RELATIONS OF THE SUFIS WITH THE RULERS OF DECCAN (14th - 17th Centuries)

ABSTRACT
OF THE
THESIS
SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF
Doctor of Philosophy
IN
HISTORY

BY
FATIMA MARYAM

UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF
PROF. TARIQ AHMED

CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
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ABSTRACT

Scope of the work:

This thesis studies the emergence of Muslim culture in the medieval Deccan with a particular focus on the impact of various Sufi orders. It charts their spread in the Deccan, studies the establishment of khanqahs in various cities and analyses the attitude of different orders vis-a-vis the medieval ruling elite. The study takes into account a broad time-span which begins with the foundation of the Bahmani kingdom in 1347, covers the period of the succession states that emerged on the debris of the Bahmani kingdom, and ends with the disintegration and Mughal conquest of the last surviving independent kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda in 1686 and 1687 respectively. In this long time-span the thesis notices the flowering of several Sufi orders: some major orders such as the Chishtis and the Qadiris, and also those who had a comparatively limited popularity in the Deccan such as Shattaris, Junaidis, Nimatullahis and Naqshbandis. All these orders had slight differences in their trajectories of thought and in their stance towards the temporal authorities. The study of these differences remains the main focus of my study.
The region of Deccan became a fertile ground for mystics even before the Muslim political annexation began, and the process received an impetus during the Tughlaq period. Muhammad bin Tughlaq's Deccan experiment and the subsequent exodus of Muslim population from north to the south converted Deccan into a Muslim cultural centre and nurtured the formation of the Bahmani kingdom, the earliest Muslim state established south of the Narmada. From this time onwards Deccan also became a subject of discussion among the Sufi circles of Delhi. *The present study traces the emergence of Sufi orders in this region, analysis the trajectories of their thought and evaluates their relations with the changing political scenario during the Bahmani and later its succession states. It also makes an attempt to identify the drift in ideals among some later Sufis of the Deccan that eventually lead to growth of popular Islam in the area.*

**Muslim Culture and Sufism in the Medieval Deccan:**

With the establishment of the Bahmani Sultanate, Deccan became a fertile ground for Sufis and cities such as Daulatabad, Gulbarga, and Bidar became urban centres and places of Sufi settlements. Organised mystic efforts in the Deccan had begun as a result of Muhammad bin Tughlaq's historic decision to make Devagiri, a second administrative
capital of the Sultanate. A large number of Sufis had to migrate which affected the khanqah life of Delhi. The shifting to Daulatabad though caused a serious setback to the Sufis initially, it made Daulatabad, Khuldabad, Gulbarga, Bidar, Bijapur, Gujarat and Malwa, in due course of time, active mystic centres in the south.

Some of the major Sufi orders which operated in the Deccan may be classified into two: the north Indian immigrant orders, such as Chishtis, Junaidis and Shattaris; and the ‘Alien’ orders such as Qadiris, Naqshbandis and Nimatullahis. The former group of Sufis had migrated from the north while the latter group came to the Deccan from Persia, Central Asia and places outside the subcontinent and established themselves in Bidar, Bijapur and Aurangabad.

The credit for introducing the Chishti order in the Deccan goes to Shaikh Burhan-ud-din Gharib (d. 1338) an illustrious successor of Nizam-ud-din Auliya, who settled in Daulatabad. His younger brother Muntajab-ud-din Zarbakhsh also acquired great fame. During the 13th-14th centuries, the Chishti order held its sway in the Deccan. Eminent Sufis such as Amir Hasan Sijzi (d. 1335), Shaikh Zain-ud-din Daud (d. 1369) and Saiyid Gesudaraz and others made the Chishti order deeply entrenched in the society. Burhanpur, Gulbarga, Bidar,
Daulatabad, Aurangabad and Bijapur became known centres of the order in Deccan.

Among the Junaidis, who settled at Khuldabad, many were well known jurists, qazis and imams of their times. Shaikh Ayn-ud-din Ganj-ul-ilm (d. 1392) was a great scholar and a prolific writer but most of his works have not survived now. The thesis notes that some of the later Chishti and Junaidi Sufis of the Deccan drifted away from their principles after the establishment of Bahmani kingdom. They neglected the moral ethos, accepted grants and jagirs, became loyal to the ruling authority and appointed their own family members as successors, all of which was looked down upon by the early Sufi masters.

The Shattaris made their way to the Deccan in the late 15th century. They sharply reacted to the Shiite policies of Adil Shahi rulers of Bijapur and deeply influenced the life of the people. They developed a close relationship with the rulers and tried to influence them through their teachings. Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus of Gwalior (d. 1562) was the most important Sufi of this order and Shaikh Abdullah Shattar (d. 1485) arrived in Deccan with many followers and laid the foundations of the Shattari order in the region. Burhanpur emerged as one of the
strongest and most influential centre of the Shattaris. Shaikh Arif (d. 1585), Shaikh Tahir (d.1594) and Shaikh Isa (d. 1622) played a prominent role in establishing the order there. Later, Shaikh Burhan started strenuous mystic activity in Burhanpur and holds the same position for the Shattari order as Muhammad Gesudaraz holds for the Chishti order. He never approved of participation of Sufis in the politics and was critical of those who accumulated wealth. He maintained a madrasah where students came from all parts of the country.

Among the ‘alien’ orders, the Qadiri order reached Deccan in the 15th century. Bijapur emerged as the chief centre of the order and soon Warangal, Ahmadnagar, Kurnool, Hyderabad, Golconda, Burhanpur and Khandesh became its active centres of activity. The Qadiris of the Deccan, with the exception of the Nimatullahis, were direct descendants of Abdul Qadir Jilani (d. 1166) of Baghdad and championed his teachings of remaining aloof from the rulers. Saiyid Shah Ismail (d. 1456), Ibrahim Makhdumji (d.1564), Shah Abul Hasan Qadiri (d. 1635) and Saiyid Shah Jamal (d. 1590) and Abdul Latif Laobali (d. 1637) were known Sufi masters of the Qadiri order who settled and preached in different locales in Deccan.
The Nimatullahis, which was a branch of the Qadiri order, became a part of the ruling class by marrying in royalty and accepting jagirs and lands. They took active part in *mulki* (locals) and *non-mulki* (foreigners/aliens) politics, enthroning and dethroning rulers, participating in wars etc. With time, they became part of the royalty, nobility and the army. Nimatabad was named after Shah Nimatullah Kirmani. His grandson, Nurullah was elevated to the status of *malik-ul-mashaikh* and was given precedence over other Sufis. Later, Shah Nimatullah’s son Shah Khalilullah (d. 1455) also came and settled in Bidar along with his two sons, both of whom were married in the royal family. The NimauUahis thus developed matrimonial ties with the royal family and became involved in the political intrigues as well. The nature of their activities suggest a clear departure from the teachings of the founder of the Qadiri order and is also in contrast with the non-involvement of other Qadiri contemporaries in the political affairs of Bidar.

The last of the Sufi orders to reach Deccan was the Naqshbandi order in the 16th century. The Naqshbandis were the most sober and orthodox among all Sufi orders and strictly attached themselves to the principles established by their ancestors in India and abroad.
This thesis looks at how these Sufi orders flourished in the newly emerging centres, and analyses in what respects they differed from their north-Indian counterparts and how they were reacting to the attempts of the rulers to enlist their cooperation. The kingdoms that rose after the breakup of the Bahmani Kingdom sought the help of Sufis in the consolidation of their power. They offered rich endowments to the Sufis who in return would give them moral support and whipped the public opinion in their favour. However, each order had its own ideology and definite principles in regard to the relations with the state. The Deccan Sufis adjusted their religious attitudes and that of their khanqahs to the evolving social and political ethos. Though many of them gained an officially sanctioned status, they gradually compromised on some of their most fundamental principles.

Structure of the work:

The thesis covers the period from the earliest arrivals of Muslims in the Deccan, the establishment of different ruling dynasties, the formation of Sufi linkages and establishment of khanqahs, and their relations with the ruling elite till the end of 17th century. The study begins with a detailed analysis of the early arrival of Muslims in the Deccan, first as traders and then as conquerors. Drawing both from
traveller's accounts and secondary sources, the chapter suggests that much before the political annexation of the region began, Deccan had already witnessed the presence of Muslim colonies and had flourishing trade relations with other parts of Islamic world. We also get names of Sufis who were present at this time, though their accounts are no longer extant. The reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq (r. 1325-1351) proved a turning point in the history of Islam in Deccan. During this period, we find the emergence of a substantial Muslim culture which later came to sustain the early Muslim kingdoms in the 14th century.

Chapters III and IV introduce the political happenings during the period of study. Political narratives are important since the Sufis did not operate in isolation and were directly or indirectly affected by political events. These chapters attempt to understand these events in the backdrop of which the Sufis operated in medieval Deccan. These chapters also provide the political backdrop against which the Sufi orders emerged and flourished. They discuss the political scenario in the pre-Bahmani period i.e. 1290-1347, under the Bahmani rule i.e. 1347- 1527, and under the rule of succession states which emerged on the debris of the Bahmanis. Our discussion ends with the annexation
of the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda by the Mughals in the 17th century.

Chapter V introduces the emergence of the Chishti order in the Deccan, which became one of the most popular Sufi orders. It provides biographical sketches of the various important Sufis of the Chishti community which operated in the towns of Khuldabad, Daulatabad, Gulbarga, Bidar, Bijapur etc. The chapter besides dealing with the teachings of the Chishti Sufis also discusses the nature of their relation with the political powers and charts the shifts in their political stances vis-a-vis their north-Indian counterparts.

Chapter VI discusses the other popular Sufi order of Deccan, i.e. the Qadiri order and its important centres such as Bijapur, Bidar, Gulbarga, Ahmadnagar etc. Like in the previous chapter, here also I discuss the teachings and relations of the Qadiris with the political powers.

Chapter VII examines the role played by some minor Sufi orders of the Deccan such as the Junaidis and the Shattaris. It also examines the impact which the Sufi presence had on the cultural development of the region and notes the important conclusions that are drawn from this study.
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This is to certify that the thesis, "Relations of the Sufis with the Rulers of Deccan (14th-17th Centuries)", by Mrs. Fatima Maryam is her own original work. I consider it is suitable for submission to the examiners and for the award of the Ph.D. Degree.

(Prof. Tariq Ahmed)
Supervisor
For

Ammi and Abbu
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Mrs. Tanvir Fatima and Mrs. Rafat Sahiba of Oriental Manuscript Library, Mrs. Zareena Parveen of Andhra Pradesh Archives, and Ms. Asifa Kausar of Salar Jung Museum Library provided valuable guidance in material collection. I also wish to thank Mr. Faiz Habib for his assistance in drawing maps.

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Fatima Maryam
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Chapter 1
Introduction

This thesis studies the emergence of Muslim culture in the medieval Deccan with a particular focus on the impact of various Sufi orders. It charts their spread in the Deccan, studies the establishment of khanqahs in various cities and analyses the attitude of different orders vis-a-vis the medieval ruling elite. The study takes into account a broad time-span which begins with the foundation of the Bahmani kingdom in 1347, covers the period of the succession states that emerged on the debris of the Bahmani kingdom, and ends with the disintegration and Mughal conquest of the last surviving independent kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda in 1686 and 1687 respectively. In this long time-span we notice the flowering of several Sufi orders: the major orders such as the Chishtis and the Qadiris, and also those who had a comparatively limited popularity in the Deccan such as Shattaris, Junaidis, Nimatullahis and Naqshbandis. All these orders had slight differences in their trajectories of thought and in their stance towards the temporal authorities. The study of these differences remains the main focus of the present study.
A. The geographical setting:

The word 'Deccan' is derived from the Sanskrit term 'dakshin' meaning 'southern', and thus Deccan literally means the southern and peninsular part of the Indian subcontinent. However, the term has been variously defined. In its broadest sense, Deccan includes the whole of India south of Narmada River or the Vindhya Mountains. By this definition, the Vindhya range forms the northern most boundary of the Deccan. On its western side, the Deccan descends seaward from Western Ghats which terminate near Cape Comorin that forms the extreme southern part of the peninsula. From there begins the Eastern Ghats which run north-eastward along the Coromondal Coast, and join the Vindhyas which cross the peninsula from west to east. All major rivers – Godavari, Krishna, Kaveri - emerge from Western Ghats and flow eastward into the Bay of Bengal. This peninsular region has five distinct physiographical divisions: the Western Ghats, the northern Deccan plateau, the south Deccan plateau, the Eastern plateau and the Eastern Ghats.

It should be noticed however, that our sources of medieval India use the term Deccan in a narrow sense. The Deccan for them was only the Bahmani Deccan or that of the succession states. Ferishta like other
Persian authors use the term Deccan to indicate Bahmani Deccan only.

On the basis of topographical features the main Deccan plateau is divided into three regions: Maharashtra, Karnataka and the Tilang-Andhra. The Maharashtra plateau which spreads from the south of the Vindhyas up to the Krishna river and from the forests of Chandrapur in the east to the Konkan in the west is highly fertile and ideal for agriculture. It is this fertility of the soil of Khandesh and Berar which enabled independent sultanates of this land-locked area to sustain their economy. It is also this fertility which attracted to this region the coveted eyes of Gujarat, Malwa and the Mughals. The great wall of the Western Ghats have been shaped into natural citadels and the region was found to be most useful for building forts and as natural military positions.

The Karnataka area comprises both flat plains and plateaus. The country south of Belgam is hilly and wooded. For this reason the Bahmanis could not progress south and the geographical factor made their task difficult. Eastward lies the Raichur Doab, a bone of contention between the Bahmanis and Vijayanagar. The Doab was a fertile tract of land with some gold and diamond mines.
Beyond it lay the Andhra part of the Deccan plateau with the famous gold mines in Kurnool and Adoni regions. This geo-political tract was strategically important for Vijayanagar and was well protected by fortifications. It was only after the defeat of Vijayanagar that the Bijapur kingdom could extend its authority over Raichur Doab. There is hardly any mountain-top which has not been fortified on the Mysore-Karnataka region. Some of these fortifications date back to the Hoysalas, while others were built by the Vijayanagar rulers. The Western Andhra country or Rayalseema was well dotted with forts like Adoni, Edgir etc. This strategic area passed into the hands of Vijayanagar and stemmed the Bahmani advance for a long time. The Andhra plateau is extensively cultivated up to the coastal plains, but is also covered by thick forests to the east of Godavari.

B. Early interactions between Deccan and the North

The region of Deccan became a fertile ground for mystics even before the Muslim political annexation began, and the process received an impetus during the Tughlaq period. Muhammad bin Tughlaq’s Deccan experiment and the subsequent exodus of Muslim population from north to the south converted Deccan into a Muslim cultural centre and nurtured the formation of the Bahmani kingdom, the earliest Muslim
state established south of the Narmada. From this time onwards Deccan also became a subject of discussion among the Sufi circles of Delhi. The present study traces the emergence of Sufi orders in this region, analysis the trajectories of their thought and evaluates their relations with the changing political scenario during the Bahmani and later its succession states. It also makes an attempt to identify the drift in ideals among some later Sufis of the Deccan that eventually lead to growth of popular Islam in the area.

It was through the medium of mysticism that the Muslim-culture group adjusted itself with the local milieu and with all the social and linguistic barriers which had separated the north from the south. The khanqahs of the Sufis helped in bridging this difference and initiated a new phase of understanding between regions, creeds and cultures and they became genuine centres for the exchange of views between men belonging to different religions and languages. Thus, the Sufis established a direct contact with the masses, and the Muslim mystics in the Deccan, as elsewhere in India, became a symbol of harmony and brotherhood.

Muslim settlement began in the South long before the Muslim armies had penetrated the region. According to traditions, the earliest Muslim
settlers were the Arabs of the Navayit clan who had reached the Konkan in the early years of the eighth century. When Malik Kafur reached Kandur (in Trichinopoly) in pursuit of Raja Bir Dhul, he found many Muslims living there and the Raja of that place supported his Muslim subjects. Ibn Battuta, who visited South India several decades later also came across Muslim settlements and mosques in Travancore, Malabar, and in Kannada region. However, the nature and significance of their activity remains obscure.

During this period the Sufis also played a vital role through their spiritual activities. Long before Sufism arrived in north India, its presence along the coastal areas of South India is mentioned by many historians. In the north, the earliest Sufis settled at Ajmer, Ajodhan, Multan and Delhi only in the 12th and 13th centuries.

With the establishment of the Bahmani Sultanate, Deccan became a fertile ground for Sufis and cities such as Daulatabad, Gulbarga, and Bidar became urban centres and places of Sufi settlements. Organised mystic efforts in the Deccan had begun as a result of Muhammad bin Tughlaq’s historic decision to make Devagiri, a second administrative capital of the Sultanate. A large number of Sufis had to migrate which affected the khanqah life of Delhi. According to Jawami-ul-kalim, the
malfuzat of Saiyid Muhammad Gesudaraz (d. 1422), only a few mausoleums of Delhi survived the shock of exodus;¹ whereas according to Subh-ul-asha there emerged a large number of khanqahs and ribats which provided a nucleus for the systematic organisation of the mystic movement in Deccan.² The shifting to Daulatabad though caused a serious setback to the Sufis initially, it made Daulatabad, Khuldabad, Gulbarga, Bidar, Bijapur, Gujarat and Malwa, in due course of time, active mystic centres in the south.

Sufi experiences and activities in the Deccan have attracted some scholarly attention as well, but most of them have been on a very localised scale. For instance, Richard Eaton has made an in-depth study of the social roles of Sufis in the medieval city-state of Bijapur and has examined their interaction with the non-Muslim population, Islamic orthodoxy and the court.³ Likewise, Carl Ernst has narrowed his research to the study of Khuldabad and the Sufi establishment which flourished in the town. His study is also important as it presents a method for studying Sufi texts historiographically.⁴ Another

important study on which the present thesis also draws is that of Suleman Siddiqi. He has made a detailed study of the Sufis in the Bahmani Sultanate and has examined the transformation of their spiritual, social and political outlooks. H. K. Sherwani, another leading authority on Deccan, has mostly covered the political aspects and has made little reference to the socio-religious life of the place. The present study although draws from the above pioneering works, it also contributes to the field by making a detailed analysis covering both Bahmani kingdom and its succession states, namely Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Bidar, Golconda and Berar.

Some of the major Sufi orders which operated in the Deccan may be classified into two: the north Indian immigrant orders, such as Chishtis, Junaidis and Shattaris; and the ‘Alien’ orders such as Qadiris, Naqshbandis and Nimatullahis. The former group of Sufis had migrated from the north while the latter group came to the Deccan from Persia, Central Asia and places outside the subcontinent and established themselves in Bidar, Bijapur and Aurangabad.

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5 Suleman Siddiqi, The Bahmani Sufis (New Delhi, 1989)
6 H. K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi (eds.), History of Medieval Deccan 1295-1724, 2 vols.; H. K. Sherwani, The Bahmanis of the Deccan (New Delhi, 1985); ibid, Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (Delhi, 1967).
Most of the Sufis who migrated from north India and settled in Khuldabad and Daulatabad were the disciples of the north Indian Sufi shaikhs and were trained in their respective orders. The Chishtis and Junaidi Sufis of Deccan upheld the traditions of keeping themselves aloof from the ruling elite, rejected state-grants and restrained themselves from nominating their successors like their north Indian counterparts. They were not directly involved in shaping the political policies of the rulers even though the Bahmanis sought the help of Sufis for gaining support of the masses and validating their authority and rise to power.

The credit for introducing the Chishti order in the Deccan goes to Shaikh Burhan-ud-din Gharib (d. 1338) an illustrious successor of Nizam-ud-din Auliya. Known as sahib-i-wilayat of the Deccan, he laid the foundation of the Chishti mystic ideology in the Deccan and preferred to stay at Daulatabad. His younger brother Muntajab-ud-din Zarbakhsh also acquired great fame in the Deccan. During the 13th-14th centuries, the Chishti order held its sway in the Deccan. Eminent saints such as Amir Hasan Sijzi (d. 1335), Shaikh Zain-ud-din Daud (d. 1369) and Saiyid Gesudaraz and others made the Chishti order deeply entrenched in the society. Burhanpur, Gulbarga, Bidar,
Daulatabad, Aurangabad and Bijapur became known centres of the order in Deccan.

Among the Junaidis, who were settled at Khuldabad, many were well known jurists, qazis and imams of their times. Shaikh Ayn-ud-din Ganj-ul-ilm (d. 1392) was a great scholar who authored more than 125 books, unfortunately none of which are extant. It may also be noted that some of the later Chishti and Junaidi Sufis of the Deccan drifted away from their principles after the establishment of Bahmani kingdom. They neglected the moral ethos, accepted grants and jagirs, became loyal to the ruling authority and appointed their own family members as successors, all of which was looked down upon by the early Sufi masters.

The Shattaris made their way to the Deccan in the late 15th century. They sharply reacted to the Shiite policies of Adil Shahi rulers of Bijapur and deeply influenced the life of the people. They developed a close relationship with the rulers and tried to influence them through their teachings. Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus of Gwalior (d. 1562) was the most important Sufi of this order and Shaikh Abdullah Shattar (d. 1485) arrived in Deccan with many followers and laid the foundations of the Shattari order in the region. Burhanpur emerged as one of the
strongest and most influential centre of the Shattaris. Shaikh Arif (d. 1585), Shaikh Tahir (d. 1594) and Shaikh Isa (d. 1622) played a prominent role in establishing the order there. Later, Shaikh Burhan started strenuous mystic activity in Burhanpur and holds the same position for the Shattari order as Muhammad Gesudaraz holds for the Chishti order. He never approved of participation of Sufis in the politics and was critical of those who accumulated wealth. He maintained a madrasah where students came from all parts of the country.

Among the ‘alien’ orders, the Qadiri order reached Deccan in the 15th century. Bijapur emerged as the chief centre of the order and soon Warangal, Ahmadnagar, Kurnool, Hyderabad, Golconda, Burhanpur and Khandesh became its active centres of activity. The Qadiris of the Deccan, with the exception of the Nimatullahis, were direct descendants of Abdul Qadir Jilani (d. 1166) of Baghdad and championed his teachings of remaining aloof from the rulers. Saiyid Shah Ismail (d. 1456), Ibrahim Makhdumji (d. 1564), Shah Abul Hasan Qadiri (d. 1635) and Saiyid Shah Jamal (d. 1590) and Abdul Latif Laobali (d. 1637) were known Sufi masters of the Qadiri order who settled and preached in different locales in Deccan.
The Nimatullahis, which was a branch of the Qadiri order, became a part of the ruling class by marrying in royalty and accepting jagirs and lands. They took active part in *mulki* (locals) and *non-mulki* (foreigners/aliens) politics, enthroning and dethroning rulers, participating in wars etc. With time, they became part of the royalty, nobility and the army. Shah Nimatullahi’s grandson, Mirza Nurullah (d. 1330-1331) was received personally by the king and Nimatabad was named after Shah Nimatullah. Shah Nurullah was elevated to the status of *malik-ul-mashaikh* and was given precedence over other Sufis. Later, Shah Nimatullah’s son Shah Khalilullah (d. 1455) also came and settled in Bidar along with his two sons, both of whom were married in the royal family. The NimauUahis thus developed matrimonial ties with the royal family and became involved in the political intrigues as well. The nature of their activities suggest a clear departure from the teachings of the founder of the Qadiri order and is also in contrast with the non-involvement of other Qadiri contemporaries in the political affairs of Bidar.

The last of the Sufi orders to reach Deccan was the Naqshbandi order in the 16th century. The Naqshbandis were the most sober and
orthodox among all Sufi orders and strictly attached themselves to the principles established by their ancestors in India and abroad.

In the following chapters, I would study how these Sufi orders flourished in the newly emerged centres, in what respects they differed from their north-Indian counterparts and how they were reacting to the attempts of the rulers to enlist their cooperation. The kingdoms that rose after the breakup of the Bahmani Kingdom sought the help of Sufis in the consolidation of their power. They offered rich endowments to the Sufis who in return would give them moral support and whipped the public opinion in their favour. However, each order had its own ideology and definite principles in regard to the relations with the state. The Deccan Sufis adjusted their religious attitudes and that of their khanqahs to the evolving social and political ethos. Though many of them gained an officially sanctioned status, they gradually compromised on some of their most fundamental principles.

C. On the sources

The shaping of this thesis is attributable to the kind of sources which I have utilised in the study. The primary sources are mostly Persian works, both in published and manuscript form preserved in Hyderabad. They may be classified into works written about the Sufis,
by the Sufis, official documents, court chronicles and travel accounts. The major histories utilised in this study (particularly in chapters 3 and 4) include: the *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* by Muhammad Qasim Shah Ferishta, a general history dedicated to Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur, but gives a detailed political history of the Deccan from the time of Bahmanis to the succession states. It also includes a chapter on various Sufis of the period. The second important chronicler for this study is Saiyid Ali Tabatabai, whose *Burhan-i-Masir* gives useful information on the period. Tabatabai was in the service of Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah (r. 1550-1580) and later entered the services of Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar. Burhan Nizam Shah II (r. 1591-95) commissioned him to write the chronicle which was started in 1592. The work not only provides a corrective to Ferishta’s work but for the post-Bahmani period, Tabatabai was an eye-witness to many of the events. The work gives useful information on Qutb Shahi and Nizam Shahi dynasties. Another work, though of a later date (1811) is *Basatin-us-Salatin* of Muhammad Ibrahim Zubairi, which is based on a number of contemporary sources that it superseded and others which no longer exist. It gives a comprehensive history of the Adil Shahi dynasty which ruled over Bijapur from 1490-1686. Mirza Rafi-ud-din Shirazi’s *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk* is another important work on the Adil
Shahis of Bijapur and the Qutb Shahis of Golconda. The work was completed in 1611 and gives a fairly correct account of the early period of Qutb Shahi rule.

Among the biographical account of the Sufis, extensive use has been made of *Gulzar-i-Abrar* compiled in 1613 by Muhammad Ghausi Shattari. It includes information on Sufis who flourished in the 16th century at Gujarat, Bidar, Berar, Agra, Ahmadabad, Burhanpur etc. It gives useful information on the Multani branch of the Qadiri order which flourished in the Deccan. Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis' *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, written in 1590 is the most complete and reliable biography of Sufis of Chishti, Qadiri, Suhrawardi and Shattari orders, which flourished between 13th to 16th centuries. *Jawami-ul-Kalim* or the conversations of Saiyid Muhammad Gesudaraz of Gulbarga, compiled by his son Saiyid Akbar Husaini contains discourses of the saint during the years 1399-1400 and gives some pieces of information which are of great value from the point of view of political and cultural history of the period. The *Siyar-ul-Auliya* of Amir Khurd is a useful biography on the life of Chishti saints and was written during the reign of Firoz Shah Tughlaq (r. 1357-1388). It is invaluable for a study of Muhammad bin Tughlaq's relations with the
contemporary saints. It has also been used to study the initial arrivals of Chishti Sufis in the Deccan. Another tazkirah utilised in this study is Sahifa-i-Ahl-i-Huda of Muhiy-ud-din Saiyid Mahmud Qadiri, compiled in 1796-97, but based on the notes of Abul Hasan’s grandson in 1684-85. It is a useful biography of Qadiri Sufis of Bijapur and especially on Shah Abul Hasan Qadiri. It gives information on Abul Hasan’s relations with yogis and with Sultan Ibrahim II also. Mishkat-un-Nubuwwa of Ghulam Ali Musavi was written in 1804 and gives information on the prominent Sufis on Qadiri, Chishti, Naqshbandi and Suhrawardi orders during 17th-18th century. However, the biographies are not arranged chronologically and much emphasis is placed on miracles. Another work of the same author is Lataif-ul-Latif dealing with 17th century Sufis. Rauzat-i-Auliya-i-Bijapur of Muhammad Ibrahim Zubairi, the most reliable historian of the area, gives biographical notices of Sufis of Bijapur and was compiled in the early 19th century. He has utilised and cited some earlier works, no longer available to modern historians. Qadir Khan Munshi’s Tazkirat-ul-Qadiri provides useful information on the Multani branch of Qadiri order and has sufficient information on the relations of Sufis with the rulers. Another work in the same genre is Makhzan-ul-Karamat, which is the Urdu translation of Maadan-ul-
Jawahar by Karimuddin. Many passages deal with the political conflicts of the time.

D. Structure of the study

The structure of the study is such that it covers the period from the earliest arrivals of Muslims in the Deccan, the establishment of different ruling dynasties, the formation of Sufi linkages and establishment of khanqahs, and their relations with the ruling elite till the end of 17th century. The thesis begins with a detailed analysis of the early arrival of Muslims in the Deccan, first as traders and secondly as conquerors. Drawing both from traveller's accounts and secondary sources, the chapter suggests that much before the political annexation of the region began, Deccan had already witnessed the presence of Muslim colonies and had flourishing trade relations with other parts of Islamic world. We also get names of Sufis who were present at this time, though their accounts are no longer extant. The reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq (r. 1325-1351) proved a turning point in the history of Islam in Deccan. During this period, we find the emergence of a substantial Muslim culture which later came to sustain the early Muslim kingdoms in the 14th century.
Chapters III and IV turn our attention towards the political history of Deccan. Political narratives are important since the Sufis did not operate in isolation and were directly or indirectly affected by political events. These chapters attempt to understand such events in the backdrop of which the Sufis operated in medieval Deccan. They also provide a political backdrop against which the Sufi orders emerged and flourished. The chapters discuss the political scenario in the pre-Bahmani period i.e. 1290-1347, under the Bahmani rule i.e. 1347-1527, and under the rule of succession states which emerged on the debris of the Bahmanis. Our discussion ends with the annexation of the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda by the Mughals in the 17th century. Since the present thesis deals with this entire time-span, it is imperative to have a brief understanding of the major political developments of the period.

Chapter V introduces the emergence of the Chishti order in the Deccan, which became one of the most popular Sufi orders. It provides biographical sketches of the various important Sufis of the Chishti community which operated in the towns of Khuldabad, Daulatabad, Gulbarga, Bidar, Bijapur etc. The chapter besides dealing with the teachings of the Chishti Sufis also discusses the nature of
their relation with the political powers and charts the shifts in their political stances vis-a-vis their north-Indian counterparts.

Chapter VI discusses the other popular Sufi order of Deccan, i.e. the Qadiri order and its important centres such as Bijapur, Bidar, Gulbarga, Ahmadnagar etc. Like in the previous chapter, here also I discuss the teachings and relations of the Qadiris with the political powers.

The final chapter examines the role played by some minor Sufi orders of the Deccan such as the Junaidis and the Shattaris. It also examines the impact which the Sufi presence had on the cultural development of the region and notes the important conclusions that are drawn from this study.
Muslims had started settling in South Asia long before the political conquest of the region began. Generally speaking, in most historical writings the Muslim penetration in South Asia is said to have followed the following stages:

a. Muhammad bin Qasim's military operations in Sind began in 712 AD, but they did not have any lasting influence on the area beyond the Indus.

b. Lahore was annexed in 1025-1026 by Mahmud of Ghazni and his frequent raids into the subcontinent led to more lasting developments.

c. The establishment of Turkish control in 1191-1206 by the invasions of Muhammad Ghori created permanent Muslim presence in the northern regions.
d. Further extension of political power came during the reign of Khaljis, when Ala-ud-din Khalji's campaigns in the Deccan (1306-7) led Muslim armies to penetrate the Deccan and later under Muhammad bin Tughlaq (r. 1325-51) it reached its highest watermark.

However this classification does not explain the presence of Muslims in the Deccan prior to the formation of any stable Muslim power in the north. This chapter highlights the evidence - both recorded and epigraphic - to show that in southern parts of the subcontinent Muslim settlements had emerged before the extension of Muslim political power. The chapter is divided into three parts: the first discusses the role of trade and commerce in creating a Muslim population in Deccan; the second part examines the stages of political conquest of the region; and the third studies the arrival of Muslim mystics from northern India, Iran and Central Asia.

A: Early contacts through trade and commerce

The earliest Muslim colonies appeared on the trade routes covering the western coast of India and Ceylon. Maldives, Malabar and Gujarat were all studded with Arab colonies and many Arab merchant families lived there for generations. We are informed that during the time of
Hajjaj bin Yusuf (the governor of Iraq, 8th c.), a raja of Sarandip sent a ship load of gifts to Iraq as a token of goodwill and friendship. It also appears that Islamic learning had established its roots in Sarandip.\(^1\)

Abu Zaid al-Hasan (the writer of the second part of *Silsilat-ut-tawarikh*) compares the assemblies of scholars to ‘the assemblies of learned traditionists.’ Malabar also saw early Muslim settlements. In fact, the very name Malabar was given by the Arabs and was also known as *bald-al-filfil* (Land of Peppers), because pepper was exported from here. Arab travellers refer to the presence of a very large number of Muslim merchants in Malabar. It is thus clear that the early influence of Islam in South Asia predates the arrival of Muslim armies and it was through commerce that the earliest interactions were made between South Asia and Muslims.

If we take note of these commercial interactions, we will realise that they go back to the ancient times and pre-dates the emergence of Islam. Countries like Arabia, Persia, Palestine and Egypt had strong commercial links with India. On the other hand, the Phoenicians, the Ptolemys and the Saleucidae established ports on the Red Sea and encouraged trade with India.

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\(^1\) Al- Baladhuri, *Futuh al-buldan*, relevant extract in *Hindustan Arbon ki nazar main*, p. 369.
Although the Arabs dominated the commerce, the Persians also had trade relations with coastal India. They founded a port at Oballah (confluence of the river Tigris and Euphrates) near Basra. During the mid-sixth century, the Persian trading activity attained its zenith under Khusrau Anushirvan. Procopius in his writings says that the Persians had excelled and became masters of Indian markets. In the Pentingerian tables of the third century, we find mention of a Roman settlement at Caranganore and an Indian colony at Alexandria is also reported. It is surprising to find the coins of all the Roman Emperors starting from Augustus (d. 14 AD) to Zeno (d. 491 AD) in South India which supplements the ample commerce which India had with the West. A large number of coins of the Roman Emperors have been discovered in Coimbatore, the Greeks knew Kalkhoi, the modern Kayal; Ptolemy mentions Uraiyyur, the ancient capital of the Cholas. Greek and Roman ships were mostly manned by Arabs and remains of pre-Muslim Arabs have been found at Canton. Their principal settlement on the eastern coast was at Kayalpatnam in Tinnevaly.

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4 Ibid., p. 29.
5 Ibid., p. 29; Maqbul Ahmed, ‘Commercial Relations of India with the Arab World’, *Islamic Culture* (1964), pp. 144-150.
district where a large number of Labbes' still live and where Muslim coins of the seventh century were discovered.

The Greek and Roman writers were well acquainted with the Indian geography and left valuable accounts about Indian exports and imports, eg. Hippalus and Pliny wrote in the first century, Periplus of the Erythrean Sea in the second century and Cosma Indicopleustes in the sixth century. Ptolemy uses in his map of India the word Melizigeris, the latter part ‘jazirah’ in Arabic means island. We can safely assume that the Persians and Arabs exercised a great control on the coasts up till the 14th century.

As mentioned earlier, it were the Arabs who first had their presence felt in Indian coastal towns on both the eastern and western coasts. They were mostly traders by profession and their two coastal cities Aden and Shahr served the entry point and departure point for mariners and traders. The Arab colonies appeared on the trade routes covering the western coast of India and Ceylon. Maldives, Malabar and Gujarat were all studded with Arab colonies. The earliest Arab contacts with India were with Dabhol (Kambaith), Thana (Bombay), Mangalore (Karnataka), Calicut, Kolam (Travancore) and Cape

\[\text{See below, p. 36}\]
Comorin on the eastern coast. In the Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Khan Bahadur Fazlullah Lutfi mentions the pre-Muslim Arab settlements at Chaul, Kalyan and Supara. There were a large number of Arabs present at the Malabar Coast during the time of Agatharcides (2nd century BC). Indian spices, herbs and odoriferous woods were popular commodities of trade and were liked by the Arabs; many herbal and medicinal terms from India became current in the Arab countries. An Arab traveller and merchant of the ninth century AD, Sulayman mentions in his work Silsilat-ut-tawarikh that Indian products were exported to Arabia such as ud-i-Hind (Indian incense), narjil (coconut), Indian swords, cotton, velvet, fabrics, rice, bamboo and sagwan from the ports of Ublah, Suhan, Aden, Jar and Jeddah and that is the reason that many Indian words were found in Arabic language with slight moderations, like kapur called kafur, zanjbila became zanjbil, and jat as zat. The Hindu rulers of eastern coastal towns adopted a very lenient policy towards the Arab traders.

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10. Ibid., p. 138.

11. Ibid., pp. 138-140.
which resulted in extensive trade in Coromandal coast became Mabar (passage) to Muslim traders.\textsuperscript{12} The Arabs used to bring horses to this place. By the 13\textsuperscript{th} century, horse trade was so good that an agency was established at Kayal by Malik-ul-Islam Jamal-ud-din, an Arab chieftain and the ruler of Kis. As Tara Chand writes, 'according to Wassaf, 10000 horses were annually exported from Fars to Mabar and to the Indian ports, and the sum total of their value amounted to 2,200,000 dinars. Taqi-ud-din Abdur Rahman bin Muhammad-ul-Tibi, brother of Jamal-ud-din was the agent, and he had besides Kayal, the ports of Fitan and Mali-Fitan under his control.'\textsuperscript{13}

Thus it was the Arab navigational interest which brought South Asia and Arabia closer. The material for building vessels was imported from India.\textsuperscript{14} The coast of Yemen was crowded with Arab, Greek and Roman traders who travelled to Somalia, Iran and India. The Arabs discovered the Far East and acted as the commercial link between east and the west. They sailed the Indian Ocean and into the Pacific Ocean and reached China. The Arab knowledge of navigation, their contribution to accurate cartography, their invention of the compass

\textsuperscript{12} Tara Chand, \textit{Influence of Islam on Indian Culture}, pp. 40-41.
\textsuperscript{13} H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson, \textit{History of India as Told by its own Historians}, vol. 1 (Allahabad, nd), Jamiat-ut-tawarikh, p. 69; S. K. Aiyangar, \textit{South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders} (New Delhi, nd), pp. 62-73.
\textsuperscript{14} G. F. Hourani, \textit{Arab Sea-faring in the Indian Ocean in the Ancient and Early Medieval Times} (Princeton, 1951), pp. 53-61.
(al-huqqa), their understanding of oceanography and their analysis of the causes of salinity in the sea water demonstrate their interest in, and contribution to the history and science of navigation.

Thus it was through their merchants that India and Arabia came to know each other and there began a process of cultural intercourse between them, which had its impact, first on language and literature, and subsequently on other aspects of their life and thought. Thus Arabia and South India was separated by sea but well connected by trade and commerce.

The already flourishing trade received a much stronger impetus following the rise of Islam in the early seventh century. With the rise of Islam, the warring Arab tribes were united under the banner of a centralised State. Very soon, the newly emerged Arab military power overran Syria and Persia and began hovering on the outskirts of India. During the Caliphate of Umar, the earliest Muslim fleet was sent in 636 AD under Usman Sakifi, the Governor of Bahrain and Oman.15 Expeditions were sent simultaneously to Broach and Dabhol. Great deal of information was collected and the land approaches to India were explored which ultimately resulted in the conquest of Sindh by

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Muhammad bin Qasim in the eighth century. The political expansion of Islam will be discussed in the subsequent section, it may however be noted that peaceful trade continued simultaneously through sea-routes which is attested in several accounts.\textsuperscript{16}

In India, the direct recorded first evidence of the Muslim settlement is of the eighth century. Shaikh Zainuddin Makhdum (author of \textit{Tuhfat-ul-mujahidin}) is of the opinion that Muslim settlement was first found on the Malabar Coast at the end of the seventh century.\textsuperscript{17} Sturrock confirms it from the Moplah accounts and says, ‘From the seventh century onwards it is well known that Persian and Arab traders settled in large numbers at different ports on the western coast of India and married women of the country and these settlements were specially large and important in Malabar where from a very early time it seems to have been the policy to afford every encouragement to traders at the port.’\textsuperscript{18} Francis Day also corroborates this information from the traditional accounts.\textsuperscript{19} In fact the historical accounts of Nawaits and Labbes also explain that around the starting of eighth century, the Governor of Iraq, Hajjaj-bin-Yusuf exiled a number of people from

\textsuperscript{17} Shaikh Zainuddin Makhdum, \textit{Tuhfat ul Mujahidin}, (English Trans.) S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar (Calicut, 2006), pp. 29-35.
\textsuperscript{18} As cited in Tara Chand, \textit{Influence of Islam on Indian Culture}, p. 32.
\textsuperscript{19} Francis Day, \textit{The Land of the Perumals} (New Delhi, 1990), p. 365.
the Home of Hashim. They safely landed on the western coast of Konkan and some sailed to the eastern coast near Cape Comorin. The descendents of the former were called as Nawaits and the latter as Labbes. Tara Chand writes, 'In the Mayyat Kannu, the graveyard of Kollum, there are many ancient tombs, some of which are inscribed. One of the tombs bears the inscription to the effect that Ali-ibn-Udthorman was obliged to leave this world forever in the year 166 of Hejira, so called after the Muhammad the Prophet left Mecca for Medina.'

The Muslims were permitted to practice their religion freely and trade flourished due to the facilities provided to them. Hence Muslim influence grew rapidly. It was best described in the words of Tara Chand that it was a time when, 'the south of India was then greatly agitated by the conflict of religions, for Neo-Hinduism was struggling with Buddhism and Jainism for the upper hand. Politically too, it was a period of unsettlement and upheavals. The Cheras were losing power and new dynasties were emerging into power.' It is but natural that the people became receptive to new ideas and Islam emerged with simple doctrines of faith and social organisation.

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21 Ibid., p. 33.
22 Ibid.
The traditional accounts inform us about the conversion of the last Chera King Cheruman Perumal of Malabar to Islam. He embraced Islam after he saw the ‘Splitting of the Moon’ in a dream, and was named Abdur Rahman Samri by Shaikh Sekkeuddin (the leader of the party which was returning from Ceylon). After his conversion, he left for Arabia where he died but he sent Malik bin Dinar, Sharf ibn Malik, Malik ibn Habib and their families to Malabar with a letter of instruction to the governor of his kingdom who warmly welcomed them and great hospitality was extended. They were allowed to build mosques and preach Islam. Zamorin, who was a descendent of Perumal extended patronage to Arab merchants and even encouraged conversions and issued orders that one member of each fisherman’s family (Makkuvans) be brought up as Muslim.

A number of travellers left their accounts about India, its people and geography and Muslim settlements etc. Buzurg-bin-Shahriyar, a tenth century AD Iranian navigator, mentions that Arab navigators excelled on Indian seas. His book *Ajaib-ul-Hind* provides significant

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23 Ibid., 34.
information about Gujarat and South India. S. Suleman Nadwi informs of Buzurg-bin-Shahryar’s voyages starting from Iraq, then sailing along the Indian coast, going up to China and Japan. Shahryar informs us that Hindu rajas had a translated copy of the Quran in an Indian language and listened attentively when it was read. He also tells us that when the people inhabiting Sarandip learnt of the active mission of the Prophet of Islam, they deputed a special delegation to Arabia to call on the Prophet and to make the necessary enquiries about his message. But by the time the delegation got there, it was the time of Caliph Umar. On their return journey only a slave survived and he reported his meeting with Umar who had spoken glowingly of the details of the life of the Prophet. The slave also reported that Umar himself wore simple, patched garments and spent his nights fearing God and offering prayers. After receiving this news, the inhabitants of Sarandip started wearing simple patched garments and developed a regard and love for Muslims.

Masudi visiting India in the beginning of the tenth century AD wrote about Muslim subjects in Gujarat enjoying full protection under the local Raja and practicing their religion. He found nearly ten thousand

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28 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
Muslims of Siraf, Oman, Basra and Baghdad at Seymore (modern Chaul).\textsuperscript{30}

The well known Moroccan traveller Ibn Battuta saw flourishing Muslim settlements and met theologians in different towns of Malabar and also mentions of a mosque built on Baghdad style at Serdapur. He further mentions about two Kaziruni \textit{khanqahs} at Calicut and Quilon. Shaikh Shihabuddin Kaziruni was the incharge of the \textit{khanqah} at Calicut.\textsuperscript{31} He also notes that in the army of Raja Ballala Deva of Dwarasamudra, there were 20,000 Muslim soldiers.\textsuperscript{32}

As late as 1443, Abdur Razzaq (a Moroccan traveller) found two big mosques and reported that Calicut ‘contains a considerable number of Musalmans, who are constant residents and have built two mosques, in which they meet every Friday to offer prayers.’ He gives a glowing account of the busy harbour and its merchants from all parts of the world. He also notes that a large number of Muslims living in Calicut under a Hindu raja were provided all facilities for the performance of their religious practices. Many of these Muslims followed the Shafite

\textsuperscript{30} Tara Chand, \textit{Influence of Islam on Indian Culture}, p. 36.
School of law. The reason for their faith in the Shafite legal system being the special facilities for merchants and sailors provided in Shafii School. All these instances suggest that Muslims were deeply rooted in South India.

All these narratives show that on the western coast of India Muslims had settled early and grown in numbers, wealth and power. The testimony of Sulayman who visited India in the ninth century and states that he did not find Muslim or Arabic speaking individuals there, is not trustworthy on this point, for he fails to notice the Arab possessions in Sindh, Gujarat or the Gulf of Cambay, and that his compatriots were carrying on rich commerce. Reinaud (translator of Silsilat-ut-tawarikh in 1844) explains that since his main object was a voyage to China without turning to right or left and so he did not pay much attention to the condition of affairs on the Indian coast.33

The evidence of inscriptions and of Muslim historians and travellers and the continuity of Arab commerce with India from early times all lead to one conclusion: that the Muslims appeared on the Indian coast not long after the death of the Prophet and swiftly gained a status of privilege and influence among the Hindu rulers of Malabar.

During this period, Muslims were involved in political activities as well. The Chach Nama (the oldest history of Sindh and is the Persian translation of an Arabic manuscript on the conquest of Sindh by Arabs written by Ali bin Muhammad Kufi in 1216 AD) refers to Muslims serving Raja Dahir of Sind. Rajatarangini records the presence of Muslims in the army of the Raja of Kashmir.\(^{34}\) Marco Polo describes Taqi-ud-din Abdur Rahman was appointed as the deputy minister and adviser by Raja Sundar Pandya of Madurai.\(^{35}\) When Ala-ud-din Khalji’s forces attacked Mabar, the Iraqis and the Arabs who were in the service of the Raja fought against the forces of Malik Kafur. Rashid-ud-din in his *Jamiat-ut-tawarikh* informs us that on the death of the Pandya ruler in 1293, Jamal-ud-din succeeded him.\(^{36}\) Ibn Battuta states that Ghiyas-ud-din Damghani was the ruler of Madura and Raja Veer Ballala had a contingent of 20,000 Muslims.\(^{37}\)

Thus before Malik Kafur’s army entered into Deccan, the Muslims firmly established themselves in and around the important centres of trade. They soon spread over the whole of the coastline and acquired

\(^{34}\) *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana is the only available political history of Kashmir upto 1148. Its study is indispensable for a background to the history of medieval Kashmir.

\(^{35}\) Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as Told by its Own Historians*, vol.3, p. 32; Tara Chand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, p. 42.

\(^{36}\) Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as Told by its Own Historians*, vol.1, pp. 69-70

influence in society and politics. On one hand, their leaders became ministers, admirals, ambassadors and on the other they made many conversions to Islam, propagated their religious views, established mosques and erected tombs which primarily became centres of activities of these saints.\textsuperscript{38} Trade and commerce grew rapidly in an environment of peace and mutual trust which in due course of time led to the formation of communities of mixed descent like the Moplahs, the Nawaits, the Labbes and the Dude Kulas.

The Muslims living on the Malabar Coast are known as Mapillas or Moplahs. They were the early Arab traders who had married the local women and adopted local customs and practices. Under the Hindu kings, they had a prosperous life. The word ‘Mopali’ is derived from the Malayalam ‘Mapilla’ which means mother’s son or a great child and considered as a title of honour.

Various different versions have been given regarding the origin and development of Nawait community. Nawait is an Arabic word meaning ‘backnerve’. They were probably called so because they remained united in times of adversity, which is an important feature of

\textsuperscript{38} Tara Chand, \textit{Influence of Islam on Indian Culture}, p. 43.
The exiled people of Baghdad who reached the coast were known as Nawait by the people of Basra as it means navigators/sailors. Chroniclers agree that their native home was Medina. Even today this tribe is widely spread in Malabar, Konkan, Madras, Hyderabad, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Delhi. The majority adhered to the Shafite School of Islamic law whereas few were the followers of the Hanafite School.

The Labbe community were the Arab refugees who were exiled during the governorship of Hajjaj ibn Yusuf in the Umayyad period. They landed first at the western port of Konkan and South eastern port of Konkan and settled at Cape Comorin, where they got married in the lower castes of Tamil tribes. They are now the followers of the Wahabi tradition and famous for leather business in which they monopolised in the whole of South India.

The Dudekula community were said to be converted to Islam by Baba Fakhruddin of Pennukonda, a disciple of Nathur Shah Wali of Trichinopaly. Many others were converted to Islam by Nathur Shah

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40 Ibid.
41 Aziz Jung is of the view that they were a branch of the Nawaits.
43 According to legend, Baba Fakhruddin was the King of Sistan, but left for Medina where he was told in a dream of Prophet to go to India and spread Islam. He came and became the disciple of
Wali (who after many wanderings in Arabia, Persia and northern India had settled down in Trichinopaly) including the Ravuttans of Madurai and Trichinopoly. His tomb still stands at Trichinopaly bearing an inscription on which his date death is mentioned 417/1039. In fact, the town was renamed by Muslims as Natharnagar after the saint. He was succeeded by Saiyid Ibrahim Shahid who fought the Pandyan King and ruled for 12 years. His grave lies at Ervadi. Dudekulas are still living in South India mainly in Tamil Nadu.

We also hear of Muslim divines who lived during this early period. Saints like Miran Saiyid Husain (d. 1188), Saiyid Ala-ud-din (d. 1253) and Saiyid Husam-ud-din Tegh Barhanah (d. 1281) were present there but no accounts are available on them. In Madura, the Muslims entered in 1050 AD, led by Malik-ul-mulk, who was accompanied by Hazrat Ali Yar Shah, a divine of high spiritual standing, who lies buried at Hazur Kacheri at Madura.

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47 Tara Chand, Influence of Islam on Indian Culture, p. 40.
All these accounts clearly prove that Muslims settled on the western and eastern coasts of South India. They spread to other towns and exercised great influence in the cultural, social and political sphere. They even penetrated northwards into Deccan as we have ample evidence on the presence of Sufis living in Khuldabad, Daulatabad, Gulbarga and Bijapur.48

B. Contacts through military expeditions

Besides the Muslim influence which came through the sea-route from Arabia and Persian, there was also a growing interaction with the Muslim population from the north. This generally took place as an indirect consequence of military expeditions. The military attacks from the north prior to 1327 had a purely temporary character. The invasions by Ala-ud-din Khalji and Malik Kafur were motivated by a desire to acquire the abundance of wealth possessed by the Yadavas, the Kakatiyas and the Pandyas. They were not motivated by any religious fanaticism but were quests for booty.49 The invasions of the

Deccan and raiding its treasure cities was a policy to use the loot to strengthen defences against the Central Asian attackers.\textsuperscript{50}

Although the Sultanate stretched up to South India and governors were appointed to look after the administration, Deccan remained to be turbulent. The unsuccessful revolt of Bahaduddin Gurshasp in 1326 made Muhammad bin Tughlaq realise the necessity of having a firm control over Deccan and he decided to make Deogir (renamed Daulatabad) a second administrative city to ease the task of governance.\textsuperscript{51} It was no doubt a political decision, dictated by the exigencies of political situation as pointed out by K. A. Nizami.\textsuperscript{52}

Motivated by this desire, Muhammad bin Tughlaq embarked on one of his most ambitious and controversial projects of transferring the entire Muslim elite population from Delhi to Daulatabad. Though medieval historians such as Ibn Battuta and Barani have exaggerated the reasons saying that it was merely a move for taking revenge and he completely depopulated the city, the modern writers like Mahdi Husain have shown that both Delhi and Daulatabad served as capitals

\textsuperscript{50} Carl Ernst, \textit{Eternal Garden}, p. 107.
and it was for genuine reasons that the population was transferred there. Historians, both contemporary and modern, have looked at this experiment in different ways and the project has remained one of the greatly misunderstood measures of the Sultan at creating an effective administrative centre in the Deccan. The nature of the experiment, the extent of the exodus it necessitated and its reactions and after-effects—all deserve an unbiased appraisal. The experiment is discussed in some detail below since it proved consequential in making Deccan a centre of Muslim culture and mystic activity.

Contemporary chroniclers such as Barani, Ibn Battuta, Isami have suggested various reasons for the transfer. Barani states that the Sultan wanted an effective administrative control over Deccan and justifies his move by suggesting that the Sultan made Devagiri his *dar-ul-mulk* (capital) because he thought it was more centrally situated and was equidistant from Delhi, Gujarat, Lakhnauti, Satgaon, Sonargaon, Tilang, Mabar, Dwarsamudra and Kampila. But this statement is geographically inaccurate and moreover if Devagiri could not be controlled from Delhi, neither could Delhi be controlled from Devagiri.

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53 M. Habib and K. A. Nizami (eds.), *A Comprehensive History of India* (New Delhi, 1982), vol. 5, p. 506.
Ibn Battuta who came to India nearly five years after the Deccan experiment writes, ‘One of the most serious reprehensions against the Sultan is that he forced the inhabitants of Delhi into exile. The cause of it was this. They used to write letters containing abuses and scandals, and they would seal the letters, writing on the cover... “By the Head of His Majesty none except His Majesty should read this letter.” These letters they used to throw into the council hall in the course of the night. When he tore them open, the Sultan found abuses and scandals in the content so he resolved to punish the inhabitants.’\textsuperscript{54} This incident of throwing letters, if at all true, must have been the effect and not the cause of the exodus.

Isami has tried to show that a deep animosity existed between the Sultan and the people, and since the Sultan was suspicious (badguman) of the people (khalq) of Delhi, he thought of driving them out in the direction of Maharashtra in order to break their power.\textsuperscript{55} The author of \textit{Subh-\textit{ul-asha}}, al-\textsuperscript{56} Qalqashandi says that the Sultanate had two capitals: Delhi and Devagiri (Qubbat-ul-Islam).

\textsuperscript{54} Ibn Battuta, \textit{Rehla} (Urdu Trans.), vol. 2, p. 119.
But it was in all probability during or immediately after his campaign against Bahauddin Gurshasp in Deccan that Muhammad bin Tughlaq realised the urgent need of having a strong administrative centre in the South to cope effectively and instantaneously with all situations that arose in that region. His attention was drawn towards Devagiri when Amir Khusrau in his masnavi *Sahifat-ul-ausaf* admired the place.\(^\text{57}\)

According to Prof. M. Habib, Muhammad bin Tughlaq had realised that the forces of a position had remained strong in the Deccan throughout the early Sultanate period.\(^\text{58}\) He came to the conclusion that success of Islam in the Deccan depended on its becoming thoroughly indigenous. He made up his mind to accomplish this task and to undertake an extensive propaganda for establishing Muslim social and religious culture in the Deccan. For the purpose of preaching and propaganda, he decided to transport the mystics.

Gardner Brown has suggested that during this period, the centre of gravity of the Sultanate had shifted from the north to the south following the Mongol devastations. Therefore, the Deccan experiment

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\(^{57}\) This short *masnavi* supplies the ‘background atmosphere’ to the decision of the Sultan to make Devagiri ‘the second administrative city of the Empire’.

was dictated by political exigencies and the capital was shifted to a region economically more prosperous to sustain the vast empire.\textsuperscript{59}

The Deccan experiment was implemented in stages and with due consideration for the inconvenience of the people. The idea was conceived at least two years before it was actually implemented. Yahya Sirhindi records in 1326-27, 'the Sultan marched to Deogir, and he populated every \textit{kuroh} from Delhi to Deogir by \textit{dhawah} (paiks/runners). To them lands were granted, so that their revenue might go towards the payment of their salaries. When any courier arrived at any post he was received and taken to the next \textit{dhawah}. At every post, rest houses and monasteries were set up with a venerable prelate, and proper arrangements of victuals, so that whenever any guest appeared there, he was ministered with food, water, betel-leaf and lodging. On either sides of the road, continuous rows of trees were planted, the traces of which remained for many years.'\textsuperscript{60} Sultan's mother Makhdum-i-Jahan and the entire household with amirs, maliks, slaves, horses, elephants and treasures were shifted to Devagiri.\textsuperscript{61} Facilities of travel and conveyance were provided for the migrants. The Sultan purchased the houses and paid the prices

\textsuperscript{59}Ibid., p. 509-10.
\textsuperscript{60}Yahya Sirhindi, \textit{Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi} (English Trans.) K. K. Basu (Baroda, 1932), pp. 100-101.
\textsuperscript{61}Ibid., p. 101; Mahdi Husain, \textit{Tughlaq Dynasty}, p. 162.
himself. Free lodging and boarding was given to the people who arrived in Daulatabad. The Sultan gave a considerable thought and attention to the planning of the new city. The following account of the city was given by Shahab-ud-din al-Umari and Shaikh Mubarak deserves to be quoted in this context: ‘And the city of Delhi is the capital of the country. Then after it (comes) Qubbat-ul-Islam and this is the city of Devagiri, which this Sultan built anew and named Qubbat-ul-Islam... when I left it six years ago it was not yet completed. And I do not think it is yet complete on account of the vast extent of the area of the city and hugeness of its buildings. The Sultan had divided it in such a wise way that separate quarters were built for every class of people; a quarter for the secretaries, a quarter for judges, and the learned men, a quarter for the shaikhs and faqirs and a quarter for merchants and handicraftsmen. In every quarter there were found, according to the needs of every class, mosques, minarets, bazaars, public baths, ovens for flour; so that the people of that quarter did not depend upon quarters for selling and buying and exchanging

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things, and that each quarter was in the position of a separate self-contained city and not dependent on others for anything.\textsuperscript{63}

The general Hindu population was not affected by these projects. Two Sanskrit inscriptions dated 1327 and 1328 show that the Hindus of Delhi lived in peace all this time.\textsuperscript{64} Barani’s narrative makes it abundantly clear that the measure had proved a calamity for the upper-classes. Both Barani and Isami magnified this limited exodus of the elite of the city into a wholesale transportation to Daulatabad. The elite of Delhi constituted a fine social and economic unit for a southern capital and the Sultan forced it alone to change its habitat and settle in a new region and amidst new surroundings. The impression given by contemporary historians about mass exodus is not correct. In fact only the upper-classes, consisting of nobles, ulama, \textit{shaikhs} and the elite of the city were shifted to Daulatabad.\textsuperscript{65} Al-Qalqashandi says in \textit{subh-ul-asha} that the Empire of Delhi had two capitals: Delhi and Devagiri (\textit{Qubbat-ul-Islam}).\textsuperscript{66}

One of the factors controlling the situation in the Deccan was the scarcity of Muslims - a fact which tempted Hindu chiefs to revolt. At

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{63} Shahabuddin al-Umri, \textit{Masalik-ul- Absar fil mumalik-ul-amsar} (English Trans.) Otto Spies (Aligarh, 1943), pp. 18-19.
\item\textsuperscript{64} Mahdi Husain, \textit{Tughlaq Dynasty}, pp. 146-148.
\item\textsuperscript{65} For details, see Mahdi Husain, \textit{Tughlaq Dynasty}, pp. 145-154.
\item\textsuperscript{66} Al-Qalqashandi, \textit{Subh-ul-asha} (English Trans.), p. 30.
\end{itemize}
the slightest outbreak of trouble, the Emperor himself had to march or
sent a commander to the Deccan. Siyar-ul-auliya mentions that the
Sultan desired to make Devagiri a centre of Muslim culture and so the
mystics were also transported for the purpose of preaching and
propagation.

In its immediate effect, the experiment proved a failure and led to
resentment. It also severely affected the khanqah life of and the
mystics interpreted it as a serious interference in their khanqah life. It
appears for Isami that the exodus took place in hot summer months
and this added to the miseries of the people. Barani however, has
given an exaggerated account of the destruction of Delhi. None of the
contemporary travellers support his contention. Ibn Battuta visited
Delhi in 1333 and was struck by its size and population and found it
full of scholars and literati and mystics.

In remote consequences, the experiment however was a remarkable
success. The barrier between the north and south broke down and it
led to an extension of cultural institutions. The springing up of a
Muslim graveyard around Daulatabad which Barani deplores
contributed to the rise of Muslim monuments in Deccan. The graves
of famous poet Amir Hasan, Burhan-ud-din Gharib etc. which sprang
up in Daulatabad became places of favourite resort and pilgrimage for Muslims. The rise of the Bahmani Kingdom was made only possible by the influx of population resulting from Deccan experiment.

An important consequence of this step of Muhammad bin Tughlaq was that organised mystic efforts started in Deccan. He forced the ulama and the mashaikh of Delhi to migrate to Deccan which provided a viable nucleus for a systematic organisation of Muslim mystic activity in Deccan. Apart from the political consequences, it proved to be the beginning of a new era in the religious, social, academic and cultural life of Deccan.

C. Settlement of Sufis in the Deccan

The hagiographical literature shows that Sufis were present at Khuldabad, Gulbarga and Bijapur even before 1300 AD. However very meagre information is available about them, their personalities, functioning, ideas and orders. Though people left under great moral pressures and had a nostalgic remembrance for Delhi, they played a vital role in spreading the mystic movement in Deccan. By the time Sultan permitted the people to come back to Delhi, they were so much

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in love with the city that many preferred to stay back. One of the senior disciples of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya (d. 1325) who reached Deccan was Shaikh Burhan-ud-din Gharib (d. 1338).\(^6\) Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami calls him *sahib-i-wilayat* of the Deccan,\(^6\) which shows that even later generations recognise his superior position amongst the mystics. He was more than 70 years of age when he reached Deccan. It was he who in the true sense laid the foundations of Chishti ideology and institutions there. The shrines of the 13\(^{th}\) and 14\(^{th}\) centuries still stand in Khuldabad, Gulbarga, Bijapur, Daulatabad and Bidar as evidences of emergence of a substantial Muslim population there.\(^7\)

The humane deeds of Sufis, the presence of scholars and patronage and encouragement extended by Muslim rulers of Deccan gave impetus to Sufi institutions and as a result many Sufi orders were established. Deccan became a topic of discussion even in the assemblies of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya from 1300 AD whose disciples were actively engaged in different towns of Deccan. According to Suleman Siddiqui, the main Sufi orders which were

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\(^6\) Ibid., p 4; See, K. A. Nizami, *Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth century* (Delhi, 2002), p. 175 for more on the concept wilayat.

present in the Deccan can be broadly categorised as ‘north Indian immigrant orders’ and ‘alien orders’ (those which came from outside India, such as Baghdad, Iran, Central Asia etc). The Chishtis and Junaidis and Shattaris were the main north Indian immigrant orders while the Qadiris, the Nimatullahis and Naqshbandis were the chief alien orders.\(^1\)

The Sufis who reached and settled at Daulatabad were mainly the disciples and \textit{khalifahs} of their north Indian preceptors and were trained in their respective orders. The early Chishtis and Junaidis of Deccan remained aloof from the ruling elite, rejected cash and land grants and preferred not to nominate their sons and grandsons and family descendants as their successors. They were not involved directly in political matters. Often the Bahmani rulers took the help of Sufis in gaining support of the masses and in consolidating their power.

The Chishti Sufis who left for Daulatabad in the general migration and settled in Deccan were Shaikh Burhan-ud-din Gharib, Maulana Fakhr-ud-din Zarradi (d. 1337), Amir Hasan Sijzi, Sayid Yusuf Husaini (d. 1331, father of Saiyid Gesudaraz), Khwaja Husain, Khwaja Umar (d.

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\(^1\)Suleman Siddiqi, ‘Sufi Orders in the Deccan’, in Zaheer Husain Jafri and Helmut Reifeld (eds.), \textit{The Islamic Path: Politics and Society in India} (Delhi, 2006).
Shaikh Husain’s son Shaikh Zain-ud-din Daud (d. 1369) and Muntajab-ud-din Zarbakhsh (d. 1309), who was the younger brother of Burhan-ud-din Gharib.

The Junaidi Sufis of Daulatabad were great scholars and functioned as faqih, imams, adils and qazis of their times. They championed the acquisition of both exoteric and esoteric sciences. Very little is known about their views on wahdat-ul-wujud, but from their teachings they appear strict followers of the Shariah. They were experts on juristic tracts such as hidayah, baizawi, miftah and kashaf. Ayn-ud-din Ganj-ul-ilmi (d. 1393) was a prolific author who wrote about 125 works all of which are extinct now.

But contradictory to their early masters the later Chishti and Junaidi saints who lived in Deccan after the establishment of the Bahmani kingdom drifted from their principles and allowed the rulers to encroach upon their independence, accepted jagirs and land grants and became subservient to the ruling authorities, thus sacrificing the spiritual and moral ethos of their orders. They also neglected the need for spiritual and intellectual merit in matters of succession and, as a result, their inheritors became landed caretakers, turning the shrines of...

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72 Khwaja Umar and Khwaja Hussain were the sons of Saiyid Mahmud Shirazi; Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, Rauzaat ul auliya, f. 26.
their fathers into cult centres of pilgrimage. Thus the spiritual and humane vitality of Sufism was greatly undermined.

The Shattari Sufis entered Deccan at the close of the 15th century and condemned the Shiite policies of the Adil Shahi rulers of Bijapur. They supported the cause of orthodoxy and drew closer to the rulers in order to influence them. Saiyid Muhammad Ghaus of Gwalior (d. 1562) sent his eldest son Shaikh Abdullah (d. 1612) to the Deccan but it was by the efforts of Shaikh Arif (d. 1585) that the Shattari order was introduced in the Deccan. In 1574, he migrated to Burhanpur and lived there till his death in 1585. It was only because of the vigorous efforts of Shaikh Isa, Shaikh Arif and Shaikh Tahir that Burhanpur became a strong and influential centre of Shattari activity during the period.

The Qadiris of the Deccan claimed direct lineage from Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani and followed his teachings of adhering to orthodoxy and staying away from the ruling elite. During the 15th century, the Qadiri silsilah was organised in the Deccan. Their earliest khanqahs were established at Bidar, Khandesh and Ahmadnagar. Another branch of the Qadiri order which flourished in Deccan was the Nimatullahis, who were the descendants of Shah Nimatullah Kirmani (d. 1431). He
was invited by Ahmad Shah Wali Bahmani (d. 1436) but he refused, instead sent his grandson Mirza Nurullah who was personally received by the Sultan and the place was called Nimatabad, in honour of Shah Nimatullah. After his death in 1431, his son Shah Khalilullah (d. 1455) along with his sons Shah Muhib-ud-din (d. 1502) and Shah Habibullah (d. 1459) settled at Bidar.

The last immigrant Sufi order which arrived in the Deccan in the late 16th century was the Naqshbandi order, known for its sobriety and strict adherence to the Law. Their teachings were identical to those of Central and North Indian Naqshbandis. The famous Bahmani wazir Mahmud Gawan (d. 1481) in order to make Bidar a centre of Islamic learning wrote a letter to Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar (a leading Naqshbandi Sufi of Central Asia, d. 1489) and explained his desire to invite him to Bidar.

The history of the Sufi movement forms an important chapter in the history of Deccan. As explained by K. A. Nizami, 'The elan of the Muslim mystical movement in the Deccan came from the realisation that the well-being of a society in its ultimate analysis depends upon
the moral and spiritual culture of the people who constitute it’. A glance at the malfuzat and maktubat literature of the Sufis reveals that discussions were delivered on moral values and emphasis were laid to create an egalitarian society. They also aimed at removing all the discriminations and distinctions from the society. Khanqahs sustained the moral equilibrium in medieval Deccan. The Sufis and scholars helped in consolidating social and cultural traditions of India and in removing linguistic barriers which separated the south from the north. They established a direct relationship with the common man and their khanqahs became meeting grounds for men of different languages and religions and eventually Deccan emerged as a hub of spiritual and intellectual activity. As a result, it was but natural that a common lingua-franca was evolved which is called ‘proto Urdu’ by H. K. Sherwani. The invaluable literature on various themes produced during that period gave a fillip to the mystical literature in the centuries that followed. The Sufi movement in the Deccan provided strength to the Bahmani kingdom and to its successor states, worked for the moral uplift of the people and invariably created a favourable atmosphere.

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Chapter 3

Political Scenario of the Deccan (till 1527)

A. The pre-Bahmani period (1290-1347)

At the close of thirteenth century, Deccan was divided among three kingdoms: the Yadavas of Devagiri (1185-1317), the Kakatiyas of Warangal (1000-1326) and the Hoysalas of Dwarsamudra (1022-1346). The Yadava ruler Ramachandra (r. 1271-1310) and his southern and eastern neighbours Prataprudradeva of Warangal and Ballala III of Dwarsamudra were often at war with each other and were blissfully unconcerned with the rising might of Khaljis in the north. Although subjugation of the South had been an ambition of the northern powers,¹ it was left for Ala-ud-din Khalji to first penetrate and subdue these kingdoms. Prior to his campaigns, Muslims were not an important element in the politics of Deccan, though they remained a significant factor in trading activities and Arab trading colonies dotted the coastal region from Thana to Bhatkal (in the western coast) and to the further south. Besides Muslim missionaries and Sufi saints settled at various places in these kingdoms and attracted devotees even

¹ See H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi, (eds.) History of Medieval Deccan: 1295-1724 (Hyderabad, 1974), vol.1, pp. 31-32.
before the political annexation of the region began. Many were converted to Islam through moral suasion of the Sufis or proselytising work of missionaries. The religious men came in Deccan from Dabhol, Bhatkal and other ports, while some moved from North India to settle in eastern Maharashtra and Tilangana region.

The first adventure south of the Narmada was made by Ala-ud-din Khalji, prior to his accession in 1296. Being an ambitious and aggressive ruler, Ala-ud-din turned his attention to the Hindu kingdoms for acquiring money, the first requisite for his ambitious plans. Thus a successful surprise attack on Devagiri in 1296 made his political position strong and also strengthened his chances for the throne. The lightening raids and absence of a portion of Yadava army under Prince Singhana, proved disastrous for the raja and resulted in his submission. The Yadava kingdom became a tributary of Delhi Sultanate and was forced to make annual payments, though they pretended to stay independent.²

After subduing the entire north, Ala-ud-din once again turned attention towards the Deccan and the far South. Earlier a campaign in

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² Ferishta records, 'six hundred maunds of pearls, two maunds of diamonds, rubbies, emeralds and sapphires, one thousand maunds of silver, four thousand pieces of silk', in the list of booty. Abul Qasim Ferishta, Tarikh-i-Ferishta, (English Trans.) John Briggs, The Rise of Mahomedan Power in India (Delhi, 2006), vol. 1, p. 175.
1302-03 against the Kakatiyas of Warangal had failed and the Yadavas had stopped sending the tribute. In 1307-08, Ala-ud-din planned another campaign against Devagiri and Malik Kafur was ordered to march against the Yadava capital. Prince Singhana fled from the battlefield, while his father Ramchandra was taken to Delhi and treated generously, was given the title of Ray-i-rayan and was sent back to occupy the throne of Devagiri on the condition that he would remain loyal.  

Prof. H. K. Sherwani rightly remarks, ‘by his diplomacy and generous treatment, Ala-ud-din had secured the loyalty of Ramdeva and he could now once again turn his attention to Warangal which has frustrated his earlier attempt at conquest.’ In the Warangal expedition of 1309, Ramdeva rendered full assistance to the Sultan’s army.

In 1309, Ala-ud-din sent Malik Kafur on an expedition against Warangal. The siege was sufficiently prolonged and forced Prataprudradeva to come to terms with the Delhi forces. Malik Kafur imposed severe terms on Prataprudra who had to give large number of horses, elephants, gold and valuable articles. He also had to agree to

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1 H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (eds.), History of Medieval Deccan, vol. 1, pp. 44
2 Ibid., vol.1, pp. 44-45.
send an annual tribute in cash and elephants to the Sultan.⁶ In 1310, Kafur returned to the capital with enormous booty and was welcomed at Delhi.

With the Kaktiyas of Warangal and Yadavas of Devagiri subdued, next came the turn of Hoysala kingdom of Dwarsamudra and the Pandyas of Mudurai. In this campaign also, Ramachandra extended full support to Malik Kafur as his own relations with Hoysala ruler Ballala III were not cordial. In 1311, Dwarasamudra was besieged and was soon occupied by Malik Kafur. Ballala III sued for peace and agreed to pay an annual tribute.

Kafur next turned attention towards the Pandya kingdom, where a civil war had ensued after the murder of Kulasekhara Pandya (d. 1310). The main contending parties were his sons Vira Pandya and Sundar Pandya. Malik Kafur first marched to Viradhavalam, the capital of Vira Pandya, who fled for the open country. Kafur then invaded Madurai, the capital of Sundar Pandya. Although the Madurai campaign was not completely successful, Malik Kafur succeeded in amassing huge wealth from the temples of Srirangam and Chidambaram. Amir Khusrau estimated that some 500 mans of

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precious stones, diamonds, pearls, rubies and other jewels were seized.\(^7\)

On Kafur’s return to Delhi in 1311, he was given a royal reception and the wealth was displayed. The Hoysala prince (Ballala’s son) who arrived in Delhi as a hostage was treated with kindness and was sent back after a year. Till this period, the policy of Delhi sultans towards Deccan aimed at raiding and plundering the treasure-cities and incorporating them into Delhi Sultanate by claiming an annual tribute. However after the death of Ramchandra in 1311, his son Singhana refused to accept Khalji supremacy and thus in 1313, Malik Kafur once again marched to Devagiri; Singhana was killed and the Yadava capital was annexed in the Khalji dominions and coins were minted with Ala-ud-din’s name on them. In 1315, Kafur handed over the administration to Ain-ul-Mulk and returned to Delhi to attend the Sultan in his last days.

Thus, the three rulers of the South including Ramchandra Yadava, Prataprudra Kakatiya and Hoysala Ballala III were reduced to vassalage and the Khalji army reached the Pandyan kingdom. The

acquired wealth enabled Ala-ud-din to resist Mongol invasions and carrying out administrative and economic reforms. Ala-ud-din got the two things he wanted from the South: an acknowledgement of his over-lordship and maximum treasures with minimum loss of life, while his far-sighted policy of non-annexation enabled Kafur to lead successful campaigns into the Deccan.

On the accession of Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Khalji (r. 1316-1320) Harpala Deva, son in law of Ramchandra Deva occupied Devagiri and proclaimed himself as king. In 1318, Mubarak Khalji decided to reconquer Devagiri and marched along-with his favourite Khusrau Khan. Harpala Deva was captured and killed and Devagiri was finally annexed in the Khalji Empire. He celebrated his victory by issuing silver coins from Devagiri which he renamed Qutbabad. At the same time, Prataprudra of Warangal purchased peace by paying a large tribute. Soon after his return, Khusrau Khan was again ordered to march to Deccan to quell the revolt of Malik Yaklakhi, who had been appointed governor of the newly constituted province of Deccan with Devagiri as the headquarters. He had adopted the title of Shams-ud-din Mahmud and minted coins in his own name. After quelling his

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8 H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (eds), *History of Medieval Deccan*, vol. 1, p. 51.
9 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 51.
revolt, Ain-ul-Mulk was appointed as governor of Deccan by Khusrau Khan. Thereafter, he raided the port towns of Masulipatnam and Motupalli and acquired elephants, gold and valuables. On his return to Delhi, he murdered Qutb-ud-din Mubarak and ascended the throne with the title of Nasir-ud-din Khusrau Shah. His ignominious reign came to an end within four months and the Tughlaqs under Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din came to power in 1321.

During this period of political convulsions, the rulers of South tried to regain their lost territories and Prataprudra of Warangal recovered the territory ceded to Khusrau Khan and at Devagiri, Ballala III withheld the payment of annual tribute. Thus once Ghiyas-ud-din had set the administrative machinery, he thought of restoring his authority in the outlying parts of the empire. In 1321, Ulugh Khan (later Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq) was sent against the Kakatiya ruler of Warangal, Prataprudradeva. The siege went on for a long time, Ulugh Khan refused to agree for peace, but due to unrest among some imperial officers, it was decided to retreat to Devagiri. The conspirators were severely punished and fresh recruitments were sent from Delhi with orders to complete the conquest. In the siege that

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followed, Prataprudra sued for peace and gave up the fort. Telingana became a part of Delhi sultanate and Ulugh Khan made arrangements for its administration. The campaigns of Gutti, Kunt and Maabar were a continuation of this campaign and in 1323, Madurai, the capital of Pandya kingdom was conquered. With these conquests, the Tughlaq Empire reached its greatest extent. In 1324, Ulugh Khan marched from Warangal to Jajnagar (Orissa) to chastise Bhanudeva II (r. 1306-1328) who had earlier given support to Prataprudra. The battle was won after much bloodshed and the Sultan conferred a robe of honour on Ulugh Khan for his successes in Deccan.

Deccan’s subjugation was however shortlived. Being far from Delhi, it was practically difficult to rule over such a vast territory. There were a series of rebellions during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq (r. 1325-1351). The first was from his cousin Baha-ud-din Gurshasp in 1325, who was in charge of Sagar. When the armies marched against him he fled to the kingdom of Kampila, an independent territory. This gave the Tughlaqs an excuse to march and occupy the kingdom. Baha-ud-din further fled to the west into the Hoysala territory, but Ballala III fearing the Tughlaq wrath handed

\[^{12}\text{Ibid.}\]
It was in this campaign that Harihara and Bukka were taken captives and sent to Delhi. They were treated well and were later sent to Kampila to crush a rebellion and were made in-charge of that region. They later laid the foundations of the Vijayanagar Kingdom.

The revolt of Gurshasp led Muhammad bin Tughlaq to realise the urgent need of having a strong administrative centre in the South and he therefore conceived of a plan to make Devagiri a second administrative centre and its name was changed to Daulatabad. Although in its remote consequences, the experiment was a remarkable success as it broke the barriers which separated the North from the South and extended the cultural institutions of the North to the distant region. The emergence of a considerable Muslim population became possible because of this. Nevertheless Muhammad bin Tughlaq failed in his attempt to stabilise the region. Coastal Andhra became free in 1325 and western Andhra in 1327-29. Madurai

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13 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 241; Isami, _Futuh-us-salatin_ (English Trans.), vol. 3, pp. 658-659; Abdul Jabbar Malkapuri, _Tazkirah-i-salatin-i-Dakkan_ (Hyderabad, 1328 AH), vol. 1, p. 44.
14 Abul Qasim Ferishta, _Tarih-i-Ferishta_ (English Trans.), vol. 1, pp. 241-242. Muhammad bin Tughlaq renamed the city as Devagiri in 1327 from its earlier name of Qutbabad. He also renamed it as Qubbat-ul-Islam (Sanctuary of Islam) for some time before changing it to Daulatabad in 1328. Although the contemporary writers use the name Devagiri continually, its name was changed by the sultans as is evident from the coins. P. L. Gupta, 'Coinage', in H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi, _History of Medieval Deccan_, vol. 2, p. 430. Daulatabad was known as the second capital alongwith Delhi to Arab geographers. Mahdi Husain, _Tughlaq Dynasty_ (Calcutta, 1963), p. 173. For the various reasons given by contemporary historians see, Muhammad Habib and K. A. Nizami (eds.), _A Comprehensive History of India_, vol. 5, pp. 506-510.
also broke off in 1333-1334. In 1335, Warangal was lost and its governor Malik Maqbul was ousted. In 1336, Harihara and Bukka founded an independent state in the Kampila territory, later known as Vijaynagar kingdom. The last years of Sultan’s reign were spent in dealing with the rebellions of the amiran-i-sadah\textsuperscript{15} which finally led to the creation of Bahmani kingdom. On hearing of the rumoured death of the Sultan, Malik Hoshang with the help of amiran-i-sadah decided to set up an independent principality. On the arrival of Imperial army, Hoshang fled to Konkan and Qutlugh Khan was appointed as governor of Daulatabad. Under his governorship, there were two successive revolts, one of Nusrat Khan in Bidar in 1338 and of Ali Adil Shah at Gulbarga.\textsuperscript{16}

These revolts convinced the Sultan that there was something wrong about Deccan administration and his nobles whom he considered faithful and loyal became the cause of trouble and insurrections especially those of Madurai, Warangal and Vijayanagar. He therefore thought of creating a new nobility which was to include ‘men of meaner parentage but who were under his thumb, and appointed them

\textsuperscript{15} The term was originally used in the army structure of the Turks which was planned on the decimal system. These officers performed both civil and military functions.

\textsuperscript{16} Isami, Futuh us salatin (English Trans.), vol. 3, pp. 715-746.
to high offices in his far-flung empire.\textsuperscript{17} Qutlugh Khan was recalled which created great unrest among the \textit{amiran-i-sadah}, who now rose in rebellion under the leadership of Ismail Mukh, an Afghan nobleman. They defeated the army sent to crush the rebellion and declared Deccan an independent kingdom.\textsuperscript{18} Ismail Mukh became the king of the newly founded kingdom and Hasan, one of his favourites, played a key role in defeating the attempts of Muhammad bin Tughlaq to re-conquer Deccan was given the title of Zafar Khan. Seeing the rising prestige of Zafar Khan, Ismail relinquished the throne in his favour who was proclaimed as King in 1347 at Daulatabad with the title of Abu al Muzaffar Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah.\textsuperscript{19} This marked the birth of Bahmani kingdom, which continued for about two centuries as an independent power.

\textbf{B. The Bahmani Period (1347-1527 AD)}

Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah’s ambition was to sit in the seat of the Tughlaq but he was dissuaded by his able minister and father-in-law...
Saif-ud-din Ghori. He was advised to subdue the recalcitrant regions of the Deccan not to go into the territories of Tughlaqs straightaway. Husain Gurshasp was sent to Kotgir and Qandhar; Razi-ud-din Qutbul Mulk to Maram, Mahendri and Akkalkot; Qir Khan to Kalyani, Sikandar Khan to Bidar and Malkher. All these initial campaigns were successful and the conquered people were given amnesty. Ferishta writes, 'Ala-ud-din Hasan, as well by wise policy as by force of arms, towards the end of the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, subdued every part of the Deccan previously subject to the throne of Delhi and gained over by conciliatory measures the Afghans, Mughal and Rajput officers of Delhi government, holding possessions of Bidar and Qandhar which were delivered into his hands.' When insurrections broke out at Sagar and Madhol, he pardoned its chiefs but the territory was taken over and whole of the territory of Mudhol was assigned as a royal jagir. He also invited Shaikh Ayn-ud-din Bijapuri, profusely awarded him and requested him to stay for sometime so that people might feel secure under his rule. The only serious uprising under his rule was by Qir Khan (Malik Maqbul) at Kalyani who was captured

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23 Shaikh Ainuddin was a great Sufi master who was born in Delhi in 1307 and died in Bijapur in 1393. His tomb was built by Mahmud Gawan. See Abdul Jabbar Malkapuri, *Tazkirah-i-auliya-i-Dakkan* (Hyderabad, nd), vol. 1, p. 550.
and beheaded. It was a lesson for his other nobles. After this uprising, the king returned to Gulbarga, which was renamed Ahsanabad and became the capital of Bahmanis. Ala-ud-din divided his kingdom into four divisions: a) Ahsanabad/Gulbarga with Raichur and Mudgal under the charge of his able minister Malik Saif-ud-din Ghori; b) Daulatabad with Bir, Junar and Chaul under the charge of his nephew Muhammad bin Ali Shah; c) Berar and Mahur were to be governed by Safdar Khan Sistani; d) Indur, Kaulas and Bahmani Telangana were placed under Azam-i-Humayun, son of Malik Saif-ud-din Ghori.

(ii) The reign of Muhammad Shah Bahmani I (1358-1375)

Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah was succeeded by his eldest son Muhammad Shah in 1358. While Bahman Shah had left the Kingdom politically well-knit, it was Muhammad Shah who organised the state affairs. He appointed Saif-ud-din Ghori as the wakil, a position which he retained till the end of his life. Muhammad Shah divided his kingdom into four atrafs or provinces which were centred round Daulatabad, Berar, Bidar and Gulbarga and were to be governed by Musnad-i-Ali, Majlis-i-Ali, Azam-i-Humayun and Malik Naib.

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24 For Qir Khan’s rebellion, see Isami, *Futuh us salatin* (English Trans.), vol. 3, pp. 884-888. Isami does not mention the change of the capital from Daulatabad to Gulbarga, thus the event may have been after 1350 when *Futuh-us-salatin* was completed. See, Mahdi Husain, ‘Introduction’, *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq* (London, 1928), pp. xiv-xvi.
respectively. The taraf of Gulbarga was the most important one which included Bijapur and was given to the confidant of the king.

The chief political rival of Bahmani Kingdom was the Vijayanagar Kingdom, founded in 1336 by Harihara and Bukka. The bone of contention was the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab. The virtual ultimatums for the cession of Doab and Kaulas by Vijayanagar and Telingana rulers respectively became the immediate occasion for conflict. As Fersihta notes, 'Vijayanagar and Telingana demanded restitution of the territories wrested by his father, threatening in case of refusal, not only to invade his country, but to draw upon him the army of the King of Delhi.' Near Kaulas, the army of Telingana was defeated and its ruler Kapaya Nayaka had to pay one lakh huns to the King. In 1362, the new ruler of Telingana, sought help of Firoz Shah Tughlaq in invading Bahmani kingdom and promised in return to become his vassal. Muhammad Shah ordered an immediate attack on Telingana and before any help could arrive, the Nayak had to accept all the conditions imposed by the Bahmani Sultan along with the

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26 Harihara was appointed governor of Kampila by Muhammad bin Tughlaq in 1327. Sometime before 1336, he revolted, reconverted to Hinduism and asserted his independence. Four dynasties ruled at different periods: The Sangams (1336-1485), the Saluvas (1485-1506), the Taluvas (1506-1570), the Aravidus (1570-1664).
27 Abul Qasim Fersihta, Tarikh-i-Ferishta (English Trans.), vol. 2, p. 185.
28 Ibid., pp. 185, 187.
cession of the town of Golconda with 'its dependencies'. The famous Turquoise Throne was also presented to the Sultan. The charge of Golconda was given to Azam-i-Humayun and for the first time it became a part of the Bahmani Sultanate.29

After settling accounts with Telingana, he turned his attention towards Vijayanagar. Mudgal was recaptured by Bahmanis and Bukka's forces were completely routed near Siraguppa in 1366. When the Bahmanis reached the city of Vijayanagar, Bukka wisely made peace. It is reported that before embarking this campaign, Prince Mujahid sent one-fifth of the war booty from Palampet to his religious preceptor Shaikh Siraj-ud-din Junaidi, to be distributed among the poor and asking them to pray for his success.30 While in Vijayanagar, he heard of the revolt of Bahram Khan, the governor of Daulatabad in 1366, who had allied with some chieftains of Berar and Baglana and with Maratha chief Kumbh Deva. Apart from the revolt of Bahram Khan, the last days of Muhammad Shah passed peacefully.

29 Ibid., pp. 188-189.
30 Ibid., p. 191. For the first time canons and fire-arms were used in the siege of Adoni and according to Tuhfat-us-salatin, 2000 elephants, 300 gua carriages and 700 Arabian horses and one jewelled throne was included in the booty that was captured and rest was left for the officers and soldiers.
(ii) *A Period of Flux (1375-97)*

The death of Muhammad Shah in 1375 was followed by a period of flux and in the next two decades five different rulers ascended the throne of Bahmani Kingdom. A development of this period which needs to be noted was the influx of foreigners or *afaqis* (*gharibs*) and their opposition by *dakhanis* who included the colonists from the north and the Abyssinians or *habshis*. There was also a growing influence of Persian culture. The short reign of Mujahid Shah (r. 1375-78) was spent in wars against Vijayanagar. He wrote to Bukka Raya that Tungabhadra should be fixed as a frontier between them, to which Bukka replied that Raichur and Mudgal originally belonged to Vijayanagar and therefore should be handed over. This reply made Mujahid invade Vijayanagar with a huge army. But Vijayanagar proved a worthy opponent and he had to retreat towards Adoni. However, Mujahid became a victim of conspiracies and was murdered by Daud Khan, his cousin, in 1378, who declared himself as the Sultan.  

However, the same year Daud Khan was also murdered by a partisan of the late King, who now placed Muhammad Shah Bahmani II on the throne. He was at peace with Vijayanagar, apart from minor clashes

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31 Ibid., vol. 2, p. 212
and paid more attention towards consolidation of his kingdom. He was himself a great patron of art and literature, proficient in Persian and Arabic and was called ‘Aristotle of the Deccan’ for his learning and wisdom.\(^{32}\)

Muhammad Shah II died in 1397 and on his deathbed he nominated his eldest son Ghiyas-ud-din as his successor. Ghiyas-ud-din distributed high offices to the *afaqis* which was not liked by the old nobility and the Turkish factions led by Taghalchin, who was himself a Turkish manumitted slave, who planned the removal of Ghiyas-ud-din and got him blinded and imprisoned. This was also the first instance where we notice the party system, the bane of Bahmani history, hardening.\(^{33}\)

Taghalchin placed Shams-ud-din Bahmani (r. 1397), Ghiyas-ud-din’s step brother, on the throne with the title of Daud II and himself became the Malik Naib and Mir Jumla of the Kingdom. The Deccani politics took a turn when Firoz and Ahmad, the brother-in-laws of Ghiyas-ud-din, sent a message to Daud II that they were loyal to the throne but did not accept a person who treacherously killed the late king. On getting an unfavourable reply, they allied with the faction


\(^{33}\) H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (eds.), *History of Medieval Deccan*, vol. 1, p. 158.
which was opposed to Taghalchin, marched to Gulbarga, killed Taghalchin and blinded Daud II.

(iii) The reign of Firoz Shah Bahmani (1397-1422)

He was one of the most learned sovereigns of Deccan and all credit should be given to his preceptor Mir Fazullah Inju, who had been appointed as his mentor during his childhood. Inju was given the post of wakil-us-sultanate with the title of Malik Naib. Firoz was well versed in Quranic learning, jurisprudence, natural sciences, philosophy, geometry and other branches of knowledge. He knew many Indian languages and conversed with the ladies of the harem in their own languages. He also invited men of learning from abroad to come and settle in Deccan and often mingled with poets and men of letters after his royal duties were over.

The reign of Firoz saw a further influx of Newcomers and intensified the antagonism of the local population. To counteract this development, he began leaning in favour of Hindus, especially Brahmans. His reign also witnessed the revival of the struggle against Vijayanagar which had ceased for some time. In 1399, soon

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34 Abul Qasim Fersihta, Tarikh-i-Ferishta (English Trans.), vol. 2, p. 228.
36 He also married Hindu ladies such as the daughter of Devraya of Vijayanagar and made Hindus like Narsingh of Kherla amirs of his kingdom.
after suppressing the rebellion of Siddhu, the chief of Sagar, Firoz learnt that Prince Bukka (later Bukka II) had crossed the Tungabhadra into the Raichur Doab and Telingana which were Bahmani possessions. Firoz marched with his army and chased the Vijayanagar forces out of the region. His success enhanced his prestige and strength. A treaty was signed that Sultan would free all prisoners and leave Vijayanagar, while Harihara II, would pay 10 lac huns to the royal treasury. Faulad Khan was made the governor or Raichur Doab.

Next, Firoz turned his attention towards the rebel chief Narsingh of Kherla who laid down his arms and agreed to pay tribute. The Sultan restored his position and made him an amir of the Kingdom.

In 1404, Harihara II died and Vijayanagar was involved in a civil war between Virupaksha and Bukka, Devaraya’s son. The civil war lasted for two years and the throne finally went to Devaraya I in 1406. His accession was followed by another Vijayanagar invasion into Raichur Doab but the governor Faulad Khan defeated the invading armies and they had to sue for peace. Firoz dictated his own terms and the Raya had to pay a large indemnity, had to agree to marry his daughter to Firoz and had to cede Bankapur as dowry. But the peace was short

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lived. The Vemas sided with Firoz in the siege of Rajahmundry, but the fort could not be subdued and Firoz instead invaded Orissa and defeated the Raja. Soon news reached him that Velamas had joined hands with Devaraya I who now gave a serious set-back to the Bahmani forces. Fazlullah Inju was killed and with great difficulty, the Bahmanis were able to retain the Raichur Doab.\footnote{Abul Qasim Ferishta, \textit{Tarikh-i-Ferishta} (English Trans.), vol. 2, pp. 241-244.}

Another development of this period was the estrangement of relations between the Sultan and the Chishti Sufi, Saiyid Gesudaraz who had arrived at Gulbarga in 1400. While Firoz had given the royal paraphernalia to his son Hasan Khan in 1415,\footnote{Burhan-i-Masir, pp. 47-48.} Gesudaraz had prophesied in favour of Ahmad, the King’s brother and a regular attendant at his \textit{khanqah}.\footnote{Firoz sent a message asking the Chishti saint to leave the city saying that his presence is a source of noises of visitors at the \textit{khanqah}. Gesu Daraz left a couple of miles away where his magnificent mausoleum presently stands built by his \textit{murid} Ahmad Shah. Ibid.; Gesu Daraz lived till 1422, a few weeks after Ahmad’s accession.} Ain-ul-Mulk and Nizam-ul-Mulk\footnote{Hoshiar and Bedar, the two manumitted slaves from the Mahur campaign.} poisoned the years of Firoz against the increasing popularity of Ahmad and started contriving against him. Khalaf Khan, a dealer of horses from Arabia persuaded him to fight for the throne of Gulbarga.

The ensuing battle was lost by the royal army. Ahmad marched to the capital, received homage wherever he stopped. Firoz accepted his
accession and gave his sword to him and made him sit on the Turquoise throne.\textsuperscript{42}

(iv) The reign of Shahab-ud-din Ahmad I (1422-1436)

The accession of Ahmad I corresponded with the death of Firoz and Saiyid Gesudaraz. The new King, in order to extricate himself from intrigues decided to change the capital from Gulbarga to Bidar, a place more centrally located. The change of capital also meant a change in the very character of the Kingdom. Rule of primogeniture was implemented and thus the Bidar period was more peaceful with no cases of regicide.\textsuperscript{43} Khalaf Khan was appointed \textit{wakil us sultanate} and was given the honorific title of \textit{malik ut tujjar}.

His reign also saw an influx of \textit{afaqis} with the advent of Shah Khalilullah, the son of Shah Nimatullah Kirmani and the founder of Nimatullahi Sufi order in the Deccan. Before the arrival of Kirmani family, Shah Nurullah, a grandson of Shah Nimatullah had arrived at Bidar and was greatly favoured by Ahmad I.\textsuperscript{44} Shah Habibullah, brother of Shah Nurullah rose to distinction and was made military

\textsuperscript{42} Tabatabai, \textit{Burhan-i-Masir}, pp. 52-53.
\textsuperscript{43} Various dates have been given for the transfer of capital. In the inscription of Solah Khambam masjid within Bidar fort the date is 1424. The author of \textit{Burhan-i-Masir} gives the date as June 1424 on the basis of the last coin minted at Gulbarga is dated 827 AH, p. 54. Also see, Abdul Wali Khan, \textit{Bahmani Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum} (Hyderabad), 78 ff.
\textsuperscript{44} Abul Qasim Ferishta, \textit{Tarikh-i-Ferishta} (English Trans.), vol. 2, p. 259. The place where he was received by King’s deputation was called Nimatabad, in honour of the great saint. Ahmad favoured him to the extent of marrying his own daughter to him. Tabatabai, \textit{Burhan-i-Masir}, p. 65.
commander and was married to the grand-daughter of the Sultan. The district of Beer was given to him and it continued to be in their family. With a growing influx from Persia, the Shia doctrine was further strengthened in Deccan.

To avenge the defeat of his brother at the hands of Devaraya, Ahmad set out with a formidable force against Vijayanagar where Vijaya I was ruling in assistance with his son Devaraya II. The Bahmani forces chased the Vijayanagar forces to their capital and Ahmad I dictated his own terms and made them pay all the arrears.

After defeating Vijayanagar, he turned his attention to the north. Being an ambitious ruler, he also wanted to sit on the throne of Delhi and for the purpose he had to confront the kingdoms of Malwa and Gujarat, from where he feared trouble. In 1425-26, he left for Mahur, where the chief had rebelled and for many months they carried on guerrilla warfare in the hilly regions. Finally in the third campaign, the Mahur territory was subdued. Next came the turn of Malwa, where Hoshang Shah had the support of Narsingh of Kherla. In the ensuing

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45 The mausoleum outside the town of Beer has the tombs of these saints. For his valour and military excellence he got the title of 'Ghazi'. Abul Qasim Ferishta, Tarikh-i-Ferishta (English Trans.) vol. 2, p. 260. One of King's daughters was also married to Shah Habibullah, which further strengthened the influence of Kirmani family.
46 Ibid., p. 250.
47 The accounts of Ferishta and Tabatabai are confusing. All that can be concluded is that after months of siege, the Bahmanis finally subdued Elchpur, Gawil and Narnala.
battle, Ahmad had to retreat initially, but once in the Bahmani territory, he gave a crushing defeat to the Malwa forces. In order to make his position secure, he married his son Ala-ud-din with the daughter of Nasir Khan Faruqi of Khandesh, which could serve as a buffer between him and Malwa and Gujarat. Around 1429, a quarrel broke out between Ahmad Shah of Gujarat and Hoshang Shah of Malwa, in which the Bahmanis sided with Hoshang. However, the army of Gujarat proved too strong and Bahmani forces were defeated. During this campaign, the internal conflict between *dakhnis* and *afaqis* took a heavy toll. The *dakhnis* poisoned the ears of the Prince against *afaqis* and at the same time they themselves refused to participate in actual fighting. The Gujarat forces taking advantage of the situation gave a heavy blow to Bahmani army.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 255-257; Tabatabai, *Burhan-i-Masir*, pp. 66-67.} In the treaty, Beul was restored to Gujarat and each side retained its possessions.

The continuous setback to Bahmani armies had its repercussions in Telingana also and in 1433 he moved with a large army acquiring many forts. The ruler of Warangal, Singa III submitted without fighting and was restored in his possessions. Ahmad appointed his eldest son Zafar Khan as heir apparent and divided his kingdom
among his sons as governors, taking a promise that they will never oppose one another.\textsuperscript{49}

\textit{(v) The reign of Ala-ud-din Ahmad II (1436-58)}

The influence of afaqis was evident at the time of coronation of Ahmad II in 1436. He was flanked by Saiyid Khalilullah and Saiyid Hanif and he appointed Dilawar Khan Afghani as his \textit{wakil} and Khwaja-i-Jahan Astarabadi as his \textit{wazir}.\textsuperscript{50} The Sultan had to lead a number of military campaigns against Vijayanagar, Telingana, Gujarat, Malwa and Khandesh.

War with Vijayanagar began in 1436 on the issue of arrears of tribute. Ahmad II sent his brother Muhammad and the \textit{amir-ul-umara} Imad-ul-Mulk. The campaign was quick and the Raya agreed to pay gave them 8 Lac huns, 20 elephants and 200 dancing girls besides valuable gifts. It was only a decade later i.e. in 1442-43, that Ahmad II tried to take advantage of the dynastic unrest at Vijayanagar and ordered the collection of arrears of tribute. The Raya captured Mudgal and advanced to the banks of river Krishna, but was eventually forced to purchase peace by negotiating and paying the remaining tribute.\textsuperscript{51}

\textsuperscript{49} H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (eds.), \textit{History of Medieval Deccan}, vol. 1, p. 170.
\textsuperscript{50} Abul Qasim Ferishta, \textit{Tarikh-i-Ferishta} (English Tans.), vol. 2, p. 260.
\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., pp. 266-268; Tabatabai, \textit{Burhan-i-Masir}, p. 80-81.
In 1437, Ahmad II had to engage with the combined forces of Gujarat, Khandesh and Malwa and the Bahmani situation was weakened further by the growing differences between the *dakhnis* and *afaqis*. However, Khalaf Khan fought hard and completely routed the allied forces. Khalaf Khan was received with pleasure by the Sultan and it was decided that the *afaqis* will be on the right side of the throne and the *dakhnis* and *habshis* on the left-side. From then onwards the distinction became even more permanent. This growing discomfort between the two groups became more clearly evident in 1447 during the Chakan campaign,\(^52\) which made Ahmad II favourable to the *afaqis* and made one of them, Qasim Beg as *malik-ut-tujjar* and *sarlashkar* of Daulatabad and deposed *dakhnis* from all places.

The futile war with Khandesh, Gujarat and Malwa and the *dakhni-afaqi* affair of Chakan showed the weak mind of the Sultan and strenuous campaigns took a heavy toll on his health. Ahmad II died of a malignant wound in 1458 and was succeeded by Ala-ud-din Humayun (r. 1458-1461) whose short reign saw a widening rift between the *afaqis* and *dakhnis*.

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(vi) Political developments between 1458-1463

Immediately on his accession, Humayun showed favours to the afaqis by making Mahmud Gawan his wazir, malik-ut-tujjar, governor of Bijapur, wakil-us-sultanate and the virtual Commander-in-chief of the army.

Humayun’s reign was a difficult one as it was marred by frequent revolts and conspiracies for acquiring the throne. His attention was drawn towards the Velamas, who had assisted Sikandar (Humayun’s cousin) in his rebellion. But Linga, the chief of Velamas backed by Kapileshwara of Orissa defeated the Bahmani army, captured Warangal and made Rajachal as its headquarters. Another rebellion was started by Prince Hasan Khan and Habibullah Kirmani who were against Humayun’s accession and had the support of afaqis. They were defeated at Bir trying to escape to Vijayanagar.\(^3\)

Humayun was succeeded by his minor son Nizam Shah with the title of Nizam-ud-din Ahmad III. Humayun had nominated a Council of regency consisting of Khwaja-i-Jahan Turk, Mahmud Gawan and dowager queen Makhduma-i-Jahan.\(^4\) In a short reign of two years, nothing much was done, though his reign started with a general

\(^4\) Ibid., pp. 286-287.
amnesty to all who were imprisoned by his father. His reign was occupied in fighting wars imposed by Kapileshwar of Orissa and Mahmud Khalji of Malwa.  

(vii) The reign of Muhammad Shah III (1463-1482)

The sudden death of Nizam Shah in 1463 led to the accession of Muhammad Shah III. In 1466 ended the triumvirate (formed in 1461) when Khwaja-i-Jahan Turk was murdered because of suspicious behaviour. His reign marks the ascendancy of Mahmud Gawan who became the wazir, was given the title of Khwaja-i-jahan and had the authority over all matters. 

Mahmud Gawan was probably the most efficient officer of the Bahmani period. He maintained a balance in distributing offices and governorships to both afaqis and dakhnis. Malik Hasan Nizam-ul-Mulk was made sarlashkar of Telingana, Fathullah was made sarlashkar of Berar, Yusuf Adil, a Turkish noble was deputed as sarlashkar of Daulatabad, Junair and Chakan and he himself retained 

55 Tabatabai, Burhan-i-Masir, pp. 98-99. Kapileshwar marched to Bidar demanding tribute from the minor king. He was completely defeated by Khwaja-i-Jahan Turk who extracted a heavy indemnity of war. The onslaught of Mahmud Khalji was a more serious one. The battle fought at Qandhar went in favour of Mahmud Khalji who went on to besiege Bidar. It was Mahmud Gawan who saved the Bahmanis by inviting Sultan Mahmud of Gujarat, which forced Mahmud Khalji to withdraw. In 1462, when Mahmud Khalji once again attacked Daulatabad, it was Mahmud of Gujarat who came to the rescue forcing the invaders to withdraw. For details, see H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (eds.), History of Medieval Deccan, vol.1, pp. 181-182.

56 Ibid., p. 108.

57 Abul Qasim Ferishta, Tarikh-i-Ferishta (English Trans.), vol. 2, p. 295.
the charge of Bijapur. He also tried to win the sympathies of the Hindu population and at his suggestion the Bahmanis joined hands with Vijayanagar against Kapileshwar of Orissa.

Tensions reappeared between Malwa the Bahmanis over the claim of Mahmud Khalji on Elichpur and Mahur. In the siege of Elichpur in 1466, the Bahmanis were defeated but the fort could not be subdued and Malwese forces had to retreat to Kherla. The next year, Nizam-ul-mulk led the Bahmanis against Kherla which was captured after a severe battle. By a treaty, Kherla was handed to Malwa and in return Berar was included into Bahmani Kingdom. Another victory was gained in 1470, when Bahmanis along with the Vijayanagar forces invaded Orissa and placed Hamvira on the throne.

When the northern and eastern frontiers of the Kingdom had been rectified, Mahmud turned his attention towards the western coast and Konkan. His attention was drawn towards two local chiefs, the Raja of Khelna and of Sangameshwar. In a series of campaigns beginning in 1470, Mahmud Gawan pacified the entire region. From his base at Kolhapur, Gawan captured the forts of Hubli, Raingna, Machal, Bulwara, Miriad, Nagar and Sangameshwar. Finally in 1472, Goa a protectorate of Vijayanagar was captured. Gawan returned to the
capital after three years of continuous campaign and was given royal welcome and Goa and Kolhapur were added to his Bijapur charge. The Bahmani Kingdom now extended from sea to sea, touching the borders of Khandesh in the north, the line of Tungabhadra in the south, Goa in the south-west and Orissa in the north-east. The four atrafs of Muhammad I were now subdivided into eight sarlashkarships and Gawan divided the newly created provinces among both the dakhni and afaqí sections of the ruling aristocracy. There were subsequent revolts in the eastern regions and the Sultan had to take army against Orissa and Vijayanagar which resulted in his victories. However, in 1481, Mahmud Gawan fell prey to a conspiracy and was beheaded at the orders of the Sultan. With his death, the Bahmani Kingdom began disintegrating and Muhammad Shah III also died the very next year.

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58 Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 313-314; Tabatabai, Burhan-i-Masir, p. 129. Full details of the farman can be read in Burhan-i-Masir, pp. 131-132. See also, H. K. Shervani, The Bahmanis of the Deccan, p. 236. A number of chronograms were composed on the death of the great Bahmani wazir. The Sultan went to the extent of ordering Nizamuddin Ahmad Gilani to plunder his private property and enquired about his wealth. Tarikh-i-Ferishta, vol. 2, p. 316. The treasurer pleaded and informed the King that he possessed only two treasuries- Treasury of the King and Treasury of the poor. The former contained royal horses, elephants, 1000 laris and 3000 huns, while the other belonged to the Khwaja and contained 300 laris. He also informed the Sultan that he brought 40,000 laris with him and invested in trade and commerce and it was out of the income that he spent. The King being embarrassed and he regretted and repented. The coffin of Gawan was sent to Bidar and Prince Mahmud was ordered to follow it till there. Tarikh-i-Ferishta, vol. 2, p. 317.
The period of disintegration of the Bahmani Kingdom (1482-1527)

The long reign of Shahab-ud-din Mahmud (r. 1482-1518) was marked by disintegration of Bahmani Kingdom. The King being a minor, a triumvirate was formed comprising Nizam-ul-Mulk as Malik Naib, Imad-ul-Mulk as wazir and amir jumla and the Queen Mother as President of the Council. The whole arrangement worked for quite some time but as the King began to listen to unscrupulous persons the atmosphere at the capital began changing fast. Imad-ul-Mulk left for his governorship of Berar and avoided involvement in the politics at the capital. Nizam-ul-Mulk, the leader of dakhnis was killed in a conspiracy and the aggrieved dakhnis conspired to kill the Sultan. In 1487 they entered the fort but failed in their attempt, instead the King now ordered a general massacre of dakhni element in the city, which went on for 3 days.

The period also saw the rise of Qasim Barid and Malik Ahmad (Nizam-ul-mulk’s son). Qasim forced Mahmud to accept him as wakil at Bidar. Malik Ahmad adopted the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk, occupied forts of Bir, Shivagaon and Mahur, which were later confirmed by the Sultan as his jagirs. When he fell from royal favour he refused to give up his jagirs, extricated his family from Bidar in 1481, and scored a
decisive victory in 1490 over Bahmani forces which led to the foundation of the city of Ahmadnagar which served as the capital of Nizam Shahis till its conquest by the Mughals.

A successful campaign was launched in 1494 led by Qutb-ul-Mulk (the progenitor of Qutb Shahis) against the kotwal of Goa, Bahadur Gilani, a strong opponent who had even humbled the King of Gujarat and had attempted to set up an independent principality of his own.  

In 1495, Qutb-ul-Mulk was appointed as Governor of Telingana and he was able to exercise effective control over Warangal, Rajakonda, Dewarkonda and Kovilkonda. With the accession of Krishna Deva Raya in 1509, Vijayanagar embarked on campaigns in all directions occupied Mudgal, Raichur, Udaygiri and Kondavidu followed by capturing of Vinukonda, Rajahmundry, Nalgonda and Khammamet, thus cutting off both Orissa and Bahmanis from the east coast.

Meanwhile, struggle for power began at Bidar in which Qasim Barid was the main target. But within a decade, Qasim Barid at Bidar, Fathullah Imad-ul Mulk at Elichpur, Yusuf Adil Khan at Bijapur and Ahmad Nizam-ul-Mulk at Ahmadnagar died and were succeeded by their sons, Ali Barid, Alauddin, Ismail Adil and Burhan respectively.

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59 Tabatabai, Burhan-i-Masir, pp. 147-148.
The reign of Mahmud witnessed a downward trend in the authority of central government and old party alignments gave way to a race for autonomy. In the midst of this turmoil, Sultan Mahmud also died in 1518. An important event of his reign was the occupation of Goa by the Portuguese in 1510. With the influx of the Persians into the Deccan and their direct influence at the court the Shiite doctrines also spread.

With the accession of Ahmad III in 1518, the tarafidars of Bahmani kingdom became virtually independent, although theoretically Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Berar and Telingana were all part of the Kingdom. Amir Barid confined the new King within the four walls of the palace. Although Amir Barid had designs to usurp the throne, he allowed Ala-ud-din Shah II to be crowned as the new King in 1520 and after three years, Sultan Mahmud’s younger son Waliullah was put on the tottering throne by Amir Barid. In 1526, Kalimullah was put on throne and the same year when Babur got a decisive victory at Panipat, the rulers of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Berar and Burhanpur sent envoys to congratulate him. Kalimullah too wrote of his distress and offered Berar and Daulatabad. The news leaked and he had to escape to his uncle Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur and then to Nizam Burhan
Shah at Ahmadabad where he was warmly welcomed. He resided there till his death and was buried in Bidar.\textsuperscript{60} With his death also ended the Bahmani rule and Deccan was divided into five kingdoms namely, the Adil Shahis of Bijapur, the Qutb Shahis of Golconda, the Imad Shahis of Berar, the Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar, and the Barid Shahis of Bidar.\textsuperscript{61}

\textsuperscript{60} Abul Qasim Ferishta, \textit{Tarikh-i-Ferishta} (English Trans.), vol. 2, pp. 341-342.
A. Successor states of the Bahmani Kingdom

(i) The Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar (1490-1637)¹

The Nizam Shahi dynasty was founded by Malik Ahmad Nizam Shah (r. 1490-1509) with its capital at Ahmadnagar. Malik Ahmad pushed forward the designs of his father Malik Hasan² to carve out an independent principality and broke into open revolt. After his father’s death he styled himself as Nizam-ul-mulk Bahri and opened offensive against his father’s enemies. His rising power alarmed Qasim Barid who sent an army against him in 1490, but Ahmad Bahri defeated the imperialists and found enough justification to declare his independence. He dropped the name of Bahmani Sultan from the khutba and defied those who were in authority at Bidar. He struck coins in his name and took the title of Ahmad Nizam Shah Bahri.

¹ For a detailed history of the Kingdom, see Radhey Shyam, The Kingdom of Ahmadnagar (Delhi, 1966).
² Malik Hasan Bahri was a converted Hindu who had been made captive by Sultan Ahmad Shah Bahmani in one of the campaigns against Vijayanagar. Later he rose in position and was made sarlashkaril of Telengana. He made great progress in the campaigns in Telengana and was appointed the governor of Rajahmundry in 1480. Malik Hasan was suspicious of the Newcomers and planned the execution of Mahmud Gawan. In order to buttress his position at the court during unsettling times, he distributed high honours and ranks to his own men. But he fell prey to the disruptive forces and was murdered by one of his own protégés.
Ahmad Nizam remained mainly pre-occupied in expanding the frontiers of his kingdom. In 1493, he assisted Sultan Mahmud Shah Bahmani in dealing with Bahadur Gilani and received a part of his territory in reward. He occupied Daulatabad and used it as his base to expand his frontiers and capturing forts on the borders with Khandesh. He meddled with the question of succession in the kingdom of Khandesh and in conjunction with Ala-ud-din Imad Shah of Berar he tried to put his protégé on the Faruqi throne, but was not successful because of the arrival of Mahmud Begada and had to retreat. Nevertheless, at the time of his death in 1510, he had succeeded in extending the frontiers from Bir to Chaul and Ravedanda on the sea coast and from the frontiers of Khandesh in the north to Poona, Chakan and Sholapur in the south.

His minor son Burhan Nizam Shah (r. 1510-1553) inherited an unconsolidated kingdom at the age of seven years. The reigns of administration were in the hands of the wakil Mukammal Khan, who tried hard to safeguard the interests of the Nizam Shahis. Burhan, on the other hand had complete lack of interest in political affairs and this provided a chance to the neighbouring states to consolidate their possessions and expand their frontiers. Sholapur emerged as a bone of
contention between the Nizam Shahis and Adil Shahis of Bijapur, which Burhan claimed as dowry for marrying the daughter of Ismail Adil Shah. In 1525, he invaded Bijapur but failed in his attempt to capture Sholapur. Later, in alliance with Ali Barid of Bidar, Burhan Nizam captured Pathri (his ancestral home) from Ala-ud-din Imad Shah who sought help of the ruler of Khandesh. They were again defeated and were forced to withdraw to Burhanpur. Burhan also entered into an alliance with the Portuguese when he got to know that Imad Shah had sought help from Bahadur Shah of Gujarat. The trio of Imad Shah, Bahadur Shah and Muhammad Faruqi I of Khandesh tried to capture Daulatabad from Burhan Nizam, but failed. Once freed of the pressures from Gujarat, Burhan again tried to capture Sholapur but failed again and this defeat instigated the formation of a confederacy of the rulers of Gujarat, Khandesh and the chief of Baglana. They converged upon the Nizam Shahi kingdom. Burhan appealed to the Mughal Emperor Babur, Ismail Adil of Bijapur and Quli Qutb-ul-mulk for help, but only Amir Ali Barid came to his rescue.\textsuperscript{3} Daulatabad, Parenda, Ahmadnagar were besieged and the allies gave a crushing defeat to Nizam Shahi forces at Burhanpur.\textsuperscript{4} However, when

\textsuperscript{3} Abul Qasim Ferishta, Tarikh-i-Ferishta (English Trans.), John Briggs, History of The Rise of Mahomedan Power in India (Delhi, 2006), vol. 3, pp. 133, 361.

\textsuperscript{4} Ibid, vol. 3, pp. 133-134.
Imad Shah left for Elichpur, the league was broken and Bahadur Shah had to come to terms with Burhan, who agreed to read his name in the *khutba*. Thereafter Bahadur Shah returned to Gujarat and Deccan was saved from further bloodshed. In 1530, Burhan captured some thirty Maratha forts and also advanced in the north to the forts of Galna and Mulher. The allied forces of Gujarat and Khandesh again defeated him.

With not much success on the north, Burhan turned his attention to the south and captured the fort of Parenda. Over the cession of the forts of Kalyani and Qandhar, he sided with Ali Barid against Ismail Adil Shah and invaded Bijapur, but was defeated and according to a treaty, Adil Shah was given a free hand in Telingana and Burhan Nizam Shah was allowed to annex Berar. But before it could be accomplished, Ismail Adil Shah died in 1534.

Burhan Shah was much influenced by Shia thought and declared it to be his state religion, creating much commotion inside the capital. Although it brought him closer to the Safavid Persia, it created a confederacy of neighbouring states who invaded Ahmadnagar, but could not gain any decisive victory and had to withdraw. The issue

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with Bijapur on the possession of Sholapur continued and in 1543, Burhan allied with Ramraj, the regent of Vijayanagar, Jamshed Qutb-ul-mulk and Ibrahim Qutb Shah and launched intermittent wars against Bijapur till the end of his reign. Between 1544-1547 he conquered Kohir, Ausa, Udgir and Qandhar. In 1549, he captured the fort of Kalyani and then helped Ramraj to recover the Raichur Doab from Bijapur. Finally in 1552, Sholapur was captured with the help of Vijayanagar. The aggressive policy of Burhan and his alliances with Vijayanagar disturbed the balance of power in Deccan and enabled Vijayanagar to use one state against the other.

Thus on the accession of his son Husain Nizam Shah (r. 1553-1565) he had to check the increasing ambitions of his neighbours. In the initial years, he had to face a coalition of Ibrahim Adil Shah and Darya Imad Shah who unsuccessfully tried to occupy Sholapur. Another coalition was formed between Ibrahim Adil Shah and Ramraj in 1557 when Husain Nizam Shah in alliance with Ibrahim Qutb Shah unsuccessfully besieged Gulbarga. On the death of Ibrahim Adil Shah, his successor Ali Adil Shah reiterated his claim over Sholapur and Kalyani and concluded an alliance with Vijayanagar and Qutb Shahis and then marched to Ahmadnagar in 1559. Husain Nizam fled to

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7 Ibid., pp. 326-27.
Paithan and appealed to Imad Shahis, Barid Shahis and Faruqis for assistance. With no help coming, the allied forces ravaged the Nizam Shahi territory between Parenda to Junnar and from Ahmadnagar to Daulatabad. Husain had to sign a humiliating treaty in order to save his kingdom and Kalyani was lost to Bijapur. In 1562, Husain Nizam entered into negotiations with Ibrahim Qutb Shah for recovering Kalyani. On the other hand, Ali Adil Shah sought help from Ramraj who was also joined by the forces from Bijapur, Berar and Bidar. Despite fierce struggle, neither Husain Nizam Shah could recover the fort of Kalyani, nor Ali Adil Shah could wrest Sholapur.  

The net result of these relentless campaigns was that the Sultans of Deccan felt the need to crush the growing power of Vijayanagar. Husain Nizam Shah, Ibrahim Qutb Shah and Ali Adil Shah together with the Sultan of Bidar organised a confederacy and entered into marriage alliances. Husain Nizam Shah gave up the fort of Sholapur to Ali Adil Shah in dowry. To find a pretext of war, Ali Adil Shah demanded the restoration of Yadgir, Bagalkot, Raichur and Mudgal from Ramraj, which was, as expected, refused. The four Sultans marched against Vijayanagar in 1565 and at the Battle of Bannihatti,
Ramraj was killed and his army was completely routed. This was a great blow to the vitality of the Vijayanagar kingdom.

The same year, Husain Nizam Shah died and was succeeded by his eldest son Murtaza Nizam Shah (r. 1565-1588). During the early years, the control was in the hands of his mother Khunza Humayun who in order to teach Berar a lesson for not joining the confederacy allied with Ali Adil Shah. In 1566, they attacked Berar but without success. In 1568, she formed a confederacy with the rulers of Golconda and Berar to check the aggressive plans of Ali Adil Shah. But the invasion of Bijapur also did not bring any gains. The next few years passed in the formations of various alliances and Ali Adil Shah taking advantage of the internal discontent in Ahmadnagar invaded and defeated Nizam Shahis at Kaij. Meanwhile the petticoat government at Ahmadnagar was overthrown and Murtaza Nizam Shah repelled the invasion of Bijapur. In 1571, Murtaza Nizam Shah suffered a defeat at the hands of Portuguese.

Probably the greatest military feat of Murtaza Nizam was the annexation of Berar in 1574. Seeing the declining fortunes of Bidar and Berar, he had come to terms with Ali Adil Shah, on the agreement

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10. Ibid., p. 433.
that Murtaza would be allowed to annex Berar and Bidar and Adil Shah would be left free to expand in the south. They invaded Bidar but were forced to retreat due to intervention of Ibrahim Qutb Shah. Then Murtaza decided to invade Berar and demanded the reinstatement of Burhan Imad Shah on the throne. Thereafter he invaded Berar, put Tufal Khan to flight to Khandesh, from where he was turned out by Miran Muhammad Faruqi II. Thereafter Murtaza besieged Narnala and Gawilgarh, imprisoned the members of Imad Shahi family and annexed the kingdom of Berar in Nizam Shahi kingdom. Though the conquest of Berar increased his prestige, it also brought the Nizam Shahis closer to facing the aggression of Mughals.

The Mughals and the Nizam Shahis: In order to prevent him from consolidating his position in Berar, Miran Muhammad Faruqi of Khandesh tried to invade and occupy Berar but was driven back to the frontiers of the Mughal Empire. Had not Changez Khan, the minister of Murtaza interceded on behalf of Miran Faruqi, even Khandesh would have been annexed in the Nizam Shahi kingdom. However with these conquests, a new danger arose for the Nizam Shahis. The

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12 Tabatabai, Burhan-i-Masir, pp. 457-474; Abul Qasim Fersihta, Tarikh-i-Ferishta (English Trans.), vol. 3, pp. 135-56.
Mughals after conquering Gujarat and Malwa marched to Narmada in pursuit of Muzaffar Husain Mirza who had taken shelter at the Nizam Shahi court. Pressures from the Mughals forced him to give up the cause of Muzaffar, who now fled to Khandesh and was ultimately handed over to the Mughals by Miran Muhammad Faruqi.\(^\text{13}\)

Meanwhile, the rising power of *dakhnis* under Murtaza created internal tensions in Ahmadnagar and made matters worse. However, the death of Ali Adil Shah in 1580 and the growing strife in Bijapur between Sunnis and Shias, tempted Murtaza to recover the forts of Sholapur and Naldurg, but the campaigns brought him little success. A new problem arose when the *dakhni* faction invited Murtaza’s brother Burhan to ascend the throne but the plan leaked out and they had to escape from Ahmadnagar to the Mughal court in 1584. There they persuaded Mughal Emperor Akbar to take up the cause of Burhan. In 1586, the Mughal troops under Mirza Aziz Koka advanced up to Elichpur and plundered it.\(^\text{14}\) Once the storm was over, Murtaza replaced his old *dakhni* nobility with new recruits which produced even more confusion. There began conspiracies to put up his son Husain on the throne and Ibrahim Adil Shah supported them. Finally


in 1588, Murtaza was imprisoned and Husain ascended the throne of Nizam Shahis.

The next ten years were marked by confusion and uncertainty in the Nizam Shahi kingdom. Husain Nizam Shah (r. 1588-89) was deposed in 1589 and Ismail Nizam Shah (r. 1589-91) was put on the throne. There arose a conflict for supremacy among the nobles at the court, in which Jamal Khan, a Mahdavi gained an upper hand. Shiism was abolished and Mahdavi faith was now declared as the State religion. It was thus the time for the Mughal Emperor to intervene and Akbar took up the cause of Burhan, who along with Mirza Aziz Koka marched on the frontiers of Berar. In 1591, Jamal Khan was defeated and killed and Burhan marched to Ahmadnagar, deposed his son Ismail and ascended the throne.\textsuperscript{15}

Though indebted to the Mughals, he refused to acknowledge their suzerainty and re-introduced Shiism as state religion.\textsuperscript{16} Burhan fought against Ibrahim Adil Shah for the control of Sholapur but the possession of the fort remained a dream for him. He died in 1595 after a short illness. With the power of the Newcomers greatly reduced now because of the policies of Jamal Khan, the \textit{dakhnis} and \textit{habshis}

\textsuperscript{15} Tabatabai, \textit{Burhan-i-Masir}, pp. 589-592; Abul Qasim Ferishta, \textit{Tarikh-i-Ferishta}, (English Trans.), vol. 3, pp. 171.

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., vol. 3, p. 172.
clashed with each other to attain personal ambitions. For some time both groups accepted the new ruler Ibrahim Nizam Shah (r. 1595), but the hostile attitude of Ikhlas Khan, the habshi leader towards Bijapur precipitated the crisis. In 1595, Ibrahim Nizam Shah was killed fighting with Ibrahim Adil Shah at Naldurg.\textsuperscript{17} His death intensified groupism and Mian Manju, the dakhm leader proclaimed Ahmad Shah II (r. 1595-96) as the new king. However, Chand Bibi, Ali Adil Shah’s widow, took up the claim of Bahadur, the only son of the late king and was supported by habshi leader Ikhlas Khan. Mian Manju however succeeded in imprisoning Bahadur and put Chand Bibi under surveillance. Ikhlas Khan secured a boy of Bahadur’s age and proclaimed him king under the title of Moti Shah, while another habshi leader Abhang Khan took the cause of Miran Shah Ali, son of Burhan Nizam Shah I. Now Mian Manju appealed to the Mughal prince Murad, son of Akbar for intervention. But by the time the Mughal armies reached Ahmadnagar, Mian Manju had accomplished the capture of Moti Shah in 1595 and decided to oppose the coming Mughal armies. Under Mughal pressure, he left the affairs to Chand Bibi and went to seek the support from Bijapur and Golconda. In 1595, Mughals laid siege to Ahmadnagar. The siege went on for a

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid. vol. 3, pp. 176.
long time and finally in 1596 peace was concluded and by a treaty, Bahadur Nizam Shah (r. 1596-1600) was accepted as the new king, Berar was ceded to the Mughals, and in return they withdrew from Ahmadnagar.¹⁸

Even after the Mughal invasion the quarrels among the *dakhnis* and *habshis* continued. Chand Bibi along with her nephew Ibrahim Adil Shah tried to settle Nizam Shahi affairs. The *wakil* Muhammad Khan disliking the interference of Adil Shahi ruler invited the Mughals and promised them to surrender the kingdom. Chand Bibi allied herself with Bijapur and Golconda and attacked Mughal forces at Sonpat in 1597 but were driven back.¹⁹ It was a stupendous task to check Mughal pressure and taking advantage of the internal divisions, the Mughals captured Lohgarh, Mankar, Kherla, Nasik, Abugarh, Batiala, Taltam etc. On the question of attacking Ahmadnagar, differences arose between Prince Murad and Khan-i-Khanan which led to the recall of Murad and in 1599, Danial was sent to the Deccan who renewed the siege of Ahmadnagar. The limited resources of a declining kingdom were no match to those of Mughals and Chand

¹⁹ Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 187-188.
Bibi was forced to surrender. Bahadur Nizam Shah was imprisoned at Gwalior and Ahmadnagar was captured by the Mughals in 1600.\(^{20}\)

The turmoil caused by Mughal invasion and the occupation of Ahmadnagar gave a chance to men like Malik Ambar and Raju Dakhni to revive the declining fortunes of Nizam Shahis. \(^{21}\) They raised Murtaza Nizam Shah II in 1600 at Parenda to the throne and while professing loyalty to him, they kept the Mughals in perpetual alarm and did not allow the invaders to consolidate their conquests. Both Abul Fazl and Khan-i-Khanan were unable to overpower them. Harassed by continuous campaigning, Prince Danial concluded peace with Murtaza II and Malik Ambar had to release Mughal prisoners while Nizam Shah was confirmed in his possession of sirkars of Ausa, Bir and Dharwar. The death of Akbar in 1605, occupation of Qandhar (in Afghanistan) by Persians and the rebellion of Prince Khusrau gave Malik Ambar a chance to force Khan-i-Khanan to shut himself in Burhanpur and he advanced as far north as Malwa ravaging Mughal territories. In 1610, he put to death intriguing Murtaza Nizam Shah and installed his son Burhan Shah II on the throne. He forced Prince

\(^{20}\) Ibid., vol. 3, p. 189.

\(^{21}\) Born in Ethiopia, Malik Ambar was bought as a slave by Chagez Khan, a famous minister of Murtaza Nizam Shah. He gradually rose to power and after the Mughal invasion left Ahmadnagar and went to Bijapur and Golconda. In 1597, he returned to Ahmadnagar and joined Abhang Khan in resisting Mughal invasion. After the fall of Ahmadnagar, he tried his best to revive the kingdom. He was assisted by Raju Dakhni, the adopter son of Munna dakhni, a mahaldar of Saadat Khan.
Parvez to conclude peace and withdraw to Burhanpur.\textsuperscript{22} In 1612, he transferred his capital from Daulatabad to Khirki and the same year Khan-i-Khanan was sent to the Deccan again.\textsuperscript{23} Meanwhile tensions also arose between Nizam Shah and the Portuguese but the consistent Mughal pressure on the frontiers compelled Burhan Shah II to come to terms with Portuguese.

On the arrival of Khan-i-Khanan in 1612, Nizam Shahi politics further changed and a large number of Maratha and habshi leaders joined the Mughal court which weakened Malik Ambar's strength. Khan-i-Khanan sent his son Shah Nawaz Khan to attack Malik Ambar who was defeated and put to flight. Shah Nawaz Khan ravaged the city of Khirki and then withdrew in 1616.\textsuperscript{24} But soon after, Ambar reappeared on the scene, reoccupied the abandoned capital and resumed the offensive against the Mughals. However, the vast assemblage of Mughal forces, the submission of the rulers of Bijapur and Golconda and the withdrawal of their support forced Malik Ambar to purchase peace by surrendering the fort of Ahmadnagar together with the


districts of Balaghat. Malik ambar again got his chance when the Emperor was in Kashmir and Prince Khurram was in Punjab in 1619. Within three months he recovered his losses and forced Mughals to seek shelter in Burhanpur. With the help of Portuguese, he laid siege to Burhanpur and entered Malwa and Gujarat. The crisis in 1620 forced Jahangir to send Prince Shah Jahan with a large army which hemmed Malik Ambar from all sides forcing him to negotiate. The terms were humiliating but it saved the Nizam Shahis from total ruin.

Malik Ambar wanted to recover his previous losses and in 1624 managed to give a crushing defeat to Mughal-Adil Shahi forces and Bhatvadi and besieged Ahmadnagar. In 1625, he managed to capture Sholapur from Adil Shah and ravaged the Mughal frontier regions of Balaghat. On the arrival of Mahabat Khan a second time in the Deccan and the submission of Prince Khurram, he withdrew to Khirki where he died at the ripe age of eighty in 1626. After his death, the Nizam Shahi kingdom again fell prey to internal strife.

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27 Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 190, 206-208.
28 Mutamid Khan, Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiri (Urdu Trans.), p. 236.
Burhan Nizam Shah made a blunder in supporting the cause of Khan-i-Jahan Lodi, a rebel of the Mughal Empire. Shah Jahan seized the opportunity to open an offensive against Nizam Shahis and in 1629 himself marched to the Deccan. He sent Azam Khan to enter Balaghat and recover the lost territories; Khwaja Abul Hasan was sent to occupy Nasik, Trimbak; Nasir Khan was directed towards Telingana to seal north-eastern frontiers of the Nizam Shahis. The Kingdom of Nizam Shahis was now in a perilious situation. Even the removal of rebel Khan-i-Jahan Lodi did not ease the situations for Burhan Nizam Shah II. After many deliberations Burhan was able to get assistance from Bijapur in exchange for Sholapur. By 1631 however, despite continuous opposition from the Nizam Shahi forces, the Mughals had effected a complete occupation of Berar, Nasik, Sangamner, Dharur, Qandhar etc. In 1632, Burhan was killed and Husain was put on the throne who promised to accept the sovereignty of the Mughals and read khutba in the name of Mughal Emperor. However, in 1633, Husain Nizam Shah too was imprisoned by the Mughals and now Shahji Bhonsle came forward to save the kingdom and proclaimed a royal scion as king under the title Murtaza Nizam Shah III in 1633 and made Bhimgarh the capital of Nizam Shahi kingdom. His activities

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frustrated the efforts of Mahabat Khan who died in 1634 and Shah Jahan was compelled to plan large scale operations against Nizam Shahi kingdom in 1636, when he came to Deccan in person. He dispatched Shaista Khan and Alivardi Khan to deal with Shahji, Khan-i-Zaman was sent to compel him to leave Nizam Shahi territory and to occupy Konkan forts, Khan-i-Dauran was sent to seal the frontiers of Qutb Shahi Kingdom, and Khan-i-Jahan was sent to attack Adil Shahi country. The Mughal forces entered Nizam Shahi territory and moved in different directions to complete the process of subjugation. In 1637, Shah Jahan appointed Prince Aurangzeb to complete the process of subjugation of Nizam Shahi dominions and thus after some forty years of endless struggle the kingdom of Ahmadnagar became a *subah* of the Mughal empire. Murtaza Nizam Shah III was captured and imprisoned at Gwalior fort and the Nizam Shahi dynasty came to an end.31

(ii) The Imad Shahis of Berar (1490-1574)

The kingdom was founded on the ruins of Bahmani Kingdom by Fathullah Imad-ul-mulk, a slave of Sultan Ahmad Shah Bahmani, captured in a campaign against Vijayanagar in 1423.32 While

31 Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 276-277.
32 According to Ferishta, he was included in the bodyguard of the chief commander of Bahmani army, Khwaja-i-Jahan Turk in Berar. He came to the Bahmani court in 1466 and rose through the
aggrandising his own position at a time when the collapse of Bahmanis was imminent, he refrained from provoking any hostility with his immediate neighbours, but did not adopt an attitude of indifference towards his friends and foes. From 1486 until his death in 1510 he rigidly followed the policy of safeguarding himself and his dominions from aggression.  

For sometime after his death the state of affairs remained in a flux. His successor Ala-ud-din Imad Shah (r. 1510-1529) was a prisoner in the fort of Ramgir. After escaping he arrived at Gawilgarh and established his hold over the territory. Sultan Mahmud Shah Bahmani gave him the title of Imad ul Mulk and confirmed him in his possessions. Like other provincial governors, Ala-ud-din too assumed autonomy in his father’s state. Ambition to extend his territory brought him into conflict with Burhan Nizam Shah, but he was defeated in 1510 and had to take refuge with the Faruqi ruler of Khandesh. The defeat confirmed him of the necessity to form alliances if he had to extend his control to other regions. Ala-ud-din had to face defeat again from Nizam Shahi forces near Veloran and took refuge in Gujarat. After

influence of Mahmud Gawan who appointed him sarlashkar of Berar. Sometime after 1473, he was made governor of Berar. He was appointed wazir and Mir jumla under Mahmud Shah Bahmani. Tarikh-i-Ferishta, (English Trans.) vol. 3, p. 293.


34 Tabatabai, Burhan-i-Masir, pp. 326-328; Abul Qasim Ferishta, Tarikh-i-Ferishta, (English Trans.), vol. 3, p. 293-295.
returning from there, he had to face the invasion of Sultan Quli Qutb-ul-mulk who had conquered the fort of Kovilkonda. In 1517, he got the chance to conquer southern Berar by defeating Mahmud Khan, son of Khudawand Khan (governor of Mahur) who was driven to Ahmadnagar. These conquests brought the Imad Shahis in touch with Ahmadnagar, Bidar, Golconda and Khandesh. Consequently the conflict with regard to frontiers became more frequent. Quli Qutb-ul-mulk seized Ramgir and taking advantage of the defeat of Imad Shah Burhan Nizam Shah also invaded Pathri and Mahur and occupied them in 1520. It was only in 1526, that he managed to recover Pathri in alliance with Quli Qutb-ul-mulk, that too only for a small time and no sooner that his allies had returned, Burhan attacked again and reoccupied Pathri. Burhan in alliance with Ali Barid, marched till Elichpur forcing Ala-ud-din to flee to Khandesh. It was only with the help of Bahadur Shah of Gujarat that Burhan was forced to promise to return Pathri and Mahur to Imad Shahis. However as soon as Bahadur Shah returned, Burhan refused to fulfil his promise which led to a second invasion of Bahadur Shah in alliance with Khandesh and Berar. This alliance failed and as soon as Bahadur Shah returned to

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Ibid.
Gujarat, Burhan Nizam Shah refused to hand over the territory to Imad Shah. He died a frustrated man in 1531 and was succeeded by Darya Imad Shah (r. 1531-1562).  

From 1531-1540, Darya Imad Shah followed a policy of splendid isolation and did nothing to recover the losses of his father. By 1543, Darya Imad Shah and Ibrahim Adil Shah had become victims of the aggressive policies of Burhan Nizam Shah. He first formed an alliance with Ibrahim Adil Shah but when differences arose, he left to join Burhan and along with Ali Barid and Jamshed Qutb Shah, he invaded Sholapur, but the fort could not be captured. He however assisted his ally Burhan to conquer Qandhar. The northward expansion of Adil Shahis brought Husain Nizam Shah and Darya Imad Shah closer to one another and the alliance helped in saving Husain Nizam Shah against an invasion of Ibrahim Adil Shah and Ramraj.

In 1560, Ali Adil Shah formed an alliance with Ramraj and Ibrahim Qutb Shah against Ahmadnagar. Darya Imad Shah assisted Nizam Shah in defending his dominions. During his long reign he played the role of an intermediary rather than a hero on the battlefield. His short sighted diplomacy could not help him in extending his kingdom and

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37 Ibid., vol. 3, p.296.
he died in 1562. He was succeeded by his minor son Burhan Imad Shah (r. 1562-68) which exposed the kingdom to further troubles. The reins of government were in the hands of Tufal Khan who now imprisoned his master and assumed the title of king. He kept himself aloof from the rapid developments in the Deccan, but after the Battle of Bannihatti he revived the old policy of least resistance and extending support to Nizam Shahis against Bijapur.

However, Ali Adil Shah proposed a plan to Nizam Shah by which the former was to be given a free hand in Karnataka while the latter would be free to invade the neighbouring areas. They mobilised forces against Berar and defeated Tufal Khan and Elichpur was also besieged. Tufal Khan averted further crisis by bribing Ali Adil Shah. However, soon after getting free from the Portuguese, Murtaza Nizam Shah turned his attention towards Berar and attacked Tufal Khan who fled to Khadesh but was expelled from there. Tufal Khan shut himself in the fort of Narnala but soon the forts of Narnala and Gawilgarh were captured by the Nizam Shahis. Tufal Khan was killed at the behest of Murtaza Nizam Shah and by the middle of 1574 the Imad
Shahi kingdom of Berar had been annexed in the Nizam Shahi kingdom.\(^{38}\)

(iii) The Adil Shahis of Bijapur (1490-1686)\(^{39}\)

The Adil Shahi Kingdom was founded by Yusuf Adil Khan in 1490 with its capital at Bijapur. Yusuf Adil Khan had arrived from Persia in 1460 and had moved to Bidar. He rose to prominence under Mahmud Gawan who appointed him the governor of Bijapur.\(^{40}\) Both ambition and safety counselled breaking away from Bidar where Qasim Barid was all powerful. He therefore established himself in Bijapur in 1490 and read the \textit{khutba} in his own name. His rule from 1490 to 1510 was marked by incessant warfare. Initial five years were spent in fighting defensive wars against formidable confederacy of Qasim Barid and the next ten years were spent in consolidating and extending his newly-established dominions. The last few years were marked by fighting with Portuguese over Goa which had been in Bijapur territory.

Qasim Barid, the most powerful leader at Bidar under the Bahmanis had plans of taking Bijapur, but Yusuf Adil Khan deprived him. He


\(^{39}\) For a detailed history of the Kingdom, see D. C. Verma, \textit{History of Bijapur} (Delhi, 1974).

\(^{40}\) Abul Qasim Ferishta, \textit{Tarikh-i-Ferishta}, (English Trans.), vol. 3, p. 4.
therefore called on Bahadur Gilani, the governor of Konkan to invade
Bijapur dominions from the west and incited Vijayanagar to recover
Raichur Doab. Yusuf Adil however bought peace by surrendering
Doab to Vijayanagar and Jamkhandi to Bahadur Gilani. He then
turned attention towards Qasim Barid. Qasim Barid fled and for the
next ten years he was unable to disturb the Adil Shahi ruler of Bijapur.
Free from the threats of Qasim Barid, he recovered the Raichur Doab
from Vijayanagar in 1493.\footnote{Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 7-8.} Then came the turn to deal with Bahadur
Gilani (governor of Konkan), who had by this time grown powerful.
Qasim Barid in association with Yusuf Adil Khan and the king of
Gujarat attacked Bahadur Gilani who was killed in 1494.\footnote{Ibid., vol. 3, p. 7; H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (eds.). History of Medieval Deccan, vol. 1, pp. 294-295.} After
defeating his three rivals, Yusuf Adil’s struggle for survival was over,
and in 1495 began the phase of extending his dominions.

In 1500, Yusuf Adil successfully incorporated Gulbarga, Kalyani and
other districts in his territory. His territorial ambitions were fulfilled
and with these annexations his dominions reached the maximum
territorial expansion under him. Peace extended over a period of three
years and in 1503, Yusuf Adil openly declared his profession of
Shiism and read the *khutba* in the name of the twelve Imams.\(^4\) For Qasim Barid, an orthodox Sunni, this was the best opportunity to take revenge. Golconda and Ahmadnagar were called upon to fight under the Bahmani flag.\(^4\) But the situation was saved by Imad-ul-Mulk of Berar who advised Yusuf to suspend his religious innovation and then prevailed on Barid’s confederates to withdraw from the alliance. It was only after the death of Qasim Barid in 1504, that Yusuf again reinstated Shia forms of worship.

Another development towards the end of his reign was the conflict with Portuguese over Goa, a Bijapur territory. In 1509, Albuquerque became the governor of Portuguese territories and made an alliance with Vijayanagar, who were no friends of Yusuf Adil Khan, for the capture of Goa. In 1510, he surrounded the fort of Panjim (Panaji) and captured it. But Goa was again recovered in May 1510 by the Bijapur armies though for a short time only. The same year Yusuf Adil Khan died and Portuguese got the chance to recapture it.\(^5\) Yusuf Adil was succeeded by his son Ismail Adil Khan (r. 1510-1534).

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\(^5\) Surprisingly, Quli Qutb ul mulk, in spite of being a Shia, agreed to join the alliance, probably out of political expediency and because he had remained loyal to the Bahmani King.

\(^5\) H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (eds.), *History of Medieval Deccan*, vol. 1, pp. 300-303.
Ismail being a minor, Kamal Khan became his regent and controlled the affairs of government. He made peace with Portuguese and turned attention towards the internal affairs. He reverted the State religion to Sunni faith and allied himself with Amir Barid by an understanding that Kamal Khan will share the kingdom of Bijapur and Sholapur and Barid would be given a free hand in Bidar and allowed to annex Nizam Shahi territories. Assured of support, he imprisoned the young king. However, this alarmed the royal family and Kamal Khan was finally murdered as a result of palace intrigues. Ismail Adil Khan then suppressed the ādkhni and habshi nobility, and the afaqis who had fled to Gujarat were invited back. Shia rites were re-instated.

Taking advantage of these upheavals, Krishna Deva Raya of Vijayanagar, instigated by Amir Barid and Portuguese, invaded the Raichur Doab in 1512 and easily captured it. Amir Barid following his father's diplomacy entered into an alliance with Nizam Shah and Quli Qub-ul-mulk and in 1514 invaded Bijapur territory, but were routed. After defeating the confederation, Ismail took an expedition against Vijayanagar in 1520 for the recovery of Raichur Doab, the chronic bone of contention, but was unsuccessful and had to retreat to

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48 Abul Qasim Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, (English Trans.), vol. 3, p. 27.
Bijapur. He was advised to cement friendship with Burhan Nizam Shah against Ali Barid. Though initially it seemed as if the alliance was working well but soon friendship gave way to animosity and Burhan Nizam Shah made plans to recover Sholapur, which he had given in dowry to Adil Shahi ruler, and for this he made an alliance with Berar and Bidar in 1524. In the ensuing battle, Adil Shah won the day and retained Sholapur. Henceforth, possession of Sholapur became a point of honour between Nizam Shahis and Adil Shahis and proved to be a source for incessant wars between the two kingdoms which only ended with the Mughal annexation of Ahmadnagar.

Soon Ismail realised that it was not possible for him to contemplate peace till Amir Barid was made powerless. In alliance with Ala-ud-din Imad Shah, he invaded Bidar and captured it and Amir Barid was enrolled as a Bijapur amir. Now Ismail made plans to recapture Doab from Vijayanagar and in 1530, both Raichur and Mudgal once again became Adil Shahi possessions. Soon after an alliance was formed between Burhan Nizam Shah and Ismail Adil Shah by which the former was given a free hand against Berar and the latter against Golconda and Vijayanagar. After this agreement, Ismail led an army

50 Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 31.
against Golconda and laid siege to Kovilkonda. The Bijapur army failed to capture it and after a long siege withdrew.\textsuperscript{51} Meanwhile Ismail Adil Shah also died in 1534.

On his death, his son Mallu was seated on the throne but his licentious behaviour alienated him and led to his deposition in 1535. Prince Ibrahim was placed on the throne at the age of 15 years and Asad Khan became the chief adviser. Ibrahim replaced the Shia practices by Sunni ones and showed preference for \textit{dakhnis} over \textit{afaqis}. The accession of Ibrahim coincided with internal troubles at Vijayanagar which led to Ramraj taking absolute power in his own hands. Hoping to take advantage of the situation, Ibrahim ordered an attack on Adoni, but the campaign proved abortive.\textsuperscript{52}

With Asad Khan’s retirement in 1542, Burhan Nizam Shah contemplated an invasion of Adil Shahi Kingdom, recaptured Sholapur and advanced up to Belgam. Ibrahim fled to Gulbarga but were reinforced with the arrival of Darya Imad Shah forcing the invaders to sue for peace. Sholapur was restored to Adil Shahis and Nizam Shahis promised not to indulge in further aggression.\textsuperscript{53} To take revenge for this set-back, Burhan Nizam Shah and a confederacy was

\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., vol. 3, p. 43.
\textsuperscript{52} Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 51.
\textsuperscript{53} Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 55.
formed with Vijayanagar, Bidar and Golconda against Ibrahim Adil Shah in 1543. Attacked from all sides, Ibrahim did not know what to do. He purchased peace by surrendering Sholapur to Nizam Shah and Jamshed Qutb-ul-mulk was severely defeated by Adil Shahi forces and forced to retreat to Golconda.\textsuperscript{54} Thus ended the first confederacy against Bijapur.

Soon in 1548, another confederacy was formed between Burhan Nizam Shah and Ramraj who now laid siege to Kalyani where after a long siege, Adil Shahi forces were taken unawares in a surprise attack and Kalyani was lost.\textsuperscript{55} In retaliation, Ibrahim Adil Shah invaded Ahmadnagar and captured Parenda, though it was soon recovered.\textsuperscript{56} Burhan now rallied with Vijayanagar and captured Sholapur while the Vijayanagar forces occupied Doab in 1552.\textsuperscript{57} It was only after the death of Burhan that Ibrahim could get some respite. With Burhan’s death the policy of Vijayanagar also changed and they now supported Bijapur against Ahmadnagar. For the next twenty years they tried to destroy the Sultanates by siding with one against the other, but could not succeed.

\textsuperscript{54} Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 56-57.
\textsuperscript{56} Abul Qasim Fersihta, \textit{Tarikh-i-Ferishta}, (English Trans.), vol. 3, p. 63.
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 63-64; Tabatabai, \textit{Burhan-i-Masir}, pp. 337-342.
On Ibrahim’s death, Ali Adil Shah succeeded to the throne and reverted the state religion to Shiism and favoured Newcomers in his service. In order to recover Kalyani and Sholapur he entered into an alliance with Vijayanagar. On the other hand, Husain Nizam Shah entered into alliance with Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golconda. In 1558, Husain Nizam Shah besieged the fort of Gulbarga, but because of the withdrawal of Ibrahim Qutb Shah, he had to raise the siege and return to Ahmadnagar. However, even after his withdrawal from Gulbarga, negotiations between Vijayanagar and Bijapur continued and the years from 1559-1561 witnessed a continuous warfare with Bijapur and Vijayanagar on one side and Ahmadnagar on the other, aided sometimes by Berar, sometimes by Golconda. The main cause was control over Kalyani and Sholapur. In the end, Nizam Shah had to sue for peace in 1561 and had to sign a humiliating treaty and Kalyani was returned to Bijapur.

On the completion of these campaigns, Ramaraj claimed from Ali Adil Shah the districts of Itgir and Bagalkot as the price of friendship and Ibrahim Qutb Shah had to cede Kovilkonda and Panagal. Ramaraj had already secured Raichur Doab. It was now clear to the Deccan

Sultans that Ramaraj was their common enemy and was trying to become a military dictator. This led to the formation of the grand alliance of the Sultanates against Vijayanagar. The confederacy led by Ali Adil Shah, Husain Nizam Shah, Ali Barid Shah, Ibrahim Qutb Shah marched to Talikota in 1564.\textsuperscript{50} In the ensuing Battle of Bannihatti the Vijayanagar army was annihilated and by their unity the Deccan Sultanates had vanquished the military menace of Vijayanagar. But the unity was short lived and with their common enemy destroyed, the Sultans fought with each other with even more vigour. The last years of Ali Adil Shah were spent in dealing with the Portuguese but he was frustrated in his attempts to capture Goa.

With the accession of Ibrahim Adil Shah II (r. 1580-1627) began a golden age of Adil Shahi rule. During the period of regencies of Kamil Khan, Ikhlas Khan Habshi and Dilawar Khan Habshi, Murtaza Nizam Shah tried to take advantage and occupy Sholapur, but his armies were routed and forced to withdraw. By the close of 1580’s, Ibrahim Adil Shah decided to assert his own authority. The initial years from 1588-1593 were spent in wars with Ahmadnagar.\textsuperscript{61} In 1595, Ibrahim Adil Shah entered triumphant into the Ahmadnagar

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 150-152, 248-249; Tabatabai, \textit{Burhan-i-Masir}, pp. 422-425.

capital after defeating Ibrahim Nizam Shah; this was the last war of Ibrahim Adil Shah against Nizam Shahi kingdom.\textsuperscript{62}

\textit{The Mughals and the Kingdom of Bijapur}

By 1590, Akbar had the whole of north India under his sway and had turned attention towards the Deccan. He had already taken diplomatic offensive during the last years of Ali Adil Shah I. In 1591, he again sent a mission to Bijapur which was rejected leading to the arrival of Prince Danial in Deccan.\textsuperscript{63} In 1597, at the battle of Sonpat, the allied powers of Bijapur, Golconda and Ahmadnagar were defeated and the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar was fast moving towards extinction.\textsuperscript{64} The news of the conquest of Khandesh and Ahmadnagar alarmed the Deccan states of the growing power of the Mughals. The early years of 17\textsuperscript{th} century were a period of anxiety for Ahmadnagar, where Malik Ambar was now carrying war with the Mughals to save the kingdom from extinction. This gave some time to Bijapur to attempt to conquer Bidar, a coveted territory for both Bijapur and Ahmadnagar. In 1618, Ibrahim Adil Shah decided to invade Bidar while Malik Ambar was busy with the Mughals. All the Baridi territory was annexed to Bijapur and thus ended the kingdom of Bidar in 1619.

\textsuperscript{62} Abul Qasim Ferishta, \textit{Tarikh-i-Ferishta}, (English Trans.) vol. 3, pp. 112-114.
\textsuperscript{64} Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 186-187.
In 1624 Bijapur allied with the Mughals in a war against Ahmadnagar at Bhatwadi leading to the defeat of the allied forces. Malik Ambar marched through the Bijapur territory with his victorious army. Soon after this event, both Malik Ambar and Ibrahim Adil Shah II died. He was succeeded by Muhammad Adil Shah (r. 1627-1656). He entered into a secret alliance with the Mughals by which the Nizam Shahi territory was to be divided between the two, but the alliance failed, and instead Bijapur now sided with Ahmadnagar. In 1631, Shah Jahan dispatched an army against Bijapur, but when nothing much could be accomplished, truce was made. Shah Jahan learning of the failure sent Mahabat Khan and in 1636, the kingdom of Ahmadnagar was wiped out and the Mughals extended their borders to those of Bijapur and Golconda. A treaty was signed in 1636 which ensured Bijapur peace but was humiliating as well. Bijapur gained the whole of Konkan and the pargana of Chakan, Parenda and Sholapur; they had to relinquish their claims on Udgir and Ausa; they had to pay a tribute of twenty lakh rupees etc. While the treaty prevented any further activities in the north, no inhibitions were imposed on it in the south. The treaty of 1636 thus marks the beginning of furthest expansion of the Adil Shahis and Qutb Shahis in the South.

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Thus, in 1637-38 Adil Shahi armies marched South and occupied the whole of the region up to Bednur. Soon another campaign headed by Randaula Khan and Shahji was launched eastwards which led to the capture of Bangalore, the district of Sakripattan. In these campaigns Bijapur and Golconda were acting separately in their respective spheres of operation. In 1643, the campaigns in the south were renewed. These campaigns were mainly launched against the petty Nayaks of the south but they opened the way for the conquest of whole of Karnataka. The next campaign in 1646 was planned on a grand scale led by Mustafa Khan and Shahji Bhonsle leading to the conquest of Vellore and Jinji (1648). During this period, Muhammad Adil Shah also made attempts at allying himself with the Dutch against the Portuguese for the recovery of Goa, but he died before this could be accomplished in 1656. His death marks the beginning of the end for the kingdom of Bijapur as Prince Aurangzeb, the Viceroy of the Deccan was bent on humbling Bijapur and Golconda. Further during the reign of Muhammad Adil Shah had also begun a movement for the establishment of an independent territory of Marathas under the leadership of Shivaji and had gained threatening momentum by 1656.

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67 Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 359-360.
The same year, Aurangzeb wrote to Shah Jahan for sanctioning the cause of his Deccan aggrandisement and was given a free hand in carrying out his policy. A huge army was sent from Delhi under Muhammad Said to assist Aurangzeb and Bidar was occupied in 1657, Kalyani fell in 1659 and Bijapur was besieged. At the time when Bijapur was about to be occupied, orders came from Shah Jahan to stop the war and Aurangzeb was recalled. At the same time, Shah Jahan fell ill and Aurangzeb had to sign a hasty treaty with Ali Adil Shah II (r. 1656-72) by which Bijapur had to pay one and half crore rupees as indemnity, Bidar and Kalyani were to be retained in Mughal possession and Nizam Shahi Konkan and Parenda were to be ceded by Bijapur to the Mughals.

After the return of Aurangzeb, Bijapur had to deal with Shivaji who was trying to set up an independent principality and had captured several outposts of the Adil Shahi kingdom. By 1660, the fertile Konkan region and its numerous fortresses came in the possession of Shivaji. Shivaji’s activities were directed both against Mughals and Adil Shahis. Shaista Khan, Mughal general was defeated in 1663 and

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69 Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 371-373.
70 This may have been because of the influence of Dara Shikoh, who might have showed to the Emperor that Aurangzeb may declare his independence if he is victorious in the Deccan. Khafi Khan, Muntakhab ul lubab (ed.) Kabiruddin Ahmad (Calcutta, 1869-70), vol. 1, pp. 756-757.
71 Ibid. vol. 1, p. 756.
in 1667, Shivaji raided the Mughal port city of Surat. Jai Singh and Diler Khan were sent to deal with Shivaji and the result was the Treaty of Purandar by which Shivaji was alienated from Bijapur and was forced to agree to assist Mughals in the upcoming excursions against Bijapur. In 1665, Bijapur was besieged by Mughal army, but due to scarcity of fodder, they had to retreat to Aurangabad. By the treaty of Purandar, Shivaji was permitted to raid Bijapuri territory and seeing Mughals backing Shivaji, Ali Adil Shah II was forced to enter in a treaty with Mughals by which Sholapur and adjoining territory was handed over to them and in return, the Mughal backing to Shivaji also ended. In 1672, Ali Adil Shah II died leaving Bijapur in a chaotic condition.

The new king Sikandar Adil Shah (r. 1672-86) could not do much to save the situation. Aurangzeb recalled Prince Muazzam and appointed Bahadur Khan as the Viceory of Deccan, with instructions to follow a forward policy against Deccan states. Besides, factions agitated the miserable remains of a fallen state and Shivaji threatented its existence on the other hand. By 1678, Shivaji had made phenomenal success in

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72 Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 172-175.
73 Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 196-198.
74 H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (eds.), *History of Medieval Deccan*, vol. 1, pp. 380-2
the south and Karnataka. The Mughals tried to ally Bahlol Khan, the Afghan regent at Bijapur to their side against Shivaji, but the plan failed and Bahlol died in 1677. In 1678, the Mughal general Diler Khan commenced activities against Bijapur and tried to win over the discontented Adil Shahi troopers by bribery. In a treaty with Sidi Masud, the regent at Bijapur, the Mughal general Diler Khan insisted that a Mughal creature Shams-ud-din should be appointed as Regent. Since the terms of the treaty were tantamount to ending the independence of the Kingdom, Masud rejected it and Diler Khan got the pretext for declaring war in 1679. However, no breakthrough could be achieved and Diler Khan was recalled by Aurangzeb.

In 1680, Shivaji died and the last barrier between Bijapur and the Mughals was removed. Aurangzeb’s strongest adversary in the Deccan was removed and he was free to focus on Bijapur. Aurangzeb himself came to Deccan and made overtures to Bijapuri nobles. Unnerved by the developments, Sidi Masud sought retirement and Sikandar Shah appointed Agha Khusrau as his new wazir. Things went from bad to worse when Sikandar refused to aid Mughals in their campaigns against Marathas and soon the diplomatic relations were

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76 Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 390-391.
broken. In 1685, the Mughal siege of Bijapur began which ended in 1686 with the annexation of Bijapur. Sikandar was imprisoned and died in captivity in 1700. Bijapur ceased to be an independent kingdom.

(iv) The Qutb Shahis of Golconda (1512-1687)

The Kingdom was founded by Sultan Quli Qutb-ul-Mulk (r. 1512-1543) whose ancestors belonged to a Turkish tribe. He arrived at Bidar during the reign of Bahmani Sultan, Muhammad Shah Bahmani ‘Lashkari’. It is not certain when he declared his independence and his loyalty to the name of Bahmani Sultan was so much ingrained in him that although he survived the last Bahmani king Kalimullah by about five years, he never formally declared his independence. Nevertheless the utter weakness of the government of Bidar entailed the complete autonomy of Qutb-ul-Mulk.

As long as Krishnadeva Raya was alive, Qutb-ul-Mulk did not make any attempt to recover the territories lost to Bahmani Kingdom. It was in 1531-32 that he began his campaigns in the Telengana. By the annexation of Panagal and the fortresses of Rajkonda and

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78 For a detailed history of the Kingdom, see H. K. Sherwani, *History of the Qutb Shahi Dynasty* (Delhi, 1974).
Devarkonda, Qutb-ul-Mulk became a neighbour of both Vijayanagar and Bijapur. With the accession of Shah Ismail Safawi in Persia in 1501, Quli Qutb-ul-Mulk also declared Shiism as state religion and it remained so till the fall of Golconda in 1687.

The death of Qutb-ul-Mulk in 1543 was marked by a period of uncertainty and his successor Jamshed (r. 1543-1550) had to wage continuous wars against neighbouring kingdoms in order to maintain his authority and he survived in the task. He had to wage several indecisive battles against Ali Barid and successfully intervened in the sanguine quarrels between Bijapur and Ahmadnagar. By his strategy and bravery, Jamshed was able to restore the strength of Golconda, but at his death in 1550, there was an immediate squabble for power. After a short period of uncertainty, it was Ibrahim Qutb Shah (r. 1550-1580) the youngest son of Quli Qutb Shah, who became the next king in 1550, and under his rule the kingdom attained new heights.

The foreign policy of Ibrahim was his resolve not to step over the natural limits of the Telengana and his peace moves were aimed at curbing the causes of war even when he was dragged into it. Thus in 1560, he diplomatically persuaded Ramaraj of Vijayanagar to withdraw from Ahmadnagar and even agreed to sacrifice his cherished
possession of the fort of Kondapalli. In 1563, close matrimonial relations were formed between Golconda and Ahmadnagar and they jointly besieged Kalyani but were not successful in capturing it. In 1565 was formed the grand alliance between Golconda, Nizam Shahis, Adil Shahis and Barid Shahis against Vijayanagar’s regent and dictator Ramaraj. Ibrahim Qutb Shah was enraged by the asylum given to traitor Jagadev Rao by Ramaraj and also because of the forced cession of Kovilkonda, Panagal and Kondapalli to Vijayanagar. The battle, as mentioned earlier resulted in the complete annihilation of Vijayanagar.

After the victory, the Raichur Doab was given to Bijapur but Ibrahim was unhappy over the inordinate increase in the power of Bijapur. Soon after the Battle of Bannihatti, Ibrahim sent his forces to occupy Rajamundri and subjugate southern Orissa. His forces reached Potnur on the Bengal border and this was the furthest limit of Qutb Shahi dominions in the north-east. In early 1570s Bijapur and Ahmadnagar launched offensive against Berar and even raided Qutb Shahi territories up to Kamthana near Golconda. The allies were however repelled but soon in 1573, at the deadly battle at Kaulas, the Qutb

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81 See above.
Shahis were defeated although the fort was not occupied and the invaders retreated. Meanwhile Berar was also annexed in the Ahmadnagar kingdom.\(^3\) Its removal meant that the buffer between Golconda and Ahmadnagar now ceased to exist and Ibrahim was forced to negotiate with Murtaza Nizam Shah against the incursions of Bijapur in Karnataka. At the same time, Ibrahim began expeditions to the South and in 1579 he captured the strong fort of Udaigiri. From there, he sent expeditions leading to the capture of Vinukonda, Kacharlakota and Kumbum and finally Kondavidu was occupied by Qutb Shahi forces.\(^4\) The same year Ali Adil Shah died, much to the relief of Ibrahim Qutb Shah. Taking advantage of the situation and hoping to end the Bijapuri menace, Qutb Shah and Nizam Shah invaded Bijapur territory. A large army was sent towards Kakni and Navalki, which had been the bones of contention with Bijapur ever since the rule of Quli Qutb-ul-Mulk. Bijapur territory was ravaged by allied forces and several forts were captured. However, the death of Ibrahim Qutb Shah in 1580, left the task of subduing Bijapur incomplete.\(^5\)

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\(^4\) H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (eds.), *History of Medieval Deccan*, vol. 1, p. 441.

Ibrahim was succeeded by his son Muhammad Quli Qutb-ul-Mulk (r. 1580-1612) whose reign was marked by cultural uplift of the kingdom. It was during his reign that Qutb Shahis came in first contact with the Mughals. During 1595, the Mughals had besieged Ahmadnagar and the Nizam Shahis had been sent aid from both Bijapur and Golconda. Unable to reduce the fort, Mughals made a treaty by which they got Berar but left the bulk of Nizam Shahi territory intact. At the Battle of Sonpat in 1597, the allied forces of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golconda suffered a defeat at the hands of Mughals. In 1610, Malik Ambar with the aid of Bijapur and Golconda succeeded for a short time in recovering Ahmadnagar city after ten years of Mughal rule.

The closing years of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah were discomforting and he had to face internal rebellions and soon the whole of southern region bordering on the Krishna, with the exception of Kondavidu, was lost to Qutb Shahis. Nevertheless, the reign of Muhammad Quli also witnessed the emergence of the town of Hyderabad and the famous Charminar, one of the grandest monuments of the region, was completed in 1590-91.
Muhammad Quli was succeeded by his nephew Muhammad Qutb Shah (r. 1612-1626) at a time when the kingdom was passing through a crisis. There was the danger of Venkata II of Vijayanagar trying to annex a portion of Tilangana, the Mughal threat was looming from the north as well. Emperor Jahangir was alarmed at the activities of Malik Ambar and successfully isolated him of help from Bijapur and Golconda through diplomatic means. This isolation cost Malik Ambar the fort of Ahmadnagar, which was recovered by Mughals in 1616. The death of Malik Ambar and Muhammad Qutb Shah in 1626, removed two main obstacles from the conquest of Deccan kingdoms by the Mughals and Shah Jahan was left free in his programme of subjugating them.

The Qutb Shahis and the Mughals:

The downward trend begins for the Qutb Shahis with the accession of Abdullah Qutb Shah (r. 1626-1672), the eldest son of Muhammad Qutb. At the same time, the new Emperor Shah Jahan had firsthand knowledge of the Deccan affairs and arrived in Burhanpur in 1630. Overawed by the onslaught of Mughals, both Bijapur and Golconda sent peshkash to the Emperor, but this did not prevent Shah Jahan from expanding Mughal power. The Nizam Shahis were soon

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eliminated from political scene and the last scion of the royal family was sent to Gwalior as a prisoner.

Mughal presence also exerted pressure on Qutb Shahi territory bordering Orissa and the treaty of 1636 contained provisions under which Abdullah Qutb Shah had to become subservient to Mughal power and also replace the name of *imams* by the names of Caliphs in the *khutba* and had to mint coins in the name of Mughal Emperor.  

The period following 1636 was marked by Qutb Shahi expansion in the South aided by a policy of appeasement by Shah Jahan.

In 1656, after the defection of Muhammad Said, who had served as Mir Jumla of the Kingdom, to the Mughals, he was made a mansabdar of 5000. Prince Aurangzeb was ordered to march to Golconda for collecting arrears of *peshkash*. Golconda was besieged and in spite of conciliatory attitude of Abdullah, the siege went on till Abdullah accepted that he would be succeeded by his Mughal son-in-law Prince Muhammad Sultan.  

Soon after, the issue of Karnataka cropped up as Golconda claimed it to be theirs since it was the part of conquests of Mir Jumla of the Kingdom, while Mughals claimed that Muhammad Said was now a Mughal noble and therefore Karnataka formed his

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88 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 467.
jagir. As no compromise was possible, the Mughals overran the whole region and occupied Karnataka.\(^89\)

In 1672, Abdullah Qutb Shah died and after a palace intrigue the third son-in-law of the late Sultan named Sultan Abul Hasan was placed on the throne. Saiyid Muzaffar who had led to his coronation was made Mir Jumla, but soon a rift emerged among the two and the King began to favour Mir Jumla's secretary Madanna. At an opportune time, Madanna was made the Mir Jumla of the Kingdom. He started off by paying all *peshkash* to the Mughals. In 1672 at the time of his accession, Shivaji was one of the strong figures in South India and soon he crowned himself at Raigarh in 1674. In 1672, he had extracted a large indemnity from Qutb Shahis and in 1677 he started a huge campaign which resulted in his complete control over lands south of Tungabhadra as far as Tanjore.\(^90\) Bijapur was going through a turmoil and Abul Hasan offered help to Sikandar at the time of his accession in 1672 and at the same time allied with Shivaji.

Aurangzeb became confident that time was ripe to wipe off the Deccan Sultanates and also check the growing Maratha power and arrived in person to Ahmadnagar in 1683. Bijapur which acted as a

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\(^{89}\) Ibid., vol. 1, p. 468.

\(^{90}\) Ibid., pp. 486-487.
shield between Mughals and Golconda had to suffer the strain of a siege first. Bijapur was besieged by Prince Azam in 1685 and Abul Hasan promised Bijapur a large military help, which never came. Simultaneously, Prince Muazzam was ordered to invade Qutb Shahi territory. Initially not much could be accomplished, but at the second battle of Malkher, the Qutb Shahi army was pushed back to its capital in 1686. Then began a series of defections of Qutb Shahi nobles to Mughals, which left Abul Hasan almost forlorn. In 1687, Aurangzeb himself arrived at Golconda and then began the complete investment of the fort which lasted about eight lunar months. The siege was protracted and famine conditions were staring in the face of Mughal army. There are many episodes relating to the siege which finally resulted in the capture of Golconda and captivity of Abul Hasan at Daulatabad. The final sultanate of Deccan was thus annexed in the Mughal Empire in 1687.

(v) The Barid Shahis of Bidar (1492-1572)

The city of Bidar flourished during the early Bahmani period and it was remembered for orphan-schools established by Muhammad Shah

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92 Ibid.
II (r. 1378-1397). The fort of Bidar was a stronghold during Bahmani period. The turning point in the history of the town came with the end of Firoz Shah (1422), after whom Prince Ahmad made Bidar as the capital of his kingdom. Its central location, natural defences and invigorating climate made it an ideal place for building an imperial palace.

The history of Barid Shahis begin with Qasim Barid (r. 1492-1504), a man of Turkish origin, brought up in Deccan by Khwaja Shihabuddin Ali Yazdi, who offered him for service to Muhammad Shah Bahmani III. In his service he distinguished himself by subduing Marathas and entered into matrimonial alliance with Marathas also. During the reign of Mahmud Shah Bahmani, he rose to the rank of vakil. Qasim Barid was the virtual ruler and had complete power over the king. During his period, independent kingdoms arose in Deccan as Nizamul Mulk, Imadul mulk and Yusuf Adil Khan proclaimed the independence of their respective kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, Berar and Bijapur. This event was soon followed by Qasim Barid proclaiming his own independence in Ausa and Qandhar and became the de-facto ruler of

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93 Abul Qasim Ferishta, Tarikh-i-Ferishta, (English Trans.), vol. 2, pp. 216-17.
94 Ibid., vol. 3, p. 299.
Bidar. In theory, he remained as Prime-Minister (Amir-i-jumla) even when Bahmanis had ceased to be a ruling dynasty.

Qasim Barid was succeeded by his son Amir Barid (r. 1504-1542), who was constantly at war with the neighbouring kingdom of Bijapur. In 1529, Ismail Adil Shah marched against Bidar and captured Amir Barid, whose life was spared only on condition of submission. The fort fell and treasures were taken by Bijapuri forces, while Amir Barid retreated to Udgir. Amir Barid helped Ismail Adil Shah in his sieges of Raichur and Mudgal against Vijayanagar in 1530, and after the treaty, Bidar was restored to Amir Barid on condition that Kalyani and Qandhar should be returned to Bijapur.\(^9^5\)

Amir Barid died in 1542 and was succeeded by Ali Barid Shah I (r. 1542-1579) — a cultured person and fond of poetry and calligraphy. During his reign Bidar was invaded by Murtaza Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar in 1579. He was assisted by Ibrahim Qutb Shah who also wanted a portion of Barid Shahi territory. In such straits, Ali Barid appealed to Ali Adil Shah for help, who sent military aid. However, a rebellion in Ahmadnagar forced Murtaza Nizam Shah to retreat to his capital and the campaign ended. Another important development was

\(^{95}\) Ibid., vol. 3, p. 301.
the formation of an alliance of Deccan kings against Vijayanagar’s ruler Rama Raja. Ali Barid took an active part in the campaign which took place at Talikota. However, it is not definitely known as to how much benefits he derived from his participation in the battle. Ali Barid died in 1580 and was succeeded by his son Ibrahim Barid (r. 1579-1586), after whose short reign Qasim Barid II (r. 1586-1589) came to the Barid Shahi throne. After the battle of Talikota, the rival dynasties of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, and Golconda became too powerful for the Bidar kings which now dwindled into a small territory, and was absorbed in the Bijapur territory. Ferishta concluded his account of Barid Shahi kings in 1609 and mentions Mirza Ali Barid as reigning monarch. In 1619, Ibrahim Adil Shah annexed Bidar in the Adil Shahi kingdom.

Bidar remained under Adil Shahi rule till Aurangzeb began his plans for the subjugation of Deccan kingdoms. In 1656, Aurangzeb, then viceroy of Deccan, laid siege to the city and captured the fort and Bidar was included in the Mughal Empire. Khutba was read in the name of then Emperor Shah Jahan and Mughal coins were issued under his name. Bidar continued to be governed by Mughal governors, such as Iftikhar Khan, Khan Zama Mir Khalilullah, Mir Shams-ud-din
Mukhtar Khan, Qalandar Khan, Jan Sipar Khan who held the post from 1681 till its final annexation by Aurangzeb.
Chapter 5
The Chishti Order in the Deccan

The Chishti order was founded at Chisht, a village near Herat in modern Afghanistan. It became the earliest Sufi order to arrive in the Indian subcontinent and also the most influential among the common people. Its first centre in India was Ajmer where Shaikh Moin-ud-din Chishti (d. 1236) laid the foundation of a Chishti *khanqah*. Throughout the 13th century the order flourished in Delhi and Ajodhan where Shaikh Qutb-ud-din Bakhtyar Kaki, and Shaikh Farid-ud-din Masud and Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya taught and propagated its mystic teachings and ethical principles. The spiritual descendants of Nizam-ud-din Auliya were the first Chishtis to reach the Deccan and lay the foundations of the order.

The Chishtis of Delhi developed certain unique characteristics which were retained by the leading Chishtis of the Deccan, and therefore merit some attention. First among them was the Chishti tradition of avoiding the court and courtly affairs. The famous saying, ‘My room has two doors, if the Sultan enters from one, I will leave by the other’, reflected a uniform policy of the order, and the *khilafat namas* strictly
forbade the followers to accept land grants from the court. The Chishti
_khanqahs_ had two aspects: one related to providing its inmates an
atmosphere for concentration on their spiritual life; and the other to
interaction with inmates through sharing of responsibilities and with
common people by interacting with scholars, soldiers, yogis, peasants
and all sorts of people.

The brilliance of the Chishti tradition in Delhi was represented by
Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya, but virtually extinguished by the mid-
14ᵗʰ century. Conflicting notions emerged in the court and the
_khanqahs_ about the Sufi’s role in society and from the reign of
Muhammad bin Tughlaq tensions between the court and _khanqahs_
were accelerated. We have noticed earlier that the shifting from Delhi
to Daulatabad in 1327 destroyed the _khanqah_ life of Delhi. But
Delhi’s loss was to a great extent Deccan’s gain, as many leading
disciples of Nizam-ud-din Auliya migrated to the new centre of
Daulatabad. With the foundation of Bahmani Sultanate, several
Chishti Sufis gravitated to Gulbarga, but in doing so they, unlike their
spiritual forefathers, developed close links with the court. The
Bahmani kings took the initiative in forging alliances with Muslim
mystics for mustering their initially tenuous hold over the Deccan
plateau. It was believed that Sufis with their strong hold over large number of non-elite groups were capable of carrying the roots of Bahmani power deeper in public confidence.

The following account examines the lives and activities of some of the prominent Sufis who chose Deccan to be their home and laid the foundations of Chishti traditions in the south.

A. The Pre-Bahmani Chishtis

(i) Burhan-ud-din Gharib (1256-1338):

Burhan-ud-din Gharib was one of the senior disciples of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya and the first among the Chishti saints to have arrived and settled in the Deccan.¹ The exact date of his arrival cannot be ascertained from the available sources. But it may be surmised that he left Delhi around 1325-27, the period that witnessed the change of capital by Muhammad bin Tughlaq from Delhi to Daulatabad. He was among those religious elite who migrated to the Deccan as a result of this experiment of the Sultan. Prior to settling in Khuldabad, Burhan-ud-din moved to Daulatabad along with prominent figures such as

Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi (d. 1335/1337), Pir Mubarak Kirman (d. 1333), Khwaja Hasan, Khwaja Umar (d. 1349) and Kamal-ud-din Samana, all of whom were disciples of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya. Some of Burhan-ud-din’s own disciples also migrated with him such as Kaka Sad Bakhsh, Shaikh Rukn-ud-din bin Imad Dabir Kashani, Imad Kashani, Khwaja Majd-ud-din Kashani, Khwaja Burhan-ud-din Kashani, and Khwaja Jamal-ud-din Kashani, Farid-ud-din Adib (d. 1337) and Maulana Rukn-ud-din.

Shaikh Burhan-ud-din was fond of sama and music and his disciples developed a particular type of rhythmic movement and were known as burhanis. He maintained the traditions established by his Chishti predecessors of north India concerning the relations with rulers. Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami calls him sahib-i-wilayat of the Deccan.

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3 Khwaja Umar and Khwaja Hasan were sons of Saiyid Mahmud Shirazi. Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Rauzat-ul-auliya*, f. 28; Shaikh Hasan’s son Shaikh Zainuddin Daud was a distinguished khalifah of Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib.

4 He was a personal attendant of Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib.

5 For his works see, Suleman Siddiqi, *Bahmani Suﬁs*, Appendix A. Shaikh Ruknuddin Kashani had four brothers: Khwaja Imad, Khwaja Majuddin, Khwaja Burhanuddin, Khwaja Jamaluddin. They were all scholars of high merit and disciple of Burhanuddin Gharib.

6 For his works see Suleman Siddiqi, *Bahmani Suﬁs*, Appendix A.

7 Ibid.


suggesting his high rank and position among the Deccan Sufis- a position which was recognised by posterity also. In fact he has been credited for laying the foundations of Chishti traditions in the Deccan and the south. It was he who explained Chishti principles to his disciples in the Deccan and further popularised the names of Shaikh Farid-ud-din Masud and Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya. Burhan-ud-din’s attachment with Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya was such that before his death, he wore the *tasbih* (rosary) of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din around his neck and his *dastar* on his head and renewed the teachings of his master.\(^{11}\) Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya gave his *kulah* and robe to Shaikh Burhan-ud-din Gharib before his death which signified his granting of *khilafat* to him.\(^{12}\) According to Ferishta, Nasir Khan Faruqi of Khandesh, a disciple of Burhan-ud-din laid the foundations of the town of Burhanpur named after his spiritual master and also laid the foundations of a *qasbah* Zainabad in honour of Shaikh Zain-ud-din.\(^{13}\)

Numerous works including his *malfuzat* throw considerable light on his contributions in spreading Chishti silsilah in the Deccan. They

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\(^{13}\) Abul Qasim Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, (English trans.) John Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India* (Delhi, 2006), vol. 4. p. 175 [henceforth, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* (English Trans.). *Siyar-ul-Auliya* (pp. 441-2, fn. 1) mentions only the name of Burhanpur. For his account, see below, pp. 145-149
include *Ahsan-ul-aqwal*, *Shamail-ul-atqiya*, *Nafais-ul-anfas*, *Gharib-ul-karamat*, and *Baqiya-ul-gharaib*. Although Burhan-ud-din reached Deccan when he was in his old age, he had the charismatic personality and intellectual capability to plant the Chishti *silsilah* in a region without any background of mystic tradition. He possessed an extremely persuasive manner of instructing those who thronged around him. The main method of his teaching included the use of didactic stories which were constructed in a manner so as to make the mystic ideas a living reality for the listener. Following the traditions of his spiritual master, he taught higher mystic works to his senior disciples and disdained possession of private property and distributed wealth and gifts to the needy and the poor. It is reported that when Muhammad bin Tughlaq sent a gift of 3000 *tankas* through Malik Naib Barbak (the future Sultan Firoz Shah), the Shaikh distributed the entire sum in charity after adding twenty *tankas* from

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15 The complete title is *Shamail-ul-atqiya wa dalail atqiya*. It mainly deals with the principles of Islamic mysticism. Manuscripts are available in the Aligarh Muslim University Library and the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Nos. 1197/E 125; and 1198/OA 19 respectively).

16 It records the conversations of the Shaikh from 1331 to 1337, the year of his death. Azad Bilgrami believes that it was planned on the model of *Fawaid-ul-Fuad*. Manuscript is in the library of Nadwat-ul-ulama, Lucknow.

17 Manuscript is in Salarjung Museum, no. 43/876.

18 It does not seem to exist any longer although Azad Bilgrami consulted it in his *Rauzat-ul-auliya*.

the khanqah. In return he sent a prayer carpet and dates for the Sultan as a blessing.

Like Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya and Shaikh Nasir-ud-din Chiragh, he remained a celibate throughout his life. His khanqah was known for its quite contentment and an atmosphere of determined resignation where his disciples worked zealously for increasing the influence of the silsilah. Maulana Hammad is alone known to have admitted some thousand disciples to the Chishti mystic fold. The rulers of Khandesh felt deeply attracted towards his spiritual order even though the Sufis often sharply criticised the behaviours of the rulers. Shaikh Zain-ud-din Daud, a disciple of Burhan-ud-din, known for his courage of convictions sharply criticised Muhammad Shah Bahmani and boldly defied his authority.

(ii) Muntajab-ud-din Zarzari Zarbakhsh (1276-1309):

He was the younger brother of Shaikh Burhan-ud-din Gharib and attained great fame in the Deccan. However, very little is known about his life, even though the later generations cherished his memory by celebrating his death anniversary with enthusiasm and faith,

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21 Baqyat-ul-gharaib as quoted by Azad Bilgrami, f. 12; Abdul Jabbar Malikpuri, Tazkirah-i-auliya-i-Deccan (Hyderabad, nd), vol. 1, p. 155.
signifying his great impact on the religious life of the region. He is known to us only through legends and there is no trace of his malfuzat or accounts in other contemporary writings. What is known with certainty is that he was a senior disciple of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya and arrived at Khuldabad with 700 companions after receiving khilafat, accompanied with men of wealth and high stature. Referring to Futuh-ul-auliya, Rawnaq Ali reports an incident which sheds light on the departure of his brother Burhan-ud-din Gharib to Daulatabad. Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya once enquired from Burhan-ud-din Gharib, ‘Muntajab-ud-din, your brother, was he older or younger than you?’ implying that Muntajab-ud-din had died before Shaikh Burhan-ud-din arrived in Deccan. A few days later, Shaikh again told Burhan-ud-din, ‘I have appointed you in place of your brother, and it is binding upon you to leave for Khuldabad.’ Rawnaq Ali further informs that Burhan-ud-din was reluctant to leave the company of the Shaikh and the majlis upon which he was told that, ‘All these disciples and khulafa are yours. Take them along with you.’ Among those present were Shaikh Kamal Khujandi, Shaikh Jam, Shaikh Fakhr-ud-din and others.

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23 Ibid., f. 7; Abdul Jabbar Malkapuri, Tazkirah-i-auliya-i-Dakan, vol. 2, pp. 819-821.
24 Ibid., f. 7; Rawnaq Ali, Rauzat-ul-aqtab, pp. 118-121; as cited in Suleman Siddiqi, Bahmani Sufis, p. 41.
(iii) Shaikh Yusuf Husaini (d. 1331)

He was a disciple of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya and a contemporary Chishti Sufi of Burhan-ud-din Gharib at Khuldabad. He was the father of the illustrious Chishti saint Saiyid Husain Gesudaraz of Gulbarga. He made ‘Raja’ his *nom de plume* and was popularly known as Saiyid Raju or Shah Raju Qattal Husaini. He moved to Khuldabad along with his family during the last years of his life following the transfer of capital by Muhammad bin Tughlaq. Most of his time was spent in the company of Shaikh Burhan-ud-din Gharib and Shaikh Babu. With the arrival of other Chishti saints from the north, the Sufi activity assumed importance and took a firm footing in the Khuldabad-Daulatabad region. Chishti doctrines were openly propagated and the Sufis worked for the spiritual and moral uplift of the people.

With the death of Burhan-ud-din Gharib, Saiyid Yusuf Husaini, Pir Mubarak Karwan and Amir Ala Sijzi, in a short span of four years - i.e. between 1333-1337, the pre-Bahmani Chishti era came to an end.

What is obvious from the accounts of the personal and family lives of these early Chishtis of Deccan, is the fact that they followed strictly...
the precepts of their north Indian masters. The organisation of 
khanqahs, their attitude towards state grants, in the appointment of 
their khalifahs etc. these early Sufis followed the traditions of the 
early Chishti saints of north India.²⁶

B. The Bahmani Chishtis

(i) Shaikh Zain-ud-din Dawud Shirazi (1302-1369)

Shaikh Zain-ud-din was a khalifah of Shaikh Burhan-ud-din Gharib 
and one of the earliest Chishti Sufi of the Bahmani period.²⁷ After his 
settlement at Khuldabad, Shaikh Zain-ud-din became popular as a 
scholar of high repute. He had a large circle of students even before 
his entry into the mystic fold of Burhan-ud-din.²⁸ It is also recorded 
that the spiritual and scholastic personality of Shaikh Zain-ud-din not 
only influenced the Bahmani Sultans but also the rulers of the adjacent 
Faruqi kingdom. He was the contemporary of Ala-ud-din Hasan 
Bahman and his successor Muhammad Shah I and exercised a great 
influence on the Bahmani and Faruqi kingdoms of the Deccan. Nasir

²⁶ It is to be noted that the early Chishti saints of north India abstained from the company of the 
ruuling classes. They refused to take land grants, cash gifts or inam lands and they did not 
necessarily appoint their own sons as spiritual successors. These tendencies were also found 
among the early Chishtis of the Deccan. See, K. A. Nizami, Religion and Politics in India During 
the Thirteenth Century, chapters 6 and 7.

²⁸ It is suggested that he joined Burhanuddin's discipline only after he received answers to many of 
his spiritual queries which he believed no one could answer. See Abdul Jabbar Malkapuri, 
Khan Faruqi (r. 1399-1437) invited the saint to his capital and tried to gift several villages to him which were refused. However, Zain-ud-din obliged by moving up to the river Tapti and laying the foundation stone of twin cities Burhanpur and Zainabad, named after his shaikh and himself respectively. The two cities soon emerged as important urban centres. The Shaikh also gave him the title of ‘Ghazi’ which the king added to his titles and ordered to close wine-shops and promote strict observance of religious laws. The Shaikh thereafter maintained good relations with the ruler and did not hesitate to express his honest sentiments.

Trained in both exoteric and esoteric sciences, he strictly adhered to the key principles of the Chishti order. Keeping with the teachings of his silsilah he did not accept grants either by Bahmani or Faruqi rulers. Between 1327-1369 Shaikli Zain-ud-din’s influence was unmatched in Daulatabad and it may be believed that he was the lone spiritual leader at Daulatabad which had been an active mystic centre since 1300.

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31 Zainuddin reached Daulatabad in 1327 and lived there till his death in 1369. In this period we do not notice any other prominent Sufi in Daulatabad. Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, Rauzat-ul-auliya, f. 33.
His relations with Sultan Muhammad I became hostile because of his sympathy for two rebels Bahram Khan and Kumbh Dev. The Sultan had nearly crushed the rebellion when both fled the fortress and on the suggestion of Shaikh Zain-ud-din, fled to Gujarat to save their lives. Sultan was deeply incensed and the whole episode accentuated his bitterness. Further, Shaikh Zain-ud-din was the only major Sufi who had absented himself in a defiant mood from the coronation ceremony of the Sultan. Being critical of Sultan’s addictions to wine and indifference to moral and ethical principles of Islam, he refused allegiance to him. When Zain-ud-din refused to visit the court on repeated summons, the sultan gave orders for his expulsion from Daulatabad. But Zain-ud-din retired to the tomb of Shaikh Burhan-ud-din and challenged the Sultan to remove him from there. A challenge emanating from a Chishti centre that commanded great love and reverence among the people was not to be easily accepted and the Sultan was forced to change his posture and found in tactful reconciliation a real solution of the problem. He thus sent a message

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32 Abul Qasim Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* (English trans.) vol. 2, p. 200; H. K. Sherwani, *Bahmanis of the Deccan* (New Delhi, 1985), pp. 72-73. The *Burhan-i-Masir* gives an entirely different version suggesting that Shaikh Zainuddin advised Bahram to beg for Sultan’s pardon, the rebels did so and were pardoned, but were made to quit the kingdom. Saiyid Ali Tabatabai, *Burhan-i-Masir* (Delhi, 1936), p. 33.

of goodwill to the Shaikh and hoped for reconciliation. To this Zain-ud-din replied that the Sultan should first give up his drinking habits, close wine shops, and issue orders to his officers to act according to the Islamic principles of morality. The Sultan, we are told accepted these conditions and henceforth friendly relations were established between the two. This episode also highlights the great influence and extent of prestige of the Shaikh. A ruler, however powerful, could not afford to antagonise the spiritual leaders because of the immense popularity they enjoyed among the masses. It must also be confessed that it was on account of such Chishti Sufis that the Sufi movement retained its virility and vigour in the south and countered the abuses that came in the wake of contact with the State.

Zain-ud-din’s malfuzat were compiled by Amir Husain under the title Hidayat-ul-qulub. Some of his leading disciples established khanqahs at different places in Deccan. Saiyid Yaqub, for instance, set up a khanqah at Nahrwala in Gujarat, where he died in 1397. Another khalifah Saiyid Zaynu Yusuf popularly known as Shamna Miran established a Chishti khanqah at Murtazabad where he died in

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36 Suleman Siddiqi, 'Dakan me Chishtiya silsilah ki ibtida aur farogh 1300-1538', pp. 150-151.
Qazi Kamal-ud-din, one of the khalifahs of Saiyid Yaqub established another khanqah in Gujarat where he preached Chishti doctrines till his death in 1438.\(^{38}\)

(ii) Saiyid Muhammad Gesudaraz (1321-1422)

The Chishti silsilah in the Deccan received great impetus with the coming of Gesudaraz. Born in Delhi in 1321, Gesudaraz moved to Deccan along with his father when Muhammad bin Tughlaq ordered the general migration. At the time of his father’s death in Daulatabad, he was only 16 years of age and he returned to Delhi where he joined the spiritual discipline of Shaikh Nasir-ud-din Chiragh (d. 1356), the successor of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya.\(^{39}\) After spending some twenty years in the service of Shaikh Nasir-ud-din, and after holding the sajjadgi till 1398, he left Delhi on hearing the news of Timur’s invasion and once again headed for Deccan. When he arrived in Gulbarga, the reigning Sultan Firoz Shah Bahmani (r. 1397-1422) welcomed him and granted several villages in inam (tax-free lands) which he apparently accepted.\(^{40}\)

\(^{38}\) Ibid. His shrine is at Nahrwala in Patan, Gujarat.
\(^{39}\) Ghulam Ali Musavi, Mishkat-un-nubuwah (Urdu Trans), vol.5, pp. 42-54.
\(^{40}\) Saiyid Ali Tabatabai, Burhan-i-masir, p. 44.
On his arrival at Khuldabad, he was invited by Firoz Shah Bahmani to Gulbarga and asked to bless the place by settling down. Gesudaraz thus settled in Gulbarga in 1400 after receiving a royal welcome by the Sultan and his brother, Ahmad Khan. At that time, there was no Sufi of high spiritual and academic standing at Gulbarga, the king was keen to use the services of Gesudaraz for the spiritual and intellectual development of his people and perhaps also to claim a large mass following. This provided an ideal atmosphere for Gesudaraz to work in and organise the Chishti order in a more profound manner.

Gesudaraz was already well-known in the north as an academician and scholar of repute and had composed a number of works in Delhi. Some of these works were completed during his southward journey. After settling in Gulbarga, he compiled more books and also established a madrasah at his khangah. His immense popularity at the urban centre of Gulbarga made his support to one or the other political groups of the court greatly important. The cordial relations

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41 There is a difference of opinion among authors about the exact date of his arrival. Saiyid Ali Tabatabai, Burhan-i-Masir, p. 44 mentions 1399 while Malkapuri, Tazkirah-i-auliya-i-dakan, vol. 1, p. 285, gives 1412. Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, Itnazat-ul auliya, f. 38 mentions 1412; H. K. Sherwani, Bahmanis of the Deccan suggests 1416 as well, p. 105. It is Muhammad Ali Samani (Siyar-i-Muhammad, Allahabad, 1949) who mentions his date of departure of Delhi in 1398, p. 29. He also mentions that Alauddin Gwaliori came to visit Gesudaraz in 1403 at Gulbarga. Thus, he must have reached Gulbarga before that date.

42 Suleman Siddiqi, Bahmani Sufis, chapter 2 and Appendix A.

43 In Ghulam Ali Shah’s Mishkat-un-nubuwah it is recorded that Gesudaraz drew his followers from Saiyids, nobles, princes and shaikhs and also from tailors, cobbler etc. vol. 5, pp. 42-54.
between the Sultan Firoz Shah and Gesudaraz ended when the latter supported the claim of Sultan’s brother Ahmad as the successor to the Bahmani throne in preference over Sultan’s son. Angered at this, Gesudaraz was ordered to shift his khanqah as he claimed that its proximity to the palace was a source of distraction because of the large number of people coming there. Gesudaraz then shifted to the place where his tomb currently stands.41

Sultan’s brother Ahmad continued to visit Gesudaraz and attended his musical sessions and donated lavish sums of money to his khanqah. After obtaining the throne on Firoz’s death, Ahmad went even further by transferring the court’s traditional support from the family of Siraj-ud-din Junaidi (a Sufi of the Junaidi order) to Gesudaraz and distributed more villages and lands to the Shaikh.45

As Gesudaraz became more connected with the court he also aligned himself, unlike the Chishti Sufis of the north, with the ulama and declared the supremacy of Shariat over all Sufi stages. At the same time, he launched a tirade against Ibn Arabi, whose wujudi doctrines were increasingly becoming popular among Chishtis, and also criticised the liberal Persian Sufis. Trained in the traditions of the

45 Abul Qasim Ferishta, Tarikh-i-Ferishta (English Trans.) vol. 2, pp. 240, 245.
Gesudaraz was an erudite scholar and well versed in Quranic studies, Prophetic traditions, fiqh, theology and Sufism. While he had imbibed *ilm-i-batin* from Shaikh Nasir-ud-din Chiragh and *ilm-i-zahir* from Sharf-ud-din Kathaili. A linguist, with an extensive knowledge of Arabic, Persian, Hindawi and Sanskrit languages, he could converse with all sorts of people. Eminent contemporary saints such as Maulana Masud Bakk and Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani corresponded with him. He also wrote a commentary on Quran and another on *Mashariq-ul-anwar*, a famous collection of Prophetic traditions. Gesudaraz stood at the apex of the vast Chishti organisation of the Deccan. A large number of his disciples corresponded with him and students from Gwalior, Irach, Chatra, Ajodhan, Kalpi and Delhi visited Gulbarga to seek spiritual guidance from him. Besides his students, other Sufis and scholars who visited him included Ashraf Jahangir Simnani, a well known disciple of Ala-

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50 Muhammad Ali Samani, *Siyar-i-Muhammadi*, pp. 139-151.
ud-daula Simnani of Iran. His disciple Ala-ud-din Gwaliori resigned from his position of fatwa-navis at Gwalior after becoming associated with Gesudaraz and began spending most of his time in seclusion. He received khilafat from Gesudaraz and also got his son Abul Fath Rukn-ud-din initiated into the Chishti order. There are several letters addressed to Ala-ud-din Gwaliori indicating their close relationship. Ala-ud-din Gwaliori’s son Abul Fath also became a khalifah of Gesudaraz. He went to Gulbarga in 1411 and learnt the spiritual methods of meditations and exercises from him for four years.\textsuperscript{51}

Khwaja Ah\textipa{\textmacron}mad Dabir, an important official of Firoz Shah Bahmani’s court became a disciple of Gesudaraz and received khilafat in 1412.\textsuperscript{52}

Few months before Gesudaraz’s death, he bestowed khilafat to eleven people among whom was also his son Saiyid Asghar Husaini (d. 1424).\textsuperscript{53} Saiyid Yadullah Husaini, the grandson of Gesudaraz was one of his favourites and had been taught Islamic jurisprudence, Arabic grammar and mysticism by Gesudaraz. His malfuzat were compiled by one of his khalifahs Saiyid Mahmud bin Fazlullah Husaini. He died

\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., pp. 147-149.
\textsuperscript{52} He held the post of munshi dabir in the court of Firoz Shah. When Alauddin Gwaliori came to Gesudaraz for studies, Ahmad Dabir was deputed to the khanqah to seek clarification of certain passages which appeared contrary to Shariat in the Fussus. Later sources suggest that he also accompanied Shaikh Minhajuddin or Qazi Raju. Both became disciples of Gesudaraz. Ibid., pp. 143-147.
\textsuperscript{53} Others included Shah Yadullah Husaini, Safirullah, Abdullah, Qazi Raju, Shaikhzada Shihabuddin, Maulana Bahauddin Dihlawi, Qazi Sirajuddin, Qazi Saifuddin, Malik Izzuddin and Malik Shihabuddin. Ibid, pp. 151-152. Ghulam Ali Musavi, Mishkat-un-nubuwwah (Urdu Trans), vol. 5, p. 51. He gave khilafat to a number of his family members as well.
in Gulbarga in 1448 and was buried in a domed tomb constructed probably by Ahmad Shah II Bahmani. Ahmad Shah held Yadullah in great respect and also invited him to settle in the new capital Bidar, which was refused although he agreed to send his brother Saiyid Minaullah Husaini (d. 1474) to Bidar. Minaullah’s son Shah Kalimullah (d. 1486) assumed the sajjadgi at Bidar on the demise of his father and through him the Bidar line of Chishtis continue to this day.

In 1422, the Bahmani capital had been shifted to Bidar and the same year Gesudaraz had also died. Before moving to Bidar, Sultan Ahmad built a great shrine (dargah) over the grave of Gesudaraz who had helped him to power. The descendants of Gesudaraz became occupied in administering the affairs of the dargah as well as the vast estates bestowed upon their illustrious ancestor. They thus could not contribute to extending the Chishti doctrines. Taken together, these developments effectively killed any living traditions of the Chishti Sufism in Gulbarga. Thus while the Chishti leadership at Delhi had

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54 It came to be known as rauza-i-khurd and the descendants of Yadullah assumed the charge of the shrine. At present two lineages of Gesudaraz are found: Akbar Husaini, Saifirullah Husaini and their descendants; and Asghar Husaini, Yadullah Husaini and their descendants. The former are the direct family descendants and spiritual custodians of rauza-i-buzurg and the latter of rauza-i-khurd.


56 H. K. Sherwani, Bahmanis of the Deccan, pp. 121-122.

57 Abul Qasim Ferishta, Tarikh-i-Ferishta, (English transl.), vol. 2, p. 245. Many of the estates given by former princes are still in the possession of Saiyid’s descendants.
suffered because of being unyielding before a hostile court, the Chishti leadership in Gulbarga suffered by becoming too much involved in politics. The Sufi hospices being situated too close to the seats of political power could not stay completely uninfluenced by the happenings at the court. However, although the Sufis of Gulbarga became embroiled in political machinations, the Sufis of Bijapur who flourished during the 16th and 17th centuries remained quite independent from Delhi and Gulbarga traditions and maintained a safe distance from the seats of political power.

Descendents of Saiyid Gesudaraz

Leading among the descendents of Gesudaraz was his son Saiyid Akbar Husaini, a person deeply well versed in both esoteric and exoteric aspects of religion and a prolific writer who composed a number of works on Sufism, theology, Arabic and Persian grammar, besides two malfuza of his father. He studied under well known scholars such as Qazi Abdul Muqtadir, Maulana Khwajgi Nahwi, Maulana Muhammad Beghra and Maulana Nasir-ud-din Qasim. In mysticism, he was trained by his father who held him in high esteem and even used to say: ‘No murid has surpassed his pir, but only two men: Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar overtook Moin-ud-din Chishti and Akbar
Husaini surpassed me.\textsuperscript{58} It was clear that Gesudaraz wanted him to be his successor, but Akbar died in 1409.\textsuperscript{59} Akbar’s son Saiyid Safirullah Husaini joined the government service which was contrary to the family traditions and was much disliked by his grandfather Gesudaraz. He was however given \textit{khilafat} on the promise that he would relinquish his service, which he never did as we find him rise to the position of \textit{risaladar} of 1000 men at Bidar.\textsuperscript{60} It was Gesudaraz’s younger son Saiyid Asghar Husaini who assumed the \textit{sajjadgi} on the death of his father. This led to a family dispute when Safirullah took over by force and quarrels led the Sultan to intervene. An \textit{ahadnama} was issued by the saint and a \textit{firman} by the Sultan Mahmud Shah Bahmani in 1477 and soon a compromise was made.\textsuperscript{61} The \textit{khanqah} was given to the charge of member of Gesudaraz’s younger son, Saiyid Asghar Husaini and his descendants while the charge of his shrine was handed over to the descendants of Saiyid Akbar Husaini. Safirullah was succeeded by his elder son Saiyid Askarullah and then by Saiyid Shah Asadullah. Asadullah’s son known as Husain Shah Wali settled at Golkonda, the Qutb Shahi capital where he held important administrative position during the reign of Ibrahim Qutb

\textsuperscript{58} Ghulam Ali Musavi, \textit{Mishkat-un-nubuwah} (Urdu Trans), vol. 5, p. 86.
\textsuperscript{59} Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 51, 86.
\textsuperscript{60} Muhammad Muhuyuddin, \textit{Tarikh-i-Khursheed Jahi} (Hyderabad, 1286 AH), p. 181.
\textsuperscript{61} Suleman Siddiqi, \textit{The Bahmani Sufis}, p. 62.
Shah (r. 1550-1580). Another member of the family, Shah Raju Husaini moved to Golkonda and the Sultan Abul Hasan Qutb Shah (r. 1672-1687) became his disciple.  

(iii) Other Chishti Sufis

Shaikh Minhaj-ud-din, popularly known as Qazi Raju was a *khalifah* of Gesudaraz who moved to Bidar following the change of capital. Two other Chishti saints of the Bahmani period from the districts of Aland and Malda were Shaikh Ala-ud-din Ansari and Shaikh Piyara, both disciples of Shaikh Nasir-ud-din Chiragh and Shah Yadullah Husaini respectively, but were equally influenced by the teachings of Gesudaraz. Shaikh Ala-ud-din often visited Gulbarga to see Shaikh Rukn-ud-din Junaidi. Shaikh Piyara’s lineage was continued by Shaikh Rizqullah Mushtaqi and Shaikh Muhammad Malda. Another Chishti who settled at Bidar was Saiyid Sadat Muhammad Hanif (d. 1495). A native of Gilan, he migrated to Delhi and became the disciple of Masud Bak, a contemporary of Gesudaraz. The author of *Burhan-i-masir* mentions that both Muhammad Hanif and his son Saiyid Sharif were respected by the Bahmanis of the Deccan who

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often invited them to state occasions. At Bir, Baba Shah Kuchak (d. 1402) established a Chishti *khanqah*. He is said to have met Gesudaraz while the latter was on his way to Gulbarga from Daulatabad.

C. The post-Bahmani Sufis

(i) Miranji Shams-ul-ushaq (d. 1499)

Chishti traditions continued to flourish throughout 16th and 17th centuries during the Shia phase of Bijapur’s history. This tradition received impetus by one family which was probably the most important in the history of the kingdom. This was the family of Miranji Shams-ul-ushaq. A hill popularly known as Shahpur hillock and remembered by the Chishtis as Munawwarpur or the ‘City of light’ was the home of Shah Miranji, just outside the Bijapur city wall. The location of the hillock and the location of the city have important implications with regard to the relations of Chishtis with the State. In both Delhi and Gulbarga, Sufi leadership was becoming closely involved with the affairs of the political authorities, but in Bijapur this did not happen. The Sufis of the Shahpur Hillock were

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not only separated by physical separation but also by the nature of the teachings which could be labelled as heterodox. For two centuries, throughout the duration of the Adil Shahi rule, these Sufis remained aloof from the State functionaries and from the ulama both socially and doctrinally.

The Sufis of Shahpur Hillock have left detailed accounts in both mystical and popular literature. We find elegies, letters, autobiographies and other types of writings in abundance which cast valuable light on their career. The coming of Shah Miranji to Bijapur revived in the Deccan the moribund Chishti tradition that had lingered on in the Deccan after the death of Gesudaraz. One sign of this revival was resumption of the practice of mystical writing, which in the Deccan had lapsed since the time of Gesudaraz. Although the earliest work in Bijapur was Shah Miranji’s own pir’s work (Kamal-ud-din Bayabani), it is Shah Miranji who is remembered as the first important Sufi writer of Bijapur. More than that, he and his successors did not write exclusively in Persian, but rather established dakani language as a recognised medium of Sufi literature. The traits of local language was perhaps best reflected in the mystical prose and poetry of Shah
Burhan-ud-din Janam, Shah Miranji’s son and immediate successor of Shahpur Hillock khanqah.

An important narrative poem in dakani composed by Muazzam Bijapuri, a murid of Shah Miranji’s grandson Amin-ud-din Ala concerns the lives of Bijapuri Chishti saints. The poem entitled Shajarat-ul-atqiya is a contemporary work composed in the middle and late 17th century.\(^68\) Different hagiographies such as Rauzat-ul-auliya, Tazkirat-ul-qadiria, Mishkat-un-nubwwah also have accounts of these Sufis.

Miranji’s early life’s account is best discussed in an autobiographical work khud nawisht wa nasi nama, a short Persian manuscript preserved in Hyderabad.\(^69\) It is said to be in the original handwriting of Miranji. According to this work, Miranji is said to have been born in Mecca and his father belonged to the Chaghtai clan, suggesting he may have come from Central Asia. It is also known that Chishti had a strong association with Khurasan region and many Indian Chishti bore affiliation from Khurasan, rather than Mecca. Shajarat-ul-atqiya mentions that he studied in Medina for twelve years and meditated at

\(^68\) Shajarat-ul-atqiya, composed by Muazzam Bijapuri, MS Hyderabad, Salarjung Museum (Tasawwuf and akhlaq, no. 131); As cited in R. Eaton, Sufis of Bijapur, p. 76.

\(^69\) Miranji Shams-ul-ushaq, Khud Nawisht, Persian MS, Hyderabad, Idarah-i-adabiyat-i-Urdu, no. 863; Cited in R. Eaton, Sufis of Bijapur, p. 77.
Prophet’s tomb. While meditating, he was intuitively guided to proceed to India and move to Bijapur. This may well have been written with the intention of giving legitimacy to the Sufi establishment at Shahpur Hillock. Shah Kamal instructed Miranji in the Chishti traditions at Bijapur.

We have noticed above that the liberal and accommodative aspects of the Chishti order which was brought to Deccan by the migration of Chishtis like Burhan-ud-din Gharib and Gesudaraz ended when Gesudaraz himself became a landed notable of the Bahmani kingdom. His descendants functioned as landed caretakers of his tomb, but his spiritual successors in Bijapur continued the Chishti traditions for many generations. One of his successors, Jamal-ud-din Maghribi (d. 1423) was the mentor of Kamal-ud-din Bayabani (d. 1463), the same Shah Kamal who trained Miranji at Shahpur Hillock. In this way the Chishti traditions were transferred from Gulbarga to Bijapur just before the emergence of that city as the Adil Shahi capital. When Miranji died in 1499 the Chishti khilafat was passed to his son Burhan-ud-din Janam (d. 1597), a prolific and profound writer and a leading Sufi in Bijapur’s history. During the entire 16th century the

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city of Bijapur was dominated by Shah Miranji and his son Burhan-ud-din who kept the Chishti traditions alive at Shahpur Hillock. At the time of accession of Sultan Ibrahim II, Burhan-ud-din Janam had several devotees spread throughout the country.

D. Political Relations of the Chishti Sufis

The earliest Chishti Sufi who developed close relations with the political power in Deccan was Shaikh Zain-ud-din Daud, a khalifah of Shaikh Burhan-ud-din Gharib. During the early years, he had refused to acknowledge the rule of Muhammad Shah Bahmani on the pretext that the king did not adhere to the precepts of the Shariat, but later he reconciled his differences with the Bahmani sultan. History also records that the spiritual and scholastic personality of Shaikh Zain-ud-din not only influenced the Bahmani monarchs but also the rulers of the neighbouring Faruqi kingdom. As discussed earlier, Nasir Khan Faruqi invited the saint to his capital and tried to present several villages to him which he refused to accept. However, he obliged the Faruqi ruler by moving up to the bank of river Tapti which according

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72 Nothing now remains of Shah Miranji’s khanqah at Shahpur Hillock and only a small stone marks his burial place. The fame of the Hillock now rests more with his son and grandson Burhanuddin Janam and Amin uddin Ala. It has come to be known as Amin dargah. R. Eaton, Sufis of Bijapur, p. 78.

73 Shaikh Zainuddin reached Daulatabad in 1327 and lived till his death in 1369. He was the sole incharge of the spiritual domain of his pir and the only prominent sufi of the period. Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, Ranzat-ul-auliya, f. 32.
to Shaikh Zain-ud-din was his jurisdictional limit and laid the foundations of two cities named after his *pir* and himself, Zainabad and Burhanpur, which soon became important urban centres.\(^74\)

Shaikh Zain-ud-din, in keeping with the teachings of his order, did not accept grants from either the Bahmani or the Faruqi rulers. Between the years 1327-1369, he exercised a great deal of influence on the local population. It may be presumed that the absence of any Sufi of high spiritual and scholastic standing at Daulatabad, which had remained the centre of Sufi activity since 1300 AD. Nasir Khan Faruqi’s invitations requesting him to come down to his capital must have added a large number of people of that state to his fold. He must have been the lone spiritual leader of Muslim society in and around the place. When Muhammad Shah Bahmani moved his forces to Daulatabad to crush the rebellion of Bahram Khan, he came in direct contact with Shaikh Zainuddin. The events relating to this contact are interesting and highlight the influence of the Shaikh. It is reported that on the arrival of Bahmani forces, Bahram rushed to meet Shaikh Zain-

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ud-din, who advised him to leave for Gujarat.\textsuperscript{75} This enraged Muhammad Shah who asked Shaikh to leave the place. Later however truce was made when Sultan sent Sadr-ush-Sharif and offered an apology and good relations were formed between the two.

There are definite socio-political and religious implications of this event. On the one hand, it reflects the Islamic orthodoxy of the saint and his strict adherence to Shariat for he had put before the Sultan an order to close all wine shops, and promote strict religious laws. On the other hand, it also shows the disregard for Shaikh Rukn-ud-din Junaidi’s patronisation of the state. The latter had all along remained a divine protector of the dynastic rule since its inception, as has been seen earlier, though Shaikh Rukn-ud-din’s reaction is not known.

Muhammad Shah I, was one of the greatest rulers of Bahmani kingdom and was careful enough to provide a sound basis to the socio-religious institutions of his kingdom. He felt happy in the company of Sufis and ulama like Shaikh Zain-ud-din, Shaikh Rukn-ud-din, Shaikh Ayn-ud-din Ganj-ul-ilm, Maulana Nizam-ud-din Barani and Hakim Zahir-ud-din Tabrezi who settled in his kingdom, making it a centre of learning and scholarship. His successor Mujahid

\textsuperscript{75} Abdul Jabbar Malkapuri, \textit{Tazkira-i-auliya-i-Deccan}, vol. 1, p. 376; Abul Qasim Ferishta, \textit{Tarikh-i-Ferishta} (English Trans.), vol. 2, p. 200.
Shah ruled for less than three years, but at his coronation, Shaikh Rukn-ud-din sent his own turban, as a sign of support. Immediately after assuming kingship, he personally went to Daulatabad to pay his respects at the tomb of Shaikh Burhan-ud-din Gharib even though he regarded Shaikh Zain-ud-din as his spiritual mentor.

Muhammad Shah II’s reign of 19 years was comparatively peaceful. He took keen interest in promoting learning and appointed teachers in urban centres such as Gulbarga, Bidar, Qandhar, Elichpur, Daulatabad, Junair, Chaul, Dabul and other cities and fixed scholarships to those who were interested. The Sultan held Shaikh Rukn-ud-din in high esteem and also visited him when the Shaikh was ill. Even after the death of the Shaikh, he visited his shrine to pay homage and distributed alms to the poor and needy who stood around the shrine. The policies of Muhammad Shah II opened the doors for Arabs, Persians and Turks and for immigrant poets and scholars.76 When Muhammad II died, the Bahmani kingdom was devoid of Sufis of high academic and spiritual standing and prominent leaders such as Shaikh Zain-ud-din, Shaikh Rukn-ud-din and Shaikh Ayn-ud-din Ganj-ul-ilm were also no more.

76 H. K. Sherwani, Bahmanis of the Deccan, pp. 77-78.
There seems to have been a vacuum in the Sufi activity of the Deccan, although there was a network of the disciples of Burhan-ud-din Gharib, Zain-ud-din Daulatabadi etc. operating over various parts of the present Maharashtra and Karnataka. However these men were confined to the shrines of their masters, which were gradually becoming centres of saint cult. Politically also, the Bahmani kingdom was passing through a crisis.\textsuperscript{77} The political and spiritual atmosphere of the Bahmani state settled when Taj-ud-din Firoz came to power in 1397 and with the arrival of Gesudaraz in 1400. Firoz was well-versed in Quranic commentaries, Islamic Law, technicalities of Sufism and philosophy. Shias were making their way into the Bahmani kingdom and it was due to his broad religious outlook and desire to have learned and eminent scholars in his capital that ulama of Iran such as Lutfullah Sabzwari, Hakim Hasan Gilani and Sufis like Gesudaraz and Syed Abd-ur-Rahman settled in his kingdom. He was the first Bahmani ruler who tried to develop composite culture in the Deccan.

Chishti association with the Bahmani court was intensified by another prominent Sufi of the time, Muhammad Husaini Gesudaraz (d. 1422), a famous Sufi whose life is indicative of the degree to which certain Chishti ideals of 14\textsuperscript{th} century Delhi were compromised in 15\textsuperscript{th} century.

\textsuperscript{77} See above, Chapter 3, pp.69-71.
Gulbarga. He moved from the ideals of Chishti order of avoiding the court and from his arrival till his death, he was frequently in contact with the ruling monarchs. He rationalised his political activism saying: ‘the most fortunate man is he who is endowed with good things of the world and also has a pure mind turned towards God.’ He also said that while ‘it is best for the Sufi to remain aloof, and he cannot cut himself off from it completely. He should be like a bird drinking water from a stream, which takes up water in its beak but keeps its body dry.’

On his arrival at Gulbarga, the ruling Sultan Firoz Shah Bahmani sought him out and granted him several villages as inam or tax-free lands, which he apparently accepted. The court was busy in scholarly debates conducted by the king and attended by scholars and nobles. However, the intellectual atmosphere of the court was not open and free as that of the khanqah. It merely served the king as a source of intellectual satisfaction, while the khanqah was a dynamic institution. It was the court academics which brought the ruler in clash with the saint and in this respect the king seemed to have been strongly backed by his prime minister, Mir Fazlullah Inju. In 1415, Firoz Shah nominated his son Hasan Khan and sent him to seek the blessings of

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Gesudaraz, who however predicted in favour of Ahmad Khan, the brother of Sultan Firoz. Gesudaraz’s popularity with the urban population evidently lent considerable political support to Sultan’s brother Ahmad as heir apparent. The important part of the event was not the denial of the saint to accept Hasan Khan but his nominating another member of the royal family. It can also be inferred that the turn of events must have given self-confidence to Ahmad Khan. On the other hand, the confidence of Firoz Shah was badly shaken when he was defeated by the Raya of Vijayanagar when he overlooked the advice of Gesudaraz of sending Ahmad to the war instead of marching in person. The relationship between the two reached a breaking point when the khatib, whom Gesudaraz had recommended to Firoz Shah, was not permitted to discharge the duties of kitabat, and the saint remarked, ‘he has removed your name from kitabat and I have removed his name from the khutba itself.’

The clash in its early stages was purely of an intellectual nature, and mutual respect and formal relations between both remained undisturbed till around 1415. The king normally used to call on the saint to seek his blessings on important occasions such as venturing on war. The letters of Gesudaraz suggest that he offered his blessings

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with no great exuberance but as a careful well-wisher. Gesudaraz continued to advise his disciples to remain loyal to the ruler and to regulate their conduct in relation to the king according to the Shariat and according to the advice of the *pir*. His letters indicate that his teachings were in no way harmful to the institution of kingship, but his loyalty to the crown did not necessarily imply loyalty to any particular king.

When their relations became estranged the Sultan ordered him to shift his *khanqah*. Ahmad regularly attended the sama assemblies and donated lavish sums of money on Gesudaraz’s establishment. On succeeding to the throne, Ahmad transferred the court’s support from the family of Siraj-ud-din Junaidi to Gesudaraz and granted him even more villages and towns in the region around Gulbarga and also built for him a magnificent *madrasah*.\(^{80}\) Tabatabai informs us that ‘Ahmad Shah had close association with the *mashaikh*, having profound knowledge and deep insight into the secrets of mysticism. He was fully accomplished in all disciplines of contemporary knowledge.’\(^{81}\)

Major shifts took place during his reign at political, social and religious levels. In 1407, Gesudaraz assigned *khilafat* to his eldest son

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\(^{80}\) Abul Qasm Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* (English Trans.), vol. 1, p. 245.

Saiyid Akbar Husaini. But the latter died in 1408 leaving behind a son Safirullah, who held the post of risaladar at Bidar. In 1422, few months before his death, he assigned khilafat to eleven persons including his younger son Asgharullah Husaini and his grandson Safirullah Husaini. After his death, Asghar Husaini came to Gulbarga to claim the sajjadgi but Safirullah also arrived for the purpose along with armed men. The matter was referred to Ahmad Shah Bahmani who advised them to settle the matter mutually. In the controversies that this matter created, Ahmad Shah hardly had any hopes from the descendants of Gesudaraz and Tabatabai also states that Ahmad did not have any faith in the mashaikh of the Deccan.

It was a normal pattern in the history of Indian Sufism that as a Sufi’s political sympathies merged with those of the court, his doctrinal position generally became more orthodox. This was certainly true in the case of Gesudaraz. Under Nizam-ud-din Auliya, the Chishti order had incorporated monistic ideas of Ibn Arabi, and this had created stern condemnation of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq and the leading ulama. Unlike the Chishtis of Delhi, Gesudaraz closely aligned with the ulama and declared the supremacy of Shariat over all Sufi stages

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and launched a tirade against Ibn Arabi's ideas- which formed the ideological underpinning of Chishti order. He also criticised Attar and Rumi, who were much revered by the Chishtis.\textsuperscript{84}

No Chishti Sufi of note succeeded Gesudaraz at Gulbarga. In the year he died, 1422, Bahmani capital was shifted to Bidar which removed the political centre on which Deccan Chishtis had come to depend. However, before leaving Gulbarga, Sultan Ahmad built a grand shrine over the grave of Gesudaraz, a Chishti Sufi who had helped him to power. As this tomb became a focal point of devotionalism, the descendants of Gesudaraz became more and more occupied in administering the affairs of the \textit{dargah} and the vast estates bestowed upon their illustrious ancestor. This turned their attention from teaching Chishti doctrines and they became pre-occupied with the \textit{dargah} and the \textit{inam} grants supporting them.\textsuperscript{85}

After the city of Gulbarga and its surrounding lands passed in the hands of Bijapur in the early 16\textsuperscript{th} century, the Adil Shahi court evidently honoured these grants as historian Ferishta notices, 'in the present day, though the country had passed from the family of Bahmani to that of the kings of Bijapur, yet most of the estates given

\textsuperscript{84} S.A.A. Rizvi, \textit{Muslim Revivalist Movements}, p. 54.
\textsuperscript{85} Abul Qasim Ferishta, \textit{Tarikh-i-Ferishta} (English Trans.), vol. 2, p. 245.
by the former rulers are still in possession of the Saiyid’s descendants. The dargah of Gesudaraz was enlarged in 1640. Praised by Sultan Ibrahim II and visited at least twice by Sultan Muhammad, this dargah had become by the mid 16th century one of the great devotional centres of the Deccan. The Bandanawaz urs had been and still is a particularly celebrated event in the region.

The many Sufis who inhabited Bijapur during the reigns of Ibrahim II (r. 1580-1627) and Muhammad (r. 1627-56) may be divided into two broad categories. One consisted of Deccan born Sufis of the Chishti order who were affiliated with the khanqah of Miranji Shams-ul-ushaq of Shahpur Hillock. These Sufis representing a relatively established tradition that had persisted even through the kingdom’s Shia period, focused their energies on writing literature both for their fellow mystics and the non-elite elements of the population. Living beyond the city walls they exhibited a distinct preference for withdrawal from urban society and institutions, particularly the Adil Shahi court. Another category of Sufis, for most part Qadiris and Shattaris who had migrated to Bijapur from outside Deccan directed their energies at reforming the court of what they considered its un-Islamic tendencies. As city dwellers, these Sufis were usually well

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86 Ibid.
integrated with the institutions of urban Islam. The rustic literati and the urban reformist thus represented two Sufi responses to the Muslim city in its Hindu environment. The one reached directly towards the lower-class population, both Muslim and non-Muslim; the other employed his prestige and influence for reforming the court. The two types also formed Sufi counterparts to the old social dichotomy among Bijapuri’s Muslims: The literati were the Deccanis and the Reformists were the foreigners, with more of an Arab or Iranian orientation.

In view of the remarkable syncretism which had taken place during the reign of Ibrahim II, and especially in view of the Sultan’s personal religious eclecticism, it is not surprising that some kind of reactionary reform movement might appear at this time. This phase of Bijapur’s history roughly paralleled what Aziz Ahmad has called the ‘Naqshbandi Reaction’ with reference to Mughal India after Akbar—that is an orthodox reaction, led by Sufis to the monarch’s religious experimentation. In Bijapur, this reaction took place in three distinct forms: one was by Sufis aggressively thrusting themselves on the court in the role of puritanical traditionalists; another by their passively allowing the court to seek their council; and a third by

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affecting a posture of ostentatious disdain for the court, a manoeuvre that genuinely attracted more than one Sultan to a Sufi.

Miranji Shams-ul-ushaq and his descendants carried forward the tradition of producing literature both for their fellow mystics and disciples and also for the masses in Persian and Dakhani languages. They exhibited a distinct preference for withdrawal from urban society and from the court. The Chishti Sufis of Shahpur Hillock were important for their contribution to development of Dakhani and Urdu literature on the one hand and for the formulation and dissemination of Sufi doctrine on the other. Many dervish Sufis of the 17th century Bijapur were linked by spiritual or family ties to the Chishtis of Shahpur Hillock. Amin-ud-din Ala, the son of Burhan-ud-din Janam who lived on Shahpur Hillock certainly did not maintain any contact with Ibrahim II and Muhammad Adil Shah.
The Qadiri Order in the Deccan

The Qadiri order traces its lineage to Abdul Qadir Jilani (d. 1166) who was born in Gilan but studied in Baghdad where he attended the classes of Tabrezi (d. 1109) and learned the Hanbalite law. He authored several works of which the *Fath-ur-Rabbani* and *Futuh-ul-Ghaib* are the most popular. The Qadiri order’s chief elements include the strict application of Shariah in their day to day affairs, performance of congregational prayers, pilgrimage to Mecca, and fulfilment of other formal aspects of Islamic faith.¹ The Qadiri order, as compared to Chishti and Suhrawardi orders was pan-Islamic in nature, with its centres at Constantinople, Iraq, India and Morocco.²

In the Deccan, Bidar emerged as a centre of Qadiri activity in mid fourteenth century when a number of Sufis arrived at the Bahmani capital from Arab Middle East. The period of their arrival is also significant for two reasons: Politically it marked the change of capital which also inaugurated an era of domination of the foreign class in

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Bahmani politics. The Bahmani rulers tried to shake off the domination of North Indian and Deccani origins and assert its Iranian and Arab nature. When Gulbarga seemed to have become a centre of Deccani Muslims, the capital was shifted to Bidar in 1422. With this shift the influence of Persian and Arab culture also increased at the cost of Deccani traditions of Gulbarga. Moreover, this political change, the change of capital also affected the Sufi tradition. The Chishti tradition died with the death of Gesudaraz in Gulbarga as noted earlier. The Chishtis seemed too 'Indian' to the Sultans at Bidar who were bent upon introducing more foreign elements and had an anti-Deccani bias. Thus the court's patronage to the Chishtis also ended. The Qadiris, with their prestigious spiritual claim to Abdul Qadir Jilani and their orthodox religious orientation suited more to the needs of the Sultanate. Thus from 1422, Bidar turned into the most active centre of Qadiri order where Sufis arrived directly from the Arab world, especially Baghdad, Najaf, Mahan and Multan. The Bahmani Sultans at Bidar, Shahab-ud-din Ahmad and Ala-ud-din II invited Sufis from Persia and Arabia to come and settle in the kingdom. Every facility was provided for their functioning and well-being. The

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3 An example of Persian influence at Bidar is the tiled representation of the ancient symbol of Persian monarchy- the lion and the sun- found in the 'throne room'. Ghulam Yazdani, Bidar, its History and Monuments (Oxford University Press, 1947), plate 37.

bargaining between the court and the foreign Sufis can be seen as a special branch of diplomacy. Sultan Ahmad Bahmani on shifting the capital to Bidar sent for Shaikh Nimatullah and invited him to the court. The Shaikh declined but sent his favourite disciple to Bidar. Sultan Ahmad was pleased but he again asked the Shaikh’s sons to also come to Bidar. Shaikh Nimatullah then agreed to send his grandson to Bidar who was royally escorted to the city and was received by the Sultan outside the city. The Sultan also directed that on that spot a mosque and village should be built named after Shaikh Nimatullah. This shows the extent to which the Sultans at Bidar went to welcome foreign Sufis. When Bidar declined with the collapse of Bahmani kingdom, Bijapur emerged as the next great centre of Qadiri order.

One of the first Qadiri to arrive at Bidar from Baghdad was Shah Zain-ud-din ‘Ganj Nashin’ (d. 1457) whom the reigning Sultan personally welcomed to the city. Around the same time, Shah Ismail Qadiri (d. 1456) also arrived at Bidar. One of the most popular Sufis of Bidar, whose tomb is still a known place of pilgrimage, was Shaikh Muhammad Multani (d. 1529). Ghulam Yazdani in his archaeological

7 Abdul Jabbar Malkapuri, Tazkirah-i-auliya-i-Dakan (Hyderabad, nd), vol. 1, p. 131.
survey of Bidar noted that it was, 'at one time a great centre for the teaching of the Qadiriyya School of Islamic doctrine, since there are several monasteries of the votaries of this order in the town. The Sufiya School, Sufiya mosque and Sufiya arch, all located close to the shrine of Shaikh Muhammad attest to this tradition.'

In the mid sixteenth century, a group of seven Sufis of Baghdad known in hagiographies as the ‘Saba Qadiris’ migrated to Bidar. Some of the most prominent Sufis of 17th century Bijapur hailed from this lineage. The fortunes of the Qadiri order followed the fortunes of the city where the Sufis resided. With the decline of Bidar and the rise of Bijapur, a number of Sufis migrated to Bijapur and many arrived directly from Arab lands. However, Bidar phase marks an important period in the history of the order as it established the urban and orthodox tradition of Sufism which was transplanted to Bijapur with the rise of that town.

A. The Qadiri Establishment in the Deccan

(i) Shaikh Ibrahim bin Fathullah and his legacy at Bidar

Shaikh Ibrahim was born at Multan and came to Bidar along his father during the reign of Ala-ud-din Ahmad II (r.1430-1458). His father

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died at an old age at Bidar which left him alone in a new environment. He therefore decided to return to his hometown. Before leaving however, he met the Sultan in hope of receiving some financial aid. When initial attempts to meet the Sultan failed, he began writing a book dedicated to the Sultan in which he discussed fourteen sciences. The book was probably titled Alai as mentioned in Mishkat and Madan-ul-jawahir written by his great grandson Abdul Qadir. The book was presented to the Sultan at the Grand Mosque at Bidar on a Friday and the Sultan was deeply impressed by it.\footnote{10} Madan-ul-jawahir also mentions that a khutbah was drafted in Arabic by him at the request of the Sultan which was immensely praised.\footnote{11} As a result of these efforts, Shaikh Ibrahim was presented with fourteen villages as inam and got an open invitation to visit the court whenever he desired.\footnote{12} This encouraged Shaikh Ibrahim to permanently settle at Bidar and develop close contact with the Bahmani rulers. It was only after the death of Ala-ud-din Ahmad II, that he ceased to visit the court during the times of Humayun Shah Bahmani, may be due to Humayun’s notorious character.

\footnote{10}{Ghulam Ali Musawi, \textit{Mishkat-un-nubuwwa}, (Urdu Trans.), vol. 6, p. 39.}
\footnote{11}{Ibid.}
\footnote{12}{Ibid.}
On the accession of Nizam III (r. 1461-63), the government was run by a council of members during the early years. This council comprised the Mother Queen Nargis Begum, Khwaja-i-Jahan Turk, and Malik Gawan. Ibrahim Multani was appointed as the tutor of Sultan Nizam and Prince Muhammad. On the accession of Muhammad Shah III (r. 1463-1482), Shaikh Ibrahim was further raised to the position of qazi-ul-quzzat, the highest judicial office. The Shaikh accepted this responsibility on the condition that no extra privileges would be given to him and he would be treated as a commoner. Ibrahim Multani played an important role in this position and died in 1463 at Bidar. Among his two sons, Shaikh Ahmad and Shaikh Muhammad Shamsuddin, the latter attained an eminent place among the Qadiri Sufis at Bidar.

Makhdum Muhammad Shamsuddin Multani (d. 1529)

He was the younger son of Shaikh Ibrahim Multani and was born at Bidar in 1457. On his maternal side he was connected to the family of Makhdum Jahanian Jahan Gasht, the famous Sufi of Suhrawardi order. His early education was done under the guidance of his father.

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13 H. K. Sherwani, Bavamis of the Deccan, pp. 187-188.
15 There is a controversy regarding Shaikh Ibrahim Multani’s year of death. The author of Madan-ul-jawahir, Abul Fath Shamsuddin mentions it is difficult to state the number of years he lived. He gives the dates of 1462-1463; See Urdu trans. Karimuddin, Makhzan-ul-karamat (Hyderabad, 1921), p. 286. Mishkat also mentions that the exact year is not known. vol. 6, p. 40.
and other ulama. After his father’s death he lived a life of seclusion and retirement. *Makhzan-ul-karamat* mentions that ‘the ulama and *mashaikh* of Bidar neglected him, nor did the *amirs* extend any support to him. Daily he prayed for a true spiritual preceptor and at last one Shaikh Hasan Jamali Qadiri of Bengal, a *khalifah* of Shaikh Baha-ud-din Ansari Daulatabadi accompanied a number of persons at Bidar and bestowed his favours on Shaikh Muhammad and enrolled him into Qadiri order.¹⁷ Shaikh Muhammad first bestowed his *khilafat* on his son Shaikh Ibrahim Makhdumji and later many others and taught them the rules and regulations of Qadiri discipline. He also received an *ijazat* from Shaikh Baha-ud-din Qadiri residing at Burhanpur.¹⁸

Shaikh Muhammad was one of the outstanding Sufis of his age, and his vast knowledge, deep devotion and strong personality had won him admiration at the court and in public. Among contemporary rulers- the Qutb Shahis of Golkonda and Abul Qasim Barid were his patrons.¹⁹ The latter used to say that ‘Deccan had produced two Muhammads, each one is unrivalled in his age, one is Shaikh

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¹⁹ Abul Qasim Barid was the founder of Barid Shahi dynasty of Bidar. See chapter 4 for details, pp. 131-133.
Muhammad Multani and the other is Bandanawaz Muhammad Gesudaraz. Shaikh Muhammad was on friendly terms with his fellow Sufis of Junaidi and Chishti order, who frequently visited him at Bidar and used to hold discourses with him. Shaikh Muhammad never accumulated wealth and all cash or kind which was received was distributed immediately. A number of ulama and Sufis attended his majlis and deeply affected by his magnetic personality.

Shams-ud-din Multani was a great lover of sama and used to celebrate the urs of Abdul Qadir Jilani for three days with great enthusiasm which attracted large gatherings. Sama too was arranged on the occasion. The qawwals used to sing Persian and Hindawi couplets- an indication of Deccani dialect becoming popular in Bidar. Shams-ud-din was often moved to ecstasy in the audition assemblies. But the hagiographers also suggest that he was a strict follower of Shariah and spent most of his time in mosque and performed the obligatory prayers in congregation. He vehemently denounced accepting royal gifts for personal and family use and openly declared that it was an unlawful income. All gifts which came were to be distributed in charity and demanded that his disciples should also follow his example. It is recorded that his own sons starved for three days but did

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not touch the royal meals which were sent to his khanqah. In the absence of his own works, it is difficult to ascertain how far his views regarding sama were influenced by the Indian Chishti ideology in this respect. Shaikh Shams-ud-din was an open critic of those who loved this world and neglected the hereafter. He did not spare those high rankings officials who came to meet him. Once in the presence of Amir Barid, he denounced them in the following words: 'What sort of pride are the worldly wise in? Why have they forgotten the hereafter? Is it because of their love for wealth? How will this love of the world help them in their lives to come? The world is transient, the universe is temporary. After a time, everything will perish. I wonder at the intelligence of the worldly people, whose understanding has been veiled. God has bestowed on them only a small part of the world which they love so much that they have forgotten His gifts and benevolence. They feel proud of the joy and happiness of the temporal world. But neither are they aware nor do they know that whomsoever God wants to keep away from Himself He involves them in material pursuits. Such persons are excluded from and deprived of their share in the Hereafter. Ever since God Almighty has created the world, He
Shaikh Muhammad had several disciples but he conferred his khilafat only on those whom he considered deserving. They were expected to follow the injunctions of the Quran and Sunnah closely. Besides his own sons, he had a long list of disciples who settled in various parts of the Deccan. In 1528 when Bahadur Shah of Gujarat led a campaign towards Deccan, Shaikh Muhammad was ill and summoned his four sons and wrote his wasiyat nama and gave them the permission to enrol disciples in Qadiri order.

**Shaikh Ibrahim Makhdumji**

He was the eldest son and successor of his father Shaikh Muhammad. He had matrimonial relations with the family of Shaikh Siraj-ud-din Junaidi. Shaikh Ibrahim zealously propagated the teachings of the Qadiri order. After his marriage, Shaikh Ibrahim made his routine to stay for six months with his wife at Gulbarga and other six months with his father at Bidar. Shaikh Ibrahim was an erudite scholar and composed several treaties on tasawwuf and suluk.

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22 His five sons were Shaikh Ibrahim, Shaikh Ismail, Shaikh Ishaq, Shaikh Badruddin and Shaikh Fakhruddin. Ghulam Ali Musawi, *Mishkat-un-Nuburwa*, (Urdu Trans.), vol. 6, p. 41.
23 Ibid, vol. 6, p. 51.
His *Maqasid-ul-qadiriya* a standard work on the *suluk* is available in Oriental Manuscript library, Hyderabad.\(^{25}\) He died in 1564 at an old age of 87 and was buried at Bidar under a domed tomb which he had reserved for himself.\(^{26}\) He had four sons, Shaikh Rafi, Shaikh Husain, Shaikh Muzaffar and Shaikh Lutfullah. He never maintained relations with the rulers and elite clan. Once when Ibrahim Qutb Shah explained his desire to meet him, Shaikh Ibrahim refused saying, ‘The worldly people meet ascetics for gaining prayers. I keep praying for you along with other Muslim subjects and this is sufficient for you.’\(^{27}\)

*Shaikh Ismail Multani and Shaikh Ishaq*

Shaikh Ismail was the second son of Shaikh Muhammad Multani. According to his father’s wish he received his robe and was made in charge of his *khanqah*.\(^{28}\) He was gifted with vast knowledge and laudable views and was gentle and humane. It is suggested that Qadiri order flourished at Bidar through the efforts of the sons and successors of Ismail Multani. Inam lands were granted to them after their migration from Berar to Bidar. He died in 1577 at the age of 64 and was buried at Pathri, at a place he had reserved for himself.

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\(^{25}\) *Maqasid-ul-Qadiriya*, Oriental Manuscript Library, MS 739, Hyderabad.


\(^{27}\) Ibid., p. 54

\(^{28}\) Ibid., p. 49.
Shaikh Ishaq was the third son of Muhammad Multani. Not much is known about his life. He died at an age of 52 and was buried besides his father’s tomb at Bidar. He authored Makhzan-ul-qadiria an important source for Qadiri order in Deccan.29

**Shaikh Badr-ud-din Multani**

He was the youngest and a favourite son of Shaikh Muhammad Multani. He welcomed the oppressed and needy who came to him and treated them kindly and was loved and admired by the masses and also by the rulers. He was a strict follower of Shariah and also wanted his disciples to imbibe in them these principles.

When Ibrahim Qutb Shah came to Bidar as a prince and met Shaikh Badr-ud-din, it is reported that he was so much impressed by the Shaikh that he even requested him to become the king in return for enrolling him as a disciple. However, when Jamshed became the next ruler, Shaikh Badr-ud-din made a prophecy that the throne belongs to Ibrahim and he will secure it. Soon the prophecy was fulfilled when the nobility decided in favour of Ibrahim Qutb Shah.30 On accession to the throne, he invited Shaikh Badr-ud-din to the court and made him sit on his masnad. Shah Yadullah, the grandson of Saiyid Gesudaraz

29 Ibid., p. 56.
30 Ibid., pp. 57-58.
sent a chatr, shijrah, and kulah to the ruler and invited him to join the Chishti silsilah. He was told that if he does not want to enrol, he may return these things otherwise he should accept them. Ibrahim Qutb Shah hesitantly accepted them and explained the episode to Shaikh Badr-ud-din. The Shaikh refused to enrol the Sultan into Qadiri order and told him that he has got what was in his destiny. Nevertheless, the relations between the two remained cordial.31

It is also mentioned in the accounts that Ibrahim Qutb Shah was blessed by a son after the prayers from Shaikh Badr-ud-din and therefore named his son Ghulam Abdul Qadir and made him a murid of the Shaikh.32 Among those who received khilafat were his sons, Shaikh Muhammad, Shaikh Ahmad, Shaikh Ibrahim, Shaikh Ali and his son-in-law Shaikh Alam.33 Shaikh Badr-ud-din died in 1573 at the age of ninety six and was buried at Bidar near the tomb of Makhdumji Qadiri, but was later shifted to another domed tomb.34

(ii) The Saba Qadiris

It is quite certain that the Qadiri Sufis were present in the Deccan prior to the arrival of Muhammad Ghaus at Uchh. The saba-qadiris is

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31 Ibid., pp. 58-59.
32 Ibid., p. 59.
33 Karimuddin, Makhzan-ul-karamat, p. 63; Fatima Bilgrami, History of the Qadiri Order in India (Delhi, 2005), pp. 60-61. Ghulam Ali Musawi, Mishkat-un-nubunwa, (Urdu Trans.), vol. 6, p. 63.
34 Ghulam Yazdani, Bidar, its History and Monuments, pp. 199-200.
an Arabic term used for ‘seven’ Qadirs who resided in the Deccan.\textsuperscript{35} According to \textit{Tazkirah-i-mashuq-i-ilahi} the \textit{saba} Qadirs were seven Qadiri Sufis in a single chain of ancestry. Another view given in \textit{Mishkat-un-nubuwwa} and which seems more probable is that these were not seven but eleven Qadiri Sufis residing at different places in Deccan and at different times.\textsuperscript{36}

Among the Saba Qadirs were: Saiyid Rukn-ud-din Abu Yusuf (Gulbarga), Saiyid Shah Ismail Qadiri (Nellore-Gulbarga), Saiyid Shah Abdul Latif Laobali (Kurnool), Saiyid Miran Husain Alhamwi (Golkonda), Saiyid Ishaq Qadiri (Kurnool), Saiyid Shah Jamal al-Bahr (Warangal), and Saiyid Shah Rafi-ud-din Ahmad (Golkonda).

\textbf{Saiyid Rukn-ud-din Abu Yusuf and his lineage}

The first Sufi of this group in a single chain of ancestry was Saiyid Rukn-ud-din Abu Yusuf commonly known as Rukn-ud-din Tola. He was seventh in the line of descent from Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani and was the son of Ahsan-ud-din Najafi.\textsuperscript{37} According to sources, he was a

\textsuperscript{35} The early source in which this term appears is \textit{Mishkat-un-nubuwah} of Saiyid Ghulam Ali Musawi compiled in 1222 AH.


native of Najaf who moved to Bahraich during the governorship of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, son of Sultan Iltutmish.\textsuperscript{38} Nasir-ud-din held the governorship of Bahraich till 1246, when he ascended the throne of Delhi, therefore Shaikh Rukn-ud-din must have arrived in India in the early 13th century. It is also suggested that Nasir-ud-din was presented a \textit{kula} and a sword by Shaikh Rukn-ud-din who had predicted his accession to the throne.\textsuperscript{39} He later moved to Gulbarga which was under Hindu rule at that time, as the earliest Khalji incursions did not start till 1296.\textsuperscript{40} The early settlement of Rukn-ud-din and the location of his shrine in Gulbarga is still not known for certain.\textsuperscript{41}

Saiyid Rukn-ud-din had three sons, one of whom was Saiyid Yunus Sharf-i-Jahan. Born at Najaf, Saiyid Yunus came to Bahraich and then moved to Gulbarga with his father. After spending some time at Gulbarga, he moved to Baghdad and assumed the \textit{sajjadgi} of his grandfather, Saiyid Ahsan-ud-din. On the death of his father, he once again journeyed to Gulbarga where he lived till his death. He lies buried near the Jama Masjid of Gulbarga within the fort walls. Not much is known about Saiyid Rukn-ud-din’s other two sons Saiyid Mahmud Qadiri and Saiyid Ahmad Khilafat-ur-Rahman. Prof.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[38] Suleman Siddiqi, \textit{The Bahmani Sufis}, p. 73
\item[39] Ibid., p. 74.
\item[40] Ibid.
\item[41] Ibid., p. 74, 192n.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Suleman Siddiqi provides a farman issued during the reign of Firoz Shah Bahmani relating to a grant of jagir Firozabad to Khalifat-ur-Rahman. Unlike the usual Bahmani farmans this is a unique one because it also contains a detailed account of a miracle attributed to Khalifat-ur-Rahman performed in the presence of the Sultan. His tomb at Firozabad is still venerated by the local people. His successor and son Saiyid Yunus Sani lies buried near the Jama Masjid of Gulbarga.

Saiyid Shams Baha-ud-din Arif Billah (d. 1495), another descendant of the same family was the son of Saiyid Yunus Sani. He moved to Bidar probably at the time of change of capital during Muhammad bin Tughlaq’s reign. Miran Ahmad-ud-din writes that one of his successors visited Bidar in 1774 and left a travelogue which states that the shrine of Saiyid Shams Baha-ud-din is located at Pura Ratnagiri. He further informs that the maintenance of the shrine is carried out from twenty five bighas of land at Pura Mamangiri and five bighas at Panch Baswa Bagh were granted in inam.

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42 The farman is in Rawza-i-Shaikh collection in Gulbarga. Suleman Siddiqi, *The Bahmani Sufis*, p. 76.
43 In Gulbarga district. It is built during the reign of Firoz Shah Bahmani and later became his capital. H. K. Sherwani, *Bahmanis of the Deccan*, pp. 103-104.
Another Sufi of this family was Saiyid Badr-ud-din Badr-i-Alam, who was the father of three famous Qadiri Sufis of the post-Bahmani period of Bijapur. He was the contemporary of the famous Shattari saint of Gwalior Muhammad Ghaus (d. 1563) and reportedly learnt *ilm-i-zahir* and *ilm-i-batin* under the latter.\(^7\) Saiyid Badr-ud-din was married to the daughter of Ibrahim Makhdumji Qadiri (d. 1564), the son of Muhammad Shams-ud-din Multani of Bidar. Saiyid Badr-ud-din died at Wasil Ganj near Bidar. His three sons Miran Mustafa Qadiri (d. 1658), Miran Shah Abul Hasan Qadiri (d. 1635) and Miran Shah Qasim Qadiri (d. 1622) led a life of orthodoxy at Bijapur during Adil Shahi period.\(^8\) The descendants of this family later spread into different parts of the Deccan and located themselves in places like Kampli, Hubli, Gulbarga, Malkhed, Karnal, Jishtikal, Gangawati, Hyderabad, Hubli, Dharwar and Bagalkote. As mentioned earlier, some Qadiri Sufis of the Qutb Shahi period trace their spiritual lineage to the Saba Qadiri group.


Saiyid Shah Ismail Qadiri

He was a direct descendant of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani and migrated from Baghdad to India and settled in Nellore near Gulbarga. At Nellore he constructed a hujra for himself and a khanqah where he spent most of his time. Offerings brought to him were to be kept outside the hujra and were distributed among the faqirs living around his khanqah. The reigning Sultan also made attempts to meet him after hearing of his arrival and sanctity. But Shah Ismail refused to meet him and also turned down the grant of a village. He died at Nellore in 1609 and his tomb is still a place of pilgrimage for local people.

Shah Abdul Latif Laobali

A famous Qadiri saint, Abdul Latif Laobali was the khalifah of his uncle Saiyid Ahmad al-Humari. In his young age, Abdul Latif accompanied by a number of disciples came to Deccan during the reign of Ibrahim II and settled in Kurnool in the village of Alapur. He settled in a mosque of Alapur which bears the name of Laobali. According to an account, the Hindu ruler of Kurnool accepted Islam.

49 Suleman Siddiqui mentions him as one of the Saba Qadiris. The Bahmani Sufis, p. 72.
50 Ghulam Ali Musawi, Mishkat-un-nubuwva, (Urdu Trans.), vol. 6, p. 147.
52 Ibid., vol. 6, p. 127.
53 Ibid., p. 115.
after seeing the miracles of Laobali. Abdul Latif was a strict follower of Shariah in his daily life and was surprisingly not in favour of *sama*.

He was succeeded by his five sons Shah Abdullah (who received his *khilafat*), Saiyid Shah Musa (received his *kulah* and *shijrah*), Saiyid Shah Muhiyuddin Sani (received his father’s robe), Shah Tahir Sani (got the permission to preach), Shah Isa (received sword of his father).

To Shaikh Ali, his *murid*, Abdul Latif gave his *khirqa* and *khilafat* which continues in the family till this day. Shaikh Abdul latif Laobali died in 1637 (or 1649) and his grave is still venerated by the people of Kurnool.\(^\text{54}\) He was succeeded by his grandson Shah Abdul Muhiyuddin.

Among the sons of Laobali,\(^\text{55}\) Shah Abdullah Qadiri was the eldest and he became the *sajjada nashin*. He was also given *khilafat* by his father-in-law Shaikh Ali of Kurnool. It is reported that once while returning from Kurnool, he was informed of the cruelty of a ruler and himself participated in a battle against him and died fighting in 1081 AH. The second son of Laobali was Saiyid Shah Musa who took *bayt* from his father at the age of 17 years. He settled in Bijapur at a place called Alipur *darwaza*. He died in 1082 AH and was buried at the

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\(^{54}\) Ibid., p. 127-128.

\(^{55}\) For information regarding the sons of Laobali, see Ghulam Ali Musawi, *Mishkat-un nubuwwah*. 

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same place. Muhiy-ud-din Sani, the third son of Laobali migrated to Hyderabad from Qamarnagar and lived there till his death. Saiyid Tahir, the fourth son of Laobali is said to have blessed Masud Khan, who became the ruler of Aduni and invited Saiyid Tahir to the same place. After the defeat of Masud Khan at the hands of Ghazi-ud-din Khan, Shah Tahir wished to leave Adoni, but soon relations between them improved and he was persuaded to stay. Saiyid Tahir was well-versed in Arabic, Persian, Deccani, and Turki languages and often wrote poetry in them. He died in 1115 AH and was buried in Adoni.

Shah Isa was the fifth son of Laobali and he also died fighting in a battlefield.

**Saiyid Miran Hasan Alhamwi**

He was a direct descendant of Abdul Qadir Jilani and was among the Saba-Qadiri group of the Deccan Sufis. He arrived during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (r. 1580-1612) and settled in Golkonda in a mosque near the fort. When the news of shortage of food in the khanqah of Miran Husain reached Istiqlal Khan, an amir of Quli Qutb Shah, he sent large quantity of cooked food and later himself attended Miran Husain and persuaded him to shift his

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residence to Malakpur in the environs of Hyderabad. In 1639, Saiyid Miran breathed his last and was buried near the fort of Golkonda.\(^{58}\) Among his sons were Saiyid Abdul Qadir, Saiyid Abdul Wahhab, Saiyid Saad-ud-din, Saiyid Muhammad and Saiyid Abdul Razzaq. His eldest son Abdul Qadir (d. 1667) became the sajjada nashin of his father and spent a major portion of his life in guiding disciples in the Qadiri order.

**Saiyid Ishaq Qadiri**

He was from the lineage of Abdul Qadir Jilani. At the age of 12, he was initiated into the Qadiri order by his father. He settled at Banawala and stayed there till the age of 50. Thereafter he left for Baghdad and afterwards returned to Kurnool. Malik Abdul Wahhab was his staunch follower and because of him he decided to settle there. He died in 1505 and was buried in his khanqah, which is still venerated by the local people.

**Saiyid Shah Jamal al-Bahr**

He was one of the Sufis of the Saba-Qadiri group and is known by his title ‘Mashuq-i-Rabbani Sani’.\(^{59}\) After visiting Mecca, he returned to Deccan and settled in Warangal near the grave of Qazi Zia-ud-din, an


\(^{59}\) Ibid., vol. 6, p. 137.
early Sufi who died during Muhammad bin Tughlaq’s reign. Saiyid Jamal died in 1590 and not much is known of him.  

**Saiyid Shah Rafi-ud-din Ahmad**

He arrived in Deccan from Baghdad along with his wife and sixty other derveshis and settled in Golkonda near the fort. Although the ruler was impressed by his spiritual attainments, he did not show any interest in meeting the Sufi because he was a Shia. Later the ruler invited Shah Rafi-ud-din to reside in a proper house built inside the fort, but the request was turned down. However, Sultan’s daughter was married to the son of Shah Rafi-ud-din. Shah Rafi-ud-din died in 1610 and is buried near Hyderabad.

(iii) **The Nimatullahi Order**

The Nimatullahi branch of the Qadiri order and was founded by Shah Nimatullah Wali Kirmani (d. 1431). He was born in Aleppo (modern Syria) and his father Mir Abdullah was one of the greatest Sufi masters of his time. Shah Nimatullah memorised Quran in his childhood, which was spent in Iraq, and then left for Mecca for seven years in search of a spiritual master. He finally joined the discipleship

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60 Ibid., p. 142.
61 Ibid., vol. 6, p. 131; Abdul Jabbar Malkapuri, *Tazkirah-i-auliya-i-Deccan*, vol. 1, p. 342.
of Shaikh Abdullah Yafai (d. 1367). From Mecca, Shah Nimatullah moved to Samarqand, Herat and Yazd and eventually settled in Mahan near Kirman where he immediately drew large number of people to himself. Often those who yearned to meet him would make long journeys to Mahan. He died there in 1431.\textsuperscript{63}

The \textit{Majmua dar tarjuma-i-ahwal-i-Shah Nimatullah Wali} contains a long list of works written by him.\textsuperscript{64} According to Rieu, besides the \textit{diwan}, he left a collection of Sufi tracts which exceeds five hundred.\textsuperscript{65}

Shah Nimatullah refused to come to Deccan on the invitation extended by Ahmad Shah Bahmani, but agreed to send his grandson. Later his son also came to Bidar, the Bahmani capital. This marked the introduction of the Nimatullahi branch in the Deccan. Ahmad Shah Bahmani welcomed the influx because of his designs to build a new nobility mostly drawn from foreign elements to counter local politics. From Gulbarga, he had deputed two religious men to Mahan to invite Shah Nimatullah to come to Deccan.\textsuperscript{66} This deputation was headed by

\textsuperscript{64} Copy of MS in British Library. It is a small treatise covering 54 pages on the life of Shah Nimatullah Kirmani authored by Abdul Aziz Waizi, a contemporary of Ahmad Shah Wali Bahmani. He was also the author of \textit{Tariikh-i-Habibi} dealing with the life of Muhammad Gesudaraz. Nazir Ahmad, \textquote{An old Persian Treatise of the Bahmani Period\textquoteright}, \textit{Islamic Culture}, July, 1972, p. 209. As cited in Suleman Siddiqi, \textit{The Bahmani Sufis}, p. 79, 213n.
\textsuperscript{65} J. S. Trimingham, \textit{The Sufi Orders in Islam}, p. 101. A collection of 125 rasail of Shah Nimatullah is available in the State Central Library, Hyderabad under the title \textit{Majma-ur-rasail}.
Nizam-ud-din Faruqi (Shaikh Khojan) who himself belonged to the Nimatullahi family. By 1425, the Nimatullahi order was well known in the Deccan.\(^{67}\) Shah Nimatullahi sent one of his disciples with a *kulah-i-irada* (cap of discipleship), *jama-i-ijaza* (Robe of approval) and a letter addressed to the Sultan in which he bestowed him with the epithet of ‘Wali’.\(^{68}\) Ahmad Shah Bahmani joined the Nimatullahi order following the return of the delegation.

Soon another deputation was sent by Ahmad Shah which was successful in bringing Shah Nurullah, the grandson of Shah Nimatullah. He was received outside Bidar by the Sultan in person and the place was named as Nimatabad, after the name of his grandfather.\(^{69}\) Shah Nurullah was raised to the status of *Malik-ul-mashaikh*, suggesting his precedence over the families of Deccani Sufis of Saiyid Gesudaraz and Saiyid Rukn-ud-din.\(^{70}\) Soon after he was also married to the daughter of the Sultan. This was followed by the appointment of Khalaf Khan Basri to the post of prime-minister and other appointments of foreigners to high posts clearly indicated the shift in the policy from the *mulkis* to the non-*mulkis*.

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\(^{67}\) Abul Qasim Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* (English Trans.), vol. 2, pp. 258-260.

\(^{68}\) Tabatabai, *Burhan-i-Masir* (Delhi, 1936), p. 54; Abul Qasim Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* (English Trans.), vol. 2, p. 259.


Just before the death of Shah Nimatullah, he appointed his son Shah Khalilullah, then aged fifty nine, as the qutb of the order. Shah Khalilullah moved to Herat on the invitation from Shah Rukh, the son of Timur and the Emperor of the Uzbeks. He continued to be held in high esteem by Shah Rukh and his son Baisunghar Mirza. From Herat, Khalilullah nominated his son Shams-ud-din Muhammad as incharge of his father’s shrine in Mahan and the line of descent still continues from his family. Soon after 1432, Shah Khalilullah and his two sons Shah Habibullah (d. 1459) and Shah Muhibullah (d. 1502) moved to Deccan and settled at Bidar.\(^{71}\) His both sons were married in the royal family and Habibullah was also given a jagir at Bir and was appointed as a mansabdar. The family from this time onwards continued to play an important role in Bahmani politics.

Shah Khalilullah died at Bidar in 1455 and before his death he nominated Shah Muhibullah as his successor. Shah Muhibullah was born at Mahan in 1426 and was the youngest son of Shah Khalilullah. Despite the honour in which he was held at the Bahmani court, he lived a life of simplicity in a khanqah at Bir. He died in 1502 and was buried at the family mausoleum. He was succeeded by his son Mir

Kamal-ud-din Husaini. His other sons moved back to Persia and settled at Yazd in the khanqah of Shah Nimatullah Kirmani. Not much information is available on Kamal-ud-din, the fourth Nimatullahi Sufi of Bidar. One of the grandsons of Habibullah, Shah Nurullah II came to India and married a Bahmani princess. Other important Nimatullahi Sufis of the Deccan were Abu Ishaq Fakhr-ud-din Shirazi, Mulla Qutb-ud-din, Shaikh Nizam-ud-din (Shaikh Khojan), Mulla Sharaf-ud-din and Shaikh Ali Diwana.

The contemporary accounts give ample testimony to the important role played by the Nimatullahis at the Bahmani court. However, the impact of their teachings on the people is not much known. Perhaps being alien to a different environment and unaware of the social and linguistic scene, they did not possess large popular following as was enjoyed by Chishtis, Qadiris and Junaidis of Daulatabad, Gulbarga and Bidar. They themselves belonged to royal houses and for this reason they had reservations in mixing with the local population while they did not hesitate in forging alliances with the ruling elite.

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73 Suleman Siddiqi, The Bahmani Sufis, pp. 84-85.
B. Political relations of the Qadiri Sufis

The attitude of Sufis towards the State differed not only from one order to the other but even from one individual to another. Each order had its own ideology and definite principles in regard to relations with political power. The Qadiris did not develop a uniform attitude towards the government: sometimes the outlook and ideology of the members of the same family towards the State also differed. Some Qadiris, following the precepts of the founder of the order kept aloof from the court politics and did not accept any financial help and solely depended on *futuh*. There were other Sufis, who maintained cordial and friendly relations with the reigning sovereigns, keeping close contact with the official bureaucracy, accepting *inams* and land grants. The cash was distributed to the poor and the needy. Their popularity with the general public and the rulers diminished the influence of ulama to certain extent. Thus the Sufis of the Qadiri order were divided into two broad categories: those who remained aloof from court politics and materialistic pursuits, and those who received and accepted royal favours and enjoyed trust and confidence of the Sultans, who in turn appointed them as Qazis and granted them land and cash in rewards.
The Qadiri Sufis who had migrated from Baghdad stayed away from royalty and courts. Saiyid Badr-ud-din Habibullah (d. 1577), Shaikh Zain-ud-din (d. 1456), Nur Simnani (d. 1466) and Muhammad Shams-ud-din Multani (d. 1528) did not exert any pressure on the rulers of their times nor took part in politics until the fall of Bahmani kingdom.\footnote{Tabatabai, Burhan-i-Masir, p. 65; Suleman Siddiqi, The Bahmani Sufis, pp. 155-157.}

The earliest Qadiri khanqahs were established in Bidar, Khandesh and Ahmadnagar. The descendants of Shah Nimatullah Qadiri (d. 1430) who settled in Deccan were probably the first important Qadiri Sufis to enter India. Saiyid Shah Ismail (d. 1466) worked for many years to propagate the teachings of the Qadiri order in Bidar. His work was later continued and developed by Shaikh Ibrahim (d. 1552). Shah Musa Qadiri (d. 1468) selected Sultanpur for his mystic activity and soon attracted a large number of people to his mystic fold. Saiyid Shah Abu Muhammad Husain (d. 1482) built a khanqah at Pathri in Ahmadnagar. A disciple of Burhan-ud-din Ansari of Mandu, Shaikh Jalal Muhammad Qadiri (d. 1521) reached Deccan and set up a Qadiri centre in Burhanpur which already had a large number of Chishti khanqahs. Another important Qadiri Sufi to arrive was Saiyid Shah

\footnote{Tabatabai, Burhan-i-Masir, p. 65; Suleman Siddiqi, The Bahmani Sufis, pp. 155-157.}
Jamal (d. 1590), who came from Baghdad and settled in Warangal. In the centuries that followed many new centres sprang up.

For Bijapuri Sufis, the main source of information are the hagiographies and the only comprehensive biography of the Sufis is the *Sahifa-i-ahl-i-huda*, a biographical account written in the end 18th century by a Qadiri descendant based on notes collected by Abul Hasan’s grandson in 1684-85. Despite its shortcomings, the *Sahifa* can be utilised as a valuable source of information. It is however, shrouded in an aura of the Sufi’s powerful barakat. A detailed story of an encounter between the powers of yogi and the Shaikh is an example to prove this point.\(^{75}\) It is however clear from the accounts that Abul Hasan and his immediate successors persuaded Ibrahim II to adopt a course of strict Muslim orthodoxy. The Shaikh functioned as one of the Sultan’s religious guides, a practice common among most Sultans of the time.

Other Qadiri Sufis also maintained a distance from royalty. Thus we have instances such as: Shaikh Jamal of Pathri ignored Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, when the latter visited his khanqah, but he agreed to live in

\(^{75}\) Saiyid Muhiuddin bin Mahmud Qadri, *Sahifa-i-ahl-i-huda*, (Urdu Trans.), p. 31-33.
the house built by the Sultan at Ahmadabad.\textsuperscript{76} Again, Shaikh Muhammad Shams-ud-din Multani never accepted anything from the rulers. It is said the Niamat Khan, the cook of the Sultan Mahmud Bahmani, was his disciple. When he prepared a dish, the Shaikh forbade the \textit{faqirs} from eating it. Makhdum Ibrahim kept away from the court and did not like to associate with the rulers. He declined to see Ibrahim Qutb Shah saying, ‘You worldly minded people want the prayers of \textit{derveshis} and I have been praying for all the Muslims which include the Sultan also and this is enough’.\textsuperscript{77} Similarly, Shaikh Ismail Multani abstained from the company of the rich and worldly people. Having contended himself with the \textit{inam} land granted by Imad Shah, the ruler of Berar, he settled at Pathri and worked there for the moral uplift of the masses. Another Qadiri master, Shaikh Ahmad Muhiy-ud-din II abstained from the company of the rulers and never accepted any gifts or cash from Abdu'llah Qutb Shah and Abul Hasan Tana Shah. Shah Azmatullah of Bhnur also adopted a similar attitude. Yet another Sufi, Saiyid Shah Mustafa maintained a distance from nobles and men of wealth. When Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah sought an interview, he gave a blunt refusal. Though Ibrahim Adil

\textsuperscript{76} Muhammad Ghausi, \textit{Gulzar-i-Abhar}, (Urdu Trans.) Maulvi Fazl Ahmad (Agra, 1326 AH), pp. 230-231

Shah managed to enter the *hujra* of the Shaikh, but the Shaikh immediately told him to leave the place. However, his descendant Shah Abdul Qadir changed the situation by accepting gifts. The Qadiri Sufi, Shah Qasim never cared for royal favours, nor did he seek the company of rulers or court patronage. When Sultan Ibrahim II heard the popularity of Shah Qasim, he desired a meeting, but was disappointed by the refusal of the Shaikh. Once when he did manage to see him in the Jami mosque, the Shaikh paid no attention to him and remained absorbed in contemplation.

However, there were certain Qadiri Sufis who did not hesitate in maintaining relations with the Sultan. One such saint was Shaikh Ibrahim Multani who settled at Bidar, but when faced with financial problems decided to move to Multan. He desired to meet the Sultan for financial help. He presented his work *Tarikh-i-Alai* to the Sultan which pleased the Sultan and he was awarded by a robe of honour and a grant of fourteen villages in *inam*. The Sufi paid several visits to the Sultan Ala-ud-din, who always received him warmly and had a high regard for him. His financial problems having been solved, he permanently settled in Bidar. His cordial relations with the court

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ended with the accession of Humayun Shah, who showed no regard for the learned men. However, Humayun's son, Muhammad became attached to the Sufi and appointed him the sadr at Bidar. During the reign of Sultan Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, Shaikh Ibrahim was appointed the Chief qazi of the kingdom, a position he readily accepted on condition that his decrees would be enforced without any objection. When he realised that this is not happening, he resigned and severed all connection with the court and began leading a life of retirement.

Similarly, Shaikh Badr-ud-din also established cordial relations with the Sultans of Deccan, some of whom even became his disciples. In the tussle for the throne which ensued following the death of Sultan Quli Qutb Shah, Shaikh Badr-ud-din predicted Ibrahim Qutb Shah's victory, which antagonised Jamshed Qutb Shah. On ascending the throne, Ibrahim Qutb Shah invited the Shaikh to Golconda, an invitation which he accepted. When the Sultan was blessed by a son, he named him Shah Abdul Qadir, after the founder of the Qadiri order. The Sultan also seems to have developed close relations with Husain Wali Shah (d. 1657), one of the descendants of Gesudaraz who had

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82 Ibid., vol. 6, p. 58; Karimuddin, *Makhzan-ul-karamat*, pp. 54-55.
settled in Golconda. The last Qutb Shahi ruler, Tana Shah became the disciple of Saiyid Shah Raju Husaini, another descendant of Gesudaraz's family. The saint performed his coronation and the Sultan in return granted him a number of jagirs as *inam* and held him in high esteem.\(^83\)

Shah Hazrat Qadiri, a *khalifah* of Shah Abdul Latif was treated with respect by Aurangzeb who consulted him in political matters and granted him several villages in *madad-i-maash*.\(^84\)

Some Qadiri Sufis accepted gifts, but did not like to keep it for themselves. Saiyid Shah Ismail Nellori distributed the presents sent to him among the needy of the *khanqah*.\(^85\)

Shah Abul Hasan Qadri (d. 1635), one of the outstanding representatives of orthodox Sufism in 17th c. Bijapur was more legalist and conformist type, whose family ancestry was closely linked with Bidar and Arabia. His grandfather had migrated from Baghdad to Bidar towards the end of Bahmani period, by which time Bidar had become a major Qadiri centre. Local disturbances forced Abul Hasan to move to Bijapur in 1580 during the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah,

\(^{83}\) Ibid., pp. 103-105.
where he remained till his death in 1635. Shah Abul Hasan was highly esteemed by Ibrahim Adil Shah II and had received a fixed stipend from him. He was deeply involved in court affairs and once advised the Sultan: ‘... Do not neglect the Will of God, but seek His help, even in sleep and wakefulness, ever remember Him in your heart. Strip from your heart of the idols of greed and desire, and you will be happy in the desire for His love and free from the fetters of both the worlds.’ Abul Hasan’s grandson was on friendly terms with Prince Kam-Bakhsh and wrote letters to him.

Among the descendants of Saiyid Mustafa (brother of Shah Abul Hasan), Shah Abdul Qadir was the first to accept royal favours. He met Adil Shah II and prayed for his prosperity and acceded to his request for building a tomb over Saiyid Mustafa’s grave. The Sultan assigned lands for the upkeep of the khanqah also. Following the example of Adil Shah, his nobles also gave lands out of their jagirs to the Shaikh and visited him regularly. Abdul Qadir distributed the proceeds from the lands assigned to him, among the faqirs, keeping nothing for himself or his family.

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86 Muhiuddin bin Mahmud Qadiri, Sahifa-i-ahl-huda, (Urdu Trans.), p. 32.
But possession of property and close contact with the rulers marked a
definite change in the mystic traditions of the family. Sultan
Muhammad, the successor of Ibrahim Adil Shah assigned more lands
to the khanaqah of Abdul Qadir and constructed a building, known as
Gachi mahal, adjacent to the dargah of Shah Qasim.\textsuperscript{87}

However, Shah Abdul Qadir burnt all the official documents
pertaining to land grants assigned to him before his death because he
feared that his sons may fight over the vast estates he possessed. His
eldest son Shams-ud-din severed all relations with the state and
preferred a life of poverty and seclusion. After the fall of Bijapur,
Aurangzeb is said to have visited him and discussed topics on religion,
philosophy and grammar. Shams-ud-din however rejected the gift of
lands saying, ‘I have no desire of worldly goods, the kingdom of God
and the name of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani are enough.’\textsuperscript{88} He also
refused the offer of inam grants and declined to meet Aurangzeb on
his next visit. According to Sahifa-i-ahl-i-huda, Shams-ud-din Qadiri
possessed no madad-i-maash till 1686, however, a farman in
possession of his descendant indicates that two villages, Madaldani

\textsuperscript{87} Ibid., p. 43.
\textsuperscript{88} Ibid., p. 53.
and Gomarsi, were granted to him to Sikandar Adil Shah in 1676. It is interesting to note that he permitted his sons to have land grants from the rulers of Bijapur, but refused to accept from Aurangzeb. Perhaps because it may have implied extending moral support to a conqueror and arouse feelings of anger from local classes.

(i) The Nimatullahis and the state

After the death of Gesudaraz, there was a spiritual vacuum in the Bahmani society and it was difficult to find a personality of similar spiritual and academic standing. As discussed earlier, Sultan Ahmad Shah therefore had to look beyond India and invited Shah Nimatullah Kirmani to come to Bidar. The Shia influence was making its way into the Bahmani State and the flow of elements from Iran and Iraq since the time of Sultan Muhammad II, was now at its peak. In the new administrative set up, the locals including the local Sufis were relegated to the background and aliens were given top positions.

Ahmad Shah must have in mind that the growing presence of Shias in the kingdom, Shah Nimatullah would ideally fill the void caused by the death of Gesudaraz. Shah Nimatullah Kirmani, though a Sunni by faith was a descendant of the sixth Shia Imam, Imam Baqir. He was

well known in the Deccan, among both Sunnis and Shias for his erudite scholarship, piety and also because of the presence of his disciples Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Faruqi or Shaikh Khojan at Gulbarga.

Tabatabai informs us that having heard of Nimatullah Kirmani, Ahmad Shah developed immense faith in him and deputed a delegation to invite him, which included Shaikh Khojan, Qazi Musa Navalkhi and Qalandar Khan. The delegation went to Kirman with gifts and invitation and though the Shah excused himself due to old age, he deputed his khalifah Mulla Qutb-ud-din Kirmani, to go to Deccan with a letter to the Sultan with a kulah-i-iradat and jama-i-ijazat. Ahmad Shah personally received the delegation and was admitted to the Nimatullahi order and was bestowed honorific titles. Recognition of Ahmad Shah as a Sufi by Gesudaraz and as a wali by Shah Nimatullah gave him a special status. Another delegation was soon sent to Kirman inviting Nimatullah Kirmani’s son Shah Khalilullah, but instead the Shaikh agreed to send his grandson Mirza Nurullah to the Deccan. At the port of Chaul, where the delegation returned, it was received with honours. Ahmad Shah granted him a village named Nimatabad, in honour of Nimatullah Kirmani. Later he

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90 Tabatabai, Burhan-i-masir, p. 54; Musa Navlakhi was the teacher of Prince Mahmud Khan. Ibid.  
91 Ibid.; Abul Qasim Ferishta, Tarikh-i-Ferishta (English Trans.), vol. 2, pp. 258-9
also conferred the titles of *Malik-ul-mashaikh* to Nurullah and made him sit among the chiefs of the durbar and even married his own daughter to the Shaikh.

While actually giving a practical shape to the structure of his statecraft, Ahmad Shah was successful in developing a new city, new nobility and a new administrative and socio-cultural set up. With the arrival of Nurullah, Ahmad Shah became successful in bringing himself in close relationship with the Sufi family of Persia, which in due course provided ample opportunity to the alien Sufis to play an active role in Bahmani politics. At this stage, the descendants of the local Sufis were relegated to the background. There were different causes, the most important being their pre-occupation with matters of succession and their love of wealth and *jagirs*. The shrines of early Sufis had become centres of pilgrimage and saint-cult. The other reason could be the upcoming influence of the aliens. Though the local Sufis may not have recognised Mirza Nurullah and *malik-ul-mashaikh*, we do not come across any reaction from the local Sufis.

Little is known about the spiritual and academic achievements of Nurullah, he had no previous connection with the place and no idea about the behaviour of the people. He knew Persian, though Dakani
was gradually replacing Persian and medium of expression at the mass level. His activity therefore was limited to the official level. Being a member of the court he may not even have come into direct or active contact with the masses. In such circumstances, we can hardly expect any *locus standi* of Shah Nurullah among the common people. Sultan Ahmad Shah however elevated him to the highest levels for different reasons. His pro-alien policy, which is exhibited in styles of architecture as well, was further strengthened by such actions.

Few years after the death of Shah Nimatullah (d. 1431), his son Shah Khalilullah arrived at Bidar along with Shah Habibullah and Shah Muhib-ud-din (sons of Khalilullah). It was but obvious that the gates of prosperity were wide open for Shah Khalilullah and his sons were married into the royal family. Shah Habibullah rose to great distinction in the Deccan as a military commander and for his services he received the district of Bir and the title of ‘Ghazi’.\(^2\) The position and fame of the members of Nimatullahi family is evident from the fact that the king personally washed the hands of Shah Khalilullah on the death anniversary of Nimatullah Kirmani.\(^3\)


The high profile of the members of the Kirmani family in Bahmani society was more due to the royal connections as they were steadily losing their spiritual and mystic values. The character of the Sufi institution at Bidar was in transition. In these circumstances, the indigenous people could not be ignored altogether. It is reported by Prof. H. K. Sherwani that Ahmad Shah carrying forward the policy of a composite culture initiated by his brother Firoz Shah, developed close connections with the Lingayat sect; indeed the members of this sect celebrate the death anniversary of the king even to this date.94

Ahmad Shah was successful in all these measures, but he did not do anything to bridge the gulf which was developing between the local masses and the foreign elements. When Ahmad II ascended the throne, Shah Khalilullah and Saiyid Muhammad Hanif escorted him to the throne.95 Both were honoured and offered a seat on the right and left of the Sultan. He too carried forward the pro-alien policy of his father with a greater zeal but without foresightedness. He failed to see the consequences of the growing rift between the foreigners and the locals. His relations with the local Sufis however, remained cordial. It was he who by granting land grants to Shaikh Ibrahim Multani,

95 Tabatabai, *Burhan-i-Masir*, pp. 74-75. Ahmad II had already married one of his daughters in the alien Sufi family. He also gave his second daughter in marriage to an alien Shah Quli Sultan Changezi. H. K. Sherwani, *Bahmanis of the Deccan*, p. 152.

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persuaded him to stay in Deccan. He also extended invitation to Yadullah Husaini, a grandson of Gesudaraz to settle down at Bidar. Yadullah sent his brother Amin-ud-din Minallah Husaini to Bidar who was given a royal reception at Bidar. A big house was given to the saint and was granted a number of villages to meet the expenses of his langar. The author of *Tarikh-i-khursheed Jahi* informs us that the Sultan held Abul Fayz Minallah in great respect and visited his monastery on a number of occasions. During these visits, the ruler gave him jagir of Narnaul and some gifts and cash. However, neither Minallah, in his mystic capacity, nor Safirullah and Ruhullah Husaini, in their official capacity seemed to have indulged in mulki and non-mulki conflict.

Though historical and other sources are silent about the academic and spiritual achievements of the Nimatullahi family at Bidar, there is enough evidence that they were instrumental in playing an important role in the politics of their times. They developed matrimonial ties with the royal family, accompanied the rulers to battlefields, supported the claim to the throne of one against the other, supported aliens against locals and even recommended their pleas before the

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Sultan. It would not be an exaggeration to suggest that they were deeply involved in the political intrigues of the court. The nature of their activity manifests a clear departure from the traditions of the founder of the Qadiri order, and the non-involvement of other contemporary Qadiri Sufis in the political affairs at Bidar. By the time of Ahmad II’s death in 1458, the Bahmani kingdom had assimilated and developed elements and approaches that bolstered factors and trends leading to the bifurcation of society into two sections- the locals and the aliens- and brought about revolutionary changes in the conduct of Nimatullahi Sufis.

Humayun Shah, who was declared heir-apparent, was away when Ahmad II died and Shah Habibullah taking advantage of the situation installed Hasan on the throne. Humayun, on his return arrested his supporters including Habibullah and blinded Hasan. The matter did not end as Yusuf Turk and a disciple of Habibullah along with Shah Habibullah attempted to free Hasan, but were defeated and had to seek refuge in Bir. On reaching Bir, Hasan was proclaimed as king and Yusuf Turk was appointed amir-ul-umara and Shaikh Habibullah was made wazir. On the arrival of royal armies, they escaped and sought

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99 Tabatabai, Burhan-i-masir, pp. 73-74; Abul Qasim Ferishta, Tarikh-i-Ferishta (English Trans.), vol. 2, p. 279.
shelter with the governor of Bijapur. In the encounter Habibullah lost his life and others were arrested. This episode reflects the transformation in the attitude of the members of Nimatullahi family.

When Nizamuddin Ahmad III assumed kingship in 1461, he too was escorted to the throne by Shah Muhibullah and Sharif Manjhle, son of Muhammad Hanif. In the battle against the King of Orissa, Shah Muhibullah was present with the Bahmani armies and led the first onslaught on the enemy’s camp. The main leader of the Nimatullahi order and a direct descendant of Nimatullah Kirmani displayed high qualities of warrior. Mahmud Shah Bahmani (r. 1482-1518) also held Shah Muhibullah in high esteem and granted 5,250 bighas of land to Shah Muhibullah in the district of Malhur.

Nizam-ud-din Ahmad died after a brief rule of three years and was succeeded by Muhammad Shah III (r. 1463-1482) who was assorted to the throne by Shah Muhibullah and Saiyid Sharif Manjhle. Sharf-ud-din Sadr Jahan Shustari was appointed on the royal tutor and became a learned man under his academic care. On the advice of his able statesman, Mahmud Gawan, he gave equal administrative

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100 Tabatabai, *Burhan-i-masir*, pp. 48-54.
responsibilities to both *mulk* and *non-mulkis*. Shah Muhibullah again accompanied the Bahmani forces to the battlefield against the Raja of Orissa. But under the able guidance of Mahmud Gawan, the Bahmani kingdom rose to great heights. It will not be an exaggeration to state that during the next twenty years of the Bahmanis, it is the history of one man, Mahmud Gawan.

The study of the letters of Mahmud Gawan (edited and compiled by Ghulam Yazdani under the title *Riyaz-ul-insha*), clearly depicts his anxiety at the non-availability of scholars, alim and Sufis of high intellectual calibre. His arrival from Gilan (Iran) in 1453 was mainly due to his attraction for Shah Muhibullah, though it is not clear whether he found him up to his expectations or not. That is probably the reason he had to look abroad in search of scholars of high merit. After settling at Bidar permanently, it was his desire to make it a centre of Islamic learning with scholars and he even established a grand *madrasah* at Bidar in 1472. He wrote letters to ulama, Sufis and scholars in West Asia inviting them to Bidar. He continued to sanction grants for the maintenance of shrines and *khanqahs*. There is
documented evidence of him sanctioning the district of Malhur as a grant to Shah Muhibullah.\textsuperscript{103}

He seemed to have developed a liking for the descendants of Shaikh Ayn-ud-din Ganj-ul-ilm, because he gave grants for the construction of his shrine at Bijapur. He played a vital role in the Bahmani politics and maintained a balance of power between the alien and the local people. It was solely because of his policies that the Bahmani territories expanded. It was again because of his administrative and military reforms that the Bahmani kingdom reached the high place in the history of provincial states. Though he played a grand role in the uplift of this dying state, Mahmud Gawan was most injudiciously put to death through a conspiracy.\textsuperscript{104}

No doubt the wit and courage shown by the descendants of Shah Nimatullah at different occasions is commendable, keeping in view the past values of indigenous Sufis and their role in early Bahmani society. Many of its leaders were personally motivated to protect the interests of a large number of ‘alien’ groups which had settled at Bidar.

\textsuperscript{103} Suleman Siddiqi, \textit{The Bahmani Sufis}, p. 181.
\textsuperscript{104} Tabatabai, \textit{Burhan-i-Masir}, p. 129.
While the Chishti and Qadiri orders were the only major Sufi orders which flourished throughout the medieval period in the Deccan, they were by no means the only ones. The Junaidis and Shattaris also made significant contributions and these will be discussed below.

A. The Junaidis

The Junaidis trace their origin to Shaikh Abul Qasim al-Junaid (d. 910), a relative of Sari al-Saqati and a disciple of Harith-al Muhasibi. Both Shaikh Junaid and Harith Muhasibi were known for their sobriety. The earliest Junaidi Sufi to settle in South Asia was Ali Hujweri (d. 1072), who settled in Lahore and authored the classical Sufi work *Kashf-al-mahjub*. There is little information available regarding Junaidis available, although the order has been listed by Abul Fazl during the 16th century. It establishes the presence of Junaidi Sufis in the north and the Deccan. Important Junaidi saints lived in Delhi, Kara in north India and at Khuldabad, Gulbarga, Bijapur and other places in the Deccan.
Shaikh Siraj-ud-din Junaidi (1271-1380):

One of the first Sufis to become closely associated with the Bahmani court was Shaikh Siraj-ud-din Junaidi (d. 1380). Born in Peshawar, he was the son of Abdul Muzaffar Siraj-ud-din and family descendant of Abul Qasim al-Junaid. Besides Ayn-ud-din Ganj-ul-ilm, he was the only Deccan Sufi to have a direct family lineage to the founder of the order. His father Abul Muzaffar was a resident of Baghdad who eventually moved to India and settled at Peshawar. According to hagiographical literature, he led a prosperous life as his uncle was the governor of Peshawar. However, he decided to renounce a life of luxury and moved to Daulatabad in 1328, which had by then assumed the fame of an urban centre of Muslim elite. It appears that Siraj-ud-din had close relations with Muhammad bin Tughlaq and even accompanied him on the Warangal campaign against Pratap Rudra Dev. However, the Sultan appears to have become apprehensive of his growing power and banished him from the sultanate. After arriving in the Deccan, Siraj-ud-din became the disciple of Ala-ud-din Khondamir and also had the company of Minhaj Tamimi and Ayn-ud-
din Ganj-ul-ilm. He later moved to Korchi on the instruction of his preceptor.

It is strange that both Burhan-i-Masir and Tarikh-i-Ferishta, the two main works on the political history of medieval Deccan are silent about the life of Shaikh Siraj, who played such a prominent role in the political developments of his times. Similarly, the authors of Mishkat and Siyar-ul-auliya have not discussed the activities of the Shaikh. Rafiuddin Shirazi’s Tazkirat-ul-muluk is however important and helpful for his study. The latter works Tazkirah-i-auliya-i-Dakan and Waqiat-i-Bijapur are also valuable writings.

Siraj Junaidi’s name is so closely linked with the political activities of the Deccan that he cannot be ignored. He was a moral and spiritual advisor, if not a practical politician. It was he who encouraged the political leaders, justified their cause and contributed his political thoughts as an ethical basis for the movement. Rukn-ud-din predicted kingship for Ala-ud-din Hasan and on assuming kingship, the ruler bestowed the jagir of Korchi to the Shaikh. At Korchi, Ala-ud-din Hasan Bahman, the founder of Bahmani Kingdom and his mother

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1 Rafi-ud-din Ibrahim Shirazi, Tazkirat-ul-muluk, (MS) Oriental Manuscript Library, Hyderabad, ff. 2-9; Muhammad Muhi-uddin, Tarikh-i-Khursheed Jahi (Hyderabad, 1286 AH), p. 169; Abdul Jabbar Malkapuri, Tazkirah-i-auliya-i-Dakan (Hyderabad, nd), vol. 1, p. 392.

became his disciples. It was Siraj-ud-din who in fact crowned the new king at the royal coronation on 3 August 1347. In return for the Sufi’s continued blessing and prayers for the Sultan’s long life, Siraj-ud-din received what was perhaps the first land grant ever given to a Deccani Sufi— the village of Korchi, which has continued into this century in the hands of his descendants. Shortly after the coronation the new Sultan distributed four hundred pounds of gold and a thousand pounds of silver in the name of Nizam-ud-din Auliya. So close were Sufi court relations during the early Bahmani period that Ala-ud-din’s successor, Muhammad Shah Bahmani was able to obtain a declaration of allegiance from virtually all the Sufis of his kingdom. The Bahmani kings from Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah to Muhammad Shah II were invariably devoted to the Shaikh as his spiritual disciples and approached him for counsels and blessings in all their undertakings. Ferishta speaks of Ayn-ud-din of Bijapur and Shaikh Siraj-ud-din Junaidi as two prominent religious heads who were contemporary of Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah; but according to Rafi-ud-din Shirazi, Ala-ud-din and his mother Ashraf Jahan were so much attached to the Shaikh that they accompanied him wherever he moved.

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on his religious mission. Ala-ud-din was firm in his devotion to the Shaikh and exhorted his children to follow him in this respect—the exhortation was implicitly followed. The four kings who succeeded Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah never failed to pay their homage to Shaikh Siraj. Even Mujahid Shah, whose relations were later estranged with the Shaikh, did not hesitate to accept the holy investiture at his accession. Ferishta records that Muhammad Shah I began the expedition against the Raja of Palampet in 1361 after seeking blessings from Shaikh Siraj. When he returned victorious, a fifth part of the war-booty was sent to the Shaikh for distribution among the deserving persons.  

Again in 1365, a grim battle waged between Bahmanis and Vijayanagar, and Muhammad Shah I went to the Shaikh for his blessings.

The saint moved to Gulbarga, the Bahmani capital during the reign of Muhammad Shah I and died there in 1380. His mausoleum stands on the Gulbarga-Aland highway and is known as Rauza-i-shaikh and is held in high esteem.

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8 The premises had two domes, a bab-i-dakhila and a mosque. These are the Adil Shahi monuments of Yusuf Adil Khan's times, a staunch devotee of the saint. Report of Hyderabad Archaeological Department, 1937-40, p. 2; As cited in Suleman Siddiqi, *The Bahmani Sufis* (Delhi, 1989), p. 108, fn. 316.
On the Shaikh’s departure to Gulbarga, his khanqah at Korchi was placed under the charge of his eldest son, Shaikh Ala-ud-din (d. 1381). Saiyid Qutb-ud-din, his younger son accompanied him to Gulbarga. As Qutb-ud-din died during the lifetime of his father, his son Shaikh Abul Fadi became incharge of the khanqah. There is very little information regarding his disciples. However, Atwar states that Shaikh Zain-ud-din Ghaznavi of Bijapur and Shaikh Ahmad Bukhari of Mubarakabad were his two reputed khalifahs.\(^9\)

Shaikh Nasir-ud-din Uwais, the fourth spiritual successor of Siraj-ud-din assumed great fame among the masses and the rulers of his time. He predicted kingship for Yusuf Adil Khan, then the governor of Bijapur. He had a large following in places like Gulbarga, Korchi, Raichur, Chitapur, Jaunpur and Nusratabad. Siraj-ud-din did not approve of visiting royal courts. The sixth successor of Siraj-ud-din, Shaikh Muhammad Junaidi was a disciple of Shah Sibghatullah (d. 1606), a well known Shattari Sufi of Bijapur.

(ii) Shaikh Ayn-ud-din Ganj-ul-ilm (1300-1393):

Popularly known as Ganj-ul-ilm (Treasure of Knowledge), he was the first intellectual Sufi of the Deccan and the only Junaidi Sufi to have

\(^9\) Ayn-ud-din Ganj-ul-ilm, Atwar-ul-abrar, f. 9.
written 125 works in various subjects on Quranic commentary, Qirat, Hadith, Kalam, Ilm-ul-Usul, *fiqh*, *suluk*, *nahw*, *sarf*, *lughat*, *nasab*, *hikmat* and history. The diversity of subjects he dealt with in his works reveals that he was a man of vast knowledge and scholarship. He was the twelfth in line of descent from Abul Qasim al Junaid and thirteenth in line of family genealogy from the founder of the order.

Ayn-ud-din was born in Nav (Jhain), a suburb of Delhi. Delhi at this time being the capital of Tughlaqs had attracted men from Bukhara, Baghdad and other centres of learning and was a hub of scholars, ulama, Sufis etc. However rivalry between the *ahl-i-zahir* and *ahl-i-batin* was at its peak, Issues such as *wujud*, *sama*, etc were being debated. Ayn-ud-din however kept himself away and engaged himself in acquisition of knowledge. He was initiated in Junaidi order by Saiyid Jeweri and for about ten years he learnt Quran, calligraphy, Arabic syntax under Minhaj-ud-din Tamimi at Kantoor. He also studied law, principles of law and Arabic grammar under Imam Iftikhar Korchi at Hairol and *Miftah* and *Kashshaf* from Saiyid Jeweri, who also trained him in the secrets of Sufism. During his studies he had the opportunity of meeting Sufis of high eminence such as Shams-ud-din Lamghani, Shihab-ud-din Muhammad Sherwani, Zahir-ud-din

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10 Ibid., f. 9 and ff. 20-22; Abdul Jabbar Malkapuri, *Tazkirah-i-auliya-i-dakan*, vol. 1, p. 538.
Nandbhani, Imam Najm-ud-din, Zain-ud-din Khurasani etc. He travelled widely and visited places in Gujarat, Rajor, Hairol, Daulatabad, Bijapur and finally settled at Sagar.

Ayn-ud-din was a contemporary of five Bahmani Sultans. Ala-ud-din Hasan Bahman Shah, the founder of Bahmani kingdom, upon coming to Sagar in 1352 to quell an insurrection of Muhammad bin Alam and Fakhr-ud-din Muhardar, invited the ulama and divines, including Ganj-ul-ilm and Maulana Moin-ud-din Harawi, the teacher of Prince Muhammad and bestowed gifts on them.\textsuperscript{11} It appears that the Junaidis did not consider it essential to abstain from the company of the ruler and the nobility, as was the case with the Chishtis. It is also clear from the sources that long after the demise of Ayn-ud-din, Mahmud Gawan, the great Bahmani wazir ordered a dome to be raised over his grave. Gawan, himself being an intellectual and promoter of learning in the Bahmani court must have had great respect for the family of Ayn-ud-din.

Ayn-ud-din had seven sons and eight daughters, however five of them died in infancy. Shaikh Ala-ud-din Ali Hasan became his successor. His other son Sharf-ud-din Hasan Abu Ghaus (d. 1401) was a hafiz

and man of great piety. The members of his family are still found in Sagar, Bijapur, Kodchi, Gulbarga and Ahmadnagar. Ayn-ud-din had a large following. At Bijapur and later at Sagar, he attracted a large number of students, and khalifahs. Prominent among them were the members of the Sangani family of Daulatabad who in due course settled at Bijapur.

In the cases of Siraj-ud-din Junaidi and Ayn-ud-din, there is little documentation from non-hagiographical sources; Ferishta in the early 17th century made a number of comments about Junaidi’s relations with the Bahmani court in Gulbarga,12 and also cited Ayn-ud-din’s historical treatise Mulhaqat-i-Tabaqat-i-Nasiri as one of the sources.13

On the basis of available information, one may conclude that these learned Sufis in Daulatabad who were not Chishtis, who later migrated from Daulatabad to Gulbarga and Bijapur, although possibly not until after these cities became prominent in the Bahmani Empire.

Little else can be said about the Junaidi order. Aside from an unproven assertion about one Sufi’s role in converting Hindus to Islam, the modern hagiographer makes no attempt to characterise

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12 Abul Qasim Ferishta, Tarikh-i-Ferishta (English Trans.), vol. 2, pp.186, 191, 216-17.
these Sufis except to extol their learning, they remain vague legends with giant shadows.\textsuperscript{14}

(iii) Khondamir Saiyid Ala-ud-din Ali Husayni Jeweri (d. 1333)

He was the most distinguished \textit{khalifah} of Saiyid Qiwam-ud-din, and was, in all likelihood the first Junaidi saint to have settled at Khuldabad.\textsuperscript{15} The forefathers of Saiyid Jeweri were Iraqis. Born at Jalandhar, he travelled extensively in quest of knowledge. Saiyid Jeweri used to take \textit{baiyt} on behalf of his \textit{pir}, Shaikh Qiwam-ud-din, while in Delhi. The \textit{Atwar} refers to him as \textit{shaikh-i-tariqat} of his time. He had great love and affection for his contemporary Chishti saint Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya. Long after the demise of his master, Saiyid Jeweri decided to move southward to Daulatabad and settled down at Khuldabad where he died in 1333.\textsuperscript{16}

During his stay at Khuldabad, he delivered lectures on \textit{Hidayah} and \textit{Miftah} and \textit{Kashshaf}, the most standard treatises of his time. He attracted a large number of disciples from Daulatabad as well as Delhi. His own family descendants were also scholars of high repute.\textsuperscript{17} Since he was a resident of Delhi and Khuldabad he had a

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., p. 99.
\textsuperscript{15} Abdul Jabbar Malkapuri, \textit{Tazkirah-i-auliya-i-dakan}, vol. 1, p. 392.
\textsuperscript{16} Carl Ernst, \textit{Eternal Garden}, p. 98.
\textsuperscript{17} Ayn-ud-din Ganj ul ilm, \textit{Atwar-ul-abrar}, f. 6.
large following both among Deccanis and north Indians. 

Atwar relates that most of his disciples were imams, faqih, qazis and teachers of theology, grammar and above all Sufis.

Main among those who opted to settle in Deccan and through whom this silsilah flourished at Daulatabad, Gulbarga, Bijapur and other places were: Shams-ud-din Damghani, Abdullah Malwi, Minhaj-ud-din Tamimi, Najm-ud-din Muhammad, Izz-ud-din Balhawi, Wajih-ud-din Sangani, Rukn-ud-din, Ayn-ud-din Ganj-ul-ilm, and Iftikhar-ud-din Kojhi etc. But the information pertaining to these saints is very meagre, though it can be safely said that they were austere and pious men of learning through whom, Junaidi order in Deccan flourished. Among them Shams-ud-din Laraghani, Minhaj-ud-din Tamimi, Ibrahim Sangani, Wajih-ud-din Sangani, Rukn-ud-din and Ganj-ul-ilm were the disciples of Shaikh Jeweri.

a) Shaikh Shams-ud-din Lamaghani (d. 1335)

He came to Delhi from Lamaghan, a district in Ghazni. He was the maternal grandfather of Saiyid Muhammad Kirmani (Mir Khurd, the author of Siyar-ul-auliya). During his childhood he had studied together with Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya under Maulana Shams-ul-

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18 Other names include Muhammad Imam Khatiruddin, Shaikh Shad, Shaikh Zahiruddin, Shaikh Raziuddin, Muhammad Balhawi.
Mulk. Shams-ud-din had also taken lessons from Imad-ud-din Dinawari. It is further reported that during his childhood, he had met Sadr-ud-din Muhammad Zakariya and Shaikh Baha-ud-din Zakariya. After becoming the disciple of Ali Jeweri in Delhi, he moved to Daulatabad in 1328 and died there in 1335. Little is known about his works and activity in the Deccan.

b) Shaikh Minhaj-ud-din Tamimi Ansari (d. 1360)

He was a senior disciple of Ali Jeweri and a jurist and teacher of high merit. Ayn-ud-din Ganj-ul-ilm was one of his students at Kantoor, a village near Delhi. In 1321, he went for pilgrimage and returned to Daulatabad in 1323. With the establishment of Bahmani sultanate in 1347, the Muslim population which was concentrated in Daulatabad started spreading all over Deccan. Simultaneously Sufis of Daulatabad spread into various, thus establishing new mystic centres. Shaikh Minhaj Tamimi also moved to Gulbarga in 1347 and lived there till his death. His mausoleum is still greatly venerated by the local people.

c) Shaikh Najm-ud-din Muhammad Marqi (d. 1336)

He was a resident of Delhi and died at Daulatabad though his body was taken to Delhi for burial. Nothing much is known about him
except that he became a disciple of Saiyid Jeweri after a vision he had while in Delhi.\textsuperscript{19}

d) Shaikh Izz-ud-din Muhammad Balhawi (d. 1325)

He was a resident of Kantoor near Delhi and became a disciple of Saiyid Jeweri while still in Delhi. He also studied under Shaikh Hamid-ud-din Makhzumi at Karamanikpur. He died in Rajpura, a village near Daulatabad.\textsuperscript{20}

e) Shaikh Ibrahim Sangani (d. 1352)

He was another close associate of Saiyid Jeweri. He had the honour of studying under Shams-ud-din Lamghani and the company of Minhaj Tamimi and Ayn-ud-din Ganj-ul-ilm. Later he migrated to Bijapur where he died. Ayn-ud-din Ganj-ul-ilm in one of his works referred to him as \textit{Adham-i-Sani}.

f) Shaikh Husain Balhawi (d. 1340)

He was a companion of Ali Jeweri at Daulatabad and later moved to Gulbarga where he is buried.

With the death of Sultan Mahmud Shah in 1518, Bahmani kingdom seized to be a powerful state for all practical purposes. Although four

\textsuperscript{19} Ibid., f. 7.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., f. 8.
rulers followed him in a short period of thirty years, many provincial
governors also seized the opportunity and declared independence. Of
the five successive states formed on the debris of Bahmani kingdom,
three were Shia and more powerful. The other two were soon annexed
by the former. With the fall of Bahmanis also ended the dynamic role
of Sufis and *khanqahs*, although the institution was revived later at
Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and Golconda.

**B. The Shattarís**

The Shattari order arose in Iran and was brought to India by Shaikh
Abdullah Shattar.²¹ Included in the spiritual genealogy of the order is
the Persian mystic Bayazid Bustami (d. 845). The spiritual heritage
may account for the liberalism that pervades much of the latter
Shattari writing, for Bayazid was one of the first ‘intoxicated Sufis’.²²
It was sometime in the 16th century that the Shattari *silsilah* reached
Deccan and its saints influenced the religious life of the people. Shah
Abdullah (d. 1485),²³ who introduced this order in India was a saint of
great qualities and soon after his arrival in India, he undertook a
massive tour of the country and finally decided to settle in Mandu.

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²² K. A. Nizami, ‘The Shattari Saints and Their Attitude Towards the State’, *Medieval India Quarterly*, 1, October 1950, p. 56.
From there, he could work towards expanding the order in both north and south. His technique of work had some unique features: He moved from place to place with an army of disciples in military uniform. At every halting station and announcement was made inviting people to the way of God. The military outfit of his disciples created suspicion in the minds of Sharqi rulers of Jaunpur and he had to move with caution. However, he did succeed in attracting considerable number of energetic mystics to his fold who extended his influence of the order and in few decades it came to be established in the Deccan as well.

After arriving in India from Iran, the Shattari Sufis showed a remarkable capacity to absorb non-Islamic ideas and practices while eventually by the 16th century becoming firmly rooted in Gujarat. The Sufi most responsible for these developments and the most eminent among all Shattari Sufis was Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus of Gwalior (d. 1563). He was well versed in both Muslim and Hindu traditions of mysticism and had spent years in the hilly region of Chunar in company of Hindu mystics and yogis. He had also translated into Persian a Sanskrit work on Hindu mystical practices. He was a man of wide sympathies, broad and tolerant outlook, and used to exhort his
disciples to follow a path of toleration and sympathy with other systems of thought and belief. Under his influence, the order spread widely and became known for its cosmopolitan outlook—a tradition to which the Shattaris adhered for centuries. In Gujarat, he established various centres of Shattari teaching, most importantly at Ahmadabad and Broach. His most eminent disciple was Shaikh Wajih-ud-din Alavi at Ahmadabad, who is remembered for being a great scholar and profound writer, and founder of a madrasah that operated till 1820. He is said to have left several hundred khalifahs, and not all of them remained in Gujarat. Many Shattaris of Gujarat claiming connections with Wajih-ud-din migrated to Bijapur around the same time that Sufis of Qadiri order were migrating from Bijapur to Bidar.

In Gujarat, the Shattari order because of its urban nature and its stand on Muslim orthodoxy, was moving closer to the posture of the Qadiri Sufis of Bidar. They also resembled the Qadiris in their increasingly close association with the state from 16th century onwards. It was also through Ghaus’ disciples that Shattari order reached the Deccan. His eldest son, Shaikh Abdullah was sent to Deccan with Khan-i-Azam. It was in fact Shaikh Arif, a khalifah of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, who

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introduced the order. Later on some disciples of Muhammad Ghaus such as Shams-ud-din (d. 1582),\textsuperscript{26} Shaikh Nakku (d. 1601)\textsuperscript{27}, Shaikh Wadud (d. 1585)\textsuperscript{28} and Shaikh Wali Muhammad (d. 1579)\textsuperscript{29} settled in different towns of the Deccan and propagated Shattari teachings.

Burhanpur became one of the strongest and most influential of Shattari centres in India during the period. Three very distinguished saints Shaikh Arif, Shaikh Muhammad Tahir and Shaikh Isa planted it there.

Their teachings gave new orientations to the personalities of those who flocked to them in search of spiritual solace. Later, Shaikh Burhan started strenuous mystic propaganda in Burhanpur. He holds the same position in the history of the Shattari order as Saiyid Muhammad Gesudaraz holds in the history of the Chishti order.

(i) Shaikh Arif:

Shaikh Arif lived in Ahmadabad for 30 years in compliance with the orders of his spiritual mentor Muhammad Ghaus Shattari, and in 1574 he migrated to Burhanpur at the request of his disciple Shaikh Isa. He

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{26} Shaikh Muhammad Ghausi, \textit{Gulzar-i-abrar} (Urdu Trans), pp. 354-355.
\item \textsuperscript{27} \textit{Gulzar-i-abrar}, p. 199. He was held in high esteem by Raja Ali Khan of Khandesh who appointed him \textit{khatib} of a mosque in Zainabad.
\item \textsuperscript{28} Ibid., pp. 385-386.
\item \textsuperscript{29} Ibid., p. 345.
\end{itemize}
lived at Burhanpur till his death in 1585.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 426-427} The people of Burhanpur established a colony and named it as Rastipura after his daughter, Bibi Rasti. Shaikh Arif was a staunch believer in \textit{wahdat-ul-wujud} (Unity of the phenomenal and the noumenal world). His eloquent exposition of Ibn-i-Arabi’s mystical views earned for him the approbation of scholars and saints alike, but Shaikh Ali Muttaqi, a leading scholar and theologian of Ahmadabad criticised him for his pantheistic views. Shaikh Arif disdained theological controversies and so he quietly ignored the opposition of Shaikh Ali Muttaqi. Shaikh Arif was however, very cautious in discussing pantheistic ideas publicly. Though Burhanpur was a Chishti centre, Shaikh Arif succeeded in establishing Shattari influence there. One of his eminent disciples, Shaikh Ibrahim Qari (d.1583), was invited by Muhammad Shah Faruqi of Khandesh (r. 1566-1576) to teach the Holy Quran to the ladies of his harem, but he declined.

\textbf{(ii) Shaikh Tahir:}

Shaikh Tahir was another important \textit{khalifah} of Saiyid Muhammad Ghaus who worked at Burhanpur. Originally a native of Sindh, he migrated to Ahmadabad where he met Saiyid Muhammad Ghaus\footnote{Ibid., pp. 426-427.} and
joined his spiritual discipline. Subsequently he moved to Elichpur and started giving instructions to people in Hadith. In 1574, he reached Burhanpur where he was received by Muhammad Shah Faruqi, who had invited him. This invitation as a teacher attracted many people to his seminary.32

One of the most significant features of the Shattari silsilah in India was that, side by side with moral and spiritual instruction, its saints imparted education in religious sciences. They believed that there could be no integrated religious personality if it ignored the discipline of the mind through a study of *ulum-i-zahiri*. It was on this account that most of the Shattari *khanqahs* of the period had a big *madrasah* attached to them. Shaikh Muhammad Tahir followed the tradition and set up a seminary along with a hospice. He was particularly interested in the teaching of Hadith. The author of *Gulzar-i-abrar* refers to his lectures on *Sahih Bukhari*—fact which shows that in the Deccan classical collections of *ahadith* were included in the syllabus very early, perhaps earlier than in the north. Shaikh Tahir wrote a number of books on various branches of religious learning. Amongst them on finds such works on *Tafsir Majma-ul-Bihar, Mukhtasar Qut-ulQulub,*

32 Ibid., p. 427.
Shaikh Tahir breathed his last in 1594. Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan constructed a baradari over his grave.

(iii) Shaikh Isa:

Shaikh Isa (d. 1622) was born at Elichpur in 1555. He went to Burhanpur after the death of his father in 1573 along with his mother and became a disciple of Shaikh Arif. At his request Shaikh Arif had also settled at Burhanpur, he was known for his erudition and learning and respected for his piety. According to Sadiq Khan (the author of Tabaqat-i-Shah Jahani), his scholarship infused new life in the sciences that he taught to his pupils. He wrote a number of treatises and booklets like Risala-i-aqud, Sharh Rubaiyat-i-asrar ul wali, Majma-ul-bahrain, Hashiyabar Isharat-i-Ghaibiyah, Ain-ul-Maani, Fath-i-Muhammadi, etc. They deal with traditional subjects and do not reveal any extraordinary scholarship. He adhered to the tradition of Saiyid Wajih-ud-din Alavi of Ahmadabad in confining literary activity to writing hashiyas and sharhs of well-known works. When Akbar invaded Asirgarh in 1599, Shaikh Isa gave moral support to Bahadur Shah Faruqi. This brought misfortune to him, for after

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33 Ibid., pp. 427,432-33.
34 Ibid., pp. 509-513.
conquering the fort, Akbar put him in prison. On his return to Agra, Akbar placed him in custody of Shaikh Abdullah, son of Muhammad Ghaus. Later on Shaikh Abdullah interceded on his behalf and secured the Emperor's pardon. Shaikh Isa breathed his last in 1622. His son Shaikh Abdul Sattar remained attached to the Shattari order for some time, but later he transferred his allegiance to Naqshbandi silsilah. Among the disciples of Shaikh Isa were Saiyid Pir Saiyidi of Asirgarh (d. 1592), Shaikh Nimatullah and Shaikh Burhan.

(iv) Successors of Shaikh Isa:

Shaikh Burhan was perhaps the most outstanding Sufi of Shattari order who worked in the Deccan. When Shaikh Isa died, all the Shattari saints of the south turned to him for spiritual matters. He did not approve of the participation of saints in politics and was critical of those saints who consorted with kings and accumulated wealth. When his popularity increased, Amir Beg, governor of Burhanpur, offered to build a khanqah for him, but he did not accept the offer. He warned Amir Beg that if he built a khanqah for him, he would immediately migrate to Surat. The saint’s reputation reached the ears of Aurangzeb and he visited his khanqah under false identity. As there

\[36\] For biographical details see Muhammad Ghausi, *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, p. 439.

were no mosques attached to the khanqah, he granted a piece of land for the purpose. Just before the war of succession, Aurangzeb visited him and sought his blessings. When Aurangzeb continued to visit him, he became annoyed and told him bluntly, ‘You tell me if you like this house. I shall vacate it and find some other shelter for Sufis.’ Aurangzeb then sought the help of his favourite attendant, Shaikh Nizam, who later played a prominent role in the compilation of Fatawa-i-alamgiri. On his suggestion, he tried to meet him at the Jami mosque, where he met the Shaikh and sought blessings.\(^{38}\)

Since Aurangzeb had faith in Shaikh Burhan many Mughal nobles and dignitaries started visiting the Shaikh. Shaista Khan also developed faith in him. Shaikh Burhan however, did not like the company of kings and amirs. He maintained all through an atmosphere of contentment and other-worldliness in the khanqah. He did not even like discussion about material and mundane affairs and very rarely accepted any gift from nobles. No futuh could be accumulated in his khanqah. Barring those physically unfit, every inmate of the khanqah had to work in order to earn a livelihood. Parasitism and spiritual work do not go together, he used to say. He spent most of his time in exhorting people to lead a good moral life and criticised the habit of

\(^{38}\) Tarikh-i-Shah Jahan wa Alamgiri, f. 97a, cited from Ibid., p. 193.
begging and indolence and advised visitors to develop such virtues as
courtesy, honesty and punctuality. A man’s greatness lies not in his
noble birth, he used to say, but in his noble character and moral
achievements.

Shaikh Burhan was very strict in matters of discipline and never
approved of any ecstatic behaviour under the cover of sukr (spiritual
intoxication). He strongly discouraged any unrestrained display of
emotional states. One of his disciples Shah Nur Ramz-i-Ilahi used to
shout aloud a slogan ‘Burhan Allah hu akbar’, which greatly disturbed
the Shaikh who handed him over to the Qazi with the request to apply
Shariat laws on him. According to Khafi Khan, they were executed at
the orders of the Qazi.  

Eminent as a mystic teacher, Shaikh Burhan was known for his
erudition and learning also. He maintained a madrasah where students
came from different parts of the country. He also warned his disciples
against building a tomb over his grave, but they nevertheless
constructed a mausoleum over his grave.

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39 Khafi Khan, Muntakhab-ul-Ishab, vol. 2, p. 554; As cited in K. A. Nizami, ‘Sufi Order in the
Deccan’, p. 194.

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Sufis of both Qadiri and Shattari orders resided in cities and were well integrated with Islamic orthodoxy and had accommodated themselves with local political authority. In terms of reformist zeal, Abul Hasan Qadiri was surpassed by Shah Sibghatullah (d. 1606), a Shattari Sufi whole life vividly illustrates the extent to which certain Sufis exerted pressure on the Adil Shahi court. Born at Broach, he journeyed to the provincial capital and enrolled himself with Wajih-ud-din Alavi, from whom he eventually received *khilafat*. Around 1590, he left his *pir* and made a pilgrimage to Mecca. However, with political chaos that gripped Gujarat between 1583 and 1592, as a result of local resistance to the newly installed Mughal authority, he was forced to move out of Ahmadabad and settled at Bijapur. The timing of his arrival in Bijapur, which by Muslim calendar was 1000 AH, is particularly significant since it coincided with the first millennium of Islam. Throughout the Muslim world the first millennium was much awaited both with dread of the end day and with expectation of the arrival of Mahdi. Hence, the possible

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40 See above, pp. 207-208.
42 Muhammad Ibrahim Zuberi, *Rauzat-ul-auliya-i-Bijapur* (Urdu Trans.), p. 46.
millennial significance of Shah Sibghatullah’s arrival in Bijapur should not be forgotten when interpreting the events that followed his arrival.

The sources regarding Shah Sibghatullah’s brief but stormy five year stay in Bijapur are considerably more extensive than those regarding Abul Hasan Qadri. Ibrahim Zubairi, the historian and hagiographer of Bijapur, speculated in both *Basatin-us-salatin* and *Rauzat-ul-auliya-i-Bijapur* that Shah Sibghatullah’s coming to Bijapur was specifically motivated by a desire to set Ibrahim II back on the path of Islam. Writing from sources no longer extant, Zubairi recorded in both works the following exchange between the zealous Sufi and Sultan Ibrahim:

‘In the year AH 1000 he arrived in Bijapur. After a while it became known to him that the king had become enamoured to Hindu singing and playing and had cultivated deviate skills. Seized by the command to do what is right, Shah Sibghatullah told the Sultan, “Take up the road of repentance and the true faith, clean your heart of false beliefs and be a believer in the

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44 As for the hagiographic traditions concerning Shah Sibghatullah, there are two copies each of the *mishkat-un-nubuwwah* and *Rauza-ul-auliya-i-Bijapur*, both comprehensive and reliable biographical hagiographies compiled in 1805-06 and 1825-26 respectively. The tazkirah source is the standard biography of the entire Shattari order, the *Gulazr-i-abrar* compiled around 1613 or just seven years after the death of Shah Sibghatullah. He is one of the few Sufis of Bijapur of whom there exists a malfuzat, or the discourses of the pir as recorded by a murid. The malfuzat-i-Shah Sibghatullah, compiled by his leading khalifah Habibullah Abdul Fattah, was composed in 1606, the year of Sufi’s death is an indispensable source and a firsthand observation of Sufi’s life.
One”. The Sultan replied that he was only trying to improve his voice,... but Shah Sibghatullah retorted that good intentions were not sufficient and that he would have to refrain from these kinds of dangers altogether.  

Although there is no evidence that Ibrahim II ever did renounce his infatuation with Indian music, the likelihood that such an encounter actually did take place is suggested by another, even more zealous actions of the Sufi. Shah Sibghatullah publicly attacked not only the monarch’s public religion, but more pointedly, the kingdom’s Shia population. Of all the Bijapuri’s Sufis, in fact, Shah Sibghatullah was most vociferous in attacking Shias and their tenets. A collection of his proverbs and sayings (Malfuzat-i-Shah-Sibghatullah) compiled in the year of his death by a disciple of his successor frequently alludes to the Sufi’s anti-Shia sentiment. It is remarked, for example, that a certain Shia teacher of Bijapur named Hasan Najafi was so terrified on merely hearing Sibghatullah’s name that ‘he broke into trembling just as the Devil trembles at the name of Umar’.  

Sibghatullah’s anti-Shia convictions probably originated in the polarised sectarian climate that characterised Gujarat in the latter half
of the 16th century. The Bohras of Gujarat, a large community that had originally been exclusively Shia (of the Ismaili variety), had split in the fifteenth century into a large Sunni wing that enjoyed the royal support, and a smaller wing that remained “orthodox” Shias. This split had been aggravated by a series of Sunni Bohra missionary movements, among the most fiery of which was led by Maulana Muhammad Tahir in the 1570’s.

It is not clear whether Shah Sibghatullah’s own anti-Shia sentiments were directly influenced by the fanatical campaigns of Maulana Tahir, whether they stemmed from the pro-Sunni position inherent in the teachings of the Shattari order, or whether they resulted like the Maulana’s own convictions, from his pilgrimage to Mecca. What is clear, however, is that the Sufi’s anti-Shia sentiments were not at all welcome in Bijapur. For the kingdom then ruled by Sultan Ibrahim II had already had a bloody history of Shia-Sunni enmity that was still far from resolved. The Shia nobility, though recently eased out of its dominant position in Bijapur’s political life, still formed a powerful segment of the kingdom’s ruling structure – too powerful, as events proved, to submit to the venomous condemnation publicly cast on them by Shah Sibghatullah. Standing before the congregation in the
city's jami mosque one Friday, Sibghatullah announced that it was no longer possible to offer prayers in Bijapur as long as the Sultan followed his worldly pursuits. He then declared that the selling of wine must be prohibited, as should the practice of prostitution, and that Shias should be barred from all positions of power in the kingdom.47

In 1596, the fifth and final year of his stay in Bijapur, Shah Sibghatullah converted his fantastic zeal to actions that resulted in his own expulsion from the kingdom. At that time, the Shias of Bijapur were noisily preparing for the celebration of Ashura, which commemorates the martyrdom of Imam Husain. As a clamorous procession of five hundred Shias approached Sibghatullah's khanqah, the Sufi sent out his followers to destroy the Shia symbol being carried out at the head of the procession. This was done and led to a riot between Shias and Sibghatullah's disciples. Ibrahim II on hearing the news immediately put the Shah under house arrest inside the khanqah. Meanwhile, the murids who had been wounded in the encounter came to rescue the pir. This was of no avail however, as the Sufi was not released until the Ashura celebrations were not over.

47 Ghulam Ali Musavi, Mishkat-un-nubewwa, (Urdu Trans.), vol. 6, p. 78.
The *Mishkat-i-nubuwwa* records that the Shia nobles held a special meeting with the Sultan and remonstrated that the piety of Shah Sibghatullah notwithstanding, the glory of all the kingdom might be better served if he were absent. Accordingly, they then suggested that the time had perhaps arrived that Shah Sibghatullah make the holy pilgrimage to Mecca. The Sultan accepted this council, and despite the fact that Sibghatullah had just performed the Hajj only five years earlier, the court provided him with a generous allowance of 3000 *huns* for making a second pilgrimage.\(^48\) The court’s decision on this matter was relayed to the Sufi by one of his murids, Abdul Qadir, who had attended the royal meeting. Abdul Qadir arrived at the *khanqah* to find his *pir* performing the evening prayers. But on hearing the court’s decision Shah Sibghatullah made such a haste to submit his farewells to the Sultan that he did not even change his clothes before going to court. He left the city the next morning, stopping only in the suburb of Shahpur to distribute the entire travel allowance and then continued on to Arabia. He died ten years later in Medina, where he was buried.\(^49\)

Despite his ignominious departure, Shah Sibghatullah had in fact developed close relations with the court of which he became so

\(^{48}\) *Ibid.*, vol. 6, pp. 78-79.

critical. During one of Akbar’s invasion of the Deccan members of the nobility and ulama approached the Sufi seeking his blessings.\textsuperscript{50} On a more mundane level, Sibghatullah even developed a close friendship with the kingdom’s treasurer and occasionally wrote letters to the court recommending friends for government employment. But though the Sufis’ reputation as a living saint enable him to operate at high level in the court, his zeal for Islamic orthodoxy would not be tolerated when it threatened to re-open the wounds of Sunni-Shia animosity in Bijapur, wounds that had been partially healed by Ibrahim’s liberal policies.

Although Abul Hasan Qadiri and Shah Sibghatullah exhibited a posture of aggressive Puritanism vis-a-vis the court, a more passive role was played by Shah Hashim Alavi (d. 1646). His more liberal outlook made him one of the only Sufis of Bijapur to establish close contacts at once with the court and with commoners. He was perhaps the only Sufi of Bijapur to employ his good favour with the court for truly constructive social ends. His idea of reform, compared to that of Sibghatullah, was much broader and socially ameliorative. Hashim Alavi hailed from Ahmedabad and was a disciple of the famous Shattari master Shah Wajih-ud-din Alavi. He later was trained by

\textsuperscript{50} Malfuzat-i-Shah Sibghatullah, fol. 35 b; cited from Richard Eaton, Sufis of Bijapur, p. 117.
Shah Abdullah Husaini, a murid of Wajih-ud-din. After the death of his father, Hashim Alavi came to Bijapur and became an ascetic. In 1626, while returning from Haj, during the reign of Ibrahim II, certain events drew him in close contact with the court. After Ibrahim II’s death, Muhammad Adil Shah continued the tradition of maintaining close relations with the Sufi and also built his own huge mausoleum behind Hashim Alavi’s dargah.

C. Conclusion

The Sufi movement in the Deccan, as noticed in the present study, has its own significance, which cannot be curtailed. As examined in Chapter 2, long before the Muslim armies marched into the Deccan during the Khalji regime, Sufis along with merchants had settled in various parts of the peninsula. Known for their pious ways and sincere concerns for the local people and visitors, these Sufis were a welcome group in the large society of the Deccan. However, the Sufi movement was crystallised into a more concrete form during the Tughlaq regime, when driven by the policies of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, a large number of religious men migrated to Deccan. Their presence led to organised mystic activity and emergence of a distinctive Muslim culture. With these developments the Sufi movement assumed a new
dimension and many traditions which were born in the North were supplanted in the South, and the cultural barrier which had separated the North and the South was broken down.

Soon the Sufi movement in the Deccan developed its indigenous characteristics and assimilated local dialects and ideas into mystic doctrines and literature. The discussions of the *khanqahs* of Burhan-ud-din Gharib and Gesudaraz reveal a fairly advanced stage of religious knowledge and assimilation of the entire available Muslim mystic literature. Sufi theorists of north India, Persia and other parts of Muslim world were not unknown to the Deccan Sufis. Throughout the Bahmani period, Deccan retained an active intellectual contact with great centres of Muslim world. The influx of Persians during this period also introduced Persian concepts in the mystic circles.

Even a cursory glance on the letters and *malfuzat* of Deccan Sufis reveal that a frequent topic of their discussions was respect for moral values and creation of a healthy moral atmosphere. With the emergence of urbanisation programmes and cultural growth, the Sufis and their *khanqahs* acted as a counterweight in maintaining moral equilibrium in the medieval society and kept a close watch on the morals of both the people and governing classes. These *khanqahs* also
became the centres for evolving lingua franca, and we find a substantial number of *dakani* words in the teachings of Burhan-ud-din Gharib, Gesudaraz, Shams-ul-ushaq and Shah Burhan Shattari. They laid the nucleus for the later development of vernaculars, which was initiated by the Sufis and developed by traders, and perfected by poets and artists. Thus, the medieval cities of Daulatabad, Burhanpur, Gulbarga, Bijapur, Aurangabad, Golconda and many more were not merely mystic centres of eminence, but were the radiating points of culture in medieval Deccan.

Chapter 5 suggests how the Deccan Sufis of the Chishti order utilised the social conditions at newly established Muslim cultural centres such as Daulatabad, Gulbarga and Bidar to further their mystic doctrines. The experiences of the Deccan Chishtis, as noticed in the present thesis, suggest that their relations with the ruling elites varied over time. Initially, during the pre-Bahmani period, they retained isolation from any political contacts, as we noticed in the lives of Burhan-ud-din Gharib and Shaikh Yusuf Husaini. However, there were also those who did not hesitate to express their honest sentiments over the actions of the rulers and maintained cordial relations. For instance, Shaikh Zain-ud-din Daud did not hesitate in honouring the
Sultan with the title of ‘Ghazi’, although he also did not accept any land grants from royalty. In the latter half of the 15th century, when Bahmani seat of power had shifted to Bidar from Gulbarga, the descendants of Saiyid Gesudaraz became occupied in administering the affairs of the dargah which was constructed by Sultan Ahmad. They, instead of spreading the teachings of their illustrious predecessor, became embroiled in land disputes. Taken together, the developments of the period effectively killed any living tradition of the Chishti order in Gulbarga, which suffered by becoming too much involved in politics. The khanqahs could not stay completely uninfluenced by the happenings of the court. However, the Sufis of Bijapur, who flourished in a subsequent period, after the fall of Bahmani kingdom, remained independent from Delhi and Gulbarga, and maintained a safe distance from the seats of political power.

In the post-Bahmani period, the history of Chishti establishment in Bijapur was dominated by one family, of Miranji Shams-ul-Ushaq, who resided at the Shahpur Hillock. Throughout the Adil Shahi rule, the Sufis of Shahpur Hillock remained aloof from State functionaries both socially and doctrinally. Miranji and his successors also carried forward the tradition of producing literature in Persian and dakani
languages. Chishtis of Shahpur Hillock were important for their contribution to development of dakani and Urdu language as well.

Chapter 6 has focussed on the Qadiri establishment in Deccan during the period. In mid fourteenth century, a number of Qadiris arrived at Bidar from Arabia and Middle East. The Sultans at Bidar, eager to introduce foreign elements, favoured those who arrived from abroad, and to them the Chishtis seemed too ‘Indian’. At a time when the Chishtis in Bidar were declining since the death of Gesudaraz, the Qadiris, coming from Baghdad, Najaf, Mahan and Multan, gained an upper hand. Qadiris such as Shaikh Ibrahim Multani, Shams-ud-din Multani and their successors infused new spirit into the Qadiri order in Bidar. As noticed in their account, their family history is significant for understanding their contributions to strengthening the order and they zealously propagated the teachings of their order. The Qadiri order was further strengthened at places such as Gulbarga, Kurnool, Warangal and Golconda by the activities of Saba-Qadiris.

The attitude of Qadiris towards the State also varied from one individual to another. In the absence of a uniform attitude towards governing class, their outlook also differed. Some followed the precepts of early Sufis of keeping aloof from court politics, while
others maintained friendly relations with the sovereigns and accepted land grants. Generally speaking, those who had migrated from Baghdad such as Saiyid Badr-ud-din, Shaikh Zain-ud-din and Shams-ud-din Multani did not exert any pressure on the ruling class. While the Nimatullahi branch was significant for making concrete relations with the rulers, even at times, through marital relations. They also accompanied the rulers to battle-fields, supported ‘aliens’ against locals and supported the claims of one against the other to the throne.

During the early seventeenth century, as noticed in the chapter, the single most important Qadiri at Baijapur was Shah Abul Hasan Qadiri, who was more of a reformist Sufi. Among his descendants Shah Abdul Qadir was the first to accept royal favours and was frequently visited by the Adil Shahi Sultan. As was the case with the successors of Saiyid Gesudaraz in the Chishti context; so also in the case of Qadiris, the close contact with rulers marked a definite change in the mystic traditions of the family, and large portions of lands were assigned to the khanqah.
Appendix

I. Maps
II. Charts
III. Photos
I. Maps
Map C
Major Centres of Chishti and Qadiri orders in the Deccan

Chishti Centres •
Qadiri Centres △
II. Charts
### Chart A
The Bahmani Sultans of the Deccan (1347-1527)

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<tr>
<th>Sultans</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ala-ud-din Hasan Bahman Shah</td>
<td>(1347-58)</td>
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<td>Muhammad Shah</td>
<td>(1358-75)</td>
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<td>Ala-ud-din Mujahid Shah</td>
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<td>Daud Shah</td>
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<td>Muhammad Shah II (1378-97)</td>
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<td>Ghiyas-ud-din (1397)</td>
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<td>Shams-ud-din (1397)</td>
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<td>Tajuddin Firoz Shah</td>
<td>(1397-1422)</td>
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<td>Ahmad Shah I Wali</td>
<td>(1422-1436)</td>
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<td>Ala-ud-din Ahmad Shah II</td>
<td>(1436-1458)</td>
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<td>Ala-ud-din Humayun Shah</td>
<td>(1458-1461)</td>
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<td>Nizam Shah</td>
<td>(1461-1463)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Muhammad Shah III</td>
<td>(1463-1482)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahmud Shah</td>
<td>(1482-1518)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmad Shah III</td>
<td>(1518-1521)</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ala-ud-din</td>
<td>(1521-1522)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Waliullah Shah</td>
<td>(1522-1525)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalimullah Shah</td>
<td>(1525-1527)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chart B
The Nizam Shahi Dynasty of Ahmadnagar (1490-1633)

Malik Ahmad Nizam Shah (1490-1509)
| Burhan Nizam Shah (1509-1553)
| | Husain Shah I (1553-1565)
| | Murtaza Shah (1565-1588)
| | Miran Husain (1588-1589)
| | Ismail Shah (1589-1591)
| | Burhan Shah II (1591-1595)
| | Ibrahim Shah (1595-1596)
| | Ahmad Shah II (1596)
| | Bahadur Shah (1596-1600)
| | Murtaza Shah II (1600-1610)
| | Burhan Shah III (1610-1631)
| | Husain Shah II (1631-1633)
Chart C
The Imad Shahi Dynasty of Berar (1490-1572)

Fath-ullah Imad ul Mulk (1490-1504)
| Ala-ud-din Imad Shah (1504-1529)
| Darya Imad Shah (1529-1562)
| Burhan Imad Shah (1562-1568)
| Tufal Khan Deccani (1568-1572)

Chart D
The Barid Shahi Dynasty of Bidar (1492-1619)

Qasim Barid Shah I (1492-1504)
| Amir Barid Shah I (1504-1542)
| Ali Barid Shah I (1542-1579)
| Ibrahim Barid Shah (1579-1586)
| Qasim Barid Shah II (1586-1589)
| Amir Barid Shah II (1589-1601)
| Mirza Ali Barid Shah (1601-1609)
| Ali Barid Shah II (1609-1619)
Chart E
The Adil Shahi Dynasty of Bijapur (1490-1686)

Yusuf Adil Shah (1490-1510)
  Ismail Shah (1510-1534)
    Mallu Adil Shah (1534)
      Ibrahim Adil Shah I (1534-1558)
        Ali Adil Shah I (1558-1580)
          Ibrahim Adil Shah II (1580-1627)
            Muhammad Adil Shah (1627-1657)
              Ali Adil Shah II (1657-1672)
                Sikandar Adil Shah (1672-1686)

Chart F
The Qutb Shahi Dynasty of Golconda (1512-1687)

Quli Qutb Shah (1512-1543)
  Jamshed Qutb Shah (1543-1550)
    Subhan Quli Qutb Shah (1550)
      Ibrahim Qutb Shah (1550-1580)
        Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (1580-1612)
          Muhammad Qutb Shah (1612-1626)
            Abdullah Qutb Shah (1626-1672)
              Abul Hasan Qutb Shah (1672-1687)
Chart G
Family and Spiritual genealogy of Saiyid Gesudaraz

Saiyid Muhammad Gesudaraz
(d. 1421)

Saiyid Akbar Husaini
(d. 1409)

Saiyid Shah Safirullah
(d. 1536)

Saiyid Shah Asadullah

Saiyid Shah Safirullah II

The lineage continues

Saiyid Asghar Husaini
(d. 1424)

Saiyid Minallah Husaini
(d. 1474)

Saiyid Shah Kalimullah
(d. 1486)

Saiyid Shah Yadullah
(d. 1448)

Saiyid Shah Yadullah Husaini II

Saiyid Shah Abul Hasan
(d. 1497)

Saiyid Abdal Qadir

The lineage continues

The lineage continues

Rauza-i-buzurg

Rauza-i-khurd

Bidar Lineage

The lineage continues
Chart H
The Descendants of Shaikh Ibrahim Multani

Shaikh Ibrahim Multani
(Bidar, d. 1463)

Shaikh Ahmad

Shaikh Fathullah

Shaikh Muhammad Multani
(Bidar, d. 1528)

Shah Fakhruddin Shaikh Ibrahim Shah Ismail Shah Ishaq Badruddin Qadiri Qadiri Makhdumji Qadiri
(Bidar, d. 1582) (Bidar, d. 1573) (Bidar, d. 1582) (Pathri, d. 1578)

Family:  

Spiritual:  

267
1. Saiyid Ruknuddin Abu Yusuf (Gulbarga)
2. Saiyid Shah Ismail Qadiri (Nellore/Gulbarga)
3. Saiyid Shah Abdul Latif Laobali (Kurnool)
4. Shah Ishaq Qadiri (Kurnool)
5. Saiyid Shah Jamal-ul-Bahr (Warangal)
6. Miran Saiyid Husain al-Baghdadi (Golconda)
7. Saiyid Shah Rafiuddin Ahmad (Golconda)
Chart J
Descendants of Shah Nimatullah Kirmani

Shah Nimatullah Kirmani
(d. 1430)

Shah Khalilullah
(d. 1455)

Shah Nurullah
(d. 1330, Mahan/Bidar)

Mir Shamsuddin
(Mahan)

Shah Habibullah
(d. 1459)

Shah Muhibuddin
(d. 1502)

Persian lineage

Shah Kamaluddin

Shah Abdullah

Shah Safiyullah

Shah Zahiruddin

Saiyid Shah Burhanuddin

Saiyid Shah Shams-ud-din

Deccan lineage

Shah Nurullah II

269
Ancestry of Shah Sibghatullah

Muhammad Ghaus
(Gwalior, d. 1563)

Shah Ruh Allah Husaini Wajih-ud-din Alavi
(Broach) (Ahmedabad, d. 1589)

Abd al-Rahman Shah Sibghatullah Hashim Pir Alawi
(Bijapur, d. 1618) (Bijapur, d. 1606) (Bijapur, d. 1646)

--- Family lineage

----- Spiritual lineage
III. Photos
A: Tomb of Shaikh Burhan-ud-din Gharib

Source: Carl Ernst, *Eternal Garden*
B: Tomb of Zain-ud-din Shirazi

Source: Carl Ernst, *Eternal Garden*
C: Tomb of Ahmad Shah Wali Bahmani

Source: Ghulam Yazdani, *Bidar: Its History and Monuments*
D. Ibrahim Makhdumji Qadiri

Source: Ghulam Yazdani, *Bidar: Its History and Monuments*
E. Tomb of Shah Khalilullah Kirmani

Source: Ghulam Yazdani, Bidar: Its History and Monuments
Source: George Michell (ed.) *Islamic Heritage of the Deccan*
G. Tomb of Shaikh Siraj-ud-din Junaidi

Source: George Michell (ed.) *Islamic Heritage of the Deccan*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Baiyt</em></td>
<td>A vow of spiritual allegiance to a <em>pir</em>, usually accompanied by a simple ceremony. It signifies the initiation of a student in a formal sense into the institutional structure of Sufism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Barakat</em></td>
<td>Blessings; Spiritual powers of a pious man transferred after his death to his tomb and to his descendants or associates.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Bigha</em></td>
<td>A measurement of land area, equivalent to about nine-tenths of an acre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Chilla</em></td>
<td>A forty day period of solitary seclusion, spent in fasting and prayer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Dargah</em></td>
<td>(literally ‘court’*) A tomb of a pious man, usually attached to a mosque or hospice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Darwesh</em></td>
<td>Any Sufi, as used in Persian sources; Usually connotes the Sufis who stress ecstasy over knowledge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Definition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faqih</td>
<td>A scholar trained in Islamic Jurisprudence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faqir</td>
<td>A Muslim mendicant who wanders about subsisting on alms; a poor man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farman</td>
<td>A written command issued by the court and bearing the royal seal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiqh</td>
<td>Islamic jurisprudence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghazi</td>
<td>A religious warrior fighting for the cause of Islam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadis</td>
<td>Traditions of the Prophet Muhammad, based on the authority of a chain of transmitters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hajj</td>
<td>The pilgrimage to Mecca, one of the five fundamental duties of a Muslim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haqiqat</td>
<td>Truth, Reality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilm</td>
<td>Knowledge; especially the revealed or exoteric knowledge of Islam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inam</td>
<td>A grant of tax-free land given by the government in perpetuity to an individual or an institution.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Jagir
Lands on which revenue collection was farmed out to a high ranking noble, in return of military service performed by him.

Jagirdar
The holder of a jagir.

Kalima
Islamic confession of faith

Karamat
A miracle believed to be performed by a pious man.

Khalifah
One who received khilafat from a pir and is thereby permitted to induct others into the Sufi order.

Khanqah
A hospice; place where a Sufi resides and teaches.

Khilafat
(literally ‘successorship’) Permission granted by a pir to succeed him and initiate others into the Sufi order.

Khilafat-nama
The letter that formalises the grant of khilafat.

Khirqa
A patched frock worn by Sufis, often bestowed to a disciple symbolising the grant of khilafat.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khutba</td>
<td>The Friday Sermon delivered at a mosque.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langar</td>
<td>Free Kitchen in a <em>khanqah</em> where food and alms were distributed to the poor for free.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majzub</td>
<td>A Sufi overwhelmed by ecstasy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maktubat</td>
<td>Letter collections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malfuzat</td>
<td>The sayings of a <em>pir</em>, usually recorded and compiled into a book by a disciple.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marifat</td>
<td>Knowledge of God; Esoteric knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulki</td>
<td>The section of native people at the court, usually to denote people from the Deccan or the locals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murid</td>
<td>A disciple of a Sufi shaikh; one who has received initiation into the Sufi order.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murshid</td>
<td>Spiritual Guide; Master of a <em>khanqah</em>, or the <em>pir</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nazr</td>
<td>Any present or offering given to a ruler or Sufi shaikh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-mulki</td>
<td>The foreigners at the court, to denote people who arrived from Persia, Arab, Central Asia etc. and were employed by the Deccan rulers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pir</td>
<td>The teacher of the Sufi way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qazi</td>
<td>A Muslim judge appointed by the government to enforce Islamic law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rauza</td>
<td>Mausoleum of a pious man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sajjada Nashin</td>
<td>Successor to the leadership of a <em>khanqah</em> or <em>dargah</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sama</td>
<td>Audition sessions held by Sufis, at times accompanied by music, with the object of attaining higher spiritual states.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanad</td>
<td>A document conveying a government order, bearing a royal seal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaikh</td>
<td>A title of respect; a Muslim of Arab descent; A Sufi master or teacher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shariat</td>
<td>The revealed and canonised body of Islamic Law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sajda</td>
<td>Prostration performed out of respect or in worship.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silsilah</td>
<td>The chain of initiations in a Sufi order; A spiritual genealogy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tariqa</td>
<td>A road, path or way; usually to denote a particular way of a Sufi order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tasawwuf</td>
<td>Islamic mysticism, equivalent to the English ‘Sufism’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taweez</td>
<td>Amulet; a written zikr given by a pir to a murid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tazkirah</td>
<td>A collection of biographical accounts, compiled from both oral and written traditions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urs</td>
<td>Commemoration of the death anniversary of a pious man or Sufi shaikh, normally the most important festival of a dargah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wahdat-ul-wujud</td>
<td>unity of Being/ a Sufi concept of tauhid propounded by Andulasian Sufi Ibn Arabi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
which suggests that there is only One Being and everything is His manifestation.

\textit{wahdat-ush-shuhud}  unity of perception/ a Sufi concept propounded by Indian Naqshbandi Sufi Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi in opposition to the above which claims that identification of God with the world is a perception and not a proposition about reality.

\textit{wilayat}  Spiritual domain or sphere of influence of a Sufi master.

\textit{Zikr}  Remembrance of God.
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