

Mysticism And Sufi Order In The Deccan

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Abstract:

During the middle ages Sufis had played an important role in the transformation of Muslim religious life which had come under the influence of materialism born of political power and economic affluence. Through the channels of mystic thought the spiritual and moral ideas of Islam were revived and a new vitality was imported to the social order which had been badly affected by racial prejudice and economic disparities. Mystic thought gave to the structure of Islam dynamism, spirit of adaptability and adjustment which made it possible for Islam to flourish and develop in alien surroundings.

Sufism was a reaction against both the external rationalization of Islamic law and systematic theology. Being unconcerned with institutionalized religion, ritual observance and legalistic morality, it emphasized the ethical and moral perception of man. It is primarily emotional and contemplative, not an intellectual process but a natural expression of a man's personal faith; a particular method of approach to reality. Every mystic concept derives its strength from the following two principles: (1) The faith and conviction that there is one reality behind this phenomenal world and that (2) man is a part of that reality, direct communion with ultimate reality is possible through a deep devotion to it.

Keywords: Mysticism, Sufism, Sufi, Order

Introduction;

Thus, Sufism is a tendency directed towards the realization of divine love, a mode of thinking and feeling, based on inward purification and divine contemplation. It enables a man to exercise his intuitive, emotional and spiritual faculties.¹ There is a lot of controversy and misunderstanding about the origin of Islamic mysticism. Different scholars attribute its rise and growth to different foreign influences on Islam-Hellenism, Neo-Platonism, Buddhism, Hinduism and Christianity.² But Massignon³ and Nicholson⁴ two outstanding scholars of modern age, have pointed out that the main source of Islamic mysticism is the Quran and the life of the blessed prophet (PBUH). Writers on mysticism have quoted a larger number of Quranic verses to prove that teachings of Quran and Hadis form the real basis of Sufism in Islam.⁵

According to Massignon, "Mysticism has no genealogy; it is a part of every religion and country, it is an inner urge of human soul, a method of spiritual advancement and of seeking communion with God".⁶ Thus *tasawwuf* (Islamic mysticism) is not a foreign element in Islam, it is fundamentally different from other mystic systems.⁷ In other

religious mystic experience was considered to be the end of all worldly affairs, living in seclusion and attaining individual spiritualism. But for the Muslim mystic this spiritual attainment is meaningless unless used for the benefit of society.⁸ His renunciation of the world or *tarkh-i-duniya* is only to avoid involvements in the affairs of this material world. It is true that some Sufi liked to gain spiritual experiences in a state of isolation, but majority of them always preferred to live in the midst of people to guide and solve the problems of the needy and oppressed among them. They were concerned with the improvement of society and general betterment of the individual. Sufis vigorously propagated the message of Islam, i.e., its ideals of simplicity, love of God, service to humanity, which the prophet (PBUH) had preached and on which the edifice of Islam had been built. Their efforts struck a responsive chord in the hearts of the masses, revolutionized their ways of thinking, awakened the hope of a happy future, stirred their imagination and gave them moral and spiritual strength to face difficulties and problems of life.

The origin and organization of Sufi *Silasil* (orders) in the twelfth century is the last and important phase in the development of Islamic mystic movement.⁹ The period preceding the sack of

Baghdad had witnessed the decline of moral and spiritual values, giving rise to anarchy and disintegration of the established social order. There was degeneration in the Muslim society What Gibbs calls “the schism of body and schism of soul” which tore the fabric of Islam. The Mongol invasion destroyed the flourishing centres of Islamic culture. There was all round pessimism and gloom. In the midst of profound discouragement the Muslims found their first refuge is mysticism.¹⁰

At that time the mystics had two alternatives, either to engage themselves in writing small treatises, or to organize themselves into orders. In both the cases the purpose was the revival of Muslim society and culture, and a more regular, more disciplined and more contemplative life based upon their religious experiences and practical discipline.

By the twelfth century the Sufis had developed certain rules of discipline and had established organizations. They involved a system of *bait* (oath of allegiance), special prayers for spiritual attainment, metaphysical doctrines, ethics and precepts, fasts and *zikr* (recollection), the *khirqah* (patched garment), *khilafat nama* (certificate of succession) and other objects symbolizing spiritual succession which came to have their own importance. The significance of spiritual preceptor (*murshid*) and community life of *Khanqua* were other main elements of institutionalized mysticism.¹¹

Mystics organized themselves into silsila's, they made the teachings and practices of mysticism popular in the Muslim society.¹² They began to train their disciples thoroughly and sent them to distant places which were called *vilayats* (spiritual territories), and their missions were slowly but firmly established in large number of cities and towns of the Muslim world. Thus starting as a silent ideological opposition to the prevailing social and religious distress, mysticism assumed the character of a mass movement.

As Islam took root in different parts of the world, the Muslim mystics adapted their systems to new environments and imbibed certain concepts of local religious philosophies. For instance in India when the mystic orders were established and they came into close contact with Hindu mystics, some Buddhists, Hindu or yogic practices penetrated into Islamic mysticism.¹³ Soon the Muslims acquired an

aura of holiness and attracted Indian masses by their purity and simplicity, which stood in direct contrast with the high handedness and luxurious life-styles of the invaders.

The start of Muslim influence from the north to the Deccan, there were, no doubt, Muslim attacks on the Deccan from the north prior to 1327 A.D but they were of a purely temporary nature. The attacks of Alauddin Khilji and Malik Naib Kafur since 1296 A.D were motivated by a desire to collect the abundance of wealth possessed by the Yadavas of Devagiri, Kakatiyas of Warangal, the Pandyas and Hoyasalas of further south. These attacks left hardly and socio-cultural or religious impact on the people of the area.

With the beginning of the Tughluq era and the attacks of the Tughluq armies on the Deccan, the Tughluq Empire stretched right up to south India and entailed the appointments of his governors in the southern kingdoms. But finding it difficult to administer the farflung Empire, he shifted the capital to Devagiri (Daulatabad).¹⁴ A part from its political consequences, the change of capital proved to be the beginning of a new era as far as the religious, social, academic and the cultural life of the Deccan was concerned.¹⁵ Due to the arrival of a large number of intellectuals, Ulema, Sufis, administrators, warriors, Poets and artisans, the structure of the Muslim population in the Deccan underwent a significant change, in terms of racial and ethnic character and socio-religious concepts.

With the advent of the Tughluq dynasty (and later due to the formation of Muslim provincial states), Muslims became very powerful and Islam started to spread fast throughout the Deccan. The vital elements were the Islamic missionary zeal, the work of the Sufis, the presence of the scholars, and the encouragement and patronage given by the Muslim rulers to men of letters, art and architecture. This gave an impetus to the Sufi institution and many Sufi orders were established. From 1300 A.D, the Deccan became a subject of discussion in Sufi circles of Delhi. The Chishti Sheikhs of Delhi deputed their khulfa and disciples to Daulatabad, Malwa and Gujarat. Those who settled at khuldabad and other areas of the Deccan were actively engaged in spreading the message of Islam through peaceful means and by deputing their khulfa and disciples in

the different towns of the Deccan.¹⁶ When Muhammad bin Tughluq permitted his people to go back to Delhi in 1337 A.D, a sizeable population of Turkish, Afghan, Persio-Aryan and Indo-Aryan stock, which had originally moved to Daulatabad, and not move back to north and made Deccan its permanent home. In the beginning, the population was concentrated around Khuldabad, Daulatabad and other parts of Maharashtra but as it multiplied it moved towards Gulbarga, Bidar and Bellary of the present Karnataka state and some districts of Tilang: Andhra, as a result of which Sufi activity spread further. The shrines of the saints of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries still existing in Khuldabad, Daulatabad, Gulbarga, Bijapur and Bidar provide an evidence. The socio-cultural influence of the Deccan on the north Indian immigrants was such that even their language, Persian was influenced by the local dialect, and a combination of the two emerged in the Dakani dialect in the subsequent centuries.¹⁷

The period of our study thus commences around the time of recurring revolts, by Hindus and Muslims together, in the Deccan against Muhammad bin Tughluq, especially in Maabar, Warangal, Bidar and Burhanpur, and rebellions of the *Amiran-i-Sadah*, Harihara and Bukka, led to the establishment of the Bahmani, the Vijayanagara, and other states, between 1337 and 1348 A.D.¹⁸ Alauddin Hasan, who laid the foundation of the Bahmani state, proclaimed himself as *Sikander-i-Sani Alaudduniya-wa-din Abul-Muzaffar hasan Bahman Shah*,¹⁹ tracing his descent from Bahman Isfandiyar of Persia. His coronation ceremony was performed by his spiritual preceptor; Shaikh Muhammad Ruknuddin Junaidi in the grand mosque of Daulatabad.²⁰ He also had the blessings of Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya of Delhi who had predicted kingship for him.²¹

The bulk of the population of the Bahmani Deccan was Hindu, with such sects as the Lingayats, Mahabhavanas and the Jains.²² The Muslims comprised the northern immigrants plus the merchantile community from the south. A majority of the Muslims seemed to have been the followers of one Sufi or another. A section of the Muslims was with the *Ulema*, yet they did not carry as big an influence among the masses as did the Sufis. Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah, on the advice of his prime minister, Malik Saifuddin Ghorī, successfully

brought about the subjugation of the different Hindu chiefs and thus succeeded in consolidating his empire by bringing an end to the remaining pro-Tughluq factions.²³ He left a consolidated kingdom for his son Muhammad.

Muhammad Shah-I (1358-1357 A.D) enforced the *shariah* and dealt sternly with unsocial elements like highway robberies and thieves, closed down wine shops and banned the institutions of prostitutes. This he did mostly to please Shaikh Zainuddin Shirazi Daulatabadi, a leading Sufi of Khuldabad and the spiritual successor of Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib (the senior most khalifa of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya of Delhi).²⁴ The most important even of his reign was the sanction taken by his mother from the Egyptian Caliph, Mutamid Billah, to read the name of her son in the Friday prayers and to strike his name on coins.²⁵ It was also during the reign of Muhammad Shah-I that the Bahmanis had to fight the Raya of Vijayanagara and the Raya of Telangana which became a regular affair in the history of the Bahmani dynasty.²⁶ It was Muhammad Shah-I who laid the foundation of socio-cultural institutions in his kingdom. The next twenty-two years saw five rulers succeeding one another, including Muhammad Shah-II who ruled peacefully for nineteen years.

Tajuddin Firoz Shah (1400-1422 A.D), the eight Bahmani rulers, a linguist and a scholar, laid the foundation of a cultural synthesis, bringing about harmony between the different section of the Bahmani society, particularly between Muslims and Hindus. The climax of Hindu-Muslim unity was his own marriage to the Raya of Vijayanagara which was solemnized in the court of Vijayanagara where Firoz Shah stayed for seven days. He appointed Narsing of kheral as the Amir of his kingdom and gave him the Jagir of Mudhol. He also gave eighty four villages to Bhairam Singh. The reign of Firoz Shah Bahmani also marks the longest peaceful era between the Bahmanis and the state of Vijayanagara. It was he who extended great patronage to both men of pen and sword from Persia and other places, a policy started by Muhammad Shah-I. Firoz Shah wanted to make his capital, Gulbarga, a centre of learning and he largely succeeded in doing to through Persian and other immigrants, mostly *shiates*, who were administrators, warriors, poets,

ulema and Sufis. In the course of time, these immigrants succeeded in establishing their supremacy at the Bahmani court, much more so than the local elements. To win over the sympathy of the alien elements, Firoz Shah, on the advice of his *shia* prime minister, Mir Fazlullah Inju, adopted the concept of *Mutah* marriage, ignoring the opposition of the Sunnite ulema of his court. This was a calculated move to take into confidence the alien shiate elements of his kingdom who, by now, were in Gulbarga in great numbers.²⁷

His successor, Ahmed Shah Bahmani (1425-1436 A.D.), continued the process of cultural synthesis Ahmed Shah was a man of creative temperament whose policies changed the socio-religious, ethnic and political structures of his kingdom. He shifted the capital from Gulbarga to Bidar in 1424 A.D, for personal, political, social and other reasons. In the new capital, he created a new administrative and religious set up much to his own liking, drawing heavily from among the Persian immigrants for his civil service. Most of the administrators, warriors and Sufis came from Persia, Multan and Gilan.²⁸ He had developed a low opinion of the local Sufis, thinking that there was hardly a local Sufi of any academic and spiritual standing.²⁹ He was the first Bahmani sultan who openly encouraged and favoured aliens of Persia, Multan and Gilan. Therefore, he can be regarded as the initiator of a new pro-alien policy. He also worked at developing closed relationship with the majority Hindu population, especially the Lingayat sect, a very influential group among the Hindus.³⁰

The pro-alien policies of Ahmed Shah, and before him to a limited extent by his brother, however, resulted in great socio—ethnic conflict in subsequent years. With the death of Ahmed Shah, the animosity of the local Muslims, which had been building up, burst out and manifested itself in the open division of *mulkis* (locals) and non-*mulkis* (aliens) in the historic chakan incident in which prime minister Khalaf Hasan Basri was killed and which later led to many massacres between the two groups.³¹ Ahmed Shah's son and successor, Alauddin Ahmed Shah-II (1436-1458 A.D), did not possess the political skill of his father, and carried forward the pro-alien policy blindly. For example, he made the unwise move of asking the non-*mulkis* to appear on

his right in the court and the *mulkis* on his left. This triggered a controversy which brought out all the pent-up complaints and frustrations of the Deccani populations. The issue developed so far that it brought about the end of his reign, and indeed, laid the ground work for the eventual downfall of the dynasty itself.

His successor, Humayun Shah (1458-1461 A.D), has been depicted by historians as tyrant; but Mahmud Gawan, in his works Riyaz-ul-Insha and Manazir-ul-Insha, presents an altogether different picture. According to Gawan, Humayun Shah pursued a moderate policy towards the *Mulkis* and the non-*Mulkis* and tried for a balance between these two major sections of the Bahmani society. The early part of his reign was marked by tensions, bringing aim into a direct clash with the members of the family of Shah Niamatullah Kirmani, who apparently favoured the pro-alien policy of Ahmed Shah and his successor Ahmed Shah-II.³²

During the reign of Nizamuddin Ahmed Shah-III (1461-1463 A.D), there emerged the great warrior, states man and scholar Mahmud Gawan, the *Jumdat-ul-Mulk*, *Wazir-i-Kul* and *tarafdard* of Bijapur who later became prime minister under Shamsuddin Muhammad Shah-III (1463-1482 A.D). Mahmud Gawan played the most influenced role in the different aspects of Bahmani life. Such as concluding peace treaties with the Muslim states of Malwa, Gujarat and Khandesh, bringing about socio-political and administrative reforms, economic property to the Bahmani kingdom, and creating equilibrium between the two political groups of the state, the *Mulkis* and non-*Mulkis*. He also patronized the khanquas of Bidar, not as a political ploy but in a genuine attempt to help the development of an intellectual atmosphere in the capital.³³

Sufi Orders:

Sunnite Islam, after passing through fourteen hundred years, represents two broad aspects of Muslim life, namely, the *Shariah* (Exoteric) and the *Tariqah* (Esoteric). These two spheres of Muslim life developed simultaneously due to different personal, psychological, social and political reasons.³⁴ It is an interesting phenomenon of the history of Islam that in both these spheres of Muslim life, the development and decline appear to be simultaneous.

By about 1258 A.D a tremendous amount of progress in the fields of Quranic commentaries, Hadis literature and Fiqh had been achieved. Enormous amounts of mystic literature covering all aspects of Sufism were produced. The later centuries signify a phase which is referred to as the period of *Taqlid* or blind following especially in the field of Fiqh. From a broader perspective, the same can be said about mysticism. As the early theological and juristic works became a guideline for the later generations, the work and ideology of the early Sufi Shaikhs also became a guiding factor for the later mystics.³⁵

Before the mystic movement could reach an entirely new socio-religious and ethnic group of people, namely, the Hindu, it had already passed through two significant phases of development; the quietist and mystico-philosophical.³⁶ The latter phase, no doubt, took inspiration from that of the former but its nature and scope had vastly changed. It was during its second phase of development that mysticism had to encounter different societies, cultures, ideologies and philosophies. The result was a new intellectual mystic atmosphere, the birth of enormous mystic literature, and the theorization and philosophisation of mysticism.³⁷ The latter two factors played an important role in the individual lives of the Sufis in the particular and mysticism in general in later centuries. The Sufism of the later centuries is referred to by scholars as the phase of mystic orders (*Silsilas*), a phase that placed mysticism on firm ground and which actually constituted the beginning of the history of mysticism in India. A number of Sufis established khanquas all over north India, based on the teachings and traditions of their masters. These khanquas progressed further under the guidance of their khulfa, not only in north India but also in the far south, including the Deccan. Thus, the history of mystics' movement in India is generalized as the first cycle from early times to A.D 1327 and second cycle from A.D 1327 to the present, which is also referred to as provincial Sufism. By the end of the fifteenth century A.D a cluster of Sufis and their *khanquas* belonging to different orders and sub-orders, both orthodox and unorthodox, could be traced throughout the Indian sub-continent.

When Muslims conquered the caste-ridden cities of Hindu India, they established a society free

of such social encumbrances, thus attracting many Hindus from the lower castes to the fold of Islam. The Sufis carefully handled the problem of conversion, with love and affection, without using coercion. Between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries, Muslim religious thought, both in matters of Shariah and mysticism, was mostly based on the classics produced outside India. In the fields of mysticism, with the advent of the works³⁸ and teachings of Muhiuddin Ibn Arabi (1165-1240 A.D), the pantheistic view of *Wahdat-ul-Wuzud* (ontological unity of all beings) held its sway throughout the Islamic world, particularly India.³⁹ By the beginning of the fourteenth century, the concept of *Wuzud* was being debated at different levels. It is taken for granted today that the Chishti Shaikhs of India, from Muinuddin Chishti to Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya professed *Wuzudi* doctrines. But the religious atmosphere of Delhi during the times of Muhammad bin Tughluq (1325-51 A.D) was changing emphasis was shifting more towards Shariah, as reflected in the juristic works of the era. The bitter orthodoxy evoked by Ibn Taymiyah (1261-1328 A.D) against pantheism and superstitious practices had its impact in different countries at different levels. As suggested by Dr. Khali Ahmed Nizami, it is possible that Ibn Taymiyah's disciple, Imam Abdul Aziz Ardabili, who came and lived in India during these times, may have influenced the religious atmosphere. Around the same time, one ought also to note the change in the atmosphere of the Khanqua of Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh Dehlvi (1276-1356 A.D), the spiritual vicegerent of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, a contemporary of Muhammad bin Tughluq, Shaikh Nasiruddin's religiosity can be discerned from the fact that to his disciples he laid extra emphasis in the observation of Shariah, particularly in his attitude towards the two most controversial issues of his age, the *Sajda-i-Tazeem* and the *Sama*. He has been referred to as Abu Hanifa Sani for his orthodoxy.⁴⁰ His eminent khalifah, Sayed Muhammad Hussaini Gesudaraz (1321-1421 A.D), was an open critic of Ibn Arabi. He was perhaps the first Chishti saint in India to have reverted the ideology of his great Shaikhs by openly professing the doctrine often labeled as *Wahdat-ash-Shuhud* (unity of vision).⁴¹ But the doctrine of *Wuzud*, which suited the Indian atmosphere, continued to play a

major role in the mystic circles and among those associated with it. Again, in Shaikh Ahmed Sarhindi (1563-1625 A.D), we find a critic of Ibn Arabi and his doctrine, even though Sarhindi takes about Ash-Shaikh-al-Akbar with great respect.

However, a large number of Sufis, generally known as the Darwishes, from Bukhara, Samarqand, Persia and, perhaps, Arabia and Syria as well.⁴² On the basis of contemporary and later sources, including the hagiographia, it can be said that the history of Sufism in the Deccan passed through the following four phases: Sufis working in the Deccan before A.D 1300; Sufi settlements between A.D 1300 and 1347; Sufi activity from 1347 A.D the Qadri's worked during Bahmani times, and the Shuttari's and the Rafai's during the post-Bahmani period. They played a significant role both in the socio-religious and political spheres of Muslim life. If the scenario outlined by Trimmingham is accepted, then the taifah phase began around the close of the fifteenth century A.D in the five provincial states.

The Chishti Order:

The Chishti order was the earliest of the Sufi orders, brought to India by Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti (1141-1236 A.D). Though the silsila originally founded in Chisht by Khwaja Ishaq Shami, the Indian soil proved fertile for its speedy growth. Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti settled at Ajmer where he established his Khanqua and soon under his capable khulfah,⁴³ chishti mystic centres spread far and wide including Ajodhan, Delhi, Hansi, Nagaur, Lakhnauti, Gulbarga and Gangoh. Two of the distinguished Chishti saints, Shaikh Alauddin Sabir of Kaliyar and Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya were the founders of famous sub-sects, Chishti Sabiris⁴⁴ and Chishti Nizamis.⁴⁵

The Chishti silsila suffered a setback in the fourteenth century when Muhammad bin Tughluq forced the Sufi and Ulema migrate to Deccan and settle at his new capital Daulatabad. But it was organized in Deccan by his prominent disciple Shaikh Gesudaraz Bandanawaz, and under him it became the most dominant Sufi order in the fourteenth century.⁴⁶ Unlike his predecessors, who disdained to associate with the state and avoided court favours, Sayed Gesudaraz was closely associated with the Bahmani court of Gulbarga, even

accepted grants of villages.⁴⁷ His disciples also plunged into politics and soon lost their influence not only at Delhi but also at Gulbarga. Some of the Chishti sufis⁴⁸ of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries lived at "Shahpur Hillock" in Bijapur and remained far away from the centres of political powers-Delhi, Gulbarga and Bijapur pursuing the policy of early Chishti Sufis. Again in the eighteenth century Shah Kalimullah Jahanbadi and Shaikh Fakhruddin infused a new spirit in the Chishti silsila in north India.⁴⁹

The Saharwardi Order:

The saharwardi silsila flourished in India simultaneously with the Chishti movement. Its founder Shaikh Najibuddin Abul Qahir (1097-1168 A.D) was a native of Saharward. As a result of Mongol invasions many of his disciples entered India; most prominent among them was his nephew Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya,⁵⁰ who developed and organized the silsila in India in the early thirteenth century. The silsila exercised considerable influence at Uchch, Sind and Multan. Shaikh Bahauddin's Khanqua at Multan became a great centre of mystic discipline and teaching in medieval India.⁵¹ The Uchch branch came into prominence under Sayed Jalaluddin⁵² Surkh Bukhari (d. 1291 A.D) and Sayed Makhdum Jahanian⁵³ (1308-1381 A.D). Makhdum Lal Shahbaz⁵⁴ Qalandar was also a renowned Sufi of Sind. These leading Sufis of Saharwardi silsila also received Khilafat from the Qadri saints.

Under its distinguished khulfah,⁵⁵ the Saharwardi silsila spread in the whole subcontinent including Delhi, Gujarat, Bengal and Deccan. It became a leading order; later on they divided themselves into several sub-sects⁵⁶ and played a very significant role in the religious and cultural history of the country from 13th to the 15th centuries. With the arrival of the Qadris in Sind and Multan in the 15th century, they ceased functioning in those regions.

The Sufis of both Chishti and Saharwardi orders were revered and admired by the court and nobles. The Sultan of Delhi sought their blessings. But the Saharwardis were actively involved in the political developments of the period accepted government service, amassed wealth and frequently associated with the rulers. Their Khanqua organization was different from the Chishtis.⁵⁷

The Shuttari Order:

This silsila was introduced in India in the mid-fifteenth century by Shah Abdullah Shuttari (d. 1485 A.D). The Shuttari traced their spiritual geneology from Shaikh Bayazid Bistami, a Persian Sufi,⁵⁸ Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus Shuttari (d. 1563 A.D) was the most distinguished Sufi of the silsila. An erudite scholar of Sanskrit, he composed many tracts on mystic practices, like self-discipline and breath control prevalent among the Yoghis.⁵⁹ His instructions to his disciples reveal the liberality of his outlook and the flexibility of attitude among the Shuttaris, which enabled them to absorb non-Muslim ideas and Yogic practices.⁶⁰ The Shuttaris established close contacts with the rich and powerful, neglecting the common people the illiterate Muhammad Ghaus suffered due to his close association with the Mughal rulers, Humayun and Akbar.⁶¹ His disciple Shah Wajihuddin Alavi Gujarati (d. 1569 A.D) reversed his policy. He declined state favours; discouraged non-Muslim influence, Yogic practices, and strictly adhered to Islamic law. But his descendents, especially Shah Hashim Pir Alavi (d. 1648 A.D) and Shah Sibghatullah (d. 1606 A.D), who migrated to Deccan, established close contacts with Ibrahim Shahi court (1580-1627 A.D) at Bijapur.⁶² They accepted grants and endowments, even allowed Sama (audition) and *raqs* (ecstatic dances).

The main centers of Shuttaris were Broach and Ahmedabad in Gujarat; from where they spread as far as Bengal, Jaunpur and Deccan,⁶³ but never attained the popularity of the Chishtis and the Saharwardis. In the 18th century, Shah Waliullah and his teacher, Shaikh Abu Turab, though enrolled in other silasil, also joined the shuttari⁶⁴ silsila.

The Naqshbandi Order:

Naqshbandi silsila also known as silsila-i-Khwajgan, was the earliest of the mystic orders but was the last to reach India. It was organized and developed by Khwaja Ahmed Ara Yasri (d. 1161 A.D), but organised and developed in the 14th century by Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshband⁶⁵ (d. 1389 A.D). Early Timurids were deeply attached to Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshband, and his khalifah, Khwaja Obaidullah Ahrar (d. 1489 A.D). Babur, as a child was devoted to Khwaja Muhammad Qazi, a disciple of Khwaja Ahrar. After his arrival in India,

when some of the descendents of Khwaja visited Babur, he treated them with profound respect.⁶⁶ Humayun and Kamran following their father's tradition, warmly welcomed the naqshbandi visitors. The silsila did not arrive in India till Baburs time and its main centres were the 'ancestral lands' of the Mughals cities of central Asia and Transoxiana.⁶⁷

The credit for organizing the Naqshbandi silsila in India goes to Khwaja Baqi Billah (1564-1603 A.D). His Khanqua became the centre of moral and spiritual training of the masses, and he dedicated himself to the task of religious and moral uplift of the people. Though he welcomed the influential nobles at his Khanqua but took no interest in the political affairs. The most dominant figure of the silsila was Shaikh Ahmed Sarhindi (1564-1624 A.D), a disciple of Khwaja Baqi Billah.⁶⁸ he was very devoted to the Naqshbandis of Bukhara. Under him the Naqshbandi silsila reached its culmination and developed certain characteristics of its own.⁶⁹ He was also initiated in the Kibravi,⁷⁰ Chishti and Qadri orders. According to Hashim Kishmi "Shaikh Ahmed enrolled disciple in Qadri silsila, guided and trained them in the mode of Qadri".⁷¹

Shah Waliullah Dehlvi (1702-62 A.D), the well-known political thinker and Sufi of the 18th century, also belonged to the Naqshbandi silsila. In his sufistic tract⁷² Shah Waliullah has elucidated the mystic of the four prevalent Sufi orders, including the eleven basic principles of his own silsila. Mirza Mazhar Jan-i-Janan infused a new vigour by establishing Shamsiyah Mazhariya within the fold of Naqshbandiya silsila.⁷³

The Qadri Order:

The Qadri silsila, founded in the twelfth century, is considered the oldest and the earliest, which still exists.⁷⁴ It had exercised great influence on contemporary society and culture, by creating a new spiritual ferment in the life and thought of the people.

Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gilani (1078-1166 A.D), the founder of the silsila is one of the most venerated saints of Islam who revived and re-organized the true content of the faith and worked throughout his life for a religious renaissance.⁷⁵ A follower of the Hambalite school of sunni Theology,

Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gilani strove hard to root out innovations and deviations which had distorted the true image of Islam. In order to assess the role of the Shaikh in the transformation of Muslim society, we have to study his writings orthodox in content but present a very thoughtful and provoking exposition of Islam and the main aspect of his own philosophy and teachings.⁷⁶ His writings vividly portray the social and religious conditions of the contemporary Muslim society.⁷⁷

Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gilani, with his profound knowledge and spiritual excellence, elaborated and systematized mystic practices, propagated them widely and developed them into unique harmony with the tenets of Shariah countless people were guided by him to the path of self-discipline, devotion to god, and virtuous living. After him his worthy sons and capable disciples whom the Shaikh had properly trained setup an order the name of Qadriya.⁷⁸ The moral and spiritual excellence of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gilani and the generating influence exercised by him over the people in his own time and the upright character and the moral rectitude of his followers have made him as one of the most eminent men born in Islam.⁷⁹ The silsila slowly grew in space and expanded in the different regions of the Islamic world. It was established and organized in Yemen, Egypt, Syria, Turkey and Mesopotamia.

Though the member of the Shaikhs family suffered a setback in the sack of Baghdad, in 1258 A.D by the Mongols, the city continued for long as the centre of Qadri activities, from where the main streams of its spiritual leadership flowed into other lands, such as Morocco, Spain, Algeria, Asia Minor, Turkistan, Farghana⁸⁰ and Constantinople. Its branches reached as far as Dutch-East Indies, Greece, China, Afghanistan⁸¹ and India. However, the progress of the silsila was tremendous between 1300 and 1500 A.D, when it spread outside the Baghdad.

Qadri silsila played a dynamic role in the religious and spiritual life of Indian masses between 16th and 18th centuries. The popularity and strength of the silsila in India has been due to the personality of Shaikh Abdul Qadir round whom many legends and myths had grown in course of time. He had been projected by his admirers as a superman possessing miraculous powers and a great source of blessing for

those who wished success in their mundane affairs, and of inspiration to those who yearned for communion with god. In the Islamic world the death anniversary of Shaikh Abdul Qadir is observed on 11th of Rabi-us-Sani every year with meticulous care and religious direction. It is known as *Giyarahwin-shareef* in Indo-Pak subcontinent.⁸² Some relics of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gilani: his rosary, *Khirqa* (patched garment), *Jubba* (cloak), *dastar* (turban), *musalla* (prayer carpet), *do-tahi* (cloths, lined), hair and cup are preserved at Kaithal Sharif, Delhi, Lahore, Uchch and Kashmir.⁸³

The sentimental regard and deep respect for Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gilani in India has been best echoed in the verses of Shah Abul Maali,⁸⁴ Abdul Qadir Badauni,⁸⁵ Shaikh Abdul Haque Muhaddis Dehlvi,⁸⁶ Dara Shikoh,⁸⁷ Sultan Bahu,⁸⁸ Pir Waris Shah qadri⁸⁹ and several others.

Shaikh Abdul Qadir was revered and venerated not only by the Qadris, but the Sufis of other orders have also praised him, such as Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti, Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya Multani, Khwaja Qutbuddin Bhaktiyar Kaki, Hazrat Makhdum Sabir of Kaliyar sharif, Sayed Muhammad Hussaini Gesudaraz Bandanawaz, Bahauddin Naqshbandi and Shaikh Ahmed Sarhindi etc.⁹⁰

It appears from the account of Dara Shikoh that Qadri silsila had achieved great success in the 17th century as compared to other mystic orders. In his *Sakinat-ul-Auliya*⁹¹ and *Safinat-ul-Auliya*⁹² Dara Shikoh maintains the superiority of his own silsila by high-lightening the spiritual attainments of Qadri saints. He further says that every one should consider himself as a member of Qadri order to receive the blessings of Shaikh Abdul Qadir. There are many members of this order and this *faqir* is one amongst them. In course of time, some innovations crept into silsila, as evident from *Makhzun-ul-Asrar-fi-Zikr-i-Salasil-i-Kibar*, the author seems to be more critical of the Qadris of his own day, and writes "Many people of this age who call themselves Qadri know nothing about the silsila. In order to increase their prestige and popularity they work for their own selfish ends; they have deviated from the silsila of their *pirs*. He further says that every member of this silsila should preserve the modes and manners of his predecessors.⁹³ Shaikh Abdul Haque Muhaddis Dehlvi and Shaikh Ali Muttaqi made strenuous

efforts to popularize the silsila and draw the attention of the masses to its principles based on Shariat.⁹⁴

The Qadri order suffered a temporary setback under Aurangzeb but it remained on the whole the most popular order. In Punjab its progress was rapid; soon it outnumbered and over shadowed the Chishtis, Shuttaris and the Naqshbandis. A few other sects and sub-sects,⁹⁵ like Bah, lol Shahi, Muqim Shahi, Qumais Shahi, Nau Shahi, Hussain Shahi and Mian Khel Shahi were merged into the fold of the Qadri silsila. The Qadriya-i-Akbariya, and the Benewa or begging faqirs are heterodox offshoots of the silsila.⁹⁶ The founders of these sects played a dominant role during our period in the propagation of the teachings of Qadri silsila. However, Qadri order was fully established between the 16th and 18th centuries in India and the main centres of its activity were Multan, Sind, Delhi, Agra, Biana, Bengal, Ujjain, Kashi, Jaunpur, Burhanpur, Pegu, Konkan, Gujarat, Ahmednagar, Daulatabad, Gulbarga, Bijapur, Golconda, Raichur, Kashmir, Bidar and Hyderabad.

The Junaidi Order:

Abu-al-Qasim al-Junaid (910 A.D), to whom the Junaidiya order traces its origins, was a nephew of Sar-as-Saqtī (868 A.D) and the most brilliant disciple and close associate of Haris-al-Muhasibi (657 A.D), son of a glass merchant, Junaid acquired a thorough knowledge of *Fiqh* and *Hadis*. Junaid refers to himself when he quotes Sar-as-Saqtī as saying; "May god make you a traditionalist who is also a Sufi but not a Sufi who is a traditionalist." Thus Sar-as-Saqtī placed emphasis on the knowledge of tradition and *sunnah*, and he advised Junaid to acquire knowledge of Sufism through asceticism and devotion.⁹⁷ Both Haris-al-Muhasibi and Junaid were exponents of sobriety (*Sahoo*) as against intoxication (*Shukr*), attributed to Tayfuri. His deep insight into the different aspects of Shariah and mysticism won him a place both amongst the externalists (*Ahl-i-Zahir*) and the spiritualists (*Ahl-i-Batin*), and such titles of praise as *Sayed-at-Taifah* (Lord of the sect), *Taus-ul-Ulema* (Peacock of the learned) and *Shaikh-ul-Mashaikh* (Master of the masters) were conferred upon him. Most of the well-known *Tariqahs* (orders) trace their spiritual genealogy back to Junaid.⁹⁸ The order flourished through Abu Muhammad Murtaish,

Abu Nasr Siraj-at-Tusi,⁹⁹ Imam Abu Talib Makki¹⁰⁰ and Abu Bakr kalabadhi,¹⁰¹ who were also among the early exponents of Sufism in Arabic language. The earliest Junaidi saint to have come to India was 'Ali-al-Jullabi al-Hijweri' (1072 A.D) who settled in Lahore and was another of the well-known Persian manual, *Kashf-al-Mahjub* in the field of Sufism.¹⁰²

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2. A Sechimmel; *The origin and Development of Sufism*; Journal of Pakistan Historical Society; vol-II, Part-II; p.p.55; see also *Islamic Spirituality*; edited by Angutiv Thattakara; pub by Centre for Indian and Inter-Religious Studies; Rome; 1993; p.p.74-76.
3. Louis Massignon; *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*; p.p.50.
4. R.A. Nicholson; The idea of personality in Sufism; Delhi; 1976; p.p.3-7; R.A. Nicholson; *A Historical Enquiry concerning the origin and Development of Sufism*; JRAS; 1906; p.p.304-5; R.A. Nicholson; *The Mystic of Islam*; London; 1914; p.p.3.
5. A.J Arbery; *Sufism*; London; 1950; chapter-II; for details; Aziz Ahmed; *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment*; Oxford; 1964; p.p.119-39; S.Moinul Haque; *Islamic Thought and Movements in the Sub-continent (711-1947)*; Pakistan Historical Society; Karachi; 1979; Sayed Hussain Nasr; *Sufi Essays*; London; 1972 9Introduction) p.p. 17-28; Sayed Hussain Nasr; *The Three Muslim Sages*; Harvard University Press; Cambridge; Massachusetts; 1964; chapter-III; p.p.83; see also W. Ernst; *Words of Ecstasy in Sufism*; State University of New York Press; Albany; 1985; Introduction; p.p.1-6.
6. Khaliq Ahmed Nizami; *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in Indian during the Thirteenth Century*; p.p.50.
7. Sayed Moinul Haque; *Islamic Thought and Movements in the Sub-continent*; p.p.80-1.
8. For Abu Saad's definition of a true Sufi; see *Legacy of Islam*; T.W. Arnold and A. Guillame; London; 1960; p.p.219-20; R.A. Nicholson; *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*; Delhi; 1976; p.p.49; Alkalabadhi; Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim; *Kitab-ul-Taarif-li-Madhab-ahl-ul-Tasawwuf*; trans, from the Arabic by A.J. Arbery; *The Doctrine of the Sufi*; reprinted Cambridge; 1978-79; chapter-I; p.p.5-11.
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10. Thomas Arnold; *Preaching of Islam*; London; 1913; p.p.242.

11. *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*; p.p.21-22,167; *Mystics of Islam*; p.p.28-9; Sydney Spencer; *Mysticism in the World Religion*; London; 1963; p.p.315; *Sufism*; chapter-VIII; p.p.84-5; Professor Mujeeb; *Indian Muslims*; Oxford; 1967;p.p. 117; Professor Irfan Habib; *Medieval Mysticism: Politics and Society During Early Medieval Period*; Delhi; 1974; vol-I; p.p.251-90.
12. *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in Indian During the Thirteenth Century*; p.p.56-7; Sayed Muzaffaruddin Nadvi; *Muslim Thought and its Source*; 1953; p.p.87.
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14. Haroon Khan Sherwani; *Bahmanis of the Deccan*; p.p.20; S. Moin-ul-Haque; Barni's; *History of Tughluqs*; p.p. 157; Mahdi Hasan; *Tughluq Dynasty*; p.p.161-3; The Transfer of capital from Delhi to Daulatabad; *Journal of Indian History*; JIH; August;1941.
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16. Ibid.
17. H.K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi; *History Medieval Deccan*; p.p.175.
18. John Briggs; *History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India*, vol-II; p.p.431; H.K. Sherwani; *Bahmanis of the Deccan*; p.p. 25-27.
19. H.K. Sherwani; *Bahmanis of the Deccan*; p.p. 37; A.Q. Hussaini; *Art, Career of Bahman Shah before he became the Sultan of the Deccan*; IC; April; 1959; p.p.112-113.
20. Rafiuddin Shirazi; *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk*;MS;Fol,6; Ghulam Muhammad; *Siyar-i-Muhammadi*;MS; p.p.172-173; Muhammad Sultan; *Armughan-i-Sultane*; p.p.135.
21. John Briggs; *History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India*, vol-II; p.p.285; Sayed Ali Tabatabai; *Burhan-i-Maasir*; MS; Muhammad Jamal Qiwamuddin; *Qiwam-al-Aqaid*; MS; chapter-II: For a short sketch of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya; see Amir Khurd; *Siyar-al-Auliya*; Amir Hasan Ala Sihzi; *Fawaid-ul-Fawad*; Hamid Qalandar; *Khair-ul-Majalis*; Abdul Haque; *Akhbar-ul-Akhiyar-fi-Asrar-ul-Abrar*;p.p.54-59; Khaliq Ahmed Nizami; *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in Indian during the thirteenth century*; p.p. 195.
22. H.K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi; *History Medieval Deccan*; p.p.210-213.
23. John Briggs; *History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India*, vol-II; p.p.285.
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26. Ibid.
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28. Muhammad Qasim Ferishtah; *Tarikh-i-Ferishtah*; Urdu trans, vol-II; p.p.324.
29. Sayed Ali Tabatabai; *Burhan-i-Maasir*; p.p.54.
30. H.K. Sherwani; *Bahmanis of the Deccan*; p.p.194-195.
31. H.K. Sherwani; Mahmud Gawan; The Great Bahmani Wazir; p.p.180.
32. Sayed Ali Tabatabai; *Burhan-i-Maasir*; p.p.81, 88, 96. and H.K. Sherwani; *Bahmanis of the Deccan*; p.p.256.
33. Ibid.
34. Khaliq Ahmed Nizami; *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in Indian during the Thirteenth Century*; p.p.51.
35. By the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A.D, works of well-known authors on the Quran, the Hadis, Fiqf and Tasawwuf were available in India. Important books of Zamakhshari (1144 A.D), Raziuddin-al-Saghani (1252 A.D), Ali bin Muhammad Bazdawi (1221 A.D), Ibn Arabi (1240 A.D), Jalaluddin Rumi (1273 A.D) Fariduddin (1120 A.D), Al-Ghazali (1111 A.D) and of others were being taught in different assemblies; K.A. Nizami; *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*; p.p.265-80; *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol-II; p.p.428-429.
36. Muhammad Habil; *Early Muslim Mystics: Politics and Society during early medieval period*, vol-I; p.p.251-290.
37. In the field of Sufism there were distinct schools of thought. One insisted on the society of mind (*Sahoo*) and the other on rapture (*Shukr*). These schools of thoughts were popularly known as the Iraqi and Khurasani. With the advent of Muhiuddin Ibn Arabi and other, more emphasis was placed on the philosophization of Tasawwuf; Trimmingham; p.p.4.
38. The most popular works of Ask-Shaikh-ul-Akbar, *Fusus-ul-Hiqm* and *Al-Futuh-al-Makkiya*, were available in India. Several Indian mystics have written commentaries on *Fusus*; EI, vol-III; p.p.429.
39. Ibid.
40. Khaliq Ahmed Nizami; *Salatin-i-Delhi ke Madhabi Rujhuhat*; p.p.388, 389, 412, 414; and also see K.A. Nizami; *Some Religious and Cultural Trends of the Tughluq period*; *Journal of Punjab Historical Society*; JPHS; vol-I; p.p.24.
41. Gesudaraz; *Asmar-al-Asrar*; p.p. 150-170; seel also S.S.K Hussaini; *Sayed Muhammad-ul-Hussaini Gesudaraz on Sufism*; p.p.86-105.
42. Enamul Haque; *Sufi Movements in Bengal*; Indo-Iranica; 1948; vol-III; p.p.270; Mir Waliyuddin; *Khwaja Bandanawaz ka Tasawwuf aur Suluk*; p.p.225.
43. K.A. Nizami; *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*; p.p.51-181-204; *Islamic Thought and Movements*; p.p.131-190.
44. See; *Islamic Thought and Movements*; p.p.62-174, 350-62.
45. Ibid.

46. Ibid; Zahurul Hasan Sharib; *The Mystical Philosophy of Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti of Ajmer*; 1959; p.p.10-13.
47. For details see; K.A Nizami; *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*; p.p.199-219; R.M Eaton; *Sufis of Bijapur*; p.p.46-48; Iqbal Ali Shah; *Islamic Sufism*; p.p. 285-90.
48. They were Shah Miranji Shamsul Ushshaq and Shaikh Burhanuddin Janam; R.M Eaton; *Sufis of Bijapur*; p.p.73-8.
49. Dr. Muhammad Salim; *Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya of Multan*; Pakistan Historical Society; Karachi; 1969; p.p.1-24.
50. For further details; Muhammad Umar; *Islam in northern India during the eighteenth century*; Delhi; 1993; p.p.50-70.
51. K.A Nizami; *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*; p.p.221-23.
52. Sayed Jalaluddin Surkh Bukhari took *bait* in silsila-i-Qadriya from Sayed Muhammad bin Abul Ghais Abdal, a descendant of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gilani.
53. Makhdum Jahanian also received Qadri khilafat. Shaikh Abdul Haque Muhaddis Dehlvi; *Akhbar-ul-Akhiyar*; Delhi; 1309 A.H; p.p.141-3.
54. Shaikh Usman alias Shahbaz Qalandar, too was initiated in the Qadri silsila. Yusuf Mirak; *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*; Sayed Hussamuddin Rasidi; Karachi; 1962; p.p.363-4.
55. For details; K.A Nizami; *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*; p.p.221-25; *Islamic Thought and Movements*; p.p. 192-224.
56. Dr. S.R Sharda; *Sufi Thought (Its Development in Punjab and its Impact on Punjabi Literature)*; Delhi; 1974; p.p.65.
57. K.A Nizami; *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*; p.p.225-28.
58. K.A Nizami; *Shattari Saints and their Attitude Towards the State; Medieval India*; Quarterly; part-IV; October; 1950; p.p.56.
59. Richard M. Eaton; *Sufis of Bijapur*; p.p.59; *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment*; p.p. 137; S.A.A Rizvi; *Muslim Revivalist Movements in northern India*; Agra; 1965; p.p.64-5.
60. *Indian Muslims*; p.p.301.
61. *Medieval India Quarterly*; part-IV; 1950; p.p.68; *Muslim Revivalist Movements*; p.p. 64; R.M Eaton; *Sufis of Bijapur*; p.p.61; *Islamic Thought and Movements*; p.p. 380-1.
62. R.M Eaton; *Sufis of Bijapur*; p.p.73-6, 112-31.
63. *Muslim Revivalist Movements*; p.p. 64; R.M Eaton; *Sufis of Bijapur*; p.p.73-4.
64. *Intibah-fi-Silasil-i-Auliya Allah*; MS; Habib Ganj; 21/92; Delhi; p.p.137-8.
65. K.A Nizami; *Naqshbandi influence on Mughal Rulers and Politics*; Islamic Culture; Hyderabad; 1965; p.p.42; *Islamic Sufism*; p.p.97-112.
66. *Islamic Culture*; p.p.43-4.
67. Ibid.
68. Muhammad Hashim Kishmi; *Zubdat-ul-Maqamat*; Lucknow; 1890; p.p.134-136; Shaikh Badruddin Sarhindi; *Hazrat-ul-Quds*; Lahore; 1971; p.p. 29-34; for details; Dara Shikoh; *Safinat-ul-Auliya*; MS no. 13; Department of History Aligarh Muslim University; ff 231 a; Ghausi Shattari; *Gulzar-i-Abrar*; Rotography, no. 174; ff; 336a-337b; *Badshah Nama*; p.p.335.
69. The main teaching of Shaikh Ahmed Sarhindi, are as follows; (1) The way of uprightness is through divinity and signs of real and internal purification is sincere observance and submission to divine laws, by acknowledging the prophetic institution; (2) The mystical revelations, states of gnosis, ecstasy and illumination are good if they are subservient to laws, otherwise they are misleading and worthless (3) He was not in favour of *Zikr-i-Jahr* (loud recitation of divine names), *Sama* (audition), *Wajd* (ecstasy), dancing, music, external trappings, such as cap, genealogical table etc; See *A History of Muslim Philosophy*; vol-II; Wiesbaden; 1966; p.p.73-82; M.M Sharif; Muhammad farman's article on Shaikh Ahmed Sarhindi.
70. The Kibravi silsila was founded by Shaikh Najmuddin Kubra (1145-1228 A.D), a renowned Sufi of Persia. His disciples, Shaikh Majduddun Baghdadi, Shaikh Saifuddin Bakharzi and Shaikh Saaduddin Humavi, were also eminent Sufis; K.A Nizami; *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*; p.p. 174-183.
71. *Zubdat-ul-Maqamat*; p.p. 135-6; he followed the Qadri system of discipline in conferring *Khirqah-khilfat*, and *kulah-o-damani*. He received Qadri khilfat from Shah Sikandar, a disciple of Shah Kamal Qadri of Kaithal.
72. *Al-Qaul-ul-Jameel-fi-Bayan, Saw-us-Sabeel*; MS; Unveristy Collection; no.1; AMU, Library; Urdu, trans, by Ghulam Sarwari; New Delhi.
73. For details see; *Islam in northern India during the eighteenth century*; p.p.70-80.
74. H.A.R Gibb and J.H Kramers; *Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam*; Leiden; E.G Brill; 1953; p.p.74, 202-4.
75. For Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gilani; see Ali ibn Yusuf Shattanaufi; Bahjat-ul-Asmar; Cairo; 1303 / 1886; p.p.88; Sibte ibn Al-Jawazi; *Mirat-uz-Zaman*; Hyderabad; 1951; vol-VII; part-I; p.p.264-5; vol-XI; p.p.664; Al-Dilai Abdullah Muhammad; *Natijat-ut-Tahqiq*; 1089 A.H; Lithographed at Fiz; 1309 A.H; Eng Trans, by T.W Weir; Journal of Royal Asiatic Society; 1903; p.p.157.
76. Abdul Qadir Gilani; *Al-Ghuniya-ti-Talibin Tariq-al-Haque*; Cairo; 1905; Urdu Trans, by Amanullah Khan Aman Sarhadi; Abdul Qadir Gilani; *Futuh-al-Ghaib*; Lucknow; 1880; Lahore; 1961; MS; Habib Ganj Collection; (21/69).
77. For details; Fatima Zehra Bilgrami; M. Phil; Dissertation; *Life and Teachings of Mian Mir*; Department of History; AMU; Aligarh 1976; p.p.29-41.
78. Spencer Widely differs in his assessment of the role of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gilani; *The Sufi orders in Islam*; Oxford; 1971; p.p.42-3.
79. Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi; *Saviors of Islam*; English Trans, by Muhiuddin Ahmed; Lucknow; 1971; p.p.199.

80. *Sufi orders in Islam*; p.p.43-4; This brotherhood was introduced in the twelfth century by Arab merchants from Baghdad to the kingdom of Bulgar on the Volga and to the cities of Turkistan especially those of Farghana valley; see Alexander Bennigsen, and Senders Wimbush; *Mystics and Commissars*; London; p.p.9-31.
81. Professor Muhammad Habibs article on *Shahbuddin of Ghor*; The Muslim University Journal; January; 1930; no.1; p.p.30-40.
82. Jafar Sharif; *Qanun-i-Islam*; Oxford; 1921; p.p.192-4.
83. Muhammad Din Kalim Qadri; *Tazkira-i-Mashaikh-i-Qadriya*; Lahore; 1975; p.p.31-4; James Hastings; *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*; Edinburgh; 1914; vol-I; p.p.69.
84. *Tuhfa-i-Qadriya*; ff, 3a, 9a; *Zikr-i-Asfiya* or *Takmila-i-Siyar-ul-Auliya*; Delhi; p.p. 63-4.
85. Badauni seeks his help; "*O Ghaus-i-Azam, help me, I have none amongst the (worldly) goods; help this poor beggar; O Sultan of the both the worlds; O Shah-i-Gilan, I wish for nothing, except your blessings*"; *Tazkira-i-Mashaikh-i-Qadriya*; p.p.26-27.
86. Shaikh Abdul Haque composed the following lines in honour of Shaikh; Ghous-i-Azam is a guide in the path of belief. He is a distinguished among the saints as Muhammad (PBUH) among the prophets; saints are his willing and submissive slaves; his feet rest upon their necks; Indo-Iranica; vol-III; p.p. 5-6; *Tazkira-i-Mashaikh-i-Qadriya*; p.p.24.
87. Dara's veneration for Shaikhj Abdul Qadir Gilani is evident from the following couplet: The silsila of My Pir; will progress day by day, (and) will survive till the day of resueection; *Sakinat-ul-Auliya*; Dr Tara Chand and Sayed Raza Jalali; Tehran; p.p.241.
88. *Abiyat-i-Bahu*; Abdul Majeed Bhatti; Karachi; p.p.121-165.
89. *Tazkira-i-Mashaikh-i-Qadriya*; p.p. 29-30.
90. Ibid.
91. *Sakinat-ul-Auliya*; p.p.11-2, 219, 100-131.
92. *Safinat-ul-Auliya*; ff, 3a,-7a, 34b, 43a, 75a, 140a, 208a, 220b, 254b.
93. *Makhzan-ul-Asrar-fi-Zikr-i-Silasil-i-Kibar*; compiled in 1631 A.D, compiler unknown; MS, no. 40; AMU, Library; Aligarh.
94. K.A Nizami; *Hayat-i-Shaikh Abdul Haque Dehlvi*; Delhi; 1964; p.p.76-79, 129-42; Shaikh Muhammad Ikram; *Rauda-i-Kausar*; Lahore; 1968; p.p.63.
95. Dr. Sharda has divided the Qadris in twenty sub-sects; *Sufi Thought*; p.p.66-67; for details, J.A Subhan; Lucknow; 1960; p.p.256-262.
96. Holland Rose; *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and north West Frontier Province*; vol-I; p.p.545-549.
97. Ali bin Usman-al-Hujweri; *Kashf-al-Mahjub*; English Trans, by R.A Nicholson; p.p. 108, 109, 128, 129.
98. Ibid.
99. Author of *Kitab-ul-Luma-fi-Tasawwuf*; His full name was Abu Nasr Abdullah Ibn Siraj-at-Tusi (988 A.D).
100. Author of *Kitab Quwwat-ul-Qulub-fi-Muamalat-ul-Mahbub*; His full name was Abu Talib Muhammad Ibn Ali Atiya-al-Makki (996 A.D).
101. Author of *Kitab-at-Taaruf-li-Mazhab-at-Tasawwuf*; His full name was Abu Bakr Muhammad Ishaq-al-Kalabadhi (998 A.D).
102. For a brief life sketch; see *Kashf-al-Mahjub*; Professor Muhammad Habib doubts that it was originally written in Persian language Muhammad Hamid.