
CHAPTER-III: THE ROLE OF SUFI SAINTS IN THE SPREAD
OF ISLAM IN SOUTH INDIA

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THE RULE OF SUFI SAINTS IN THE SPREAD
OF ISLAM IN SOUTH INDIAThe Meaning of the Word Sufi

"This is also the theory of the sufis, i.e., the sages, for suf means in Greek wisdom (O O Pia). Therefore, a philosopher is called pailasopu (Piloopopus) i.e., loving wisdom. When in Islam persons adopted something like the doctrines of those philosophers, they also adopted their name; but some people did not understand the meaning of the word, and erroneously combined it with the Arabic word suffa, as if the sufi (= Piloopopol) were identical with the so called 'Ah' - Assuffa among the companions of Muhammad. In later times the word was corrupted by misspelling, so that finally it was taken for a derivation from suf, i.e., the wool of goats. Abu-alfath Albusti made a laudable effort to avoid this mistake when he said, 'From olden times people have differed as to the meaning of the word sufi and have ought it a derivative from suf, i.e., wool. I, for my part, understand by the word a youth who is sufi i.e., pure. This sufi has become sufi and in this form the name of a class of thinkers, the sufi.¹'"

The Arabic word suf means wool, and a sufi literally means 'a man of wool'. It, however, signifies a man of renunciation deeply devoted to God.²

The Sufi saints have done a significant work for the spread of Islam in South India.

In South at the beginning of the 13th century, that is, before the establishment of the Islamic political domination, the Islamic saints and missionaries were wide spread. Most of them were found in the South from the 9th century.³

The Muslim settlements began in the South long before the Muslim armies entered the Deccan. According to tradition, the earliest Muslim settlers were the Arabs of the Navayit clan who reached the Konkan in the early years of the 8th century and in course of time, got completely Indianised.⁴ When Malik Kafur reached Kandur (in Trichonopoly district) in pursuit of Raja Bir Dhul, he found that many Muslims were living there and the Raja of that place was being supported by his Muslim subjects.⁵ Several decades later when Ibni Batuta visited South India, he came across Muslim settlements and mosques in Travancore, Malbar and the Kannada areas.⁶

In the medieval South India, there were 350 Sufi or Muslim saints; and Barhanpur, Aurangabad, Hyderabad, Gulbarga, Bidar and Bijapur were the centres of the Islam.⁷

The Sufi saints spread the Islam in South India by some means. They performed some miracles and drew the attention of the people towards the philosophy of their religion among them. The following are the prominent saints: Norooddin from Dongaon,

Jallaluddin Ganjarwan from Khultabad, Momin Aarif from Daulatabad, Abdul Jabbar from Malkapuri, Baba Sharafuddin Samshabad from Hyderabad, Hayat Kalandar from Mangarulepeer, Husa Muddin from Gulbarga, Shaikh Sayyid from Talikot, Shaikh Samasta Sagar from Shahapur, Shadulla Rehman from Elichpur, Syed Husain Tawakkulli from Khangsamar.

Sufi Saramasta: He came from Arabastan or Arabia to the South India in the beginning of the 13th century. There were hundreds of his followers and Faqirs with him. He settled down along with them at Sagar Shahapur, a place in the district of Gulbarga. It can be said that Saramasta Sagar did the pioneering work of spreading Islam in Gulbarga area.⁸ Richard Maxwell Eaton says - "His companions - mendicants (Faqirs) disciples (Murid) and soldiers (Ghazi) numbered over seven hundred. He settled in Sagar (Sholapur district).⁹ There is a zealous and anti-Muslim raja named Kumaram wished to expel him (Sufi Sarmast) and his companions having also prepared for a struggle, a bitter fight ensued. Heroes of both sides were slain. Finally the raja was slain by the hand of his daughter; countless Hindus were killed, and at this time Lakhi Khan Afghan and Ni'mat Khan came from Delhi to assist him. Hindus were defeated and the Muslims were victorious. The rest of the Hindus, having accepted tributary status, made peace. Since by nature he was fundamentally not combative, sufi sarmast spread the religion of Muhammad and befriended the hearts of Hindus. Having

seen his fine virtues and uncommon justice, many Hindus of that time became Muslims."¹⁰

The chronology of the events described here also states the problems. We know that Sufi sarmast is buried in Sagar a hill fort located approximately seventy miles east of Bijapur, and that he died in the year 1281.¹¹

Sufi sarmast's residence in the well-fortified hill fort of Sagar represents another confusion of the Sufi with some Muslim officer or one could observe that 'Kukaram' (Kumara Ram or Ramanatha in the non-Muslim sources), who in the Muslim hagiographic version was murdered by the Sufi daughter, was according to one of the Kannada versions murdered by the officers of the Sultan of Delhi.

The nature of Sufi sarmast's alleged role in the conversion of Hindus to Islam has been differently stated. It is reasonable to assume that some sort of Military engagement did take place between Sufi sarmast's group of warrior followers and the indigenous peoples of the Bijapur plateau. In this case the Sufi's purported role in the peaceful conversion of Hindus to Islam would seem highly unlikely, and probably represents an embellishment.¹²

Pir Mabari Khandayat: This sufi, who died in Bijapur in the early 14th century, clearly illustrates the case of a sufi accompanying one of Delhi's military expeditions to Bijapur

and participating in the struggle for Muslim control of that city. In "Rauzat al-Auliya", Muhammad Ibrahim Zubairi wrote that: It is known that he was born and brought up in Malbar - on the coast of the salty sea. During the period of Alaud-din-Khalaji, he accompanied the camp of the army of Islam in the year A.H. 710 (A.D. 1310-11) when buried treasures of gold and silver came to the hands of the Muslims and the victory of Islam was effected.¹³

It is also stated that Pir Mabari Khandayat succeeded in converting many Jains, who were cultivators of land, to Islam in the beginning of the fourteenth century.¹⁴

Some of the cultivating classes are said to represent Jains who were converted by Pir Mahabir Khandayat, an Arab preacher, who came as a missionary to the Deccan about the beginning of the fourteenth century (A.H. 704) and is buried in the Art Fort of citadel of Bijapur. Some represent converts made by the first Bijapur King Yusuf Adil Shah through the exertions of Arab missionaries; some of the Moghal emperor Aurangzeb (1686-1707) and a few by Haidar and Tipu of Maisur (1760-1800). It seems probably that the number who represent Bahamani and Bijapur converts is larger than is supposed, and that those whose origin has been forgotten attribute their conversion either to Aurangzeb or to Tipu the two best known of Modern Musalman rulers.¹⁵

Pir Ma'bari Khandayat, whose very name verifies his origin in Ma'bar joined the army of Malik Kafur in the Tamil country in 1311, and moved with it back north as far as Bijapur, where the sufi evidently remained while the army continued on its return to Delhi.¹⁶ The hagiographic literature relates the conflict that followed his arrival at Bijapur. It is said that in the time that arrogant infidels, surely Hindus and powerful and vain rajas ruled (Bijapur) by force, he came here and waged Jihad against the rajas and rebels. And with his iron bar he broke the heads and necks of many rajas and drove them to the dust of defeat. Many idolators who by the will of God had guidance and ¹blessings, repented from their unbelief and error, and by the hand of Pir Ma'bari Khandayat came to Islam. Nonetheless, by the hand of wretched idolators and erring unbelievers he and a group of his sons and friends drank the cup martyrdom.¹⁷ Eaton who quoted the following statement from the Bombay Gazetteer for 1884 stated that around 1305 he came to the Deccan as a 'Missionary' and converted to Islam a large number of Jains whose descendants are among the cultivating classes of Bijapur District.¹⁸

A local tradition collected in 1844 further attributed to Pir Ma'bari Khandayat the expulsion of a group of local Brahmins from their agrahar or Brahmin village at Bijapur.¹⁹ His preaching of Islam to support his contention that the most important agents in the spread of Islam in the Deccan were

peaceful Muslim saints.²⁰

Shaikh Ali Pahlavan: A companion of sufi sarmast migrated to a town near Kurnool where he and his followers became engaged in a struggle with Hindus, again described as Jihad, and were killed.²¹

Pir Jumma (d. 1304): He is said to have come to Bijapur city 'in the time of flourishing unbelief', i.e., immediately before the governorship of Karim al-Din and waged Jihad which 'cleansed the area of idol worship'.²²

Saiyid Husamal Din Tigh Barahna (d. 1281): He migrated from Delhi to Gulbarga long before that city was settled by Muslims. Although Mohammad Abdul Aziz has associated Husam al-Din with the peaceful expansion of Islam in the Deccan, his title tigh barahna, which means 'naked sword', would suggest otherwise.²³

The later sufis of Bijapur were able to wield considerable influence in an area where neither vaisnavite bhakti (The Vithoba cult) nor Saivite bhakti (Lingayatism) was altogether dominant and where their own variant devotionism could find room for accommodation.²⁴

Hayat Kalandar: He lived at Mangarulepeer in Varhad province. There were some Fakirs with him. The king of this village was called Mangal. There was a scuffle between Mangal and Hayat

Kalandar in which the former was killed. After his death Hayat Kalandar settled down at Mangarulepeer and worked for the spread of Islam. He converted many people to the Islam. He died in 659 H. i.e., 1258 A.D. He is considered to be the first Islam missionary in Varhad.²⁵

Baba Sharafuddin: During the Kakatiya region Baba Sharafuddin worked for the spread of Islam in Hyderabad. He came to the South India from North India in order to spread the Islam and settled down at a hill near Hyderabad. There were 60 to 70 Faqirs with him. He sent them to the various areas of South as the mission of spreading Islam. His miracles are still famous in Hyderabad area. Once a washerman lost his bull. He requested Baba Sharafuddin to make the investigation of it. Baba Sharafuddin wrote some words on a stone and asked him to take it to a nearby temple of Maruti, who would help him in restoring his bull. The washerman did everything accordingly and found his bull standing behind Maruti.²⁶

There is another miracle associated with Sharafuddin. Once Hindus complained against the Muslims for throwing away their Hanuman to the ground. Baba Sharafuddin made the idol of Hanuman speak with the strength of his miracles. The idol of Hanuman spoke, "My dear devotees Sharafuddin has not thrown me away'. The sound of his 'Allah' made me to crumble down. Please take me away from here. Don't trouble Baba Sharafuddin

and his disciples; because he is an incarnate."

Such miracles and rumours are famous not only in case of sufi saints but also the missionaries. This throws light on the method used to propogate Islam.²⁷

Shaik Muntajabuddin Zarzari Zar Bakhash: In the year 1296, with the invasion of Devagiri by Alauddin Khalji, the Yadava rule suffered a great troma. At this time in the Mazalis of Nizamuddin Auliya at Delhi. It was decided to send some missionaries in South. Accordingly, Muntajabuddin Zarzari Zar Baksh and his 700 colleagues came to South in 13th century A.D. and settled down at Khultabad.

There are various famous legends about Muntajabuddin. He was secretly given some money for the maintenance of Faqir, which he used to distribute among the people. Hence he was called Zarzarizar Baksh. It was believed that he received a golden box or golden cloths with the grace of God. It is probably that to make this belief widespread among the people, the responsibility of providing wealth secretly to him was accepted by the Yadavas of Devagiri, who were the vassals of Allauddin Khalaji.²⁸

Muntajabuddin married Sonabai, the daughter of a Hindu officer, who lived near Khultabad. The well built by her is famous as Sonabai well.²⁹

Salauddin Chisti: He came with Mantajabuddin from Delhi, is referred in 'Tajakare Avaliya Dakan' as below Sallauddin, who came to the South and settled down at Poona. There was a king named Purandar. He opposed Sallauddin. In the words of Abdul Jabbar, "Apaki Duwase Halakh our Kattal Hua." [He (Purandar) died of Sallauddin's curse].

His another miracle is also famous. It is said that his disciple killed a cow which, he made alive on the complaint of Hindus. This influenced the public and many became his followers. Sallauddin destroyed temples and erected mosques in their places, which are still in existence. Sallauddin's race is still found in Poona.³⁰ He died in 759 A.H., i.e., 1358 A.D.

Majduddin alias Maulana Saheb: Majduddin came with Muntoajabelddin from Delhi to South. He worked for spreading Islam in and surrounding Paithan. At first he settled down at Khultabad and later left for Paithan on the order of Muntajabuddin. Before the arrival of Maulana Saheb to Paithan Abadul Latif was there. Abadul Latif was a missionary. He came from the Southern shore of Godawari to attack the temple of Mahalaxmi. He fought with the local people and was killed there. His tomb is still seen on the Southern shore of Godawari.

Soon after Abadul Latif, Majduddin alias Maulana Saheb came to Paithan. He captured the temple of Mahalaxmi; many people were killed in the incident. The temple of Mahalaxmi,

Renukadevi and Gajanan which were on a hill, were destroyed and a mosque was built in their place.³¹

तय्यासी पसीमे टेकावरि महालक्ष्मीचे देऊळः
 पूर्वाभिमुख ॥ एक वीरा दक्षिणाभिमुख जिजायेकू 32
 तीही देवळाची जगाती एकथिः जगाताची
 दारोठा पूर्वाभिमुखः त्याची मस्जिद केळी 33

Before the arrival of Majduddin alias Maulana Saheb to Paithan, most of the people belonged to the Hindu community. Majority of them were weavers. The clothes of good quality were manufactured there. Among them was the world famous Shalu of Paithan. In the ancient times Paithan was famous as a commercial centre.

The Muslim weavers of Paithan adore Maulana Saheb. Among the weavers of Paithan, half of them are Muslims (Momin) and half of them are Hindus (Koshti). Muslim weavers adore Maulana and Hindu weavers adore Ekanatha. In the Koshti lane of Paithan there is a temple of Renuka. According to legend, this Renuka is brought here from her original place. On the basis of the above grounds, Majduddin's work of spreading Islam might have started first in the community of the weavers of Paithan. There is no doubt that in Paithan at the beginning of the 14th

century, the first victims of the spread of Islam were the temples of Mahalaxmi, Renuka and Ganapati.³⁴

Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib: He was born in Punjab at Hansi in 654 H. i.e., 1254 A.D. He was the elder brother of Shaikh Muntajabuddin alias Zarzari Zar Baksh. Hence Burhanuddin, right from his childhood was under metaphysical discipline. He remained bachelor for the whole life. He was educated under the supervision of his father. He studied Fikka (ethics) Hadis (the legends and reminiscences of Paigambar) and the Tafsir (critical opinions on Kuran).

After completing his education, he came to Delhi and lived in mosque. One day he saw a dream in which he was fallen in ditch and attempting to come out but in vain. Suddenly Nizamuddin Aulia helped him to come out. On the very next day Burhanuddin went to Nizamuddin and became his disciple. Burhanuddin adored his mentor so devotedly that after Nizamuddin's death he never disregarded the Samadhi of him.³⁵

After the death of Muntajabuddin, Burhanuddin was ordered to go to South for the spread of Islam; along with 700 colleagues, he came to Daulatabad. The writer of Bazanesufiya says, "This incident is an attack made on South by the metaphysical army".

In fact it was he who laid the foundations of the Chishti

mystic ideology and institutions in South. He was more than 70 years of age when he reached the Deccan. His long contact with Snaikh Nizamuddin Auliya hose langer-khana (kitchen) he had supervised for years.³⁶

The writer of Safintul says, "Burhanuddin was the disciple of Sultanulmashayak alias Nizamuddin. Nizamuddin sent him to Daulatabad and Brhanpur area for the spread of Islam, along with many of his disciples. With the grace of Burhanuddin many people converted into Islam and became his disciples."³⁷

The sultans in South and other emperors used to show a great reverence for the Samadhi of Burhanuddin. His tomb and monastery are at the distance of 16 miles to the North of Aurangabad. He died in 738 A.H., i.e., 1338 A.D.

Saint Sirajuddin Jainuddin: Saint Sirajuddin was born in 701 A.H., i.e., 1301 A.D. in famous Iranian city Shiroj. His original name was Syed Daud Husen. He was the greatest disciple of Burhanuddin. Like other Sufi saints, he also played an important role in spreading Islam. He did not depart from Delhi and came to South willingly. When Sultan Muhammad-bin-Tughluq migrated his capital from Delhi to Daulatabad and ordered people accordingly, most of the citizens in Delhi were forcibly sent to Daulatabad. Among them were Kamaluddin and Daud Husen.³⁸

He had a strong faith in Paigambar and Qran. He taught

the philosophy of Paigamber to his disciples very effectively.

He was famous as a scholar at Daulatabad.

Daud Husen became the disciple of Burhanuddin along with Ruknuddin and Imad Kashani, the writer of 'Nafaisul Aufdas'. On this occasion Burhanuddin said, "Daud Husen tries to work for making the best followers." He also changed Daud Husen's name to Jainuddin (The ornament of religion) which became famous in the history.³⁹

Saint Jainuddin's Flight to Delhi and Arrival at Daulatabad

Amirs of Daulatabad rebelled against Muhammad Bin Tughluq of Delhi and dethroned his subhedar Ismail. Muhammad Tughluq came to South to bring the situation under control. After destroying the rebell he sent most of the inhabitants of Daulatabad to Delhi. Jainuddin was also suggested to go back to Delhi. Accordingly, in 747 H. i.e., 134 A.D. Jainuddin set off for Delhi.

After some days in 1350 A.D. Sultan Muhammad Tughluq allowed Jainuddin to live in Delhi or to go to Macca or to go to Daulatabad. After some days Muhammad Tughluq died in 1351 A.D. and Firoz Shah became the Sultan of Delhi. He was at the disposal of Jainuddin and requested him to live in Delhi. But Jainuddin answered "Dear Sultan Firoz, let me go to Daulatabad and remain immortal in the service of my Guru (mentor)". Firoz

Shah made all the preparations of Jainuddin's journey to Daulatabad.⁴⁰

After bidding good bye to all, Jainuddin first came to Ajodhan alias Pakparam. After living there for one month, he went on the pilgrimage of Ajamer and later on directly came to Daulatabad.

Saint Jainuddin died in 771 H. i.e., 1370 A.D.; after his death the faith of the people in his Samadhi went on increasing. A dome was built over his tomb. In the later period Jainuddin's devotees built mosques and monasteries around it.

Though the period of 600 years has elapsed since the death of Jainuddin, the Muslims in South still regard him.

The Islam Missionaries in 15th Century and Sufi Sect

Nizamuddin of Paithan: Paithan was an important sufi centre in Maharashtra. From here was sufism propogated by Shah Moijuddin and Nizamuddin. Shah Ramzan was a great disciple of Nizamuddin. Kanifnath, a famous monk of the Nath order, is identified by some with this Shah Ramzan.⁴¹

Syed Dussadat (Superior Syed) Nizamuddin was originally from Sistan, one province in Iran of the present time. He was born by the end of 14th century.

He was the disciple of Alauddin Jiya. At the time of his

(Alauddin Jiya) death he called all his disciples and said, "There are many disciples of mine, but among them the most superior is Syed Dussadat (Superior Syed) Nizamuddin Idorisulhuseni. I appoint him as your Khalifa and delegate him all the responsibility of spreading Islam in Paithan Province. He should go there and work for the spread of Islam."⁴²

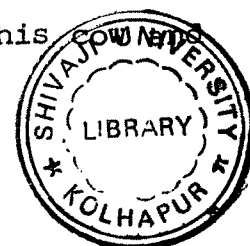
Later on Nizamuddin started back from Daulatabad to Paithan. He came to Bidakin, the place which is at the North of Paithan at a distance of sixteen miles. Afterwards via Dalwadi he came to Paithan. He settled down in the desolate and dry area of Paithan. In front of this area there lived Yogini, who performed witch craft. She was an expert magician.

Nizamuddin ordered his disciples to kill her and her companions. In this, many Muslims were killed. Ultimately the Yogini was killed and her temple was destroyed with the erection of a mosque in its place. This impressed the people and hundreds of Hindus converted themselves into Muslims and became the followers of Nizamuddin. In Paithan and surrounded area the conversion on a large scale occurred due to Nizamuddin.

Among the disciples of Nizamuddin was Kanifnath alias Shah Ramzan. He was very famous as a disciple of Nizamuddin and is still famous as one of the saints in Nath order in Maharashtra. In the life history of Nizamuddin, the place of Kanifnath is very important. Nizamuddin converted Kanifnath to the Islam on

his (Kanifnath's) own willingness and changed his name to Shah Ramzan. After some days Shah Ramzan expressed the desire of getting Gurupadesh (blessings of the mentor). But Nizamuddin asked him to wait for a short time. In this Nizamuddin wanted to destroy Shah Ramzan's pride in Siddhi and miracles. Hence he allotted Shah Ramzan the works of serving his mentor. First of all Shah Ramzan was suggested to fill the water in big jar (Ranjan) in monastery. This big jar is still seen in the monastery of Nizamuddin at Paithan.

Nizamuddin had a great affection for Shah Ramzan. Because of this Nizamuddin's disciples started hating Shah Ramzan. Shah Ramzan had a cow named Bhola which was seen by these disciples. They requested Nizamuddin to kill this cow and eat her beef. Nizamuddin at first refused this proposal. But when the disciples insisted, he admitted it with some conditions. He asked them to bring her mouth, legs and skin to the monastery which was really accepted by them. When in the evening Shah Ramzan stepped in the monastery with a bundle of fire wood all the disciples of Nizamuddin started ridiculing him. They told Shah Ramzan that they had killed his cow with the order of their mentor and eaten up. With this Shah Ramzan felt extremely sorry. Nizamuddin realized the cause of Shah Ramzan's disappointment and said, "Go, Shah Ramzan and call your cow". Accordingly Shah Ramzan came out of the monastery and stood in/squire (the squire is still recognised as Faqir Squire in Paithan), and called his



what a great wonder? The cow along with her calf arrived running speedily. After this Shah Ramzan obtained the full grace and advice of the mentor Nizamuddin.⁴³

Another incident described by Pagadi is as follows:

One day Shah Ramzan was late to attend the monastery. While giving the explanation of this delay to Nizamuddin, Shah Ramzan told that since it was Vijaya Dashami (Dasara) thousands of Hindus were flocking with sticks and Patakas (saffron flag), he witnessed the procession. Over this Nizamuddin explained that in future also there would be thousands of people coming with the sticks and Patakas to his Samadhi. The Samadhi of Shah Ramzan alias Kanifnath is at Tisgaon Madhi (Ahmednagar District), in Maharashtra, where thousands of pilgrims flock with sticks and flags every year. This is believed as the fruit of Nizamuddin's blessings. Shah Ramzan went to Tisgaon Madhi for the spread of Islam on the order of his mentor. There he captured a monastery of one Gosavi (Hermit) and settled down there with his associates. He died there at the end of 15th century.⁴⁴

Shah Ramzan, who converted himself into Islam on the advice of Nizamuddin, was a famous saint of the Nath order. He was called Kanifnath. It has been a great mystery in the cultural history of Maharashtra that a saint of Nath cult became a towering figure in Islam religion. He might have spread Islam in Tisgaon Madhi area. In such circumstances it is pertinent to study his work done

in the Nath cult.⁴⁵

Syed Gesu Daraz: He was born at Delhi in 721 H. i.e., 1321 A.D. when Muhammad-bin-Tughluq forced the saints and celebrities of Delhi to migrate to Daulatabad. His father Syed Yusuf Husaini migrated to Daulatabad with his family. In 1335 Gesu Daraz came back to Delhi with his widowed mother to complete his education. He completed his education in Delhi and when Timur turned towards India in 1398, he heard the rumblings of a distant storm and decided to leave Delhi. He was nearly ninety years of age when he moved to the Deccan. He came to Gulbarga to spend the rest of his life; for about a quarter of a century he propagated the Chisthi mystic principles in the Deccan and died at the age of more than a hundred years on 16 Dhigaduh 825/1st November 1422.⁴⁶

Three years previously, in 1413 a great saint Hazrat Gesu Daraz had come to Gulbarga from Delhi and began to attract a large number of disciples to his place of retirement in the immediate vicinity of the fort on the western side. A strife between the erudite Sultan and the saint was inevitable and, learned as he was, Firuz began to doubt the worth of the saint in the realm of scientific thought. The tension increased and the saint had to take himself to a spot where his tomb now stands, a couple of miles from his Khangah. On the other hand, Firuz's brother, Ahmed, knew the spiritual and moral influence, which the

saint exercised and strove to make himself popular with the saints disciples.⁴⁷

It was perhaps due to his lack of foresight that he developed a quarrel with the saint, Gesu Daraz, with dire effects, for he should have gauged the tremendous influence exercised by the saint over the nobles and subjects alike. It must, however, be added that during his reign Firuz successfully kept the balance between the divergent forces which were swaying the Deccan by his policy of political and social conciliation, which could not find an expression again for many years to come.⁴⁸

No Chisthi saint before or even after him wrote on so many branches of Muslim learning. A profound scholar, with a keen and penetrating insight into the religious sciences, he gave a new fillip to religious studies in the Deccan. He is reported to have written a commentary on the Quran.⁴⁹

Hazrat Gesu Daraz made a tremendous impact on the religious life of the people of the Deccan. His work was voraciously read in the higher mystic circles while the common people thronged to his Khangah in a large number.⁵⁰

Gesu Daraz and Non-Muslim Population

Like other sufis Gesu Daraz must have communicated with the vast mass of non-Muslim population amongst whom he was living in some language intelligible to them. We have, however, very

little authentic details about his effort in that direction. The authorship of two early Dakhni works - Mirajul Ashigin and Shikar Nama - has not been convincingly established on the basis of external or even internal evidence.

It was in fact Gesu Daraz through whom the Muslim mystic movement became articulate in the Deccan. His disciples, who were spread in town and villages applied themselves to brisk spiritual activity and propogated his name and teaching far and wide in South. Poets, scholars, saints and sages of the Deccan in the succeeding centuries have paid eloquent tributes to Hazrat Gesu Daraz and have prided in their association with his spiritual order.⁵¹

About the close of the fourteenth century a celebrated saint of Gulbarga, Sayyad Mahmmad Gisudaraz, converted a number of Hindus of the Poona district, and twenty years later his labours were crowned with a like success in Belgaum.⁵²

'Momins' - a sect of the Muslims of the Poona district are descended from the Hindus of the Koshti and Sali castes, and are said to have been converted by this saint of Gulbarga about the year 1398 A.D. In the Belgaum district saint Gisudaraz converted the Hindus belonging to the Koshti and Sali castes of cotton handloom weavers in the year 1418 A.D. At Dahanu still reside the descendants of a relative of one of the greatest saints of Islam, Sayyid Abdul Kadir Gilani of Baghdad. He came

to Western India about the fifteenth century after making many converts in the Konkan, died and was buried at Dahanu. His shrine, a plain brick and earth building in a dilapidated⁵³ condition is the scene of a yearly fair. This fair, which was once attended by a large number of people from Deccan and Gujarat, was for some years neglected, and has again been started by the present manager, Syed Kurtuza, who has succeeded in bringing together a few shopkeepers and a small band of pilgrims. On the day of the fair their disciples under the guidance of the Manager of the shrine who is styled Pirzada, perform the round slow movement called Ratib, singing, to the beat of small drums, the praises of the saint and his ancestor Piran-e-Pir. They also strike their heads and eyes with sharp pointed iron maces and knives or swords, which, by the favour of the saint, do them no harm.⁵⁴

In the district of Dharwar, there are large numbers of weavers whose ancestors were converted by Husham Pir Gujarathi, the religious teacher of the Bijapur king, Ibrahim Adil Shah II, about the close of the sixteenth century. These men still regard the saint with special reverence and pay great respect to his descendants. A section of the Muslims of Dharwar - the Momins or weavers - are found in large numbers all over the district especially in Hubli. They are said to represent Hindu Koshtis or Salis who were converted by Hasham Pir Gujarati.⁵⁵

The descendant of another saint Shah Muhammad Sadiq

Sarmast Husayni are still found in Nasik. He is said to have been the most successful of Muhammadan missionaries in South India. Having come from Medina in 1508 he travelled over the great part of Western India and finally settled at Nasik. In the same district another very successful missionary was saint Khwaja Khunmur Husaini, "who came from Persia about the end of the ninth century A.H. (A.D. 1520) and settled at Gulbarga, then one of the chief seats of Musalman power. Under Musalman rule, on account of their knowledge of Muhammadan law and because of the piety of their lives, his descendants were chosen Kazis of several towns and cities."⁵⁶

The first Musalman invasions of the Deccan under Ala-ud-din Khilji and Malik Kafur, do not seem to have left any lasting mark on the Nasik people. It was only after the establishment of the Muslim kingdoms of Khandesh and Ahmednagar and the arrival of Muslim missionaries that the Muslims began to form a separate community at Nasik.⁵⁷

Two other Arab missionaries were Syed Muhammad bin Syed Ali Katali or saint Katal, and Syed Umar Idras Basheban. The scene of their proselytising efforts was laid in the district of Belgaum. Both these saints were Arab missionaries who preached Islam to the people of Belgaum during the rule of the Adil Shahi Kings of Bijapur.⁵⁸ Their descendants in Belgaum are known as 'Mashaiks' or 'Pirzadas'. They trace their origin to

Ali and Fatima, the son-in-law and daughter of the prophet.⁵⁹

Qudari Silsilha

During the 13th and 14th centuries, the Chishti Silsilhas was the principal spiritual order in Deccan. In 15th century the Quadri order and in the 16th the Shattari Silsilah came to be organised in the Deccan and their centres rose up in many cities and towns of South.

The earliest Qudari Khangahs were established in Biddar, Khandesh and Ahamednagar. The descendant of Shah Ni'matullah Qudan (834 H/1430 A.D.) who settled in the Deccan were probably the first important Qudari saints to enter India.

Sayed Shah Ismail (861 H. i.e., 1466 A.D.) worked for many years to propogate the teachings of the Qudari Silsilah in Bidar. His work was later continued and developed by Shaikh Ibrahim (960 H. i.e., 1552 A.D.), Shah Musa Qudari (873 H. i.e., 1468 A.D.) selected Sultanpur (Dhulia district in Maharashtra) for his mystic activity and soon attracted a large number of people to his mystic fold.⁶⁰

Shaikh Jalal Mahammad Qudari reached the Deccan and set up a Qudari centre at Burhanpur which had already a large number of Chishti Khangahs.

Compared to the number of Hindus, in North India, the

Muslims were in majority, whereas in South India, the Hindus were in a majority. Alauddin Khalji invaded South India in 1296 A.D. and paralysed the empire of Yadavas at Devagiri. It can be said that only hence after the Muslim power and the Islam were spread in South India with great momentum. Besides, Muhammad bin Tughluq of the Tughluq dynasty migrated his capital from Delhi to Daulatabad. During this migration many inhabitants of Delhi were brought with him, most of whom were sufi saints. The sufi saints spread Islam with the help of some miracles and explaining the importance of Islam to the Hindus. It will not be wrong to say that in the spread of Islam in South the sufis had a lion's share.

The list of the Islam saints who worked for the spread of Islam from 1300 A.D. to 1400 A.D. is given by Abdul Jabbar Malkapuri. There are nearabout 25 Islam saints, who worked for the spread of Islam. Among them are Burhanuddin Gharib Shah of Khultabad, his disciple Jainuddin Alauddin Jiya, Sirajuddin Junaidi of Gulbarga, Shaikh AINUDDIN of Bijapur, Shaikh Wahudullah of Khandesh and Hisamuddin Qattal of Poona.⁶¹

Some Fakirs and the Islam missionaries worked before the year 1300 A.D. It should be remembered that before 1300 A.D. there was no rule of Islam anywhere in South India.

I) Hisamoddin Qattal Janjani: He came to Poona and settled down there. Hindus did not allow him to work for the spread of Islam

and because of this there were various scuffles between them. He decimated many Hindus for which he was given the title 'Qattal'. He destroyed the temples of Hindus and built mosques in their places. Even at present one finds the remnants of these destroyed temples around the Darga of Hisamuddin. He died in 763 A.H. i.e., 1362 A.D. Hisamuddin and Shaikh Alauddin are responsible for sowing the seeds of Islam in Poona area.⁶²

II) Sakhar Makdoom: At the same time in Nanded district at Kandhar Sakhar Makdoom started his work of spreading Islam. His dynasty was originally from Basara, a city from Iraq. Sakhar Makdoom came to Delhi when he was on the pilgrimage of Mecca and Madina. At Delhi he was benefited by the company of Nizamuddin Auliya. In 1324 A.D. when Nizamuddin died, Sakhar Makdoom joined a military officer Shaikh Ibrahim and became a soldier and participated in the war against Hindu Kings. He killed many Hindus because of which people called him 'Kuffar Bhanjan'.⁶³

Hamjasaheb, who wrote 'Tarikh-e-Kandahara' says, "Because of Sakhar Makdoom's miracles many Kafir (Hindus) converted themselves to the Islam".

While roaming he came to Khandar and preferred to stay there. Shaikh Ibrahim, the military officer, also settled down there. Uptill then Kandhar was removed from the rule of King of Varangal. Kandhahar was Hindus' holy place. There was a big temple

of Mahadeva. Some critics are of the view that it was built during the period of Hemadri Pant, whereas some others say that it was built by the King Ganpatidev of Varangal. Besides, this temple there was a big idol of a black stone near Mansupuri, the pieces of which are still found there. It is believed that with the footsteps of Hazrat Makdoom all these temples were destroyed. It is also believed that the halo of Hasarat Makdoom spread the brightness of Islam in the Kafir Khana (Hindu society) of Kandahar. Hazrat Makdoom removed the Pind of Mahadeo (Idol of Mahadeva) and lived there.⁶⁴ He died in 736 H. i.e., 1335 A.D.

III) Shah Khurram: He came to South with Muntojiabuddin Zarzari Zar Bkhsh and settled down at Erandol in Khandesh. Some scuffles took place between him and Hindus, in which the latter were defeated. After that he built a big mosque at Erandol by using the material of Hindu idols and temples.⁶⁵ He died at Erandol in 743 H. i.e., 1342 A.D.

IV) Abdul Aziz alias Shah Babu: He came from Delhi to South during the period of Muhammad bin-Tughluq and settled down at Matur in Varahad. When Hindus opposed him Abdul Aziz and his companions destroyed their temples. It is believed that when a Hindu Zamindar attacked Abdul Aziz, the whole army of Zamindar became stagnant due to the curse of Abdul Aziz. With this the Zamindar was terribly frightened and surrendered before Abdul Aziz by

converting himself and his companions to the Islam.⁶⁶ Abdul Aziz died in 791 H. i.e., 1390 A.D.

V) Shah Bari of Khandesh: He was the disciple of Shah Khurram. Khurram had appointed him for spreading Islam at Kavathal in Khandesh. There he fought with the Hindus and established himself and started spreading Islam. He died in 745 H. i.e., 1344 A.D.

KARNATAK

In Karnataka also there flourished a large number of Muslim saints called sufis. These mystics were responsible for the spread and propagation of Islam and Muslim culture among the masses. The Islamic belief in the oneness of God and the concept of equality and brotherhood of man greatly attracted the different classes of Hindus. In these mosques and Khangahs set up by these mystics there was no discrimination between high and low. All worked together and dined together. The Muslim mystics went a long way in maintaining the religious harmony and the peaceful spread of Islam in the land. They considered themselves as the spiritual heirs of Mohammad, the prophet in propagating and spreading Islam throughout the land.⁶⁷

Mention may be made of a few saints of Karnataka like Hazrat Khwaja Bande Nawaz Gesu Daraz of Gulbarga, Hazarat Syed Hashim Pir, Hazarat Syed Murtuza Qudanall of Bijapur, Hazarat Syed Qatal Shah of Belgaum. Hazarat Shah Muhammed Wali Allah Qadari of Dharwad, Hazarat Abdur Razak Shah Qadri of Hugulr

(Dharwad district) and Hazarat Burhanuddin Shah (Baba Budan) of Budangiri of Chickmangalur district and others.⁶⁸

In 1400 A.D. Gesu Daraz came to South and settled down at Gulbarga. Among all the Muslim saints in South India, he is considered to be the most superior. He wrote nearabout 100 books out of which 'Asmeil A Sar' is considered as the guide of the sufi sects. He also participated in politics. Gesu Daraz supported Ahamad Shah against Firoz Shah Bahamani and it is believed that because of this support only Ahamad Shah could achieve the throne.⁶⁹

In this way in 14th century in Maharashtra and various areas of south India the sufis were spreading their religion. Khultabad and Daulatabad were their centres in Maharashtra. All the administration of spreading Islam at Pune, Gangapur, Paithan, Erandol, Vijapur, Kandhahar, Matur was seen from Khultabad.

MUSLIM EMPERORS AND SUFI SAINTS IN DECCAN

Alauddin Khalji and Nizamuddin Auliya: In the year 1296 A.D., with the invasion of Devgiri by Alauddin Khalji, the Yadav rule suffered a great troma. At this time in the Mazalis of Nizamuddin Auliya at Delhi, it was decided to send some missionaries in South. Accordingly, Muntajabuddin Zarzari Zar Baksh and his 700 colleagues came to South in 13th century A.D. and settled down at Khultabad.

Kakatiya Rule

In the times of Kakatiyas Baba Sharafuddin, the disciple of Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi, spread sufism in Andhra Desh.⁷⁰

Two significant incidents of Khangah of Nizamuddin Auliya connected with South may be mentioned here. When Malik Kafur led the Khalji forces into Warangal and the Sultan did not hear for long about the fate of his army, he sent a messenger to Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya to seek his spiritual help and requested him to pray for the safety of his army.⁷¹

Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib and Muhammad Tughluq

When Muhammad bin Tughluq permitted the people to go back to Delhi, if they so desired, he (S.B. Gharib) was so much in love with Daulatabad that he preferred to stay there. His servant Kaka said that he was so anxious to return to Delhi that as soon as he heard the royal announcement, he packed up the Shaikh's luggage/ ^{with} his permission. The Shaikh pointed to the place where his grave stands and said that he would rather be there than go back to Delhi.

One day Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq sent to him a gift of 3,000 tankas through Malik Na'ib Barbak (the future Firoz Shah). The Shaikh knew that refusing the Sultan's gift would be courting trouble. He added 20 tankas, which were in his Khangah

at that time, to the royal gift and distributed the entire amount in charity.⁷²

When, at last, the period of misfortunes ended, there arose a man of vision who delivered the country from afflictions and sorrows. He was called Zainuddin and enjoyed great popularity by the grace of God. He was noted for his good deeds and profound learning and was so absorbed in devotion to God that he did not bother about any of the two worlds. He was engaged in devotion day and night to such an extent that he had acquired complete mastery over his carnal self. His courtesy imparted paradise like grace to this world and the Chishti order was revived through him. He rose to the eminence of Abu Yazid Bistami (A celebrated sufi of Bistam in Iran, noted for his 500 sayings (E.I.). He died in 261/874 F.N. 695) in the domain of piety; and in the purity of heart, he came abreast of Abu sa'id Abu'l Khair (A sufi of Iran, born in Khurasan in 357/967 and died in 440/1049). He became famous for his sermons and his role in the performance of sacred dances (Sima) (E.I.). Under the protection of that man, the whole of Deogir was saved; Qutlugh Khan sought shelter with him. As a result, Qutulugh Khan's star rose to the height of saturn.

Only on drawing inspiration from a Fakir and through his blessings, a fortunate amir can establish his position; this is a settled fact.

In short, under the aegis of that man of path, this land (of Deogir) was saved from the tyranny of the emperor; and, due to his blessings, the rose-bed (of Deogir) again prospered and thereby regained its exalted position. All governors who stepped into the districts of this city became less harmful and less oppressive and administered successfully.⁷³

In this way passed fourteen years during which period prosperity did not decrease in the slightest degree. When, at last, men of path left this territory completely, the Marhat country suffered untold miseries and every village or city became a hill or dale.

The saints (Mushaikh) had disregarded him and the ulama had denounced him.

Everyone was cursing that tyrant emperor and every family man had to abandon his own home to escape torture.⁷⁴ Isami believes that the country which was also afflicted with a famine was saved not by any manoeuvre on the part of the emperor but by the blessings of Shaikh Zainu'ddin of Daulatabad.⁷⁵

BAHAMANI STATE AND SUFI SAINTS

Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya

One day a visitor called at the Khangah of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya and stayed at the gate hoping to be called in.

Just before him Ulughkhan (the future Muhammad bin Tughluq) had left the hospice. The Shaikh summoned one of his attendants and said, "One king has left and another is waiting at the door; bring him in" (The future founder of Bahamani Kingdom).⁷⁶

We are informed that the first act of the founder of Bahamani Kingdom after his assumption of royal power was to send five maunds of gold and ten maunds of silver to Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib for distribution among the needy and the poor in order to bless the soul of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya.⁷⁷

Bahamani State was founded in 1347 A.D. Its capital was Gulbarga. The Bahamani State was related to all above mentioned sufi saints. Sirajuddin Junaidi Gulbarga had seen the three generations of Bahamani State. He used to be present at every ceremony of ascending throne and tied sword to the waist of Bahamani King. It can be called that he was the mentor of Bahamani kings.⁷⁸

ALAUDDIN BAHAMANI AND SUFI SAINT

Nizamuddin: Alauddin Bahamani, who was impressed by Nizamuddin's greatness, offered the hand of his daughter Bibi Johara to Nizamuddin. She was blind and handicapped. Nizamuddin prayed God for her recovery. With the God's grace she recovered and Nizamuddin married her.

The same story is described in a different way. Nizamuddin got angry with Alauddin for cheating him by marrying his blind and handicapped daughter off with Nizamuddin. He cursed Alauddin that the empire would decay very soon. And it is very clear that after Alauddin Bahamani empire met its decadance.⁷⁹

Shaikh Zainuddin and Muhammad Shah Bahamani: Shaikh Zainuddin Dawud, one of his senior Khalifas, was known for the courage of his convictions. He criticised sharply Muhammad Shah Bahamani for his drunken orgies and boldly defied his authority.⁸⁰

Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah (1347-1358): The founders of these dynasties offered endowments in the form of villages, stipends, buildings etc., to the saints and they in their turn gave moral support to them and whipped up public opinion in their favour.⁸¹

Alauddin Hasan Bahaman Shah had a great respect for Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib, Shaikh Ainuddin Bijapuri and Shaikh Sirajuddin Junaidi.⁸² He is even reported to have invited the saints to his camp in the midst of a campaign and loaded them with presents.

Sultan Muhammad-I (1358-75): He always counted on the prayers of Shaikh Sirajuddin Junaidi whenever he set out on a campaign. In 1366, when he marched against Vijayanagar, he sent his son Mujahid to the Shaikh with a large amount of money to be distributed amongst the Sayyids and saints.⁸³

Ahmad Shah Wali (1422-36): He was deeply attached to Syed Muhammad Gesu Daraz.

Alauddin Humayun Shah (1458-61): In the conflict between Alauddin Humayun Shah and his younger brother Hasan Khan, Shah Muhibbullah supported the Sultan against heavy odds. Thus, throughout the history of the Bahamanis one finds the saints and Mashaikh deeply involved in the politics of the time.⁸⁴

Sultan Mahmud-I and Shaikh Zainuddin Dawud: Zainuddin's relation with Sultan Mahmud-I became bitterly hostile on account of his sympathy with two rebels, Barhamkhan Mazendarani and Kumbh Dev. The Sultan had already crushed their rebellion when both these rebels stole out of the fortress in the night and came straight to Shaikh Zainuddin. The saint advised them to fly away to Gujarat in order to save their skin.⁸⁵

The Sultan then issued orders for his expulsion from the city of Daulatabad. The saint put his prayer carpet on his shoulders and retired to the tomb of Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib, sat at the foot of the grave and challenged if there was any one who could remove him from there. A challenge emanating from a Chishti centre, which commanded great love and reverence from the people could not be thoughtlessly accepted. The Sultan changed his posture of hostility and found in factual reconciliation a real solution of the problem. He sent Sadru'sh Sharif to the saint with a warm message of good will: 'I am

yours and you should be mine'. The Shaikh replied that if the Sultan abstained from drinking at least in other people's presence, closed wine shops in his territory, followed in the footsteps of his father and issued orders to his officers to act according to the Islamic principles of morality, he would not only give up his hostile attitude but would become most friendly towards him. The Sultan would then find better and sincere friend, than me "The Sultan accepted the terms and cordial relations were then established between the two."⁸⁶

Firoz Shah Bahamani (1397-1422) and Saint Gesu Daraz: Firoz Shah Bahamani received him (Daraz) warmly and assigned a few villages for the expenses of his Khangah.⁸⁷ A brief letter of four lines addressed to the Sultan praying for the safety to his person and the destruction of his opponents is included in his collection of letters. But not long afterwards the ruler fell from the esteem of the saint and their relation became rigid if not strained.

When Firoz appointed his son Hasan Khan as a crown prince in 818 H. i.e., 1416 A.D. and after the ceremonies were over, the Sultan sent the prince to the saint for his blessings. The saint was reluctant to bless him and when he was pressed by the royal emissaries he remarked that God had already appointed Ahmadkhan Khan Khanan, brother of Firoz as the next ruler. The Sultan was deeply annoyed at this and the first thing

he did was to ask the saint to shift his hospice to some distant place as its proximity with the palace was a source of disturbance and destruction for him on account of the large number of people, who assembled there and the noise that they created. Gesu Daraz then moved to the place where his tomb now stands.⁸⁸

Nasir Khan Faruqi of Khandesh: The rulers of Khandesh felt deeply attracted towards his spiritual order. Nasir Khan Faruqi of Khandesh was one of his disciples. According to Ferishta he built the town of Burhanpur in memory of the Pir of his Pir, Shaikh Burhanuddin and laid the foundation of the Qashah of Zainabad in honour of Shaikh Zainuddin.⁸⁹

SUFIS AND THE BHAGWAT SECT

The Bhagwat movement of the time was not at all related with the contemporary Badashahs and sufi saints. Namdev, Gora Kumbhar, Chokhamela etc., were working for the spread of Bhagwat sect during this period. But it seems that the contemporary sufi literature did not take any notice.

It is believed that there was some relationship between the sufis and Bhagwat sect. But it has no historical evidence. In biographies of the sufi saints, there are some Yogi, who performed various miracles i.e., Yogi Jayapal alias Abdullah and Yogi Kanifnath alias Shah Ramzan's relations with the Khwaja Moinuddin and Nizamuddin respectively were very close.⁹⁰

There was better understanding among the various religious communities: the sufi and the Bhakti movement had brought the people together. Farishta records that Hindu and Muslims had friendly relations. The Muslim rulers took keen interest in the religion of their subjects ... In the wake of the Bhakti movement the period witnessed a cultural upsurge.⁹¹

Whether sufis studied Vedanta or Vedantics surveyed the sufi philosophy cannot be proved.

To talk about Maharashtra only, in 14th and 15th centuries, there were many saints, but it is not found that they had any relations with the sufis. Because of Muslim political domination in 14th century there were mosque, dargas, Chellas, Khangahs etc. Since the Kazis were appointed for the judgement, and the Muslim festivals like Bakari-ied, Ramzan, Shabebarat were supported by the government, the majority class came to know the customs of the Muslims. In addition the effect of the Muslim missionaries was inevitable. Therefore, it is not a wonder to see many people worshipping Fakirs, Pirs and Dargas. After some days the people did not find any thing objectionable in this worship of saints and Fakirs, in the devotion of the Dargas and the eating of Prasads. And only in this kind of behaviour Nath and Samarthas were concentrating. The social customs were influenced by the above things undoubtedly. But the contemporary saint literature was not influenced by the sufi philosophy.⁹²

Shaikh Mohammad of Maharashtra asked his disciples to go for pilgrimage either to Mecca or Pandharpur (in Maharashtra). The Khoja branch of the Ismaili sect led by Sadruddin regarded Adam and Ali as the avatars of Vishnu, and Muhammad as Mahesh, Madarsi, a syncretic sect, founded by a Syrian, Badiuzzam Shah Madar, in the sixteenth century, became quite popular, specially among the lower classes and the women. The Madarsi borrowed a number of practices from Yogis. They refused to cover themselves with cloth and smeared their body with ashes instead. They beat themselves with chains, practised celibacy and most of them refrained from eating meat; like yogis they took intoxicants, e.g., bhang. There were several sects among them. Hindu influence upon the Muslim masses, was tremendous.⁹³

Although Vemana, Vema or Mahayogi Vemana are familiar names to thirty million people whose mother tongue is Telugu ... that he may possibly have lived when Ibrahim Qutb Shah was reigning at Golkonda. What is however certain is that he conveyed to his people a message which was one of the unity of God and oneness of humanity, and which laid stress on good deeds rather than a nobility of birth. Thus, his teachings came very near the precepts of Islam. One of the modern biographers of the saint says that "the Bhakts and Sufees rank as the torch-bearers of Hindu-Muslim cultures" and further that they surpassed as harbingers of a humanised culture as well.⁹⁴

It is interesting to note that Vemana's line of social reform was taken up later by Veerabrahaman of Potular in the Karnul district; he managed to have a number of disciples belonging both to the Hindu and Muslim faiths, but his school did not last very long.⁹⁵

Taken as a whole the sufi movement, apart from providing moral strength to Bahamani Kingdom and its succession states, worked for the moral and spiritual uplift of the people, checked levities and social vices and created a favourable atmosphere of cultural rapprochement between various culture groups in the Deccan. Daulatabad, Burhanpur, Gulbarga and Aurangabad were not merely mystic centres of eminence, but were radiating points of culture in medieval India.⁹⁶

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