saints. This school of Bhakti flourished in the later medieval centuries in Northern India.³⁸

³² Satish Chandra, *Medieval India from Sultanat to the Mughals*, Part-I, p.250

³³ *Ibid*, p.252

³⁴ Maheswar Neog, *The Bhakti-Ratnakara of Sankaradeva and History of the Concept of Bhakti*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1982, p.47

³⁵ Anil Chandra Baneerje, *Guru Nanak and His Times*, p.45

³⁶ *Ibid*, pp.253

³⁷ *Ibid*, pp.55-58

³⁸ Darshan Singh, *A Study of Bhakta Ravidasa*, pp.55-56

BHAKTI MOVEMENT IN PUNJAB

Bhakti movement reached in Punjab with Namdev, in the last half of the 13th century.³⁹ After him many other famous Bhakti saints followed his path and tried to extend this movement. These saints are mentioned below:

Namdev

Namdev was the first famous Bhakti saint of Punjab. He was born in 1270 A.D. in the village of Narasi-Vamani, in Satara district of Maharashtra. His father's name was Damasheti, who was a low-caste tailor. His mother's name was Gonabai. She was a Bhakta and poetess.⁴⁰ According to tradition, Namdev was born to Gonabai as a result of her worship of Vitthala in Pandharpur.⁴¹ Namdev was married at early age of his life, when he was just eleven years old with Rajabai. She was the daughter of Govindasheti Sadavarte.⁴²

During his early life, his father left his native village Narsi Bahmi and settled at Pandarpur. During that time Sri Vitthal Dev temple was a famous temple of this town. Namdev started to go there with his family. Religious atmosphere of this temple made good impact on Namdev's mind and after some time he became a great devotee of this temple and started reciting praises of the God by the name of Lord Vitthal. He spent most time of his life in worship and *kirtan* of God and during that time he used mostly verses of his own composition.⁴³ So after some time his devotional lyrics became very popular in the people. Namdev's songs have been collected in *Namdevachi Gatha* which also includes the long autobiographical poem *Tirathavali*. About the number of his hymns tradition ascribes that he composed more than two thousand hymns, but the actual number does not seem to exceed one hundred and fifty, counting those preserved in the *Shri Guru Granth Sahib*.⁴⁴

According to tradition, Visoba Khechar was that person, who changed his mind about God. Namdev met with him in the temple of Nagnath. About Namdev's first meeting with his spiritual master Visoba Khechar, historians and writer's give an interesting story that one day in the temple of Nagnath, Namdev saw an old man (Visoba Khechar), who was suffering from leprosy and during that time Visoba

³⁹ Fatima Hussain (ed.), *Sufism and Bhakti Movement*, Classic, Lahore, 2008, p.148

⁴⁰ Max Arthur Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, vol-VI, S. Chand & Company, New Delhi, 1985, pp.17-18

⁴¹ Harbans Singh (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, vol-III, p.161

⁴² *Ibid*, p.161

⁴³ *Ibid*.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*.

Khechar lying with his feet placed on the image of Lord Shiva. He was shocked and during that time he asked to Visoba Khechar that he should take his feet off the idol. When Visoba Khechar said to Namdev that he was too weak to do so himself and asked him to place them where the God was not present.⁴⁵ According to Jodh Singh, “The profundity of this remark brought instant realization to Namdev that God was omnipresent and that idol was not God.”⁴⁶

After this incident in the company of Gian Dev, he travelled to the country and at last he reached in Punjab. He lived there for more than twenty years at Ghuman, village the of Gurdaspur district.⁴⁷ According to one tradition, Namdev died in 1350 A.D. at Ghuman in the Gurdaspur (Punjab) and according to the other at Pandharpur.⁴⁸

Bhagat Sadhna

Bhagat Sadhna was another famous saint of Punjab. He is believed to have been born in Sehwan in Sind (now in Pakistan). According to tradition he was a butcher by trade.⁴⁹ But he never killed animals himself. For trade he purchased those killed by others and then retailed their flesh.⁵⁰ Although Bhagat Sadhana was a butcher by trade, but apart from this he was very famous in the people for his spiritual nature or views. Bhagat Ravidas’s hymns are example of it, where Ravidas gave equal status to Bhagat Sadhna with Bhagat Kabir, Namdev, Trilochan and Sain, which were very famous saints of that time. Hymn is as follows:

ਨਾਮਦੇਵ ਕਬੀਰੁ ਤਿਲੋਚਨੁ ਸਧਨਾ ਸੈਨੁ ਤਰੈ ॥

ਕਹਿ ਰਵਿਦਾਸੁ ਸੁਨਹੁ ਰੇ ਸੰਤਹੁ ਹਰਿ ਜੀਉ ਤੇ ਸਭੈ ਸਰੈ ॥੨॥੧॥⁵¹

Sadhna was contemporary of Saint Namdev. He met with him and Gyandev near Elora caves during their spiritual journeys.⁵² According to *The Encyclopedia of Sikhism*, “His spiritual quest led him to renounce the household. He left Sehwan and roamed about the country preaching the love of God. None of his holy songs have survived expect the solitary hymn preserved in the *Shri Guru Granth Sahib*, which

⁴⁵ ਜੋਧ ਸਿੰਘ, *ਭਗਤ ਨਾਮਦੇਵ ਤਥਾ ਹੋਰ ਭਗਤ ਜੀਵਨ ਤੇ ਰਚਨਾ*, ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਯੂਨੀਵਰਸਿਟੀ, ਪਟਿਆਲਾ, 1987, ਪੰਨੇ-3-4

⁴⁶ ਉਹੀ, ਪੰਨੇ-3-4

⁴⁷ Harbans Singh (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, vol-III, p. 161; Kirpal Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib: Historical-Socio, Economic Perspective*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2012, pp.115-116

⁴⁸ Harbans Singh (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, vol-IV, p.162

⁴⁹ Max Arthur Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, vol-VI, p.84

⁵⁰ Harbans Singh (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, vol-IV, p.7

⁵¹ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ, ਬਾਣੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਰਾਮਦਾਸ ਜੀ, ਰਾਗੁ ਮਾਰੂ, ਪੰਨਾ-1106

⁵² Max Arthur Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, vol-VI, p.84

keeps his memory alive.”⁵³ About the composition of this hymn, writers give information that an incident played a significant role behind it. According to a story, “Once Sadhna was going to Jagan Nath temple, which was a religious pilgrimage of Hindu religion. On this way, he met with a beautiful married woman, who fell in love with him. She proposed to Sadhna, but he rejected her love. During that time she thought that she was rejected because she was married and her husband was in between their relations. So she went to her home, killed her husband and came again ahead Sadhna and said to him that now she was free for her marriage life. Sadhna struck to his guns and again he rejected her love. When the women saw that Sadhna again rejected her love then she went straight away to the city, where she met with Kotwal and said to him that Sadhna was the murderer of her husband. According to Max Arthur Macualiffe, “During that time Sadhna prayed to God and went in a trance. As a clairvoyant, he was able to realize that the woman in her last birth was a cow and her husband, the butcher, who had killed her. So she was destined to kill him in order to take revenge in the form of his present wife.” After this incident, Sadhna composed this hymn, which is included in *Shri Guru Granth Sahib*.⁵⁴

During the last days of his life, Bhagat Sadhna came to Punjab. According to *The Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, “He was cremated at Sirhind, in the Punjab, where even today a tomb stands in his memory.”⁵⁵

Guru Nanak Dev

Guru Nanak Dev was next famous bhakti saint of Punjab. He was born in 15 April 1469 A.D., in the house of Mehta Kalu (or Kalu), and Tripata or Tripta at Rai Bhoi Ki Talwandi⁵⁶ (Now known as Nankana Sahib, 65 Km. Southwest of Lahore in Pakistan). Mehta Kalu was Khatri by caste and a Bedi by sub-caste and he serving as a Patwari (village land accountant) in Rai Bhoi Ki Talwandi.⁵⁷

His father Mehta Kalu serving as a Patwari (village land accountant), so Guru Nanak Dev learnt arithmetic and accountancy in *Lande Mahajani* from him. He learnt reading and writing from a Brahman in Devnagri and Persian and Arabic from a Maulvi.⁵⁸ According to Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, “When he grew up, he

⁵³ Harbans Singh (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, vol-IV, p.7

⁵⁴ Max Arthur Macualiffe, *The Sikh Religion*, vol-VI, pp.85-88

⁵⁵ Harbans Singh (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, vol-IV, p.7

⁵⁶ Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, vol-I, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 2015, p.55

⁵⁷ Anil Chandra Banerjee, *The Sikh Gurus and the Sikh Religion*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, 1983, p.68

⁵⁸ Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, vol-I, p.55

supplemented his knowledge by associating with the saints and hermits found in neighbouring forest. He was deeply interested in Indian lore in general and in the writing of the contemporary Bhaktas in particular, whose teachings he compared with his own and criticized in passing.”⁵⁹

Guru Nanak Dev’s behavior was totally different from other children. But his unobtrusive temperament worried his parents specially his father. He always tried to engage Nanak in the affairs of the world. *Janam Sakhis* gives information that before the service in Sultanpur, Guru Nanak adopted various occupations, but his interests lay in things more important. In the end Maheta Kalu decided to send him to his sister named Bibi Nanaki at Sultanpur,⁶⁰ where she was married. Her husband, Jai Ram, who was a State employ and had some influence with the local Governor, Daulat Khan Lodhi, and secured a respectable post for Guru Nanak Dev, whom he presented as an educated man. Guru Nanak Dev was put in charge of Modikhana (the State granary), where the corn collected as a part of the land revenue was stored and sold out to the people.⁶¹ But this job could not hold him for long time.⁶² According to Hari Ram Gupta, “Nanak worked honestly and faithfully, but his heart was in contemplation and devotion to God. All his time was spent in singing the praises of God.”⁶³ He also spent a small portion of his salary for his own maintenance, giving away the rest for God’s sake.⁶⁴

Guru Nanak Dev was married with Sulakhani, the daughter of Mul Chand, a resident of Batala. This marriage took place at Sutlanpur at the age of eighteen years old. After seven years of marriage, he was blessed with a son named Sri Chand (Baba Shri Chand), and two years later another son named Lakhmi Chand.⁶⁵ Dalbir Singh Dhillon writes that family ties and other worldly attachments could not stop his quest for the attainment of spiritual truth.”⁶⁶

In Sultanpur, Guru Nanak Dev visited at Kali Bein (river) daily, a rivulet flowing nearby, According to *The Encyclopedia of Sikhism*, “One day Guru Nanak

⁵⁹ Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, vol-I, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1989, p.2

⁶⁰ Dalbir Singh Dhillon, *Sikhism, Origin and Development*, Atlantic Publishers, New Delhi, 1988, pp.68-69

⁶¹ Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, vol-1, p.4

⁶² Dalbir Singh Dhillon, *Sikhism, Origin and Development*, p.69

⁶³ Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, vol-I, p.56

⁶⁴ Anil Chandra Banerjee, *The Sikh Gurus and the Sikh Religion*, p.73

⁶⁵ Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, vol-I, p.56

⁶⁶ Dalbir Singh Dhillon, *Sikhism, Origin and Development*, p.69

failed to appear for work following his early morning ablutions in the river Kali. He had been missing for three days and nights, and it was feared that he had brought him to an intimate communion with the Divine. He seemed to have received a call to go forth into the wider world to preach the vision vouchsafed to him. The *Puratan Janam Sakhi* describes this mystical experience in terms of a direct encounter with the Divine; also Bhai Gurdas who says, his *Var*, 1.24, “Guru Nanak was invested with his commission in *Sach Khand*, the Abode of the Eternal One.”⁶⁷ According to Hari Ram Gupta, “This was the last day of Kartik, 1496, the full-moon-day, and the day of Guru Nanak’s spiritual regeneration.”⁶⁸ According to Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, “When he reappeared after three days, he had changed. He gave away all he had to the poor, and kept silent. Whenever he was urged to speak, he only said: *There is no Hindu, no Mussalman.*”⁶⁹ He announced to the world the good news of life lived in communion with the One God who is beyond the religious divisions created by humankind.⁷⁰

After some time of this incident, Guru Nanak taking Mardana with him as his sole companion, left Sultanpur, assumed the role of a religious teacher (Guru) in fulfillment of his divine mission and undertook long journeys in different parts of India and the adjoining countries and in western Asia. Historians and writers called these journeys *Udasis*, because during these journeys, he travelled like a person who had renounced the world.⁷¹ According to *The Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, “It is difficult to establish an exact itinerary of Guru Nanak’s travels. Customarily they are grouped into four lengthy journeys (*Udasis*) to the east, south, north and west.”⁷² During these journeys, he visited mostly all Hindu religious pilgrimage like Mathura, Haridwar, Kurukshetra, Banaras, Gaya, as well as those in Assam Bengal and Ceylon (Sri Lanka). During these journeys he also visited many famous Sufi establishments at Pakpattan (Ajodhan) and Multan and shrine sites along the west coast of India. Apart from this in these journeys he visited Muslim’s most famous religious pilgrimages Mecca, Medina and Baghdad also.⁷³

Guru Nanak Dev stopped his travelling near about 1521 A.D. During that time Babar was plundering to the people of Saidpur, Guru Nanak Dev, who was present

⁶⁷ Harbans Singh, (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, vol-IV, p.166

⁶⁸ Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, vol-I, pp.56-57

⁶⁹ Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, vol-I, p.4

⁷⁰ Harbans Singh, (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, vol-III, p.166

⁷¹ Anil Chandra Banerjee, *The Sikh Gurus and the Sikh Religion*, p.77

⁷² Harbans Singh (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, vol-III, p.167

⁷³ Surinder Singh Kohli, *Travels of Guru Nanak*, Punjab University, Chandigarh, 1969, pp.9-168

there, saw whole massacre of the people with his own eyes.⁷⁴ On that occasion Guru Nanak Dev uttered some of the most touching verses, which he calls *hymns of Blood*:

ਜੈਸੀ ਮੈ ਆਵੈ ਖਸਮ ਕੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਤੈਸੜਾ ਕਰੀ ਗਿਆਨੁ ਵੇ ਲਾਲੋ ॥
ਪਾਪ ਕੀ ਜੰਵ ਲੈ ਕਾਬਲਹੁ ਧਾਇਆ ਜੋਰੀ ਮੰਗੈ ਦਾਨੁ ਵੇ ਲਾਲੋ ॥
ਸਰਮੁ ਧਰਮੁ ਦੁਇ ਛਪਿ ਖਲੋਏ ਕੂੜੁ ਫਿਰੈ ਪਰਧਾਨੁ ਵੇ ਲਾਲੋ ॥
ਕਾਜੀਆ ਬਾਮਣਾ ਕੀ ਗਲ ਥਕੀ ਅਗਦੁ ਪੜੈ ਸੈਤਾਨੁ ਵੇ ਲਾਲੋ ॥
ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨੀਆ ਪੜਹਿ ਕਤੇਬਾ ਕਸਟ ਮਹਿ ਕਰਹਿ ਖੁਦਾਇ ਵੇ ਲਾਲੋ ॥
ਜਾਤਿ ਸਨਾਤੀ ਹੋਰਿ ਹਿਦਵਾਣੀਆ ਏਹਿ ਭੀ ਲੇਖੈ ਲਾਇ ਵੇ ਲਾਲੋ ॥
ਖੂਨ ਕੇ ਸੋਹਿਲੇ ਗਾਵੀਅਹਿ ਨਾਨਕ ਰਤੁ ਕਾ ਕੁੰਗੂ ਪਾਇ ਵੇ ਲਾਲੋ ॥੧॥⁷⁵

After this incident he spent some time at Sayyidpur. After this place he went to his birth place Rai Bhoi Ki Talwandi and in the end Guru Nanak settled in Kartarpur, where, he spent the last seventeen years of his life with his family and followers. He cultivated his lands and preached his doctrines.⁷⁶ Guru Nanak Dev died in September, 1539 A.D. at Kartarpur⁷⁷ after announcing that Bhai Lehna (Guru Angad Dev) would be his spiritual descendent.⁷⁸

Guru Nanak Dev was a great poet and scholar. His 974 hymns are examples of it.

Relations between Bhakti movement and Sufism in Punjab

The reaction of the Sufis about the Hindus religious movements was positive. No doubt Bhakti movement was working in India before Sufism, but if we talk about Punjab, this movement entered after Sufism. It is very strange that although both movements belonged to different religions and practices were totally different from each other. But besides these, their relations in Punjab were cordial. They gave respect to each other and many times they visited each other's places and discussed various spiritual issues. Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi in *Fwaid-al-Fuad* mentions that many Hindu saints met with Sheikh Farid his khanqah and discussed spiritual issues.⁷⁹ Guru Nanak Dev also visited many famous Sufi centers or khanqahs. The historians give information that during his *Udasis*, Guru Nanak Dev visited Pakpattan

⁷⁴ Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, vol-I, p.68

⁷⁵ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਰਾਗੁ ਤਿਲੰਗ, ਮ:੧, ਪੰਨੇ-722-723

⁷⁶ Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, vol-I, p.71

⁷⁷ Dalbir Singh Dhillon, *Sikhism Origin and Development*, p.82

⁷⁸ Surinder Singh Kohli, *Travels of Guru Nanak*, Punjab University, Chandigarh, 1978, p.21

⁷⁹ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, D.K. Printworld, New Delhi, 1996, pp.196, 434-435

and Multan. There he met the descendant and successor of Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya and Sheikh Farid and discussed with them spiritual issues.⁸⁰

Their similar spiritual ideas or views on different aspects played very significant role in their friendly relations in Punjab. These are as follows:

Firstly, Punjab's Sufi and Bhakti saint's views were similar about God. According to Sheikh Ali bin Ushman Ali-Hujwiri, "Knowledge of the Divine Essence involves recognition, on the part of one who is reasonable and has reached puberty, that God exists externally by His essence, that He is infinite and not bounded by space, that His essence is not the cause of evil, that none of His creatures is like unto Him, that He has neither wife nor child, and that He is the Creator and Sustainer of all that your imagination and intellect can conceive. God has attributes existing in Himself, which are not He nor a part of Him, but exist in Him and subsist by Him, e.g. Knowledge, Power, Life, Will, Hearing, Sight, Speech, etc. God is the Creator of mankind and of all their actions, that He brought the non-existent universe into being; that He predestines good and evil and creates all that is beneficial and injurious."⁸¹ Guru Nanak Dev in his hymn called *Mul Mantra* says that there is but one God. His name is truth, Creative his personality and immortal His form. He is without fear, sans enmity, unborn and self-illuminated.⁸² In another hymn, Guru Nanak wrote about the concept of God that God is the power and energy behind the Universe. He is the Creator of everything which exists in it.⁸³ He is beyond time. There is none other than Him.⁸⁴ All the Devas or Gods are His creation. So that worships only one Almighty God.⁸⁵ Namdev also agreed to Guru Nanak and Sufi saint's view and writes that Lord is everywhere there is no besides Him.⁸⁶

⁸⁰ G.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, Cambridge University Press, 1999, p.8

⁸¹ Ali bin Uthman Al-Hujwiri, *Kashf-al-Mahjub*, eng. trans. by Reynold A. Nicholson, Taj Company, Delhi, 1982, pp.14-15

⁸² ਐਸੋਤਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਕਰਤਾ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਨਿਰਭਉ ਨਿਰਵੈਰੁ
ਅਕਾਲ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਅਜੂਨੀ ਸੈਭੰ ਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ॥
ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਮੁਲ ਮੰਤਰਾਂ, ਮ:੧, ਪੰਨਾ-1

⁸³ ਸਗਲੀ ਜੋਤਿ ਤੇਰਾ ਸਭੁ ਕੋਈ ॥
ਆਪੇ ਜੋਤਿ ਵਿਛੋੜੇ ਸੋਈ ॥

ਆਪੇ ਕਰਤਾ ਕਰੇ ਸੁ ਹੋਈ ॥੩॥
ਉਹੀ, ਰਾਗੁ ਆਸਾ, ਮ:੧, ਪੰਨਾ-414

⁸⁴ ਸਭਨਾ ਜੀਆ ਕਾ ਇਕੁ ਦਾਤਾ... ॥੫॥
ਉਹੀ, ਜਪਜੀ, ਮ:੧, ਪੰਨਾ-2

⁸⁵ ਨਾਰਦ ਸਾਰਦ ਸੇਵਕ ਤੇਰੇ ॥ ਤ੍ਰਿਭਵਣਿ ਸੇਵਕ ਵਡਹੁ ਵਡੇਰੇ ॥
ਸਭ ਤੇਰੀ ਕੁਦਰਤਿ ਤੂੰ ਸਿਰਿ ਸਿਰਿ ਦਾਤਾ ਸਭੁ ਤੇਰੇ ਕਾਰਣੁ ਕੀਨਾ ਹੇ ॥੧੫॥
(ਉਹੀ, ਰਾਗੁ ਮਾਰੂ, ਮ:੧, ਪੰਨਾ-1028)

⁸⁶ ਸਭੁ ਗੋਬਿੰਦੁ ਹੈ ਸਭੁ ਗੋਬਿੰਦੁ ਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦੁ ਬਿਨੁ ਨਹੀ ਕੋਈ... ॥੧॥
(ਉਹੀ, ਰਾਗੁ ਆਸਾ, ਬਾਣੀ ਭਗਤ ਨਾਮਦੇਵ, ਪੰਨਾ-485)

Secondly, Punjab's Sufi and Bhakti saint's views were also similar about the necessity of the Divine Knowledge (Gyan or Ilam) in human life. With the Divine Knowledge, everyone understood and achieved to God. According to Ali bin Uthman Al-Hujwiri, "Knowledge has been defined as "Comprehension and investigation of the object known, but the best definition of it is this: A quality whereby the ignorant are made wise."⁸⁷ Knowledge is of two kinds: Divine and Human.⁸⁸ The object of human knowledge should be to know God and his commandments.⁸⁹ God's knowledge is that by which He knows all things existent and non-existent. He does not share it with anyone: it is not capable of division and in separable from Himself."⁹⁰ He again writes, "The Prophet Muhammad said: *The devotee without divinity is like a donkey turning a mill*, because the donkey goes round and round over its own tracks and never makes any advance."⁹¹ In the same sense Guru Nanak Dev in his hymns says, "By obtaining the wealth of divine knowledge the insight into the three worlds is acquired."⁹² When he sees God⁹³ and understands that the Lord is fully abiding in all the places."⁹⁴

Thirdly, like the Divine knowledge, Punjab's Bhakti and Sufi saints also gave to stress to the necessity of spiritual teacher or master (Guru, Achariya). Hindu used word Guru and Achariya for their spiritual master, which means a teacher or a mentor, a preceptor and a guide.⁹⁵ Sufi used *Pir*, *Wali* and *Ustad* for their spiritual teacher or master.⁹⁶ In Guru Nanak Dev's hymns focused on the necessity of Guru for the human being. These are:

⁸⁷ Ali bin Uthman Al-Hujwiri, *Kashf-al-Mahjub*, eng. trans. by Reynold A. Nicholson, p.12

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p.12

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p.13

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p.12

⁹¹ *Ibid*, p.11

⁹² ਗਿਆਨ ਪਦਾਰਥੁ ਪਾਈਐ ਤ੍ਰਿਭਵਣ ਸੋਝੀ ਹੋਇ ॥ ... ॥੭॥

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ, ਸਿਰੀ ਰਾਗੁ, ਮ:੧, ਪੰਨਾ-60

⁹³ ਗਿਆਨੀ ਅੰਜਨੁ ਸਚ ਕਾ ਡੋਖੈ ਡੋਖਣਹਾਰੁ ॥੭॥

(ਉਹੀ, ਮਾਰੂ ਰਾਗੁ, ਮ:੧, ਪੰਨਾ-1015)

⁹⁴ (1) ਓਹੁ ਵੇਖੇ ਓਨਾ ਨਦਰਿ ਨ ਆਵੈ ਬਹੁਤਾ ਏਹੁ ਵਿਡਾਣੁ ॥

ਆਦੇਸੁ ਤਿਸੈ ਆਦੇਸੁ ॥

ਆਦਿ ਅਨੀਲੁ ਅਨਾਦਿ ਅਨਾਹਤਿ ਜੁਗੁ ਜੁਗੁ ਏਕੋ ਵੇਸੁ ॥੩੦॥

(2) ਸਰਬ ਜੋਤਿ ਤੇਰੀ ਪਸਰਿ ਰਹੀ ॥

ਜਹ ਜਹ ਦੇਖਾ ਤਹ ਨਰਹਰੀ

ਉਹੀ, ਜਪੁਜੀ, ਮ:੧, ਪੰਨਾ-7; ਉਹੀ, ਰਾਮਕਲੀ ਰਾਗੁ, ਮ: ੧, ਪੰਨਾ-876

⁹⁵ Sant Singh Sekhon, (ed.), *Papers on Guru Nanak (Guru Nanak To-Day)*, Lahore Book Shop, Ludhiana, 1979, p.90

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, p.92

- (I) ਬਿਨੁ ਗੁਰ ਭਰਮੈ ਆਵੈ ਜਾਇ ॥ ਬਿਨੁ ਗੁਰ ਘਾਲ ਨ ਪਵਈ ਥਾਇ ॥
 ਬਿਨੁ ਗੁਰ ਮਨੁਆ ਅਤਿ ਡੋਲਾਇ ॥ ਬਿਨੁ ਗੁਰ ਤ੍ਰਿਪਤਿ ਨਹੀ ਬਿਖੁ ਖਾਇ ॥
 ਬਿਨੁ ਗੁਰ ਬਿਸੀਅਰੁ ਡਸੈ ਮਰਿ ਵਾਟ ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰ ਬਿਨੁ ਘਾਟੇ ਘਾਟ ॥੩੮॥
- (II) ਜਿਸ ਗੁਰੁ ਮਿਲੈ ਤਿਸੁ ਪਾਰਿ ਉਤਾਰ ॥ ਅਵਗਣ ਮੇਟੈ ਗੁਣਿ ਨਿਸਤਾਰੈ ॥...॥੩੯॥⁹⁷

Guru Nanak declared that no doubt the Divine knowledge (Gyan) of God is very important for the people, but without the spiritual master's grace, divine comprehension is not obtained.⁹⁸ He also says that the real spiritual master or teacher is obtained through God's grace, which creates from the chain of births and deaths.⁹⁹ He is a bridge between God and man.¹⁰⁰ The Guru takes us out of illusions and puts us on the right path.¹⁰¹ There is no holy place of pilgrimage like the Guru.¹⁰² Namdev also gave too much importance to the Guru. His some hymns are examples of it. Some hymns are:

- (1) ਸਫਲ ਜਨਮੁ ਮੋ ਕਉ ਗੁਰ ਕੀਨਾ ॥
 ਦੁਖ ਬਿਸਾਰਿ ਸੁਖ ਅੰਤਰਿ ਲੀਨਾ ॥
 ਗਿਆਨ ਅਜਨੁ ਮੋ ਕਉ ਗੁਰਿ ਦੀਨਾ ॥
 ਰਾਮ ਨਾਮ ਬਿਨੁ ਜੀਵਨੁ ਮਨ ਹੀਨਾ ॥¹⁰³
- (2) ਜਉ ਗੁਰਦੇਉ ਤ ਮਿਲੈ ਮੁਰਾਰਿ ॥ ਜਉ ਗੁਰਦੇਉ ਤ ਉਤਰੈ ਪਾਰਿ ॥
 ਜਉ ਗੁਰਦੇਉ ਤ ਬੈਕੁੰਠ ਤਰੈ ॥ ਜਉ ਗੁਰਦੇਉ ਤ ਜੀਵਤ ਮਰੈ ॥੧॥
 ਸਤਿ ਸਤਿ ਸਤਿ ਸਤਿ ਸਤਿ ਗੁਰਦੇਵ ॥ ਝੁਠੁ ਝੁਠੁ ਝੁਠੁ ਝੁਠੁ ਆਨ ਸਭ
 ਸੇਵ ॥੧॥¹⁰⁴

Like Guru Nanak Dev and Namdev, Sufi saints also gave stress for the need of Guru or spiritual Master in the human life. Ali bin Uthman Al-Hujwiri writes that Prophet Muhammad himself gave too much importance to Fakirs and Darwashes

⁹⁷ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਰਾਮਕਲੀ ਰਾਗ, ਮ: ੧, ਪੰਨਾ-942

⁹⁸ ਭਾਈ ਰੋ ਹਰਿ ਹੀਰਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਮਹਿ ॥.....॥੧॥

ਉਹੀ, ਰਾਗੁ ਸਿਰੀ, ਮ:੧, ਪੰਨਾ-61

⁹⁹ ਨਦਰਿ ਕਰਹਿ ਜੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਤਾ ਨਦਰੀ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਪਾਇਆ ॥

ਏਹੁ ਜੀਉ ਬਹੁਤੇ ਜਨਮ ਭਰਮਿਆ ਤਾ ਸਤਿਗੁਰਿ ਸਬਦੁ ਸੁਣਾਇਆ ॥...॥੪॥

ਉਹੀ, ਰਾਗੁ ਆਸਾ, ਮ:੧, ਪੰਨਾ-465

¹⁰⁰ ਨਾਨਕ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਮੀਤੁ ਕਰ ਸਚੁ ਪਾਵਹਿ ਦਰਗਾਹ ਜਾਇ ॥੪॥੨੦॥

ਉਹੀ, ਸਿਰੀ ਰਾਗੁ, ਮ:੧, ਪੰਨਾ-22

¹⁰¹ ਬਿਨੁ ਗੁਰ ਕਰਮ ਨ ਛੁਟਸੀ ਕਹਿ ਸਣੁ ਆਖਿ ਵਖਾਣੁ ॥੨॥

ਉਹੀ, ਸਿਰੀ ਰਾਗ, ਮ:੧, ਪੰਨਾ-56

¹⁰² ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰ ਸਮਾਨਿ ਤੀਰਥੁ ਨਹੀ ਕੋਈ ਸਾਚੇ ਗੁਰ ਗੋਪਾਲਾ ॥੩॥

ਉਹੀ, ਰਾਗੁ ਆਸਾ, ਮ:੧, ਪੰਨਾ-437

¹⁰³ ਉਹੀ, ਬਾਣੀ ਭਗਤ ਨਾਮਦੇਵ, ਰਾਗੁ ਬਿਲਾਵਲੁ, ਪੰਨੇ-857-858

¹⁰⁴ ਉਹੀ, ਬਾਣੀ ਭਗਤ ਨਾਮਦੇਵ, ਰਾਗੁ ਭੈਰਉ, ਪੰਨਾ-1166

(spiritual teacher or guide), because God is obtained through their grace.¹⁰⁵ Sufis believed that the order of the spiritual Master is like the order of the Prophet. So disciples did act or works, according to their spiritual teachers.¹⁰⁶ Sufis gave too much importance to the devotion of spiritual teacher. According to Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya, “One who has love and perfect devotion for his spiritual Master, one time of his better than all the times of the other, who has a lethargic devotion and is a devotee.”¹⁰⁷ The Sufis also thought that the disciple should love his spiritual Master (Guru) to such an extent that he reaches to a level that he grasps this thing fully in his mind that there is no other intercession to reach God except his spiritual master (Guru).¹⁰⁸

Fourthly, Sufi and Bhakti saints believed in the social equality. According to Sheikh Farid, “Do not utter even a single rude word to any one, as the True Master abides in one and all and do not break the heart of any one, as every heart is a priceless jewel.”¹⁰⁹ *Fawaid-al-Fuad* mentions that the doors of the Sufis khanqahs were always open to all the people, who were belonging to different groups, faiths, religions.¹¹⁰ According to Guru Nanak Dev’s views, “All men are equals because they have been created by one God.¹¹¹ No high or low among them.”¹¹² All religions alike and regarded all conflicts of religions, castes and classes as meaningless and the words Hindu and Muslim were only our names for masks, and that behind all those masks was common humanity.¹¹³ His hymns are great examples of it. Some of these are:

¹⁰⁵ ਹਜ਼ਰਤ ਸ਼ੇਖ ਮਖਦੂਸ ਅਲੀ ਹੁਜਵੀਰੀ, *ਕਸ਼ਫੁਲ ਮਹਿਜੂਬ*, ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਅਨੁਵਾਦਕ ਕਾਲਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਬੇਦੀ, ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਯੂਨੀਵਰਸਿਟੀ, ਪਟਿਆਲਾ, 1989, ਪੰਨਾ-25

¹⁰⁶ Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delli, Delhi, 2013 p.264

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, pp.265-266

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*, p.263

¹⁰⁹ ਇਕੁ ਫਿਕਾ ਨ ਹਾਲਾਇ ਸਭਨਾ ਮੈ ਸਚਾ ਧਣੀ ॥
ਹਿਆਉ ਨਾ ਕੈਹੀ ਠਾਹਿ ਮਾਣਕ ਸਭ ਅਮੈਲਵੇ ॥੧੨੯॥
ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਸਲੋਕ ਬਾਬਾ ਫਰੀਦ, ਸਲੋਕ-129, ਪੰਨਾ-1384

¹¹⁰ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, pp.181, 434-435

¹¹¹ ਸਭ ਮਹਿ ਜੋਤਿ ਜੋਤਿ ਹੈ ਸੋਈ ॥
ਤਿਸੁ ਕੈ ਚਾਨਣਿ ਸਭ ਮਹਿ ਚਾਨਣਿ ਹੋਈ ॥੩॥
ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਰਾਗ ਧਨਾਸਰੀ, ਮ:੧, ਪੰਨਾ-663

¹¹² ਸਭ ਉਤਮ ਕਿਸੁ ਆਖਉ ਹੀਨਾ ॥ ੧ ॥
ਉਹੀ, ਰਾਗ ਬਸੰਤ, ਮ:੧, ਪੰਨਾ-1189

¹¹³ Harbans Singh (ed.), *Perspectives on Guru Nanak*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1990, p.514

- (1) ਜਾਤੀ ਦੈ ਕਿਆ ਹਥਿ ਸਚੁ ਪਰਖੀਐ ॥
ਮਹੁਰਾ ਹੋਵੈ ਹਥਿ ਮਰੀਐ ਚਖੀਐ ॥੧੦॥¹¹⁴
- (2) ਜਾਣਹੁ ਜੋਤਿ ਨ ਪੂਛਹੁ ਜਾਤੀ ਆਗੈ ਜਾਤਿ ਨ ਹੋ ॥੧॥¹¹⁵
- (3) ਫਕੜ ਜਾਤੀ ਫਕੜ ਨਾਉ ਸਭਨਾ ਜੀਆ ਇਕਾ ਛਾਉ ॥¹¹⁶
- (4) ਖਸਮੁ ਵਿਸਾਰਇ ਤੈ ਕਮਜਾਤਿ ॥੪॥੨॥¹¹⁷

Fifthly, these saints of Punjab also gave too much importance to *Nam Simram* or dedication to the Name of God. According to Guru Nanak Dev, “The Divine Name was the medicine for the people. Without the Name, life was as a barren land.¹¹⁸ Without God's Name of pervading God, the world is not emancipated¹¹⁹ and without the Name, none attains salvation.¹²⁰ So man gives the importance to *Nam Simram* or dedication to the Name of God and repeats the Name, meditates on the name and through the Name he is absorbed in peace.”¹²¹ Namdev also says in his hymn:

ਤੂੰ ਰਹਿ ਭਜੁ ਮਨ ਮੇਰੇ ਪਦੁ ਨਿਰਬਾਨੁ ॥
ਬਹੁਰਿ ਨ ਹੋਇ ਤੇਰਾ ਆਵਨ ਜਾਨੁ ॥

(“Meditate thou on thy God, O my soul and thou shalt obtain the dignity of Salvation. Like this thou shalt not again come and go.”)¹²²

Like Guru Nanak Dev and Namdev, Sufi saints also gave importance to the dedication to the True Name. According to them:

“In the name of Allah, the best of all names; in the name of Allah, the Lord of earth and heaven; in the name of Allah, with whose name nothing on earth and in heaven can do any harm; He, Who is the Hearer, the Knower.”¹²³

At another place Sheikh Farid also in his one hymn says:

"They, who forget God's Name,

¹¹⁴ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਰਾਗੁ ਧਨਾਸਰੀ, ਮ:੧, ਪੰਨਾ-142

¹¹⁵ ਉਹੀ, ਰਾਗੁ ਆਸਾ, ਮ:੧, ਪੰਨਾ-349

¹¹⁶ ਉਹੀ, ਰਾਗੁ ਸਿਰੀ, ਮ:੧, ਪੰਨਾ-83

¹¹⁷ ਉਹੀ, ਰਾਗੁ ਆਸਾ, ਮ:੧, ਪੰਨਾ-349

¹¹⁸ Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, vol-1, pp.75-76

¹¹⁹ ਰਾਮ ਨਾਮ ਬਿਨੁ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਨ ਹੋਈ... ॥੧॥

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਰਾਗੁ ਸਿਰੀ, ਮ:੧, ਪੰਨਾ 75

¹²⁰ ਨਾਮ ਬਿਨਾ ਗਤਿ ਕੋਈ ਨਾ ਪਾਵੈ... ॥੩॥

ਉਹੀ, ਰਾਗੁ ਗਉੜੀ, ਮ:੧, ਪੰਨਾ-243

¹²¹ ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਹਉਮੈ ਤੂਟੈ ਤਾ ਹਰਿ ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਧਿਆਵੈ ॥

ਨਾਮੁ ਜਪੈ ਨਾਮੇ ਆਰਾਧੈ ਨਾਮੇ ਸੁਖਿ ਸਮਾਵੈ ॥੨॥

ਉਹੀ, ਰਾਗੁ ਮਾਝ, ਮ:੧, ਪੰਨਾ-139

¹²² ਉਹੀ, ਬਾਣੀ ਭਗਤ ਨਾਮਦੇਵ, ਰਾਗੁ ਗੁਜਰੀ, ਪੰਨਾ-525

¹²³ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p.270

Become a burden on the earth.”¹²⁴

Sixthly, Bhakti and Sufi saint's views were also similar on good deeds (Karma). According to Sheikh Farid:

“The body of three and a half maunds, lives on water and grain.
Entertaining high hopes, the mortal had come into the world.
But, when the Death’s angel comes, he breaks open all the doors.
He binds down the mortal, before the very eyes of those dear brothers
of his.

Lo, the mortal is going on the shoulders of four men.

O Farid ! Only the good deeds, which he did in the world, would avail
him in the Lord’s Court.”¹²⁵

Guru Nanak agrees with Sheikh Farid and in his hymns he says, “Leaving comely raiment and beauty in this world, the man departs.” He again says: “As a man soweth so shall he reap; as he earneth so shall he eat.’ Again, ‘Every one must bear the result of his own acts and adjust his own account.”¹²⁶ Man is accountable for his actions: “An account of every *ghari* (second) and moment shall be taken, and the soul shall obtain punishment and reward.”¹²⁷

Besides these, their special characteristics were also similar on many other matters like: (I) these saints emphasized on the importance of the use of local languages for their spiritual aims and works.¹²⁸ (II) They believed in living simple life. (III) They also believed in the householder’s life. (IV) Some saints of these

¹²⁴ ਵਿਸਰਿਆ ਜਿਨ ਨਾਮੁ ਤੇ ਭੁਇ ਭਾਰੁ ਥੀਏ ॥੧॥

ਉਹੀ, ਰਾਗੁ ਆਸਾ, ਬਾਣੀ ਸੇਖ ਫਰੀਦ, ਪੰਨਾ-488

¹²⁵ ਸਾਢੈ ਤ੍ਰੈ ਮਣ ਦੇਹੁਰੀ ਚਲੈ ਪਾਣੀ ਅੰਨਿ ॥

ਆਇਓ ਬੰਦਾ ਦੁਨੀ ਵਿਚਿ ਵਤਿ ਆਸੂਣੀ ਬੰਨਿ ॥

ਮਲਕਲ ਮਉਤ ਜਾਂ ਆਵਸੀ ਸਭ ਦਰਵਾਜੇ ਭੰਨਿ ॥

ਤਿਨ੍ਹਾ ਪਿਆਰਿਆ ਭਾਈਆਂ ਅਗੈ ਦਿਤਾ ਬੰਨਿ ॥

ਵੇਖਹੁ ਬੰਦਾ ਚਲਿਆ ਚਹੁ ਜਣਿਆ ਚੈ ਕੰਨਿ ॥

ਫਰੀਦਾ ਅਮਲ ਜਿ ਕੀਤੇ ਦੁਨੀ ਵਿੱਚ ਦਰਗਹ ਆਏ ਕੰਮ ॥੧੦੦॥

ਉਹੀ, ਸਲੋਕ ਸੇਖ ਫਰੀਦ, ਸਲੋਕ-100, ਪੰਨਾ-1383

¹²⁶ ਕਪੜੁ ਰੁਪੁ ਸੁਹਾਵਣਾ ਛਡਿ ਦੁਨੀਆ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਜਾਵਣਾ ॥

ਚੰਗਾ ਮੰਦਾ ਆਪਣਾ ਆਪੇ ਹੀ ਕੀਤਾ ਪਾਵਣਾ ॥

ਹੁਕਮ ਕੀਏ ਮਨਿ ਭਾਵਦੇ ਰਾਹਿ ਭੀੜੈ ਅਗੈ ਜਾਵਣਾ ॥

ਨੰਗਾ ਦੇਜਕਿ ਚਾਲਿਆ ਤਾ ਦਿਸੈ ਖਰਾ ਡਰਾਵਣਾ ॥

ਕਹਿ ਅਉਗਣ ਪਛਤਾਵਣਾ ॥੧੪॥

ਉਹੀ, ਆਸਾ ਦੀ ਵਾਰ, ਮ:੧, ਪੰਨੇ-470-471

¹²⁷ Anil Chandra Banerjee, *The Sikh Gurus and the Sikh Religion*, p.116

¹²⁸ Manmohan Singh., *Hymns of Guru Nanak*, Language Department of Punjab, Patiala, 1972, pp.1-954; ਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਜਗਦੀਸ਼ ਸਿੰਘ, *ਸ਼ਬਦ ਤੇ ਸਲੋਕ ਬਾਬਾ ਸੇਖ ਫਰੀਦ ਵਿਚਾਰਧਾਰਾ ਅਤੇ ਪਾਠ*, ਵਾਰਿਸ਼ ਸ਼ਾਹ ਫਾਊਂਡੇਸ਼ਨ, ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ, 2009, ਪੰਨੇ-136-172

movements used open kitchen system for their spiritual aims also. It is clear that these similar views, ideas and techniques of spiritual life of these saints played a significant role in their good relations or friendly relations in Punjab.

Sufi impact on the Bhakti saints of Punjab

Bhagat Namdev, Sadna and Guru Nanak Dev were very famous Bhakti saints of this period. Primary sources and modern historians lay less importance about the Sufi impact on Bhagat Namdev and Sadhna's life and teachings. But about Guru Nanak Dev, some historians writes that Sufis had tremendous influence on Guru Nanak Dev. Tara Chand (a famous historian and research scholar) in his work, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture* writes; "During the fifteenth century, the province (Punjab) had longer been under Muslim rule. So mostly towns and villages of this province, had full of Muslim (Sufi) saints. Pakpattan, Uch, Sirhind, Panipat, and Multan were very famous places for Muslim saints, where famous Sufi saints had spent their lives. During that time the names of Sheikh Farid, Sheikh Alauddin (grandson of Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya), Syed Jalaluddin Surkh-Posh Bukhari, Syed Jalauddin Bukhari Makhdum-i-Jahaniyan Jahangasht, Sheikh Ismail Bukhari, had become household names 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.¹²⁹ During that time Guru Nanak was born on this land. When he was just thirty years, he renounced his home and service and became a faqir. During the course of his four journeys called *Udasis*, Guru Nanak Dev visited all the holy places of India, Ceylon, Persia and Arabia. During the course of his journeys, he also met many Sufi saints like Sheikh Behram or Ibrahim), the successor of Sheikh Farid at Pakpattan and discussed with them many spiritual issues. The mission of Guru Nanak Dev was the unification of the Hindus and Muslims."¹³⁰ It was the impact of Sufi saint's company that he was against idolatry and the concept of incarnation."¹³¹ Again Tara Chand writes, "Like all Sufis Nanak thought that in the soul's journey towards God it was necessary to be guided by a spiritual master."¹³² The spiritual master directed the disciple upon the path which has four stages- *Saran Khand*, *Jnan Khand*, *Karam Khand* and *Sach Khand*, which, according to the author of *Nanak Prakash*, correspond with the Sufi *Shariat*, *Marifat (Marfat)* (gnosis), *Tariqat* (Cultivation of

¹²⁹ Tara Chand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, p.166

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.167-168

¹³¹ Wahid Bakhsh Rabbani, *Islamic Sufism*, Al-Faisal, Lahore, 2005, p.248

¹³² Tara Chand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, p.176

virtues such as abstinence, poverty etc) and *Haqiqat* (truth). The path ultimately leads to the goal so dear to the soul of the devotee, where the fear of death disappear, the wheel of birth and death ceases to revolve, where man at last becomes united with the light from which he emanated.”¹³³

Hamid Hussain another famous historian agrees with Tara Chand’s views and writes, “Sheikh Farid, who was a famous Sufi saint of Punjab, had tremendous influence on Guru Nanak.¹³⁴ According to him, “Sheikh Farid played significant role in building the cordial relations between Hindus and Muslims. The impact of his great teachings continued during the Sultanate and the Mughal period. A constant friendly relation between Guru Nanak Dev and Bhai Mardana (who was a Muslim and a companion of Guru Nanak Dev, during his long journeys) was a peculiar example of it. Guru Nanak Dev's message was similar to that of the Sufi saints, in as far as, it was meant both for Hindus and Muslims.”¹³⁵ For instance, Hamid Hussain gives some of the hymns of Guru Nanak Dev. These are:

1. *There is no Hindu, no Musalman*
Nanak, the true teacher great trust is to unite all.
2. *He who looks upon both parties as one*
Will along be able to solve mystery:
He who regards other as heretics
Will burn (in hell fire)

He also writes that Guru Nanak Dev has borrowed the concept of *langer* (open kitchen) from Sufism, especially from the practices of Sheikh Farid.¹³⁶ But some historians and writers do not agree with them. Anil Chandra Banerjee writes that the influence of Sufism on Guru Nanak's thought is impalpable.”¹³⁷ According to him, "Whatever the external influences on Guru Nanak Dev's religion might be, he evolved a new system which owed its internal cohesion and universal appeal to his personal realization of the truth. He may have picked up words and phrases from here and there and 'woven these into the pattern of his revelation'; but his teachings were based on his own undisturbed communion with nature, his own soul, and with his creator.”¹³⁸

¹³³ Tara Chand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, p.176

¹³⁴ Hamid Hussain (ed.), *Sufism and Bhakti Movement*, Eternal Relevance, Manak Publications, Delhi, 2001, p.121

¹³⁵ *Ibid*, pp.122-123

¹³⁶ *Ibid*, pp.122-123

¹³⁷ Anil Chandra Banerjee, *The Sikh Gurus and the Sikh Religion*, p.141

¹³⁸ *Ibid*, pp.142-143

In order to prove his point, he cites several reasons. These are:

Firstly, Guru Arjan Dev registered only the compositions of Sheikh Farid and Bhikan Shah in the *Shri Guru Granth Sahib* and took no notice of leading Sufis like Khawaja Muinuddin Chishti, Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya, Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya and Shah Abdullah Shattari. On the other side this is a significant fact; it provides a contrast with the prominence given to saint Kabir. A strong tendency towards pantheism developed within Sufism in India as a result of its contact with external influences beyond the limits of Islam. This created a barrier between Sufism and Guru Nanak's concentration on divine unity.¹³⁹

Secondly, the Sufis' succumbed to orthodox Islamic ritual Guru Nanak Dev found it necessary to put them 'under the same condemnation as the conventional Qazis and Mullahs'.¹⁴⁰ Thirdly, the doctrines of *Karma* and the theory of transmigration of Guru Nanak Dev were totally different from the Sufis. It is hardly correct to say that Guru Nanak Dev was 'manifestly steeped in Sufi lore; for 'there is a conspicuous lack of Sufi terminology' in his hymns. There is very little in common between the stages of Guru Nanak Dev's spiritual journey (from *Dharm Khand* to *Sach Khand*) enunciated by him with those recognized by the Sufi saints, viz., *Marifat* or *Marfat* (gnosis), *Tariqat* (cultivation of virtues such as abstinence, poverty, etc.), *Haqiqat* (Truth), *Fana* (merger in Divine presence, involving Baqa or the continuance of existence, which is actuated by *Liqat* or the desire for unification, *Lahut* (when nothing but God is remembered), and *Nasut* (the final stage, in which God works through the Prophet).¹⁴¹

Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi agrees with him and writes, "After the analysis of Guru Nanak Dev's teaching in the light of Sufi thought should not be constructed as an assertion that the great Nanak borrowed his thought from the Sufis. It indicates that Guru Nanak Dev through his own deep meditation arrived at the same conclusions as had already been reached by Sufis, such as Saadi, Iraqi, Rumi, Jami and Hafiz. Guru Nanak Dev presents his thoughts with remarkable consistency; some hymns in the *Shri Guru Granth Sahib* read like portions of the *Masnawi* or *Masnawi* of Maulana Rumi, but there is nothing to show that Guru Nanak Dev was emulating to him."¹⁴² If

¹³⁹ Anil Chandra Banerjee, *The Sikh Gurus and the Sikh Religion*, pp.141-142

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p.142

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*, p.142

¹⁴² Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, 'Indian Sufism and Guru Nanak', *Perspectives on Guru Nanak (Seminar Papers)*, edited by Harbans Singh, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1975, p.211

we talk about his teachings, Guru Nanak Dev's method of preaching was unique: it was at once revolutionary and soundly rooted in common-sense. By putting a few searching questions, or by violating some accepted social practice, he would prepare the minds of his audience to receive as a startling and agreeable novelty what he was about to say. The hymns in the *Shri Guru Granth Sahib* confirm what the authentic *Janamsakhis* seek to present Guru Nanak Dev as a perfect man in the Sufis sense and the incidents from his life are selected to serve an instructive setting for his teachings. They are not biographies in the modern sense, but are hagiologies. These were written long after Guru Nanak's death."¹⁴³

It is true that "The identity of two beliefs does not prove that one is generated by the other. Even where connection is assured, it may be impossible to show which the ancestor is and which is the descendent."¹⁴⁴ But we also cannot ignore many things like: (I) Before Guru Nanak Dev, open kitchen system was a principal part of Sufi khanga life. The writings of *Fawaid al-Fuad*, *Khair-ul-Majalis* (which had written before Guru Nanak Dev's birth) are specific examples of it.¹⁴⁵ (II) On the other side during Guru Nanak Dev's time, Sufi movement and its saints had become very popular among the people of Punjab. (III) Besides Guru Nanak Dev's special meetings with many famous Sufi saints during his journeys prove that Guru Nanak Dev gave importance to Sufi saints. So after the above discussions we can safely say that no doubt Guru Nanak Dev was great spiritual master of that time and he had *Divine Knowledge*. But we also cannot ignore that good things of societies and religions create deep impact on the people of society and great persons assimilate the ideas.

The above discussions prove that Sufi and Bhakti movements were very famous religious movements of Punjab, which did remarkable work for their religions and society. Although Bhakti movement was older and it was doing pioneer work at other places of India, but in Punjab this movement entered some late after Sufism had established itself firmly. So during that time it became a different movement from Bhakti as both had different perspectives and goals. But apart from these the saints of Sufism and Bhaktism lived peacefully in Punjab and gave respect to each other. In

¹⁴³ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, 'Indian Sufism and Guru Nanak', *Perspectives on Guru Nanak (Seminar Papers)*, edited by Harbans Singh, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1975, p.211

¹⁴⁴ Wahid Bakhsh Rabbani, *Islamic Sufism*, p.233

¹⁴⁵ Molana Hameed Qalander, *Khair-ul-Majalis*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari and Hamid Afaq Qureshi, Idarah-I Adabiyat-I Delli, Delhi, 2010, pp.48-49; Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, pp.181, 251

this matter their similar views on different aspects played a significant role. When the Bhakti saints came in close contact with Sufi saints, they were deeply influenced by their visions, ideas and beliefs. The close encounter brought tremendous changes in their outlook.

CHAPTER – 4

RELATIONS OF SUFIS AND SUFI SILSILAS WITH THE STATE

After the short period of time and the establishment of Sufi centres and khanqahs in Punjab, Chishti and Suhrawardi Sufi saints made a stronghold in the hearts of people.¹ The Muslim rulers were also impressed by the Sufis. They wanted Sufis' support and blessings for their regions. Apart from this they also thought that with the help of Sufis' guidance, they will rule India comfortably. Keeping this view in mind they visited Sufi khanqahs and offered land grants, amounts of money and positions in their courts. Suhrawardi Sufi saints accepted their offers and positions, but Chishti saints declined these.² Tanvir Anjum writes that the Sufis' relationship with the State has generally been treated under two broad themes, namely, the conflictual or oppositional relationship and cordial or friendly relationship.³ But Mahmud Husain Siddiqi writes that many Sufi saints had no intention of developing cordial relations with the Sultans and Kings as they believed in no '*Shugal*' (which spent his time in State service), but it does not mean that they had a low opinion about them.⁴

Chishti saints' attitude towards the State

The Chishti and Shurawadi Sufi saints of Punjab had different opinions about the Sufis' relations with the State. Throwing light on the Chishti's attitude towards the State, Khaliq Ahmad Nizami writes that Chishti Sufi saints of India always avoided the company of the Delhi Sultans, nobles and other State officers. They neither came to the Royal court and nor liked the visits of the Royals to their khanqahs. They also rejected their all offers including amounts and land grants. They thought that by accepting their presents, Sufis lost independence of their soul. Besides these, the Chishti saints were also against the service of the State. They believed that State's services tainted one's spiritual qualities and rendered them incapable of any higher

¹ Mahmud Husain Siddiqi, *The Memoirs of Sufis written in India : Reference to Kashf-ul-Mahjub, Siyal-ul-Auliya and Siyal-ul-Arifin*, Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Baroda, 1979, p.4

² Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, Delhi, 1980, p.242

³ Tanvir Anjum, 'Sufism in History and Its Relationship with Power', *Islamic Studies*, Islamic Research Institute, Islamabad, Vol-45:2, 2006, p.257

⁴ Mahmud Husain Siddiqi, *The Memoirs of Sufis written in India: Reference to Kashf-ul-Mahjub, Siyar-ul-Auliya and Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p.12

spiritual work. So during selection of their *Khalifas* (successors), Chishti Sufi saints always avoided the State employees.⁵ According to Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, “Their attitude was based on numerous considerations, psychological and religious.” These were as follows:

“They believed that State service distracted a mystic from the single-minded pursuit of his ideal which was 'living for the Lord alone.' Gnosis (*Marifat or Marfat*) was beyond the reach of one who spent his time in State service (*Shugal*). The days when State service was a *service* of religion were dead and gone. Now it was the service of class-interests and indulging in it, therefore, amounted to signing one's own spiritual death warrants. They were against their income sources. Sufi saints thought that the whole income of the Delhi Sultans came from prohibited sources and services paid from these sources of income were illegal.”⁶

“All Muslim political organisations from the fall of the *Khalafat-i-Rashidah* were essentially secular organisations, having little to do with religion or religious ideals. The entire court-life and the State organizations breathed an atmosphere so alien to the true spirit of Islam that it was impossible to serve the State without obstructing religious advancement. Under these circumstances, as Abu Hamid Muhammad bin Muhammad al-Ghazzali argues that the other alternative is that a mystic should keep away from Sultans so that he does not come face to face with them and this alone is feasible for his safety. It is obligatory to have the conviction that their cruelty deserves to be condemned. One should neither desire their continuance, nor praise them nor enquire about their affairs, nor keep contact with their associates. They also thought that the accompaniment of the governing class created a wall between a Sufi and his spiritual work. He isolated himself from the main sphere of his activity, the masses and in the end he became a part of bureaucratic machinery.”⁷

The attitude of the Chishti saints towards the State was different from other Indian Chishti saints. Although according to their forefathers, they always kept distance from Delhi Sultans and their affairs. They avoided their offers of amounts of money, jagirs and positions (jobs) at their courts, but apart from these their relations with the State were neither oppositional and nor friendly and they were not against

⁵ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, pp.242-248

⁶ *Ibid*, pp.240-241

⁷ *Ibid*, pp.240-241

Delhi Sultan's visiting in their khanqahs. Their khanqah's doors opened for all kinds of people including Sultans and State officers. Whenever they came to their khanqahs for their blessings or works, Sufis respected them.

Suhrawardi Sufi saints' attitude towards the State

The attitude of the Suhrawardi Sufi saints towards the State was friendly or positive. They were active in politics and accepted Delhi Sultan's offers of amounts of money, *Jagirs* (land-grants) and positions or service under the State. They helped the Delhi Sultans or Rulers during crucial times. According to Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, "The tradition of mixing with Rulers and taking part in the political affairs was established by the early Suhrawardi saints. The founder of the Suhrawardi silsila, Sheikh Najibuddin 'Abdul Qahir, had intimate relations with the Caliphs of Baghdad. Caliphs, Rulers, nobles, and State officers visited his *ribat* and attended his lectures. Sheikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi (who was a spiritual Master of Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya) followed the ways and traditions of his spiritual teacher. He preached in Baghdad under the Court patronage. Apart from this on one occasion, he performed the duties of an ambassador of Baghdad in the court of *Irbal*. The nature and extent of his contacts with the Rulers may be gauged from the fact that he dedicated his works, *Awarif-ul-Mawarif* and *Kashf-un-Nasaih-ul-Imaniya wa Kashf-ul-Fadaih-ul-Yunaniya*, to the Caliph named al-Nasir (1180 A.D.–1225 A.D.). This dedication of a mystic work to a Ruler is indeed unique in the annals of the Muslim mysticism. The Sheikh Shihabuddin also helped the 'Abbasid Caliphs during critical times. When the Khwarazm Shah invaded Baghdad, he went out to dissuade him from attacking the city."⁸

About this attitude of the Suhrawardi saints, Khaliq Ahmed Nizami also writes that their visits to royal courts provided them some opportunities to help the needy or poor people by getting their grievances redressed by the Sultan. Secondly, Suhrawardi saints thought that by establishing personal contact with the Sultans they could impact on their outlook, behavior, thoughts and character, because they believed that the life of the people was inseparably connected with a Ruler's thought, behavior and convictions. Thirdly, drawing inspiration from the *Quranic* verses: "*Obey Allah, obey His Prophet and obey those with authority amongst you*". Early Suhrawardi Suf saints exhorted their disciples to be full of reverence towards the Rulers and abstain totally

⁸ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, pp.252-253

from finding faults with them. According to Sheikh Najibuddin Abdul Qahir Suhrawardi, "Rebellion against a Ruler – even if he be cruel and unjust towards his people – was not permitted."⁹ Mostly Sufi saints of Punjab adopted these principles, traditions and rules in their spiritual life.

Pakpattan's (Ajodhan) saints' relations with the State

Sheikh Farid was very famous in all kinds of the people including Sultans, Ulema, nobles and State officers. The Sultans of Delhi also respected the Sheikh and offered him amounts of money and jagirs (land grants), but besides these Sheikh Farid's attitude towards the State remained like his ancestors' views. According to their thoughts, he always kept distance from the Sultans and other State officers and also their affairs. Apart from this he did not accept their offers, land grants and positions at their Court and gave clear advice to his disciples, "If you desire elevation in your spiritual ranks do not mix with the Rulers." For example when Sidi Maula, who was the disciple of Sheikh Farid, wanted his permission to leave Ajodhan and to go to Delhi, he half-heartedly permitted and saying him: "But keep in mind my one advice. Do not associate with Kings and nobles and beware of their intimacy as dangerous."¹⁰

But in spite of this Sheikh Farid's spiritual eminence attracted Sultans, ministers and high and low State officers to his khanqah.

Sheikh Farid and Sultan Nasiruddin– Sultan Nasiruddin son of Sultan Iltulimish gave respect to the Sufis. *Siyar-ul-Awliya* and *Fawaid-al-Fuad* give information that he was the disciple of Sheikh Farid.¹¹ According to *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, "Once during his journey, Sultan Nasiruddin departed in the direction of Uch and Multan with his army. When Sultan Nasiruddin reached near Naharwala during the course of this military expedition, he desired to go to Ajodhan and get the auspiciousness of kissing the feet of Sheikh Farid."¹² Mahmud Husain Siddiqui writes that during that time, he

⁹ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, p.249

¹⁰ Ziauddin Barni, *Tarikh-i-Feroj Shahi* eng. trans. by H.M. Elliot and John Dowson, under the title, *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, vol-III, Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, 1964, p.144

¹¹ Mahmud Husain Siddiqui, *The Memoirs of Sufis written in India: Reference to Kashf-ul-Mahjub, Siyar-ul-Awliya and Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p.9

¹² Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, D.K. Printworld, New Delhi, 1996, p.222; Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, Idarah-i-Alabiyat-i-Delli, Delhi, 2013, pp.51-52

met Sheikh Farid and Sheikh Farid welcomed Sultan with affection and blessed him.¹³ But *Siyar-ul-Awliya* and *Fawaid-al-Fuad* does not give any information about Sultan Nasiruddin and Sheikh Farid's meeting. According to *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, "After listening Sultan Nasiruddin's desire, Sultan Giyasuddin Balban (who was Ulugh Khan and was also *Naib-us-Sultanat* (Deputy) during those days), who was not in favour of Sultan Nasiruddin and Sheikh Farid's meeting, gave his advice to the Sultan that shortage of water can create a problem for us in the direction of Ajodhan (Pakpattan), because the army is surplus and there is no water on the route of Ajodhan."¹⁴ So during that time Sultan Nasiruddin could not meet with Sheikh Farid.

Sheikh Farid and Sultan Giyasuddin Balban– Sultan Giyasuddin Balban had deep faith in Sheikh Farid from Sultan Nasiruddin's time.¹⁵ *Siyar-ul-Awliya* and *Fawaid al-Fuad* gives information that with the permission of Sultan Nasiruddin, Giyasuddin Balban (Ulugh Khan) met with Sheikh Farid at Ajodhan with gifts, amounts of money and a *Farman* (Royal order) of four villages of jagir (land grant).¹⁶ About the real purpose of Giyasuddin Balban's visit in Pakpattan, Sayyid Kirmani in *Siyar-ul-Awliya* writes that Giyasuddin Balban himself wanted to become Sultan of Delhi, so for Sheikh Farid's blessings, he wanted to meet him.¹⁷ Giyasuddin Balban (Ulugh Khan) came here with many gifts so first of all he placed these things before the Sheikh. Sheikh Farid asked to Giyasuddin Balban, "What is this?" Giyasuddin Balban said, "Sheikh, this is amount and that is *Farman* (Royal order) of the *Jagir* of the four villages, especially for you." Sheikh Farid smiled and said to him, "Give me this cash. I shall spend it upon the darweshs (saints)." But Sheikh Farid did not accept his *Farman* (order) of the *Jagir* (land grant) and said to him, "Pick up this *Farman* (order of land grant) of the *Jagir*. There will be many more seekers of it."¹⁸ According to *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, "During that time Sheikh Farid issued from his tongue this couplet:

¹³ Mahmud Husain Siddiqui, *The Memoirs of Sufis written in India: Reference to Kashf-ul-Mahjub, Siyar-ul-Awliya and Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p.12

¹⁴ Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, p.52

¹⁵ Ali Asghar Chishti, *Jawahar-i-Faridi*, quoted by Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1978, p.144

¹⁶ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p.222; Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, p.52

¹⁷ Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, p.52

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p.52

"Lucky augury Faridun was not an angel,
nor his heart had been raised by aloewood or ambergris,
He got all that good fame by bounty
you also carry out munificence and be Faridun."¹⁹

According to *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, "When the words of this couplet reached the ears of Giasuddin Balban's, he wrapped, and after some time he took *Farman* (or order) of the *Jagir*, kissed the ground and got up cheerfully.²⁰ After a short time Giasuddin Balban became Sultan of Delhi."²¹

Ali Ashghar Chishti in his writing writes that Sheikh Farid was married with Sultan Giasuddin Balban's daughter named Bibi Haazirah. But Khaliq Ahmad Nizami and Tanvir Anjum does not agree with him. According to Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, "His statement was wrong on this point and after him, many later writers were to copy his account without any inquiry and now it has become an important part of many historical writings."²² They give many strong reasons for disbelieving this story.

"No contemporary historians like Ziauddin Barni and Shams-i-Siraj Afif in their writings mentioned any information about it. The author of *Siyar-ul-Awliya* who belonged to a family closely associated with the Sheikh, does not give any information about their relations. The *Fwaid ul-Fuad*, *Khair-ul-Majalis* and *Ahsan-ul-Aqwal* another useful sources of Sheikh Farid's life but none refers to this marriage of the saint with the Sultan's daughter."²³

Sheikh Farid had died before Giasuddin Balban's accession to the throne, if Sultan Giasuddin Balban had given his daughter in marriage to Sheikh Farid when he was the *Naib-us-Sultanat* (Deputy) of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud, at that time Sheikh Farid was seventy-six years of age, while Giasuddin Balban was around forty. If we assume Giasuddin Balban's daughter to be of twenty years of age, in view of the age difference between her and Sheikh Farid, it is difficult to believe that she was married him.²⁴

¹⁹ Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, p.52

²⁰ *Ibid*, pp.52-53

²¹ *Ibid*, pp.52-53

²² Khaliq Ahmed Nizami, *The Life and Times of Sheikh Farid-ud-Din Ganj-i-Shakar*, Muslim University Aligarh, Aligarh, 1955, p.103

²³ *Ibid*, p.103

²⁴ Tanvir Anjum, *Chishti Sufis in the Sultanate of Delhi 1190-1400: From Restrained Indifference to Calculated Defiance*, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 2011, p.166

Sheikh Farid, who always advised to his disciples that they always kept away from the society of the Rulers, he how could do this act.²⁵ According to contemporary sources, Sultan Ghuysuddin Balban had two sons, Prince Muhammad and Bughra Khan, and only one daughter, who was the wife of Sultan Nasiruddin.²⁶ So Khaliq Ahmed Nizami and Tanvir Anjum's these arguments and primary source's muteness prove that Ali Ashghar's view about the family relations between Sheikh Farid and Sultan Ghuysuddin Balban is neither true and nor based on primary sources.

Sheikh Farid was very famous Sufi saint among the Rulers of his time, but all of this could not in any way, influence the saint's outlook or policy towards the State. Once, a poor man, who was in great trouble, came to Sheikh Farid's khanqah and requested him that he should write a recommendation letter to the Rulers or the officials for him.²⁷ Sheikh Farid did not want does this act. So he avoided him, but when the person insisted he wrote the following letter:

"I referred his matter first to God and then to you.

If you will grant anything to him, the real Giver is God but you will get the credit for it.

If you do not give him anything, the real preventer is God and you are helpless in the matter."²⁸

According to Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, "Every word of this brief letter is dignified and shows the extent to which Sheikh Farid maintained the dignity of religion and mysticism before worldly powers."²⁹

Sheikh Farid and Sher Khan– Sheikh Farid's relations with Sher Khan, who was the Governor of Uch and Multan and also a cousin of Sultan Ghuysuddin Balban, were not good. According to *Fwaid ul-Fuad*, "Sher Khan did not like him and many a time Sheikh Farid had recited the following verses that concerned him:

"Alas ! you are not aware of my circumstances.

And when you become aware,

You will have but to lament you ignorance."³⁰

²⁵ Khaliq Ahmed Nizami, *The Life and Times of Sheikh Farid-ud-Din Ganj-i-Shakar*, Muslim University Aligarh, Aligarh, 1955, p.103

²⁶ Tanvir Anjum, *Chishti Sufis in the Sultanate of Delhi 1190–1400: From Restrained Indifference to Calculated Defiance*, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 2011, p.166

²⁷ Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, pp.45-46

²⁸ *Ibid*, p.46

²⁹ Khaliq Ahmed Nizami, *The Life and Times of Sheikh Farid-ud-Din Ganj-i-Shakar*, p.103

³⁰ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p.399

About the cause and impact of Sher Khan's rudely behavior, Saiyid Arthar Abbas Rizvi writes that the good relations of Sultan Giyasuddin Balban and Sheikh Farid's sons played a significant role in this matter.³¹ As a result of Sher Khan's hostility towards Sheikh Farid, many merchants and wealthy supporters appear to have stopped sending gifts to the *Jamaat-Khana* of Sheikh Farid. This action made plentiful impact on Sheikh Farid's family.³²

Sheikh Farid and other State Officers– Sheikh Farid also tried to keep away from the other State officers and their affairs. But despite this he got involved in their affairs, many a times because of the requirements of the needy persons. According *Fawaid-ul-Fuad*, "Once an *Amil* (revenue official) of Ajodhan, who was very upset during that time, came to Sheikh Farid's khanqah and asked him, he was very upset because the Chief of that village was creating problem for him. After listen his problem, Sheikh Farid sent a man to the Chief of that village for the solution of his problem. But the Chief remained unmoved. The Sheikh then told *Amil* that he had sent word to the Chief of the village and that he had not reacted favorably; perhaps, he did not have time to comply with his recommendation. In the meantime the chief came in and offered his apologies which the Sheikh accepted and forgave him."³³

Sheikh Alauddin and Tughluq Sultans– Sheikh Alauddin was the grandson of Sheikh Farid and a famous Sufi saint of the Tughluq period. Although mostly historical sources silent about his relations with the Tughluq Sultans. But some primary sources like Afif's *Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi* and *Siyar-ul-Awliya* give very little information that Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughluq³⁴ and Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq was the disciple of Sheikh Alauddin Ajodhani.³⁵ According to *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, "After the demise of Sheikh Alauddin, his burial place was raised near the blessed Rawzah and the dome open it was raised by Sultan Muhammad-bin Tughluq, who was his devotee and disciple of the Sheikh."³⁶

HANSI

Chishti Sufi saints of Hansi followed Chishti tradition about the State and always tried to keep distance from the State and its affairs. Sheikh Jamaluddin

³¹ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, p.145

³² *Ibid*, p.145

³³ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p.292

³⁴ Mahmud Husain Siddiqui, *The Memoirs of Sufis written in India: Reference to Kashf-ul-Mahjub, Siyar-ul-Auliya and Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p.10

³⁵ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p.290

³⁶ Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, p.145

Hansvi, who was the first famous Sufi saint of Chishti silsila of this place, before becoming a Sufi, he had been the Khatib of Hansi.³⁷ But when he joined Chishti silsila, he kept away from the State and its affairs. After him his son Sheikh Bhurhanuddin was walking on his path.

Sheikh Qutbuddin Munnawar and Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq– In his whole life, Sheikh Qutbuddin Munnawar was also following his forefather's policy towards the State. *Siyar-ul-Awliya* gives information that during Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq's region, many jealous persons conveyed varieties of things to Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq about Sheikh Qutubuddin Munawwar, which were contrary to the regal temperament. But before taking any action against the Sheikh, he thought of extending the deceit of worldliness towards him and then emphasis should be laid upon enmity and causing harm. After preparation of this plan, he issued a *Farman* (a Royal order) of two villages for Sheikh Qutubuddin Munawwar and send to him by Qazi Kamaluddin (who was *Sadr-i-Jahan* of his court). He asked Qazi Kamaluddin to take this in his presence with the instructions, "Adopt whatever way you like but make him agreeable to accept it."³⁸

"When Qazi Kamaluddin reached Hansi first of all he wrapped this *Farman* (a Royal order) in a handkerchief, placed it upon the sleeve and came in the presence of Sheikh Qutubuddin. During that time Sheikh Qutubuddin sat in the *Taq-i-Suffah* (Arch of the platform). Qazi Kamaluddin placed that *Farman* before the Sheikh and talked of the candour and love of the Sultan. But Sheikh Qutubuddin Munawwar rejected this offer and said to him that alike him, Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban, during Sultan Nasiruddin's region offered a *Farman* (Royal order) of the *Jagir* of some villages to Sheikh Farid. But Sheikh Farid did not accept those *jagirs*. So how I can do this? In addition Sheikh Qutubuddin Munawwar said to Qazi Kamaluddin, "You are *Sadr-i-Jahan*. You deliver sermons and admonitions to the Muslims. If anyone's act contrary to his mentors, you should render advice to him and rather prevent him to do so and not like that he be instigated to the contrary." After hearing Sheikh Qutubuddin Munawwar's reply, Qazi Kamaluddin was much sorry and after some time he went to Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq and said him all the story of Sheikh

³⁷ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, pp.152-153

³⁸ Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, p.186

Munawwar's greatness in a manner that the heart of the Sultan got melted like the wax."³⁹

About the first meeting of Sheikh Qutubuddin Munawwar and Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq, Sayyid Muhammad Kirmani in *Siyar-ul-Awliya* writes that once Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq went towards Hansi with his selected officers and stayed at Bunsani, which were some kilometers far away from Hansi city.⁴⁰ About the purpose of his stay at this place, Sayyid Muhammad Kirmani writes that he wanted to give knowledge about the condition of the fort of Hansi, so that the deficits of the fort could be ascertained and it could be got repaired. For that purpose, he sent Nizamuddin Nandarbari alias *Mughis-ul-mulk*, who was an incarnation, to see the condition of Hansi's fort. After the examination of this fort, he saw Sheikh Qutubuddin Munawwar, and thought that how strange that the Sultan of Delhi came towards this side and this Sheikh does not go to meet him? This matter he also said to the Sultan. After hearing this anger Sultan wanted to call him in his Court. So he sent another person named Sheikh Hasan Sarbar Hind to Hansi, (who was another incarnation of the State) addressed to the Sheikh. When he reached at his khanqah, he left his army and retinue behind and went alone in the presence of the Sheikh. After he shook hands with the Sheikh he said to him that the Sultan has called you. Sheikh Qutubuddin Munawwar said, "Do I also have any authority in this regard or not?" He said, "No, I have been given only this order that I should bring you." The Sheikh said, "Thank God that I am not going with my own authority." After this conversation, he put his prayer carpet on his shoulder, caught hold of the stick in his hand and started his journey on foot. During that time Hasan Sarbar Hind offered Royal horses to the Sheikh. But the Sheikh rejects his offer and said to him that there is no need of this. I have the strength to walk on foot." After some time they reached at the Sultan's temporary residence's palace Bunsani. Sultan was informed about Sheikh Qutubuddin Munawwar's coming. But he ignores the Sheikh and without any discussion with him, he went towards Delhi where he again called to him. After his order, Sheikh Qutubuddin Munawwar reached at his Delhi Court, where he was very confused because he was not aware about the etiquettes, way of talking and the ceremonies of the Court. All these matters he said to Prince Firoz Shah Tughluq (successor of Sultan

³⁹ Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Haid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, p.186

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p.187

Muhammad bin Tughluq), and request for guide him. During that time Prince Firoz Shah Tughluq said to him that he told about himself to the Sultan and also said that you did not want anything from Sultan and his sovereign. After this discussion, when the Sheikh was going to ahead the Sultan, he saw Sheikh Nuruddin (who was son of Sheikh Qutubuddin Munawwar), who came in Delhi behind him. During that time he gave some instructions to Sheikh Nuruddin about the State and its negative impact on the Sufis. After this they reached in the presence of the Sultan. During that time Sultan was busy in archery. First the Sultan tried to ignore his presence but after some time when he saw his face seriously, he observed that all the symptoms of the spiritual man upon his face, he moved forward with great respect and shook hands with him. After this he said to Sheikh Qutubuddin Munawwar that when he came to his city, but during that time he paid no attention. The Sheikh said to the Sultan that he is a secluded mendicant (saint). So he doesn't waste his time in meetings with the sovereigns and other extra affairs. The Sheikh's qualities like his mendicancy, the delightful and heart winning utterance made deep impact on Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq's heart. So he ordered his brother Firoz Shah Tughluq that all the wishes of the Sheikh shall be to complete by the Royal Court, whatever manner he likes. At that time, Sheikh Munawwar said to the Sultan, "The aim and desirability of this *Faqir* (saint) is the sane solitude of security of my forefathers" and thus then he went back."⁴¹

After this meeting Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq started give respect to the Sheikh. According to *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, "After this meeting he himself said that: "*He shook hands with many famous saints of that time, but their hands trembled at the time of shaking except this saint!, who caught hold of it with much firmness due to the religious power.*" After this he had understood that the character of this saint is not like that as the jealous persons have told him. He felt religious awe upon his face. So after some time the Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq sent one lakh tankas (currency of that time) for the Sheikh by Firoz Shah Tughluq and Khwaja Ziauddin Barani (a famous historian and writer of that time). But Sheikh Qutubuddin Munawwar refused this amount and told them that his ancestors were always avoiding these offers. So he cannot accept this amount. When about this matter Firoz Shah Tughluq told the

⁴¹ Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, pp.187-189

Sultan, he again sent 50,000 tankas for him. They returned again and requested to the Sheikh to accept this amount. But again he did not accept that amount. These incidents were continuing and happened many times and in the last the eventuality of giving the amount had reached to 2,000 tankas. During last time Firoz Shah Tughluq and Ziyauddin Barani again requested to the Sheikh Qutubuddin Munawwar to accept the amount. The Sheikh again said to them that some *khichri* (Rice and pulse is mixed and cooked with water and a little salt to prepare it) and some clarified butter is enough for him. So what he did with that amount? But in the end, he accepted 2,000 tankas with great difficulty at the entreaty of the friends. But immediately, mostly part of this amount he sent to the khanqahs of Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya, Qutubuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki and Sheikh Nasiruddin Mahmood and some distributed among the others.⁴²

Sheikh Qutubuddin Munnawar and Sultan Feroz Shah Tughluq– Feroz Shah was the next Ruler of Tughluq Dynasty. He gave great respect to Sheikh Qutubuddin Munnawar from Muhammad bin Tughluq's region. According to Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, "After the death of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq, Sheikh Nasiruddin, (successor of Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya) who played a significant role in the accession of Feroz Shah Tughluq, and was apparently a great source of inspiration to the army which marched from Thatta to Delhi. When this army reached Sarsuti, about 300 kilometers from Delhi, Sheikh Nasiruddin suggested to Sultan Feroz Shah Tughluq that his prayer has helped the army to reach Sarsuti, but from these onwards was the spiritual domain of Sheikh Qutubuddin Munawwar and the Sultan should approach him for assistance. Qutubuddin Munawwar replied to the royal petition as follows:

*As my brother, Sheikh Nasuruddin has entrusted to care of people to me, I pray God that Delhi may fall into your hands."*⁴³

Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi gives information that during this journey, Sultan Feroz Shah Tughluq met Sheikh Qutubuddin Munnawar at his khanqah (Hansi). But during that time Sheikh Qutubuddin Munawwar was unhappy with him. His improper habits were main reason of it. So during that time the Sheikh criticized him. Sheikh Qutubuddin Munnawar said to the Sultan that he has heard that he was a drunken man.

⁴² Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Haid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, pp.188-190

⁴³ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, p.179

But if he does this, then who would give the attention about the needs of the poor people? After hearing this, the Sultan felt sorry before the Sheikh and said to him that he would not drink again. After this the Sheikh again said to him that he was also knew about his another incorrect habit named hunting, which was a source of great trouble and distress to the world, and could not be approved and also to kill any animal without necessity was wrong.⁴⁴ Upon hearing this, the Sultan asked the Sheikh to pray to God to keep him away from the pursuit, which suggests that the Sultan hesitated to pledge that he would give up hunting. After hearing his answer, Sheikh Qutbuddin Munnawar was displeased with him. So he immediately left for the Masjid. After some time, the Sultan sent a *Robe* (a special cloth which was probably made of silk) for the Sheikh. But he refused. When the Sultan was apprised of it and he sent his apologies to the Sheikh Qutbuddin Munnawar.⁴⁵

Sheikh Nuruddin and Sultan Feroz Shah Tughluq– Sheikh Nuruddin Munnawar was son and successor of Sheikh Qutbuddin Munnawar. According to his ancestors, Sheikh Nuruddin Munnawar always kept distance from the State and its affairs. During early days of his life, his father gave special instructions to him on this matter. *Siyar-ul-Awliya* gives information that when the Sheikh Nuruddin Munnawar was went to Delhi court with Sheikh Qutbuddin Munnawar, during that time the awe and the display of rank and glamour of the Court of nobles and the Sultans made some impact on small Sheikh Nuruddin Munnawar's heart. Because before this time he never saw the Royal Court so became out of sort. That time Sheikh Qutubuddin Munawwar had understood his condition and said to him, "Nuruddin! All greatness and grandeur is for Allah alone." Sheikh Nuruddin understood his word and said to father, "As soon as these words reached in my ears, my heart got strength and I got such a satisfaction and backing that all that awe and the display of rank and dignity got wiped out from my heart totally. These nobles and Princes began to look like the sheeps and goats in my eyes."⁴⁶ After Sheikh Qutbuddin's death Sheikh Nuruddin was always following his these instructions.

According to *Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi*, "When Sultan Feroz Shah Tughluq proceeded from Hissar Ferozah to Hansi, in order to have an interview with the

⁴⁴ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, p.179

⁴⁵ Shams-i-Siraj Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, eng. trans. by H.M. Elliot and John Dowson under the title, *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, vol-III, pp.286-287

⁴⁶ Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, p.189

Shams-i-Siraj Afif's preceptor, Nuruddin.⁴⁷[The Sultan's object was to induce the Sheikh to remove to the Hissar Ferozah, but he declined, because Hansi had been the home of his ancestors and the adobe of his predecessors.]⁴⁸ After some time the accursed have captured the city of Delhi and have plundered and laid waste the possessions of Muslims; but through the protection of the Sheikh Nuruddin, the town of Hansi remained in safety and the people of Hissar-Ferozah, who their took refuse, also found security."³⁹

PANIPAT

Sheikh Bu Ali Shah Qalander and Sheikh Shamsuddin Panipati (Turk), which were famous Sufi saints of Panipat, always avoided the company of the Sultans or Rulers. But apart from this they were respected Sufi saints in the eyes of Sultan Nasiruddin, Sultan Giyasuddin Balban and Sultan Jalaluddin Khilji.⁴⁹ According to Mahmud Hussian Siddiqui, "Although Sultan Allauddin Khilji' was not a disciple of any Sufi saint but in spite of this once when Sheikh Bu Ali Shah Qalander wrote him in a letter, 'policemen or chief of the police of Delhi, he was pleased and secondly when he was described as *treasurer of Delhi*, instead of getting annoyed, he thanked the writer."⁵⁰

UCH

Uch was the second famous Sufi centre of Suhrawardi sisila and mostly Suhrawardi Sufi saints of this area were spending their life according to their ancestors' principals and rules. They went to the Royal Court and established friendly relations with the Delhi Sultans and other State officers.

Saiyid Jalaluddin Jahaniyan-i-Jahanghasht and Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq– Saiyid Jalaluddin Surkh-Posh Bukhari was the first famous Sufi saint of the city, but historians do not give any information about his relations with the Rulers and other State officers. But on the behalf of his popularity in the eyes of the people and Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya, there could be possibility that his relations with the Delhi Sultans were cordial. Next famous saint of this area was Saiyid Jalaluddin

⁴⁷ Shams-i- Siraj Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, eng. trans. by H.M. Elliot and John Dowson under the title, *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, vol-III, p.302

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p.302

⁴⁹ Mahmud Husain Siddiqui, *The Memoirs of Sufis written in India: Reference to Kashf-ul-Mahjub, Siyar ul-Auliya and Siyar-ul-Arifin*, pp.4-9

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p.10

Jahaniyan-i-Jahanghasht (grand-son of Saiyid Jalaluddin Surkh Bukhari). About Saiyid Jalaluddin Jahaniyan-i-Jahanghat, historians give information that the Sheikh established cordial relations with Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq and also accepted Royal service under his court. According to Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, "It would seem that Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq appointed him the *Sheikh-ul-Islam* and the head of a khanqah in Siwistan (Sehwan) known as the *Khanqah-i-Muhammadi* to which several villages were attached."⁵¹

Saiyid Jalaluddin Jahaniyan-i-Jahangasht and Sultan Feroz Shah Tughluq–

After the death of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq, Saiyid Jalaluddin established friendly relations with Sultan Feroz Shah Tughluq, who was the successor of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq. Like his brother, Sultan Feroz Shah Tughluq had great faith in Saiyid Jalaluddin Jahaniyan-i-Jahangasht. According to Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, "Once Saiyid Jalaluddin Jahaniyan-i-Jahanghat came to Delhi from Uch. During that time the Sultan gave him a royal reception and granted all his recommendations. His assistance was also sought by the governor of Sind."⁵² Saiyid Abbas Rizvi also writes that, "The abolition of about twenty eight taxes by Sultan Feroz Shah Tughluq largely imposed on towns throughout the Empire may be ascribed to the influence of Saiyid Jalaluddin Jahaniyan-i-Jahanghat, all these taxes was designed to make the sources of income of the Sultan legally acceptable to the 'Ulema'. The Sheikh was asked by other Sufis and members of the Ulema whether or not it was permissible to accept stipends offered by the Sultans; his answer was that according to the beaks of *Fatwas* (Muslim religious orders), it was *makruh* (disappeared), however; it was not invalidated by the *Shariah*. As the taxes remitted by the Sultan were not the main source of income which came from *Khiraj* and *Jaziya*, the Sultan had little hesitation in abolishing them and making his stipends holy for the Ulema and Sufis."⁵³

Many times Saiyid Jalaluddin Jahaniyan-i-Jahanghasht helped the Rulers during crucial times. Peace settlement between Feroz Shah Tughluq and the people of Thatta is an example of it. In 1362 A.D. accompanied by a large army' Sultan Feroz Shah Tughluq attacked on Thatta.⁵⁴ During that time Thatta was facing a terrible famine and under its impact, Thatta had lost its glory. The condition of the people and the rulers of Thatta were not good. About the condition of Thatta, Shams-i-Siraj Afif

⁵¹ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, p.277

⁵² *Ibid*, p.279

⁵³ *Ibid*, p.279

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p.279

writes that during that time the price of goods had risen very high among the people of Thatta, amounting to one and two *tankas* per *sir* and people of all the categories through hunger were crossing over the river in boats to the Sultan's army. Thatta was close to its fall. The rulers of Thatta, Jam and Babiniya⁵⁵ reflected over the State of affairs, and resolved that the best course was to escape from trouble by timely submission. They accordingly, after much deliberation, notified their willingness to surrender through Saiyid Jalaluddin. For that purpose they sent an agent to Uch. Sheikh accepted their request and for peace settlement, he went to Sultan Feroz Shah Tughluq's army camp. When Saiyid Jalaluddin Jahaniyan-i-Jahanghashat reached near the Sultan's camp all the army turned out to show their reverential respect. During that time Sultan Feroz Shah Tughluq himself went to meet him. When the people of Thatta heard that the Saiyid Jalaluddin was in the Sultan's camp, they sent messages to him that he gave information to the Sultan about their great distress. Under the Sheikh's influence, the Sultan treated them with kindness. Another side during that time the Ruler of Thatta agreed to pay several lakhs of tankas in money and goods yearly.⁵⁶ According to Saiyid Arther Abbas Rizvi, "The peace was generally hailed as a triumph for Saiyid Jalaluddin Jahaniyan-i-Jahanghashat."⁵⁷

MULTAN

Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya's relations with Sultan Nasiruddin Qubacha and Iltutmish– Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya was the most famous Suhrawardi Sufi saint of Punjab. His role in political affairs was tremendous. He established friendly relations with the Rulers. But his relations with Sultan Qubacha, who held the territories of Uch and Multan, were not good. Although many primary sources like *Fawaid-ul-Fuad* gives information that Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya disliked him but these are silent about the cause of it, who was responsible for their improper relations. Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya's relations with Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish (who was an enemy of Sultan Qubacha) were good. After the death of Sultan Qutabuddin Aibek, Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish wanted to destroy Sultan Qubacha's territory. During that time

⁵⁵ According to *Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi*, during that time the territory of Thatta was divided in two parts. Both places populated by a numerous and warlike people. At that time the Jam and Babiniya were the masters of Thatta territory. Shams-i-Siraj Afif, *Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi*, eng. trans. by H.M. Elliot and John Dowson under the title, *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, vol-III, p.322

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* pp.333-334

⁵⁷ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, p.279

Sheikh Bahauddin was supporting him. About the cause of his sympathy with Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish, Hamid bin Fazlullah also known as Derwash Jamali Kambo Dihlawi writes that his sympathy for him probably due to the Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish's early contact with the Suhrawardi saints in Baghdad.⁵⁸ About the activity of Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya just before Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish and Sultan Qubacha's battle, *Fawaid-ul-Fuad* writes that when the enmity of Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish and Qubacha had grown, during that time Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya wrote two letters to Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish with the help of Qadi of Multan. But both the letters fell into the hands of Sultan Qubacha and he was so much disturbed that after some time of this incident he killed the Qadi of Multan and after him he wanted kill the Sheikh. For that purpose he called to Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya to his Court. Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya came to his Court without any fear and fearlessly seated himself on the right hand of Sultan Qubacha. In the Court, Qubacha handed over the Sheikh's letter to him. After reading the letter, Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya told him that the letter was written by him and it was his own handwriting. When Sultan Qubacha said to him as to why he had written it. The Sheikh said, "What he had written was true. He was free to do what he liked, but he knows that without God's power he could do nothing." After hearing this, Sultan Qubacha hesitated and signaled to serve food to the Sheikh. The main motive of Sultan Qubacha behind this action was very dangerous, because he knew that the Sheikh did not ate food at anybody's house. So during that time he would have an opportunity to do some harm to him. But when the food was served, the Sheikh started eating the food. Sultan Qubacha was noticing this action and after some time his anger subsided. He said nothing to him. So in the end the Sheikh returned to his khanqah safe and secure.⁵⁹

After the victory of Multan and Sind (1228 A.D.), Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya and Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish's relations became friendlier. Sultan Iltutmish invited him at his Delhi Court and made him *Sheikh-ul-Islam*.⁶⁰

Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya's support to the local officials – Many crucial times Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya helped the Rulers. During that time the invasions of Mangols on North-West Indian States was a dangerous problem for the Delhi Sultans. Their attacks impacted on the people of these states. According to Khaliq Ahmed

⁵⁸ Khaliq Ahmed Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, p.255

⁵⁹ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, pp.253-254

⁶⁰ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, p.192

Nizami, "The Delhi Sultans strained every nerve to meet the situation but sometimes they found themselves utterly helpless in the face of these nomadic hordes that poured into the country like ants and locusts." Once in the year of 1246 A.D. the Mangols attacked the city of Multan, during that crucial time Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya helped the administrators of Multan in dealing with them. Saif bin Muhammad Yaqub Harawi writes that during this invasion Malik Shamsuddin and Sali Nuyin laid siege to the city of Multan. Chengiz Khan was the Governor of Multan at that time, which was among the slaves of Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish. Chengiz Khan, after some days' struggle with the Mangols sent Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya to Malik Shamsuddin for peace settlement and persuades him to accept money and raise the siege. Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya came to the gate and met with Malik Shamsuddin. It was the day of *Eid-ul-Zuha*.⁶¹ The Sheikh embraced the Malik and recited this couplet:

"Now it is *'Eid* for me that I have seen your face. My work is accomplished as soon as I reach you."

The Malik impressed his way of talking and when he went to Sali Nuyin and reached the agreement that Chengiz Khan should send one hundred thousand dinars (gold currency of that time) to them. The next day Chengiz Khan sent this amount through Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya to Sali Nuyin and after this Chengiz Khan again sent some royal presents for Malik Shamsuddin through him.⁶²

Another time the Sheikh helped the chief administrator of Multan with the grain. According to *Fawaid-ul-Fuad*, "Once the Governor of Multan fell in need of grain. So he requested to Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya for help him. The Sheikh accepted his request and ordered the keeper of the store to oblige him with a heap of corn. The Governor sent some persons to take out the grain from his store. There embedded in the heap of grain they found a pitcher full of silver. They informed the Governor, who immediately asked them to return it to Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya as he had given them only the grain, not the silver. When the Sheikh was told about all that, he sent word to him that Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya knew about that and that he was given the grain along with the silver."⁶³

Sheikh Sadruddin Arif and Prince Muhammad– Mostly primary sources and

⁶¹ Khaliq Ahmed Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, p.256

⁶² *Ibid*, p.256

⁶³ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p.403

writers are silent about the relations of Sheikh Sadruddin Arif with the Rulers. But Derwash Jamali Kambo Dihlawi in his writing mentions a story about Sheikh Sadruddin Arif and Prince Muhammad (Jamali mentions his name in his writing Qadr Khan), who was the son of Sultan Giyasuddin Balban. According to him, "The wife of Prince Muhammad was a beautiful woman, who was the daughter of Ruknuddin Ibrahim, which was a son of Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish. Prince Muhammad was a drunkard man and had a unique temperamental personality. He loved her very much. Once he became so angry from her that he divorced her, but his infatuation for her beauty persisted. So, he consulted the Ulema about remarrying her. They told him that the *Shariah* did not permit remarriage unless she was married to someone else who spent a night with her and then divorced her. The Prince was upset by his plan and, taking the Qazi into his confidence, asked his advice. The Qazi suggested him that he married his former wife to Sheikh Sadruddin and then requested him to divorce her. The marriage was performed. Next day, the Prince sent the Qazi to ask the Sheikh for divorce. The girl's entreaties, however, to remain in the Sheikh's house prompted Sheikh Sadruddin to refuse to comply with the Prince's request."⁶⁴ According to Khaliq Ahmed Nizami, "This incident led to bitterness between the Sheikh and the Prince. The latter even thought of taking action against the Sheikh, but a Mangol invasion cut short the thread of his life."⁶⁵

Sheikh Ruknuddin Abul Fateh's relation with the State– Sheikh Ruknuddin Abul Fateh also believed in the establishment of friendly relations with the State. After the death of Sultan Jalaluddin Khalji (1290-1296 A.D.), Sultan Alauddin Khalji (1296-1316 A.D.) ascended on the throne of Delhi. During that time safety of the throne was a big challenge for him. So for safety or security of the throne he wanted destroy all his enemies including family members of late Sultan Jalauddin Khilji. During that time Sheikh Ruknuddin Abul Fateh played a significant role for the life of Sultan Jalauddin's sons.⁶⁶ According to Ziauddin Barni, "After Sultan Alauddin Khilji's ascended on the throne; first of all he gave his attention to the late Sultan Jalaluddin Khilji's sons. Ulugh Khan, Zafar Khan and some other Maliks and Amir's sent to Multan with thirty or forty thousand horses. They besieged that city for one or two

⁶⁴ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, pp.202-203

⁶⁵ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, p.226

⁶⁶ Ziauddin Barni, *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, eng. trans. by H.M. Elliot and John Dowson under the title, *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, vol-III, p.161

months. The Kotwal and the people of Multan turned against the sons of Jalaluddin, and some of the Amirs came out of the city to Ulugh Khan and Zafar Khan. The sons of the late Sultan then sent to Sheikh Ruknuddin Abul Fateh for their safety from Ulugh Khan. The Princes then went out with the Sheikh and their Amirs to Ulugh Khan. He received them with great respect and quartered them near his own dwelling."⁶⁷

Sheikh Ruknuddin Abul Fateh's relations with Sultan Alauddin Khalji– The relations of Sheikh Ruknuddin Abdul Fateh with the Rulers were cordial. During Sultan Alauddin Khilji's reign, Sheikh Ruknuddin visited Delhi many times. Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi writes that during each visit of his Delhi, the Sultan himself went to welcome to him and rode back with him to the city. He also paid him 2, 00,000 (two lakhs) tankas at his arrival and 5, 00,000 (five lakhs) tankas at his departure. But Sheikh Ruknuddin always distributed all this money among the people of Delhi and naturally his visits were a source of great inspiration to the people.⁶⁸

Sheikh Ruknuddin Abul Fateh's relations with Sultan Qutbuddin– The Sultan Qutbuddin had a great faith in Sheikh Ruknuddin. Sheikh Ruknuddin also loved him and during his reign period, Sheikh Ruknuddin visited Delhi three times.⁶⁹ About the purpose of these visiting, contemporary writings like *Siyar-ul-Awliya* mentions that needy person's petitions and welfare works of the people played a significant role. According to Sayyid Muhammad Kirmani, who was present at Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya's khanqah (every journey of Delhi, Sheikh Ruknuddin Abul Fateh met with Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya before Sultan Qutubuddin at Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya's khanqah) says: "When I took the spreading sheet for food before them, I saw that there were many applications of the decrepit in the *doli* of Sheikh Ruknuddin Abul Fateh. I arranged those papers aside so that the room for keeping the breads could be made. At that movement, Sheikh Ruknuddin turned towards the Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya and said to him, "Do you know what sorts of these papers are?" Then he himself said, "These are the petitions of the poor and decrepits. When I go to the

⁶⁷ Ziauddin Barni, *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, eng. trans. by H.M. Elliot and John Dowson under the title, *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, vol-III, p.161

⁶⁸ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, p.211

⁶⁹ Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, pp.95-97

Sultan, I hand them over to him so that their desires could be fulfilled.⁷⁰ According to Derwash Jamali Kambo Dihlawi, "Whenever Sheikh Ruknuddin went to the court of Sultan Qutubuddin, the people of Delhi would place petitions inside the Sheikh's *Takht-i-Rawan* (a type of palanquin similar to a moveable throne). The Court was entered after passing through three vestibules; the Sheikh would travel through the first two on his palanquin, and would then be greeted by the Sultan in the third. He would be taken inside where the Sultan would squat respectfully at his feet. The petitions would then be brought in and, after having read them, the Sultan would write sympathetic replies".⁷¹

Sayyid Muhammad Kirmani in *Siyar-ul-Awliya* also mentions that Sultan Qutubuddin did not like Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya.⁷² So he disliked Sheikh Ruknuddin's friendship and meetings with the Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya. According to *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, "At every journey Sheikh Ruknuddin met with Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya before Sultan Qutubuddin."⁷³ Although Sultan Qutubuddin did not like this but apart from this he always took respect to him.

Sheikh Ruknuddin Abul Fateh's relations with Sultan Giyasuddin Tughluq–

Although primary sources are silent about Sheikh Ruknuddin and Sultan Giyasuddin Tughluq's relations, but Ibn Battuta (a traveler of Morocco, who came to India during Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq's region) writes that Sheikh Ruknuddin established friendly relations with Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughluq.⁷⁴

Sheikh Ruknuddin's relations with Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq– Sheikh Ruknuddin's relations with Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq were most cordial. Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq met with him in 1327-28 A.D., when he came towards Multan for crushing Bahram Aiba Kishlu Khan's (Governor of Multan) revolt.⁷⁵

After the above discussions we can safely say that mostly Sultans of Delhi liked Sufis and gave respect to them. But Chishti and Suhrawardi Sufi saints treated them according to their forefather's policies. Chishti's relations with the State were

⁷⁰ Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, p.97

⁷¹ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, p.212

⁷² Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, pp.107-112

⁷³ *Ibid*, p.95

⁷⁴ Ibn Battuta, *The Rehla*, eng. trans. and edited by Tim Mackintosh-Smith under the title, *The Travels of Ibn Battutah*, Picador, London, 2003, p.166

⁷⁵ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, pp.212-13

neither oppositional nor friendly and also not against their visiting in their khanqahs. But in spite of this they always kept distance from Delhi Sultans and their affairs. But whenever they came in their khanqahs for their blessings or works, they gave respect to them. On the other hand, Suhrawardi saints established friendly relations with the Rulers and they also took part in their affairs. They also accepted *Jagirs* (land-grants), services under the State and in many crucial times they also helped the Delhi Sultans or Rulers. But they used these for the help of the needy people.

CHAPTER – 5

IMPACT OF SUFISM ON PUNJAB

The activities of Sufi saints played an important role in religious and political life of Punjab. Their role in socio-cultural and economic life of Punjab was also tremendous. Despite this, these Sufi saints were cause of new construction of tombs and shrines in Punjab. This movement made deep impact on the whole life of Punjab including political, social, culture, religion, economy, language, literature, arts and architecture,. This chapter is focus only on Sufism's impact on social, culture, economy, arts, language and literature of Punjab.

Impact on Social and Cultural life

Sufi saints' life style, principles, teachings and techniques made important reasons of direct and in-direct impact on society and cultural life of Punjab. Their relations with the people and multi-racial, religious and lingual pattern of society of Punjab played significant role. All these features of Punjab's society has always stood in need of and has always welcomed men imbued with high moral ideas, who could, in the words of Rabindranath Tagore, "*Set at naught all differences of men by the over-flow of their consciousness of God.*"¹

Social equality– Division of society was a main problem for Punjab's society from ancient time and caste system was a specific reason of it.² Although Islam believed in social equality, but apart from this it was increased during early medieval period. Delhi Sultans (especially Sultan Giyasuddin Balban) also played an important role in this matter. According to Khaliq Ahmed Nizami; "The Turkish Sultans of Delhi drew their inspiration from Sassanid social and political ideals and looked down upon the contact with the common man. Sultan Giyasuddin Balban would not talk to the low born, would not approve the appointment of even an Indian born Muslim to any post in his State. Their thoughts created walls among the people, which had already divided into many parts, like religion, caste system and low and high born."³

Sufi saints of Punjab believed in social equality of all men and gave equal

¹ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *State and Culture in Medieval India*, Adam Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 1985, p.179

² Abu-Rehan Muhammad bin Ahmad Alberuni, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, eng. trans. by E.C. Sachau under the title, *Alberuni's India*, Rupa. Co, New Delhi, 2002, pp.84-86

³ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *State and Culture in Medieval India*, p.185

importance to everyone. According to Sheikh Farid's verse:

ਇਕੁ ਫਿਕਾ ਨ ਗਾਲਾਇ ਸਭਨਾ ਮੈ ਸਚਾ ਧਣੀ ॥

ਹਿਆਉ ਨ ਕੈਹੀ ਠਾਹਿ ਮਾਣਕ ਸਭ ਅਮੋਲਵੇ ॥ ੧੨੯॥⁴

For social equality, they advised to the people that they should live together with love without any differences or walls. According to *Fawaid al-Fuad*, "Once a disciple of Sheikh Farid brought a knife as a present for him, but Sheikh Farid returned his knife to him and said: *Do not bring knife for me, bring needle as it joins while a knife separates.*"⁵ Sufi khanqahs played a significant role, where people belonging to all religions visited and sitting together. According to Hamid Hussain, "Sufi khanqah not only demonstrated the theme of equality among Muslims alone and encompassed people of all religious and castes to its fold, but also did not extend any special treatment to the Sultans when they visited."⁶

Sufis' open kitchen system also played a significant role in this matter, which was another feature of Sufi khanqahs, where people ate together without any low and high born. Open kitchen system was very old in Sufis. For witness, Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi in *Fawaid al-Fuad* mentions many stories. According to a story, "A saint of Baghdad used to have one thousand and two hundred bowls of provisions cooked daily to entertain his guests (most of whom were generally strangers, travelers and poor). He had made arrangements for eighteen kitchens. One day he asked his servants to be sure that no anyone went without food. They replied that they were very vigilant on that count and they kept in mind everyone and served food to all. The Sheikh repeated what he had said before and the servants, in turn assured him that they never forgot anyone and that all those present were given food and those who came afterwards were also served with what was there worth serving. Another time the Sheikh once more asked to them not to be the least careless in this regard."⁷ Open kitchen among the Sufi Chishti saints of Punjab was probably established by Sheikh Farid. But his open kitchen was based on *Futuh* (a charity amount).⁸ When *Futuh* came to him, he established open kitchen, which distributed food to all the people.⁹

⁴ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਸਲੋਕ ਬਾਬਾ ਸੇਖ ਫਰੀਦ, ਪੰਨਾ-1384

⁵ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, D.K. Printworld, New Delhi, 1996, p.407

⁶ Hamid Hussain (ed.), *Sufism and Bhakti Movement*, Manak Publications, Delhi, 2001, p.126

⁷ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p.251

⁸ Khaliq Ahmed Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, Idarah-i Adabiyyat-i Delli, Delhi, 1980, pp.205-206

⁹ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p.181

Impact on Hindu-Muslim relations– The Sufis played a significant role between Hindu and Muslim’s relations. Abu-Rehan Alberuni writes that during early medieval period mostly Hindus kept away from Muslims and they called them *Mallecha* (impure).¹⁰ The thoughts of Hindus were a wall between Sufis and their spiritual mission. Sufis knew that with this mindset, they could not achieve their spiritual aims. So they started work on their good relations with the Hindus. For the success of that purpose, they adopted local languages, customs and rituals of the Hindu people. Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi and Sayyid Muhammad Kirmani in their writings *Fawaid al-Fuad* and *Siyar-ul-Awliya* writes that these great policies of Sufis made positive impact on the Hindu people and after some time they started come to their khanqahs, where Hindu and Muslims sitting and eating together on many occasions.¹¹

About the necessity and feature of this policy Khaliq Ahmed Nizami writes, “With the settlement of the Muslims in India conciliation and concord between the various cultural groups was not only a moral and intellectual demand but an urgent social necessity. The conquerors had established their political supremacy by virtue of certain moral and physical qualities, but they could not continue to rule while the majority of their subjects differed from them in race, language, religion and culture. The orthodox theologians, conservative and reactionary as they were rarely appreciated the change in the mood of the time and seldom tried to reconstruct their religious thoughts according to the needs of the time. The Muslim mystics (Sufis), however, rose to the occasion and released syncretism forces which liquidated social, ideological and linguistic barriers between the various cultural groups of India and helped in the development of a common cultural outlook.”¹²

Impact on the moral character of the people– Foreigners invasions,¹³ political changes and anarchy of Punjab,¹⁴ made negative impact on the moral character of the

¹⁰ Abu-Rehan Muhammad bin Ahmad Alberuni, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, eng. trans. by E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, p.3

¹¹ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p.181; Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habib Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delli, Delhi, 2013 p.110

¹² Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *The Life and Times of Sheikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar*, Muslim University Aligarh, Aligarh, 1955, p.105

¹³ Abu-Rehan Muhammad bin Ahmad Alberuni, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, eng. trans. by E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, pp.5-6 ; Muhammad Kasim Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, eng. trans. by John Briggs under the title, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, vol-I, Editions Indian, Calcutta, 1966 (reprint), pp.280-288, 349-350

¹⁴ Muhammad Kasim Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, eng. trans. by John Briggs under the title, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, vol-I, pp.1-350

people.¹⁵ Sufi saints knew the necessity of good moral character in the human life.¹⁶ So they worked and advised the people for good character. For example about the respect and help of the visitors, Sufi saints always advised to the people, “Whenever the guest arrives, don't sustain any inconvenience and don't consider him as a burden upon yourself.”¹⁷ According to Sheikh Farid, "Whoever visited him, brought something, but if a poor man visited him, without a present he saw to it that he did not leave without having anything from him.”¹⁸

Impact on Slavery system– Slavery system entered in Punjab with Muslim people and it was very famous during Sultanate period. According to the Roman law, "A slave was a chattel without property rights. He could be killed or tortured at his master's caprice; he could own no property, nor could he be regarded as capable of entering into any contract. He had no locus stand in a court of law. His master was responsible for him as he was for any other former servile condition.”¹⁹

Slavery system was tolerated by Islam because it was so interwoven with the economic system of the Middle Ages that it was not possible to dispense with it completely.²⁰ Although Sufi saints were not openly criticise slavery system, but apart from this they did work for the welfare and freedom of the slaves. Sayyid Muhammad Kirmani in *Siyar ul-Awliya* writes that they did work for the welfare of the slaves and many times suggested to the people and their followers to free their slaves. According to Sufis, “One who frees a slave acts as if he had turned a dead one alive.”²¹ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi in *Fawaid al-Fuad* mention a story on this matter, where Sheikh Farid, suggested his disciples on this aspect. According to story, "Once Maulana Sharafuddin, who was a grandson of Qadi Hamiduddin Nagauri and lived somewhere in the vicinity of Nagaur, thought that he should go and express his sentiments of devotion to Sheikh Farid. With this reflection in mind he left Nagaur. Before he had started his journey, his slave-girl asked him to convey her sentiments of

¹⁵ (ਜ) ਫਰੀਦਾ ਕੰਨਿ ਮੁਸਲਾ ਸੂਫੂ ਗਲਿ ਦਿਲਿ ਕਾਤੀ ਗੁੜੁ ਵਾਤਿ ॥

ਬਾਰਿ ਦਿਸੈ ਚਾਨਣਾ ਦਿਲਿ ਅੰਧਿਆਰੀ ਰਾਤਿ ॥੫੦॥ (ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਸਲੋਕ ਬਾਬਾ ਸੇਖ ਫਰੀਦ, ਪੰਨਾ-1380)

¹⁶ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p-122

¹⁷ Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, p.318

¹⁸ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p.364

¹⁹ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, p.9

²⁰ *Ibid*, p.9

²¹ Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, p.256

servitude to Sheikh Farid and present him, on her behalf, the embroidered kerchief which she had herself made. However, in short, Maulana Sharafuddin reached at Sheikh Farid's khanqah and presented himself to Sheikh Farid in all devotion. After inquiring about his health and welfare, he said to the Sheikh that he had a slave-girl, who was devoted to him and had sent him her sentiments of devotion and sincere regards. With these words he placed the embroidered kerchief before the Sheikh, which she had sent for the Sheikh. According to *Fawaid al-Fuad*, "After heard him Sheikh Farid uttered these words: *May God grants her freedom*. When Maulana Sharafuddin begged his permission to leave and went out, he thought that whatever the Sheikh had said, will certainly take place and the slave-girl will regain her freedom. But, as she must fetch a high prize, he would not free her of his own. He would sell her, and it could be that the man, who bought her, might as well free her. But soon another idea occurred to his mind. He thought that if the slave-girl was freed in a house other than his, its reward will go to the man who would free her. Then, why should he himself not grant her freedom? With this mindset he went back to Sheikh Farid's khanqah and told him that he had freed his slave-girl."²²

Impact on Muslim Population or strength– Sufis of Punjab also impacted on the Muslim population or strength. Sufis policies, teachings and simple living style made solid impact on the Hindu people and many times under their impact many Hindu people accepted new religion. Khaliq Ahmed Nizami gives many names of those tribes, which had accepted new religion under the impact of Sheikh Farid. Some of these are Sial, Khokaran, Dhudhiyan, Tobiyan etc.²³

In spite of this Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi and Ibn Battuta give information that many Sufis of Punjab were famous not only in Indian States but also abroad. So every year many foreigners came to Sufis khanqahs of Punjab for their blessings and guidance. Many times some people from these, decided to live there (Sufi khanqah) permanently under their impact. For example Sayyid Kirmani, which was a famous businessman of Kirman, came to the khanqah of Sheikh Farid at Ajodhan or Pakpattan and finds such spiritual solace in that tumbling hut that he decides to take up permanently residence here (Ajodhan).²⁴

²² Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, pp.346-347

²³ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, p.321

²⁴ Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, p.155

Impact on Amulet (*Tawiz*)²⁵ System– Amulet or *Tawiz* system entered in Punjab with the Muslims. Sufi saints played an important role to extend it. Because Sufi saints were spiritual personalities in the eyes of the local people. So for God and their blessings, people came to their khanqahs and during that time many people demanded amulet or *Tawiz* from them for their goodwill. Sheikh Farid's khanqah was an example of it, where large crowds of the people came every day for amulet (*Tawiz*). During early days, Sheikh Farid was very confused about it. So Sheikh Farid went to Sheikh Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki and tells him: "People came to me and asked for amulets. He sought his advice as to what he had to do in that regard, should he give?" During that time, Sheikh Qutbuddin remarked, "None of them could fulfill the desire of anyone and that in an amulet there was the name and, at time, some revealed words of God. He, therefore, advised the Sheikh to give amulets to those who wanted from him."²⁶ From that time the Sheikh began to distribute *tawiz* or amulet to the people, but it was very difficult for him to write so many *tawiz* or amulet with his own hand. So in this work his one favourite disciple named Maulana Badruddin Ishq helped him.²⁷

Impact on festivals– Under Chishti and Suhrawadi Sufi saints' influence many new festivals and fairs entered in Punjab. *Urs* was one of these, which was very famous festival of that time and entered in Punjab under Sufis' influence. *Urs*, which literally means wedding²⁸ but it denotes the death anniversary of a Sufi.²⁹ In Punjab this festival started by Sufi saints' successors or followers on the death anniversary of a Sufi, because they thought that during that time a Sufi saint's soul was supposed to have been in close proximity with God.³⁰ So that after some time this festival made an important part of their believer's life or Punjab's social life. Sheikh Farid and Sheikh Jamaluddin Hansvi's *Urs* are examples of this, where large numbers of the people come to their shrines and celebrate their *Urs* (death ceremony).

²⁵ *Tawiz* on Amulet : A verse of the Quran, on one or more of the Beautiful Names of God, or some dua is written in words of figures on a piece of paper (Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p.475)

²⁶ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p.363; Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, p.328

²⁷ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *The Life and Times of Sheikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar*, p.52; Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p.363

²⁸ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p.255

²⁹ Molana Hameed Qalander, *Khair-ul-Majalis*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari and Hamid Afaq Qureshi, Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delli, Delhi, 2010, p.232

³⁰ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p.476

Efforts of the establishment of peace– Sufi saints played a significant role in the peace of society. They gave the lesson to the people, “If one also put thorns in retaliation to the other person doing the same thing, and then there would be no flowers but thorns all over.”³¹ Despite this Sufis also says, “Good to the good and crookedness to the crook was the general pattern of behavior among the people. But the way of the good people were different.”³² Their motto was, *Good to the good and good also to the crook.*³³ Ziauddin Barni in his book *Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi* gives information that Sufi saints’ teachings played a significant role in the establishment of peace in Delhi and its surrounding areas.³⁴ Apart from this under their impact or respect, many invaders during their invasions, leaved those places, which belonged to Sufi saints. For example during his invasion, Timur Shah leaved Ajodhan because Sheikh Farid's tomb was there.³⁵

Worship of tombs (Dargah) – At another famous tradition, worship of tombs became popular in Punjab under Sufis’ influence. Sufis’ followers gave respect to them and thought that Sufis are God gifts for society. So during their life time they came to their khanqahs and took *amulets* from them. They believed on their spiritual power even when the saint died, it was firmly believed that he would still respond favourably to requests made at his tomb.³⁶ So in Punjab a new system called 'worship of tombs' or worship of *Dargah* was originated, where people came for blessings. After some time these places became places of worship.

IMPACT ON ECONOMY

Chishti and Suhrawardi Sufi saints impacted Punjab's economy also. They played a significant role in internal and external trade. Sufi khanqahs’ especially Chishti khanqahs played a significant role in this matter. Because Punjab was a very famous north-west frontier (border) area and many trade routes passed through this

³¹ Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, pp.319-320; Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, pp.363-364

³² ਫਰੀਦਾ ਜੋ ਤੈ ਮਾਰਨਿ ਮੁਕੀਆਂ ਤਿਨ੍ਹਾ ਨ ਮਾਰੇ ਘੁੰਮਿ॥
ਆਪਨੜੈ ਘਰਿ ਜਾਈਐ ਪੈਰ ਤਿਨ੍ਹਾ ਦੇ ਚੁੰਮਿ॥੨॥ (ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਸਲੋਕ ਬਾਬਾ ਫਰੀਦ, ਪੰਨਾ-1378)

³³ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p.200

³⁴ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, pp.261-264

³⁵ Sir Alexander Cunningham, ‘Ajodhan or Pakpattan’, *The Punjab Past and Present*, vol-VII, Part-II, Punjabi University, Patiala, October, 1973, p.399

³⁶ John L. Esposito (editor in chief), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern World*, vol-IV, Oxford University Press, New York, 1995, p.117

region. For trade every year, many foreigners and other Indian State's traders came to Punjab and spent lot of time on this land. During that time Sufi khanqahs provided food, residence places and security to traders.³⁷ For example Sheikh Farid's khanqah remained open from morning till late at night, where many foreigner and other state's traders visited, the Sheikh welcomed or attended to everyone with equal warmth and affection and presented them food and residency.³⁸ Besides these Sufi saints and their disciples also gave information them about the local production, needs and safe roads of the area.

Impact on towns and cities– Chishti and Suhrawardi Sufi saints' reputations and wisdom also attracted visitors from far and wide.³⁹ For example about the popularity of Ajodhan, Ibn Battuta, which himself came to Ajodhan (Pakpattan) under Sheikh Farid's influence, mentions that Sheikh Farid's personality attracted the people and he had himself come to Ajodhan (Pakpattan), because that a saint named Burhan al-Din who belonged to Alexandria told him about the popularity of Sheikh Farid, who belonged to this city.⁴⁰ From Sheikh Farid the place (Ajodhan) derives the modern name of Pakpattan or the 'Ferry of the pure one' that is of Farid whose later days were spent at Ajodhan.⁴¹ Shams Siraj Afif and Sayyid Muhammad Kirmani in their writings *Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi* and *Siyar-ul-Awliya* also writes that Sufi saints' reputation did not only attract the simple people but also attracted the Rulers⁴² and many Delhi Sultans came to Sufi khanqahs for the blessings of Sufi saints.⁴³

Besides these Sufi saints' presence also impacted on the population and safety of these places.⁴⁴ Mostly foreigner invaders and Delhi Sultans kept away from these places during their battles.⁴⁵

³⁷ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi , p.181

³⁸ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *The Life and Times of Sheikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar*, p.52

³⁹ Ibn Battuta, *The Rehla*, eng. trans. and edited by Tim Mackintosh-Smith under the title, *The Travels of Ibn Battutah*, Picador, London, 2003, pp.157-158

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, pp.157-158

⁴¹ Sir Alexander Cunningham, 'Ajudhan or Pakpattan', *The Punjab Past and Present*, vol- VII, Part-II, p.401

⁴² Shams Siraj Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firoj Shahi*, eng. trans. by H.M. Elliot and John Dowson, under the title, *The History of India as Told by Its Historians*, pp.282,321; Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, pp.52,95,97,145-146,149

⁴³ Sir Alexander Cunningham, 'Ajudhan or Pakpattan', *The Punjab Past and Present*, (Journal), Punjabi University, Patiala, vol-VII, April-1973, p.40

⁴⁴ Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, p.155

⁴⁵ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, 1986, pp.191-194

IMPACT ON RELIGIOUS LIFE

Impact on Islam– Sufism impacted on Islam's popularity, reputation and especially its growth also. In ancient times Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism were famous religions. Hinduism was the most popular religion one these. Many times when people disliked Hindu customs and practices, they adopted Jainism and Buddhism means to say that they had another two choices. In the first half of 8th century Islam entered in Punjab. Although during that time Jainism and Buddhism had lost its old glory from Punjab but apart from this Islam could not make another favorite religion of this land. Abu-Rehan Alberuni in his writing *Tarikh-i- Hind* writes that Hindus disliked Muslims even then they did not want to talk to with them.⁴⁶ Many reasons played significant role behind it. But Muslim invader's tyranny on the Indian people was an important reason for this.⁴⁷ Besides these Sufi saints started work on their spiritual aims and after some time they succeeded to win the hearts of local men with their teachings, works and personality. Now they respected them and their religion.

Impact on the Ulema class– The Ulema was a famous class of Muslim society during the Sultanate period. They were held in high esteem on account of their religious learning. For that reasons, Delhi Sultans always gave respect to them and tried to appoint them on high posts.⁴⁸ Like Ulema, Sufi saints' also knowledgeable and learned men and they had good knowledge about Islam and its laws. So Sufis were those persons, which were able to debate with the Ulema on equal ground.⁴⁹ Many times when they saw or observed Ulema's unethical works or acts, they criticised them. According to *Fawa'id al-Fu'ad*, "Once Hasan Afghan (a famous disciple of Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya) was passing through a street, happened to be in a Masjid. The *Muadhhin* called out the *takbir*, the Imam went ahead and many people stood in rows (to follow him). Khawajah Hasan also joined the congregation. When the *Namaz* (prayer) was over and the people dispersed, Khawajah Hazan quietly drew close to the Imam and said: *O Khawajah you started the prayer and I joined you. You left for Delhi, reached there and bought slaves. Then you returned, took the slaves to Khurasan. Came back again to Multan and entered the Masjid. I was just behind you and in perplexity and bewilderment, wandered here and there*

⁴⁶ Abu-Rehan Muhammad bin Ahmad Alberuni, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, eng. trans. by E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, pp.4-5

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, pp.4-5

⁴⁸ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, p.255

⁴⁹ Muneera Haeri, *The Chishti : A Living Light*, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 2001, p.3

with you. But, what sort of prayer is this?"⁵⁰

According to story of *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, "Once Abdullah, who was the Qazi and Khatib of Ajodhan, made a mistake while leading the Friday prayer. One of the disciples of Sheikh Farid pointed out the mistake and all the people present there re-offered their prayer. Qazi Abdullah took it as a personal insult and abused the Sheikh and his disciples, when the Sheikh quietly left the Masjid and returned to his house with his followers."⁵¹

These criticisms by Sufi saints impacted on the Ulema class's reputation. Apart from this, Sufis' appointment on high posts was a challenge for Ulema's reputation. Post of *Sheikh-ul-Islam* was one of these, which was very famous post of Delhi Sultanate period. The *Sheikh-ul-Islam* was in charge of the ecclesiastical affairs of the Sultanate. All those saints and faqirs who were enjoyed patronage looked after by him. The *Sheikh-ul-Islam* was both an office and an honorific title.⁵² After the advent of Sufism in India, Delhi Sultans started appointed the Sufis on high posts, especially on *Sheikh-ul-Islam*.⁵³ It was religious post so Ulema thought that their right on this post. So many Ulema started to be jealous from them. For example, Ulema Najmuddin Sughra, who was a *Sheikh-ul-Islam* of Sultan Iltutmish's region, was jealous from Sheikh Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki, because he was appointed on this post after the disapproval or prohibition of Sheikh Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki. So he was anxious to derive him out of the capital.⁵⁴

All these stories proved that Sufi saints' religious reputations and knowledge impacted on the Ulema class and their religious reputations and supremacy. Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi and Sayyid Muhammad Kirmani in their writings, *Fawaid al-Fuad* and *Siyar-ul-Awliya* writes that many times under jealousy, Ulema issued *Fatwas* (religious order or Farman) against Sufi saints and their practices.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p.82

⁵¹ Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, 2013, p.56

⁵² Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, p.159

⁵³ Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, pp.231, 269

⁵⁴ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, pp.162-163

⁵⁵ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi , pp.271-272, 408-410; Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, pp.412-417

Impact on the growth of Sufism in other Indian States– Chishti and Suhrawardi Sufi saints of Punjab played a significant role in the growth of Sufism in other Indian States. Every year many disciples of Sufis came to their khanqahs for *Divine knowledge*.⁵⁶ Some disciples from these, under the impact of these saints adopted their silsilas. After became their disciples, they took knowledge from them on Islam, Sufism and other spiritual issues. Some disciples, after completing their study went to other states, where they established their khanqahs. In these khanqahs they gave knowledge to the people about their silsila's teaching and practices and under their influence people came to their khanqahs and adopted their silsila. So these saints played a significant role to extend their silsila to other places.⁵⁷ Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya took spiritual knowledge (*Divine knowledge*) from Ajodhan (from Sheikh Farid) and established his khanqah at Delhi.

Impact on other Sufi silsilas– Chishti and Suhrawardi saints also impacted on the growth of other Sufi silsilas, which came to Punjab after them. It was good impact of Chishti and Suhrawardi saints that the people of Punjab gave respect to the Muslim saints. It was good or ideal atmosphere for those Sufi saints, which came to Punjab after them.

Impact on Hinduism– Sufis impacted on Hinduism, its growth, religious movements and its saints also. No doubt during early medieval period, Hinduism was a favourite religion. But despite this it was suffering and its caste system, many rituals and practices were weak points of it.⁵⁸ During that time Sufism was becoming popular among the people of Punjab with Sufi saints' good works and teachings. For example many famous writers like Khaliq Ahmed Nizami in his writing writes that under the influence of Sufi saints many low-caste people left Hinduism during Sultanate period.⁵⁹ But on the other side it was good or positive impact of Sufism on Hinduism that after this many Hindu religious movements, thinkers and saints started a strong protest against the prevailing vices of Hinduism.⁶⁰ Bhakti movement is a specific example of it, whose saints did works for the re-organization and against the prevailing vices of Hinduism.

⁵⁶ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p.29

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, pp.28-31

⁵⁸ Abu-Rehan Muhammad bin Ahmad Alberuni, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, eng. trans. by E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, p.84

⁵⁹ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, p.321

⁶⁰ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *State and Culture in Medieval India*, p.296

Khaliq Ahmed Nizami and Tara Chand in their writings write that Sufis impact on Bhakti movement was tremendous.⁶¹ According to Khaliq Ahmed Nizami, "Many saints of the Bhakti movement had come into contact with Muslim saints and this contact created ideological bridges between Islam and Hinduism."⁶² For example Guru Nanak Dev met with many famous Sufi saints like Sheikh Ibrahim, Sheikh Farid Thani, Baba Salih and Hazrat Shah Ali during his journeys (Udasis).⁶³ His meetings with these Sufi saints made positive impact on his thoughts.⁶⁴

IMPACT ON LITERATURE

Contribution of Sufis in producing literature– Mostly Sufi saints of Punjab did not take interest in producing literature. But apart from this many Sufi saints and their disciples of Punjab played a significant role in producing literature, which were related with Sufi teachings, its instructions, and practices etc. According to Maksud Ahmed Khan, "The Sufis being aware of the significance of education devoted their precious time and energy, besides teaching and instructions, in producing voluminous works on various fields of learning."⁶⁵ *Kashf-ul-Mahjub, Mulhamat and Diwans* are examples of their writings. Besides these many other Sufi works called *malfuzat* or the table talks were also compiled during this period. According to Mahmud Hussain Siddiqui, "The word *Malfuz* is a derivative of *lafz* (word) and means uttered, spoken. And malfuz writing is that branch of literature in which the utterances and teachings of eminent Sufis are recorded, generally chronologically in book-form, by one or more of their devotees or disciples present at those talks."⁶⁶ According to Khaliq Ahmed Nizami, "*Malfuzat* or 'Table-talk' of the Sufi saints was recorded by their disciples. It was the ambition of every disciple to record the conversation of his master from day to day in the most accurate way possible."⁶⁷ *Fawaid al-Fuad, Siyar-*

⁶¹ *Ibid*, pp.298-302; Tara Chand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, The Indian Press, Allahabad, 1963, p.166

⁶² Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *State and Culture in Medieval India*, pp.298-302

⁶³ *Ibid*, pp.300-301

⁶⁴ Tara Chand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, p.166

⁶⁵ Maksud Ahmad Khan, 'Khanqahs: Centres of Learning', *Sufis, Sultans and Feudal Orders: Professor Nurul Hasan Commemoration Volume*, edited by Mansura Haider, Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 2004, p.81

⁶⁶ Mahmud Husain Siddiqui, *The Memoirs of Sufis written in India : Reference to Kashf-ul-Mahjub, Siyal-ul-Auliya and Siyal-ul-Arifin*, Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Baroda, 1979, p.26

⁶⁷ Khaliq Ahmed Nizami (ed.), *Politics and Society During the Early Medieval India*, People's Publishing House, , New Delhi, 1974, p.7

*ul-Awliya, Khair-ul-Majalis, Jami-ul-Ulum*⁶⁸ etc. were famous *Malfuzat* of medieval period.

IMPACT ON EDUCATION

During Sultanate period the illiteracy was common in the people of Punjab. About the illiteracy in the common people, Khaliq Ahmed Nizami writes, "The governing class looked upon education as the exclusive privilege of the upper strata of society and did not like it to spread among the lower classes."⁶⁹ During that time mystics fought against illiteracy. Sufis believed that *No illiterate man can be a Sufi*.⁷⁰ For example when Sheikh Farid desired to abandon his studies in order to join Khawaja Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki, then Khawaja advised the Sheikh to complete his education first. According to the Khawaja Qutbuddin, "An illiterate mystic falls a prey into the hands of devil." Against illiteracy many Sufi saints established Madrassas (small schools of early education) in their khanqahs. Chahar Qutab's (Hansi) *Madrassa* is a example of it. Apart from this their learned disciples also played an important role in this matter. Many disciples of Sufis after completing their study adopted the profession of teaching and gave the knowledge to others.⁷¹ For example, Sheikh Badruddin Ishq, which was a favourite disciple of Sheikh Farid, taught the *Quran* to small boys at Jama Masjid of Ajodhan.⁷²

IMPACT ON LANGUAGE

Chishti and Suhrawardi Sufi saints of Punjab and their disciples also played a significant role in promotion of regional languages by using local dialects in their day to day conversations.⁷³ Abu-Rehan Alberuni in his book *Kitab-ul-Hind* writes that during early medieval period language was a wall between Muslim and the local people.⁷⁴ During that time Sufi saints came to Punjab. According to Yusuf Husain, "Sufi saints realised that they could not achieve their aims without study and

⁶⁸ *Jami-ul-Ulum* is discourses of Saiyid Jalaluddin Bukhari Makhdum-i-Jahaniyan.

⁶⁹ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, p.262

⁷⁰ Maksud Ahmed Khan, 'Khanqahs: Centres of Learning', *Sufis, Sultans and Feudal Orders: Professor Nural Hassan Commemoration Volume*, edited by Mansura Haider, p.72

⁷¹ *Ibid*, p.77

⁷² Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *The Life and Times of Sheikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar*, p.72

⁷³ Maksud Ahmed Khan, 'Khanqahs: Centres of Learning', *Sufis, Sultans and Feudal Orders: Professor Nural Hassan Commemoration Volume*, edited by Mansura Haider, pp.89-90

⁷⁴ Abu-Rehan Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Alberuni, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, eng. trans. by E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, p.1

understand the problems of the masses and it was impossible without local languages."⁷⁵ So for their success, they adopted local languages and used these in their day to day conversations. Sufi saints also used local (Hindawi) language in their verses,⁷⁶ which proved that Sufis saints played an important role in promotion of regional or local languages not only by their day to day conversation but also with their verses. Sheikh Farid used Hindawi language in his day to day conversions⁷⁷ and also in his hymns.

In addition of this Maulvi Abdul Haq,⁷⁸ who was a famous scholar of Urdu language, on the basics of Sheikh Farid's compositions, in his work, *The Sufi's Work in the Early Development of Urdu Language*, writes that the khanqah of Sheikh Farid was one of the earliest cradles of the Urdu language.⁷⁹ An another scholar named A.R. Momin also agree with Maulvi Abdul Haq's view and writes, "In the development of Urdu it is interesting to note that the earliest known sentences of Hindawi, the early forms of Urdu, are found in the mystic records. In all probability, the birth place of Urdu was the Khanqahs of the medieval Sufis."⁸⁰ Many other famous historians and writers agree with them.⁸¹

IMPACT ON THE ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Impact on Music– Sufi saints impacted on music also. During early medieval period music was an important part of Hindu society. But it was forbidden for the Muslims. Sufi saints introduced music in the form of Sufi *Sama*.⁸² It was entered in Punjab with Ali bin Uthman Al-Hujwiri. After him other Sufis, especially Chishti saints took interest in *Sama* music and after some time it became an important part of their khanqahs. Sufi khanqahs, where all categories of people including Hindu and

⁷⁵ Yusuf Husain, *Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1973, pp.89-90

⁷⁶ श्री गुरु गीर्ष साहिब, मल्लेक घाघा मेध दरीच, पंढे-1377-1384

⁷⁷ Yusuf Husain, *Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture*, pp.89-90

⁷⁸ Abdul Haq was a very famous writer of Urdu language, who had published many books on the topic of Origin and Development of Urdu language.

⁷⁹ Maulvi Abdul Haq, *The Sufi's Work in the Early Development of Urdu Language*, Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu, Delhi, 1939, pp.7-9

⁸⁰ A.R. Momin, 'The Indo-Islamic-Traditions', *Sociology of Religion in India*, edited by Rowana Robinson, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2004, p.95

⁸¹ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *State and Culture in Medieval India*, p.260

⁸² In Sufism, *Sama* ("listening", "hearing", audition) refers to the listening to music, Singing, chanting and measured recitation designed to bring about religious emotion and estasy. (Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawa'id al-Fu'ad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, pp.17-18; Arthur Gribetz, 'The Sama Controversy: Sufi vs. Legalist', *Studia Islamica*, Maisonneuve & Larose, Paris, 1991, pp.43-62

Muslims, low and high born, poor and rich etc. visited, people started hearing Sufi *Sama* music. It was impact of Sufi music that after some time many Muslims adopted it.⁸³ So that music entered in Muslim's religious life under the Sufi influence. But the Ulema class was against of *Sama* and wanted to prohibit it.⁸⁴ According to *Fawa'id al-Fuad*, "Once a Qadi of Ajodhan, who disliked Sheikh Farid, went to Multan to lodge a complaint against Sheikh Farid with the religious dignitaries there and asked them as to how far it was justified that one heard *Sama* in Masjid and sometimes even indulged in dancing. They asked him as to who that was and what the real fact was. He replied that he was Sheikh Farid. They said that they could not say anything about him."⁸⁵ Sayyid Muhammad Kirmani also writes that after the death of Sheikh Farid, *Ulema* issued *Fatwa* (religious Farman or order) against *Sama*. According to them, it had no regard for the precept of the *Sharia or Shariah*." But in the end Sufis succeeded and Sultan Giyasuddin Tughluq issued order in favour of the legality of *Sama*.⁸⁶

Impact on Architecture– Sufis of Chishti and Suhrawardi silsilas also made important reason of new constructions in Punjab. Many beautiful shrines constructed over Sufis tombs by their followers during Sultanate period, which were very famous for their designs, tile works, geometric and floral designs.⁸⁷ Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya and Sheikh Ruknuddin Abdul Fateh's shrines are famous examples.

The above discussion proves that although Sufism was an Islamic religious movement. But apart from this it was made a famous religious movement of Punjab and its impact on social, cultural, economic, language, literature, art and architecture of Punjab was tremendous.

⁸³ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawa'id al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p.296

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, pp.216-218; Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, pp.380-398

⁸⁵ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawa'id al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, p.217; Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, p 391

⁸⁶ Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Hamid Afaq Qureshi and al-Taimi al-Siddiqi, p.411-415

⁸⁷ Ahmed Nabi Khan, 'Evolution and Development of Islam Funerary Memorial Architecture in Pakistan', *Sultanate Period Architecture in Pakistan*, Seminar Proceeding, Anjuman Mimaran, Lahore, October, 1990, pp.19-35

CHAPTER – 6

RELATIONS AMONG DIFFERENT SUFIS AND SUFI SILSILAS

The Suhrawadi and Chishti silsila's Sufi saints entered in Punjab with their own principles and techniques. These principles and techniques played a significant role in their success. But some major principles and techniques of these silsilas were different from one another. Sayyid Muhammad Kirmani in *Siyar-ul-Awliya* mentions that many times these differences impacted on their relations in the other states of India.¹ So, primarily there is a great need to evaluate and examine the differences between these silsilas's, mystical techniques and principles. These are mentioned below:

Accumulation of Wealth

The Suhrawardi and Chishti Sufi saints' views regarding the accumulation of wealth were totally different from one another. Chishti saints liked simple and poor life and they were against accumulation of wealth. According to N.R. Farooqi, "They looked down upon possession of private property as a serious impediment to the growth of one's spiritual personality."² Chishti saints thought that wealth is a big wall between God and common men. So they always avoided the accumulation of wealth. Simple life style of Sheikh Farid, Sheikh Alauddin, Sheikh Jamaluddin Hansvi, Sheikh Qutbuddin Munnawar and Sheikh Nuruddin are famous examples. These Sufi saints were very famous personalities among the people of Punjab. Apart from this they did not accept any offer of money, gifts, prizes and jagirs from Delhi Sultans and other State officers.

On the other side Suhrawardi saints believed in the accumulation of wealth. But mostly Sufi saints of Suhrawardi silsila used this for the welfare of the people. About the importance of wealth in the life of a Sufi saint, Molana Hameed Qalander in *Khairul Majalis* mentioned a story of Sheikh Ruknuddin, where he gave a lesson to his disciples that the wealth is an important part of social and religious life. According to *Khairul Majalis*, "Once Sheikh Ruknuddin came to Delhi, where many Qalandaran

¹ Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, Idarah-I Adabiyat-i Delli, Delhi, 2013, pp.114-116

² N.R. Farooqi, 'The Early Chishti Sufi of India: An Outline of Their Thought and an Account of the Popular Appeal of Their Shrines (I)', *Islamic Culture*, vol-LXXVII, No-1, The Academic and Cultural Publications Charitable Trust, Hyderabad, January-2003, pp.9-18

and *Jawaliqiyan* (famous Sufi silsilas) met him. Qalandari saints said to the Sheikh, "Sheikh! Give us sherbet. The Sheikh said to them something and when they went back. After them Jawaliqiyan saints said to him, "Sheikh! Give us expenses." The Sheikh gave them something. Thereafter, he told to his disciples, "Three things are most important for every head of a tribe. First money, so that he could give whatever such group demands. The Qalandari saints demanded sherbet at this time. If the mendicant had not been having something, wherefrom he would have given? And they go out reviling and become involved in the gripping of the Day of Judgment. Second, he should have knowledge so that if the 'Ulema', I come, he could converse with them knowledgeably. Third, he should have *Hal* (state) so that he could swerve with the mendicants in a state."³ This story proves that Suhrawardi saints gave importance to accumulation of wealth. For instance, Sheikh Bahauddin Zakriya was famous for his huge money.

Their different views about the accumulation of wealth had played a significant role in their relations to other Indian States. Sheikh Hamiduddin Nagauri, who was a famous disciple of Khawaja Muinuddin Chishti and lived in Nagaur.⁴ He believed in poverty and was against the accumulation of wealth by any mystic saint.⁵ So, he always criticized Sheikh Bahauddin Zakriya for his huge money. For that purpose many times he wrote many letters to Sheikh Bahauddin Zakriya.⁶ After this both saints met in Delhi during the *mahzar* (a legal Court) convened by Sultan Iltutmish. At that time Sheikh Hamiduddin Nagauri again put questions to him about the accumulation of wealth.⁷ The writer of *Sururu's-Sudur* gives the details of that conversation as follows:

"Sheikh Hamiduddin Nagauri: Master, what is the reason why the serpents live on treasure? It is well known that the treasure, the serpent, the rose and the thorn are associated with each other. As treasure and serpent are associated in form, they should be linked in reality." Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya answered: "In form there is not much association between them, but in reality both are associated with each other.

³ Molana Hameed Qalander, *Khair-ul-Majalis*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari and Hamid Afaq Qureshi, Idarah-I Adabiyat-i Delli, Delhi, 2010, p.55

⁴ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, D.K. Printworld, New Delhi, 1996, pp.8,63

⁵ N.R. Farooqi, 'The Early Chishti Sufi of India: An Outline of Their Thought and an Account of the Popular Appeal of Their Shrines (I)', *Islamic Culture*, vol-LXXVII, No-1, pp.7-9

⁶ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, Idarah-i Adabiyat-I Delli, Delhi, 1974, p.187

⁷ *Ibid*, p.228

Both serpent and wealth are deadly poison and kill men.” Sheikh Hamiduddin Nagauri: “Then wealth is a serpent and one who stored wealth in fact rears a serpent. Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariyya: Although wealth is a serpent someone who has learnt the incantation to overcome the venom, need not have any fear from the serpent.” Sheikh Hamiduddin Nagauri: “What is the logic behind rearing a dangerous and venomous animal and then depending upon incantations?” Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya was speechless on his logic and mystically prompted by the teachings of his *pir*, who also had vast wealth, replied with the following argument. Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya: “Your achievement as a dervish is not endowed by such beauty and elegance as to be immune from the evil eye, but our achievements as dervishes are endowed with such great beauty as to gain no harm even if the whole of the world’s blackness were applied to its face.” ‘Sheikh Hamiduddin Nagauri retorted that the Suhrawardi’s achievements as dervishes were not higher than those of the Prophet Muhammad, who had often remarked that his poverty was his pride. During that time again Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya Suhrawardi was unable to reply.⁸

Relations with the State

The Chishti and Suhrawardi saint's views were also different about the relations with the State. The Chishti saints maintained distance from the Rulers and State officers. But another side Suhrawadi believed in the establishment of relations with the Rulers.⁹ Because they thought that their visits to King’s Courts provided them some opportunities to help the needy or poor people and they also thought that by establishing personal contacts with the Rulers they could create impact on their outlook, thoughts, behavior and character.¹⁰

Although all these differences impacted on their relations in other Indian states, but in Punjab their relations were cordial and friendly. In their good relations in Punjab, many factors played important. These are as follows:

1. They had divided areas of respective spiritual influence among themselves and did not interfere in another silsila’s saints’ spiritual area.

⁸ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol-I, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, 1986, pp.128-129

⁹ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *State and Culture in Medieval India*, Adam Publishers, New Delhi, 1985, pp.181-202; Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, pp.240-256

¹⁰ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, p.249

2. They also did not interfere and criticize spiritual and other activities of each other.

Primary sources are silent about their relations, but some Sufi *malfizat* gives useful information about their relations in Punjab.

Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya and Sheikh Farid– Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya and Sheikh Farid were famous saints of Punjab. Sayyid Muhammad Kirmani in *Siyar-ul-Awliya* writes that Sheikh Farid, Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya, Sheikh Saif-ud-din Bakharzi, Sheikh Sa'd-ud-din Hamwi and Sheikh Abu al-Ghees were famous Sufi saints of medieval time. According to a famous couplet of that time:

Sheikh Kabir din-i-millat ka Fard-i-Farid
Sheikh Abu al-ghis aur Sheikh Saif-ud-din
Sheikh-ul-Waqt Sheikh Sa'di Hamwi and
Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya (Reh.)
All of these five saints happened to be at the same time, each one of
them was the king of the world and din".¹¹

Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya and Sheikh Farid's relations were cordial and these saints gave respect to each other. Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya liked Sheikh Farid from his student life. During his learning period, the fame of Sheikh Farid's learning, seclusion and devotion was spreading in every side. When Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya heard about Sheikh Farid's fame, then he desired to meet him.¹²

Sheikh Farid also gave much respect to Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya. According to *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, "Once Sheikh Farid wanted to write a letter to Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya. For that purpose he caught hold of the pen in his hand and began to reflect how to address Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya. This thought emerged in his blessed mind that he should write that title, which has been written for him in the Secured Tablet. Under such a state, he raised his blessed head above and looked towards the sky and made his glance to run upon the Secured Tablet and saw that *Sheikh-ul-Islam* Bahauddin Zakariya has been written. Thereafter he addressed him with the same respectable title (couplet):

"The hearts of the Gnostics itself are their eyes
That they saw those things from it which is not seen by others

¹¹ Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Haid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, pp.61-62

¹² *Ibid*, p.36

They fly without wings

Till they reach towards the Lord of the Universe in the world of Angels."¹³

Fawaid al-Fuad's one story also gives information that these saints gave respect to each other and did not interfere in another saints' spiritual area. According to *Fawaid al-Fuad*, "Once a man named Abdullah Rumi (musician by profession) came in the presence of Sheikh Farid and asked him that he wanted to visit Multan city, but the road of this route was not safe." So he told the Sheikh to pray for his safe journey. During that time Sheikh Farid told Abdullah Rumi that the area up to such a village, wherein there was a pond, and which was at a distance of so many miles from that place, was under his control; he (Abdullah Rumi) would reach upto that village safe and sound. Beyond that up to Multan the whole area was under Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya's charge.¹⁴ Abdullah Rumi acted on the Sheikh Farid's advice and safely completed his journey.¹⁵ According to Raziuddin Aquil, "It is suggested that the traveler was able to reach his destination safely invoking the blessings of the two saints in their respective areas of control."¹⁶

Sheikh Ruknuddin Abdul Fateh and Sheikh Alauddin– Like Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya and Sheikh Farid's relations, their grand-sons named Sheikh Ruknuddin Abul Fateh and Sheikh Alauddin's relations were much better and both of them gave respect to each other. On their good relations *Siyar-ul-Awliya* gives a story that once Sheikh Ruknuddin was going from Delhi to Multan. During his journey he went to Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya's khanqah. When he came out of this place, he met Sheikh Alauddin. Sheikh Ruknuddin moved forward for embracing and shaking hands. He embraced him and said, "Exalted Allah has granted you stability. Certainly no one can make you more from your place and to me some person who have relationship, take me away wondering from place to place." He said so and parted. After this meeting Sheikh Alauddin reached at Sheikh Ruknuddin's place, he at once put off these clothes, bathed afresh, put on other clothes and sat upon the winding sheet for prayers. This thing was told to and it was said, "What sort of this saintliness

¹³ Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, p.54

¹⁴ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi, *Fawaid al-Fuad*, eng. trans. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, pp.279-280
¹⁵ *Ibid*, pp.279-280

¹⁶ Raziuddin Aquil, 'Episodes From the Life of Sheikh Farid-ud-din Ganj-i-Shakar', *International Journal of Punjab Studies*, United Kingdom, January-December, 2003, pp.32-33

and pride it is that he did so after an embrace with such a pure and son of a pure one like you? Sheikh Ruknuddin said, "What value of Sheikh Alauddin do you know? If he did so, he has a right to do so as the odour of the world emanates from us and he is passing his life becoming totally free from it."¹⁷

Thus the above discussion proves that although some major principles and techniques of Chishti and Suhrawardi silsilas were different from one another and many times these differences impacted on their relations in the other states of India. But in Punjab their relations were cordial and they gave respect to each other.

¹⁷ Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak bin Muhammad bin Mahmood Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, eng. trans. by Ishrat Husain Ansari, Habid Afaq Qureshi and Al-Taimi al-Siddiqi under the title *Kirmani's Siyar-ul-Awliya*, p.145

CONCLUSION

By way of conclusion it can be said that Sufi movement was the most remarkable religious movement, which turned a new leaf in the history of Punjab. After the discussion of Chishti and Suhrawardi silsilas' history in Punjab from eleventh to early sixteenth century in six chapters this work proposes many new facts.

The study contains a comprehensive discussion on the important issues of the advent and spread of Sufism in Punjab. Scholars have given different opinions about the reasons of the advent and spread of Sufism. The findings clearly bring out the fact that in the early medieval period Sufism was famous in all the Central Asian countries. Because of the atmosphere of Mangol terror, the Central Asian countries and towns were not suitable for them. So many Sufi saints with their families or Sufi saints' ancestors moved to safe places.

With the help of the contemporary sources the study throws light on the Muslim traders and merchant's role in the expansion of Sufism. During the early medieval period many Central Asian traders and merchants came to Punjab. Ibn Battuta in his writing mentions, "These journeys were much longer and risky." So many times these traders and merchants during their journeys went to Sufi khanqahs, which were situated in Central Asian countries, for rest and safety of their life and goods. Muslim traders and merchants when visited Sufi khanqahs, during that time they shared their views with Sufi saints about Punjab's culture, people and religion. So, on account of it there arose an eagerness in their hearts to come to Punjab.

The history of every country or religion is shaped to a great extent by its conditions. The geographical features of Punjab like its soil, rivers, mountains, and its passes also made impact on its history. During early medieval mostly Central Asian countries people came to India through Punjab and for that purpose they used North-Western passes named Khyber, Kurram, Tochi, Gomal and Bolan. These passes served as routes between Punjab and Central Asian countries. Sufi saints also used these for their travelling.

The present study highlights the problems of Sufis, which they faced in Punjab. The thesis Sufi saints came to Punjab from central Muslim countries whose language and atmosphere was completely different from Punjab. Apart from this, Hindus always kept distance from them. During that time Sufism emerged as one of the most striking religious movement of the Punjab. The most significant aspect of

Sufism, and one which had the greatest impact on the people, was the way of life which was adopted by Sufi saints. Sufi saints, particularly those belonging to the Chishti silsila, cut themselves off completely from State and its affairs. They spent their life in a simple way and mostly accepted *Futuh* (religious charity) only from people and refused to accept Jagirs (land grants), and other offers from Delhi Sultans and other State officers. Their simple living style impressed the people because they saw that these Sufi saints were very famous in the all categories of people but apart from this they spent simple life and also refused the Royal gifts.

Sufi saints gave too much importance to social welfare works. According to Sufis, “The religious ideal could not be reached through countless prayers or endless fasts. The path of spiritual progress lay through service of mankind. Fasts and prayers were acts of devotion which even an old widow could perform. The real mission of a saints’ life should be to strive for the welfare of His creation.” Sheikh Muinuddin Chishti, the founder of the Chishti order in India, remarked: “It was nothing but feeding the hungry, providing clothes to the naked and helping those in distress.” Inspired from these, Sufi saints of Punjab used their energies for the welfare of the people which made them a great soul in the eyes of common men. Contemporary sources like *Fawaid al-Fuad*, *Siyar-ul-Awliya* and *Khair-ul-Majalis*, mentions that Sufism with help of open kitchen system (which was very old in Sufis) tried to help the needy people.

The study makes an effort on the travellers, merchants, scholars and musician’s role in the spread of Sufism in Punjab. During their visits to Sufi khanqahs, these people talked with the Sufi saints on different aspects, besides these in these khanqahs, they also saw their open kitchen system and heard their *Sama* music. Sufi saints gave respect to everyone without any difference. Sufi saints’ personalities and good atmosphere of Sufi khanqahs impacted on their minds. So when with this mindset they went to other places, they shared their experience with the people. So a saints’ prominence was delivered from one place to another place by these travelers, merchants, scholars and musicians.

The study also throws light on the Sufis policy about the Hindus. During early medieval period Sufis’ tried to convert their religion. But after some time they rejected this policy because they realised that until we get respect or a place in their hearts, they will not accept our religion. So they started to make friendly relations with them. For the succession of this purpose they also started to give respect to their

religion, rituals and customs. The popularity and success of the Sufism especially Chishti saints in Punjab was due to their understanding the conditions and the religious attitudes and aspirations of the people of Punjab. They adopted many Hindu practices, customs and ceremonials like, circulating *zanbil*, shaving the head of new entrants to the mystic circle and the *Chillah-i-ma'kus* (the Inverted *Chillah*). Expect this, these saints met with Hindu saints and discussed with them on spiritual aspects.

The study contains Sufis' writings, which were source for the spread of Sufi thoughts, teachings and doctrines to the people. *Kashf-ul-Mahjub*, *Mulhamat and Diwans* are specific examples of it. *Malfuzat* or the table talks were also compiled during this period. *Malfuzat* or 'Table-talk' of the Sufi saints was recorded by their disciples. It was the ambition of every disciple to record the conversation of his master from day to day in the most accurate way possible. *Fawaid al-Fuad*, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, *Khair-ul-Majalis*, *Jami-ul-Ulum* etc. were famous *Malfuzats* of medieval period.

With the help of the archeological sites, the study makes an effort to investigate the famous Sufi centers and shrines of Punjab. After Sheikh Hussain Zinjani and Abul Hasan 'Ali bin 'Uthman bin 'Ali al Ghaznavi al-Jullabi al Hujwiri (1008-1079 A.D.) many saints of different orders or silsilas came to Punjab, but only two Sufi silsilas, like Chishti's and Suhrawardi's succeeded in their spiritual aims. Sheikh Farid (1173-1265 A.D.) was the first famous Chishti Sufi saint of Punjab. Sheikh Jamaluddin Hansvi (d.1261 A.D.), Sheikh Burhanuddin Sufi, Qutabuddin Munawwar (d.1359 A.D.), and Sheikh Nuruddin were other famous saints of this silsila. Hansi, Ajodhan (Pakpattan), Karnal and Panipat were important centres of Chishti mystical activities. Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya (1182-83-1262 A.D.) a disciple of Sheikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi (1144-1234 A.D) was the founder of the Suhrawardi silsila in Punjab and Sheikh Sadruddin Arif (d.1285-86 A.D.), Sheikh Jalaluddin Surkh Bukhari (d.1291 A.D.), Sheikh Ruknuddin (d.1334-35 A.D.), Sheikh Syed Jalaluddin Bukhari (Makhdum-i-Jahaniyan Jahangasht) (1308-1383 A.D.) were other famous Sufi saints of this silsila. All these saints were very popular among the people so after their death many Sufi shrines constructed over their tombs by their followers during this period. Sheikh Farid's shrine (Pakpattan), Chahar Qutab shrine (Hansi), Bu Ali Shah's shrine (Panipat), Syed Jalaluddin Surkh Bukhari's shrine (Uch), Syed Jalaluddin Bukhair Makhdum-i-Jahanian Jahangasht's shrine (Uch),

Sheikh Alauddin's shrine (Pakpattan), Bahauddin Zakariya's shrine (Multan) and Sheikh Ruknuddin Abdul Fateh's shrine (Multan) are most famous shrine of Punjab.

The present work has also investigated the architectural features of Sufi shrines. Chishti and Suhrawardi Sufi saints of Punjab made important reason of new historical constructions in Punjab. Many beautiful shrines constructed over Sufis' tombs by their followers, which were very famous for their designs, tile works, geometric and floral designs. Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya and Sheikh Ruknuddin Abdul Fateh's shrines are beautiful example of it.

The study highlights the religious dimension of this period. The reaction of the Sufis about the Hindu religious movements was positive. The Bhakti movement was famous religious movement of India. This movement reached Punjab through Namdev, in the last half of the 13th century. Guru Nanak Dev and Bhagat Sadhna were other famous saints of Punjab. Both movements belonged to different religions, but in spite of this their relations in Punjab were cordial. These saints gave respect to each other and many times they visited each other's places and discussed various spiritual issues. Their similar spiritual ideas or views on many different aspects played significant role in their friendly relations in Punjab.

In this work also makes an effort to highlights the similar views of Sufis and Bhakti saints. Their views were similar about God. According to them, God is one. True is His name, Creative his personality and immortal His form. God is the power and energy behind the Universe. He is the creator of everything which exists in it. He is beyond of time. There is none other than Him. Sheikh Ali Bin Ushman Ali-Hujwiri in his book *Kashf-al-Mahjub* writes, "Knowledge of the Divine Essence involves recognition, on the part of one who is reasonable and has reached puberty, that God exists externally by His essence, that He is infinite and not bounded by space, that His essence is not the cause of evil, that none of His creatures is like unto Him, that He has neither wife nor child, and that He is the Creator and Sustainer of all that your imagination and intellect can conceive. God has attributes existing in Himself, which are not He, nor a part of Him, but exist in Him and subsist by Him, e.g. Knowledge, Power, Life, Will, Hearing, Sight, Speech, etc. God is the Creator of mankind and of all their actions, that He brought the non-existent universe into being; that He predestines good and evil and creates all that is beneficial and injurious." In the same sense Namdev says in his hymn that God is everywhere there is no besides Him. Punjab's Sufi and Bhakti saint's views were also similar about the necessity of the

Divine knowledge (*Gyan* or *Ilam*) in human life, because with the Divine Knowledge, anyone understood and achieved God. According to Ali Bin Uthman Al-Hujwiri, "Knowledge is of two kinds: Divine and Human. The object of human knowledge should be to know God and his commandments. God's knowledge is that by which He knows all things existent and non-existent. In the same sense Guru Nanak Dev in his hymns says, "By obtaining the wealth of divine knowledge the insight into the three worlds is acquired. When he sees to God and understands that the Lord is fully abiding in all the places."

As far as Sufi saints also gave stress to the necessity of spiritual teacher or Master (Guru). According to Guru Nanak Dev, "No doubt that the Divine knowledge (Gyan) of God is very important for the people, but without the spiritual Master's grace, divine comprehension is not obtained. But the real spiritual master is obtained through God's grace, who is creates from the chain of births and deaths." Ali Bin Uthman Al Hujwiri writes that Prophet Muhammad himself gave importance to Fakirs and Darwashes (Spiritual teacher), because God is obtained through their grace. Sufi and Bhakti saints believed also in the equality of all men. According to Sheikh Farid, "Do not utter even a single rude word to any one, as the True Master abides in one and all and do not break the heart of any one, as every heart is a priceless jewel." Apart from this Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi Dehlawi in *Fawaid-al-Fuad* also mentions that the doors of the Sufis khanqahs were always open to all the people, which were belonging to different groups, faiths, religions without discriminations of caste and creed, rich and the poor. According to Guru Nanak Dev's views, "All men are equals because they have been created by one God. No high or low among them." He again says that all religions alike and regarded all conflicts of creeds, castes and classes as meaningless and the words Hindu and Muslim were only our names for masks, and that behind all those masks was common humanity' These saints of Punjab also gave importance to *Nam Simram* or dedication to the Name of God. According to Guru Nanak Dev, "The Divine Name was the medicine for the people. Without the Name life was as a barren land. Without God's Name of pervading God, the world is not emancipated and without the Name, none attains salvation." Another famous Bhakti saint Namdev also gave importance to it and one of his hymns, he says:

ਤੂੰ ਰਹਿ ਭਜੁ ਮਨ ਮੇਰੇ ਪਦੁ ਨਿਰਬਾਨੁ।

ਬਹੁਰਿ ਨ ਹੋਇ ਤੇਰਾ ਆਵਨ ਜਾਨੁ॥

(“Meditate thou on thy God, O my soul and thou shalt obtain the
dignity of Salvation. Like this thou shalt not again come and go.”)

Like Guru Nanak Dev and Namdev, Sheikh Farid also gave stress on dedication to the True Name. According to him:

"They, who forget God's Name,
Become a burden on the earth."

Bhakti and Sufi saint's views were also similar on good deeds (Karma). According to Sheikh Farid:

The body of three and a half maunds, lives on water and grain.
Entertaining high hopes, the mortal had come into the world.
But, when the Death's angel comes, he breaks open all the doors.
He binds down the mortal, before the very eyes of those dear
brothers of his.

Lo, the mortal is going on the shoulders of four men.
O Farid ! Only the good deeds, which he did in the world, would
avail him in the Lord's Court.

Guru Nanak agrees with Sheikh Farid. In his hymns he says, Man is accountable for his actions: “An account of every *ghari* (second) and moment shall be taken, and the soul shall obtain punishment and reward.” Besides these, their special characteristics were also similar on many other matters like: (I) these saints emphasised on the importance of the use of local languages for their spiritual aims and works. (II) They believed in living simple life. (III) They also believed in the householder's life. (IV) Some saints of these movements used open kitchen (*langar*) system for their spiritual aims also.

Sufism's impact on the Guru Nanak Dev's life and teachings is very controversial aspect. Tara Chand, Wahid Bakhsh Rabbani and Hamid Hussain mention that Sufis had tremendous influence on Guru Nanak Dev. According to Hamid Hussain, “Sheikh Farid, who was a famous Sufi saint of Punjab, had tremendous influence on Guru Nanak Dev. A constant friendly relation between Guru Nanak Dev and Bhai Mardana, who was a Muslim and a companion of Guru Nanak Dev, during his long journeys, was a peculiar example of it.” According to Wahid Bakhsh Rabbani, “It was the impact of Sufi saints' company that he gave up the Hindu beliefs in idolatry, incarnation.” Tara Chand writes, “Like all Sufis, Nanak taught that in the soul's journey towards God it was necessary to be guided by a

spiritual master. The spiritual master directed the disciple upon the path which has four stages- *Saran Khand*, *Jnan Khand*, *Karam Khand* and *Sach Khand*, which, according to the author of Nanak Prakash, correspond with the Sufi *Shariaf*, *Marifat (Marfat)*, *Tariqat* and *Haqiqat*. But other side Anil Chandra Banerjee and Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi disagree with them. According to Anil Chandra Banerjee, "Whatever the external influences on Guru Nanak Dev's religion might be, he evolved a new system which owed its internal cohesion and universal appeal to his personal realization of the truth. He may have picked up words and phrases from here and there and 'woven these into the pattern of his revelation'; but his teachings were based on his own communion with nature, his own soul, and with his creator." According to Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, "After the analysis of Guru Nanak Dev's teaching in the light of Sufi thought should not be constructed as an assertion that the great Nanak borrowed his thought from the Sufis." It is true that the identity of two beliefs does not prove that one is generated by the other. Even where connection is assured, it may be impossible to show which the ancestor is and which is the descendent. But we also cannot ignore many important things on this issue, like: (I) *Fawaid al-Fuad* and *Khair-ul-Majalis* (which had written before Guru Nanak Dev's birth) prove that before Guru Nanak Dev, open kitchen system was an important part of Sufi khanqah life. (II) During Guru Nanak Dev's time, Sufi movement and its saints had become very popular among the people of Punjab. It is natural fact that during that time, when we live in same place, at same time and with same views, we impact on each other. (III) Besides these Guru Nanak Dev's special meetings and discussions with many famous Sufi saints during his journeys, prove that Guru Nanak gave importance to Sufi saints. So after the above discussions we can say that no doubt Guru Nanak Dev was great spiritual Master and he had *Divine Knowledge*. But we also cannot ignore that good things of societies and religions create deep impact on the people of society and great persons assimilate the ideas.

The study highlights that mostly Delhi Sultans impressed from Sufi saints and wanted their blessings and support for themselves and their reigns. Keeping this view in mind rulers visited Sufi khanqahs and offered them, land grants, amounts of money and positions in their courts. But Chishti and Suhrawardi Sufi saints treated them according to their forefather's policies. Suhrawardi established friendly relations with the Delhi Sultans. They thought that their visits to Courts provided them some opportunities to help the needy or poor people and they also thought that by

establishing personal contact with the Sultans and Rulers they could impact on their outlook, behavior, thoughts and character. Besides this they also took part in politics, accepted *Jagirs* (land-grants), services under the State and at many crucial times they also helped the rulers. But Chishti's attitude towards the State was different from Suhrawardi and they avoided the company of the Delhi Sultans and their nobles. They also rejected all their offers including amounts of money and land grants. According to Tanvir Anjum, "They adopted the conflictual or oppositional relationship policy about the Delhi Sultans and their nobles" Khaliq Ahmed Nizami writes, "Mostly Indian Chishti saints neither came to the Royal court and nor liked the visits of the royals their khanqahs. But Punjab's Chishti's relations with the State were neither oppositional nor friendly and they were also not against Delhi Sultan's visiting in their khanqahs. Although they kept distance from Delhi Sultans and their affairs, but many times Chishti saints went to Delhi courts and whenever Sultans and Rulers came to khanqahs for blessings or works, Chishti saints respected to them. Many famous Sufi saints like Sheikh Qutbuddin Munnawar and Sheikh Nuruddin Munnawar went to Delhi Court during the time period of Muhammad bin Tughluq and when with the permission of Sultan Nasiruddin, Giyasuddin Balban (Ulugh Khan) came to Sheikh Farid's khanqah at Ajodhan; Sheikh Farid met Sultan Giyasuddin Balban and blessed him.

The study contains a comprehensive discussion on the important issues of the cordial relations between Chishti and Suhrawardi saints. Their relations were cordial in Punjab. In their good relations, many facts played significant role. They did not interfere and criticise spiritual and other activities of each other. They also had divided areas of spiritual influence among themselves and did not interfere in another silsila's saints' spiritual area. For instance, "Once a musician named Abdullah Rumi came in the presence of Sheikh Farid. He wanted to visit Multan, but the road of this route was not safe. So he told the Sheikh Farid to pray for his safe journey. Sheikh Farid suggests and said to Abdullah, "The area up to such village wherein there was a pond, and which was at a distance of so many miles from that place, was under his control; he (Abdullah) would reach upto that village safe and sound. Beyond that up to Multan the whole area was under Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya's charge."

The study has also attempted to investigate the Sufis impact on the social, cultural, religious and economic life of Punjab. Foreigner's invasions, political changes and anarchy of Punjab impacted on the people's moral character. Sufi saints

gave importance to good moral character in the life of a man. They worked and advised the people for good character. About the respect and help of the visitors, Sufi saints always advised to the people that whenever the guest arrives, don't sustain any inconvenience and don't consider him as a burden upon yourself.

Sufi saints not only openly criticise slavery system, but they did work for the welfare and freedom of the slaves. Sayyid Muhammad Kirmani in *Siyar ul-Awliya* writes that they did work for the welfare of the slaves and many times suggested to the people and their followers to free their slaves. Amulet or *Tawiz* system entered in Punjab with the Muslims. Sufi saints played an important role to extend it. Sufi saints were spiritual personalities in the eyes of the local people. People came to their khanqahs for blessings of God and many people demanded Amulet or *Tawiz* from them for their goodwill. On their demand, Sufi Sheikhs distributed *Tawiz* or amulet to the people with their own hands. Another famous tradition, worship of tombs became popular in Punjab under Sufis influence. Sufi followers gave respect to them and thought that Sufis are God's gift for society. So, during their life time they came to their shrines and took *amulets* from them. They believed on their spiritual power even when the saint died, it was firmly believed that he would still respond favourably to requests made at his tomb. So, in Punjab a new system called 'worship of tombs' or worship of *Dargah* was originated, where people came for blessings.

Caste system was an important reason of division of society. Although Islam believed in social equality, but apart from this it was increased during early medieval period. Delhi Sultans also played an important role. Sufi saints of Punjab believed in social equality. For social equality, they advised the people that they should live together with love and without differences. In this matter Sufi khanqahs played a significant role, where people belonging to all categories visited and sitting together. Sufis' open kitchen system was another feature of Sufis' khanqahs, where people ate together without any difference. Sufi *Malfizats* prove that open kitchen system was very old system in Sufism. Open kitchen among the Chishti saints of Punjab was probably established by Sheikh Farid. His open kitchen was based on *Fatuh* (a charity amount), when *Futuh* came to him, he established langer which distributed food to all the people.

Punjab's Sufis impacted on Muslim population or strength. Many Sufis of Punjab were famous not only in Indian states but also abroad. So, every year many foreigners came to their shrines for their blessings and guidance. Many times some

people from these, decided to live there (Sufi khanqah) permanently under Sufis' impact. Sufi saints and their khanqahs also played a significant role in internal and external trade. Sufi saints and their khanqahs especially Chishti khanqahs provided food, residence place, security and information about local needs, production and safe routes to the traders.

The Ulema was a very famous class of Muslim society. They were held in high esteem on account of their religious learning. Delhi Sultans always gave respect to them and tried to appoint them on high or famous posts. Like Ulema, Sufi saints' also knowledgeable and learned men and they had good knowledge about Islam and its laws. So Sufis were those persons, who were able to debate with the Ulema on equal ground. Many times when they saw or observed Ulema's unethical works or acts, they criticised them. These criticisms of Sufi saints made deep impact on Ulema class's reputation. Apart from this, many Sufis' appointment on high posts was a challenge for Ulema's reputation. Post of *Sheikh-ul-Islam* was one of these, which was very famous post of Delhi Sultanate period. The *Sheikh-ul-Islam* was in charge of the ecclesiastical affairs of the Sultanate. *Sheikh-ul-Islam* was both an office and an honorific title.

Chishti and Suhrawardi Sufi saints also played a significant role in the growth of Sufism in other Indian states. Every year many disciples of Sufis came to their khanqahs for *Divine knowledge*. Some disciples from these, after the completing their study went to other states, where they established their khanqahs. In these khanqahs they gave knowledge to the people about their silsilas and Islam.

The findings of the research work collectively lead to overall understanding of Sufism in Punjab. It's clear that Sufism was a great religious movement, which played a very important role in Punjab from eleventh to early sixteenth century. Although during this time its saints faced many crucial problems, but in the end they succeeded to win the hearts of local people with their great works, policies and their simple and attractive teachings on this land.

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Glossary

‘Alim	A man learned in religious sciences; a member of the Ulema class.
‘Ilm	Knowledge; especially the revealed or exoteric knowledge that the non-Sufi laity is capable of acquiring, and which Sufis must acquire before moving to the higher stages of the Path.
Ahl al-Suffa/Ashab-i-Suffa	The people of the Varandah.
Amil	Agents in charge of collection.
Bai’at	A vow of spiritual allegiance to a <i>pir</i> , usually accompanied by a simple ceremony. The vow bound the follower to the <i>pir</i> as a <i>murid</i> and, in a forma sense, inducted him into the institutional structure of Sufism.
Banjara	Itinerant traders employing thousands of pack oxen to transport salt, foodgrains, and other bulk commodities.
Baqa	Abiding eternally in God.
Barket/Baraket	Blessings, holiness. The spiritual power inherent in a saint giving him his charisma, transferable after his death to his tomb and to his descendants.
Batin	Internal.
Bhagat	Hindu saint.
Caliph	(Literally Caliph means successor or representative) The Caliph or the secular successor to the Prophet Mohammad (s) who assumes leadership of the entire Muslim

	world.
Chilla/ Chillah	A forty-day period of solitary seclusion, spent in fasting and prayer.
Dargah	(Literally “Court”) – a tomb of a Sufi.
Darwish	Any Sufi, as used in Persian sources. When anglicized to “dervish”, however, the word carries the more restricted connotation of the Sufi who stresses ecstasy over knowledge, even at the risk of violating Islamic Law.
Deogarh	The Gods stronghold.
Dinar	Roman silver coin. It was equal to six dirhams.
Dirham	Roman copper coin.
Doli	Palanquin.
Durbar	A public audience held by an official or ruler.
Fana	Merger in Divine presence.
Faqir/Faqr	(a) A Muslim mendicant who wanders about subsisting on alms; (b) a term including those persons of the lower classes who are informally attached to a Sufi dargah and compose its outer circle of musicians, jugglers, monkey trainers, flagellants, beggars, petty traders, etc.
Farman	A formal, written, edict issued by the court and bearing the Royal seal.
Fatwa	A public ruling on a point of law issued upon request by a Muslim Jurist or Mufti.
Fawa'id	Morals of a tale.
Fiqh	Religious jurisprudence; Islamic Law codified.

Futuh	The unasked charity or gift offered to a Sufi.
Gang	Treasure; market.
Garoh	Sects.
Ghazal	Persian, Urdu , Turkish lyrical poem, usually, on love with monorhyme, the first two hemistiches rhyming. The poet's pen-name is usually mentioned in the last verse.
Guru	A Hindu spiritual guide or religious teacher.
Hadis/Hadith	The Prophet's traditions, <i>i. e.</i> the Prophet's precepts and actions.
Hajj	The pilgrimage to Mecca, one of the five fundamental duties of all Muslims.
Hal	A mystic term indicating the state or spiritual condition of a mystic.
Haq	Truth; or the Absolute.
Haqiqat	Truth.
Hujrah	A chamber, closet, cell.
Id-gah	Place for the 'Id prayers; an open space generally enclosed by a low wall.
Id-ul-Fitar	The festival of breaking the fast of Ramjan (The holy month of the Muslims).
Imam	(a) A leader of the public prayers at a Masjid; (b) among Shai'as, one of the spiritual and temporal leaders of Islam after the death of the Prophet Mohammad.
Iqta	A governship, literally a piece of land.
Jahangasht	World traveler.
Jamaat-Khana	A mystic house, generally consisting of one hall, in which all the disciples of the Sheikh lived.

Jamah	Garment.
Jaziya	An annual tax levied on protected non-Muslim communities by Islamic rulers.
Jina	Conqueror.
Jital	A copper coin of the Delhi Sultanate.
Jnana	Knowledge.
Jogi (Yogi)	A Hindu religious mendicant.
Kadar/kadurat	Impurity.
Kafir	A non-Muslim.
Karamat	A miracle believed to have been performed by a Sufi.
Karma-marga	Works path.
Kashf	Unveiling; revelation which the wayfarer on the Path may be granted at a certain stage of his spiritual journey.
Khadim	A serving man, attendant, servant.
Khalifa/Khalifah	One who receives the <i>khilafat</i> from a <i>pir</i> and is thereby permitted to induct others into the order. A <i>pir</i> frequently had one or several <i>khilafas</i> .
Khan	A Turkish and Central Asian honorific term for chief or nobleman.
Khanqah	Dwelling place of Sufis, with a compound where the Sheikh, his family and his murids live. Usually, a madrassa, a public kitchen and a Jamaat-Khanah are the main buildings of the whole complex.
Khatib	One officially appointed, during medieval times, to lead the <i>Id</i> prayers at Masjid and address the large gathering of the followers.

Khilafat	(Literally “successorship”) – permission granted by a <i>pir</i> to one of his disciples to go out and induct others in the name of the order.
Khilafat-Namah	The “letter of succession” that formalized the granting of a <i>Khilafat</i> .
Khilat	An honorific dress consisting at least of turban, robe and girdle.
Khiraj	Tribute; generally used either for the land-tax or for payments made by a subordinate prince to his superior.
Khirqa/Khirqah	The patched frock worn by Sufis, often passed from a <i>pir</i> to a <i>Khilafa</i> to symbolize the latter’s legitimate succession.
Khutba	The Friday sermon in which the secular ruler’s name was mentioned and prayed for.
Khwaja	A title of respect for any man of distinction, especially a deceased saint.
Kos/Karoh	An Indian measure of length, equal to about two miles.
Kotwal/Kothwal	A city Magistrate, police official incharge of the law and order of a town.
Kufr/Kafir	Literally ‘ingratitude’; a Kafir is one who, owing to his ingratitude, does not recognize his obligations to God.
Kundals	Large heavy ear-rings or ringlet.
Kuroh/Karoh	A road-measure of about two miles.
Ma’rifat	(a) Mystic or esoteric knowledge, as opposed to <i>‘ilm</i> ; (b) the fourth stage on the Chishti Path.
Madrasa/Madrassa	School or seminary offering instruction in

	Islamic jurisprudence, theology, philosophy and similar topics.
Mahzar	A meeting, usually of religious, summoned by the King for the decision of a controversial matter; also decision of such a meeting.
Majlis/Majalis	Literally a place where persons sit; a meeting.
Makruh	Disappeared.
Mal	Money; revenue; land revenue.
Malfuzat (Malfuz)	(Literally “words”) – the sayings of a <i>pir</i> as collected and recorded by one of his disciples.
Maqam	A Sufi’s standing in the Path.
Marga	Path.
Marifat	Gnosis.
Mashuq	Beloved.
Masnavi/Masnawi	A variety of Persian verse distinguished by its continuity.
Mehjoob	A veiled one. Also blind by birth.
Mehrab	Arch.
Millat	A religious community.
Mir	A Persian title applied to Princes.
Mleccha	Impure.
Modikhana	The State granary.
Muahdam	One who calls the believers for prayers, generally, from the minaret of the Masjid.
Mufti	A Muslim jurist who issues public decisions on legal matters.
Muhtasib	Islamic official appointed to enforce the

	Sharia and to regulate markets and commerce.
Mullah	A religious man.
Muqaddam	A village-head who worked often as a sole link between the State and the village.
Murid	A novice, or pupil of a <i>pir</i> . A <i>murid</i> would have received a <i>bai'at</i> inducting him into the order, but he was not given the right to initiate other followers, as was the Khalifa.
Murshid	A spiritual guide. The term can refer to the master of a <i>khanqah</i> , or the <i>pir</i> , with emphasis more on the master as instructor than as mediator with God.
Mutawalli	Superintendent or treasure of a Masjid or a shrine; an administrator or procurator of any religious or charitable endowment.
Nafs	The lower self, the animal-spirit "soul".
Namaz	Salat (in Arabic), ritual prayers.
Nasut	The final stage, in which God works through the Prophet.
Nouroj	The first day of the Persian solar year, marked by popular festivities.
Pailasopa	Loving wisdom.
Pir	(Literally "elder") - a Sufi saint or Master.
Pirzada	The son, or any familial descendant, of a <i>pir</i> .
Purdah	Curtain; also the principle of the seclusion of women.
Qadi	(In Islamic terminology): A judge, civil, criminal and ecclesiastic.
Qalanders	A class of Sufism, who did not believe in private property and wandered about from

	place to place and lived by persistent begging.
Qazi	A judge charged with upholding the holy law of Islam and carrying out numerous civilly functions.
Qutb	Literally, 'axis of axes'; also 'pole-star'. The term is used by popular mysticism to indicate the highest grade of saints.
Qutb-i-Alam	Pole Star of the world.
Rak'at	Unit of prostrations, genuflexions and prescribed prayer formulae in the Muslim ritual prayer.
Risala/Risalah	Tract, pamphlet, booklet.
Robe	A special cloth which was probably made of silk.
Sadr-i-Jahan	Minister in charge of ecclesiastical affairs.
Safa	Purity.
Saff-i-awwal	The first rank.
Safu	Pure part; the best part.
Saiyid	Anyone professing blood descent from the family of the Prophet Mohammad.
Sajjadah	Prayer rug.
Sajjadah-Nashin	The successor to the leadership of a khanqah or a dargah (literally "one who sits upon the prayer-carpet").
Sama	Musical secessions held by Sufis, with the object of including a state of spiritual ecstasy.
Shakarganj	Treasure of Sweets.
Sharia/Shari'at	The law of God; the revealed and canonized

	body of Islamic Law.
Sheikh	A title of respect given to various Sufis, or to elderly Muslims in general.
Sheikh-ul-Islam	The highest authority looking after the religious affairs of the Sultanate and conferment of grants.
Sider	A piece of dress covering the head and the upper part of breast and neck.
Sijda/Sijdah	Prostration performed either in worship or in respect.
Silsila	(Literally ‘chain’) – a term denoting all Sufis linked together by a common spiritual descent from a single founder.
Tabkat	Classes.
Takbir	Proclaiming the Glory of God by saying <i>Allahu Akbar</i> . There are other phrases also to that effect.
Takht-i-Rawan	A type of palanquin similar to a moveable throne.
Tanka	A silver coin during the Delhi Sultanate. In value, generally, it was about a rupee of the British rule in India, but it contained more silver. There was gold tanka also. But it was not common and was minted on special occasions or for special needs.
Tariqah/Tariqat	Path, the Sufi way of realizing the Truth; Sufi order or fraternity.
Tariqat	Cultivation of virtues such as abstinence, poverty, etc.
Tasawwuf	Islamic mysticism or Sufism.
Tawiz	Amulet

Ulama/Ulema	(a) Muslims of religious learning; plural of ‘ <i>alim</i> (b) the class of State-supported judges, theologians, and preachers who were collectively responsible for upholding Islamic orthodoxy in the Kingdom.
Urs	(Literally “marriage with God”) – the festival, commemorating the death date of a pir, normally the most important festival at a dargah.
Varna	Colour, caste.
Vilayat/Walayat	Spiritual domain.
Wahdat ul-wujud	Unity of Being, existential unity, experienced by a salik at a particular stage of his spiritual journey, where he believes that ‘Everything is He’. The idea represents one of the basic elements in Ibn ‘Arabi’s system of thought. From there it was taken up in later mystical writings mainly in Iran, India and Turkey.
Wali	Protector, benefactor, companion, friend; also a term equivalent to he who possesses mystic knowledge, he who knows God.
Waqf	Endowment.
Zahir	External.
Zakat	Purification; alms tax which to pay, according to the rules laid down, is one of the pillars of Islam, and is an express command in the Quran. The Portion paid zakat is believed as a purification of the remainder to the prayer.
Zanbil	Haversack, bag.
Zimmis	protected non-Muslims.

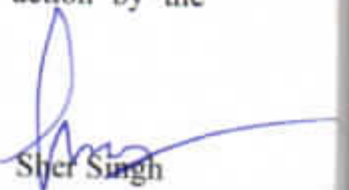
CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION

I, Sher Singh, certify that work embodied in this Ph.D. thesis is my own bonafide work carried out by me under the supervision of Dr. Mohammad Idris at Department of History, Punjabi University Patiala. The matter embodied in this Ph.D. thesis has not been submitted for the award of any other degree/diploma.

I declare that I have faithfully acknowledged, given credit to and referred to the research workers wherever their works have been cited in the text and the body of the thesis. I further certify that I have not willfully lifted up some other's work, para, text, data, results, etc. reported in the journals, books, magazines, reports, dissertations, thesis, etc., or available at websites and included them in this Ph.D. thesis and cited as my own work. I also declare that I have adhered to all principles of academic honesty and integrity and have not misrepresented or fabricated or falsified any idea / data / fact / source in my submission. I understand that any violation of the above will be cause for disciplinary action by the university.

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Certificate from the Supervisor

This is to certify that the above statement made by the candidate is correct to the best of my knowledge.



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PREFACE

Sufism is a mystical movement of Islam, which originated and developed in Arabia, flourished in Iran and Central Asia. During early medieval period Sufism came to Punjab. Sheikh Hussain Zinjani, a famous saint of Junaid School, was the first Sufi saint, who came to Punjab. After him many another saints of different schools and silsilas came and tried to establish their spiritual area in Punjab, but only two Sufi silsilas named Chishti and Suhrawardi succeeded in their spiritual aims. Multan, Uch, Hansi, Pakpattan and Panipat were important centers of these silsilas. Sheikh Farid, Sheikh Jamaluddin Hansvi, Sheikh Burhanuddin, Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya, Sheikh Sadruddin Arif, Sheikh Jalaluddin Surkh Posh Bukhari, Sheikh Ruknuddin etc. were famous Sufi saints of these silsilas. The research work Sufism in Punjab from Eleventh to Early Sixteenth Century focuses on the history of Chishti and Suhrawardi silsilas in Punjab and deals with the important issues of these silsilas like causes of the advent and spread of Sufism in Punjab, important Chishti and Suhrawardi's centers and shrines in Punjab, Chishti and Suhrawardi's relations with the State, Bhakti movement and its relations with Sufism and Sufi impact on various aspects of Punjab like society, economy, arts, language, culture and literature.

In Punjab Sufi saints faced various problems, which separated Muslims and Hindus. Besides these Chishti and Suhrawardi saints started their work on this land and for the succession of their aims, they adopted local dialect languages and customs of the Hindus. In the end with the help of their policies, teachings and works, they succeeded in their spiritual aims and established their khanqahs in many towns of Punjab. They specially succeeded in eradicating common Hindu people's enmity against the Muslims. Sufi saints played a significant role in the political, economic and socio-cultural life of Punjab. Apart from these their role in arts and architecture of Punjab was tremendous. So Punjab was an important land for the Sufis of that period, where Chishti and Suhrawardi saints were popular in Punjab, their thoughts, life style, policies and contributions impacted on the people of Punjab.

The research work has been divided into seven chapters. Chapter first is divided into three parts. Part one deal with the historical background of Sufism

and describes many important issues such as meaning of the word Sufi, origin of Sufism, its different periods, names and its spread to other Muslim countries. In spite of these many controversial issues like impact of other movements or religions on Sufism and causes of the spread of Sufism in Muslim lands are also a part of this section. Next part deals with political, social, religious and economics condition of Punjab during early medieval period. Third part of this chapter is very significant and deals with those many causes which are responsible for the advent and spread of Sufism in Punjab.

The second chapter deals with famous Chishti and Suhrawardi Sufi centers and shrines in Punjab, which are major parts of this work. Those places were called Sufi centers which were centers of Sufi saints' all activities like prayer, meetings with the people and other saints. At these places Sufi saints lived with their family and disciples and tried to establish their silsilas in another places. Pakpattan (Ajodhan), Hansi and Panipat were principal Sufi centers of Chishti silsilah. Another side Uch and Multan belonged to Suhrawardi silsilah. This chapter deals with the history of these centers, shrines, and shrine's architecture including brief life patterns of Sufi saints which were famous in these places.

The third chapter deals with the relations between Sufism and Bhakti movement in Punjab. Bhakti movement was another famous religious movement of Punjab and during that time it was working for re-organization of Hindu religion in Punjab and other states of India. Although Sufi and Bhakti saints' religion, aims and principles were different from each other, but many similarities could be seen between these movements. This chapter explores all those aspects, which were similar in both movements. Historical background of Bhakti movement, famous Bhakti saints of Punjab and Sufis impact on Punjab's Bhakti saints are also part of this chapter.

Hence the fourth chapter deals with the Sufis' relations with the rulers and other State officers. No doubt mostly Delhi Sultans wanted the support and blessings of Sufis for their Kingdom, but Chishti and Suhrawardi's views about the relations with the State were totally different from one another. This chapter, explore all those causes which were responsible for the behavior of Sufis. Other than the famous Sufi saints' relations with the rulers and other State officers, their help on many crucial times, Sufi saints' reputations in the

eyes of the rulers and Sufis' impact on the ruler's personalities, image and works are also fragments of this chapter.

Chapter fifth deals with the Chishti and Suhrawardi saints' impact on the social, cultural, economic, religious, language, literature and art and architecture of Punjab.

The next chapter sixth deals with the relations among Chishti and Suhrawardi saints in Punjab. In Punjab, Sufi saints of these silsilas used to follow strict principles of their forefathers, but besides this, their relations were cordial in Punjab in comparison to other Indian states. This chapter describes all those causes or circumstances which were responsible for their good relations.

After the discussion on Sufis' history in Punjab from eleventh to early sixteenth century in six chapters, chapter seventh proposes many new facts, which are related to the history of Sufism in Punjab.

So far as the research methods, it is basically based on the historical methodology. The primary sources such as malfuzat literature chronicles, traveler's accounts, reports and inscriptions of Sufi shrines recorded. The secondary sources such as modern books, journals and unpublished works have been consulted for the preparation of the work.

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Sher Singh

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